



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
MA IN INTERNATIONAL RELATION AND
DIPLOMACY**

**ETHIO-ERITREAN RELATIONS:
FROM STALEMATE TO ENGAGEMENT
CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS**

By

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JUNE 2019

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that the thesis is my original work, that has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Confirmed by

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Abbreviations

ADP	Amhara Democratic Parity
AU	African Union
COMESA	Common Market Place East and South Africa
EEA	European Economic Area
EEBC	Ethiopian and Eritrean Border Commission
ENAF	Eritrean National Alliance Force
ENCD	Eritrean National Coalition for Democracy
EPG	Eritrean Provisional Government
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct investment
FTA	Free Trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICG	International Crises Group
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority for Development
IGo	Inter-Governmental Organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoFA	Ministries of Foreign Affair
OAU	Organization for African Unity

ODP	Oromo Democratic Party
SPLA	Sudanese people Liberation Alliance
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Eritrea and Ethiopia
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
US	United States
USA	United States of America

Abstract

This study aimed to analyze the Ethiopian-Eritrean relation from Stalemate to engagement and its challenge and prospect. In order to achieve this objective, the thesis has tried to link the concepts conflict, cooperation, bilateral relation and theories of integration, analyzed the historical relations between the two countries and the ups and downs that their relations have faced in the due course of its process, outlined challenges and prospect, identified the key issues the relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea and how they could transform from Stalemate to engagement. Depending on qualitative examination of texts and semi-structured interviews the data have been collected both from primary and secondary sources of information. The primary sources of information were collected through a series of semi-structured interviews with key informants. Apart from this, secondary sources of information were also collected from old and recent publications. Again, information from day to day news from different Medias was also used in the final analysis of the study. Finally, the thesis came up with some ideas that indicate challenges and prospect between Ethiopia and Eritrea on going normalization process.

The study concludes that: because of the internal political division within Ethiopia, The EEBC decisions, the presence of Mutual miss trust and suspicious in the rapprochement, centralized foreign policy making in Eritrea, lack of enforcement mechanism and rule-based relation with Transparency, the Eritrea Relation with AU and IGAD, the Arab Countries Interest in the Rapprochement and Economic policy and Ideological deference between Ethiopia and Eritrea have been challenging the normalizations process. The Study also concluded that: implementing the EEBC decision would not bring the expected normalization between the two countries rather must ready to accepting the reality in the manner of flexibility to achieve the desired optimistic prospect. Finally, This Study concludes; If the two countries use this rapprochement appropriately, and creating cooperation in an explicit bargaining process, the engagement process can lead to full cooperation based on the spillover effect each in.

Keywords: AU, Cooperation, EEBC, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Engagement, Normalization, Rapprochement, IGAD, Prospect.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Ethiopia and Eritrea have had long-standing, strong economic, political and cultural ties. Both countries have close historical, ethnic and cultural ties that go back to time immemorial (Guche, 1996). Eritrea was Ethiopian parts before its independence in 1991, in the federal arrangement and finally united until separated with Ethiopia. The military conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea was one of Africa's longest struggles for independence and one of the world's most protracted campaigns for self-determination since the founding of the United Nations (ibid).

After Eritrea became officially independent in 1993, Ethiopia and Eritrea enjoyed a short period of warm peace and cooperated along with many sectors including defense. Eritrea used the Ethiopian currency and Ethiopia gained free access to the Assab and Massawa ports (Minale, 2008). The relations between the two countries were regarded as exemplary to other countries in the region. However; this warm peace lasted only four years. In 1997 relations between the two countries dramatically deteriorated. In May 1998, the two years' border war flared up around the Badme area, with small scale clashes between Ethiopian militia and the patrols of the Eritrean army.

Ethiopia and Eritrea fought one of the catastrophic wars in the recent history of the world. The war was the biggest military engagement of the last decade of the 20th century (Paulos, 1999). Tekeste Negashi and Kejtle Tronvoll (2000) explained it as “the largest war, surpassing Kosovo in the period 1998-2000. And according to Reid Berikiteab (2003), the Ethiopian and Eritrean border war was perhaps “the largest conventional conflict of its kind since the Iran- Iraq in the 1980s.” The war was fought with high techs but with trench tactics of the First World War, making casualties high (Tekeste and Tronvoll, 2000).

Mediation efforts to resolve the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict started within a few days of the Outbreak of the conflict. Friends of both countries immediately rushed to the capital of both countries to peacefully resolve the conflict. The first fruitful effort of mediation came from the

governments of USA and Rwanda. The joint team of the US and Rwanda produced a four-point peace proposal, which was only accepted by Ethiopia (Minale, 2008)

However, the AU peace leading effort and the signed agreement in December 2000 at Algiers would not end the prevailing deadlock between Ethiopia and Eritrea last longing for more than two decades. Adding, Healy (2008), income from Ethiopian trade accounts for 70% of Djibouti's revenue. On the other hand, there was also a consequence for Somalia where both Ethiopia and Eritrea competed to support opposing sides among the Mogadishu warlords, which can also be taken as an indication for the disturbance of peace and security of the region (Cliffe, 2004).

In a televised address on June 20, 2018, Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki announced his intention to dispatch a delegation to Ethiopia. The mission was the first official high-level diplomatic contact between the Eritrean and Ethiopian governments in over a decade and marked the beginning of a rapid thaw in relations that effectively ended Africa's most intractable interstate rivalry (Weldemariam, 2019). By early July, Isaias was playing host to Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed Ali in the Eritrean capital of Asmara, where the two leaders issued a landmark statement declaring: "The state of war between Ethiopia and Eritrea has come to an end." A week later, Isaias embarked on a reciprocal visit to Addis Ababa. Furthermore, They have signed an agreement to strengthen cooperation and friendship and to resume their diplomatic relation formally.¹

As result, peace became attainable and the situation becoming normalized between the two countries and the region. After the stalemate for more than two decades, engagement has been starting between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Thus, this study will examine the Ethiopian-Eritrea relation from Stalemate to engagement challenges and prospect on the ongoing normalization process.

¹CNN quoted Yemane G/Meskel information ministry of Eritrea statement "a new era of peace and friendship has been ushered. Both countries will work to promote close cooperation in political, economic, social, cultural and security areas." Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed hosted and welcomed by Eritrea's President Isaias Afwerki as he disembarks the plane, in Asmara, Eritrea, Sunday, July 8, 2018.

1.2. Statement of The Problem

The Ethiopia - Eritrean war of the 1998-2000 has brought not only the breakdown of the two countries relation but also created a serious tension and political instability in the Horn of Africa. While the two countries have signed Algiers agreement of December 12, 2000, could not bring peace and normalization of relations between the two countries (Reggasa,2011). However, significant elements of the agreement remain unimplemented and cross-border tensions and stalemate are continued to be high up until July 2018 (Birikiteab,2019).

The recent engagement is driven among others by the internal political dynamics of Ethiopia, rather than by external mediation. This has fundamentally reshaped the relationship between the two countries. The impact of the resolution of the Ethiopia–Eritrea conflict goes beyond the borders of the two countries, and has indeed brought fundamental change to the region. Full diplomatic relations have been restoring between the two countries.

Although, article 4 of the agreement established a neutral boundary commission with a mandate to come up with a non-appealing decision on the disputed border. Therefore, the parties committed themselves to accept the decision of the border commission as final and binding. Article 4 paragraph 15 of the Algiers agreement pointed out that, “The parties agree that the delimitation determinations of the commission shall be final and binding. Each party shall respect the border so determined as well as territorial integrity and sovereignty of the other party determined.” After submitting its delimitation decision, the commission would arrange the expeditious demarcation of the border. Initially, both Ethiopia and Eritrea accepting the Border commission decisions meanwhile Ethiopia declares that the decision is ‘Wrong and Unjust’. Eritrea claims to enforce the border commission decisions fully. however, Ethiopia requests further negotiation. The witnesses and guarantors, abdicating their responsibility, failed to exert pressure on Ethiopia and Eritrea which led to a situation of ‘no war, no peace’. This stalemate lasted for 16 years, until July 2018.

There is no question that Ethiopia owes the legal responsibility to respect international law and abide by the decision of the border commission. In advance, Ethiopia has committed itself to abide by the verdict of the border commission. The international community, particularly the witnesses of the Algiers agreement could enforce compliance to the virtually demarcated border by imposing economic and political sanctions on Ethiopia. However, they are fully aware of the Ethiopian claim

was genuine and having a great impact on the decisions the local people living in the disputed area. But ever one agreed on the presence of demarcated border between Ethiopia and Eritrea while implementing the Algiers Agreement would not bring the expected and last long peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

There are has been generally two extremely opposite ideas in the stalemate period particularly related to the border dispute; one is referred to as the international community failed to force Ethiopia to implement the EEBC decisions; The second assumption was the EEBC decisions failed to see the reality on the ground would not consider the topographical situation of the two countries simply the commission depending on the colonial treaty since the two countries haven't colonial relation starting bilateral relation after Eritrea become independence in 1993. So far Eritrea was Ethiopia's integral part. Therefore, the issue of the border dispute ruled by the will of the local people living in these claim areas commonly through a referendum.

Thus, In the recent engagement, thinking beyond the Algiers Agreement and accepting reality on the manner of flexibility is crucially concerned the two countries relation. As mentioned above, it cannot be easily possible to implement the Algiers agreement mainly on how to implement in win-win approach on the principle of mutual benefit. Why now the two countries came to engagement while the Algiers agreement has reminded to change in considering legally and reality-based comments from Ethiopian sides? Hence, the post-independence conflict derived mainly from unregulated bilateral relation between the two countries and there is a fear in this engagement couldn't be last long. internal and External context will have an immense impact on the normalization process. Moreover, Unconditional Ethiopian acceptance of The Algiers Agreement while the implementation process needs further negotiation is ahead problem with the recent political situation of inside Ethiopia.

The past research has been focused on the history of the two countries, the conflict, and the stalemate in the way to normalize the two countries relations. However, this research covered the two countries relation from Stalemate to engagement. Therefore, this Study is the bridge between the period of stalemate and engagement that makes different from the previous study.

Since, this is an engagement, towards cooperation, will face numerous challenges. Also, how it can be principal, regulated and institutionalize the normalization process? Additionally, along

identify the challenges and the possible optimistic prospect, specifying the weakness and strength of the Engagement process mainly to show the rapprochement process leads to full cooperation or not? will be the main purpose of this study. Therefore, the study is aimed to find out the problems and prospects for Ethio-Eritrea relation in this new engagement, which is going to be seen in terms of its economic and political aspects as being witnessed in their bilateral relations.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The study discusses and attempts to identify the problems, prospects and regional implication of the Ethiopian- Eritrean relation transformation from conflict to cooperation. Along this line, the overall objective is to describe and analyze the condition of Ethiopia- Eritrea relation and the ongoing transformation from conflict to cooperation its aspects of problem, prospect and the effect on the region. In the process of analyzing the relevant issues attempt is made to achieve the following interrelated specific objectives.

- i. Examine the history, nature and scope of relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia; appraisals of conflict and cooperation relation
- ii. To briefly assess and point out the effects of the engagement process and bilateral relation between the two countries.
- iii. Examine and critically analyze the problem of the rapprochements processes and the possibility of cooperation between the two countries.
- iv. To state the prospects for the two countries relations.

1.4 Research question

The research question of the study is designed in a way to enable the researcher to fulfill the stated objectives of the study. Thus, the central research question of the study is: what is the condition of The Ethiopian -Eritrean relation? And in line with the research problems and objectives set out, the specific research questions of this study are,

1. What constitutes the engagement and bilateral relation between the Ethiopia-Eritrea?

2. What are the problems, pre-condition and bases for cooperation between Ethiopian and Eritrean relation?
3. To what extent could the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea leads to full cooperation?
4. What will be the future prospects of the two countries relations?

1.5. Methodology and Method of Data Collection

The study implies mainly qualitative approach. According to Kenneth 2007, qualitative research is important to promote understanding than explaining cause and effect relationships. Since the study is about Ethiopia and Eritreans transformation from stalemate to engagement feting the analytical and descriptive methodology, therefore qualitative approach is preferable to the quantitative one for this study. The quantitative approach emphasizes on causality, variables, and heavily structured interviews. On the other hand, the qualitative approach focuses on the explanation of subjective perspectives, processes and contextual meaning (Bryman, 2003:59). Thus, all parts of the study conducted based on qualitatively descriptions to conquer relevant information to the study reach into scientific finding and conclusions. In the first place, literatures on conflict and cooperation strategies were reviewed. An attempt was made to base the study on appropriate theoretical foundations, for the topic. Accordingly, pertinent theories of functionalism and neofunctionalism theory have been used. Added to this, related concepts have been clarified and constructed on the literature review, theoretical and conceptual framework part of the study.

1.5.1 Method of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary sources of information have been gathered. To maximize reliability, the approach, methods, techniques and theories used in the research should be clearly explained in concerning to the purpose of the research. As primary sources, appropriate interview held with selected key informants because according to Descombe (2007) Interview is an appropriate method of research to gain insight about people's opinion, feelings, emotions and experiences. The interview conducted through semi-structured in-depth interviews to explore the knowledge and opinion of the people about the peace process, and the transformation of the two countries relation from stalemate to engagement by using both Amharic and English language. They were selected

Four interviewers from different institutions like The Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Eritrean Embassy, Addis Ababa University Scholars and Public Intellectuals. The selected key informant from Eritrean Embassy could not include in the interview because of Eritrean Embassy has not been working yet. The selection of key informants was based purposively on their position's that enable them to have some knowledge of economic and political problems of Ethiopia-Eritrean relations from stalemate to engagement. Questions used for gathering primary data were discussed and determined to ensure that relevant issues are gathered from the primary sources. The secondary sources of the data collected on comprehensive literature survey of publications such as the review of journals, books, documents, articles, newspapers, magazines and directly related current issues (news report), papers arising from seminars and conferences, and, more importantly, organizational publication of the UNSC, and AU reporting on the two countries relation and the ongoing peace process. Apart from this, agreements/resolutions having impacts on the relation between the two countries and trade agreements and documents related to Ethiopia's used. The reviewing of these literature and data gathered through interviews with selected informants was qualitatively analyzed under different chapters.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study will have immense significance to any who wants to understand the peace process of Ethiopia and Eritrea both policy and scholarly aspects. Research and working materials had been writing about unresolved hostile relationship between the two countries and the effects on the region. Today, the two countries resumed their diplomatic and friendship agreed on to end the war and the history of enmity officially. The conducted research in this area focused, why was it not possible to bring an end to the Ethiopian and Eritrean border conflict after the border was delimited in 2002, but the two countries recently accepted the Allegers agreement and the delimitation. But the task is very tough that needs careful consideration of the reality and further agreements. Some of the researches have also been turned by political positions in each country but now the time is good to be neutral because of it the hostile and the tension situation has lifted.

Therefore, the major academic significance of this study laying in making a certain contribution to the development of unbiased and honest academic research. perhaps this study will have a positive potential to be a benchmark of the studies in these particular issues. Along this line, this

finding concerned the two countries relation and the regional meaning of it. Adding, the resumed relation between the two countries is the ongoing peace process ahead of this study. This study will have policy significance, in terms of providing producers, standards and scientific findings to overcome the short term and long term problem of the peace buildings process. Moreover, this study can serve as a springboard for further studies and investigations that may be interested to deal with the inter-state relations and regional integration schemes in the Horn of Africa.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The delimitations of the study are particularly in the two countries and in general, delimited on the Horn geographically member's country. It only focuses on the problems and prospects for Ethio-Eritrean from stalemate to engagement. The reason for the selection this is that the resumed diplomatic relation of the Ethiopian and Eritrea contributed the normalization process between the two countries. Thus, this essay primarily focuses on explaining the transition of Ethiopia and Eritrea from conflict to cooperation along with its problem and prospect with the respective effect on the region. In the thesis, the notion of the term 'Horn of Africa' is used in the sense of 'Greater Horn' which comprises Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda.

Although, challenges in gathering relevant primary data through an interview with key informants of the study. Hence, the researcher has faced a challenge while the interview. Probably a different look at the issue by way of quantifiable data through appropriate methods would have also been better. Nevertheless, the problem is that any such methods would only be gathered from within Ethiopia it's because of the Eritrean embassy to Ethiopia can't be work yet. However, despite these challenges encountered, the researcher feels that the objective of the research has largely been realized by way of incorporating ideas from published materials of Eritrean counter parts. Other than this, shortage of time and money to undertake the research is also a major limitation.

1.8. The Organization of the Study

The thesis is having six chapters including the introductory chapter. The first chapter contains the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives and other parts that should be included under research proposal of any kind. Chapter two of the study presents theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. Chapter three consisted of the background to Ethio-Eritrean

relations between 1991-2018 including the cordial and hostile relations between the two countries. Chapter four extensively deals with the challenges ahead and in chapter five presented. Accordingly, Chapter Six deeply analyses the prospect of the engagement between the two countries. The last chapter of the study is chapter Six, which provides a precise concluding remark and recommendation of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter presents review of related literature on conflict and cooperation mechanism, foreign policy and the theoretical and conceptual sitting the study. It is organized in two sections. the first section presents a review of related literature on conflict and cooperation, bilateral relation and cooperation, concepts of foreign policy and national interest, interstate relation and complex interdependency and the role of public participation in conflict resolution have consisted in this section. The second section presents theoretical and conceptual framework the study.

2.1 Conceptual Frame Work of the Study

2.1.1 Cooperation Vs Conflict

In general, the discipline of international relation has paid extensive attention to the definition and dynamics of conflict, while in comparison fewer efforts have been made to conceptualize and analyze peace and peace processes. Adding on this, the neorealist approach to conceptualizing the international relation conceives the international system as set of element (nation states) that interact in anarchic world (Krasner ,1978; etal). According to them, there are no binding legal structure to ensure agreements concerning trade alliance commitment, or arms control. They draw the world as conflictual and nonbinding agreement; strategical interaction is predominately the characteristics of the international relation.

However, knowing nature of cooperation between nations has become an important analytic issue as scholars of International Relations have come to realize that the international environment is not a Hobbesian war of all against all but a system where nations often coordinate and cooperate with one another. Thus, to look the past conflictual history and the new hope of cooperation in the

rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea looking in comparison the concept of conflict with cooperation is crucial.

A standard definition is that cooperation occurs when “*actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others*” (Axelrod, 1985). Therefore, interstate cooperation describes interactions to achieve common objectives when actors’ preferences are neither identical (harmony) nor irreconcilable (conflict). Commonly, in the international relation environment there two types of interstate interaction. The well know phrase ‘Hobbesian war of all against all’ represents the conflictual interstate relationship and on other hand the phrase ‘but a system where nations often coordinate and cooperate with one another’ represents cooperative interstate relationship in the existing international relation arena. To adding on this, in international system as Crescenzi (2008) points out, states interaction ranges from conflictual to cooperation. Conflictual state relations according to crescenzi refer to a kind of relationship where there is no cordial and cooperative interaction among states (Crescenzi and et al, 2008).

While cooperative state interaction refers to a situation where there are smooth and cordial relations existing among states. Conflictual state interaction most of the time alter interstate relationship in a way that increases the chances of future interstate disputes, whereas cooperative interstate relations decreases the probability of militarized interstate disputes and results in peaceful relations. In a cooperative state interaction benefits gained by state involved ranges from socio-economic to political benefits. As to Mansfield and Pollins (2010), in cooperative interstate relations states share common interest and benefits from the furtherance of their shared interest particularly along economic lines. As result, this kind of furtherance mutually benefits all involved states.

Although, particularly on economic and political benefits is emphasized by Bhattacharya (2006) saying that, by working together states enjoy socio-economic and political benefits that may not occur by individual efforts alone. Along the same line, Lloyd Gruber in his article ‘Interstate Cooperation and the Hidden Face of Power’ also stressed on the benefits of maintaining cooperative interstate relations by saying that: Cooperative interstate relations are perceived to be higher than the anticipated gains from unilateral actions of states (Gruber, 1999).

The resumed Cooperation in the case of Ethiopia and Eritrea has several advantages to the Bilateral relation wellbeing of the two countries and the region country at all. As kidane (1994) stated,

cooperation between these two states can give them a chance of fighting their overwhelming economic problems.

2.1.2 Bilateral Relation and Cooperation

Before, going to the discussion of the concept it is better to have operational definition for the term cooperation. For the purpose of this study, Cooperation is not purely an economic or political term. Cooperation exists in all natural systems. What unites the research on cooperation in different fields is that this research focuses on the systemic level of analysis, that is, on the sources of and constraints on cooperative behavior. Following Robert Keohane, a number of scholars have defined cooperation as occurring “when actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination.” This conception of cooperation consists of two important elements: (1) it assumes that each actor’s behavior is directed toward some goal(s); (2) cooperation provides the actors with gains or rewards. However, all this activities undertaking in Bilateral relation and others modalities of relation depending on the number of the actors.

Cooperation is usually opposed to competition or conflict, which implies goal-seeking behavior that strives to reduce the gains available to others.² However, there are other alternatives to cooperation, e.g. unilateral behavior, in which actors do not take account of the effects of their actions on others, or inactivity. Although such behaviors may not attempt to lower the gains of others, they can be considered uncooperative if they do not reduce the negative consequences for others. Thus, cooperation is cantered for any bilateral relation. Cooperation began to strengthen and to continue bilateral relation between states.

In the book “The evolution of cooperation” (1984) Robert Axelrod formulates the general Cooperation concept. According to Axelrod, the basic problem that Cooperation concept addresses is the common tension between what is good for the individual actor in the short run, and what is

² True cooperation usually occurs where the safety or survival of the parties depends on sharing resources. It will continue as long as all those cooperating receive more of a scarce resource than they would by competing with the others. The cooperative interaction results in more scarce resources being acquired than would be possible by individual actions. This is sometimes referred to as a “non-zero sum game” because a gain for one cooperator is not a loss for the others. However, a reduction in one or more of these resources will cause former cooperators to compete or former competitors to cooperate, or both. (Ibid).

good for the group in the long run. In particular, Cooperation concept has three central conceptual questions:

- I. Under what conditions can cooperation emerge and be sustained among actors who are egoists?
- II. What advice can be offered to a player in a given setting best about the strategy to use?
- III. What advice can be offered to reformers who want to alter the very terms of the interaction so as to promote the emergence of cooperation? Fortunately, friendship is not necessary for cooperation to evolve.

Even antagonists can learn to develop cooperation based upon reciprocity. The requirement for the relationship is not friendship but durability. The good thing about international relations is that the major powers can be quite certain they will be interacting with each other year after year. Their relationship may not always be mutually rewarding, but it is durable (Robert Axelrod, 1984). Therefore, next year's interactions should cast a large shadow on this year's choices, and cooperation has a good chance to evolve eventually perhaps it could pave the way to transform from conflict to cooperation and strengthened the bilateral relation of the two countries.

Doran argues that the characteristics of an agent population and its goals, as well as the population's environment, identifies the optimal patterns of cooperation and the type of cooperation engendering processes the agents should best incorporate to achieve it.

