

REGIONAL SECURITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA: CONFLICTS, AGENDAS AND THREATS

Nilton César Fernandes Cardoso¹

Introduction

The beginning of the decade of 2000 was marked by relevant economic and political transformations in the African continent. After facing two decades of political instability, socioeconomic problems and marginalization, Africa emerged as a new commercial, investment frontier, as well as a new object of geopolitical, economic and strategic interests of the traditional and emerging powers, what has significantly increased its importance in the international scenario (Oliveira & Cardoso, 2015). In a large extent, this new moment experienced by Africa is directly linked to (i) the exponential growth which most of the continent's economies presented in the last decade; to (ii) the renewal of regional integration processes – with a special note to the substitution, in 2002, of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU), which aims at providing more efficient solutions to African problems; and (iii) to several complementary initiatives in the field of development, governance and mainly security (Adebajo 2013; Castellano 2013).

In this sense, recently, it is emerging a new literature which addresses the African regional security dynamics in the beginning of the twenty-first century, almost always focusing on UN and AU's capacities and initiatives on the stabilization of the continent. However, sub-regional dynamics, perhaps apart from Southern and Western Africa, are rarely addressed and analyzed. Within this context, this paper looks forward to contributing for this debate thorough a study which analyzes the regional security dynamics of the Horn of Africa, a complex and important region to

¹ International Strategic Studies Doctoral Program, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil. E-mail: nilton-id@hotmail.com

international security, however barely not studied, especially here in Brazil.

The Horn of Africa² is marked by intense occurrence of interstate wars, high level of extraregional actors' penetration within regional security agenda, intense polarization, small capacity of interaction between the countries of the region itself (communication, transport and infrastructure deficits) and unities' (States) vulnerabilities – internal political instability, low ability to provide security and social development deficits (Buzan & Wæver 2003; Cardoso 2015).

On the other hand, it is in this region that took place the one and only social revolution modern Africa has witnessed (Clapham 1996). It is the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974, which provoked deep transformations in the countries' internal social, economic and political structures, as well as a significant regional and systemic impact. Besides, the regional security dynamic verified throughout the Cold War period and after the end of bipolarity has reset the map of the African continent with the creation of two new States in the region, Eritrea (1993) and South Sudan (2011).

The strategic geographic position of the Horn of Africa, close to oil producer countries of the Middle East and to the important international maritime route which connects the West to the East through the Suez Canal, has given the region great relevance during the context of the Cold War, attracting superpowers' attention since the decade of 1970 (Chazan 1999; Westad 2005). The presence of superpowers has polarized the political forces of the region. On one side, there were the nations in favor of the United States; on the other side, there were the pro-USSR. It has increased the existing rivalries among the States of the region.

With the end of the Cold War and, consequently, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the region lost a great deal of its strategic importance. After the failed humanitarian intervention in Somalia (1992-1994), there was a strategic withdrawal of the United States from the Horn of Africa. They only returned after 9/11 in 2001, in the U.S., especially after the war on terror was declared, going through a process of securitization³

2 For the purpose of this paper, the region of the Horn of Africa refers to the member countries of Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) – Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda.

3 The studies on the process of securitization have a reference point the School of Copenhagen, whose main authors are Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde. The theme was introduced by Ole Wæver in 1995 as a significant effort towards the tentative of dismantling the concept of security which prevailed during the Cold War – and widely supported by Realist authors of International Relations – and that was associated exclusively to State survival. For other authors, the process of securitization does not deal with the discussion of what is, or is not, a threat, but, instead, with under which conditions something may become a threat. Therefore, it is a process socially constructed, in which actors seek

- marked not only by a rhetoric, but also by concrete projects, such as the Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), the Operation Enduring Freedom – Horn of Africa (OEF-HOA), the East Africa Regional Strategic Initiative (EACTI) and the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), among others (Cardoso 2015; Schmidt 2013).

At the regional level, when new leaderships rose to power – such as Meles Zenawi, in Ethiopia, and Isais Afewerki, in Eritrea, who both joined Yoweri Museveni, in Uganda –, there was a period of *detenté* (1991-1994), characterized by the densification of political interactions and by several regional initiatives on conflict resolution in Somalia, Sudan and Djibouti, as well as by the processes of economic integration involving the countries of the region. However, situations such as the civil war in Sudan and Somalia, Djibouti's political instability, insurgent groups operating in several territories, added up to the installation of a Islamic government in Sudan with a strong tendency towards fundamentalism, were relevant factors that contributed to the deterioration of regional relations after 1994 (Cardoso 2015; Cliffe 1999).

In this sense, the purpose of this paper is to analyze the security dynamic in the Horn of Africa in the post-independence period, identifying the actors, agendas and threats. For this purpose, it is subdivided into three parts beyond the present introduction and the further conclusion. The first one analyzes the security dynamics taking place in the Horn of Africa during the Cold War period, focusing on the regional rivalries and on the penetration of extraregional actors. In the second part, there is a discussion regarding the transformations which occurred in region in the immediate post-Cold War period, focusing both on the unities' (states) internal security dynamics and on the regional ones. The third and last section aims at identifying “new” threats and regional and international responses, as well as the emerging strategic importance of the region to traditional superpowers in the post-9/11 period, marked by the process of securitization.

to bring up topics of the political agenda – or politicized – to the security agenda, that is, to the core of the security decision (Cepik 2011). When affirming that threats are socially constructed, the authors do not deny that a *de facto* threat exists, but, instead, they attest that, along the process of securitization, certain affairs might represent effectively real threats. All in all, the securitizing movement begins through a rhetoric representation (speech act), signaling the existence of a threat which, due to its urgent nature, cannot and must not be treated as normal political decisions, therefore demanding emergency and extraordinary measures (Buzan, WÆver and Wilde 1998).

The Horn of Africa: regional and extra-regional rivalries (1960-1991)

The Horn of Africa⁴ is traditionally known as one of the most unstable regions of the international system, due to the rising number of armed conflicts and to the political instability verified since the mid-1950s (see table 1). Furthermore, the region is assessed as one of the poorest in the world, due to its socioeconomic issues, the fragility of its States and social indicatives, such as *per capita* income and Human Development Index (Mengisteab 2011; Woodward 2013). The illustration of that may be found in the Fragile States Index, which is annually published by Fund for Peace (FFP) since 2005 and based upon twelve wide indicatives⁵. There, countries such as Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan are found in the worst positions, currently occupying the 1st, 2nd and 4th positions, respectively (FFP 2016)⁶.

Table 1 - Main conflicts which took place in the Horn of Africa (1950-2015)⁷

War	Date	Theater of Operations	Nature of the Conflict	Number of Casualties (around)
First Sudanese Civil War	1956-1972	Sudan	Intrastate	500k

4 In this work the Horn of Africa region refers to the member countries of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). They are: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda.

5 Namely: demographic pressures, massive movement of refugees and internally displaced people, group grievances, human flight, uneven economic development, high economic decline, State legitimacy, public services, human rights and rule of law, security apparatus, factionalized elites and external intervention (FFP 2016).

6 By Failed State we refer to “that State which cannot manage to maintain its internal political order, nor the public order, unable to provide safety to its people, control its borders and the entire national territory, keep independently functioning both the legislative and judiciary systems, provide education, health care, economic opportunities, infrastructure and environmental surveillance” (Rotberg 2013, 5-6). The merit of such concept is not discussed in the present paper, and it is here used exclusively to refer to a initial characterization of the region of the Horn of Africa.

7 Regarding the nature of the conflicts, we used the taxonomy developed by Meredith Sarkees (2011) to the project called Correlates of War (COW). Therefore, by Interstate War we mean war between two or more states; Intrastate War refers to wars which are fought between the government of a State and opposition groups (insurgents), with no external intervention; by Internationalized War we mean internal conflicts with external intervention (Gleditsch et al. 2002; Sarkees 2011).

