BORDER SECURITY IN AFRICA: AN APPRAISAL OF TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CASE OF THE DJIBOUTI AND ERITREA BORDER CRISIS 2008

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Abstract
This study is based on the problem that colonial demarcated undetermined borders of most African territories, still create tension along border regions threatening border security. This paper emphasizes the concept of border security in terms of territorial sovereignty concerns. This paper seeks to analyze what territorial sovereignty implies in the case of the Djibouti and Eritrea border crisis over the territory of Ras Doumeira. Other sub-elements to be analyzed include the extent that territorial boundaries become threatened and treated as a border security issue. The degree at which a breach of physical boundaries invite international reaction. Highlighting the use of spatial analysis this paper contends that the implementation of territorial borders in Africa does not exactly define the position of linear border demarcations, particularly in the case of the Djibouti and Eritrea border crisis. Therefore this paper exerts that the position at which a state exercises political domination over a given space of territory in rival of another state, delineated by a common separated line, determines the extent of the state to call it as its border. It other words the coercion in which a state lays claim to a territory determines the border in the reality of international relations.

Keywords: border security, territorial sovereignty, spatial analysis, Ras Doumeira, border crisis

1. Introduction
The question of territorial sovereignty has been and still is a long-standing phenomenon, which creates tension and leads to conflict over disputed territory. The scramble of Africa in the Berlin conference of 1884-1885 created territories in Africa, the advent of decolonization created borders, the reality of the borders in many countries have created continuous hostilities between neighboring countries. Djibouti and Eritrea are separated by a 110 km border that was drawn in 1900 between Italy and France after they had a dispute 1989. The case study of this paper rest on the crisis that occurred between the two countries from April 7th to June 30th 2008. In 1996 there was a skirmish between the two countries, and stand-off for two months, although their relationship grew better from the year 2000. The crisis started on April 7th 2008 when Djiboutian authorities reported that Eritrea had established fortification in form of trenches on both side of the border then invaded and occupied Ras Doumeira and the Doumeria Island. The two parties’ sort negotiation from 7th of April to 22nd of April at which negotiations between the two parties stopped. By this time Djibouti had been triggered and had dispatched troops to the border, after many trials of negotiation between the President of Ethiopia Isaias Afwerki and the President of Djibouti Ismail Omar Guelleh.( Duke 2011)
In an attempt to seek peaceful resolution Djibouti presented the case to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) the African Union (AU) and Arab League. The international organisations pressured the parties to keep at peace and refrain from conflict. They were many diplomatic missions and attempts to mediate by the international organisations and neighbouring countries such as Yemen, all proved to no avail because the Eritreans had refused to dialogue with Djibouti any further. A fact-finding mission sent be the AU and Arab League was also rejected by the Eritrean government. By 10th of June both sides clashed and the military stand-off crashed hence a full blown crisis. Violence between the two sides lasted for 4 days with about 50 Djibouti soldiers injured and 9 killed, although Eritrea refused to release the death toll numbers or even admit such and exchange happened between the countries reports stated the were losses on the Eritrean Defence Forces as well.

In spite of Eritrea’s denial of the crisis, on 12th of June a presidential statement (S/PRST/2008/20) issued by UNSC condemn the military action by Eritrea against Djibouti in Ras Doumeira and Doumeira Island.

Using a case of the border crisis that ensued between Djibouti and Eritrea in 2008, over the territory of Ras Doumeira, this paper examines the reaction of a state to develop restrictions or counter aggression towards a breach of its territorial boundary. To understand clearly the objective, this paper to seeks to elucidate the elements of territorial sovereignty that make up a border security issue in the midst of decolonized borders of Africa. The fact that borders exist between countries implies that a territory is occupied by a given state where it exercises its governance.