According to Helen Milner, cooperation can be achieved in a number of ways:

- I. It can be tacit and occur without communication or explicit agreement. In this case cooperative behavior emerges as the expectations of the actors converge.
- II. Cooperation can also be negotiated in an explicit bargaining process
- III. Finally, cooperation can be imposed. The stronger party in a relationship can force the other side to alter its policies. If the stronger party also adjusts its own policies and attempts to realize mutual gains, cooperation has occurred. However, the joint gain in such a situation need not be equal. In any case, the definition of cooperation itself says nothing about how the mutual gains from cooperation will be distributed and even in bilateral relation.

Doran finds that patterns of cooperative actions can arise from the following processes.

- Reflex. Agents simply act. Therefore, when cooperation occurs it does so without reflection upon possible actions. There is no prediction or predictive planning and therefore no intention (Steels, 1990). Hence cooperation is “emergent”.
- Deliberative. Agents reflect upon the combinations of actions they and others might perform. They are given some means to choose, in principle, between different combinations of action, possibly after some process of negotiation, which lead to a convergence of their behavior.
- Concept based. Agents are designed to maintain an explicit concept of cooperation, which the agent uses to help select its actions and plans, and which itself may be modified in the light of experience and also may be passed between agents. Such an agent may decide to cooperate prior to any particular set of actions being considered.

To resume the broken relation and bilateral relation, as the mechanism of conflict resolution method, principle of horse-trading is crucial (Ibid). This involves give and take in which one side drops its demands on one issue to get a complete reciprocal reward in another issue. Adding on this, Axelrod considers cooperation based on reciprocity to be stable, he is concerned with speeding up its evolution. On the view of this, to promote the emergence of cooperation, and bilateral relation Axelrod suggests that, (1) making the future more important relative to the present; (2) changing the payoffs to the players; and (3) teaching the players values, facts, and skills that will promote cooperation among the players. In addition to this, by making the interactions more durable and by making them more frequent are it can be the ways to make the future more important relative to the present by avoiding conflict. On the other hand, just as the future is important for the establishment of the conditions for cooperation and bilateral relation the past is important for the monitoring of actual behavior. It is therefore essential that the players are able to observe and respond to each other's prior choices.

2.1.3 Bilateral Relation and Strengthened Bilateral Relations

Bilateral relations between states often refer to political, economic, cultural and historic ties. Strong bilateral relations are characterized by cooperation between institutions and persons at administrative and political level as well as in the private sector, academia and civil society. Other

elements of bilateral relations include trade and investment, cultural exchange, as well as general knowledge, understanding and public awareness about the other country and the ties existing between them (EEA and Norway Grants,2014).

The bonds between Ethiopia and Eritrea are already strong due to a common history and culture, shared values as well as geographical closeness. The prevailing deadlock have been left in the rapprochement due to Ethiopian political reform and the socio-economic cooperation is one of contributions to strengthening the relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

In the context of the Ethiopia and Eritrea, the operational definition of “strengthened bilateral relations” is: cooperation, normalization of the relation, working together for durable peace, building mutual trust and confidence building, Joint result, and increased mutual knowledge.

As result, as to EEA and Norway Grants (2014) has been pointed out expected results of bilateral cooperation, and it is possible to identify different types of results or outcomes for both the Ethiopia and Eritrea, falling within different groups:

- I. extent of cooperation
- II. shared results
- III. knowledge and mutual understanding
- IV. wider effects

Type 1 results: Extent of cooperation: Ethiopia and Eritrea increase the extent of cooperation between countries’ institutions and individuals, at programme and project level, through formal partnerships or through more ad hoc exchange and collaboration financed by bilateral funds. The extent of cooperation between public sector entities, private sector entities and within civil society might be an interesting indicator for strengthened relations.

Type 2 results: Shared results: The bilateral cooperation in projects and programmes represents a contribution to solving a particular issue through sharing experience, knowledge, know-how and technology and working together for joint results such as the development of policies, laws, strategies or new knowledge or practice. At the same time, these processes of working together also play a part in the strengthening of bilateral relations. A shared result means that the input from both parties was necessary to reach the result.

Type 3 results: Improved knowledge and mutual understanding: Increased cooperation and joint initiatives bring people and institutions together and create space for improved knowledge and mutual understanding between individuals, institutions, states and the wider public. Such an

outcome is an important characteristic of strengthened bilateral relations. It is therefore expected that the cooperation under the Ethiopia and Eritrea will contribute to increased knowledge of the two countries respective people. It will also raise the awareness about the Ethiopia and Eritrea contribution and policies to solving common challenges, as well as increased knowledge and understanding of each other's. This is the desired result of a process of constructive and positive engagement.

Type 4 results: Wider effects: In bilateral relation wider effects might happen as a result of institutions working together and finding common ground for extending their cooperation beyond the projects and programmes which have agreed on to implement. The Wider Effect Examples could be common sector-wide initiatives, work to address common challenges. The wider effects may represent an important added value and have an impact on bilateral relations.

Thus, Cooperation is a prerequisite for strengthened bilateral relations (Ibid; EEA and Norway Grants,2014). Example, Ethiopia and Eritrea would create cooperation on ports and transportation service and Environmental issues and the result could have wider effect.

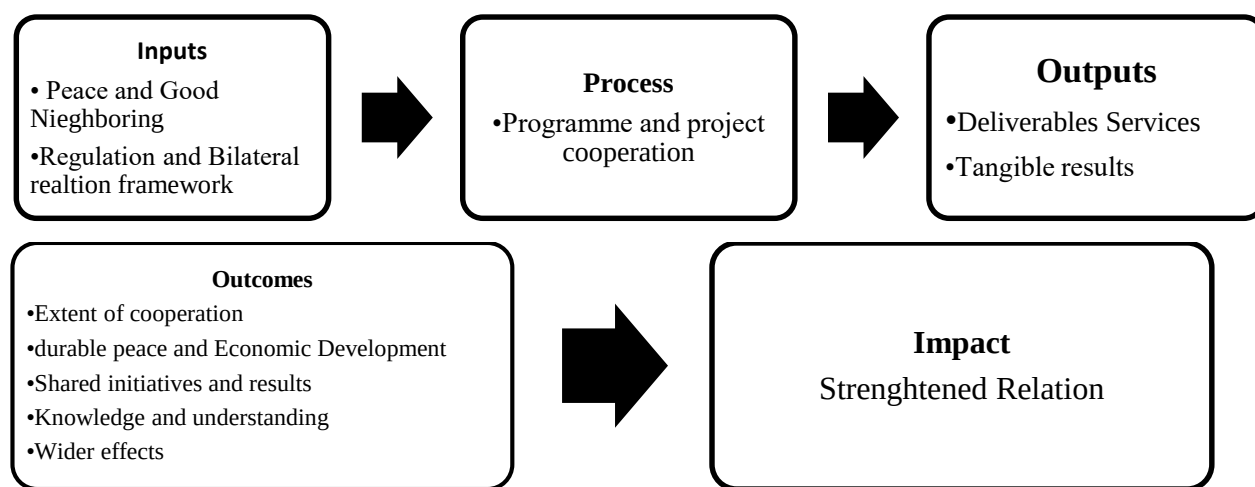


Fig 1: The expected impact of Bilateral relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea

2.1.4. Conceptualizing Foreign Policy and National Interest

Cooperation and bilateral relation usually guiding and directing through Foreign policy while motivated by national interest. The basis of the bilateral relation is the reciprocal benefit they acquire from their relationships. Since no state can be completely self-sufficient interdependence becomes necessary. A state may see its interests as common or opposed to others on specific points. This implies that some nations will be more friendly in their interactions since common interests predominate in their relations, while others will be more hostile due to the opposite reason.

Friendly or hostile relations between different states do not arise from the inherent characteristic of the states. Instead, it stems from a choice of positions on the part of the interacting states. This position of states expressed in a set of principles to guide a nation's conduct in its dealings abroad is what is called the foreign policy of a country. In other words, foreign policy, as Berding (1966:1) clearly put is the basis and framework of a nation's relations with other countries. cooperation also undertaking along with the desirable goals of the Foreign policy and national interest of country. The foreign policy of a state is composed of specific goals designed to be achieved in the course of its relations with the other states. These goals which constitute the content of foreign policy are selected from diverse interests of a state as the most important and achievable ones. These mainly relate to interests having to do with political, economic, military, legal and organizational relations with other states (Hartmann, 1978:6). It is important to emphasize at this juncture that national interests of a state include the component parts selected and incorporated in foreign policy, and those potential policy elements that are rejected from being part of the policy due to the difficulty of their attainment in bilateral relation and the whole aspect of relation.

Along this line, it would be important to assess conditions relating to the determination of national interests, and fixing priorities among them. First, one should bear in mind that the national interests of a country are determined by the concerned states, and hence they define their interests accordingly. And Even the defined interests of a specific state are subject to change periodically. Both the definition of national interest and replacing them by other interests are the results of a critical assessment of domestic and international situations. Even though it is very difficult to out rightly state why a state changes its national interests, the change in internal conditions, and the need for the adjustment of conflicting policies peacefully when conflicts are found to exist with the interests of another state may be mentioned as important factors. The issue of adjustment of interests is of particular importance in the conduct of foreign policy because the pursuance of policies to achieve interests at the expense of the interest of another state will lead to hostilities. This seems to have led Hartmann (1978:8) to underline that the continued existence of sovereign states and the hope for preventing war must lie in a willingness of states to formulate compatible foreign policies, and in their ability to adjust the latter when conflicts arise.

2.1.5 Interstate Relations and Complex Interdependence

In the contemporary globalized world, the term ‘interdependence’ is frequently used. It is a situation in the world politics where all the actors including states as well as non-state actors, are dependent upon one another. “Dependence means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces. Interdependence, most simply defined, means mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries.” (Keohane & Nye, 1977)

Our time is an era of interdependence where states across the world are coming together for the purpose of mutual cooperation than ever before in the history of human civilization (Keohane and Nye, 1989). In today’s globalized world, interstate relation to its greater extent is influenced by interdependence nature of states. According to liberal theory of international relations, an increasing interstate relation fosters a sense of international community as well as the development of mutual respect and peaceful relations (Masterson, 2009). For liberals, the increasing interstate interactions would surely lead states into a cohesive world where states found themselves important for the existence of the other. In this case interdependence resulted in a more positive and harmonious interaction among states.

In this system of ‘Interdependence’ liberal scholars have argued that it is only when states are found interdependent that an increased cooperation and trust would prevail. Therefore, it is when interdependence prevails in various aspects of interstate relations that states would have a better interaction and cooperation. Several studies have appeared on the benefits of interstate interdependence out of which pacifications of interstate conflict and cross border trade are the major ones. The work of Coupland (1996) indicate that, interdependence particularly economic interdependence between states has a pacifying impact on international conflicts.

The interdependent states are less likely to resort to the use of force because of the fact that war disrupts all aspects of state’s affairs. the view of interdependence focuses on the relation between states interdependence and probability of conflict.³ Added to this James Masterson in his article ‘Analyzing Economic Interdependence and Conflict’ indicates that loss in benefits of trade and economic interdependence among states results in lower national welfare (Masterson, 2009).

Thus, In the system of ‘Interdependence’, states cooperate because it is in their own common interest and direct result of this cooperation is prosperity and stability in the international system.

³ Coupland (1996), Krustev (2006) De Vries (1990) and Mansfield and Pollins (2001)

one can understand that interdependence among states has a benefit of reducing interstate conflict and enable them to have a good environment of interactions. It has also an advantage of enhancing states economic and political development. Therefore, from this point of view, it can be argued that when states are interdependent there will be chances of cooperation both economically and politically.

2.1.6 Public Participation and Peace Process

Traditionally, normalization states relation approaches have been top down. Peacemaking and peace agreements have been understood as the realm of government and intergovernmental organizations. As a result, the crucial task for mediators has been to bring together the political and military leaders of opposing groups to dialogue and negotiation to the settlement of the conflict. This approach has been guided by the belief that the leaders retain the power of making decisions. It takes for granted that leaders can mobilize support of their constituencies for the final settlement they have reached. As a result, the participation of other social forces in the process of negotiation has been minimal (Minale,2008).

Nevertheless, the contemporary peacemaking efforts should be undertaken with a holistic approach, involving the civil society and the public. consultations with the people and making peace agreements in line with the interest of the people significantly facilitate the smooth implementation of the agreements. People tend to be committed to the implementation of the peace agreements when they feel that they have had a role in the making of the agreements. If the people felt alienated by the peace process, and perceive the agreements as impositions, they tend to resist implementation (Ibid).

According to kalewengeal, in examining the participation of the people in the peace processes, a distinction could be made between the general public and those who are directly affected by the conflict. The involvement of the public at large in the making of the peace agreements is an integral feature of a democratic government and democratic decision-making. However, participatory decision-making becomes far greater and crucial for those who are directly affected by the conflict and victimized by the armed violence. Those who are directly affected by the conflict maintain an interest to take part in the peace process.

It is indicating that local people who are affected by the conflict and the ensuing armed violence naturally develops a strong interest in the resolution of the conflict. In this words, ‘When people become directly affected by armed conflict, they develop a central interest in contributing to the

resolution of it. Indeed, addressing the concerns of who those people are directly affected by the conflict is a key principle of peace making. Here of accordingly (Minale,2008). reports that the key principle in the making of peace is the creation of the feeling of ownership among those who are affected by the conflict, both in the process and the terms of the final peace agreement.

Therefore, to reach in real and pragmatic peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea relation according this theoretical view, the general public in Ethiopia should have a say in the resolution of the Ethiopian and Eritrean conflict. Other than the public, the specific category of the people that should be consulted in the resolution of the border conflict are the people living along the border. Those people, living in these areas, are those who were directly affected by the conflict and the subsequent war. Hence, incorporating their concerns in the resolution of the border disagreement is very crucial. Parts of the disputed territories are inhabited by a distinct group of people such as the Irob and the Afar people. Thus, the self-determination rights of these people should also be addressed in the resolution of the border conflict.

2.2. The Theoretical Framework of Study

2.2.1 Theory of Functionalism

Functionalism has adopted the most appropriate theoretical model for this study. As well as the common n historical past and shared values and goals ignore the root cause of the conflict hostility and formidable obstacle to cooperation and integration. Although its simplification of integration theory has been appealing, the superficiality of its approach has made it useless indeed counterproductive. On other hand functionalism or incremental approach, manifest great advantages, because it helps us to take into account the reality of the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict, to recognize the inherent difference between the polities in socio-economic and political values and beliefs as well as psychological disposition, to realistically assess the basic issues of the contention and to make honest recommendation for the future relationship between the two countries.

Functionalism is based on the assumption that the growing complexity of governmental systems leads to raise greatly the essentially functional, nonpolitical tasks confronting government (Dougherty and Pflatzgraff, 1990). It is argued that such tasks not only created demand for highly trained specialists, but also contributed to the emergence of technical problems beyond national state level whose solution lies in collaboration among technicians across states. Thus, functionalist theory stated that “the development of collaboration in one technical field leads to comparable

behavior in other technical fields” (ibid:). In other words, the functional practice in one field of cooperation or integration is believed to generate functional collaboration in other areas. Functionalism theory of regional integration believes that successful cooperation in one functional setting would enhance the incentive for collaboration in other fields. To the extent that tasks in specific functional areas could be successfully completed, attitudes favorable to cooperation in other sectors developed.

According to Amare Tekle (1994) functionalism assumes two phase: a period of peace leading to reconciliation and a period of cooperation fostering cooperation and integration. It will take into account the bitter memories of along bloody and devastating war and the fact of Ethio-Eritrean mutual need for harmonious cooperation. In the long run, functionalism assumed the inevitability of socio-economic gradualism and the supremacy of welfare and technology over power politics (Pentland, 1973). Functional needs are presumed to have self-evident consequences for the scope, level, and character of cooperation and integration.

As it applies in this study, functionalism will also assume that cooperation and integration would be the result of continuous process of block –building based on felt-needs rather than that of a single agreement made between political leaders. It offers the possibility of integration through the creation of a sense community based on cooperative ventures, and innovative problem-solving triggering a ramification process with a multiplier effect. It views regional integration as technical and nonpolitical nature, and implicitly beliefs that economics and welfare have a primacy which will and should guide policy. To this end, functionalism prescribed cooperation and integration that was pragmatic, technocratic, flexible and nonpolitical. Obviously, such a process can be fruit only if the actors are aware of their interdependence and are inclined to cooperate.

2.2.2. Theory of Neo-Functionalism

Neo-functionalism posits that integration results from the need to shift specific functions away from exclusively state control toward supranational institutions (Mitrany, 1975). As integration progresses, the neo-functionalists expected a shift in loyalties to the new center which is called spillover effect. It is spillover which is the motor or dynamics of integration. According to Lindberg, “... spill-over” refers to a situation in which a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a

situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and a need for more action, and so forth” (Lindberg, 1963).

Hence, for neo functionalism regional integration is based on the expansive logic of sector integration. For instance, the founder of neo functionalism, “liberalization of trade within the customs union would lead to harmonization of general economic policies and eventually spill-over into political areas and lead to the creation of some kind of political community”. Therefore, for neo functionalism, the realization of the original goals that prompted the first integrative step can be assured only if a chain process of further expansion of integrative actions is taken (Lindberg, 1963).

Although, neo functionalist’s interpretation of the process of integration between states and beyond focused on four dynamics: functional spillover, the formation of coalition (cultivated spillover), bureaucratization/ de-politicization, and the formation of the transnational interest groups. Along this line, neo-functionalists have been primarily concerned with the conditions producing incremental progress.

Additionally, the main argument of the neo-functionalists is that “when certain sectors in the life of sovereign states are integrated, the process will sooner or later also involve interest groups and political parties” (Tare, 1993). Furthermore, he argued that:

For the integrative activities to be successful, two steps were essential: one, "that the sector which was chosen was important but not so controversial as to affect the interests of the states or of the political entities; two, that the activity to be susceptible to expansion and larger than the sum of independent activities pursued by nation states" (ibid).

In general, neo-functionalism provides more elaborate and broader perspective regarding on integration particularly to our case Ethiopia and Eritrea cooperation. It deals with not only with the process and schemes of integration as the functionalists point out, but rather focuses on the interests and values to be defended and promoted by the relevant actors of integrating entities, mainly based on “expectation of gain” from the activities (Dougherty and Pflatzgraff,1990) and the process involved. In their approaches, both functionalists and neo-functionalists, however, consider the process of spill over where in certain procedures and behavior occurring in certain situations will lead to other situations (Sullivan 1987).

To conclude: understanding the conflict and cooperation mechanism is crucial to the engagement process between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The nature of foreign policy and national interest could help to see future Ethiopia and Eritrea relationship. In the next chapter; by using the concept of complex interdependency, we will critically examine the relation of Ethiopia and Eritrea, to what extent complex and interdependent.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORY AND COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCY BETWEEN ETHIOPIAN AND ERITREA RELATIONS

Introduction

This chapter examines how Ethiopia and Eritrea in history, political and economically interdependent. Hence, dependence means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces. Interdependence, most simply defined, means mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries. Concerning Ethiopia and Eritrea, they have been start state level bilateral relations after Eritrea became officially independent in 1993. The two countries enjoyed a short period of warm peace and cooperated along many sectors including defense. Eritrea used the Ethiopian currency and Ethiopia gained free access to the Assab and Massawa ports, in the period of honey moon relation. The relations between the two countries were regarded as exemplary to other countries in the region and has clear regional meaning and impact. However; this warm peace lasted only four years and has remained to solve until 2018 peace agreement that signed between the two countries leader in Asmara.

As far as concerned the two countries relation concerned, in 1997 the relations between the two countries dramatically deteriorated. In May 1998, the two years' border war flared up around the Badme area, with small scale clashes between Ethiopian militia and the patrols of the Eritrean army. Following the end of the 1998-2000 Ethiopia-Eritrea border conflict the two countries have been in a 'no war no peace' situation. Legally speaking the border dispute between the two nations is over. Therefore, this parts of the study mainly the historical relation of the two countries, the peace process, the assessment of the peace process and generally the time between the conflict and 'no war no peace' situation will undercover in this part of the paper perhaps it will helpful to see the past weakness and it might be the strength to reach in to scientific recommendation and conclusion.

3.1 History of Ethiopian and Eritrea Relation

3.1.1 Italian Colonialism

The process of Italian colonialism, which culminated in 1890 with the establishment of Eritrea, began in 1892. However, Ethiopia is one of the oldest polities in the world. Ethiopia's history as an independent and organized polity, with its famous Axumite civilization dates back to the first century (Bahru, 2001). At the height of its power, Axum, controlled large parts today's High land Eritrea and the Arabian coastline across the Red Sea (Ibid). Except for the five years of Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941, the country maintained its independence.

Eritrea, on the other hand, did not exist as a separate entity before 1890. The central highlands of Eritrea were part and parcel of the Axumite civilization of Ethiopia. The Tigrinya⁴ speakers who inhabited these highlanders trace their culture, religion and language to the kingdom of Axum (Pausewang and Shruke, 1993). On the other hand, the western part of Eritrea, inhabited by the Baja tribes, was much closer to Sudan. The Afars who settled in the Eastern and the coastal parts have lived in their own, and at times resisted attempts of subjugation by Christian Ethiopian highlanders.⁵

In 1890 Italy combined all these separate parts and established the state of Eritrea named after the Latin name of the red sea - mare erythraeum (Ibid). Eritrea as a colony was very important to Italy in many ways. The land in the temperate highland areas of Eritrea was used to settle land less Italian peasants from southern Italy. The ports were great use to Italian trade with the rest of Africa. More importantly, Eritrea served as source of soldiers for further Italian colonial ventures in Libya and Ethiopia. Eritrea was also used as a spring board to invade Ethiopia in 1935. For obvious reasons, Italians invested greatly in Eritrea. They built roads, schools, workshops and railways. This resulted in the booming of Eritrean economy (Tekeste, 1987).

Italian rule lasted half a century. In 1941 Italians left Eritrea after being defeated by the joint British and Ethiopian forces.

⁴ According to Amharic speaker, a person from Tigray Tigre and Tigrayan who speak Tigrinya is called Tigrinya. It is also simply identified as Eritreans.

⁵ Tekesete indicated that; Eritrea has 7 main ethnic groups Tigreans, Tigre, Beni Amer, Bilen, Shao, Baria, Kunama, and Afar. The Tigre ethnic group include the sub group of Habab, the Marya and the Mensa.

3.1.2 The British Military Administration

With the end of Italian colonialism; Eritrea's fate became uncertain and debatable. There had been debates inside and outside Eritrea about the future status of Eritrea. Inside Eritrea, the British allowed the establishment of political parties and the parties began to shape the nature of the debate. Political parties with programs of union with Ethiopia (the Unionist Party), complete independence (the Muslim League) and establishment of a Tigrayn state comprising the Tigrinya speaking population from both sides (the Liberal Progressive Party) were established and campaigned for political support (Minale, 2008).

Outside Eritrea, the Four-Power commission (composed of the victory allies), which visited Eritrea in 1947 and 1948, was unable to reach agreement on the status of Eritrea. As a result, the duty to decide the fate of Eritrea was given to the newly established United Nations (Tekete, 1997). The UN who received the responsibility to determine the destiny of Eritrea sent a 5 countries' commission to seek a solution.⁶ The commission, which was composed of Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and South Africa, could not reach unanimous recommendation. In 1950 the UN General Assembly decided the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian crown but having its own constitution, flag and parliament.⁷ The UN decision served as a delicate compromise to the polarized views of independence or unification.