Eritrean War of Independence	1961-1991	Eritrea	Intrastate	220k
Ogaden War (Somalia-Ethiopia)	1977-1978	Ethiopia (East)	Interstate	30k
Uganda-Tanzania War	1978-1979	Uganda	Interstate	100k
Ugandan Civil War	1981-1986	Uganda	Intrastate	300-500k
Second Sudanese Civil War	1983-2005	Sudan (South)	Intrastate	1,9 mi.
Insurgency of the Lord's Resistance Army	1987-...	Uganda, DRC, Sudan, CAR	Intrastate	12k
Somali Civil War	1987-...	Somalia	Internationalized	300-400k
Ethiopia-Eritrea War	1998-2000	Border Ethiopia-Eritrea	Interstate	100-300k
War in Darfur	2003-...	Sudan (West)	Intrastate	180-300k
II Ogaden War	2007-2008	Ethiopia (East)	Intrastate	1k
South Sudan Civil War	2013 -	South Sudan	Intrastate	No data

Source: Adapted from Castellano (2012, p. 34-35) and complemented with information provided by Clayton (2001), Mesfin (2011), Reno (2011) and Williams (2014).

Analyzing table 1, we noticed that intrastate wars have prevailed in the region in the post-independence period. Historically, African states have face more internal threats than external ones, especially due to an insufficient encouragement of national territory occupation and domination. Hence, due to the absence of the necessity of strengthening State capacities to a possible need to defend the territory, colonial and post-colonial African states have been marked by a territory ruled by a strong Capital city, which is assured by distant borders and internationally legitimate; however, there is also a widespread power vacuum in peripheral regions (Castellano 2012; Clapham 1996; Herbst 2000)⁸. In this sense, the Organisation of African Unity

⁸ In his book "States and Power in Africa: Comparative lessons in authority and control" (2000), Jeffrey Herbst widely analyzes the main challenges involved in State-building processes in Africa. In his opinion, the vast territorial extension and the demographic

supported the idea that if an African government controlled the Capital, it also had the sovereign right to control the State and, therefore, could not be contested by other national, subnational or foreign groups (Herbst 2000).

Evidently, African states have also faced external threats. However, such threats were relatively less harmful, because, in general, they did not use to put territoriality in risk and, when getting into national territory, they used to become internal threats – or they were already connected to intrastate conflicts (Castellano 2012). Thus, the wars between Somalia and Ethiopia (1977-1978), Uganda-Tanzania (1878-1979) and Eritrea-Ethiopia (1998-2000) have been the few conventional interstate conflicts that took place in the African continent in the post-colonial period.

The number of casualties also matters to our analysis since it allows us to perceive the real scale and intensity of the conflicts which occurred in the region. Such data acquires even higher importance if we compare it to the total number of casualties provoked by the wars in African since the 1950s (around 13,16 million deaths). Within this context, the Second Sudanese War, for instance, have been the second armed conflict which killed more human beings in Sub-Saharan Africa in the post-colonial period, second only to the Second War of Congo (1998-2003) – which killed almost 3,8 million people (Castellano 2012; Reno 2011).

Since 1970, with the penetration of extra-regional superpowers, the regional security scenario has become more complex. From the second half of the twenty-first century onwards, at a moment when other regions of the globe (Europe, Asia and the Middle East) had been divided into zones of influence of the two socioeconomic systems led by the United States (capitalist) and the Soviet Union (socialist), the African continent had become a critical region to the defense of the superpowers (Visentini 2010; Westad 2005).

To the USSR, decolonization of African countries would mean the opportunity to acquire bonds with the new States, especially with those where strong anti-imperialistic movements were emerging. To the United States, on the other hand, political immaturity and resentments with the West could lead to an approach of African countries with the USSR or People's Republic of China (PRC) (Pereira 2013; Schmidt 2013). Within this context, the African space became a stage of the Cold War and, there, the confrontation between the two superpowers managed to establish a governance system over the States which, with no regard to their merits, took away their sovereignty (Adebajo 2013; Cepik and Martins 2012).

shortage have been two of the main issues surrounding the State building in the African continent.

One of the main features of the Cold War in Africa has been the so-called Proxy⁹ War, even though this kind of war has not been limited to such period (Schmidt 2013; Westad 2005)¹⁰. In some conflicts, foreign presence has had the primary role and has been decisive to define the conflicts. It was due, on one hand, to the structure and fragility of the newly independent African States and, on the other hand, to the decisions of the policy-makers (Castellano 2012).

In the case of the Horn of Africa, the conflicts have been marked by support from neighboring countries and external superpowers to insurgents groups. On the regional scale, the countries of the region have used proxy elements to destabilize neighboring governments. Throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, for instance, Ethiopia has supported the insurgency of Sudan's People's Liberation Movement (SPLM/A), in Sudan¹¹, of Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and of the Somali National Movement (SNM), while Sudan and Somalia have helped rebel groups inside Ethiopia, such as Eritrea's Liberation Front (ELF), Eritrea's People's Liberation Front (EPLF), Tigrinya's People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Oromo's Liberation Front (OLF) and Ogaden's National Liberation Front (ONLF). Besides, when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) rose to power in 1986, in Kampala, Cartum started to support the insurgency of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in the North of Uganda, as a retaliation to the support given by the new Ugandan government to SPLM/A (see table 2) (Berhe 2014; Cliffe 1999; Doop 2013).

9 Proxy War is an armed conflict in which two countries use a third one – the proxies – in order to avoid a direct conflict. According to Castellano (2012, p. 36), “[...] its main features are intersubjectivity, the level of autonomy among the forces involved in the combat and its encouraging actors (or financers) [...] proxy war is not merely an insurgency; foreign support allows it to defy national guards with relative easiness. It is possible to characterize a proxy war through the presence of two or more indicators, namely: (i) political-ideological alignment (especially valid to the Cold War era); (b) financing through counterpart or usufruct of enclave – diamond, gold, copper, etc; (iii) presence of advisors; and (iv) supply of military equipment and ammunition”.

10 As an example, we can mention the support of then-Liberia President Charles Taylor to the rebel group Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone in 1991, the support of Ugandan presidents Yoweri Museveni and Rwanda, Paul Kagame, to the group Insurgent Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL), led by Laurent-Desiré Kabila in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1997 and the support of Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire to the United Liberian insurgent groups for Reconstruction and Democracy) And the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) in Liberia in 1999 (Castellano 2012; Francis 2006; Reno 2011).

11 On the other hand, SPLM/A have actively supported government forces in Southwest Ethiopia's civil war (Johnson 2003).

Table 2 - Main insurgent groups in the Horn of Africa in the post-independence period

Country	Select group of insurgents	Year of creation	Motivation	Regional Support
Djibouti	Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy	1991	Regime change	Eritrea
	Eritrean Islamic Jihad	1989	Regime change	Sudan
Eritrea	Eritrean Democratic Alliance	-	Regime change	Ethiopia
	Rea Sea's Afar Democratic Front	1998	Autonomy	Ethiopia
	Eritrean Liberation Front	1961	Secession	Sudan, Somalia e Egypt
	Eritrean People's Liberation Front	1972	Secession	Sudan e Saudi Arabia
Ethiopia	Tigrinyan Peoples' Liberation Front	1975	Autonomy and Regime change	Sudan, Somalia e Ethiopia
	Oromo Liberation Front	1976	Secession	Sudan, Somalia e Eritrea
	Western Somalia Liberation Front	1961 / 1976	Secession	Somalia
	Ogaden National Liberation Front	1986	Secession	Somalia e Eritrea
	Ethiopian People's Patriotic Front	1998	Regime change	Eritrea
Kenya	Shifita War	1963	Secession	Somalia
	Somali Salvation Democratic Front	1979	Regime change	Ethiopia
Somalia	Somali National Movement	1981	Secession	Ethiopia
	Al Itihad Al Islamiya	1983	Islamization	Sudan e Eritrea
	Somali Patriotic Movement	1989	Regime change	-
	Somali United Congress	1989	Regime change	Ethiopia
	Harakat Al Shabab Al Mujahdeen	2006	Regime change	Eritrea

Sudan	Beja Congress	1958	Autonomy	Eritrea
	Anyanya	1960	Secession	Ethiopia
	Sudan's People Liberation Army	1983	Secession	Ethiopia, Libya, Uganda,
	National Democratic Alliance	1995	Regime change	Eritrea e Kenya
	Equality and Justice Movement	2003	Darfur	Eritrea e Ethiopia
	Sudan's Liberation Movement	2003	Darfur	Eritrea e Chad
	National Resistance Army	1981	Regime change	-
	Lord's Resistance Army	1987	Autonomy	Sudan
	Uganda			

Source: Designed by the author. Inspired by Berhe (2014); Cliffe (1999); ICG (2008); Mengisteab (2011); Reno (2011); Williams (2014).

