

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**  
**INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES (IPSS)**



**THE ROLE OF ETHIOPIA IN PEACEBUILDING IN THE HORN OF AFRICA:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION**

**BY**

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**ADDIS ABABA**  
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**APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS**

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## ABSTRACT

*Horn of Africa is one of the regions in the world where multiple social, economic and political ever changing issues keep emerging on spatial and temporal regards. These include the civil war in South Sudan and its unsettled peace agreements; severe drought conditions of food insecurity in Somalia, Ethiopia, and Kenya; political unrest in Sudan; terrorism in Somalia and other challenging issues. Therefore, it was not possible to have significant social unification, economic, and political integration such as a free movement of people, having same currencies, and common military operations. Thus, given Ethiopia's comparative advantage of its central geographic location, population size, fast growing economy and strong military army, it is imperative and appropriate to examine the extent of its role in contributing to the efforts for peacebuilding in the region and its implications for regional integration. In this thesis, qualitative method of research design using primary and secondary data sources was employed. Primary data was collected through key informants' interviews of relevant officials, and experts from government and academic institutions, embassies in Addis Ababa, and the African Union Commission. Secondary information was collected from books, journal articles, unpublished materials, governmental and NGO reports and remarks, magazines and web sources. The research question(s) of the study aimed to understanding Ethiopia's foreign relations on legal policy framework and institutional set up, determine Ethiopia's contribution towards peacebuilding around, identifying constraining factors that hinder Ethiopia from utilizing its potential and stating implications for future possible regional integration. The study employed qualitative data analysis techniques, specifically, thematic data analysis. The findings of the study revealed that there is a gap in the legal, policy framework and institutional set up of Ethiopia's foreign relation. Limited economic capacity, internal political instability, neighboring country issues, extra neighboring and international politics were also major constraining factors that hinder Ethiopia from utilizing its potential in peacebuilding in the HoA. Moreover, since 2002, Ethiopia's peacebuilding role focused on the economic ties, infrastructural developments, mediation, and peacekeeping mission instead of having the inclusion of social, economic and political perspectives across HOA. Generally, the study shows that the contribution of Ethiopia towards peacebuilding in the HoA is progressing forward, however; Ethiopia had not exerted its full effort in contribution to peacebuilding in the region.*

**Keywords; - Ethiopia, Peacebuilding, Foreign policy, Regional integration, Horn of Africa**

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## **ACRONYMS**

AMISOM	Africa Union Mission in Somalia
AU	Africa Union
BBC	British Broad Casting corporation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EIPKTC	Ethiopian International Peacekeeping Training Center
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Front
EU	European Union
FANSPS	Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy
FBC	Fana Broadcasting Corporate
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
HoA	Horn of Africa
ICG	International Crisis Group
IPSS	Institute for Peace and Security Studies
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF/WB	International Monitory Fund World Bank
LAPSSET	Lamu Port and Lamu South Sudan Ethiopia Transport Corridor
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PM:	Prime Minister
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development programme
UNGASC	United Nations General Assembly Security Council
UN- OCHA	United Nation Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USA	United States of America

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

The Horn of Africa traditionally denotes the peninsula in the north eastern part of Africa, comprising four countries - Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia. But the greater HoA comprises eight countries- Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan, Sudan, Somalia, and Uganda. The areal coverage and population size of the greater HoA countries is estimated to be as follows: Ethiopia covers approximately an area of 1,104,300 sq km and inhabited with roughly 108, 386,391 million people; the second largest is the Sudan with an area of 1,861,484 sq km and an estimated inhabitants of 43, 120,843 million people. South Sudan covers an estimated area of 644,329 sq km with an estimated 10,204,581 million inhabitants, and Kenya has an estimated landmass of 580,367 sq km with roughly 48,397,527 million people inhabiting it; while Somalia covers an area of 637,657 sq km with an estimated population size of 11,259,029 million. Djibouti has a landmass size that covers 23,200 sq km with an estimated population size of 884,017. Finally, Eritrea covers an area of 117,600 sq km with an estimated 5, 970,646 million people; and Uganda covers area of 241,038 sq km with roughly 40, 853,749 million people (CIA, World Fact book, 2019).

The Horn of Africa is one of the most unstable and unpredictable regions in the continent known for two opposing realities; on one hand, it continues to be a place for numerous social, economic and political issues including civil war, drought, famine, political unrest, border dispute, terrorism, and other diversified problems such as displacements of people. According to UN-OCHA report (2017), nearly 1.1 million people have been displaced; 5.2 million children and women are estimated to be acutely malnourished and more than 15.2 million people are severely food insecure in the region (UN- OCHA, 2017).