3.1.3 Annexation

Following Eritrea's federal arrangement with Ethiopia in 1952, the political liberties previously enjoyed by the Eritreans during the ten years, under British Administration began to be denied by the Addis Ababa government.⁸ The federal arrangement created a contradiction between liberal oriented Eritrea and feudal/ authoritarian Ethiopia. As a result of its foreign experiences, Eritrea enacted a much more liberal constitution than the one in Ethiopia. The constitution allowed a free press and the right to form associations and trade unions. This greater degree of liberalization in Eritrea was too risky for the Emperor to afford. Soon, the Emperor initiated a series of measures to weaken the federation and include Eritrea into Ethiopia. In 1962 under strong pressure from

⁶ In the first stages, Pakistan and Guatemala proposed an independent state of Eritrea after ten years of trusteeship period under the UN, South Africa and Burma proposed the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia and Norway preferred the integration of Eritrea with Ethiopia, federation as a second choice.

⁷ UN Resolution 390 A (V).

⁸ In fact, according to Teksete Negashi (1986) argues that 'Eritrea was only effectively colonized between 1935-1940.'

Ethiopia, the Eritrean parliament voted for union with Ethiopia, and Eritrea became the fourteenth province of Ethiopia (Bahru, 2001).

3.1.3.1 The Emergency of Eritrean Nationalism and struggle for Independence

If the Italians colonialism had brought the difference constituencies that were later to form Eritrea and the 56 year Italians administration and 10 years' British administration had not abolished ethnic distinction and deference among Eritreans. According to Smith, (2005) the main theme at the center of discussions on nationalism (in Europe) is the concept of nation. Nation refers to “a community of people joined together by a common decent and common culture”. Lawrence (2005) added to this, it represents homogeneous people sharing common language, religion, historical myths and common territory. Nationalism in Europe is rooted with the idea that every nation has the right to government to weakening the large Empire in French revolution.

According to Davidson (1992) in Africa, the colonial project by European powers resulted in the arbitrary division of the nations of the continent across different neighboring states. African states were artificially created with the arbitrary colonial borders. Nationalism in most African states was fomented on the basis of common territory, common colonial history and common goal for de-colonialization.

As far as concerned the Eritrean nationalism, it is the defiant of European nationalism and partially, it also defies African nationalism. Eritrean people living in the low lands and the highlands in Eritrea had nothing in common. It was not inhabited by a single nation. There were more than 7 different ethnic groups in Eritrea. The highlanders are mostly Christians and speak Tigrinya. On the other hand, the lowlanders are Muslims and speak different languages mainly, Arabic and Afar. Thus, the consciousness of a common Eritrean identity among these different ethnic groups was apparently nonexistent before the coming of Italian colonialism. A distinct Eritrean identity begins to be conceived in the minds of both the Christians in the highland and the Muslims in the low land with the presence of Italian colonialism. To this end, Italians intentionally carried out various socio economic projects to produce and nurture a distinct Eritrean identity. They highly invested in the economy; italicized the “civilizedness” of Eritreans in contrast to “backward” Ethiopians(Ibid).

However, Eritrean nationalism shares similarity with nationalism of most African states in the sense that it was founded on common territory and common colonial historical experience. But, it is also dissimilar to African nationalisms in the sense that it was not articulated by common resistance to Italy- the colonial power. Opposition and resistance of Eritreans both in the highland and the lowlands of Eritrea against Italian colonial rule were almost nil (Ibid).⁹

Although, The Muslims of Eritrea who harbored hostility against the Ethiopian Christian highlander's subjugation welcomed Italian colonialism. Though the Italians were worried about the potential opposition of the Tigrinya speaking population of Eritrea that became separated from their Ethiopian cousins, the resistance didn't come. Instead, Italian colonialism created a sense of ethno-national distinctiveness along each side of the border (Ibid).

The quest for an independent Eritrean state gained momentum with the increasing weakening of the federal arrangement and annexation of Eritrea by the imperial government in Ethiopia. In early 1960s and 70s the newly flourishing Eritrean independence fronts justified an independent state of Eritrea on the basis of the distinct Eritrean identity that Italian colonialism has created and starting the long way for independence Eritrea separated from Ethiopia.

After the abrogation of the federal arrangement in 1962 by the emperor cultivated hostility among Eritreans. Particularly, the Emperor's decision to ban trade unions resulted in the decline of support to the imperial government from the working class of Eritrea, many of whom were Christians. In addition, the declining of the economy and the increasing rate of unemployment alienated the Ethiopian government from its support of poor Eritrean Christians (Tekeste, 1996).

As the result, the emergence of the armed resistance movements predated the official abrogation of the federation in 1962. Armed resistance was already launched in 1961 in reaction to the growing violation of the federal arrangement (Pausewang, and Suhrke,1993). Following this, the first armed resistance movement that emerged was Eritrean Liberation Front(ELF). The Eritrean Liberation Front was established by Eritrean exiles living in Cairo in 1961 and launched an attack against the Ethiopian forces that same year.

However, ELF pursued its resistance in a Pan Arab mold. the ELF used Islam as a tool of national mobilization. It defined its goal as achieving independence from the domination of Christian

⁹ Ibid.

Ethiopia (Tekeste, 1996). Thus, according to Tekeste Negashi, the main source of support for the front came from Iraq and Syria who regarded Eritrea as part of the Arab world. The front distrusted the Christian community of Eritrea and at times considered them as enemies. Hence, ELF ostracized its Christian members that joined it because it was the only organized political movement at the time. As a result, friction and strife emerged between the Christians and the Muslim members of the ELF as well as various units of command of the ELF. In particular, the division of the army into separate regional armed groups and the creation of a distinct Christian army unit intensified the strife and weakened the Front (Ibid). subsequently, ‘in 1970 there were already three new groups challenging the hegemony of the ELF in Eritrea opposition political movement. The new group led by Issaias Afewerki emerged as the strongest one. In 1973 the Issaias group named itself as the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF). EPLF declared itself a socialist movement. The main basis of support for EPLF came from the Christian highlands. However, unlike the ELF, EPLF didn’t defines its political program in religious terms and was nonsectarian. This widened the support of the movement to recruit members from the Muslim lowlands’ (Regassa, 2011).

As the result of the Continues Struggle of, in the late 1970’s EPLF emerged as the hegemonic front in Eritrea. With the growing armed capability of EPLF, ELF and EPLF entered into fierce competition. The two fronts fought each other from 1971 to 1974. In 1981, ELF was smashed out from Eritrean territory towards Sudan by the combined forces of the EPLF and the newly established Tigrayan front called Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF). Consequently, EPLF appeared as the hegemonic guerrilla movement in Eritrea.

3.1.4 Eritrea Independence and The Cordial Bilateral Relation

The Ethiopia and Eritrea state level relation history according to Kalewengeal, the assumption of state power by EPLF in 1991 in Asmara marked the emergence of a de facto independent state of Eritrea. However, formal relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea had to wait until the legal independence of Eritrea, the referendum in April 1993 and the official declaration of independence of Eritrea on 24 May 1993. Relations between the two countries were formalized with the signing of the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation in June 1993. However, the agreement reflected the commitment of the two countries to achieve economic integration and political cooperation.

The parties agreed to cooperate in areas of trade and commerce, health, education, tourism, environment, finance, science, foreign policy and defense.

‘In September 1993, another agreement with particular focus on the economic policies was signed. The parties agreed to harmonize their exchange rate policies, cooperate on interest rates, create inflation controlling mechanisms, synchronize exchange policies and extend the privilege for the nationalities of each of the countries to investment’.¹⁰ ‘In addition, except for the goods which were in short supply, agreement on free movement of goods and services was reached including goods and commodities imported from third countries, save to goods which are imported from Ethiopia to Eritrea or the vice versa that could never be exported to a third country. More importantly, the parties reached an agreement to use a common currency (the Ethiopian Birr) until Eritrea issues its own currency’.¹¹

‘The economic agreements, if they were implemented, would have contributed to the development of the economies of the two countries and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. However, both states made very little progress in the implementation of the agreements. In reality, there was very little cooperation on economic issues. According to kalewengel, Minale (2008) ‘the major reason for this failure, as pointed out by the bilateral committee organized by the parties to investigate the problems the agreements faced, was the lack of effective institutional mechanisms to implement the agreements. Instead, the countries were found introducing their own investment codes, tariff regimes and exchange rates.

‘In 1997 when Eritrea introduced its new currency, economic misunderstandings intensified and the acclaimed relationships between Ethiopia and Eritrea began to break up. The new Eritrean currency was introduced without proper mutual consultation. The economic measures Ethiopia introduced following the introduction of the Eritrean currency (Nacfa) further aggravated the situation.’¹²

¹⁰ Alemesege, np sighted in kalewengeal, 2008

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

3.1.5 The War On Ethiopia and Eritrea Bilateral Relation

3.1.5.1 The Cause and Course of the War

In analyzing the causes of the Ethiopian and Eritrean war, we adopt Joseph Nye's three levels of analysis i.e System, State and Individual levels of analysis. System level analysis examines the distribution of political power or the structure of the international system. State level analysis focuses on the explanation of the domestic processes that contributed in causing the war. The individual level focuses on how the personalities of individual leaders contribute in the decision of states to go to war. The judgment, intelligence and personal characteristics of leaders matter in the decisions of states to go to war. The personality of Wilhelm II and Hitler contributed considerably in the causation of the First and the Second World Wars respectively (Nye, 2003). These levels of analysis are complimentary to each other. The causes of a war can be understood as interplay of all factors analyzed at these three levels.

The Ethio-Eritrean border conflict of 1998-2000 took place in three major phases. The first was fought from 22 May to 11 June 1998, which was brief but bloody (Kalewongel, 2008). Both countries attacked some particular places through the mobilizations of ground and air force. However, the air raid was temporarily ceased by an agreement between the two parties brokered by frequent telephone calls of President Clinton to President Issaias of Eritrea and Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia.

In this protracted war of in the second phase of the conflict was fought on February 1999, which began after an undeclared ceasefire was broken., It was initially started when Ethiopia launched an attack against Eritrean forces. After four days of intense fighting, Ethiopian army recaptured Badme. Though it proved unsuccessful, Eritrean forces also made attempt to regain Badme. However, it was unsuccessful and stalemate continued again throughout 1999 and into 2000 (ICG, 2005).

The third Phase of the conflict has begun in May 2000. Ethiopia launched an attack against Eritrean positions on all fronts. This phase of the conflict lasted for one week. Ethiopian forces broke through Eritrean trenches and headed deep inside western Eritrea. On 29 May, President Issaias Afeworki of Eritrea issued an all-front order to the army to withdraw from all the disputed

territories (Kalewongel, 2008). On 30 of May, Ethiopia announced its withdrawal from western Eritrean territory claiming that it had successfully achieved its military objective of liberating occupied territories (Ibid).

Nevertheless, the protracted three phases of the conflict, on 18 June 2000 the conflict was formally concluded with the signing of the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities (ICG, 2005). The conflict in general has resulted in a great socioeconomic and political shock between the two countries and considering Still one of the biggest war in recent history of the world (Ibid).

3.1.6 The Allegers Agreement and The Peace process

To end the Ethiopian Eritrea conflict there have been undertaken a number of peace processes, which had taken place to end the Ethio-Eritrean border conflict. ‘These peace process was demand for the return to the status quo ante bellum was the key component of the four-point peace proposal produced by the joint team of US and Rwanda and the OAU framework agreement. The peace proposals demanded to the return of the status quo that prevailed before May 1998. It was disagreement of the parties on this key component of the peace proposals, which precluded the peace process from preventing the continuation of the war.’

The four-point peace proposal demanded the withdrawal of Eritrean forces from Badme and their redeployment to positions they held before 6 May 1998 and the reconstitution of the civilian administration. Similarly, the OAU framework of agreement, presented to the parties on 7 and 8 of November 1998, contained the same provision. Section three of the framework agreement suggested the redeployment of Eritrean forces from Badme and its environs to the positions they held before 6 May 1998.

Accordingly, these demands for the return to the status quo ante bellum were in line with the Ethiopian claim that Eritrea should first and foremost withdraw from the newly occupied territories and the civilian administration should be reestablished. Hence, the peace proposals were easily accepted by Ethiopia. Eritrea, on the other hand, was unwilling to permit the return of status quo ante bellum. It was reluctant to withdraw its forces from Badme and its surrounding areas. Eritrea argued that the signing of the cessation of hostilities agreement was fair enough to the delimitation and demarcation of the border.

However, both the first four-point peace proposal and the OAU framework agreement did not receive the blessing of the Eritrean government. Eritrea's acceptance of the framework agreement came after Ethiopia carried out massive military attacks on Eritrean positions on the western front. (foot note). As result, In February 1999, Ethiopia attacked Eritrean positions in Badme launching an operation called "Operation Sunset" After massive fighting that lasted for four days (February 23 -26), the Ethiopian forces managed to break through the Eritrean trenches and recapture Badme (Kinf,2004). Subsequently, after the defeat in Badme, Eritrea announced its acceptance of the OAU framework of agreement (Tekeste and Tronvoll, 2000).

As far as concerned Eritrea's accepting the Bill of peace, Ethiopia suspected the true intentions of Eritrea in accepting the peace proposal. Eritrea's acceptance of the OAU framework agreement was understood by Ethiopia as a strategy to buy time, reorganize its army and launch counter attacks on Badme. Instead, Ethiopia preferred to continue its military operations. In May 2000, Ethiopia launched major attacks in multiple fronts. After bitter fighting, Ethiopia penetrated deep inside the Eritrean territory, and occupied areas that were not even in its administration or list of claimed territories (International Crisis Group,2005).

As result of Ethiopian massive military attack against Eritrea force, there have been made significant change of diplomatic in to mediation of the hostilities. Mediators shuttled between the capitals of the two countries and finally succeeded to arrange an agreement on cessation of hostilities, signed on 18 June 2000.

3.1.6.1 Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities (June 2000)

The pillar of the agreement on cessation of hostilities was the deployment of peacekeeping forces and the creation of a 25 kilometers buffer zone inside the territory of Eritrea. The agreement called on Ethiopia to withdraw its troops from positions it occupied after 6 February, which were not under the Ethiopian administration. Eritrea, on the other hand, agreed to settle its troops 25 kilometers away from the Ethiopian settlements. The treaty also envisaged the formation of a military coordination commission to facilitate the settlement of a peacekeeping mission and monitor the implementation of the agreement.

3.1.6.2 The Algiers Agreement

The comprehensive peace agreement in Algiers known as the Algiers Peace Agreement has been signed on 12 December 2000 in Algiers. The peace agreement was mainly brokered by the

government of Algeria, as the chairman of the OAU at the time. Representatives of the UN, European Union and the US witnessed the signing of the agreement.

The agreement consisted six articles that have the idea of an end to the conflict. In first parts of article, article one; the two parties agreed to “permanently terminate military hostilities between themselves and “refrain from the threat or the use of force against the other.” In the second parts of the article, article Two it deals about with the prisoners of war, persons under custody in connection with the armed conflict and the treatment of the nationals of the other state. In fulfilling the obligation, they owe under international humanitarian law and the 1949 Geneva Convention, both parties agreed to release all prisoners of war in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross. They also agreed to release, repatriate and return all those persons who were detained as a result of the armed conflict and extend humane treatment to the nationals of the other state residing in their territories.

On this agreement the parties have reached in to on the rest of the article, of the peace agreement were devoted to the establishment of three commissions that would work to bring an end to the conflict. These are; an Independent Body to investigate the origins of the armed conflict, a neutral Boundary Commission to decide on the course of the boundary line and an impartial Claims Commission to decide on issues of compensation.

Since the early stages of the conflict, the parties have had a series of disagreements on the incidents that led to the eruption of the war. They accused each other of igniting the violence and occupying the territory of the other. As a result, investigation of the origins of the armed violence has been an integral part of the mediation efforts since the four-point peace proposal of the US and Rwanda. Similarly, the Algiers peace agreement included a provision that demanded the investigation of events that led to the triggering of the war (Article 3(1)). An independent and impartial body appointed by the Secretary General of the OAU, in consultation with the General Secretary of the UN and the two parties, was given the duty to investigate the origins of the armed conflict and submit its report.

Although, In the Article 4 of the agreement established a neutral boundary commission with a mandate to come up with a non-appealing decision on the disputed border. This was the central part of the agreement. Out of the total of 47 paragraphs of the agreement, 17 were devoted to the

establishment of the commission. Article 4, paragraph 2, states the responsibility entrusted to the commission,

The parties agree that a neutral boundary commission composed of five members shall be established with mandate to delimit and demarcate the colonial treaty border based on the pertinent colonial treaties (1900, 1902, and 1908) and applicable international law. The commission shall not have the power to make decisions *ex aequo et bono*.¹³

Thus, the commission was given the mandate both to delimit and demarcate the boundary. The commission would consist of five members. Each party was given the opportunity to appoint two members of the commission. These four members should be neither nationals nor permanent residents of the parties. The four party appointed members of the commission in turn would elect the president of the commission - its 5th member.

Additionally, the parties agreed to submit their claims to the secretariat of the commission (the UN Cartographic Unit) within 45 days after the effective date of the agreement. The commission would come up with a delimitation decision within six months after it held its first meeting.

Therefore, the parties committed themselves to accept the decision of the border commission as final and binding. Article 4 paragraph 15 of the Algiers agreement clearly pointed out that, “The parties agree that the delimitation determinations of the commission shall be final and binding. Each party shall respect the border so determined as well as territorial integrity and sovereignty of the other party determined.” After submitting its delimitation decision, the commission would arrange the expeditious demarcation of the border.

Article 5 of the agreement established the third organ; the Claims Commission. The claims commission was given a mandate to come up with a binding decision on “all claims of loss, damage or injury” on government, nationals and entities owned by one over the other. The claims commission was designed in a similar structure as the border commission. Like the border commission, the claims commission was constituted with five members. Each party would appoint two members and the four appointed members of the commission would elect the president of the commission. The commission was given the authority to use relevant international law to make

¹³ *Ex aequo et bono* is a situation in which adjudicators decide disputes on the basis of what is fair, and appropriate. Denying the courts, the ability to make decisions on the basis of *ex aequo et bono* is a precaution intended to ensure that the court decides on the case purely on the basis of the law. In theory, this minimizes the court’s bias and leaves low discretion to the court. However, in reality, the absence of consideration of fairness in the decision of the court usually leads to bitterness and a sense of injustice (Gabriel and Sohn, cited in Jibril 2004).

decisions. It could not make decision on the basis of “ex aequo et bono” and its decision would be final and binding. The commission was expected to finalize and communicate its decision within three years after the completion of the filing of claims by the parties.

In line with the Algiers agreement, the boundary commission and the claims commission were constituted and accomplished their tasks. These two commissions have completed their missions and do not exist anymore. The boundary commission was constituted in 2001, delivered its delimitation decision in April 2002 and de-existed in November 2007. The claims commission, on the other hand, was formally constituted in 2001, gave its verdict in December 2005 and then ended its existence. Nevertheless, the impartial body that was envisaged to carry out an investigation on the incidents, which led to the border war, has never been established.

3.1.6.3 Institutionalization The Peace Process- The Establishment of UNMEE

After the effort of and the signing of the subsequent peace agreement, Consequently, on 31 June 2000, the UN Security Council established the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE). Upon the recommendation of the Secretary General, in August 2000, the Security Council of the UN authorized the deployment of a total of 4,200 military personnel including 220 military observers.¹⁴

In 2002, the UN Security Council adjusted the mandate of the UNMEE to facilitate the implementation of the boundary commission’s delimitation decision.¹⁵ Accordingly, the mandate of the UNMEE was expanded to include, de-mining in key areas to help the demarcation process, and offering administrative and logistical support for the field offices of the boundary commission.

UNMEE’s operation was planned to be concluded with the completion of the delineation of the border between the two countries (Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities). However, the peace process took much longer time than expected. As a result, the UN Security Council was forced to extend the tenure of the UNMEE every six months and reduce the number of troops in the field.¹⁶ The current mandate of UNMEE extends up until 31 July 2008.

¹⁴ Resolution 1320, (2000).

¹⁵ Resolution 1430 (2002)

¹⁶ According to Tekeste and Tronvoll (2000:30) Ethiopia is suspected of having an army of around 450,000 while Eritrea may have 350,000 soldiers along the border.

The UNMEE has effectively served as a buffer separating the hundreds of thousands of soldiers settled along the border it's about seven years' since the establishment. Nevertheless, UNMEE's role of separating the armies of the two countries was in the past curtailed by the cutting of logistic supplies to the peacekeeping force by Eritrea. According to Aljazeera, (April 2008) With the standing of the virtual demarcation of the border as of January 2008, Eritrea announced that it would not accommodate UNMEE forces in its territory any more. In a letter President Issaias Afewerki of Eritrea wrote to the Security Council in January 2008, he said that since the border was virtually demarcated by the commission, UNMEE's continued existence inside the Eritrean territory could be seen as occupation. Along this line, Eritrea cut down fuel and food supplies to UNMEE. Despite the requests from the Secretary General to urgently address the logistic supplies, Eritrea continued to deny UNMEE diesel and food supply. As a result, the UN was forced to pull out UNMEE forces from Eritrea and relocate them in Ethiopia as of February 2008.

Hence, at the time there have been a real threat and the situation prevailing on the ground is permissive of another round of violence between the two countries.

3.1.6.4 The Ethiopian and Eritrean Border Commission (The EEBC)

Accordingly, the Algiers peace agreement, the EEBC was formally established in 2001 in accordance with the article 4.2 of the peace agreement. The Algiers peace agreement recommended for the establishment of a neutral five-member boundary commission with the mandate to delimit and demarcate the boundary between the two countries based on the three pertinent colonial treaties of the 1900, 1902 and 1908 and applicable international law (article 4.2). Few weeks after its formation, on March 2001 the commission began its task of preparing a tentative plan on how delimitation of the borderline should proceed (Kalewongel, 2008).

Following this, the commission adopted its rules of procedure on June 2001, according to which, the parties filed their first submissions (memories) at the end of June 2001 (Second Report). This was followed by the second submissions (counter memorials) in September and Replies in October 2001 (Third Report). From 10 to 21 December 2001, the commission held hearings of the parties. The parties undertook three rounds of arguments and responded to the questions posed by the commission (Fourth Report).¹⁷

¹⁷ Kalewongel, 2008...

In the month of April 2002, the commission delivered its delimitation decision. Divided into 8 chapters, the commission's decision contained 125 pages. The first two chapters dealt with procedural and substantive introductions. Chapter one traces the background of the commission to the provisions of the Algiers agreement and states how the commission was constituted. The substantive introduction presents a short summary of the history of the two countries and explains the controversy that is involved regarding their common border. Chapter three deals with the mandate of the commission and the law applied.¹⁸ The delimitation decision was presented by categorizing the border into three sectors, the west, the central and the east. Chapter seven deals with the boundary line marked by rivers. The last chapter of the commission presents its decisions.