On the systemic level, the geopolitical position of the Horn of Africa (strategic to American and Soviet interests due to its neighboring position to Middle Eastern oil producer countries, as well as to important international naval routes), has turned the region into stage of a systemic dispute. Indeed, countries such as Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan took on a highlighted position within this bipolar confrontation in the African continent (Patman 1990; Westad 2005). The United States had established a strategic partnership with the Ethiopian imperial regime in the 1950s, whilst Somalia, afterwards the military coup which brought General Mohamed Siad Barre to power in 1969, has declared itself as a socialist country, establishing closer ties with the USSR. Nevertheless, it was only in the 1970s, with the Sino-American alliance and the Nixon Doctrine, that it was defined the insertion of the Horn of Africa in the Cold War system. Wishing to contain the other side's influence and expansion, both superpowers have had to play the game according to the existing polarization in the region. As expected, the presence of both superpowers has polarized the political forces into the pro-United States nations and the pro-Soviet Union nations, fact that has boosted existing rivalries among the States of the region (Clapham 1996; Westad 2005).

Between 1971 and 1974, the Somali military regime has received a great deal of economic and military support from the USSR. On the other hand, in 1972, the USSR established a military base in Berbera, whose objective was to increase its presence and contain the American military presence in the Indian Ocean and in the Persian Gulf (Schmidt 2013). On July 1974, during the visit of the Soviet president Nikolai Podgorny to Somalia, Mogadishu and Moscow consolidated relations by signing a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (TFC)¹². After they signed this TFC, Somalia received from the USSR modern and sophisticated weaponry systems, such as MiG-21 combat aircrafts, Ilyushin-28 bombers, T-54 tanks, torpedoes and SAM-2 missile systems (Ofcansky 1992; Patman 1990).

On September of that same year, however, the regional scene suffered great transformations. A military coup dragged the Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie – allied of the U.S. – out of power, establishing a military government (DERG) with popular backing in the country. The Ethiopian Revolution has had a fundamental impact towards regional polarization, due to the fact that the new regime declared itself socialist and got closer to the USSR (David 1979; Visentini 2012).

¹² In the terms of the agreement, both sides have committed cooperating in each and every sector, in order to preserve and deepen socioeconomic ties between both peoples; expand economic, technical-scientific and military cooperation; oppose all shapes and forms of imperialism and colonialism; at last, they have declared not to take part in any military alliance or actions against the other part (Patnam 1990).

On July 1977, believing that Ethiopia would not be able to defend itself due to political instability generated by internal insurgent groups – Afar, Oromo, Tigers and Eritreans –, Somalia decided to invade Ogaden desert in support of the Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF) – formed by native Somalis which had been fighting for the autonomy of the region since 1963 –, as an attempt to annex the desert and hammer out a “greater Somalia”¹³. Somali aerial and terrestrial tactic and technical superiority has been decisive in the first months of conflict, contributing for the occupation of almost 90% of the desert by Somali forces. However, the Ethiopian revolutionary government reacted by sending its army to the region and, backed by 16.000 Cuban troops supported by Soviet advisors¹⁴, the Somali army was quickly defeated and expelled from Ogaden on March 1978¹⁵ (Cliffe 1999; David 1979). By the end of the conflict, Ethiopia emerged as one of the most militarized and powerful States in the Horn of Africa.

According to Weis (1980),

“The Soviets have not only established an impressive aerial and maritime bridge which sent weaponry to Ethiopia, but they have also increased its naval forces in the waters adjacent to the war zone, helped on the deployment of Cuban forces in Ethiopia and planned, managed Cuban/Ethiopian¹⁶ military maneuvers which led to the withdrawal of the Somali army from Ogaden in 1978” (Weiss 1980, 12).

Counting on such support, “[...] the Ethiopian Army was able to carry out the vertical envelopments tactic by transporting 70 tanks by helicopter to the Somali rear; Ethiopian troops were able to encircle the forces of the enemy army, making it impossible to retreat” (Kruys 2004, 21). It is

¹³ “Great Somalia” is a pan-Somali nationalist ideology (to certain extent encouraged by the British at the moment of the independence) which aims at reuniting all the territories inhabited by Somalis in the Horn of Africa (namely, Ogaden, Djibouti and Northern Kenya) under the same government. In this context, the annexation of the Ogaden desert would be the first step towards this pan-Somali project (Cliffe 1999; Tareke 2009).

¹⁴ On December 1977, Soviet guns, tanks and fighter aircrafts arrived, followed by 200 Cuban “coaches” which would train Ethiopian military personnel on how to use such kind of weaponry (Schmidt 2013).

¹⁵ There has been an enormous effort coming from the Soviets and Cubans to avoid confrontation and to settle the situation in Ogaden via peaceful means. The Cuban president, Fidel Castro, for instance, has been sent to the region in order to establish dialogue with Ethiopians, Somalis and Eritreans, looking forward to creating a socialist federation among them. However, it has not been possible, because the proposal has been turned down by all the parts involved (Chazan et al. 1999; Pereira 2013; Visentini 2012).

¹⁶ The warfare has been planned and managed by the Soviet generals Vasilii Ivanovich Petrov and Barisov and by the Ethiopian coronel Mesfin Gabreqal (Tareke 2009).

estimated, that during the war, the Ethiopian regime received US\$1 billion in Soviet armaments (four times more than the amount the Emperor Haile Selassie received in twenty-five years of partnership with the US), including hundreds of T-34, T-54, T-55 and T-62 tanks, about seventy MiGs-17, 21 and 23, thirty Mi-6 and Mi-8 helicopters, hundreds of SAM-7 missiles, artillery, mobile radar unit and thousands of light weapons (Patnam 1990; Tareke 2009; Westad 2005).

Although proclaimed socialist since 1975, the alliance between Ethiopia and the USSR was only consolidated in 1977, mainly due to the Somali invasion. Until then, the USSR was reluctant on increasing its ties with Addis Ababa for both strategic reasons and distrust towards DERG. Strategically, the Soviet Union was allied with Somalia, which did not have good relations with its neighbors. In addition, issues such as the absence of a political party, the persistence of the conflict with the civilian opposition, and the ambiguity with respect to Eritrea's independence bothered Soviet leaders (Patnam 1990; Tareke 2009; Visentini 2012).

In November 1978, the Ethiopian government signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR¹⁷ and approached other socialist countries, such as the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Vietnam, Bulgaria, Libya, South Yemen and Cuba. At the regional level. In this context, after the alignment of Ethiopia with the Soviet Union, countries such as Cuba, Libya and South Yemen suspended their support for the EPLF - although this movement remained faithful to the Marxist-Leninist ideology until 1987 - when it abandoned socialism. In the case of Cuba, it refused to support Ethiopia in the war against the Eritrean insurgent groups, in view of the ideology of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries of which the country is a member (Clapham 1996; Schmidt 2013; Westad 2005).

Somalia, on the one hand, renounced the Treaty of Cooperation and Friendship with the USSR, expelled the Soviet advisers of the country and broke diplomatic relations with Cuba. On the other hand, it established a strategic partnership with the United States and, throughout the 1980s, received substantial economic and military aid. In contrast, the United States received the strategic naval and air bases at Berbera in the Gulf of Aden, Kismayo and Mogadishu in the Indian Ocean¹⁸ (Tareke 2000, Schmidt 2013; Woodward 2013). In addition, Somalia has established close relations with US allies in the Middle East such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iran

17 The USSR established a naval base in the strategic archipelago of Dahlak in the Red Sea (Chazan et al, 1999).

18 In the context of the Iranian Revolution (1979), the hostage crisis in the US embassy in Tehran, and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (1979), the United States began to seek bases to strengthen its presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

(before the 1979 revolution), receiving military aid from them (Ofcansky 1992; Samatar 1992; Schraeder 1996).

Domestically, the defeat of Ethiopia, which also symbolized the collapse of the pan-Somali project, coupled with the deepening internal economic crisis and the authoritarianism of Siad Barre, led to a growing increase in the Somali population's dissatisfaction with the government and Proliferation of insurgent movements. In addition, the increase in internal dissidence resulted in a coup attempt in 1978 led by a group of military personnel. As a result, nineteen coup mentors were publicly executed and those who escaped to neighboring Ethiopia, under the leadership of Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, created the Somali Salvation Front (SSF) in 1979 in the Majerteen clan (Clapham 1993; Harper 2012; Hooglund 1992).