Nevertheless, the region's contributions to the world has increased due to its strategic position for international trade, maritime security, anti-piracy operation, anti-terrorism campaign, and access to the world's largest oil reserve in the Middle Eastern Arab Gulf (Amare, 1998; Mesfin, 2004 as cited in Gashaw & Zelalem, 2016). Researchers predicted that the ambition of Western and powerful nations, the global competition and rivalries

towards HoA like India and China's raising military capability, political and economic influence and their quest for energy security may also lead to an arms race in the region (Abdel-Latif&Mokaddem,2016).

To resolve these diversified and multi-dimensional problems, states of the region exert a lot of efforts. One of the countries prominently taking various measures in the area of peace and security of the region is Ethiopia. Ethiopia is a landlocked country bordering with the Sudan and South Sudan to the west, Eritrea to the north, Djibouti and Somalia to the east and Kenya to the south. Ethiopia ranks the 13<sup>th</sup> most populous nation in the world and the second in Africa, next to Nigeria (CIA world fact book, 2018). The country has a long and independent history of successfully defeating colonial forces, including Italy at Adwa in 1896, during the scramble for Africa by European powers, and resisted Italian fascist occupation during the years from 1935 to 1941. It is also known by its unique cultural heritage, multicultural and multi-religious society, including Christianity and Islam (BBC news, 2018).

Ethiopia has played a vital role in the promotion of regional economic integration through massive infrastructure developments, such as a road link with Djibouti and Sudan; Ethio- Djibouti standard gauge railway; a road linking to Kenya which is already completed from the Ethiopian side; the Lamu port and Lamu- South Sudan - Ethiopia transport corridor project involving railway, road and port infrastructure; the leading and extensive link of Ethiopian Airlines ; the huge electric power dam building(Ethiopian Grand Renaissance Dam); and its role in electric connectivity with power supply to Djibouti and the Sudan(Chatham House the royal institute of international Affairs,2015). Furthermore; the Ethio –Eritrean rapprochement and those following suits are also some of the least diplomatic success stories in the region.

In addition to the above mentioned infrastructure development activities and the recent political rapprochement with Eritrea, Ethiopia has taken part in the security issues for the maintenance of regional and continental peace, security, and stability by deploying its troops in Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Darfur, Abyei and Somalia (Zelalem, 2018). Moreover it has also played mediatory role for the reconciliation and peace agreement of the conflict in South Sudan as IGAD leading member. Ethiopia has also taken the

initiative in resolving its long standing hostility with Eritrea which resulted in the signing of a peace treaty in July 2018 to put a formal end to a state of war between the two nations which paved the way for greater economic cooperation and improvements (Aljazeera news, 2018). Ethiopia also played an important role as a founding member of the UN, OAU/AU, and IGAD and participated in peace keeping contributing countries to the UN with more than 8,300 peacekeepers on the ground (Xinhua net, 2018).

In spite of Ethiopia and other member states' effort in building peace, stability and integration in the HoA, so far there are limited achievements in resolving those prolonged challenges and chaos. Hence, given Ethiopia's comparative advantages of its central geographic location, population size, recent promising economic performance and its enhanced role in the regional peace and security; it is imperative and appropriate to examine its role in peacebuilding, and implication for regional integration.

Therefore, this study intends to examine the extent of Ethiopia's role in contributing to an effort to peacebuilding in the Horn of Africa, and its implications for regional integration.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Ethiopia is geographically located in the HoA neighboring with six countries namely Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, South Sudan and Sudan which expressed as HoA countries in the 2002, Ethiopia's Foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy. The region is inhabited by more than an estimated amount of 228 million people out of which roughly more than 108 million live in Ethiopia where most of its citizens around bordering areas share language, culture, history, and natural resources with people on the other side of the border of neighboring countries (FANSPS,2002).

Even though the region is highly privileged in population, resources, and geographical proximity among the neighboring countries, the situation of peace and stability is extremely getting dangerous and volatile which impedes the social, economic and political development in the region. To further emphasize, the HoA is known to be one of the most volatile region in the continent with multiple social, economic and political crises including the civil war in South Sudan and its unsettled peace agreements, severe drought conditions of food insecurity in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya (Relief web, 2018),

political unrest in Sudan, terrorism in Somalia by Al-shabab (ICG, 2018), and other devastating problems are widespread in the region.