3.1.6.5 Towards Termination of the Boundary Commission

The boundary commission was terminated in 2008 after it finished its first part of reference to provide a valid legal deposition on the boundary (Healy, 2008). then it has passed legal verdict on the demarcation in 2002; challenges arose against its decision from the parties particularly from Ethiopian side. In the time, Ethiopia and Eritrea have failed to cooperate on the decision.¹⁹ As a result, it could not go further to proceed to the second part, demarcation of the boundary, without the cooperation of the two parties. Such cooperation was clearly not forthcoming. Yet the Commission could not remain in existence indefinitely.

¹⁸ According to Kalewengel, In Paragraph 3.4 of its decision, the commission pointed out that its main task in the process of determining the course of the border was the legal interpretation of the colonial treaties. This was mainly because the parties agreed that the treaties in question covered the whole boundary between them and the meaning of the treaties constituted the “central feature” of the dispute.... However, the commission did not (neither was mandated) rely on the interpretation of treaties. In line with the provisions of the Algiers agreement, the commission also made reference to the OAU principle of respecting borders drawn by European colonial powers and existing at independence. In the case of Ethiopia and Eritrea, the commission interpreted this principle as referring to the border that prevailed when Eritrea became independent in 1993.

¹⁹ According to Healy 2008, Ethiopia, on the other hand, has stated that it regards the demarcation as invalid as they are not the product of a demarcation process recognized by international law. It has described virtual demarcation as a ‘legal nonsense’ and maintains that border demarcation cannot be recognized unless the pillars are positioned on the ground. In the meantime, in 2007 Ethiopia has stated with growing emphasis that it has accepted the Boundary Commission Delimitation Decision, and that what was now necessary was for Ethiopia and Eritrea to sit down together and discuss exactly how to demarcate the border as what it has done in the five-point peace proposal which sought the physical demarcation of the border to be worked out through dialogue.

3.1.6.5. The Ethiopian Five-Point Peace Proposal

The border has been virtually delineated. However, Ethiopia has maintained its position that demarcation only cannot help to solve the protracted dispute between the two governments. Therefore, a political compromise is necessary to make sustainable peace between the two nations possible and to normalize their relations. This position has been explicitly indicated in the Ethiopian government's 2004 five-point peace proposal for dialogue. Following Ethiopia's rejection of the decision of the boundary commission, the problem around the border area continued to be tense throughout 2000 up until signed the peace agreement in 2018. The Eritrean government puts the implementation of the decision of the boundary commission as a precondition for the normalization of the relation and dialogue between Ethiopia. Initially the two countries agreed that the decision of the boundary commission will be final and binding. However, after the commission delivered its decision in 2002, Ethiopia came with reservation and failed to accept the decision of the commission.

Instead, Ethiopia continued denouncing the decision as unjust and illegal. While denouncing the decision of the commission as unjust and illegal, on November 2004 Ethiopia came up with its own initiative called five-point peace proposal.²⁰ Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia initiated it. As mentioned in (ICG, 2005) the proposal was motivated to repair the distorted public image of the country as defiant of international law. In its new peace proposal, Ethiopia accepted the decision of the commission in principle and called for dialogue to the immediate implementation of the delimitation decision in a manner "consistent with the promotion of sustainable peace and brotherly ties between the two peoples" and with a view of future normalization of relations.²¹

Though the proposal shows some commitment that Ethiopia has towards peace process, it remained logically unsound to the Eritrea. It was nothing less than a call to the Eritrean government to come to dialogue for the implementation of the decision of the border commission. It shows

²⁰ Ethiopian government the 2004 five-point peace proposal which was approved by the House of Peoples Representatives on the Ethiopia - Eritrea Border issue on the 25th November 2004 is directly linked into Ethiopia's national interest.

²¹ International Crisis Group, 2005 report reads as; Resolution of the dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea only through peaceful means; Resolution of the root causes of the conflict through dialogue with the view to normalizing relations; Acceptance by Ethiopia, in principle, of the Boundary Commission decision; Agreement by Ethiopia to pay its dues to the Boundary Commission and to appoint field liaison officers; and Immediate start of dialogue with the view to implementing the Boundary Commission's decision in a manner consistent with the promotion of sustainable peace and brotherly ties between the two peoples.

Ethiopia's acceptance of the delimitation decision only with a condition and called for dialogue that would be guided by two considerations; Ethiopia's acceptance of the decision of the border commission in principle and the adherence to the principle of give and take. As a result, Eritrea rejected the initiative typically by stressing on the phrase that "Ethiopia's acceptance of the decision of the boundary commission in principle.

Following this, the two countries began deploying their military power around the border. In December 2004 Ethiopia moved its military power to the border area believing that Eritrea could unilaterally implement the decision of the boundary commission (ICG, 2005). In response Eritrea was also stepped up its military readiness that later followed by an expected banning of all flights by UNMEE helicopters. According to the report of International Crisis Group 2005, the main reason for the ban of UNMEE flights was that Eritrea perceives the presence of the UNMEE as imposition on its territory.

Following the restriction imposed on the UNMEE activities, as indicated above in the five-point peace proposal, Ethiopia moved some steps forward in accepting the decision of the boundary commission in principle. However, though the positive gesture that Ethiopia showed towards accepting the decision of the boundary commission was something promising as it may appear, it did not go far enough.

3.1.7 An Assessments of the Peace Process Weakness After the Signing Algiers Peace Agreement and the Bilateral Relation Condition

The Ethio-Eritrean conflict started in the remote border town of Badme. Soon the outbreak of the conflict, international community moved to help the parties avoid going to war and solve their problem amicably. Initially, diplomats and mediators must have been tested by the boring task of verifying the claims and counter claims of playing victim by the parties. The amount of time and energy that the fact finding process consumed was enormous. It leads one to wonder if it were more than a coincidence that the remotely Badme happens to be the flashpoint for the clash. Third parties had no way of knowing what exactly happened in the remote area of Badme. Mediators were visibly at a loss to distinguish the victim from the aggressor. It took years to answer a question about the exact location in relation to the border; who was administering it before the conflict, what happened on May 12th and the previous days (Rejuois and Zondi, 2005).

All efforts of Ethio-Eritrean peace process have thus far failed to bring a good closure to the conflict. Neither the diplomatic negotiation nor the comprehensive Algiers peace treaty could bring peaceful relation between the two countries. The decision of the boundary commission, the presence of UNMEE and the five-point Ethiopian peace proposal for dialogue were at all unable to bring peace between them. Their failure to achieve lasting peace has brought great problems to both countries and the region as a whole (see chapter four). Many writers have argued that, there were several reasons why all peace endeavors particularly of Algiers peace agreement with its components failed to resolve the conflict.

One among these was Ethiopia's non-compliance to the decision of the boundary commission (ICG, 2008). Initially, during the signing of Algiers Agreement the two countries have agreed as the decision of the commission will be final and binding. Nonetheless, Ethiopia rejected the decision (ICG, 2006 and Muller, 2006). The second reason, as many writers argued, was the wrong conflict strategy employed by the international community (Dima, 2005 and Medhane, 1999). In principle, mediation needs to be carried out with proper understanding of the nature of the conflict and the parties. Nevertheless, mediators in the Ethio-Eritrean peace process lacked enough understanding of the real and deep-rooted cause of the conflict. The Ethio-Eritrean conflict, as many writers have argued was caused by several incompatible political and economic interests (ICG, 2005; Dima, 2006 and Medhane, 1999). However, all the mediation efforts reduced the cause of the conflict to only border issue and have focused on its resolution (*Ibid*). Largely, all endeavors of peace process do not take into consideration what causes the conflict. The root cause of the conflict was not given focus by the mediators. They only paid especially attention to the border issue which, as many argued, was secondary (Dima, 2005; Kalewongel, 2008 and Medhane, 1999).

Particularly, as Medhane (1999) stated the ruling of the boundary commission did not provide the framework for the peaceful resolution of the conflict. In this regard, had the impartial body that was envisaged to carry out an investigation on the incidents that led to the war been created, peace would have easily been achieved. As per the Algiers agreement, this body was mandated to investigate on the causes that led to the conflict. Nonetheless, it has not been created. Had it been created, the root cause of the conflict would have been properly addressed and confidential peace be achieved.

3.1.7 Ethiopia and Eritrea Bilateral Relation and ‘No war no peace’ Condition

Following the end of the 1998-2000 Ethiopia-Eritrea border conflict the two countries have been in a ‘no war no peace’ situation. Legally speaking the border dispute between the two nations is over. The border has been virtually delineated. However, the bilateral relation totally has stopped.

Ethiopia has maintained its position that demarcation only cannot help to solve the protracted dispute between the two governments (Ayente, 2016). Therefore, a political compromise is necessary to make sustainable peace between the two nations possible and to normalize their relations. This position has been explicitly indicated in the Ethiopian government’s 2004 five-point peace proposal for dialogue. Eritrea, however, favors the existing legal approach to resolve the problems. Eritrea’s approach to conflict management aims to reduce, downgrade or contain the ongoing conflict and minimize its negative effects.

On the other hand, some people say; By failing to take a strong position against Ethiopia, the guarantors and witnesses contributed to the ‘no war, no peace’ situation that lasted until 9 July 2018. Indirectly, they became complicit in the human suffering and economic disaster of the two countries. A conflict that had already claimed the lives of tens of thousands of soldiers was allowed to fester and inflict further immense human suffering, material destruction and waste (Bereketeab 2009). As a matter of principle, mediators are obliged to remain neutral, if they are to fulfil their solemn duty.

Following the end of the 1998–2000 war, the TPLF strategy shifted to economic strangulation. The Ethiopian government expected Eritrea simply to collapse like a pack of cards. The assumption was that an isolated and economically bankrupt Eritrea would sink under the weight of popular political discontent. When this economic pressure failed to provoke popular resentment and the collapse of the state, all manner of dubious ploys was devised to get the UN to impose sanctions on Eritrea (Bereketeab 2013). These included allegations of support for the extremist Al-Shebab group and an attempt to bomb an African Union summit meeting; border dispute with Djibouti; allegations that Eritrea was undermining peace in the region; and more recently claims of human rights violations – all designed to completely isolate Eritrea and it was mentioned in Ethiopia and Eritrea bad relation in history. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was also drafted in and was instrumental in initiating the demand for imposing the sanctions endorsed by the UN Security Council in 2009 (Mengisteab 2014). Later, when Eritrea

tried to activate its membership of IGAD after an absence of several years, the move was blocked by Ethiopia.

For its part, Eritrea effectively utilized the Ethiopian rebels based in Eritrea to counter Ethiopia's ill intentions (Kidist, 2011). Indeed, the tens of thousands of rebels may have served to deter Ethiopia from any military adventures. Since, it would also mean fighting Ethiopians alongside Eritreans who were located along the common border. As a result, stalemate continues and had resulted in political instability throughout the Horn. Both countries began practicing a tradition of pursuing foreign policy through providing support to proxy forces in neighboring countries and other opposition forces. Destabilization actions and development of proxy wars inside the third state had become common practice of the two countries.

Additionally, as many writers have argued, the two countries have engaged in destabilizing action of the other and involvement in proxy wars inside the third state of the neighboring state of Somalia (Kidist, 2011)

However, the Situation had been negative impact on both economy and national development. As indicated in different governmental reports this slight and significant economic development is registered due to the government's collaborative work with different Asian countries like China and India. For more than a decade, particularly in the year 2009/10 Ethiopia has achieved 12.7% of annual economic development. However, when it is seen from the point of view of the conflict and the closure of trade relation with Eritrea, Ethiopian economy is impacted to well.²² Thus, in the recent rapprochement the bilateral relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea has been showing significance development and very promising.

To conclude this chapter, an increasing interstate relation fosters a sense of common sense as well as the development of mutual respect and peaceful relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea. it is only when the two states are found interdependent that an increased cooperation and trust would prevail. Therefore, it is when interdependence prevails in various aspects of interstate relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea that states would have a better interaction and cooperation. There is complex interdependence tween the two countries historically that have experienced both enmity and warm relation could have been enough lesson to the future relationship. Hence, these bad and

²² <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com> › Africa › Ethiopia (accessed on 6 June2011)

good relation affected each in. Moreover, in this rapprochement particularly the challenges aspects will address in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES OF ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA ENGAGEMENT

Introduction

In this chapter mainly capture structural challenges ahead in the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea. One could come from within Ethiopia; another could stem from the relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea. concerning to the first challenge, Ethiopia needs to tackle its internal unrest. In spite of the change of leadership, the unrest has continued under the new prime minister, too. There are several reasons for this. First, the young people who spearheaded the protests wanted to see an immediate change in many areas. In this respect, it seems they are not sure how far the new prime minister is willing and able to push reform; thus keeping the pressure up is one way of ensuring steady progress. As the reform has unfolded, so additional challenges – visible and invisible – have arisen externally and internally from both Ethiopia and Eritrea context. This parts of the thesis will cover the challenge ahead over the Rapprochement.

2.3. Ethiopia and Eritrea Engagement

Ours is a time of great and accelerated change which has dictated the sudden obsolescence of myth, concept and principles that had been considered hallowed-and may have been valid a few years ago. It is clear that no useful purpose will be served by stubbornly adhering to outmoded values, myth and concepts which have been rendered bankrupt by the developments in, and relations between, Ethiopia and Eritrea (Tekle ,1994).

The recent rapprochement is driven by the internal political dynamics of Ethiopia, rather than by external factors. This has been fundamentally reshaped the relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea. However, the EEBC announced its verdict on 13 April 2002. After an initial expression of acceptance, Ethiopia rejected the ruling, calling it illegal, irresponsible and unjust and demanding renegotiation; meanwhile, Eritrea accepted it and called for its unconditional and immediate

implementation (Berikiteab, 2009). The reason for Ethiopia's rejection was the EEBC's award of the village of Badme, the flashpoint of the war, to Eritrea (Abbink, 2003).

Though, the essence of any meaningful cooperation between Ethiopia and Eritrea must be the expressed wishes of their respective people's ether were not committed to removing the stalemate. On the view of this, on 5 June 2018, the prime minister of Ethiopia, Dr. Abiy Ahmed Ali, announced that his government had accepted the EEBC's border ruling and was ready to implement it completely and unconditionally. This announcement also extended an invitation to the Eritrean government to conclude peace and end the state of 'no war, no peace'. The Eritrean government's response came on 20 June, when out of the blue the Eritrean president announced that Eritrea would dispatch a delegation. A few days later, the delegation, led by the minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Addis Ababa(Brikiteab,2019). A result, Ethiopia and Eritrea, there followed a reciprocal visit to Eritrea by the Ethiopian prime minister on 8-9 July, amid huge popular rejoicing. On this visit, the two leaders signed a Peace and Friendship Agreement., Following this, Agreement on Peace, Friendship and Comprehensive Cooperation Between the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the State of Eritrea have signed in Jeddah on September 2018. After that The Two Parties agreed as follows:

Article One

The state of war between the two countries has ended and a new era of peace, friendship and comprehensive cooperation has started.

Article Two

The two countries will promote comprehensive cooperation in the political, security, defense, economic, trade, investment, cultural and social fields on the basis of complementarity and synergy.

Article Three

The two countries will develop Joint Investment Projects, including the establishment of Joint Special Economic Zones.

Article Four

The two countries will implement the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission decision.

Article Five

The two countries will promote regional and global peace, security and cooperation.

Article Six

The two countries will combat terrorism as well as trafficking in people, arms and drugs in accordance with international covenants and conventions.

Article Seven

The two countries will establish a High-Level Joint Committee, as well as Sub-committees as required, to guide and oversee the implementation of this Agreement.

Though the rapprochement was sudden and unexpected, and indeed it took the world by surprise—because it came about without the involvement of external mediators. it came just as some experts

and diplomats were urging and advising the guarantors and witnesses to assume (or resume) responsibility and inject life into the dormant peace process (Cohen 2013). The agreements concluded between the presidents of Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia in general Four agreements are attached herein as an index. However, Ethiopian and Eritrea bilateral relations underway smoothly, it couldn't be speedy and rule based as expected in many reasons have risen both from Eritrean and Ethiopian side.²³

2.4. Challenges of Ethiopian and Eritrea Engagement

4.2.1 Ethiopian context

4.2.1.1 The Conflict Transformation Process and Ethnic Drives Political Tension

Whatever the cause of the Eritrea-Ethiopia rapprochement, there is no doubt that it has diluted tensions along the shared frontier and opened a new chapter in bilateral relations. The specter of war no longer looms over the two countries. Despite limited resources, transportation links are being rehabilitated. Relations between Abiy and Isaias appear warm and collegial, though a lack of transparency surrounding the rapprochement and the delay in negotiating formal cooperation instruments have drawn criticism and needs clarification (Weldemariam,2019).

To a large extent, the Eritrea-Ethiopia rivalry was rooted in the mutual enmity of the dominant parties in each country, the EPLF—renamed the People's Front for Democracy and Justice in 1994—and the TPLF. The 1998 war was in many ways an intimate conflict, since these two parties had forged close bonds in the previous struggle against Ethiopia's Marxist regime (Negashi and Tronovoll, 2000).

as main – challenge, of course, came from the TPLF, which makes up the government of the Tigray region (Brikiteab, 2019). In Ethiopia, the reconstruction and, above all, the replacement of the administration and the military are continuing but still, an ongoing process. The old rope teams of the former central government dominated by TPLF are still active and are resisting change and maintain stronghold in Tigray Region. The position of Prime Minister Abiy has not yet been

²³ Interview with Mr. Ojege Osso Orcho 'Eritrean Affairs Ministries Counselor' at EFDR MoFA.

consolidated. Again and again there are local uprisings and attacks on the life of Abiy himself..²⁴ To recognize this challenge, in a thinly veiled threat, the deputy president of Tigray region told a public gathering in Mekele, capital of the region, on 28 July ‘we either respect each other or disintegrate’. Many interpreted this as a signal that the TPLF could invoke Chapter 39 of the constitution, which provides the right to secede.

However, in deep-rooted, value-based conflicts, the development of such mutual respect and understanding is often essential before people can begin to discuss “resolution” or “consensus” to transform the hostile relation towards normalizations between interstate conflict. The political environment in Ethiopia characterized by division and a lack of trust. There is no consensus within the government about the way forward among the regional government and between the federal and regional governments.

Unfortunately, In November 2018, the arrest of many of Tigrayan officials on corruption and rights-abuse charges, and an associated documentary on state-run television prompted the TPLF to accuse Abiy’s administration of selective targeting. There are policy differences as well, on economic matters and the orientation of Ethiopian federalism.²⁵

This is an incredibly complex dispute, with claims and counterclaims that go deep into the murky waters of history and identity in northern Ethiopia. It is also explosive: over the past year, regional militias in both Amhara and Tigray have sought to boost their military capabilities while engaging in covert activity. Populist winds in both regions—part of a nationwide surge in ethnic nationalism—make de-escalation difficult. In this context, the Eritrea-Ethiopia rapprochement has been profoundly unsettling for the TPLF, sharpening the security dilemmas it faces and complicating any hope for accommodation with its rivals within the EPRDF.

There is undeniable political tension between TPLF and EPLF that must be resolved. According to Weledemariam (2019), The narrative advanced by much of Tigray’s political class is that the rapprochement was designed to encircle the TPLF (and by extension Tigray), to keep it in check

²⁴ African news quoted A statement released by the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), ‘ETHIOPIA’S PEACE DEAL WITH ERITREA CRITICISED BY TPLF’ the ruling EPRDF’s oldest member, called Ethiopia’s recent decision to accept fully the Ethiopia-Eritrea Algiers Agreement and the subsequent decision by the boundary commission and to partially and/or wholly privatize major state owned companies have “**fundamental flaws**”.

²⁵ Yohannes Boyalew, (Member of EPRDF and ADP CC) confirmed that there is a difference with TPLF on the issue of ideological orientation and constitutional; interview on Walta Communications Corporation televised program 2019.

or even dismantle it. In many ways, the condition of Ethiopia's national unity is eroding. The region's center of gravity, Ethiopia, has achieved rapid but easily reversible progress in building a democratic order; the rapprochement with Eritrea would not have occurred otherwise (Weldemariam,2019). the unstable political condition of Ethiopia will have its impact on speedy cooperation and integration between the two countries. Although this view is somewhat reductionist, it is not unreasonable to think that one element of the thaw was the mutual desire of Abiy and Isaias to corral the TPLF.

Another challenge concerns the security and military forces. Bringing these forces under the political control of the new prime minister has proved a real problem. The reason is that the two institutions – the military and the security forces – were under the control of the TPLF, where the uppermost level of the power structure was dominated by ethnic Tigrayans; transferring loyalty to a new power holder – particularly if that person comes from a different ethnic group – will be difficult until those senior officers come to terms with the 'change of guard' (or are replaced by others who are loyal to the new authorities) (Brekiteab,2019). In recognition of this challenge, the prime minister immediately enforced change in the leadership of the security and military forces,²⁶ retiring senior officers, including the army chief of staff, General Samora Yunis, and the director of the National Intelligence and Security Service (Zelalem 2018).

4.2.2 Eritrean context

4.2.2.1 The Nature of Regime in Eritrea

Studies have shown a correlation between regime types and conflict proneness. The democratic peace theory states that democratic regimes are less prone to war. Writers such as Mansfield and Snyder (1995) made a distinction between developed and transitional democracies arguing that unlike developed democracies which are less prone to war, transitional democracies are prone to war. During this transitional period, interstate wars are possible since mass mobilization by the elites becomes a lot easier. Authoritarian regimes, on the other hand, are found to be significantly prone to war.

²⁶ However, This reform Criticized as the replacement of Tigerayans by Oromo Ethnic Generals/ WWW.Youtube.com/ East Eletawi 2019. And this becomes another source of discourse alarming the Ethnic Tension Politics.

Coming to Eritrea's specific context, Rapprochement parties carried out illustrates that Eritrea is not developed democracies at all. In reality, the regime is repressive and authoritarian. In Eritrea, EPLF abused human rights, banned the free press, jailed those who became critical of the government, outlawed opposition parties, and all state institutions became subordinated to the president(Ibid). however, Ethiopia's effort to democratization is motivated by genuine commitments(weldemariam,2019). Therefore, the authoritarian nature of the Eritrea government could be the possible problem to the rapprochement process.

4.2.2.2 Geopolitical Strategist's Country to The Arabs

Eritrea's geopolitical strategies to the Middle East and its nearness geographically to the Arabian Countries, Arabians always give high attention to the horn politics and Eritrea. They sought to assure the interest of their national affairs too. Moreover, according to the UN Monitoring Group, the importance of Eritrea's strategic location between the Horn of Africa and the Persian Gulf has been increased by the conflict in Yemen.²⁷ Due to this, they have not been hesitating to enter in their long hand interchangeably the two Axis group over Eritrea. Regarding Ethiopia's relation with Eritrea as to Yacob Hailemariam (2011) Example, the main problem of Algiers agreement was; being Algeria's Bouteflika the Broker of the Ethiopia-Eritrea deal and it held in cities an Arab country wishing not good for future relationship between the two countries. Thus, he argued that the agreement represented the Arab and better than Ethiopia, Eritrean interest. In the recent agreement on Peace, Friendship and Comprehensive Cooperation have signed Between the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the State of Eritrea (2018) has also predominantly facilitating and broker by UAE and Saudi Arabia (Ibid). On the view of this, no one would not have been sure this agreement could far from fundamental flaws. Thus, the broad contexts of the Middle East including the Arab-Israeli disputes have paramount influences on the foreign policy dynamics of the Horn of Africa. Egypt has long-standing interested rooted in its strategic concern over water security to maintain its interest in the region from which the Nile water flows. Israel's involvement in the politics of the Horn of Africa has always been guided by the need to prevent the Red Sea from becoming an 'Arab Lake', thereby safeguarding its access to the Indian Ocean. For this reason, an alliance with Ethiopia, which also traditionally felt threatened by the Arabs is natural (Amare, 1996).