On October 1981, the SSF joined the radical wing of the Somali Workers Party (SWP) and the Democratic Front for Somali Liberation (DFLS) and formed the Democratic Front for Somali Salvation (SSDF), promising to intensify the political and military struggle Against the Barre regime. The SSDF received economic and military support from Ethiopia and Libya and maintained a performance throughout the 1980s based on guerrilla tactics aimed at destabilizing the Somali government. In the same year, a new insurgent group, the Somali National Movement (SNM), was founded in the north of the country, with a support base in the Isaq clan, which sought to depose the government (Lewis 2008; Ofcansky 1992; Woodward 2002).

Former British colonies in the region (Kenya, Uganda and Sudan) and the former French colony (Djibouti) have been incorporated into the western zone of influence. Between 1976 and 1989, Sudan became a major partner of the United States on the African continent, which gave it the status of largest recipient of US economic and military aid during Jimmy Carter administration¹⁹ (1977-1981) (Schmidt 2013). During the Ronald Reagan administration (1981-1989), Khartoum received massive military aid to stem the advance of Libya in East Africa and Soviet influence in Ethiopia. Even with the outbreak of the Second Civil War in 1983, the US supported Khartoum against the SPLM / A, supported in turn by the USSR, Cuba, and Ethiopia. With the arrival of Islamists in power in 1989 by a military coup perpetrated by General Omar Hassan al-Bashir, backed by Hassan al-Turabi of the National Islamic Front (NIF) and the northern elites, relations between the two countries deteriorate (Adar 2000; Cohen 2000; Woodward 2013).

The intensification of a radical Islamist discourse, the close relations

19 In the early 1970s Sudan was a major buyer of Soviet arms, mainly through Egypt. Changes in the internal and external environment after 1974 pushed the country out of the Soviet bloc and moved closer to the United States (Schmidt 2013).

of the Omar al-Bashir government with the groups considered by the United States as terrorists (especially Hamas, Hezbollah, Egyptian Islamic Jihad and al-Qaeda) and support for Iraq during Gulf (1990-1991) led the United States to sever diplomatic relations with Sudan in 1991, and included it on the list of states sponsoring terrorism in 1993²⁰ (Cohen 2000; Johnson 2003; Woodward 2006). In response, through the neighboring states (Frontline States Initiatives - Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda), the United States began to support the rebels in the south, especially the SPLM / A led by John Garang de Mabior²¹, who had lost the support of his main Allies (USSR and the Ethiopian military regime) in the early 1990s (Berhe 2014; Cohen 2000; Kagwanja 2006; Woodward 2006).

In Somalia, in 1989, under pressure from the Congress, the US government suspended all military aid to the country except for the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program because of the growing allegations of human rights violations (Hooglund 1992; Schraeder 1996; Woodward 2002). Aware of the deterioration of the combatant capabilities of the regime brought about by the economic collapse and the end of US support, and with the objective of strengthening its positions, three belligerent groups (Somali National Movement - SNM, Somali Patriotic Movement - Formalized an alliance in 1989 to overthrow President Siad Barre. In this context, a pact was signed that provided for the formation of a coalition government to be integrated by the three groups after the fall of the regime (Harper 2012; Reno 2011).

In late 1990, under the command of USC leader Mohamed Farah Aideed, insurgent groups launched an offensive toward the capital. Finding little resistance along the way the group arrived in the capital Mogadishu in early 1991. After intense clashes with government forces, Siad Barre was overthrown and fled the capital in January 1991. However, belligerent groups did not reach agreement to establish an alternative government in Somalia, leading to the division of the country between warlords who began to fight for political supremacy, contributing to the collapse of the state.²²

20 In 1996, the UN Security Council approved sanctions against Sudan that remained until 2001, and the following year the US imposed a financial and trade embargo on Sudan that hampered the interests of large US oil corporations that had business with Khartoum as Chevron, which had spent decades exploring oil and had finally begun prospecting for it (Johnson 2003; Oliveira 2007).

21 Military defeats against government forces and, consequently, loss of territory in the early 1990s, impacted the SPLM / A structure / leadership, favoring the split of the group into two factions: SPLA / Mainstream (Torit group led by John Carang) and SPLA / United (Nasir group led by Riek Machar). In order to weaken the southern opposition, Khartoum began to finance the faction led by Riek Machar (Cohen 2000, Johnson 2003, Doop 2013).

22 With the removal of Siad Barre from power, one of the leaders of the USC, Ali Mahdi

With the internal division of the USC, the capital Mogadishu began to be disputed by the militias linked to Aideed and Ali Mahdi (former allies). In the south, Muhammad Said Hershi Morgan, SPM leader vied for power with the local warlords. In the north, SNM proclaimed the independence of the northern region of the country in March 1991, which was renamed the Republic of Somaliland, establishing the capital at Hargeisa. However - no state has recognized the region's independence (Harper 2012; Hooglund 1992; Lewis 2008; Woodward 20013).

In Ethiopia, internal instability, economic crisis and loss of support from the regime's main external ally (USSR) in the late 1980s had a profound impact on the government. In addition, the joint offensive of the Eritrean Popular Front for Liberation (EPLF) and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) were fundamental to the defeat of the Ethiopian army in various regions. In this context, realizing the fragility of the regime, in 1989, the TPLF brought together the smaller groups²³ that were fighting the DERG and formed a coalition, the Ethiopian Democratic Revolutionary Front (EPRDF). After intense clashes between EPRDF and government forces in Addis Ababa in 1991, Mengistu Haile Mariam fled the country and settled in Zimbabwe. The EPRDF, under the leadership of Meles Zenawi, formed a new government in Addis Ababa. Regarding Eritrea, following a referendum, the new Ethiopian government accepted the independence proclaimed in 1993 by EPLF²⁴ (Tareke 2004; Schmidt 2013; Vestal 1999; Westad 2005).

Post-Cold War (1991-2001): new and “renewed” security challenges

Mohammed, proclaimed himself acting president of Somalia, breaking with the pact signed in 1989, however, the other leaders refused to accept the legitimacy of the interim government and began to fight (Hooglund 1992).

23 The Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the Oromo Democratic People's Organization (OPDO) and the Ethiopian Democratic People's Movement (SEPDM) (Tareke 2004).

24 Eritrea was conquered by Italy in 1890 and had been occupied by British forces between 1941 and 1952 when, on the recommendation of the UN General Assembly, it was formally handed over to Ethiopia as a federative unit which was to be subject to Ethiopian sovereignty, even though it maintained Autonomy in domestic matters. In 1962, however, such autonomy was repealed and Eritrea was formally incorporated into Ethiopia as one of its fourteen regions, triggering a thirty-year EPLF-led national liberation war. In 1991 with the seizure of power in Addis Ababa by TPLF / EPRDF under the leadership of Meles Zenawi, the new Ethiopian government accepted Eritrean independence and after a popular referendum in May 1993, the Republic of Eritrea became independent (establishing Capital in Asmara); Thus, EPLF Secretary-General Isaias Afewerki was elected President of the country (Clapham 1996, Cohen 2000, Reno 2011 and Schmidt 2013).

With the end of the Cold War, in 1989, and the USSR collapse, in 1991, the region's security dynamics was substantially altered, because of Somalia's disintegration, the self-proclamation of the independence of Somaliland, the Ethiopian's Marxist-Leninist government's collapse, in 1991, and Eritrea's independence, in 1993. Such events, for a moment, reduced the tensions between countries in the region. However, even with the end of Ethiopian's official support to insurgent groups in Sudan and Somalia, and of these countries' support to Ethiopian insurgent groups, the prevalence of tensions between Ethiopia and Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan, Sudan and Eritrea, added to the civil wars in Sudan and Somalia, remained relevant factors in the regional security agenda in the immediate post-Cold War (Berhe 2014; Sharamo and Mesfin 2011).