Due to the fact that of having limited peace , stability, economic, social and political development, it was not possible to have significant social unification, economic integration to the extent of free movement of people ,having same currencies, common military operations towards combating terrorism among countries in the HoA. In order to resolve these diversified and multi-dimensional problems, states of the region are contributing a lot. One of the countries prominently undertaking various steps in peace and security situation of the region is Ethiopia.

Different scholarly works in Ethiopia's diplomatic relations reflected the aspects with regard to the progress and challenges. For instance, Assefa& Yemane, (2017) argue that despite its constraints in terms of economic capacity, Ethiopia has played a prominent role in the HoA region and emerged as a regional power capable of projecting its power beyond its borders and emphasized on the need to boost its economy in order to consolidate regional power and increase more recognition and credibility. Correspondingly, Kidist (2014) in her research entitled " The role of regional powers in the field of peace and security: the case of Ethiopia" came across with the conclusion that, despite its weak economic capacity, Ethiopia emerged as a regional power in the HoA.

Mehari and Abel (2015) also discuss the key internal and external peace and security issues and concerns that affect Ethiopia's stability and its national efforts exerted to maximize opportunities for consolidating stability, integrative and security role in the HoA. Again, Mehari (2017) in his research entitled "A regional power in the making; Ethiopia's diplomacy in the Horn of Africa" discusses about Ethiopia's internal and external peace and security threats; and concluded that Ethiopia plays a key role in maintaining regional stability however, its foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy is an inward looking which focuses on domestic vulnerabilities than external threats.

The conclusions of previous researchers spotlight the point that Ethiopia played a decisive role in the HoA peace and security notwithstanding its inward looking foreign policy nature. Even if Ethiopia and other member states exert efforts in building peace, stability and integration; so far there are limited achievements. Still the region has repetitively witnessed economic underdevelopment, political instability and human insecurity (Assefa & Yemane, 2017). Moreover, Ethiopia's role and the extent of its contribution in the peacebuilding of the region, and the implication for regional integration are not well addressed by the aforementioned researchers.

Thus, given Ethiopia's comparative advantage of its central geographic location, the largest and most populated country in the region (CIA world fact book, 2018), with the fast growing economy of over 10 percent annual growth rate (world Bank, 2018), holding strong military army ranked third next to Egypt and Algeria (Nigerian Infopedia, 2018) in the entire Africa and 51<sup>st</sup> in military strength rank of the world (Global fire power, 2018) and its enhanced role as a mediatory and peace keeping mission in Darfur, Abyei and Somalia; it is imperative and appropriate to scrutinize what roles Ethiopia has played on the ground to build peace in the region, why it has not yet been able to optimize its leading role and significantly contribute its lion's share, and what implication it has for future regional integration.

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to examine the extent of Ethiopia's role in contributing to an effort to peacebuilding in the Horn of Africa, and its implications for regional integration.

### **1.3 Objective of the Study**

This research has the Subsequent general and specific objectives

#### **General Objective**

To examine the extent of Ethiopia's role, in contributing to an effort to peacebuilding in the Horn of Africa, and its implications for regional integration.

## **Specific objectives**

- To understand Ethiopia's foreign relation legal, policy framework and institutional set up in place
- To analyze the contribution of Ethiopia towards peacebuilding in the Horn of Africa
- To identify constraining factors that hinder Ethiopia from utilizing its potential to peacebuilding in Horn of Africa, and
- To highlight some of the implications for future possible regional integration

## **1.4 Research Questions**

- What are the legal, policy and institutional frame work of Ethiopia's foreign relation?
- To what extent Ethiopia has contributed towards peacebuilding in the Horn of Africa?
- What are the constraining factors that hinder Ethiopia from utilizing its potential to peacebuilding in the Horn of Africa, and
- What are the implications for possible future regional integration?

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This study contributes to the existing body of knowledge in understanding Ethiopia's role in peacebuilding in the HoA. It can be a reference point for other researchers in the same field who may find the study relevant to their own studies and provide reliable information that could be used by development agents and researchers. Furthermore, it can help to win direction and guidance for policy makers in their effort to solve HoA's economic, social and political crisis through integration and cooperation and create a peaceful and safer region where citizens enjoy their lives peacefully, where countries of the region can solve their own problems by themselves.

## **1.6 Delimitation of the Study**

This research is limited to examine Ethiopia's role in peace-building in the HoA and its implication for regional integration. Therefore, the study focused on analyzing and examining Ethiopia's contribution in building social, economic and political relationship and bondage with six neighboring countries expressed as, HoA countries, in the 2002 Ethiopia's Foreign Affairs and national security policy and strategy. As a result other dimensions of peacebuilding were not incorporated on the study.