²⁷ See UNSC, S/2016/920, 31 October 2016.

According to security analysts, the military presence in Assab consists not only of soldiers from Saudi Arabia and the UAE but also of Yemeni and other troops staying there temporarily.²⁸ Adding, we must be reminding the Arabian interest is there because of the strategic significances to the Arab world. The rapprochement forced to carries the Arabian interest over Eritrea to capture Ethiopia through Eritrea. In Ethiopia, reports appeared presenting the growing influence of the Gulf states in Eritrea as destabilizing the Horn of Africa.²⁹

4.2.2.3 Centralized Foreign Policy Making and Implementation

One of the characteristic features of independent Eritrea's foreign policy is the highly centralized decision making under the direct control of the President. Though Ministry of Foreign Affairs is existent, it is the President's Office that essentially determines the country's foreign policy and its conduct (Muller, 2009). As a showcase of the President's detrimental role in Eritrean foreign policy decision making, the country's Foreign Affairs Minister in the mid-1990s, Petros Solomon, was never consulted and also informed about the decision to cut off diplomatic relation with Sudan in 1994 and the minister was made aware about the conflict with Yemen a year after the confrontation was onset and the war was started.³⁰

The Concentration of foreign policy decision making and implementation on the hand of the President and the few personally appointed advisors made the policy to be highly unpredictable, lowered well-informed consideration of different alternatives and their possible implications, and retarded the development of the functioning institutions.³¹ Thus, unless the two countries create rule-based bilateral relation, the Eritrean relations with Ethiopia has remained to unpredictable.

4.2.2.4 Eritrea Relation with AU and IGAD

The Eritrean African union future relationship has also been seen as contested. However, after years of diplomatic isolation from the regional IGO, Eritrea rejoined the organization in January 2011 with the appointment of Girma Asemerom as the new ambassador to the AU.

Eritrea relation with AU and IGAD problem were that the Eritrean regime was found responsible for the planned massive bombing of Addis Ababa during the sixteenth ordinary session of the AU Assembly held in January 2011. The regime's involvement in the plan was proved by the UN

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ See the Katehon.com, *The GCC Is Expanding to Eritrea, And It's Not Good for Ethiopia*, 4 January 2016.

³⁰ See also Connell, "Eritrea and the United States".

³¹ See also Kidane, "What has gone wrong," 49.

Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea (UNMGSE) and the group reported that the operation was "...conceived, planned, supported and directed by the external operations directorate of the Government of Eritrea". And also Eritrea's top leaders for the regime's involvement in the destabilization of Somalia and the region at large.³² Thus, such kind of relationship has been left a better legacy between Eritrea relation with AU/IGAD. in the meantime, In the recent peace development Eritrea with Ethiopia the AU and IGAD have no role in mediating the two countries. In 2011 Eritrea recalled its previous ambassador in an angry protest at what it called the African Union's 'failure' to condemn Ethiopia's alleged violations of a peace agreement that ended a 1998-2000 border war. The continental body was one of the main brokers of the agreement. So that, Eritrea has not been trusting over AU/IGAD to negotiate with Ethiopia. in turn the absence of trust factor would problematic the role AU in the region compatible with the new rapprochement.

Moreover, the recent rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the facilitator were mainly outsiders. UAE and Saudi Arabia had taken a great role in rapprochement (Ibid). adding on this, Eritrean president has sour over AU. In the meantime, He wants to revenge the AU and IGAD rather than creating harmonization and cooperation with the member states countries accordingly the AU policies.

4.2.3 Mutual Suspicions and Mistrust in the Rapprochement

The Drives of rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea is the perfect collation of the feeling of the people and Pro-Change Leadership within EPRDF. After that, after a power struggle within the EPRDF Council that lasted weeks, in March 2018 Dr Abiy Ahmed Ali of OPDO was elected chairman of the EPRDF and then appointed the prime minister of Ethiopia un the Parliament. He immediately launching political reform and expanding the landscape of democracy wildly in the country and has got warm support from the public (weldemariam,2019).

The Recent Eritreans Government would have been worrying about the political change of and expanding of democratic landscape in Ethiopia. The source of the rapprochement is the internal dynamics in Ethiopian pave the way to political reforms and change leadership. (Ibid; Birikitaeb,2019). other hand, Eritrea has not been draw change in leadership and political development to be a counterpart for Ethiopia's dramatic change. Thus, The Eritreans leadership to

³² The Union's final statement was included in the 'Decision of the 14th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the AU' which was adopted on February 2, 2010 in Addis Ababa.

maintain the past political culture could limit and narrow the cooperation sector to press the democratic wave of Ethiopia.

Along this line, according to Micheal Weledemariam (2019), The most notable outcome of this perpetual crisis in Eritrea was a system of compulsory, low-wage national service of indefinite duration, which facilitated rights abuses and contributed to the outmigration of hundreds of thousands of Eritreans. The Ethiopian rapprochement, by eliminating the pretext for autocracy, raised hopes that the government would initiate much-needed political and economic reforms. But nearly ten months after the initial thaw, neither the president nor his key lieutenants have signaled any willingness to do so. On the other hand, dashed expectations are now manifesting themselves in increased refugee flows, a surge of online antigovernment activism, reports of internal dissent within the ruling party, and even heavy criticism of the rapprochement because that it is jeopardizing the country's hard-won sovereignty.³³ Eritrea may be at a critical juncture, as the unstoppable force of popular discontent meets the immovable object of an entrenched African strongman. Indeed, undemocratic system in Eritrea may open the way to intervene in the national affair to bring regime change.³⁴ A result, the rapprochement will be putting at risk escalate the mistrust and suspicion. However, according to Ojige Osso the Ministries Counselor; The Ethiopian Government believes that the political reform in Eritrea achieved only in the consent of People of Eritrea and respective government. He stated that Ethiopian government devotes to build trust between us.

The Eritrea government to externalizes their problem considering TPLF as an enemy. Eritrean president in the official trip of Amhara Region has said, 'We are not only interrelated by blood, but also in boundaries with the Amhara Region' to increase tension over the TPLF ruling region Tigray. In history, when the power of the TPLF began to wane, voices in Raya and Welqait began to question the legality of their incorporation into the Tigray region; now there are demands for the territories to be given back to the old regions. Just as the TPLF rejected the surrender of Badme to Eritrea, so it also rejects reinstating Raya and Welqait. The return of Badme could have implications for the future of those regions, too (Berikiteab, 2019). the long-standing effect of the Eritrean issue on Ethiopian politics has been evident during these peace efforts, as it has been

³³ Interview with public intellectual and lawyer Wubshet Mulate held in June 01 2019

³⁴ Interview with Public intellectual and lawyer Wubshet Mulate held in June 01 2019

before. The Tigrayan People's Liberation Front opposed the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front Executive Committee's decision to implement the 2002 peace agreement. In Tigray, which borders Eritrea and is governed by the TPLF, the arch-foe of President Isaias Afewerki, there is suspicion.

concerning to the Eritrean leadership, the shift of power has confirmed two things: first, the Eritrean president could claim to have been vindicated in his stated assessment of 'game over' for the TPLF in Ethiopia; and secondly, he could also claim to have won, while the TPLF has lost. For 20 years, the TPLF tried to depose his government; but now instead it has lost power. He can now engage with the new Ethiopian leadership, which he believes is to be trusted. No more is Eritrea the political domain of the TPLF. In return, TPLF leaders accused the Prime Minister, they said 'The Eritreans president interface in our national interest and affairs'' to revenge us. Also, the Eritrean official believed that 'assassination attempt organized by TPLF' such kind of sabotage has been continuing in the rapprochement process (Weldemariam 2019; Berikiteab,2019).

Additionally, there seems to be chemistry between the president of Eritrea and the prime minister of Ethiopia. The Eritrean president has visited Ethiopia several times, including Addis Ababa, Hawasa and Amhara region, and the leaders of many of the regional states of Ethiopia have been to Eritrea. However, the Eritrean president has not been to Tigray, and the leader of Tigray has not visited Eritrea (Ibid). The TPLF and its supporters considering as threat to them increasing the mistrust and suspicion on the rapprochement process.

The TPLF is a minority in the EPRDF and the people of Tigray constitute only 6 percent of the total population of Ethiopia: this makes it very difficult for the party to sustain its domination of Ethiopian politics indefinitely. It became imperative to tie the Eritrean issue to the party's survival as a dominant force. Hence, TPLF working and supporting anti-Eritrean leadership in search of allies and pro-Tigray government in Eritrea. This will lead in to work against each other and wallowing in the political logic of 'The Enemy of my enemy is my friend' in the rapprochement.

4.2.4 Arab Countries Interest in the Rapprochement

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) has been expanding its role through political alliances, aid, investment, military base agreements, and port contracts, in the Horn of Africa. Along with other Gulf powers, it is broadening its ties to the region. Strategic rivalries, including those within the Gulf Cooperation Council pitting the UAE and Saudi Arabia against Qatar, often motivate Gulf

powers' increasing influence. According to ICG (2018) The influence of, and competition among, Gulf states could reshape Horn geopolitics. Gulf leaders can nudge their African counterparts toward peace; both the UAE and Saudi Arabia helped along the recent Eritrea-Ethiopia rapprochement. But rivalries among Gulf powers can also sow instability, as their spillover into Somalia has done.

The Eritrean-Ethiopian rapprochement, as well as a flurry of other Horn of Africa diplomacy, has greatly boosted Gulf states' visibility as geopolitical actors along the Red Sea. Saudi Arabia and the UAE are now central to conversations about the future of a region still suffering strife and instability. With Washington seemingly in retreat, the Gulf countries appear intent on playing a major role. As one Gulf official put it: "If you look at the future of Africa, it's clear – China is in. The Arab countries are in. The U.S. is not".³⁵ The larger questions are what each Gulf country aims to gain and how each intends to use its newly acquired leverage (ICG,2018).

A growing sense of danger bred a more interventionist foreign policy. The UAE, like Saudi Arabia and Qatar, funneled support to allies in Libya, Egypt and elsewhere. Emirati leaders invoked an argument still oft-repeated in policymaking hallways in Abu Dhabi: you can't be safe if your neighborhood is at war.³⁶ After, Morsi's ouster in a coup that the UAE and Saudi Arabia lauded and may have actively encouraged, Abu Dhabi and Riyadh, together with Kuwait, poured billions into the new government's coffers. Also, Abu Dhabi pledged \$3 billion to Ethiopia, an amount that puts the country on par with Egypt as a recipient of UAE assistance.

On the other hand, Under the EPRDF (TPLF domination), this concern manifested itself in, among other things, Ethiopia's 2008 decision to break diplomatic relations with Qatar, then a key ally of Eritrea. The issue took on renewed significance in 2015, when the Emiratis built a military base in southern Eritrea that became the fulcrum of their operations against the Houthi rebels in Yemen. The rapprochement has changed this entire dynamic. Responding to Abiy's overtures, the UAE leveraged its relations with the Eritrean government to help facilitate the Eritrea-Ethiopia thaw, which in turn has opened the door to cooperation between Addis and the Saudi-Emirati axis(Wledemariam,2019).

³⁵ Crisis Group interview, analyst, UAE foreign ministry, Abu Dhabi, July 2018.

³⁶ Your prosperity as a country depends on the security of your region. It depends on your neighbors – not only yourself". Crisis Group interview, UAE foreign ministry official, Abu Dhabi, July 2018.

Moreover, while for now Tehran's influence is largely limited to the Yemeni side of the Red Sea, Riyadh and Abu Dhabi's engagement in the Horn is likely to remain informed by their determination to ensure Iran does not regain a foothold, including by winning back its former allies Sudan and Eritrea.³⁷ However, as stated in the above, In Ethiopia there are Ethnic drives political tension and division vulnerable to interventionist Arab countries. The presence of Saudi collation countries forced the Qatar Axis search for new allies in the region. To regain the previous position or revenge Ethiopia, a scenario, the Qatar Axis sought to support opposition and resistance group to pressurize the recent move of Ethiopia and Eritrea. as the author of this document, the presence of The Arab Interest between Ethiopia and Eritrea would invite endless rivalry and competition in the new spirit and perhaps difficulty to think economic integration.

The damage that external rivalries can inflict on the Horn was made clear in Somalia, where friction among Gulf powers, and in turn between the UAE and Farmajo's government, has exacerbated pre-existing tension over how power and resources are divvied up between the capital and the regions. Abu Dhabi says that it wants a stable Somalia, but the country is likely to remain volatile unless strong Emirati ties to Somali regional leaders are paired with a reconciled UAE relationship with Mogadishu(Ibid).

In its anti-Iran drive, Riyadh sought assistance from past allies Sudan and Eritrea, both of which had strengthened ties with Tehran while all three countries were under international sanctions. Beginning in the 1990s, Sudan had built its defense industry with Iranian assistance and know-how; Eritrea had offered the use of its port, Assab, to the Iranian navy. In 2014, however, both countries ejected Iranian diplomats. A year later, both agreed to contribute troops and resources for the Yemen war (ICG,2018). Adding on this, The Saudi-led coalition turned to another port, Eritrea's Assab. Riyadh signed a security agreement also that April to use Assab, leaving Abu Dhabi to carry out the deal's terms. By September, the Emirati military was flying fighter-bombers from the Eritrean coastline. Thus, the Saudi-led coalition sought to Ethiopian engagement on the ongoing Yemenis crises. The attitude, as one Emirati official put it, became "fill space, before

³⁷ For now, Sudan is not in the Iran camp but we have to be vigilant to make sure this remains the case". Crisis Group interview, Saudi official, Washington, August 2018.

others do”.³⁸ In doing so, The agreement to use Assab between Eritrea and Saudi would influence to renewed the 1993 agreement that gives free use of Assab to Ethiopia in the rapprochement.

Yet despite the bright spot of Eritrea-Ethiopia peace-making, intra-Gulf competition colors Emirati involvement across the Horn. Because of the competition with adversaries also drives the push into the Horn, risks are at least as prominent as opportunities. The contrast between the roles played by the Gulf powers in Ethiopia and Somalia is instructive. At one moment, Gulf involvement in the Horn, even if motivated in part by a rivalry between two Middle East axes, can move things in the right direction, as it has with Abiy’s push for peace with Eritrea. At another, those same rivalries can destabilize and divide (ICG,2018). In some places, the UAE may still help bridge divides, even if partly motivated by shoring up its own influence at the expense of rivals. Elsewhere, however, competition could put Horn governments in a difficult spot, forcing them to choose between the two Gulf axes or exacerbating local conflicts in new ways. Ultimately, zero-sum competition in the Horn risks upsetting both the internal politics of the region’s diverse states and the balance of power among those states. Outside powers may win short-term gains, but over time everyone stands to lose from greater Horn instability and the Rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea highly challenged unless the two countries could understanding the possible threats in this regard.

4.2.5 EEBC Virtual Demarcation Decisions

The 1998–2000 war between Ethiopia and Eritrea ended after international mediation brought about the Algiers Agreement, signed on 12 December 2000 (Bereketeab, 2010). A central provision of this Agreement concerned the establishment of the Eritrea–Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC), which was mandated to delineate and demarcate the border between the two countries ‘based on of pertinent colonial treaties and applicable international laws’ (Article 14).

As to Menale (2008) peace cannot be achieved through implementing the EEBC decision. He witnessed that Just like the rest of Ethiopians, the residents of Badme celebrated victory when the border decision was announced in 2002. They heard about the decision with the briefings of the federal government officials on the state radio. They were also informed about the decision in a meeting with local government officials. According to the residents, the same sources have informed them that the first information was inaccurate and Badme was decided to go to Eritrea

³⁸ Ibid.; Crisis Group interview, UAE foreign ministry official, Abu Dhabi, July 2018.

we believed that our government is fighting for us. He quoted the answer of Bademe inhabitant and informants:

“This is the government that we have struggled a lot to bring it into power. We did not expect our government to allow a decision like this to be passed and we hope that it would not transfer our land to others. If the government does this, then, it is treason against the people. We will never let this happen. We prefer to die on our land.”³⁹

The administrator of Badme in his part pointed out,

The decision of the border commission is totally uninformed. We are not lying; this is our land. This is the land that we inherited from our ancestors. This is the land that we have received from Menelik and Yohannes. ...This is the land that we would like to let our children inherit. We won't abandon our land; we will die on our land. We don't have any Place to go anyways!!⁴⁰

Bereketeab (2019) argued that as witnesses and guarantors – the UN, Organization of African Unity (OAU), EU and the US – assumed responsibility for ensuring that the decisions of the EEBC would be accepted and implemented unconditionally; and if either or both of the parties reneged on their commitment, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) would invoke Chapter VII of the UN Charter (Article 14(a)). On the view of this, Ethiopia and Eritrea agreed to implement the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission decision (Art,4).

Not surprisingly, the strongest opposition to the decision to place Badme within Eritrea comes from the Regional State of Tigray, which currently administers the town of Badme. The President of Tigray, in his annual report to the State's Council in July 2003, has described the border ruling as “dangerous” and warned that trouble could flare up if the ruling is not changed.⁴¹

In lining with the recent 2018 agreement of the two countries, as the author of the document, it is not an easy task implementing the boundary decision accordingly to the agreement rather it shall need further renegotiation to consider the reality on the ground. For instance, the border in the western sector is the most contested part of the boundary. The delimitation decision of this sector was covered by the interpretation of the 1902 treaty (Mineale, 2008). He states, citing Order No. 6/1952(See the appendix 06) that Emperor Haile Sellassie confirmed the invalidity of the previous treaties, and Italy renounced them in 1947 with the Peace Treaty with Ethiopia. Unconditionally accepting the border commission decision has only the following meaning; The propensity for

³⁹ interview with a 46 years old farmer and chairman of one of the Farmers' Association in Badme, interviewed at his residence 13 July 2007 by Kalewengeal Menale.

⁴⁰ Interview with the administrator of Badme at Badme 2007 by kalewengeal Menale

⁴¹ Eritrea-Ethiopia: Border ruling “dangerous”, says Tigray President, 6 August 2003 www.irinnews.org (8/25/2003).

ethno-nationalist hegemony (ODP/OLF) relying on strong Eritrean/Isayas support anchored at neutralizing a TPLF comeback to political hegemony; A possible revival of alliance between TPLF & Eritrea (or a post-Isayas Eritrea) for continuation of the pre-war relationship with TPLF hegemony restored in Ethiopia. Thus, the decision of the border commission needs further negotiation.⁴²

The final decision of the commission invalidated Ethiopian claims and awarded Eritrea all the land of the Cunama tribe. As a result, Ethiopia lost a substantial proportion of land including the controversial village of Badme, which was considered to be part of the Cunama land. However, the delimitation decision in this sector of the border was not clear enough in pointing out the exact location of the village of Badme. The coordinates of the village were not indicated in the maps that accompanied the delimitation decision. In the text, one has to read between the lines to infer where the village has gone. This lack of transparency on the highly symbolic⁴³ village of Badme created a confusion making both parties to declare victory on it. The BBC commented that “the legal ruling is sufficiently obscure to allow both countries to claim victory”.⁴⁴ TPLF who is leading the Tigray Region and warning the federal government of Ethiopia to handling carefully the border issue following Jeddah agreement between the two countries leader. The reason for Ethiopia’s rejection was the EEBC’s award of the village of Badme, the flashpoint of the war, to Eritrea (Abbink 2003). A Stalemate ensued, compelling the EEBC, in November 2007, to declare the border virtually demarcated and the case legally closed.

On the other hand, final delimitation line in the central sector awarded Ethiopia the town of Zalambessa and its surrounding, southern and eastern part of Irob and Bada. Eritrea on the other hand got Tsorena, Fort Cardona and northern and western part of Irob. As a result, Ethiopia lost the part of Irob and only got the southern and easterly parts of Irob (Para4.85) In the Bada region, the commission found that the evidence presented by the parties did not lead to the any deportation from the line drawn(Para4.91). Although, Ethiopia and Eritrea submitted different proposals as to how this formula could be applied concerned the Eastern sector delimitation process.

⁴² Interview with Dr, Derje Zelke , Associate Professor at AAU Law School, Addis Ababa Holiday Hotel; June 01, 2019.

⁴³ The word “Symbolic” refers to show that which centers on a sense of righteousness for the two countries: because Badme is the place where the war began, the perception is that the country to which Badme is awarded will be seen as having been right about the war.

⁴⁴ Quoted in *Addis Tribune* www.addistribune.com/Archives/2002/04/19-04-02/Badme.htm (8/28/2003).

However, initially, the two party's reaction was positive about the decision of boundaries commission. Ethiopia soon declared the acceptance of the decision of the border commission and celebrated its victory at home. Additionally, Eritrea president Esayas Afewerki has said the decisions is "a gift to the present and future generations of Eritreans who will live with secure and recognized borders".

To solve the controversies of the border issues,⁴⁵ the internal dynamics of the two countries also need to be looked into. There is much resistance and anger on the part of some sections of the Ethiopian population. This cannot and should not simply be ignored. It must be approached rationally and with caution, and assistance and encouragement by the international community are needed to help the government and other actors to deal with it properly accordingly to the new agreement. The role that civil societies and religious institutions in both countries could play in this regard should also be taken into account and promoted. The reason for Ethiopia's rejection was the EEBC's award of the village of Badme, the flashpoint of the war, to Eritrea (Abbink, 2003).

4.2.6 The Lack of Enforcement Mechanism and Rule-Based Relationship with Transparency

Though the Algiers agreement foresaw the delimitation decision to be final and binding, it lacked provisions that made the decision binding. The agreement made no mention of the diplomatic consequences or the punitive measures that would be taken against the party, which would defy the decision. The measures the witnesses of the agreement (the UN, the OAU, the European Union, and the US) could take to force compliance to the final decision of the border commission were not also provided. The agreement simply stated that the parties agree to respect the decision (Article 4(15)) and the United Nations would facilitate the resolution of the problems that arise from the transfer of the territory (Article 4(16)).