Indeed, in the beginning of the 1990s there was hope for pacification in the Horn of Africa with the coming to power of the insurgent groups in Ethiopia and Eritrea, supported by Sudan and Somalia. According to Cliffe (1999), there was a brief period of *détente* between 1991 and 1994, characterized by various regional initiatives for the resolution of conflicts in Somalia, Sudan and Djibouti, as well as by the economic integration processes involving countries in the region²⁵.

As an example, we can mention the role taken on by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the management of the region's conflicts and political crisis from 1990s on. In 1993, after three failed attempts to solve the conflict between Khartoum and the SPLM/A, president al-Bashir formally asked IGAD to mediate the civil war in the country, allowing for a series of conversations between the belligerent parties, culminating in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, ending the Second Sudanese Civil War. In Somalia, despite IGAD's many conflict resolution attempts since the beginning of the crisis, it was not possible to stabilize the country and to establish an authority able to maintain order and peace. In 2002, however, an agreement was reached that established, in 2004, a Transitional Federal Parliament and, in 2005, a Transitional Federal Government (TFG) (Cardoso 2015; Healy 2014).

However, the historical rivalries and the still pending disputes, generating mutual distrust between the countries, remained as relevant factors in the region's security agenda in this period. The first rivalry axis verified in the post-Cold War was between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

25 The institutionalization of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), in 1994, and the transformation of the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) into the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), 1996, which included a security agenda, can be mentioned as examples.

The tensions between the two States have their origins in the disagreements between the TPLF and the EPLF²⁶, leading to the outbreak of a large scale conventional war between the countries in May, 1998. It is important to emphasize that these were the main reasons to the collapse of the Ethiopian military regime, in May, 1991 (Cliffe 1999; Marcus 2002). In the first years following Eritrea's independence, the relation between the countries were positive and cooperative. Results of this the many agreements signed on the first half of the 1990s between Asmara and Addis Ababa, aiming to achieve economic integration and political cooperation. The Agreement on free trade and economic cooperation²⁷, facilitating the use of Eritrea's Assab and Massawa harbours by Ethiopia, the use of the Ethiopian Birr as the common currency and the mutual defence agreement are worthy of mention (Abbink 2003; Berhe 2014). Besides, a collaboration to the rebuilding of the countries infrastructures, destroyed during the war, was agreed (Clapham 1996; Mulugeta 2011).

In 1997, however, when Addis Ababa adopted an orthodox economic policy (in line with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund), the capital flux from Ethiopia to Eritrea was reduced and the relations between them began to deteriorate. Besides, Ethiopia faced economic issues because of the low coffee price (its main *commodity*) in the international market. Because of the profound interdependence of their economies, specially Eritrea's dependence to Ethiopia's market, the economic issues reflected on the country. In an attempt to revert the situation and pressure Ethiopia, in November, 1997, the Eritrean government abandoned the use of Birr and created its own currency - Nafka²⁸ - and increased tariffs on the use of harbours (Mulugeta 2011; Schneider 2010).

The borders disputes worsened the already shaken relations between the States. The almost 1,000 kilometres shared by the countries had not been clearly defined when Eritrea became independent, and some disputed areas remained. Eritrea based their claims in the Italian colony maps, while Ethiopia based theirs in the treaties between Italy and Ethiopian empire in

²⁶ In February, 1994, EPLF was renamed as People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ).

²⁷ In view of the commercial complementarity between Asmara and Addis Ababa, in which Eritrea exported manufactured goods to Ethiopia and imported from it coffee and most of the internally consumed food goods, an inflation control and commercial policies synchronization mechanism was agreed (Tareke 2009).

²⁸ According to Schneider (2010), this wasn't well received by Ethiopian authorities that, in retaliation, declared the commerce between the countries would be, from then on, commonly conducted – through the use of foreign currency. Besides, in the end of 1997, Ethiopia printed new Birr bills, making unfeasible a possible Eritrean's withdrawal of their new currency plans.

the beginning of the 20th century (ICG 2003; Marcus 2002).

War began in May 1998, when Eritrea invaded and occupied the Ethiopian city of Badme. In the beginning of June, the conflict intensified with terrestrial and aerial campaigns from both sides. The causes to the conflict remain unclear; some authors classify it as a mere territorial dispute, while others, such as Peter Woodward (2006), Gebru Tareke (2009) e Kidist Mulugeta (2011), argue that the territory was the catalyst, not the cause, of the war (Mulugeta 2011; Tareke 2009; Woodward 2006). Despite the conflict resolution attempts, mediated by the USA, Rwanda and, posteriorly, by OAU, it was not possible to re-establish peace.

Eritrea was, in conventional terms, defeated by Ethiopia in June 2000, and, in July of the same year, through the 1298 resolution, the UNSC established the United Missions in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), with the mandate of monitoring the cease-fire and watching the buffer/demilitarized 25-kilometre zone between the borders. In December, under the auspices of the OAU, UN, European Union and the USA, the Algiers Agreement was signed, determining, among other terms, the submitting of the border disputes to two independent and impartial organs to be designated by the Secretary-Generals of OAU and UN, as well as by both countries. The first one was the Eritrea-Ethiopia Claims Commission, responsible for analysing the claims regarding losses in the war and the second, the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC), composed by five members – responsible for demarcating the limits according to the colonial treaties of 1900, 1902 and 1908 (ICG 2003; Mulugeta 2011).

In April 2002, EEBC decided on the demarcation of the border: the city of Badme would be on Eritrean territory; Ethiopia refused to accept it, leading to a dead-locked situation (ICG 2010b; Tareke 2009). In 2004, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, proposed an internationally well-received tension reduction plan, that was, however, not accepted by the Eritrean government, because of the Ethiopian repudiation of the EEBC resolution. In 2008, the UNSC decided on the non-renewal of the UNMEE and the dead-lock remains (Schneider 2010).

Regarding the Addis Ababa and Khartoum rivalries, the coming to power of Sudan backed insurgent groups in Ethiopia pointed to an improvement in relations. However, Khartoum's support to Islamic insurgent groups in Ethiopia pushed the countries apart. The bilateral relations deteriorated even further when members of the *Islamic Brotherhood* groups, responsible for the murder attempt on Egypt's president, Hosni Mubarak, in June 1995, in Addis Ababa, during the OAU Summit, fled to Sudan – supposedly confirming the country's participation in the attempt. In response, the Ethiopian government started to significantly support

SPLA financially and militarily, allowing to the reversion of the situation against the Sudanese government (Adar 2000; Doop 2013).

With the outbreak of the war against Eritrea, Addis Ababa attempted to improve the relation with Khartoum, in order to reduce the fronts it was engaged on and redirect attention and efforts to the country's northern border. Combined to the tuning down of the Sudanese government's Islamic rhetoric, this allowed the relation between the countries to improve towards the end of the 1990s, allowing for greater cooperation regarding regional security. In 2004, for instance, Sudan, Ethiopia and Yemen signed an informal alliance to counter Eritrea, opposed to both governments (ICG 2010a; Schmidt 2013).

In turn, tensions between Sudan and Eritrea go back to the beginning of the 1990s, when Khartoum began to support Eritrean Islamic fundamentalist groups, such as the Eritrean Islamic Jihad (EIJ) (Cliffe 1999; ICG 2010b). In response, Asmara began to support, militarily and financially, groups opposed to Omar Hassan al-Bashir – especially SPLA and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). Eritrean support was paramount to SPLA's forces victory against the government's forces in the Blue Nile State in 1997. Eritrea severed diplomatic relations with Sudan in December, 1994, and, in June of the following year, hosted a conference with all groups opposed to the regime of al-Bashir (SPLA, civilians and exiles), occasion when the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was created. The NDA headquarters were in Sudan's embassy in Asmara, closed from 1994 up until 2000, when diplomatic relations between the two countries was re-established. In 2003, however, the Eritrean government was accused of supporting insurgent groups in Darfur – especially the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) (Cliffe 1999; ICG 2010a).

Relations between Sudan and Uganda became tense since the end of the 1980s, after president Yoweri Museveni offered financial and military support to the SPLA. In response, Khartoum began to provide weapons, military intelligence and training to Ugandan insurgent groups, such as the LRA, the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) (Cliffe 1999; Reno 2011). In the 1990s, diplomatic relations between the countries were severed, When the peace agreement was signed in Sudan, in 2005, the relations between the States improved substantially (ICG 2010a).