## **1.7 Limitation of the study**

While undertaking this study, the researcher faced the following challenges. First and foremost, as HoA is a very sensitive area where different parties have interest on it, all concerned parties who have a stake on the issue were not interviewed. Secondly, since the region is unpredictable due to its fluid nature characterized by month to month, day to day evolving and dynamic situations, some of the new developments that occurred after the data collection and analysis may not be incorporated in the study. Third, the researcher didn't visit other HoA countries to get further information down and support the findings. Fourth, the researcher couldn't reach respondents from Ethiopian ministry of defense foreign relation as a result of busy schedule,. The potential respondents from Embassy of Kenya gave the researcher a long appointment that transcends the study timeframe ;while the officials at the embassy of Sudan were willing to make the interview, however, as a result of the crisis in their country, it was difficult to them make it happen. With regard to Eritrea, even though the embassy was reopened in Addis Ababa, it has not been fully functional and the researcher faced difficulty in reaching out the official. Fifth, although the researcher reached out to some of potential respondents through snowball sampling, it was difficult to take the interview as a result of their busy schedule. Finally, there was also obstacle in collecting the data from organizations like Ethiopian National Intelligence and Security Service, as the researcher was told to the difficulty to give information or data for research purpose which, doing so would be against the national security interest.

## **1.8 Organization of the Study**

The thesis is organized into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the general features of the study which underlines background, research statement, objectives and questions including the study's delimitation and limitation. The second chapter presents relevant literature review. The third chapter is all about design and methodology of the study. The fourth chapter presents data analysis and findings of the study. The final chapter summarizes the major findings, conclusion and present way forwards.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Given the fact that peacebuilding and regional integration have been sensitive issues all over the world, it is imperative to contextualize my analysis on Ethiopia's peacebuilding role in the HoA and its implication to regional integration. Under this chapter, firstly, the conceptual understanding of peacebuilding, regional integration and foreign policy are highlighted. Secondly, overview of Ethiopia's foreign policy and its role in the Horn of Africa are also discussed.

### 2.1 The Concept of Peacebuilding

Many scholars and organizations have presented their own definition and concept of peacebuilding; however, these definitions have not yet been unified to make a universal definition in the international system. The conceptualization of peacebuilding was first crafted by Jhon Galtung (2012), where peacebuilding was defined to incorporate elements of reconciliation, resolution and construction. The central concept of the definition expresses peacebuilding on the dimension of reconciliation of past traumas, resolution of conflict and construction of equity and harmony (Ibid).

In Galtung's notion, peace by itself is classified as positive and negative peace in which negative peace is distinguished as "absence of organized collective violence" while positive peace is the sum total of other relatively consensual values in the world community of nations including presence of cooperation, freedom from fear, freedom from want, economic growth and development, absence of exploitation, equality, justice, freedom of action, pluralism and dynamism (Galtung, 1967). The conceptualization of peace indicates that peace-building is more than absence of organized collective violence whether direct, structural or cultural one; which requires reconciliation of past traumas, resolution of conflict and construction of equity and harmony as much as possible (Galtung, 1967).

The other well known researcher, John Paul Lederach (2005) defines peacebuilding as;

*Peacebuilding is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses generates and sustains the full array of process approaches and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful*

*relationship. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or condition. It is a dynamic social construct (Lederach, 2005, p. 5).*

Leadrech (2005) also develops the spider web concept of peacebuilding by showing the spider reinforces the outer circles of the web, lays inner circles, always relating it to the core, and finally strengthens the web by filling the spaces with an elastic thread. He further argued that, building peace is creating a way of relationship like the spider web first by developing relationship within people who placed in different social context, second interconnecting the network and finally, through adapting and giving flexible and smart responses for the dynamic situations. Here Lederach defines peace-building from the perspective of relationship building associated with social, political, ethnic, national, religious and historical aspects.

In explaining the concept of peacebuilding, Lederach (2005) approached a pyramid level of three categories. In the bottom of the pyramid, the grassroots level includes “leaders of local communities, indigenous NGOs”. In the middle level of the approach,” leaders of different sectors like education, business, agriculture, health religion, NGOs or ethnic groups” are included, and at last and top level "military and political leaders” are placed. This approach of peacebuilding underlines the basic feature of how people work to build peace from bottom-up and how leaders are responsible for working from top-down for peace.