There is ever-growing contention that the exact demarcation of borders of a territory do not quite match mapping descriptions and especially in the African context these undetermined border demarcations left by colonial partitioning are merely dissuaded by the norm of uti possidetis juris (a principle of customary international law that serves to preserve the boundaries of colonies emerging as States), (Legal Information Institute 2020). However spatial analysis methods (Spatial Lag) of defining boundaries pose to be accurate statistically. Therefore, this paper highlights the deficiency in spatial analysis to determine how accurate border divisions are and thus leave room for political decisions. In addition, this paper exerts that the position at which a state exercises political domination in rival of another state, based on the claims over a given space of territory, delineated by a common separated line, determines the extent of the state to call it as its border.

2. Literature Review
Conceptualizing security is an exhaustive task as it ranges into different dimensions branched out into military, economic, environmental, food and others. Security can be understood as sustaining the life support of people and hindering threat to them and their activities. The significance of security on a particular border is exemplified in the characteristics of the border as a historical standpoint or a location for security, in a post-modern context. The role of state borders in guaranteeing security can be understood traditionally; as firstly a prevention of military threat; secondly, to maximize and sustain incremental control of trans-border flows; thirdly, a demand for guaranteeing the security of the state in which can only be solved by the state itself. (Kolosov 2015 cited in Sevastianov et al 2015).

Understanding border security from a post-modern perspective, indicates a sense of vulnerability and a caution to provide guarantee of a territory’s internal security as a result of physical proximity with a neighbouring country. Borders security focuses on the operations of borders, the rules, techniques and procedures regulating activities and traffic across defined border zones. It constitutes border checks and surveillance of goods, persons, possessions etc (Hills 2006 cited in Wolff 2008).

To shed a greater light, Porter (2015 cited in Sevastianov et al 2015) explores a political dimension of African borders in the context of the mechanism at which the state and the borderland people operate as core and periphery. She puts forward the context that African borders and borderlands are barely impacted by the presence of the state. More so most borderlands and border regions are periphery spaces that do not engage a significant amount of state activity which is more evident in capital cities as they represent the core. This serves a rational for a somewhat calmer perspective on the question of territorial sovereignty on African border security.
In contrast, border security challenges in Africa are more emphasized in other aspects such as; cross-border conflict in which some African states have been known to engage in conflicts that arose due to clashes in border communities. For examples, the Nigeria - Cameroon Border conflict on the Bakassi peninsula. The aspects of smuggling in which many cases occur around the borders in Africa. As Coplan (2009 cited in Porter 2015 cited in Sevastianov et al 2015) explains, “smuggling, which often enough takes on an open and festive atmosphere at African borders, is after all only a crime against the state, and a response to taxation for which no service are provided in return. Unavoidably, the aspect of terrorism that has risen in recent years across borders in Africa. In West Africa, the Nigerian and Chad border has been a haven for terrorist in recent years and as such border towns are mostly affected by such acts. In addition Soderbaum and Taylor (2012) highlight the existence of multiple cross-border micro-regions, which may leave gaps of effectiveness of territorial sovereignty as result of porousness of national bordering and perhaps the nature of surfaces of the earth on serve as routes for other border security issues. In an attempt to harmonize the territorial aspect of African borders and the geopolitical conditions, Frowd (2015) assert that creating a spatial bounded territory and the securitization of people within, in and out of the territory are both traditional processes of territoriality and bordering even though they do not always happen at the same time neither is it sometimes clear whose border is being delimited or imposed. Examining the complexity of borderwork between the EU and West Africa he opines that the activities of a territorial border are not fixed to territorial boundary and are significantly independent of it when it comes to terms of territory. Seeing that there is growing complexity in the discourse of territorial and border security as it develops into more contemporary elements, border security becomes heavily engaged in the currents of how one defines territorial security in the face of past colonial delineations that have been taken as the norm.