Towards the end of the 1990s, the security dynamics in the region took a small turn because of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea and, specially, the terrorist attack in August 1998 against the USA's embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. The attack killed at least 220 people, including 12 North-Americans, and injured about 5 thousand, with a second terrorist attack,

minutes later, against the USA's embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing dozens. Both attacks were attributed to the al-Qaeda terrorist network, led by Osama bin Laden. In response, the USA bombed a pharmaceutical factory in northern Khartoum, in retaliation to the support granted by president Omar al-Bashir to al-Qaeda, and also because of the suspicion that the country was developing a clandestine chemical weapons program (Adebajo 2003; Kagwanja 2006; MØller 2009). Mainly because of USA's pressure, Bin Laden was expelled from Sudan in 1996 and returned to Afghanistan, where he would be under the Taliban's regime protection until its overthrowing, in 2001.

Post-September 11 (2001-2015): agendas, actors and “new” threats

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, on the United States²⁹ changed the security dynamics in the region again, placing terrorism³⁰ at the center of the agenda. The Horn of Africa was the first target for the North American securitization in the African continent post-September 11; besides being close to the Middle East, it was the region where al-Qaeda began its large-scale operations (Kenya and Tanzania, 1998). This new threat perception is based on the confluence of factors characteristic of the region, such as the activity of radical Islamic groups, the disintegrator potential of weak/failed states, the plots of non-governed territories and the idea that such features are attractive for refuge and recruitment of terrorist organizations, especially for the al-Qaeda's network.

With the National Security Strategy (NSS) publishing, also known as the Bush Doctrine, on September 2002, the North American macro-securitization began in many parts of the world, through the so-called Global War on Terrorism (GWOt). In this document, the United States recognized

29 “On September 11, 2001, four passenger airplanes kidnapped inside the United States, from local companies, American Airlines and United Airlines, and piloted by terrorists, hit traditional symbols of the North American economic and military power, causing thousands of deaths. In New York, two Boeing attacks caused the explosion and collapse of the twin towers of the World Trade Center and, in the capital Washington DC, the Pentagon was attacked (...). The fourth plane fell in a forest in Pittsburgh, apparently failing to achieve its goal, which would be Camp David.” (Pecequilo 2011, 374).

30 There is no clear and consensual definition for terrorism. For this paper's purpose, we will use the concept developed by Eugenio Diniz, who defines terrorism as “[...] a kind of use of force or threat of use of force characterized by the indiscrimination of the targets, by the centrality of the desired psychological effect and by the virtual irrelevance, given the force correlation of the antagonistic wills involved in the conflict, of the material and human destruction by the terrorist action.” (Diniz 2010, 165-166).

non-state actors as important enemies and weak states as dangerous. Moreover, the NSS argued it was necessary to answer to threats before they were fully formed and justified preemption as early self-defense (Crenshaw 2010; Pecequilo 2011).

The securitization process of the Horn of Africa started in October 2002, when the George W. Bush administration began construction of an antiterrorist military defense network in the region, establishing a military base in Djibouti – *Camp Lemonnier* – which became the base for the Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), under the responsibility of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM)³¹. Its objective is to locate and destroy international terrorist networks in the Horn and East of Africa, Yemen and nearby Indian Ocean islands³² (Adebajo 2003; Fischer and Anderson 2015). The following year, the United States started the East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI), a US\$ 100 million program to fight terrorism in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Djibouti (Fisher 2013; MØller 2009). This dynamics in the Horn of Africa ended linked to the Middle East GWoT itself, given the geographical proximity of the regions and the terrorist attack against the North American destroyer *USS Cole* in October 2000, at the Aden port in Yemen – attributed to Yemeni terrorists linked to al-Qaeda (Buzan and WÆver 2003; Rotberg 2005; Schmidt 2013).

In 2002, the USA also launched the Operation Enduring Freedom – Horn of Africa (OEF-HOA), focusing on the fight against terrorism in the Horn of Africa, especially in Somalia, and the fight against piracy in the eastern coast of Africa (Fisher 2013). In February 2007, the Pentagon announced the creation of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), responsible for operations, exercises, soldiers training and security cooperation with the African countries – except Egypt, part of CENTCOM (Adebajo 2013; Oliveira and Cardoso 2015). Operating since October 2007, the AFRICOM is one of the six North American military commands around the world³³. Perceived as an instrument focused on guaranteeing the North

³¹ Following the creation of a separate African command, the US Africa Command (AFRICOM) in October 2007, the responsibility of the CJTF-HOA was over its responsibility.

³² At the same time as the Horn of Africa securitization, the USA launched in November 2002 the Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI), a US\$ 7,75 million program aiming to offer logistical support and counterinsurgency military training in the Sahel region, which includes the governments of Mauritania, Mali, Niger and Chad. In 2005, the PSI was expanded and turned into the Trans-Saharan Counter Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI) which also included the countries of the Maghreb, Morocco and Tunisia, Nigeria, Senegal and Burkina Faso. Moreover, the budget was increased to annual US\$ 100 million (Adebajo 2013; Schmidt 2013).

³³ U.S. Northern Command (NORTHCOM), U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), U.S.

American strategic interests on the continent and maintenance of power by key regimes (main oil exporters), through arm sales and training of their armed forces, the AFRICOM was widely rejected by most African countries (Keenan 2009; Volman and Keenan 2009). This rejection can be seen in the refusal of all African states, except Liberia and Morocco, to receive the AFRICOM headquarters – which remain in Stuttgart, Germany, with support bases in Djibouti, in the Red Sea, and in the Ascension Island, in the South Atlantic (Keenan 2009). The former presidents of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, and Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, for instance, believed the construction of North American bases would make the continent more susceptible to terrorist actions.

In 2009, already under the Obama administration, the Partnership for Regional East African Counterterrorism (PRACT) was established, focused on the fight against terrorism in Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Since its creation, the United States Department of State made about US\$ 104 million available to PRACT (Fisher 2013).

Some important contradictions arise through the analysis of the GWOt in the Horn of Africa. One of the first factors to be identified is related to the bilateral relations between the United States and the countries in the region. To the previously allied states – Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya and Uganda – the GWOt represented the consolidation of relations with the United States. Regarding the countries the United States had kept a relative distance from, as Sudan and Eritrea, these had their relationships with Washington suddenly transformed. Sudan, turned into an international pariah in the 1990s, ended up benefiting with the GWOt, being reintegrated to the international community after the lifting of sanctions³⁴ (Fisher and Anderson 2015). Indeed, after the launching of the GWOt, fearing a US military intervention, as in Afghanistan, president Omar al-Bashir toned down the Islamic rhetoric in his international politics and expelled from his government Hassan al-Turabi, one of the main Islamic ideologues of the country (Schneider 2010; Woodward 2013). Khartoum became an important regional ally of the United States in the fight against terrorism, since it began to use its connections and provide intelligence to the North American government (Johnson 2007 Schmidt 2013).

With the narrowing of the relationships with Washington and the

Southern Command (SOUTHCOM), U.S. European Command (EUCOM) and U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM). It is important to point out that before the creation of the AFRICOM the USA military activities in Africa were centered in EUCOM.

34 Between 2001 and 2004, Sudan became the main recipient for North American economic aid in Sub-Saharan Africa.

building of a transnational antiterrorist network in the Horn of Africa, all countries in the region, in varying degrees, used the situation to securitize their internal issues (Fisher and Anderson 2015; Oliveira and Cardoso 2015). Ethiopia was the main beneficiary of this process. For instance, internal groups opposed to the government, such as the Oromo Liberation Front, the Ogaden National Liberation Front, Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromia and the Ginbot 7³⁵, responsible for a number of attacks in the country, were categorized as terrorist organizations (Kagwanja 2006; Mulugeta 2014; Rotberg 2005).

Similarly, Uganda framed LRA and ADF as terrorist groups. With financial and logistical support from the United States, the Uganda People's Defense Force (UPDF) started in March 2009 a large operation (*Operation Lightning Thunder*) against the fighting forces of LRA and their leader Joseph Kony, dismantling their bases in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) – forcing the group to flee to the Central African Republic (CAR). In October 2010, in Bangui, an agreement was reached between the DRC, CAR, Uganda and Sudan for the creation of a permanent regional force to act, especially, against the LRA fighting forces (Fisher and Anderson 2015; Giacomelli 2010). However, the proposal was never implemented. In 2011, the United States sent 100 military advisors to Central Africa, aiming to help the Ugandan government fight LRA.