In the international system, especially, in the United Nations, the concept of peacebuilding emphasized by former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his 1992 report for “an agenda for peace” from the post conflict perspective as “*Actions to identify and support structures, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse in to conflict*”(UNSG Report, 1992 p.11)

In this report, the secretary general also identified a range of peacebuilding programmes and activities that is fundamental to peace, including focusing on agriculture, transportation, resource management, cultural exchanges, educational projects, and

simplification of visa regimes (Miller, 2005). It shows the connection between security and development in building peace, and the extensive implications of this mutually reinforcing relationship.

Afterwards, different efforts were made in the definition of peace-building. In the 2000 Brahimi report, the UN clearly defines the elements of peace operation and provided different definitions for peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building. Accordingly,

*Peacemaking is defined as “---addresses conflicts in progress attempting to bring them in to a halt, using the tools of diplomacy and mediation. Peace keepers may be envoys of governments group of states, regional organization or the United Nation or may be unofficial and nongovernmental groups”(UNGASC, 2000, Para 11). While, Peacekeeping is defined as: “ -- a traditional primarily military model of observing ceasefires and force separations after inter-state wars to incorporate a complex model of many elements military and civilian working together to build peace in the dangerous aftermath of civil wars”(UNGASC, 2000, Para12); Peacebuilding is defined as :“a term of more recent origin that defines activities undertaken on the far side conflict to resemble the foundation of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundation something that is more than just the absence of war, Thus, peace-building includes but is not solution limited to reintegrating formal combatants in to civilian society, Strengthening the rule of law (for example through training and reconstructing local police, judicial and penal reform), improving respect for human rights through the monitoring education and investigation of past and existing abuses, providing technical assistance for democratic development (including electoral assistance and support for free media); and promoting conflict resolution and reconciliation technique ” (UNGASC, 2000, Para 13).*

As it is indicated in the above paragraph, the UN definition of peacebuilding incorporates a more detailed and dynamic prospects which overviews how the social, political and economic aspects of people needs to be integrated in the peacebuilding process. Thus, the definition also clearly identified the approaches to strengthening and building peace

needs to undertake multi- dimension activities, not only in avoiding conflict but also sustaining peace by solving multi-faceted societal problems from the grass roots level.

Following the UN definition, other actors like the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development – Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC)(DAC) provides a detail introduction and guidelines on conflict prevention, peace building and development cooperation .

Accordingly, the DAC defines peacebuilding as;-

*Peacebuilding can be understood that a supplement to preventive diplomacy, peacemaking process, conflict resolution and peacekeeping operations .It encompasses measures in the context of emerging, current or post conflict situations for the explicit purpose of preventing violent conflict and promoting lasting and sustainable peace (OECD, 2005 p: 2).*

Moreover, in the guide line, three reinforcing dimensions of peacebuilding are identified. It includes (1) the security dimension; (2) Governance and political dimension and, (3) Social, economic and environmental dimensions (OECD, 2005).

The security dimension of peacebuilding incorporates both state security and human security such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants; humanitarian mine action; control of small arms and light weapons and security sector reform. While, the governance and political dimension focus on addressing underlying or triggering causes of conflict such as support for political administrative authorities and structures where it was clearly stated that peacebuilding requires reconciliation and the promotion of non-violent conflict resolution at societal level; promotion of good governance through democracy and protection of human rights ; supporting civil society including media and, need for giving appropriate balance to truth, justice, punishment, reconciliation and impunity(OECD, 2005).

The last dimensions of peacebuilding, the social, economic and environmental dimension spotlight in addressing fundamental and triggering drivers of conflict through post conflict repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internal displaced persons; build or rebuild infrastructure and important government functions; high quality and accessible

education and health service for every one ; stimulate productive sector development employment, trade and investment through legal and economic reforms, institutional cooperation and technical co-operation and; the international community technical and financial assistance should base on expanding national capacity for sustainable environment and resources management(OECD, 2005).

Nevertheless, the meaning and scope of peacebuilding remains vague while the recent situation and developments conceptualization of peacebuilding focal point is related with the full conflict cycle (UN, 2016). Moreover, recent approach to peacebuilding convey from the 'liberal peace' model focused on the pursuit of rapid democratization, free and globalized markets, and the rule of law through external intervention, towards more locally grounded and participatory approaches to peacebuilding (Lederach,1997).

peacebuilding needs to be dynamic and complementary with the dynamic world situation where the understanding of peacebuilding with the spider web process start a web through set outer anchor points and cross at hub , then strengthening outer circle and concentric circle by adding radil and at last solidifying the web by more circles, fill in gaps and always build and reinforce hubs shows how the nature of peacebuilding passes different stage and process by considering the dynamic nature of the situation and using flexible approach to fix the problems (Lederach ,2005)

Ledearch(2005) in his elaboration to the spider web concept considered three principles of applications including understanding the social geography where he stated that " ---- *those building social change must intentionally seek to link people who are not like-minded and not like-situated in the context*", second focused on thinking spaces of relationship and its intersects and at last to develop smart and flexible approach to adapt , respond and take advantage of emerging and context-based challenges (p. 84 &85). His argument is far reaching with the aim of developing sustainable peace. Thus, this research focuses on examining Ethiopia's peacebuilding role in the HoA that how far it contributes to link people, to fill the gaps of relationships that intersect each other and develop smart and flexible approaches to build peace in the region through its bondage and links.