3. Theoretical Framework

Proposing a model framework for analyzing border security in the context of territory has proved to be essentially challenging as most of the literature contend on the complexity of utilizing heuristic concepts to offer plausible theoretical frameworks. In order to do this more effectively (Payan 2015) employs the use to typologies to determine the methods used to theorize borders. He stipulates that the determinants of borders are in these variables; Historical Baggage, Cultural Bonds, Resource Claims, Demographic Trends, Degree of Institutionalization, Economic Development Gaps, Domestic Environment, Global Context and Technological Differentials. It is set that every one of the intricate bits of data concerning borders is classifiable into these aforementioned variables which can encourage correlations so as to make inferential perceptions about different borders. In his work he exemplifies that all borders in some sense emanate from historical baggage and therefore transfer to the potential outcome. This is expressly relevant to the case study discussed in this research.
In the examination of the subject of border security, the case study tilts towards a greater influence of historical baggage theory. Hence this theory adopts that due to the historical baggage of the countries of Eritrea and Djibouti the outcome of this baggage has evidently resulted in a contested border region leaving the two countries to regulate who has greater claim to the territory of Ras Doumeira and the Doumeira Island.

4. Methods
In undergoing this research, the method applied to gain knowledge and report data is by document analysis. This in turn take three forms of secondary data collection. The use of library sources; books concerning the subject matter have been employed to represent the analysis here. Also, the evidence of internet sources pertaining to the subject matter have been put into effect on this paper. Lastly to the contribution of this paper certain online journals have been referred to, to better shed light on the analysis on this paper. The collective structural arrangement of the data from these sources is inscribed through the use of content analysis which is put forward on this paper.

5. Data Analysis and Discuss

5.1 Analysing territorial sovereignty in the Case of Djibouti and Eritrea Border Crisis 2008
In gathering data specific documents have been analysed based on their contents in relevance to the case study. In a UNSC report in 2010, Eritrea denied that a border crisis exists with Djibouti. It likewise denied charges that in March 2008 it conveyed troops and military hardware to Ras Doumeira and Doumeira Island, or that a military encounter occurred between 10 and 12 June 2008, which brought about deaths, wounds and the taking of detainees of war on the two sides of the border. Simultaneously, Eritrea asserts that in February 2008, Ethiopia sent, with the assent of Djibouti, long range weapons on the strategic point of Mount Musa Ali where the boundaries of Eritrea, Ethiopia and, Djibouti meet. Eritrea guarantees that the military of Djibouti in this way propelled a shock assault on Eritrean units along the mutual borders. Eritrea dismissed the visit of the United Nations fact-finding mission on the premise that, prior to this, the Security Council had given an announcement denouncing Eritrea without finding out the realities on the ground in a fair manner. The implications of this report present the outcome of the territorial claim, in the sense that the conditions for Eritrean aggression rest on a visible case of denial of a territorial agreement that has been drawn since 1930 between Italy and France hence the circumstances of where the border lies for Eritrea still holds resentment from an agreement drawn before its birth.

5.2 A Border security issue in terms of territory
This element of what insinuates a border security issue in terms of territory is presented by emphasizing the importance of borders to a state, thereon deducing the condition of the territory to the concept of border security. A government is charged with the responsibility to protect its territory and its inhabitants. The rational here is that borderlines are specific locations of a given territory, hence the sum of all border regions identified in a country’s geography represents the complete formation of its territory. More so, the threat to a specific border region instigates a threat to the location of that section of its territory, thus it is safe to say that a border security issue is a territorial security issue particularly when it is based on a physical boundary. From this perspective, borders are to be considered as political houses for policy initiations, and are on the one hand, access to connecting relationship and, then again, serve as an instrument for separation, control and fortification.