Thus, is posed the question: whence does terrorism arise as a regional security problem? The absence of such a critical perspective forces the fight against terrorism to take on a “*a priori*” way to identify a threat, in detriment of others, perhaps more important ones. The historical roots of terrorism in the region must be sought. In many countries of the Horn, the moderate opposition groups were historically co-opted by the regime, while more radical ones were relegated to the complete exclusion from the political system.

On the other hand, the proliferation of terrorist attacks in Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda gave the subject importance in the regional security agenda. Many continental, regional and national initiatives focused on the fight against terrorism and protection of civilians reflect this. In the continental scope, during the OAU Summit in Algiers, July 1999, the member states adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism and, in 2002, the African Centre for the Study & Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) was established (Kagwanja 2006).

In the regional scope, in 2005, during the IGAD Summit, in

35 Ginbot 7 is an Ethiopian political party founded by Berhanu Nega and was one of the main opposition parties in the 2005 elections (Mulugeta 2011).

Khartoum, an action plan was developed to the fight against terrorism in the region. It is the IGAD's Peace and Security Strategy. The following year, the IGAD Capacity Building Program against Terrorism (ICPAT) was launched, built on four main elements: reinforcement of the judicial capabilities, interdepartmental cooperation, borders control, training and strategic cooperation. In 2011, the IGAD Security Sector Program was created, focusing on maritime security and the fight against organized crime and terrorism, as well as the Security Sector Reform (SSR) (Kagwanja 2006; Woodward 2013).

In the national scope, countries of the region adopted policies to the prevention and combat against terrorism – Sudan, Uganda and Kenya, for instance, ratified all twenty-one international conventions and protocols on fighting terrorism and passed laws to prevent terrorist attacks (Rotberg 2005).

In Kenya, country suffering in the last years with the spillover of terrorism from Somalia³⁶ to its territory, the fight against terrorism was adopted as a priority defense policy. Since the Nairobi terrorist attacks of 1998, and the Mombasa ones, in 2002, began the development, even if incipient, of the counter terrorist capabilities of the Kenyan authorities. Already in 1999, the National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS) was created, and in 2003 the Suppression of Terrorism Bill was published, and created the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit. The following year, a bill protecting witnesses in terrorism cases was sanctioned, established the National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC), as well as published the National Counter Terrorism Strategy. In 2006, a *supplemental Anti-Terrorism Bill* was published (Kagwanja 2006; Rotberg 2005). Moreover, the country promotes and extensive cooperation program with the United States and United Kingdom to fight terrorism.

Known since the beginnings of the 1990s by the epitome of failed state, because of the internal political instability, Somalia turned into an important battlefield in the War on Terror. Although Somali fundamentalist

36 In October 2011, in response to the kidnapping of tourists in the border with Somalia, attributed to the Somali fundamentalist group al Shabaab, in a counter terrorist operation named operation Linda Nchi, the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) military intervened in the neighbouring Somalia in order to locate and destroy al Shabaab cells. In February 2012, Kenyan soldiers officially joined the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISON) – the country currently has 4.664 contingents in the mission (AMISOM, 2014). Answering this role played by Kenya in Somali conflict, al Shabaab linked militias began to perform low intensity terrorist attacks in Kenya. In September 2013, however, al Shabaab planned and carried out their largest attack outside Somali territory, against a luxurious Israeli-owned commercial center (Westgate Shopping) in Nairobi, Kenyan capital. The attack caused 67 deaths of various nationalities and injured hundreds.

Islamic groups – such as *Al-Itihaad-al-Islami* (AIAI) – figure since 2002 in the United States Department of State terrorist organizations list, it was only from 2004, with the rise and advance of the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) – coalition of *Sharia* (Islamic law) defending Islamic militias – through the southern and central regions of the country that Somalia became the epicenter of the war on terror in Africa (Rotberg 2005; Samatar 2013). An indicator of the insecurity in the Somali territory is represented by the Global Terrorism Index, pointing Somalia as the country with highest risk of occurrence of terrorist attacks.

In this context, through the warlords and neighbouring states, the United States created a front to fight terrorism in Somalia. The CIA played an important role in this respect, arming a group of warlords and, under the leadership of Bashir Ragma and Musa Sude, creating the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT), in February 2006, aiming to counter the UIC rise. However, it was quickly defeated by the Islamic militias and expelled from the main cities. In June 2006, UIC already controlled the main cities in the South and Central regions, including Mogadishu, the capital. In December 2006, however, with tactical and military support from the United States, Ethiopia intervened in Somalia supporting the newly formed Transitional Federal Government (TFG), in order to stop UIC's territorial expansion and weaken its political and fighting capabilities, as well as to legitimize the new government (Adebajo 2013; Woodward 2013).

UIC was military defeated in January 2007 and fragmented between two distinct factions, a moderate and a radical one. The first one, the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS), led by Sharif Sheikh Ahmed, was incorporated to the transitional government through the Djibouti peace deal (*Power-Sharing*), signed in 2008. However, the second one, *Harakat al-Shabaab Mujihadeen (al Shabaab)*, led by Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweyis, became the main challenge to the consolidation of peace in Somalia. The *al Shabaab* appears in the North American Department of State list of terrorist organizations for the first time in March 2008, because of the supposed link to the al-Qaeda network (Woodward 2013). In summary, the outbreak of the Global War on Terror, made official by the 2002 Bush Doctrine, whatever their merits, changed the regional security agenda and the strategic priorities for the countries in the region.

The maritime piracy³⁷ consists in another important current

37 For the purposes of this paper we will use the definition of piracy from the United Nations Montego Bay Convention, defining it as any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed: i) on the high seas, against another ship or

regional challenge. Although the number of raids in the coast of Somalia³⁸ have decreased in the last years, from 237, in 2011; to 75, in 2012; reaching 15, in 2013 (see figure 1), this problem still represents an enormous, not only regional, but, especially, international, challenge, given the strategic location of the country and the importance of this maritime route for the international trade, as well as the proximity to the Persian Gulf (Fantaye 2014).

For this reason, since 2008, by decision of the UNSC (resolution 1851) and by request of the TFG, the Economic Exclusive Zone (EEZ) of Somalia has been patrolled by the international community, aiming to guarantee the security of the intense maritime traffic between the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea daily. Currently, three major operations combating piracy in the region are underway: *Operation Atlanta – European Union Naval Force Somalia* (EUNAFVOR), *Operation Ocean Shield*, of OTAN, and a multinational naval force, *Combined Task Force 151* (CTF-151) (see figure 1), comprising a 29-country coalition under the command of the United States Navy, based in Bahrein. The last one includes individual contributions from countries that detached their own naval assets under the national command, as China, Japan, India, Iran, Russia and Saudi Arabia³⁹ (Fantaye 2014; Mckay 2011).

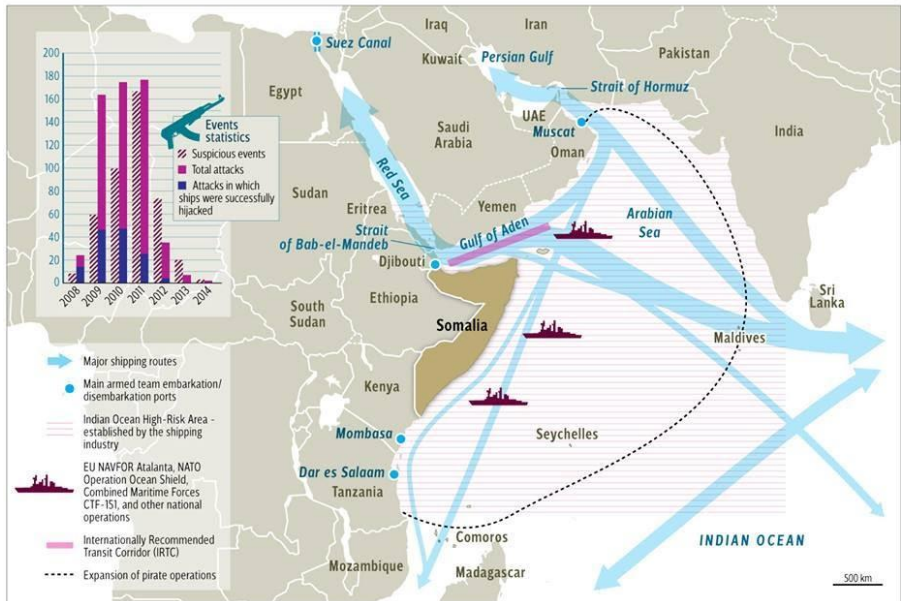
It is also important to take into account the privatization of maritime security in the fight against piracy in the Horn of Africa. A number of companies hired armed protection services for merchant ships transiting in the region. As a result, there was a proliferation of private military companies acting in the region: as examples, we can mention *Eos Risk Management*, *Hollowpoint Protection*, *Anti-Piracy Maritime Security Solutions*, *Secopex*, *Gulf of Aden Group Transits (GoAGT)*, *the Hart Group*, *the Olive Group*, *ISSG Holdings Ltd.*, *Muse Professional Group Inc* and *Xe Services* (Fantaye 2014).

aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft; ii) against a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any State. Finally, any act of voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or of an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft (UN 1982).