## 2.2 The Concept of Regional Integration

Regional integration is widely recognized and popularized in the world politics after the end of World War II with the spiraling effort of the European integration. The European Union (EU) common market which was founded in 1957 with the aim of initially improving economic cooperation between member states and ultimately, creating an ever closer union between the peoples of the Europe (James, 2006).

In European Union's perspective, regional integration is defined as *"the process by which two or more nation states agree to cooperate and work closely together to achieve peace, stability and wealth"*(McCormick, 1999 p: 279). It is also more clarified that cooperation begins with economic integration and continues to political integration.

The EU framework defines economic integration as a process of removing trade barriers between the countries. On the other hand, political integration is defined from the perspective of the need for common policies in social policy (such as education, health care, unemployment benefits and pension), and political institution. Furthermore, the cumulative outcome of economic and political integration is expressed in the way countries cooperate in sharing the same foreign policies and merging their armies.

In the field of regional integration, the most well-known scholar, Earnest Hass, defined regional integration as;-

*The process whereby political actors in several district national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties , expectation and political activities towards a new center whose institutions posses or demand justification over preexisting national states. The end result of a process of political integration a new political community superimposed over the preexisting ones (Hass, 1968 p; 16).*

Here, Hass' definition shows that the changing nature of state activities refers to collective and common activities rather than based on only the sovereignty of a state. On the other hand, the well-known scholar, Leon Lindberg, *defined* political integration as;-

*..... (1) the process whereby nations forgo the desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independently of each other, seeking*

*instead to make joint decision or to delegate the decision making process to new central organs; and (2) the process whereby political actors in several distinct settings are persuaded to shift their expectation and political activities to a new center (Lindberg 1963: p 6).*

Lindberg's (1963) definition states a modified way of political activities of sovereign states to joint decisions through central organs. In a more general sense, integration is understood as an act of making a greater or complete whole; by combining the component parts or factors so that they function as a unit (Balassa, 1961:1; NIWD, 2000:507).

Regional integration has different meanings, historical and geographical influences; it has also been classified into generations, which are known as first and second regional generation (Langehove & Costea, 2005). The first generation focuses on the process of economic integration through free trade like removing customs. Here the European Union (EU) can be taken as an example of this generation since it steps forward in economic integration with a single common currency (Langehove & Costea, 2005).

On the other hand, according to Langehove (2005), the second generation regional integration encompasses multi-dimensional form of integration that includes economic, political, social and cultural aspects beyond the free trade and economic integration. Here the assumption is related with first developing the economic ties of countries and then continues to the political integration where common policies in fiscal and social matter are developed. Practically, the EU integration reflects these two generations of regional integration.

The initiatives of regional integration requires eight basic functions including i) creating appropriate enabling environment for private sector; ii) infrastructure development in support of economic growth and regional integration; iii) developing strong public sector institution and good governance; iv) reducing social exclusion and develop the inclusion of civil society; v) contribution to peace and security of the region; vi) building regional environmental programs ; vii) strengthening regional trade integration and viii)

strengthening region to region integration (De Lombaerde and Van Langenhove 2007 as stated Samson and Halldu,2014).

There are various theories of regional integration. Among these theories, the classical theories including functionalism, custom union theories, and inter- governmentalism are highlighted in this study.

### **i) Functionalism**

David Mitrany on his essay "A working peace system" conceptualizes functionalism as the construction of a viable administrative structure to ensure world peace. In reaching to his argument, Mitrany (1966) uses basic assumption that emphasis first social and economic maladjustment are the basic causes of war while the precondition of peace is social and economic war fares. He further states that institution based on function not territory would be appropriate for solving basic economic and social problems than the nation state system.

With regard to the institutional function, it was argued that cooperation can begin with non-political, more technical problems; cooperative experience gained and it will transfer to more functions to the point that a 'web of international activities and agencies ' where states that political divisions and agencies required general activity for over all coordination (Mitrany, 1966).