The absence of such a strong clause in the agreement regarding the consequences that would follow defiance has given courage to Ethiopia not to abide by the delimitation decision. In the rapprochement Agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea have signed to implement the EEBC decisions were us the accord nothing say about the mechanism process. However, how many

⁴⁵ Addis standard reported that Residents of [Badme](#), the flashpoint town that triggered the 2yrs costly war between [Ethiopia](#) & [#Eritrea](#), staged a demonstration this morning opposing the government's recent decision to comply with the [Algiers Agreement](#) & the [EEBC](#)'s ruling awarding Badme to Eritrea. June 2018.

agreements were concluded between Ethiopia (TPLF) and Eritrea? Possibility of a formidable legal challenge in the event of a fall out? Not a single treaty can be accessed from the website of the MoFA e.g. The Jeddah Accord (Agreement on Peace, Friendship and Comprehensive Cooperation between the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the State of Eritrea, 16 September 2018).⁴⁶ The 7th sentence in the Preamble reads: “Reaffirming the joint Declaration on Peace and Friendship that they signed on July 9, 2018, in Asmara” Where can one get the official text? What are the contents? Why shouldn’t it be a public document accessible to interested citizens? Are showing the lack of transparency over the recent rapprochement.⁴⁷

The fact that establishing well-demarcated border is difficult between the neighboring countries, the Existence of demarcated border would remain important. However, the demarcation initiative meets three imperative needs: The first is geopolitical, concerning the peace, security and stability that derive from conflict prevention. The second need is geo-economic: a visible, well-managed border encourages trade. The third need is socio-economic, as local cross-border cooperation initiatives between committed neighboring communities can be supported. Africa’s borders should become a source of peace, security, and integration for the continent.⁴⁸ Thus, demarcated border between Ethiopia and Eritrea Must be Exist to achieve the desirable goal of integration and cooperation emanate from the good will of their respective people.

4.2.7 Economic Policy and Ideological Deference

As challenge to Engagements could be the differences in economic policy between the two states, Eritrea and Ethiopia. In the documents they have signed so far, they have expressed their ambition of economic integration. In the Agreement on Peace, Friendship and Comprehensive Cooperation, Article Three states “The two countries will develop Joint Investment Projects, including the establishment of Joint Special Economic Zones”. The major obstacle to economic integration between the two countries is the huge imbalance in the size of their economies, which comes in addition to the huge demographic asymmetry. For the last 20 years, Eritrea’s economy has suffered

⁴⁶ However, Mr, Ojige Osso has Saied we have signed more than Six Agreement and confirmed that they are not documented and available to Public recently.

⁴⁷ Interview with Dr, Derje Zelke , Associate Professor at AAU Law School, ,Addis Ababa; Holiday Hotel June 01,2019.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Ambassador Ramtane Lamamra Commissioner for Peace and Security, forwarding message ‘‘Delimitation and Demarcation of Boundaries in Africa **General Issues and Case Studies**’ March 2013.

badly, while Ethiopia's economy has undergone an immense transformation. This asymmetry could gradually strain economic relations (weldemariam 2019; Birikiteab 2019).

Eritrea may end up as a dumping ground for Ethiopian products, which could well hamper its economic recovery. This fear and sense of insecurity, coupled with other developments, both foreseen and unforeseen, could easily derail what is generally a positive start. It is, therefore, imperative that economic plans, policies, strategies, logics and rationalities are constructed in a way that manages the asymmetries.

A further major challenge concerns ideology. As matters stand today, the two countries will certainly face veritable ideological differences. There are clear indications that the Ethiopian government is pursuing a neoliberal economic policy of privatising key state-owned economic institutions and industrial establishments, such as Ethiopian Airlines, and providing unimpeded open access to transnational capital – thus risking a further widening of the already large gulf between the (few) rich and the (many) poor.⁴⁹ In all his speeches, the prime minister emphasizes the individual economic rights of Ethiopians. Meanwhile, the Eritrean government is guided by a national liberation ideology, which prioritizes the collective interest, the equitable distribution of resources, and an economic policy based on justice and equality that bridges the gap between the rural and urban populations (Ibid). It further adheres to collective ownership of key economic resources.

Many people warn that the two governments need to tread very carefully to avoid going back down the road of the post-independence experience. One reason why their post-independence relationship collapsed is that it was based on individual leaders, rather than being anchored in institutions and in open and transparent principles and guidelines. In order to avoid repeating the same mistakes, the current agreements need to be applied by focusing on national institutions (legislative, judiciary), popular awareness and participation, as well as principles of transparency, accountability, jurisdiction and conventions. Personality-based relations contributed to the disastrous war of 1998–2000. Thus, bilateral relation must be establishing on the foundation of the partnership is the mutual sovereignty of the two states (Tekle 1994; Fessahatzion 1994).

⁴⁹ See Redie Brikiteab (2019).

To conclude this chapter: unless the two countries immediately being ready to solve the existing problem of the recent the rapprochement, it could not lead to full cooperation between the two countries. thus in the next chapter addressed and examining how the two countries lead to the recent rapprochement to full cooperation mainly based on the functionalism theoretical farm work.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the major economic and political problem of the rapprochement has discussed in some detail. This chapter demands to capture what leads full cooperation between the two countries future relationship. The chapter is largely guided by the question that what will be the prospects of The Ethiopian-Eritrean normalization process to shown the new perspective of cooperation.

5.1. The Basis of Ethiopia and Eritrea Engagement

In 1993 Eritrea became independence countries, after bloodshed and meaningless war the situation was deadlock until it was broken by the new Ethiopian prime minster Abye Ahimed, if taken this a good faith, in fact, usher a new era of meaningful cooperation which will enable the two countries to resolve hitherto exiting contradiction and problems and to provide a more rewarding life for their respective people. Thus, this part the paper wants to assert the major assumptions of about Ethiopia and Eritrea resumed relation to make rock found cooperation and last longing peace between the two countries.

Eritrea and Ethiopia have involved in different ways during the last century and reveals marked differences in attitudes, goals, culture and belief system. Yet in spite of significant differences, they share certain similarities in their historical antecedents, evince common socio-cultural perception and encounter the same socio-economic forces and problems. This became obvious According to Amare Tekele, if we compare the horn of Africa with the outline region. The horn of Africa demonstrates a unique geographical, historical and cultural unity that differentiates it

from neighboring region. The natural condition has also a great similarity with them. Adding, particularly Ethiopia and Eritrea have a specific relationship. Thus, there exist favorable condition for the establishment of a firm and efficient framework of cooperation provided that there also exists a consensus on the means and objectives (Ibid; Tekle,1994)

The second point this paper wants to emphasize, the idea of interdependence. The world is interdependent and we are the part of the world (Tekele,1994). Thus, it is hardly possible, that Ethiopia and Eritrea and indeed the other states of Africa. In this fast evolving and complex international system, it is expected and inevitable like Ethiopia and Eritrea to become dependent in many aspects(Ibid). But is not an easy task to succeed in this plan. The two countries should develop a creative and constructive cooperation model to lead this providing visionary leadership is necessary. Failure to work together would not only be determinate to the welfare of their respective people and also adversely affect efforts to create any constructive relationship outside the region but will also expose them and the region to foreign intervention.

The third point are of this paper would be associated with the future framework. Thus, as to Amare Tekele, the new framework must refer to the future. it serves no useful purpose for both countries. in the development of the new frame work including Eritrea, the legitimate interest of the Regional government and the political unit should be considered properly for the last longing and durable cooperation between the two countries. There needs and aspiration cannot be ignored. The creation of free and democratic political structure should be the long term plan and regardless of their political view and ideology in internal politics, the cooperation should rely on the high degree of tolerance which leads the promotion of cooperation and unity (Eshete, 1994)

After the devastating war and following the situation of “no war no peace” as to Amare Tekele the people of the two countries wish to live in a peaceful and stable environment: they can no longer be victims of ideologies and political principles which they had never been requested to accept and which may not be meaningful to their lives. In doing so, to realize this as a principle, when rejected or become counterproductive should not be maintained by force. Making agreement between the two countries without the consent of the respective people will not have a meaningful purpose.

5.2. New Prospects of Economic Engagement Towards Cooperation Between Ethiopia and Eritrea

The Ethiopia-Eritrea political cooperation and integration should, if it is to be built on the rock foundation, be the result of a long and ongoing process rather than the subject of a single decision between leaders of the two countries.

The process leads to the creation of an actor by both parties. the chances of success of any cooperative or integrative endeavor wishing to create a sense of community would be greater if it were based on the principle of independence. This paper wants to mention it the durable political arrangements must show procedural consensus stemming from the widely shared values and commonly held beliefs of the members of the community (Tekele, 1994).

As far as concerned the Ethiopia- Eritrea political cooperation and integration is viewed as a three-stages, the process to reach in desirable goal (Tekle,1994). It must begin with the ending of conflict and the begging of the reconciliation process. Thus, the focus of the integrative process must not be limited to the final objective but must consider as equally and manifestly important antecedent goals which are prerequisites for the achievement of the final goals for the benefit to the respecting people (Minale,2008; Tekele,1994).

Along this line, for long and complete cooperation and integration between Ethiopia and Eritrea in any arrangement it must be understood that their past association, as well as their present relations, require carefully planned, short and long term program that the time will elapse before any concrete result can be achieved (Minale, 2008; Tekele,1994)

Although, the bilateral relation and integration process of the Ethiopian – Eritrea at list must be full feel the theoretical fact of integration and bilateral cooperation. Based on the theoretical stage of integration, in our case of the bilateral cooperation and integration of Ethiopia and Eritrea must proceeds the following stages.

In the first stage of cooperation, the two countries would be agreed on achieve reconciliation, to build confidence, to politicize the elite and to facilitate the exchange of goods, service and other matters of mutual concern. Thus, both sides will accept the changes that made and to pursue policies of Co-existence and mutual prosperity to people of the two countries. adding, the ‘Problem solving’ model can be achieving the process of reconciliation as the first steps.

Confidence building measures will secure in this stage of cooperation (Carr,1942). The due attention of the two government must be the military and political issues as well as the future area of cooperation between the two countries. the issue of refugees and humanitarian activity must be checked in this stages (Tekele,1994).

As the second stages of cooperation this paper want to mention that, the two countries should focus on more complex and border issues. Thus, making possible the coordination and harmonization of policies and the development of common, cooperative programs in rehabilitation, reconstruction and economic development.⁵⁰

Although, in the final stage for more cooperation in this stages it needs the creation of common institution.⁵¹ This common institution will process and responsible mutual cooperation and peace full co-existence to ensuring common policies in various areas of cooperation. This effort helps to avoid antagonism narrowing the deference and attitude of the people between the two countries. as result the two sides will progressively surrender part of their sovereignty to the common political organization thus, created at every stage.⁵²

Moreover, Ethiopia and Eritrea must be governed their bilateral relations and cooperation through accepted standards and principles to solve historical juncture. Accepting exiting realities and ready and start negotiation in the manner of flexible to succeed in the desirable goal. In doing this, respect and doing accordingly the wish of the people is the crucial mandate. And the creation of sense of unified community is require to achieve the process of cooperation and integration to make good neighboring.⁵³

5.2.1. Transportation and Communication

5.2.1.1. Road

In general, the physical infrastructure of the Horn of Africa is underdevelopment and ignored during the last couple of decades due to many reason particular because of unstable political condition of the region country.

⁵⁰ Amare Tekele, 1994.

⁵¹ Amare Tekele.

⁵² A paper presented ‘Mending Ethio-Eritrea Trade Relation’ by Martha Belte Assistant Professor AAU Law School Addis Ababa Holiday Hotel, June 01 2019.

⁵³ Dr. Mehare Rede , Moderator of Symposium on ‘Revisiting Ethio-Eritrea Relation: From Separation to Conflict and Beyound’ held in Addis Ababa Holiday Hotel; June 01 2019.

Eritrea and Ethiopia need to commit themselves to building and rehabilitating roads that could feed in to transport network to connect parts of Northern Ethiopia (parts of Gondar, Wollo and the whole Tigray) with Western parts of Eritrea (Fessehazion, 1994). This road transport can conjoint more than two countries that may including Sudan which is the most fertile and underutilized land resource in the horn of Africa. An expanded network of roads area would open the for extensive cultivation and would provide products easier access to markets. The two countries are the feasibility of a rail line connecting with the port Messewa. The railway would complement the network of roads in opening the rich agricultural product from Humera and other Amara Region and in general the center apart of Ethiopia agriculturally reach area.⁵⁴

Reid Berikiteab (2019), on 11 September the leaders of the two countries opened road communications through two border checkpoints. The first was on the south-eastern common border of Debay Sima-Burre, which connects the Eritrean port of Asab and the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa. Following the symbolic opening of the road, a hectic round of road repairs got underway, so that traffic could commence. Additionally, the second route was opened along the south-central common border of the Serha-Zalambesa region, which connects the capital of Eritrea to the Tigray region and on to central and southern Ethiopia. The two leaders flew from the Debay Sima-Burre area to open the Serha-Zalambesa road. The opening of road links was part of the implementation of the provisions of the 9 July Agreement and is intended to facilitate the movement of goods and people. Since these road links opened, there has been a massive movement of people, goods, and trucks in both directions (Berikiteab, 2019).

Adding, Berikiteab (2019) views have Two main prospects about the opening of Serha-Zalambesa road Between the two countries; road link should be considered from two perspectives: The first is that this part of the common border was highly militarized, with the two countries' armies just a few kilometres apart. Moreover, it is densely populated and the dismantling of the border military posts came as a huge relief to the civilian population living over the border. The second aspect is that the people who live on either side of the border are related by blood, but had been separated, without any contact, for 20 years. Hence the mass dash and the exhilaration once the border was

⁵⁴ We are excited and accept with great honor Italia's plan to extend support our plan to link Addis Ababa with Massawa via railway," Prime Minister Abiy said. The distance between Addis Ababa and Massawa is 736 kilometers (457 miles).

opened.⁵⁵ At the same time, they are the people most affected by the implementation of the border decision. Therefore, amicable relations between them are important for future peace and stability.⁵⁶

5.2.1.2. Aviation

In the Aviation industries, cooperation could also have immense potential and benefit for both countries (Fessehatzion, 1994). On the side of Ethiopia, Ethiopian Airlines is the leading Air line in the world and one of the biggest Air lines having large destination in Africa. Eritrea also have state-owned Airlines having a great chance of making significant cooperation with Ethiopia Air lines in various areas in the sector. A Large number of Eritrean living abroad. The Eritrean Diaspora, spread across Europe, North America, Asia, Australia, Middle-East and Africa,⁵⁷ is an invaluable asset to both the country of origin and also for Ethiopia. Equipped with varying competencies, ideas and expertise acquired at home and abroad, Eritreans of the Diaspora carry with them a new vision and represent a positive force of change (Fessehatzion, 1994). Thus, Eritrean Diaspora will have access getting particularly the Ethiopian Airlines transporting to Asmara and Addis Ababa. The passenger could continue the source of hard currency and help to expand the Tourism sector revenue for both countries.

5.2.1.3. Ports

Unlike the present landlockedness and fully dependency on coastal states for its conduct of international overseas trade, Ethiopia had been one of the major maritime countries in the Horn of Africa. It had a long history of access to the sea that goes back to the ancient history of Axumite civilization during which it had conducted international trade through the port of Adulis.⁵⁸ For the past several years, it had been enjoyed full possession over the ports of Assab and Massawa. This was particularly true while Eritrea was part of Ethiopian territory. However, following the independence of Eritrea, Ethiopia became a landlocked country and joined a fourteen landlocked African state.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ See also Rede Berikiteab (2019)

⁵⁶ See also Kalewengeal Menale (2008)

⁵⁷ Eritrea.Be, with a million Eritreans in exile from a total population of 4 million, this presents the phenomenal scenario that one out of every five Eritreans lives abroad.

⁵⁸ See Abir Mordaechai (1980), *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: The Rise and Decline of The Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in The Region*, FRANK CASS AND COMPANY LIMITED, 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, Ox14 4RN pp 19-25

⁵⁹ The fourteen African land locked countries are Botswana, Burkinafaso, Burundi, CAR, Chad, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe see. Recently 2010 South Sudan.

Therefore, Ethiopia and Eritrea have also another transported related activity that would be substantial of external assistance but is essential for the development of the two countries is the expansion and rehabilitation of Massawa and Assab harbor. Adding on this, the Ethiopian and Eritrean government agreed to work together for the development of Assab and Massawa harbor.⁶⁰ In order to achieve this plan, the Italian government promising to support the rail way construction from the harbor in Eritrea to Ethiopia cities. This plan will support the economic connectivity and integration between the two countries. Hence, unless expansion of the port facilities or the shipping fleet is accelerated, the benefits that could accrue from the establishment of free trade zone in Assab or Massawa would not materialize.

Although, Port of Massawa is the gateway for the northern part of Ethiopia. Moreover, the port of Assab is close to Addis Ababa of relatively others that Ethiopia has been using in the past. Due to this reality, the Ethiopian Government in the past wanted to use Assab than Massawa. Accordingly, in the recent agreement; the Ethiopian government showing its interest to join Eritrea in the expansion and modernization of Massawa harbor if northern Ethiopia is to develop. This kind of cooperation will boost economic development of the northern part of Ethiopia moreover the Amhara, Afar and Tigray region become the economic corridor of the country. The opening of Assab and Massawa diversified Ethiopia's option of ports to use (Weldemariam, 2019).

However, the author of the document argued that; Because of proximity to the central part of Ethiopia, Assab has continued to become Ethiopia's gateway for trade with the outside of the world. On the Ethiopian side, it can be considered as the fair distribution of development to the northern part of Ethiopia in import and export service delivery. During the 1980s, Assab accounted for 85 percent of Ethiopia's total tonnage, far outstripping Massawa's importance as a commercial port. Accordingly, the 1992 data of the port Administration, Assab counted two million tonnages, while another half million passed through Massawa. History has witnessed that unless Ethiopia uses the port of Massawa and Assab, they will not have any significance for Eritrea's economic development more than being a beach. Both knowing this truthful reality. Cooperation is important to rely on acceptable standards and principles. The closure of the trade between the two countries does not

⁶⁰ Prime minister Abeyeh Ahmed Press conference held in Addis Ababa 2018.

only harm Ethiopia but also Eritrea as well in that a lion share of its economy was heavily dependent on its strategic location between Ethiopia and the Red Sea.

According to Tekeste (2000) In 1993 the newly independent state of Eritrea and Ethiopia signed a protocol of understanding upon which the issue of Ethiopia's access to the sea was solved. However, in the recent agreement it is not clear that either of the protocol signed in 1993 has stated the free use of Ethiopia over Assab continued or disregarding by other covenant. they will also share its profit, an agreement of for transit through Massawa with a Five percent surcharge has also been arranged (Parmelee,1991).

According to Kidane Mengisteab such kind of agreement Eritrea initiative minimizes Ethiopia losses from Eritrea independence. Thus, it will have the role of compromise the claim over Eritrea independence and perhaps irredentism movement claim over Assab. They will also benefit both countries economically. This create free access of port and share profit from the refinery.

An agreement of free access over the port must be a presence in the bilateral agreement of Ethiopia and Eritrea it's because of these limited, area –specific agreement do not, by themselves, represent production coordination. They are simply initial steps in that direction. They indicate the presence of political will and commitment to cooperate. The two countries have the potential to generate spillover effect and create the need for broadening the area of cooperation. The agreement on the ports creates the needs for customs union arrangements since otherwise different customs rates in the same port would create a different administrative problem and encouraging smuggling of goods. It also requires an open border to traffic. It believes that this two conditions, in turn, require and encourage free trade between the two countries (Mengisteab ,1994).

5.2.1. 4. Agriculture and Food Production

However, the supply of Agricultural food production in Ethiopia become showing improvement, parallel the demand has also been increasing upwards. The fertility of Ethiopia's soil, the excellence of her climate and the abundance, of her resource that one has been tempted to believe the now tired cliché that she can be the breadbasket of the Middle East.

Ethiopia the Leading Economic sector is agriculture with Seven percent annual growth per year over the last ten years. Thus, Ethiopian farmer wants to get a diversified market place to join Eritrea market. opening of the northern part of Ethiopia for more cultivation to the new network of

transportation system would make cereals and other crops available to the large number of people in Eritrea. Largely, Eritrean economy to its greater extent has been dependent on Ethiopia in many aspects. In the past, significant portion of food import for local consumption in Eritrea come from trade with Ethiopia (Belay, 1996). As the above writers stated, because of different natural and human factors Eritrea has rarely produced less than half of its food requirements. Eritrea must be made Cooperation with Ethiopia. Eritrea has shown structural dependence on food imported from different countries notably of Ethiopia. This sector of cooperation will be creating strong bondage and cooperation between the two countries.⁶¹

The author of the paper has also agreed, the cooperation on food production can be rely on the following activity; as important cooperation bringing fertile land for cultivation, storage and in conservations system the two countries could make strong cooperation in the sector.⁶² According to Derje Zeleke Eritrea has enough potential for food production.⁶³ However, it believes that this kind of cooperation must be expanding in the establishment of an agricultural center to search for disease –resistance crops appropriate for the area better management techniques to enable the large part of farmers benefit from the output and became efficient producer (Fessehazion, 1994). This paper wants bold; such kind of cooperation will bring meaningful political outcome in unifying the farmers that have large share of the population in each country and support the integration process.

5.2.1.5. Removal of Trade Barriers and Industrialization

According to Fessehazion (1994) the primary tool for implementing market integration is the removal of exiting internal tariff barrier and the adoption of a common rate against non-member states. In the past, the provisional government of Ethiopia and Eritrea have taken important steps to permit on the basis of market force, the flow of trade in birr, and without the imposition of tariff

⁶¹ Most importantly ‘teff’, the staple high land grain upon which the lives of Eritreans were based was imported from Ethiopia. As Styan (2004) indicated, out of the overall Eritrea’s import from Ethiopia, **50%** of it was food imports typically of ‘teff’. It was not only food produces that Eritrea has been imported from Ethiopia but also other industrial raw materials (Belay, 1996).

⁶² The creation of Pan-African Fertilizers cost a total of \$50 million. The project was jointly financed by Morocco’s OCP and the Ethiopian Chemical Industry Corporation (ECIC), a body the Ethiopian government created in 2013 to monitor and develop the country’s industrial sector. This will boost the Horn Africa Agricultural productivity. <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com>. Jun 2019

⁶³ an Exclusive interview with Syoum Toshme WWW.YOUTUBE.COM Jun 2019.

on either side of the border. However, the agreement excludes goods the Ethiopian government deemed essential for its export market and as important source of hard currency. Coffee and hides and skin are some of the product on the restricted list. Additionally, regardless of the formal agreement between the two government, if there is sufficient demand for the product-and the price is right –traders unlikely to pay attention to the ban against selling for birr in Eritrea.

As mentioned in the above, the agreement has vulnerable to abrogation simply. Such kind of double standard agreement lead in to unpredictable conflict between the two countries. the recent undeclared agreement must be clearly sated such kind essentials illusion and correcting.

At the present, between Ethiopia and Eritrea there is no internal tariff for goods and formal inter-state trade each in regulated by law and governed principles. The question is, therefore, is not removing non-exiting tariff differential; the question would be rather agreeing on the maintenance of the status quo of no internal tariff and coming to a consensus on common rate against the rest of the world. Thus, the non-trade barriers would greatly facilitate the flow of trade between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

As mentioned in the above, the agreement has vulnerable to abrogation simply. Such kind of double standard agreement lead in to unpredictable conflict between the two countries. the recent undeclared agreement must be clearly sated such kind essentials illusion and correction.

In the recent peace process, no supra –national institution that manages the integration process has been created yet. No planned industries have yet been initiated. However, an agreement to maintain the free trade which already exist has been concluded between the two countries.