38 Maritime piracy off the coast of Somalia has captured increasing attention from the international media and economic operators concerned about the negative effects of this phenomenon on the international economy and security. As of 2009, there has been an increase in maritime piracy off the coast of Somalia and the Gulf of Aden. In most cases pirates are former fishermen who hijack cargo ships and oil tankers and demand millionaire bailouts for the release of ships and their crews.

39 The costs fighting maritime piracy are estimated at around US\$ 7 billion yearly, with the expenses with ransom of ships and its crews accounting for just 2% of the amount (International Maritime Bureau 2014).

Figure 1 – Piracy and combat operations in the coast of Somalia



Source: European Union Institute for Security Studies (2014)

Even though there is no consensus regarding the causes of piracy in the Horn of Africa, some authors, such as Peter Woodward, Demessie Fantaye, among others, directly link it to the collapse of the Somali state. Indeed, the severe internal crisis experienced in the country since the beginning of the 1990s, as well as the weakness of its surveillance and control capabilities, ended up allowing the operation of foreign crafts which, in addition to engaging in predatory fishing in the Somali EEZ, also contributed to environmental damages through the disposal of toxic waste in the territorial waters of Somalia (Fantaye 2014; Woodward 2013).

Currently, the main threats to security involving countries of the region are attributed to insurgent groups operating in different territories, as *al Shabaab*, in Somalia, LRA⁴⁰, in Uganda, the Oromo Liberation Front, in Ethiopia, as well as maritime piracy in the coast of Somalia, the internal conflict in Sudan (Darfur, Blue Nile, Nuba Mountains), the civil wars in Somalia and South Sudan⁴¹ (Dooop 2013). On an interstate level, the dispute

40 In October 2010, an agreement was signed between DRC, CAR, Uganda and Sudan to create a permanent regional force acting, especially, against the fighting forces of LRA.

41 The South Sudan crisis originated in July 2013, when vice-president Riek Machar was expelled from office by president Salva Kiir, accused of an attempted coup. In response,

between Sudan and South Sudan for the oil region of Abyei, the territorial dispute between Eritrea and Djibouti, the rivalry between Ethiopia and Eritrea and the dispute for the Migingo Island between Kenya and Uganda (Mesfin 2011) can all be cited. However, these disputes remain on the diplomatic level.

Added to this are the challenges for human security, as the poor social indicators in most states of the region and the large number of internally displaced persons and refugees. In Kenya alone there are currently 442.170 Somali refugees. The situation is even more complex if the Somali refugees in the other countries of the region are taken into account, as well as the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees.

Conclusion

This study aimed to analyze the Horn of Africa's security dynamics in the post-colonial period, as a way to understand the security perspectives and challenges in the region. Therefore, an analysis of the actors, conflicts, agendas and threats from the period of the Cold War to the present day was carried out.

Altogether, the security dynamic of the Horn of Africa in the post-independence period had, thus, impact on the whole continent. The result of two long civil wars in the region (the cases of Ethiopia and Sudan) reshaped the African map in the post-Cold War period. Indeed, the creation of two new states in the region, Eritrea (1993) and South Sudan (2011), besides transforming the regional security dynamic, reconfigured the map of Africa. The importance of these events is reflected in the fact that the conservation of the borders inherited from colonialism was one of the main provisions argued by the African leaders in the post-colonial period, within the OAU and reaffirmed within the current African Union (AU). The Biafra (1967-1970), Katanga (1967-), Cabinda (1963-), Somaliland (1991) and Puntland (1998) cases are clear examples of the traditional African stance of not recognizing separatist movements (Castellano and Oliveira 2011; Williams 2014; Woodward 2013).

Largely, the security dynamics found in the Horn of Africa in this period are domestic dynamics regionalized through various *spill over*

Machar organized militias and created the SPLM-IO (Sudan People's Liberation Movement-in-Opposition) in December, initiating attacks against the Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile provinces' oil fields, leading to the outbreak of the country's civil war. At president's Salva Kiir request, Uganda sent a military contingent to South Sudan, supporting the government troops in their attempt to regain control of cities taken by SPLM-IO militias. Machar, in turn, received support from Khartoum (Rolandsen et al. 2015).

mechanisms, as the flows of refugees, insurgencies, small arms trafficking, intensified by the borders' porosity. It is a result, on the one hand, of the existence of poorly consolidated states, with weak state capabilities and fragility in the social indicators; on the other, of the concentration of internal political disputes, border issues and problems related to terrorism and small arms trafficking, among other transnational challenges. Such limitations can be verified in the low level of cooperation regarding security and defence among the countries in the region, fundamental to the handling of the mutual security issues.

In these sense, is of important prominence the recent rapprochement of Ethiopia, Sudan and Kenya, seeking an institutionally stable and economically developed environment. This is due, partly, to the exponential growth of their economies during the last decade, contributing to the regional economic interdependence. The exchange of Ethiopian services and electricity for Sudanese oil⁴² can be mentioned as an example, resulting in a significant increase in the supply of oil from Sudan to Ethiopia, which in 2009 exceeded 80% of the Ethiopian imports of the product (Castellano and Oliveira 2011; Woodward 2013).

Furthermore, the projects underway in the infrastructure integrating sphere can be mentioned, such as the building of a pipeline, connecting the South Sudan oil fields to the Djibouti and Mombasa, Kenya, ports, and the Lamu Port and Lamu-Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET), financed by China. When completed, South Sudan will not only reduce its dependency on Sudan's infrastructure to export oil, but will also reduce the cost to do so, as the distance will be significantly reduced. The definitive rapprochement between the three largest countries in the region, with an increasing economic interconnection, seems to be, at the same time, pre-requisite and contributing element to the stabilization of the Horn of Africa through political cooperation and mutual confidence building.

However, until there are heavy investments in the construction of a modern infrastructure common to the Horn of Africa countries – plus intergovernmental organizations capable of solving the mutual security problems (armed insurgencies, separatism, political and religious extremists, small arms trafficking and piracy) – everything indicates that there will be no real progress to stabilize the region, strengthen regional

42 It is in underway the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, on the Blue Nile in Benishangul-Gumuz, in Ethiopia, capable of generating 6.000 MW, supplying cheap electricity beyond Ethiopia, to Sudan, South Sudan and Egypt. The country still has, according to estimates from the Ethiopian Electric Power Authority (EEPA), the possibility of producing more than 45.000 MW of hydroelectric energy.

integration and development. In this regard, IGAD emerges as a necessary and extremely important mechanism, nevertheless insufficient to stabilize the region.

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims at analyzing security dynamics in the Horn of Africa in the post-independence period, identifying the actors, agendas and threats. For this purpose, it is subdivided into three parts. The first one analyzes the security dynamics taking place in the Horn of Africa during the Cold War period, focusing on the regional rivalries and on the penetration of extraregional actors. In the second part, there is a discussion regarding the transformations which occurred in region in the immediate post-Cold War period, focusing both on the unities' (states) internal security dynamics and on the regional ones. The third and last section aims at identifying "new" threats and regional and international responses, as well as the emerging strategic importance of the region to traditional superpowers in the post-9/11 period, marked by the process of securitization.

KEYWORDS

Security; Conflicts; Horn of Africa.

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