Based on the above list of assumptions, Mitrany(1966), developed the concept of functionalism that relies on the need for constructing a viable administrative structure to ensure world peace. However, functionalism approach of regional integration has been criticized from the context of affecting sovereignty and the interest of the nation. Hence, the supporter of functionalism theory, Dougherty and Platzgraff (1990), strongly argues that regional integration should be seen as functional, nonpolitical tasks confronting government because in the theory it is assumed that priority must give to social, technical and humanitarian problems which help to solve the society's problem at large.

Generally, the theory's concept rotates on the idea that, the common interest and needs are shared not only by the state but also by non state actors where it has the outcome of

erosion of state sovereignty by increasing the weight of knowledge of scientists and experts in the process of policy making (Garza, 2006)

### **ii) Custom Union theory**

Another theory of regional integration, the custom union theory, also focuses on how custom union leads to regional integration through trade diversification and creation. Custom union defined as *"a procedure for living tariffs for imported goods from non partner states and removal of intra tariff barriers. In an ideal economic integration, a custom union is the third phase of integration after a free and preferential trade areas"* (Schiff &wintrs, 1998 p: 178). Here the analysis addresses the concept for improving the welfare first and then a need of preferential moves towards free trade.

### **iii) Inter-governmentalism**

Regional integration also conceptualized from the perspective of inter-governmentalism related with the relationship of countries in political aspects and decision making of international organization where it considers integration as a function of negotiations between governments to produce cooperative agreements that evolve into further integration (Moravcsik, 1995). In addition, the idea of supranational organization is on an equal level (in terms of political influence) as national governments are also rejected by this theory (Moravcsik, 1995). This theory gives more emphasis to both the member states sovereignty and consideration of super national instructions to play the role.

Generally, the concept of regional integration has been analyzed by various scholars and academicians and developed different views and assumptions. The concept by itself is very dynamic and keeps changing in line with the world political situation. Even though the actors and the level of function differentially defined and analyzed by scholars, it is clear that in one way or another regional integration aims in addressing the economic and political engagement and interaction of nations in a cooperated manner.

With regard to regional integration within African countries, it is expressed in terms of intra regional trade with the intent to perusing integration through free trade, developing custom unions and a common market (Mugerwaet.al, 2014). Thus, numerous regional blocks were formed in various regions of Africa including, Regional Economic Communities(REC), Arab Maghreb Union(AMU), Common Market for Eastern and

Southern Africa (COMESA), Community for Shael- Sharaan states(CEN-SAD), East Africa community (ECAS), Inter Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD), ECOWAS and Southern Africa Development Community (SADEC).

In achieving a successful regional integration, van Niekerk (2005), identified pre conditions both from political as well as economic dimension of integration. The precondition to political integration is related to (i) democracy, peace/security in countries: and (ii) political and civil commitments and mutual trust among countries. While the economic integration requires (i) a minimum threshold of macro – economic stability and good financial management in countries; (ii) Sufficiently broad national reforms to open market (Ibid).

In addition, for the successful regional integration, three major guiding principles including "open regionalism", "Subsidiarity" and "Pragmatism and gradualism" are identified by van Niekerk (2005). Open regionalism is concerning in ensuring the complementation of regional strategies with the national reform policies; while subsidiarity states that in processing regional integration, there is a need for guidelines which divides responsibilities between countries and regional organizations. On the other hand, Pragmatism and gradualism provides that to build demonstration cases and minimize the frequency of policy reversals of differences in countries condition (Ibid).

### **2.3 The Concept of Foreign policy**

Foreign policy is generally understood as the course of actions and decisions that a country undertakes in its relations with other countries to achieve its national objectives and to promote national interest. It implies principles, which influence actions or objectives. It also embodies the elements of continuity and change, which emerge with the changing needs and interests, as well as, the changes in the internal and external dynamics of a nation.

The term 'foreign policy' has been outlined in a range of ways. George Modelski(1962) defines it as "*The system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment*"(1962, p:6). Again foreign policy also considers being the use of political

influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law making power in a manner desired by the state concerned (Northedge, 1968). In this definition, foreign policy regarded as interaction between forces originating outside the country's borders and those working within them.

Moreover, foreign policy also defined as "*.....a complicated and diversified political relation that a country is engaged for fostering relation with other countries and non state actors beyond the concerns of its own authority and its objectives are to promote and protect the national interest of the country*" (Chong 2007; P; 38as stated in Khara, 2018 p; 106). Even though various definition has been given to foreign policy, in one way or the other, it indicates how a country foreign relations need to manage with external actors in relation to its commitment, basic principle and objectives.