According to Mengisteab (1994) due to its small population base, Eritrea clearly needs bigger market. a free trade agreement with Ethiopia is crucial for rehabilitating and strengthening Eritrea industries. Moreover, the cement, bottling, fishing and even textile industries in Eritrea are likely develop significant market in Ethiopia. As Styan stated out, of the total Eritrea's commodity export 67% of it was exported to Ethiopia. This indicates that Ethiopia was a major market place for Eritrea's industrial products. Thus, in this sector the two countries have also been absolute advantage to make cooperation for future integration.

According to Styan,(2004) Eritrea have been imported different industrial raw materials from Ethiopia such as crude minerals, mineral fuels, oil seeds and chemicals from Ethiopia. In addition

to the above-mentioned food and industrial raw materials import, Eritrea had also been dependent on Ethiopia for its export as well. Ethiopia had been serving Eritrea as a major market place for its industrial outputs (Belay, 1996). Therefore, interstate cooperation in this sector enables to expand their market to take advantage of economies scale of production, which would then lead to increased industrialization. E.g. the textile factory of Eritrea would be able to demand increase their demand for Gondar humera cotton. Additionally, in this cooperation and integration Eritrea can permit for Ethiopian to exploit their raw material and natural resource to the degree they would not have been able to do their own. In this regard, the gas reserves in dallol, not far from Assab could be a suitable joint Eritrea –Ethiopia industrialization project. This project will be the purpose of exporting or could provide energy for industries in northern part of Ethiopia.

As the result, the removal of trade barriers and industrialization process would have the flowing crucial relevance for the future relation between the two countries; fastening the integration process, create economic interdependence, narrowing aptitude differentiate of the people and avoiding upcoming conflict by minimizing conflictual economic interest caused by poverty and underdevelopment. Therefore, cooperation is attainable through balanced and mutually benefit agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea could appreciate.

5.2.1.6. Investment

Accordingly, the 1993 trade agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea, a comparison of the investment policies of the two countries shows that there are more areas for investment open to a foreign investor in Eritrea than can be found in Ethiopia. Citing these and other differences in investment policy, the authorities of both countries have on a number of occasions sought clarification as to how to implement the protocol agreement. However, in the recent rapprochement nothing says about the Economic and Trade relation between the two countries particularly about future engagement of investment policy.

Lack of investment delineating areas of economic activity which would be open to investment by the government and nationals of either country: for example, Ethiopian nationals and enterprises are repeatedly requesting to operate transit, , clearing and forwarding and banking services in Eritrea and similarly, Eritrean enterprises have indicated their desire to start up banking and

transport businesses in Ethiopia, but they cannot obtain a positive response in the absence of an investment agreement.

As far as concerned Ethiopian Investment condition, Ethiopia has the 2nd largest labor force in Africa with 50 million workers.⁶⁴ With a population of 99 million people and a rapidly growing middle class, Ethiopia is the 2nd largest market in Africa, and is also part of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) comprising 19 member countries and over 400 million people. Furthermore, Ethiopia Emphasis on agriculture as the driver of economic growth. Agriculture is the backbone of Ethiopia's economy, accounting for 42% of GDP and nearly 80% of employment.⁶⁵

Moreover, the rapprochement being conducive for rapid economic growth, better infrastructure, expanding markets and government's openness to FDI contribute to high profile investors targeting Ethiopia including Eritreans investor and Diasporas. As compare to Eritrea with Ethiopia the lowest one in terms of attraction FDI.

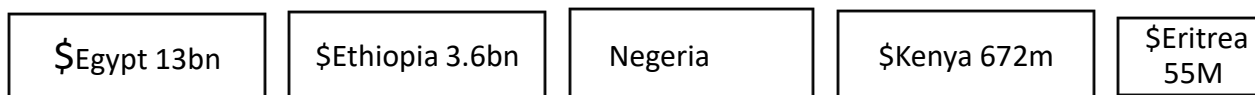


Fig 2: SOURCE: WORLD INVESTMENT REPORT 2018 UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT (UNCTAD). "DEVELOPING ECONOMIES: AFRICA – FDI FLOWS, TOP 5 HOST COUNTRIES, 2018".

However, The Eritrea government; created a Free Zone Authority in Massawa in order to attract new investors, mainly in the energy, tourism and fishing sectors. The government has also launched a privatization plan for the national telephone company, the hotel industry and food processing plants; even though, progress has been slow. Despite an unfavorable business climate, Eritrea's mineral resources have the potential to attract foreign investors.⁶⁶ The peace agreement signed between Eritrea and Ethiopia in July 2018, after 20 years of war, will open new investment opportunities. Already, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) are involved in the construction of an oil pipeline linking the Eritrean port of Assab to the Ethiopian capital; DP World, a multinational port

⁶⁴ World Bank's Doing Business Report, 2014

⁶⁵Source: World Bank Country Data, "Agriculture, Value Added (% of GDP)" <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.AGR.TOTL.ZS?locations=ET> and "Rural Population" <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL?end=2015&locations=ET&start=1960&view=chart>

⁶⁶ The country benefits from extensive mineral resources (potash, copper, gold, silver, zinc) and a strategic position on the Red Sea. China began operating at the Koka Gold Mine in 2016 and Chinese companies are also involved in infrastructure projects: The Hirgigo power station was renovated in 2016 and the expansion of the port of Massawa is underway.

company from the UAE, is reportedly considering building infrastructure in Assab ; and negotiations are underway with Russia for the construction of a logistics hub at one of Eritrea's ports .⁶⁷

5.2.1.7. Macroeconomic Policy Coordination

before the 1998-2000s war, there were legal, semi-legal, and illegal transfer of cash from Ethiopia, the IMF documents indicate, continued throughout the period of Eritrea's economic integration with Ethiopia, albeit at a lower rate in the later years, resulting in a large accumulation of cash in Eritrea. In return because of highest interest rate in Ethiopia bank than Eritrea the cash flew back to Ethiopia(Abera,2016). Adding on this, this substantial expansion of Eritrea's money supply caused the IMF to issue a warning in 1995 that the increases could have harmful economic consequences for Ethiopia, specifying that "[E]xcess liquidity could prove inimical to financial stability in the birr area [Ethiopia]" (IMF, 1995). Additionally, the velocity of money, defined as the number of times a unit of money changes hands, enabled the EPLF to acquire a higher amount of Ethiopia's resources than is reflected in the total of the transfers themselves(Abera,2016). A result, such kind of unlawful act and cooperation lead in to devastating conflict and have left a bad legacy on the two countries relation in history.

So far they have been scored the past mistake and controversies; Ethiopia and Eritrea do not have to synchronize each other policies on the taxes, government expenditure, money supply and investment, it is important that they consult with each other periodically to avoid the occurrence of macro-economic imbalance.

Nevertheless, viable macro-economic management and practice could spare the two countries future reconstruction program of common development agenda. However Ethiopian and Eritrea can set their own policy on currencies and fixed exchange rates, the convertibility of the currencies has considering each other and widely the regional implication. In this regard convertibility is important for both countries in terms of carrying out payments and governing transactions between the two countries.

⁶⁷ See also how Eritrea struggles to attract investors for a number of other reasons/ <https://www.google.com/search?source=Eritrea+FDI+in+2018>.

5.3. Prospects of Political Engagement Between Ethiopia and Eritrea

The 1998-2000 Ethio-Eritrean border conflict and the stalled relation between the two have brought about serious political instability both within them and by extension to the region as a whole. Politically, throughout the first decade of the outbreak of the conflict the relation between the two countries had continued to be tense. A Significant element of Algiers peace agreement and the expected decision of the boundary commission, as both countries agreed to be final, has remained unimplemented and dissatisfaction between the two countries continued until 2018.

As a result, the stalemate continues and had resulted in political instability throughout the Horn. Both countries had begun practicing a tradition of pursuing foreign policy by providing support to proxy forces in neighboring countries and other opposition forces. Destabilization actions and development of proxy wars inside the third state had become a common practice of the two countries. however, The following section highlights this in some detail.

5.3.1. The Shift from Destabilizations Actions Towards Sustainable peace

Destabilization action and expansion of proxy wars inside the third state of the region are the two important political developments characterizing the post Algiers relation between the two countries. Failure to restore peace between them has led to these political developments.

The two parties were unable to agree on the ruling of the boundary commission and in general on the Algiers Agreement. Instead, as many writers have argued, the two countries engaged in destabilizing action of the other and involvement in proxy wars inside the third state of the neighboring state of Somalia (Kidist, 2011). The political development between the two countries was concerned, the two countries involved in the proxy war inside Somalia had brought great instability in the Horn in general and inside the two countries in particular. The continued stalemate between the two countries developed into an indirect war in Somalia. Throughout 2005-2007/8 Somalia were become a battleground in which the forces of Ethiopia and Eritrea have fought.

After the rapprochement, the security situation of the Horn and Inside Somalia would make Significance change towards Stability. Eritrea does not share any common borders with Somalia, whereas Ethiopia shares one of its longest borders with Somalia. Any form of instability that foments in Somalia, particularly as some Somali political forces have declared a jihad war against

Ethiopia and irredentism movement may seriously affect Ethiopia. Thus, maintaining Peace and cooperation Between Ethiopia and Eritrea has been changing the Situation and would help Ethiopia fully focus on the Development agenda at the domestic level. Besides, Ethiopia and Somalia have had several conflicts throughout their history, starting from the period of Emperor Haile Selassie I and the Derg. Somalia has repeatedly claimed ownership of the Ogaden region of Ethiopia and over this issue alone, the two countries have been at war on several occasions. Due to the recent Rapprochement, Eritrea would stop any destabilization engagements in Somalia against Ethiopia. The historical policy of Containment Somalia expansionism against Ethiopia has remained successful. Because, the only clear interest to Eritrea was may be to destabilize Ethiopia, which is carries out by arming, financing and training Somali political forces who were hostile to both the transitional governments of Somalia and Ethiopia.⁶⁸

5.3.3. Symbolic and Substantive Relevance

Eritrea in using Somalia as a proxy war, the Eritrean government has violated a UN Security Council sanction that has imposed, among other things, a travel bans and an arms embargo on certain groups in Somalia.⁶⁹ The embargo has been violated by several countries, Eritrea was one of the major violators. This had been verified by the periodic reports of a panel of experts and a monitoring group established by the UN Security Council to oversee the sanctions imposed on Somalia.⁷⁰

The substantive aspect for Ethiopia, one of the major benefits of the rapprochement is the agreements it has been able to negotiate with armed groups in Asmara, Eritrea. The rebel groups controlled tens of thousands of combatants, which constituted a real political and security threat to the government of Ethiopia. But now all the rebel groups have abandoned the armed struggle against the government in Addis Ababa and have returned home to continue their struggle using

⁶⁸ See, for example, Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia, submitted in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1724 (2006), UN Doc S/2007/436, 17 July 2007.

⁶⁹ The UN Security Council, by Resolution 733 (1992), urged all states to implement a general and complete arms embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia until the Council decides otherwise.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia, submitted in accordance with Resolution 1724 (2006), UN Doc S/2007/436, 17 July 2007; Report of the Team of Experts, submitted in accordance with Resolution 1407 (2002), UN Doc S/2002/722, 3 July 2002, Annex 4. In one of the reports, Eritrean Colonel Yusuf Negash Warque is mentioned as a person involved in violation of the arms embargo. See Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia, para 5.

peaceful means. For Eritrea, the principal gains came in the form of an end to the war, respect for its territorial integrity and sovereignty, and lifting of the sanctions imposed on it nine years ago by the UN Security Council (on 14 November 2018).

Additionally, the suddenness and the speed with which the changes occurred took the world by storm. Across the globe, the media focused for days on Ethiopia–Eritrea rapprochement as a major world event. A state of euphoria engulfed the people of the two countries – a euphoria that was observed during the visits by the leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea to one another’s countries. It demonstrated the stark longing of the people of the two countries for peace and highlighted the importance of the conflict, the urgency of its resolution and the significance of the rapprochement (Weledemariam and Birikiteab, 2019). The attitude of the word came to positive and hopefuls about the region future in all aspects. It would change largely the image of the Horn Africa to the outside world. Thus, the region may become preferable and competitive for FDI and Tourism would have a chance being Economic core of Africa.

5.3.4. Change on Political Land Scape in the Region

5.3.4.1. Security Context

There was as Frazer (2008) stated, Eritrea was sponsoring instability in different areas of the Horn typically in Somalia and Sudan. Lyons (2007) also further pointed out that the destabilization action of Eritrea is in the past causing political instability in the region. He added that Eritrea was undermined all efforts for broad-based, inclusive dialogue and reconciliation both in Somalia and Sudan. As Lyons stated Eritrea had repeatedly been accused by the Sudanese government for its active involvement in armed conflicts along with the SPLA.

Furthermore, as Frazer (2008) stated, the Eritrean government had been appearing to be interested in the Afar areas of Ethiopia. She also further stated, there have had also been some indications that, Eritrea was trying to use improved ties with Sudan to reactivate its previous links with Ethiopian opposition groups in Sudan along Ethiopia’s western border.

However, the Secretary-General of the UN, Antonio Guterres, described the new development in the region thus: ‘There is a powerful wind of hope blowing across the Horn of Africa’ (UN News 2018). This wind of hope was unique, in that no one could predict its dynamics, scope or

momentum. From a light breeze, it gusted to unprecedented speeds. The vectors of change also multiplied dramatically. And the impact of the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia spread beyond the borders of those two countries – indeed, it had far-reaching consequences for the whole region(Berikiteab,2019).

Furthermore, as to Berikiteab (2019) Clearly, the Eritrea–Ethiopia conflict formed the epicenter of conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Therefore, its resolution would be a major first step toward addressing the conflicts raging elsewhere in the region (this would subsequently be amply demonstrated by the immediate spread of rapprochement to Somalia, Djibouti, South Sudan and relations between Egypt and Sudan). However, despite a growing realization of the importance of untangling and unpacking the Eritrea–Ethiopia dispute as a prerequisite for easing the strains and tensions in the region, no serious effort was expended on resolving it. Indeed, it remained a blemish on the behavior and approach of international mediation. It seemed a general perception was that the conflict was there to stay. Along this line Antonio Guterres described the rapprochement the as follow:

“We have seen a conflict that has lasted for decades, ending, and that has a very important meaning in a world where we see, unfortunately, so many conflicts multiplying, and lasting forever.” (UN News 2018)

Also, on 5-6 September, the leaders of Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea held a summit and issued a Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Cooperation Between Ethiopia, Somalia, and Eritrea that enhanced their respective territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence (Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea Joint Declaration 2018). They also established a Joint High-Level Committee, consisting of the foreign ministers of the three countries. This committee was delegated to visit Djibouti on 6 September and deliver a message from the three leaders to the president of Djibouti. The president of Djibouti welcomed it and voiced his willingness to restore relations with Eritrea – yet another powerful indication of the baleful influence that the Ethiopia–Eritrea conflict had previously exerted in the Horn region. The agreements concluded between the presidents of Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia are presented below (See also in Appendix 5).

5.3.4.2. Political Development and Foreign Policy

The Horn of African states' foreign policies has been characterized by mutual intervention through backing one another's political oppositions. The reciprocal interventions using intrastate protagonists remain one of the major instruments of foreign policy among the countries of the region. This strategy is aimed at weakening actual and presumed adversaries with the hope of strengthening their bargaining position in their dealings with each other (Kassahun, 2013).

Therefore, pursuing regional foreign policy through proxy forces in neighboring countries has been the normal pattern of relations for decades in the sub-region. The logic of 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend' forms the basis for interstate alliances between states. and among non-state actors in the Horn (Williams, 2011). This perception becomes eroding after Ethiopia and Eritrea agreed to cooperate and end to war in 2018. Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia signed tripartite treaty. Ethiopia, Sudan and Eritrea and Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti have signed another tripartite treaty. However, they must work together to create Trust factors among them. Voiding destabilization action, independent from external influence and stopping support for resentment group against one another is expected.

The end of the cold war has altered superpowers involvement in Africa with mixed implications. It brought new opportunities for African states to pursue more autonomous foreign policies, especially within their own sub-regions, though sometimes still in line with the US or European wishes. Potential regional powers, such as Nigeria and South Africa, got more scope to develop stronger regional presences with less fear of outside intervention (Wright, 1999).

In particular, deepening regional cooperation and economic integration improved intra-African trade relations, and the recognition of non-state actors in the foreign policy decision-making in the trough of bilateral and multilateral relation processes have gained prominence on the continent's agenda (Nkiwane, 1999).

To conclude this chapter: Ethiopia and Eritrea cooperate, because it is in their own common interest and direct result of this cooperation is prosperity and stability in the between the two countries. Thus, this normalization phase which is only lead to full cooperation when the two countries underway in such manner. As mentioned it in the above, there are many sector that could

bring full cooperation between the two countries. Moreover, the next chapter gives insights the way to go from engagement to cooperation in the conclusion and recommendation parts.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Undoubtedly, the rapprochement encountering numerous challenges and problems having a potential to lead disengagement. One could come from within Ethiopia; another could stem from the relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea that have been broadly discussed. Negotiation and the normalization process are underway. This referred to as an engagement towards cooperation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Therefore, we can only be putting principles and show the procedures to institutionalize the normalization process between the two countries. By taking into consideration the existing reality and the past historical economic and political relations between the communities of the two countries, the prospects for their future relations have also been discussed in line with the established theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. This part, therefore, provides a concise picture of issues, ideas, and facts about the subject under study and finally it will provide a recommendation of the study.

6.1. Conclusions

This thesis set out to analyze the form stalemate to engagement between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Following two years of bloody war (1998–2000) and 16 years of ‘no war, no peace’ – when the armies of the two countries were condemned to live in trenches, watching one another, and the borders of the countries were completely sealed – everything changed in July 2018. This came as a great surprise. The rapprochement enjoyed wide-ranging commendation both for its role in resolving one of the most vicious and protracted conflicts in Africa, and because of the implications for the intricate and festering conflicts in the Horn of Africa as well as across the Red Sea and the Gulf region.

To interpret scientifically the engagement, process maturity of objective and subjective conditions; and the trust factor. Whereas the maturity of objective and subjective conditions refers to Ethiopia, the trust condition refers to Eritrea. Thus, the coalition of these two elements rendered engagement possible. Eritrea’s acceptance of this time is thus as a result of; Symbolic victory from

“unconditional acceptance” “it was not the message that was critical, but the messenger” while TPLF also feels losing.

The Jeddah and Asmara agreement 2018 has been using the base for the new engagement where it lacks transparency and implementation mechanism about the possible relation between the two countries. while it need further negotiation to institutionalize and principal the normalization process. Unless further negotiation will hold it cannot implement the Algiers agreement easily or implementing the Algiers agreement could not bring the expected peace durable peace. Therefore, renegotiation is needed to end the incompatible interest conflict.

Any agreement leading reconciliation, cooperation, and integration is necessarily a function of certain precondition. Thus, in our study, Proximity and functional interest can apply to Ethiopia and Eritrea relations and cooperation. homogeneity is not applicable and Previous Integration experience and transaction have left a bitter legacy. As to communal character, social motive, structural frame, mutual knowledge, value system; the existence of one mutual knowledge can be applied and the structural frame also can be considered as applicable particularly for this specific engagement process. Adding on this, the rationale for closure economic relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea is that such steps would promote the speedy recovery of both economies.

However, the internal unrest and ethnic drives political tension relation with Eritrea found as the major challenge of the rapprochement. The new rapprochements process has been becoming a solid threat to Ethiopian national unity drives another source of disagreement among the ruling party Within the ruling party. On the side of Eritrea, there is the perception of TPLF has been removing from the central government and looking the new rapprochement as a victory over TPLF. Reconciliation and the engagement of the two countries couldn't get blessings equally all over Ethiopia. Nationalism and nationalist opinion all over the country become dominant political development practicing widely. Thus, each nationalist group has its understanding of Eritrea. This may create vulnerability of Ethiopia to external force including to Eritrea. Eritrea makes collation with OPDO and ADP to revenge TPLF. However, it found a wrong pattern for future relations of the two countries particularly future Ethiopian unity. Therefore, unless the division has solved among the ruling party EPRDF and different opinions of the People, this new engagement has the potential to disintegrate Ethiopia perhaps the rapprochement will have turned another vicious cycle of conflict and it could have Potential to be disengagement.

The Arab countries interest in Eritrea and on the Horn, in general, would have an impact on the speedy of normalization. This the convergence of interests – while the US role was discrete, Gulf power was in full display. Regional and global developments that were slowly changing the balance, rendering Ethiopia's policy of containment less effective by the day. Leveraging regional and global developments, Eritrea was slowly "coming in from the cold". The nature of the regime in Eritrea has been continuing in its undemocratic behavior and centralized foreign policy making being unpredictable the two countries' future relations.

As an optimistic prospect, Ethiopian and Eritrea will have only one choice i.e., Cooperation in various areas to achieve the desired goals and cooperation. If handled properly, the normalization of the relationship between the two countries has several positive implications. They took a lesson from the past mistakes enough to create profound relation that would not return to another devastating conflict between the two countries. For Eritrea: potentially brings trading opportunities, as well as investment, as its image improves. The lifting of sanctions is an added asset. Reduced need to invest in a disproportionately huge army. For Ethiopia, peace with Eritrea means trading opportunities and alternative outlets to the sea. Then they could change this engagement to cooperation to succeeded the desired goals of the rapprochement.

On the hand, poised at the present favorable position –as free and equal –what apolitical ties should Ethiopia and Eritrea try to forge? I believe we should seek a form of political affiliation say, a confederation or common wealthy that would bind together Ethiopia and Eritrea while preserving the freedom and equality of the two communities. So far I have been urging that there are no cogent objections to our coming together politically, on the ground that a common political life would encroach on the independence and freedom of either Ethiopia or Eritrea. they should exercise first functional cooperation in limited areas. However, nationalism and the unfinished nation-building and state formation are challenging any political and economic integration. However, the two countries have been focusing on border security. therefore, any type of integration would not be attainable rather it could be the long run plan between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

In the meantime, the horn Africa has also been facing the problem of nationalism, unfinished nation and state building activate. While the horn of Africa demonstrates a unique geographical, historical and cultural unity that differentiates it from the neighboring region. The natural condition has also a great similarity with them. Moreover, Ethiopia and Eritrea have a specifical relationship

to be base for cooperation and strong relationship. Since the two countries are interdependent able to create a new framework about the future. Accordingly, Peace, security and as the long run regional integration is the implication of the new engagement between Ethiopia and Eritrea over the region. Addressing the intractable conflict in South Sudan and help strengthen the government in Somalia. There are also indications that this has improved relations of Eritrea with Sudan and Djibouti. The Signing of a tripartite cooperation agreement between Ethiopia, Somalia, and Eritrea is the Indicator. This is critical now more than ever considering the tectonic geopolitical shifts taking place in the entire sub-region. While Impact of Middle Eastern confrontations is unpredictable – peacebuilding or destructive? Even though, cooperation among these countries is essential if they are going to collectively address the challenges and prevent the region from descending into conflict again. – Through IGAD, and develop a strategy to resist the destabilizing effects.