5.3 An invitation of International reaction

In connection to perceiving the extent at which the boundary of state is threatened, the second element invites an outlook of the reactions of the international community. This particular element provide assessment of the roles played by the international community specifically the United Nations, African Union, Arab League, Qatar, Ethiopia, France. African Union: African Union efforts in the crisis started on the 24th April 2008, the minister for international cooperation and foreign affairs of Djibouti embarked upon a letter to the Chairperson of the African Union Peace and Security Council to inform him that Eritrea was inhabiting an element of the territory of Djibouti in Doumeira. The 121st, 130th, and 125th conferences of the African Union Peace and Security Council held on 24 April as well as 26 May, respectively, assessed the situation and also underscored the immediate need to dispatch a fact-finding mission, as requested by Djibouti. After that, the African Union Commission sent messages to the authorities of Eritrea and Djibouti, telling them it meant to dispatch the envisaged mission from 5th to 9th June (Zartman, 2018). At the 136th meeting, on 12 June, the African Union Peace and Security Council received the report of the African Union fact-finding mission and also given a communique where it “noted with regret which the Eritrean authorities had not even acknowledged to receive the mission” and "urged the 2 nations to display utmost "resort and restraint" to dialogue to solve any bilateral dispute. “The Security and Peace Council further "called for the instant return to the scenario prevailing at the widespread border between the 2 nations, like the withdrawal from the border of all forces which have been placed there after 4th February 2008". The Arab League: Before the African Union mission, the League of Arab States had dispatched its fact-finding quest to Eritrea and Djibouti, in early May. The mission was obtained in Djibouti and also gained from the total cooperation of the Djibouti authorities. The mission even sought to see Eritrean officials but wasn't issued visas to Eritrea. Additionally to the mission, the League of Arab States urged dialogue between the 2 countries to solve the problems and demanded Eritrea to withdraw the troops from Doumeira (Gettleman, 2018)

United Nations: The United Nations intervene using the UN Security Council and they “condemned” the Eritrean military action against Djibouti. The conflict was the subject of the UN Security Council meeting of 24 June. The Security Council subsequently authorized a fact-finding mission to the area. Once again, the Government of Djibouti cooperated fully, while the Government of Eritrea did not. This pattern of Djiboutian engagement with international engagement and Eritrean silence toward it would continue for the next 20 months. During the period after the border clash, the UN Security Council issued Resolution 1862 of 14 January 2009, which demanded that Eritrea withdraw its forces to the status quo ante (before their April 2008 deployment to the ridge) within five weeks of the resolution’s adoption (Gettleman, 2018). Qatar’s Role: The status of the Qatari mediation of the dispute may offer a perspective, in an effort owed to Qatar, a peace agreement was signed on 6 July 2010. On signing the agreement a company was to be vested with the responsibility to demarcate a border in line with international rules. The efforts of Qatar mediations also play in the exchange of prisoners of war and missing persons connected with crisis, also Qatar agreed to be monitor of the border until a final agreement was reached signatories to the agreement included the President of Djibouti, and Eritrea and the Emir of Qatar (UCDP 2020). However the efforts of Qatar came crumbling in June 14th 2017 as they withdrew their forces from the disputed region in lieu of both sides pitching support against Qatar in place of Saudi Arabia during a diplomatic rift (Ike-Obioha 2017). Nine years after the initiation of the mediation, the dispute has not been resolved. The Eritreans
may have used mediation initiation as a method to decrease the international pressure, and not from a sincere desire to resolve a situation that they publicly did not believe existed.

France’s Role: In response, the Djiboutian Armed Forces were supported by their French allies, increased the size of their deployment in the vicinity of Ras Doumeira, though they deployed about 15 kilometres south of their former positions based on Djiboutian presidential statement of 12 June 2008 (Young, 2015). While it is unclear whether or not the Eritreans increased their numbers on the ridge, the Eritrean Defence Forces were credited with having about 600 troops there, including artillery, engineers, and armoured units, as well as patrol boats off the coast and in the vicinity of Doumeira Island (Reid, 2013). In the wake of the fighting, the French role helped increased their naval presence in the area and assisted Djibouti with logistics and intelligence.

Ethiopia’s Role: Ethiopia, a state contiguous to both disputants, maintains over 100,000 troops across a tense border from 100,000 Eritreans; and as a result, the conduct of Eritrean foreign policy has a myriad of regional implications (White, 2012). Djibouti is the primary outlet to the sea for Ethiopian commerce, and an Eritrean threat to that capacity provokes grounds for conflict. Djibouti and Ethiopia have usually maintained a good political as well as an economic relationship from mutual necessity. As the Ethiopia-Eritrea border war broke away in 1998, Ethiopia lost the use of Eritrea’s port, an existential crisis for a landlocked state. Since that time, Ethiopia has overwhelmingly depended on Djiboutian ports to process its exports and imports; certain ninety-five % of Ethiopian imports transit via Djibouti. Djibouti, also, relies on the larger neighbour from which it imports freshwater and energy. Earnings from Ethiopia’s usage of Djiboutian ports - estimates leading to $1billion yearly are a vital source of Djibouti President Guelleh’s federal earnings. But Ethiopia discovers this particular arrangement profoundly flawed and it is curious in even more varied, and healthier offers for port access (Young, 2016).

5.3 The limitations of Spatial Analysis
The essence of using spatial analysis is to determine the measurement of the geographical make up of areas on the surface of the earth. Borders are proposed land markings on the surface of the earth that differentiate territories from one another. The employment of spatial analysis helps to correctly define the linear separation of a given territory; however, this paper contends that having adopted a spatial analysis method to analyse the problem of the paper, the political acceptances of the agreed border undermine the conclusions that spatial analysis produce. The border rendered in the case study constitutes a historical baggage that limits the usefulness of spatial analysis. In more recent times spatial analysis is grafted in the prevalence of Geographic Information Systems (GIS). GIS interface programs have well dominated across all discipline however statistical analysis is continually incorporated. The use of the spatial autoregressive or spatial lag model, which deals with a detailed representation of geographic surfaces, thus producing an aggregation of geographic phenomena is used to define the totality of a territory (Ward and O’Loughlin 2002). In using Spatial lag, the more advanced regression model, the main problem is that this model leaves a spatial error, this spatial error based on specific geographic distances emphasize the effects of spatial contiguity (the condition that two spatial units share a common border of quantifiable length) and consequently the consideration of political choices in which create room for irregularities and as such lead to contestation of territory which often leads to crisis and security challenges (Linke and O’Loughlin cited in Andrew et al 2016). As accurate measurement of the context is central to spatial analysis in political geography, the presence of an inability for policy makers to accept an agreed linear demarcation, the conditions for accuracy continue to be problematic.

6. Findings
In undertaking this study, territorial sovereignty over Ras Doumeira in case of the border crisis between the Djibouti and Eritrea remain unresolved to who has right to control the territory. This research paper finds that agreed negotiations on border demarcations or territorial security concerns supersede spatial analysis methods to determine reality of boundaries and borders. This papers finds that the extent at which the question of territory becomes a border security issue rest on the presence of the threat at the border region specified. Subsequently this paper finds that the involvement of the international community on the border crisis is majorly vested in the participating countries of the crisis to invite possible
interactions. Lastly this paper also finds that spatial analysis (Spatial lag) presents a spatial error and thus does not effectively define demarcated borderlines and can be superseded by political positions but with the aid of GIS such positions can be managed through good-faith negotiations.

7. Conclusion
Territorial sovereignty is evidently connected with border security, which can be enunciated in the conditions of territorial border dispute. The border crisis between Eritrea and Djibouti serves as a melting point for the concepts of territory, sovereignty and border security. It is even more evident that as a result of the unratified 1935 agreement, the region of Ras Doumeira and the Doumeira islands are accrued to Eritrea. Therefore, Eritrean aggression which led to the crisis is majorly seen as a pursuit of territorial ambition to hurt Ethiopia. The claim of accuracy by spatial analysis tends to be insufficient to the extent that decisions of policy makers still create a problem for borders to be defined more effectively so as to avoid continuity of hostility and tension. More so, the use of GIS lacks prevalence in the discourse of resolving territorial disputes. To this end, the study highlights this as a further contribution to knowledge.

8. Recommendations
In correspondence with the findings of the study, the use of GIS to resolve territorial border disputes cannot be overstated. This study recommends that the using GIS to resolve disputes over territory should commensurate with customary international law “ex aequo et bono” (the acceptability to judge based on the equality of claim) in which the ICJ has never issued as a judgment to clearly demarcate the spatial extent of territories in order to prevent future territorial disputes. This study further proposes that third party mediating techniques should be more utilized to resolve disputes in accordance with international principles, so as to limit the internationalization of disputes especially when not necessary. Further recommendation is that more research should be conducted on the application of GIS to resolving territorial border disputes.

References