However, the current cooperation between Ethiopia and Eritrea is made at the bilateral level, not within the framework of the existing regional integration institutions such as IGAD framework. That means The plans to link in infrastructure and other interconnections are carried out by the funds and plans designed by the states themselves based on their pragmatic interests. However, the cooperation is not under the IGAD or other regional institutional framework does not mean that bilateral cooperation between Ethiopia and Eritrea has nothing to do with fostering sub-regional integration in the Horn of Africa. Therefore, the Ethio-Eritrea relationships could be essential for building stone with positive implications to build wider sub-regional cooperation and integration. It has a high potential to attract other states into the sub-regional network.

As it mentioned in the above, and accordingly our finding the recent development between Ethiopia and Eritrea is characterized as an engagement not cooperation. In order to principal, institutionalize and regulated the engagement process towards full cooperation, a few recommendations are suggested as follows:

6.2. Recommendation

1. Setting A Certain Preconditions for The New Engagement

The crucial point is the two sides should set the precondition based on their common and mutual interest. As the precondition, this paper wants to stress the following point to secedes common goals.

The most important precondition is **confidence building**. It must be readily admitted and at this time, there is no room for self-serving and self-delusion that the history of Ethiopian and Eritrea were fully characterized by hostility and enmity for long periods of time and this has left a bitter legacy between the two countries relations. Unless the two parties doing accordingly, they will work with each other to destroy themselves and negative camping. They crate all efforts should lead in to more cooperation and durable relation. In this sense they must be realistic, flexible and positive in this early cooperation stage if they wish their relation to develop higher degree of relation.

The realization of a common political, Socio-economic value Structure can be another precondition rely on equal effort and responsibility of both sides. At present, there exists a gulf of difference in the value system between the countries. The psychological disposition and attitudes of the people of Ethiopia and Eritrea because of the past century period of enmity and hostility, the people of the two countries develop their different ways. In this respect building positive sentiment among the elite, leadership and between the people will have, in turn, the positive sentiment that can be expanded through the neighboring countries. Adding on this, the public and private media outlets, elite groups, morally acceptable peoples will have positive factors for the new socialization process between the two countries.

Although, the cultural and social program depicting the positive aspects of life in both societies must be directed at all sectors of society, and all levels, including academia, the business, and labor communities as well as other civil society organizations. Thus, the public opinions must be mobilized in favor of consent anxiety and sympathy through effective use of the mass media and cultural programs as well as educational exchange programs and seminars. Therefore, there should be unrestricted travel within, and between the two countries thus permitting the free exchange of

ideas and values. All sects of the community must be represented in any relation and communication held between the two countries.

2. Managing the Ethnic Political Tension and Balancing the Power of Regional Government in Ethiopia; establishing trusted relation

In the contemporary politics of Ethiopia, there is always a strong tendency for ethnic or linguistic groups to fight for recognition of their own identity, if not for national independence. This tendency has persistently been on the increase rather than decreasing in the latter part of the 20th century. First, the interplay of ethnic nationalism has meant persistent threat to political stability. Again, this has also meant a threat to the consolidation of democracy. For it is going to be difficult to consolidate democracy in a country that is a politically unstable. Second, the predominance of the spirit of ethnic nationalism also gave rise to the emergence of ethnic militias all over the country-the commons one is TPLF. Finally, the interplay of ethnic nationalism has also divided and fragmented the civil society in Ethiopia. Even though, the region's center of gravity, Ethiopia, has achieved rapid but easily reversible progress in building a democratic order; the rapprochement with Eritrea would not have occurred otherwise.

3. Establish means of Affecting Economic Cooperation

Between Ethiopia and Eritrea, there are many areas of economic activities that could be coordinated by both countries for economic advantages of both without creating any national contraction for either. It is even specialization of economic activities for each economic cooperation is made the central force of their relation. Thus, not exhaustive the following points can be considered as the major means of effecting such relationship are possible:

- i. Making or regulating the bilateral relation to crates the ground for an extensive agreement of development programs and projects between them. Such mutual understanding and bilateral diplomatic relation provide could take effect and the necessary bureaucratic set-up for such purpose to be established.
- ii. Take immediate action to lessen economic barriers the two countries. The movement of people and goods must have eased for economic purposes.
- iii. To solidify the future integration between Ethiopia and Eritrea, they must adopt common or similar economic codes and regulation and incentives to accelerate the economic

interaction between the two nations. Studies to explore the advantages of adopting a common currency, similar or common commercial codes, common airlines, etc...should be undertaken right at the beginning of such deliberation.

- iv. Undertake joint international economic ventures. There are several areas that both countries could entertain right at the beginning. Example Agriculture, on water resource, and Railway, etc....
- v. Establish and maintain extensive educational and cultural exchange programs between the two countries. such program is not being restricted to the occasional exchange of institution research and cultural projects that last for a short time but a continual program with long term implications for both peoples. The understanding created between the two people in these types of endeavors will cement the economic relation much better than any economic activities such as tourism, professionals conference and other regional activities.

4. Both countries must adopt the policy of good neighboring and strive to create a sense of community –i.e., the ‘we feeling’.

Both countries must respect the expressed wishes of the population of and accept certain existing reality and start negotiations based on the reality obtaining at a historic juncture. It is a fact ‘Peace is not the absence of war; it is the presence of good neighboring’. On the view of this, Peace cannot be achieved by implementing EEBC’s Decision rather as they show a gesture of goodwill for negotiation, the following options could be examined to create a win-win situation on Badme:

- The village could be administered as a condominium under the sovereignty of both Eritrea and Ethiopia
- The village could be put under the sovereignty of either of the states with the special right granted to the citizens of the other or
- The village could be put under the administration of the UN.

A similar regime was successfully used to resolve the conflict between Ecuador and Peru. The territorial conflict between the two countries was solved by sharing sovereignty of the highly regarded symbolic area where many lives from both sides were lost as a result of the heavy fighting in 1995.

5. Focusing on Long-term Benefits Rather than on Short-term Strategic Interests

The habit of planning and implementing as a region is poor and lacking in the Horn of Africa sub-region. The major projects, such as Ethiopia's hydropower developments, Ethio-Eritrea's railway projects and port expansions, which have been planned to do so, even though they have the potential to enhance regional cooperation and integration, are fragmented and isolated initiatives where short-term commercial outcomes have been the prime consideration, without a view to enhancing longer-term political cooperation, conflict prevention and regional stability.

6. Promoting Level of Commitment towards Regional Integration

Realizing of regional integration is largely dependent on the level of commitment of the integrating states. In this regard, Ethiopia and Eritrea even though they are interested in transforming and strengthening their bilateral relations based on their pragmatic mutual demands, their commitment to realizing region-wide integration is not sufficient/ satisfactory. Especially on the part of Eritrea, the practical measures to achieve integration is relatively poor. Both Ethiopia and Eritrea have not yet acceded to the FTA and CU arrangements. As Ethiopia and Eritrea are among members of IGAD, they are partly responsible for the failure of IGAD to adopt free trade area.

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Appendix 1 Interview Guide

Personal Information of the interviewers

Name _____

Age _____

Position _____

1. What is the conditions of the two countries Engagement Process?
2. What are the pillar of the agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea? Can we say the transition of the Engagement process is smoothly underway?
3. What would be the problem of the two countries relation and the peace process transition
4. *In 2002 the border commission of Ethiopia and Eritrea, established in line with the Algiers agreement, decided the village of Badme to Eritrea. Is this in line with the interest of the local people and the local government the people of Ethiopian in general? Can we say the Algiers agreement is legal agreement and workable law? How can it resolve the past border dispute accordingly the Algiers Agreement?
5. From the point of view of interstate cooperation, are the two countries relation governed and regulated by internationally accepted interstate cooperation procedures and standard?
6. From the interest of the local people living in the border, how do you think the current cordial relation between the two countries could be continue? What do you think has to be done by governments of both countries and peace mediators in order to achieve long lasting peace between the two countries in a way of considering the community who have been living in the past dispute territory?

Appendix 2 List of interviewed persons

1. Ato Ojjege Osso Oroco Eritrean Affairs Ministries Counselor at Ministry of Foreign
Affair
2. Dr.Derje Zeleke Mekonon Associate Professor School of Law, AAU
3. Ato Wubshete Mulate Lawyer and Public Intellectual

Appendix 3. Joint communiqué of the first round table Meeting of the Ethio-Eritrea joint ministerial Commission, 27-27 September 1993, Asmara

The JMC meeting took place in accordance with the provision of the agreement of friendship and cooperation signed between the two governments on July 30, 1993 in Addis Ababa.

In view of the very high value attached to the advancement and promotion of cooperative relations between the two countries, the two sides expressed their profound satisfaction with the establishment of a JHMC. The JHMC is composed of the prime minister of TGE and the minister of local government of the government of Eritrea as co-chairmen. Foreign ministers of the two countries and the ambassadors of the two countries to each other, as the supreme body entrusted with the task of preserving and building upon the achievements already made facilitate the implementation of the agreements signed and identify and promote further areas of cooperation.

The JHMC formed three joint committees: political, economic and social affairs which held extensive discussions and consultations in their specific areas.

The Discussions were conducted in the spirit of brotherhood, mutual trust and understanding reflecting the close and friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries and led to the signing of 25 protocol agreements aimed at reinforcing and further expanding fields of cooperation which would contribute towards promoting mutual interests.

In the fields of economic cooperation, it was decided to work together and to coordinate development strategies and policies of the two countries. In this connection, a protocol agreement on harmonization of economic policies between the two countries has been signed, covering the issues of fiscal, monetary, trade and investment policies. On the sectoral level specific cooperation agreements were signed on industry, transport and communication, agriculture, natural resources development and environmental protection, mining and energy, construction and tourism.

The two governments have reaffirmed their commitment to vigorously continue their efforts to further expand their cooperation in various areas of mutual interest. The JHMC and the three joint committees are entrusted with the task of following-up coordinating and expanding the implementation of agreements reached in the political, economic and social fields.

Tamrat Layne, Romedan M. Nur

Asmara, 27 september 1993

Appendix 4. An Agreement between the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Government of the State of Eritrea

The Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Government of the State of Eritrea (the “parties”),

REAFFIRMING their acceptance of the Organization of African Unity (“OAU”) Framework Agreement and the Modalities for its Implementation, which have been endorsed by the 35th ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Algiers, Algeria, from 12 to 14 July 1999,

RECOMMITTING themselves to the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities, signed in Algiers on 18 June 2000, WELCOMING the commitment of the OAU and United Nations, through their endorsement of the Framework Agreement and Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities, to work closely with the international community to mobilize resources for the resettlement of displaced persons, as well as rehabilitation and peace building in both countries,

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

1. The parties shall permanently terminate military hostilities between themselves. Each party shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the other.
2. The parties shall respect and fully implement the provisions of the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities.

Article 2

1. In fulfilling their obligations under international humanitarian law, including the 1949 Geneva Conventions relative to the protection of victims of armed conflict (“1949 Geneva Conventions”), and in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, the parties shall without delay release and repatriate all prisoners of war.
2. In fulfilling their obligations under international humanitarian law, including the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, the parties shall without delay, release and repatriate or return to their last place of residence all other persons detained as a result of the armed conflict.
3. The parties shall afford humane treatment to each other’s nationals and persons of each other’s national origin within their respective territories.

Article 3

1. In order to determine the origins of the conflict, an investigation will be carried out on the incidents of 6 May 1998 and on any other incident prior to that date which could have contributed

to a misunderstanding between the parties regarding their common border, including the incidents of July and August 1997.

2. The investigation will be carried out by an independent, impartial body appointed by the Secretary General of the OAU, in consultation with the Secretary General of the United Nations and the two parties.
3. The independent body will endeavor to submit its report to the Secretary General of the OAU in a timely fashion.
4. The parties shall cooperate fully with the independent body.
5. The Secretary General of the OAU will communicate a copy of the report to each of the
6. two parties, which shall consider it in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Framework Agreement and the Modalities.

Article 4

1. Consistent with the provisions of the Framework Agreement and the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities, the parties reaffirm the principle of respect for the borders existing at independence as stated in resolution AHG/Res. 16(1) adopted by the OAU Summit in Cairo in 1964, and, in this regard, that they shall be determined on the basis of pertinent colonial treaties and applicable international law.
2. The parties agree that a neutral Boundary Commission composed of five members shall be established with a mandate to delimit and demarcate the colonial treaty border based on pertinent colonial treaties (1900, 1902 and 1908) and applicable international law. The Commission shall not have the power to make decisions *ex aequo et bono*.
3. The Commission shall be located in The Hague.
4. Each party shall, by written notice to the United Nations Secretary General, appoint two commissioners within 45 days from the effective date of this Agreement, neither of whom shall be nationals or permanent residents of the party making the appointment. In the event that a party fails to name one or both of its party-appointed commissioners within the specified time, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall make the appointment.
5. The president of the Commission shall be selected by the party-appointed commissioners or, failing their agreement within 30 days of the date of appointment of the latest party-appointed commissioner, by the Secretary-General of the United Nations after consultation with the parties. The president shall be neither a national nor permanent resident of either party.
6. In the event of the death or resignation of a commissioner in the course of the proceedings, a substitute commissioner shall be appointed or chosen pursuant to the procedure set forth in this paragraph that was applicable to the appointment or choice of the commissioner being replaced.
7. The UN Cartographer shall serve as Secretary to the Commission and undertake such tasks as assigned to him by the Commission, making use of the technical expertise of the UN Cartographic Unit. The Commission may also engage the services of additional experts as it deems necessary.
8. Within 45 days after the effective date of this Agreement, each party shall provide to the Secretary its claims and evidence relevant to the mandate of the Commission. These shall be provided to the other party by the Secretary.

9. After reviewing such evidence and within 45 days of its receipt, but not earlier than 15 days after the Commission is constituted, the Secretary shall transmit to the Commission and the parties any materials relevant to the mandate of the Commission as well as his findings identifying those portions of the border as to which there appears to be no dispute between the parties. The Secretary shall also transmit to the Commission all the claims and evidence presented by the parties.
10. With regard to those portions of the border about which there appears to be controversy, as well as any portions of the border identified pursuant to paragraph 9 with respect to which either party believes there to be controversy, the parties shall present their written and oral submissions and any additional evidence directly to the Commission, in accordance with its procedures.
11. The Commission shall adopt its own rules of procedure based upon the 1992 Permanent Court of Arbitration Optional Rules for Arbitrating Disputes Between Two States. Filing deadlines for the parties' written submissions shall be simultaneous rather than consecutive. All decisions of the Commission shall be made by a majority of the commissioners.
12. The Commission shall commence its work not more than 15 days after it is constituted and shall endeavor to make its decision concerning delimitation of the border within six months of its first meeting. The Commission shall take this objective into consideration when establishing its schedule. At its discretion, the Commission may extend this deadline.
13. Upon reaching a final decision regarding delimitation of the borders, the Commission shall transmit its decision to the parties and Secretaries General of the OAU and the United Nations for publication, and the Commission shall arrange for expeditious demarcation.
14. The parties agree to cooperate with the Commission, its experts and other staff in all respects during the process of delimitation and demarcation, including the facilitation of access to territory they control. Each party shall accord to the Commission and its employees the same privileges and immunities as are accorded to diplomatic agents under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.
15. The parties agree that the delimitation and demarcation determinations of the Commission shall be final and binding. Each party shall respect the border so determined, as well as territorial integrity and sovereignty of the other party.
16. Recognizing that the results of the delimitation and demarcation process are not yet known, the parties request the United Nations to facilitate resolution of problems which may arise due to the transfer of territorial control, including the consequences for individuals residing in previously disputed territory.
17. The expenses of the Commission shall be borne equally by the two parties. To defray its expenses, the Commission may accept donations from the United Nations Trust Fund established under paragraph 8 of Security Council Resolution 1177 of 26 June 1998.

Article 5

1. Consistent with the Framework Agreement, in which the parties commit themselves to addressing the negative socio-economic impact of the crisis on the civilian population, including the impact on those persons who have been deported, a neutral Claims Commission shall be established. The mandate of the Commission is to decide through binding arbitration all claims for

loss, damage or injury by one Government against the other, and by nationals (including both natural and juridical persons) of one party against the Government of the other party or entities owned or controlled by the other party that are (a) related to the conflict that was the subject of the Framework Agreement, the Modalities for its Implementation and the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement and (b) result from violations of international humanitarian law, including the 1949 Geneva Conventions, or other violations of international law. The Commission shall not hear claims arising from the cost of military operations, preparing for military operations, or the use of force, except to the extent that such claims involve violations of international humanitarian law.

2. The Commission shall consist of five arbitrators. Each party shall, by written notice to the United Nations Secretary General, appoint two members within 45 days from the effective date of this agreement, neither of whom shall be nationals or permanent residents of the party making the appointment. In the event that a party fails to name one or both of its party-appointed arbitrators within the specified time, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall make the appointment.

3. The president of the Commission shall be selected by the party-appointed arbitrators or failing their agreement within 30 days of the date of appointment of the latest party-appointed arbitrator, by the Secretary-General of the United Nations after consultation with the parties. The president shall be neither a national nor permanent resident of either party.

4. In the event of the death or resignation of a member of the Commission in the course of the proceedings, a substitute member shall be appointed or chosen pursuant to the procedure set forth in this paragraph that was applicable to the appointment or choice of the arbitrator being replaced.

5. The Commission shall be located in The Hague. At its discretion it may hold hearings and conduct investigations in the territory of either party, or at such other location as it deems expedient.

6. The Commission shall be empowered to employ such professional, administrative and clerical staff as it deems necessary to accomplish its work, including establishment of a Registry. The Commission may also retain consultants and experts to facilitate the expeditious completion of its work.

7. The Commission shall adopt its own rules of procedure based upon the 1992 Permanent Court of Arbitration Optional Rules for Arbitrating Disputes Between Two States. All decisions of the Commission shall be made by a majority of the commissioners.

8. Claims shall be submitted to the Commission by each of the parties on its own behalf and on behalf of its nationals, including both natural and juridical persons. All claims submitted to the Commission shall be filed no later than one year from the effective date of this agreement. Except for claims submitted to another mutually agreed settlement mechanism in accordance

with paragraph 16 or filed in another forum prior to the effective date of this agreement, the Commission shall be the sole forum for adjudicating claims described in paragraph 1 or filed under paragraph 9 of this Article, and any such claims which could have been and were not submitted by that deadline shall be extinguished, in accordance with international law.

9. In appropriate cases, each party may file claims on behalf of persons of Ethiopian or Eritrean origin who may not be its nationals. Such claims shall be considered by the Commission on the same basis as claims submitted on behalf of that party's nationals.

10. In order to facilitate the expeditious resolution of these disputes, the Commission shall be authorized to adopt such methods of efficient case management and mass claims processing as it deems appropriate, such as expedited procedures for processing claims and checking claims on a sample basis for further verification only if circumstances warrant.

11. Upon application of either of the parties, the Commission may decide to consider specific claims, or categories of claims, on a priority basis.

12. The Commission shall commence its work not more than 15 days after it is constituted and shall endeavor to complete its work within three years of the date when the period for filing claims closes pursuant to paragraph 8.

13. In considering claims, the Commission shall apply relevant rules of international law. The Commission shall not have the power to make decisions *ex aequo et bono*.

14. Interest, costs and fees may be awarded.

15. The expenses of the Commission shall be borne equally by the parties. Each party shall pay any invoice from the Commission within 30 days of its receipt.

16. The parties may agree at any time to settle outstanding claims, individually or by categories, through direct negotiation or by reference to another mutually agreed settlement mechanism.

17. Decisions and awards of the commission shall be final and binding. The parties agree to honor all decisions and to pay any monetary awards rendered against them promptly.

18. Each party shall accord to members of the Commission and its employees the privileges and immunities that are accorded to diplomatic agents under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

Article 6

1. This agreement shall enter into force on the date of signature.

2. The parties authorize the Secretary General of the OAU to register this agreement with the Secretariat of the United Nations in accordance with article 102(1) of the Charter of the United Nations

DONE at [Algiers, Algeria] on the [12th] day of December, 2000, in duplicate, in the English language

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
STATE OF ERITREA

ETHIOPIA:

[Prime Minister Meles Zenawi]

[President Issaias Afewerki]

Appendix 5 Agreement on Peace and Friendship between Eritrea and Ethiopia

Agreements

The state of war between Ethiopia and Eritrea has come to an end. A new era of peace and friendship has dawned.

The two governments will endeavor to forge intimate political, economic, social, cultural and security cooperation that serves and advances the vital interest of their people.

Transport, trade and communications links between the two countries will resume; diplomatic ties and activities will restart.

The decision on the boundary between the two countries will be implemented.

Both countries will jointly endeavor to ensure regional peace, development and cooperation.

Signed by:

For the State of Eritrea,
President Isaias Afwerki

For the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia,
Prime Minister Dr Abiy Ahmed Ali

Date and Place:

9 July 2018, Asmara

Appendix 6 Eritrea–Somalia Joint Declaration on Brotherly Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation Agreements

1. Somalia is endowed with a strategic location and vast human and natural resources. However, it has been hampered in realizing its potential due to internal problems and external intervention. Thus, Eritrea strongly supports the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia, as well as the efforts of the people and government of Somalia to restore the country's rightful stature and achieve the lofty aspirations of its people.
2. Somalia and Eritrea will endeavor to forge intimate political, economic, social, cultural, as well as defense and security cooperation.
3. The two countries will establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors, promote bilateral trade and investment, as well as educational and cultural exchanges.
4. Eritrea and Somalia will work in unison to foster regional peace, stability and economic integration

Signed by:

For the state of Eritrea,
President Isaias Afwerki

For the Federal Republic of Somalia,
President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed

Date and Place:

30 July 2018, Asmara

Appendix 7 Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Cooperation Between Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea Agreements

1. The three countries shall foster comprehensive cooperation that advances the goals of their people.
2. The three countries shall build close political, economic, social, cultural and security ties.
3. The three countries shall work in coordination to promote regional peace and security.
4. The three governments hereby establish a Joint High-Level Committee to coordinate their efforts in the framework of this Joint Declaration.

Signed by:

For the Federal Democratic	For the Federal	For the
Republic of Ethiopia,	Republic of Somalia,	State of Eritrea
Prime Minister	President Mohamed	President
Dr. Abiy Ahmed Ali	Abdullahi Mohamed	Isaias Afwerki

Date and Place:

5 September 2018, Asmara

Appendix 8 Emperor Haile Selassie Order Number 22/ (1955) over Eritrea

22/3 (1955) ት. 27

የኤርትራን የፌደራል አስተዳደር ለማስቀረትና በኤርትራ የንጉሠ ነገሥቱን መንግሥት የአንድነት አስተዳደር ለመተካት የወጣ ትእዛዝ።

2. ኤርትራ ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር ያላት የፌደራል ግንኙነት በዚህ ትእዛዝ ተሸሮ ኤርትራ የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት አንድ አካል መሆንዋን በመቀጠል፣ በንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት ግዛታችን አስተዳደር በሙሉ እንድትዋሐድ ተደርጓል።

3. በመላው የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት ግዛት ጸንቶ የሚሰራበት ሕገ መንግሥት ጥቅምት 23 ቀን 1948 ዓ.ም. ተሸሽሎ የወጣው ሕገ መንግሥት ብቻ ነው።

6. ይህ ትእዛዝ ከኅዳር 6 ቀን 1955 ዓ.ም. ጀምሮ የጸና ይሆናል።