According to Khara (2018), both internal and external factors are the determinants of a country's foreign policy which the internal factors are linked with geographical factors, culture and history, economic factors, technology, national capability, leadership, political accountability, bureaus of press and bureaucracy while the external factors incorporates the structure of international politics and defense strength of other countries that shape the aspiration of the making of foreign policy. Therefore, in determining and generating foreign policy, basic elements including, the sovereignty of the states, their inter-dependence, and their domestic and international circumstances are taken in to consideration.

## **2.4 Overview of Ethiopia's Foreign Policy**

As one of the African figure of independence, Ethiopia has a long diplomatic history since its imperial regimes. In Ethiopia's History, the first modern foreign policy was established in the nineteenth century during Emperor Tewodros II reign where the policy focuses on Ethiopia's security and expansion of borders (Prouty, 1986). Following emperor Tewodros II, Yohannes IV, followed a less dynamic course and was greatly troubled by European encroachment in general and penetration by European expansionism. Later, Menelik II, who succeeded Yohannes in 1889, failed to find a peaceful solution to Italy's encroachments. He had greater success, however, in the military sphere, defeating the Italian army at Adwa in 1896 (Ibid).

Ethiopia's foreign relations with neighboring, regional and global level has gained its modern shape during the Imperial regime of emperor Haile silase (from 1931- 1974). Since then there have been two more foreign policy that have been entertained during Derg regime (1974- 1990) and EPRDF regime (1991- till now). During Haile Selassie regime, different foreign relations were conducted with the commitment of the King, including negotiated Ethiopia's admission into the League of Nations, however, after the second 'Ethio- Italian war', the foreign domination of Britain and US were increased with popular resentments followed by the upsurge of the military junta in 1974 (Ferede, 2014).

After the end of World War II, different considerable foreign relations and achievements were gained by Emperor Haile Selassie that includes his active participation in the UN, his alignment with the west, and his vocal support for the African independence movement (Woodward, 2006). Further, as a UN member, Ethiopia committed troops to the peacekeeping mission in Korea from 1950 to 1953 and to the Congo in 1960 and Ethiopia's military and diplomatic relationship with the United States provided it with a superpower ally and Emperor Haile Sellasie also played the leading role for the establishment of the headquarters of the OAU upon its founding in the early 1960s (Ibid).

The Derg regime (1974- 1990) came in to power with the popular revolution in 1974, following this, Ethiopia's ideological alignment shifted from an ally of the United States during Haile Selassie era to key partner with Soviet Union during the leadership of Mengistu Haile Marriam where the alignment shift from west to east was as a result of poor human right records of the military regime (Negera, 2018). At this time, the determinant of the policy of the country were hard power than soft power where there was a shift in the foreign policy approach of the country from outside -inside approach to inside – outside approach. The foreign policy was determined by domestic economic and political development, national capacity, historical legacy and the real political situation of HoA especially, threat from Somalia and Eritrea, cold war and non allied movement at the global level (Ibid).

After the downfall of Derg regime, the EPRDF government came in to power and Ethiopia's foreign affairs and relation has been guided by its foreign affairs and national

security policy and strategy (FANSPS) adopted in 2002. The basis and goal of the policy is development and democracy with the objective of resisting external threats to National security and building capacity to reduce vulnerability (FANSPS, 2002). Three major issues, including development and the building of a democratic system; national pride and prestige; and globalization were identified as a basis for the policy. The policy gives priority to fight against poverty and promotes speedy economic development, democracy and peace. Accordingly, economic backwardness, widespread poverty, the need for democracy, and good governance were identified as the major threats to the country's survival (Ibid).

The policy has focused on achieving economic development, reducing poverty, ensuring sustainable peace, and facilitating the process of democratization in the country and emphasis national peace for sustainable development and peaceful relationship with neighboring countries and regions. It also incorporates strategies of devoting the prime focus to activities at home; strategy centered on the economy; full utilization of benefits based on proper analysis; minimizing threats on the basis of proper analysis; reducing vulnerability to threats; and building a reliable defense capability (FANSPS, 2002). Other than the basic principles, the policy also incorporates frameworks how Ethiopia's relation should go through with other countries. In this respect, seven major blocks including countries of the HoA; other remaining African countries; middle East ; Europe ; USA; Asia ; International and nongovernmental organizations are identified (Ibid).

Ethiopia's foreign policy, as a document, was criticized by writers for its non-inclusion of dynamic situations like lack of reflecting the domestic policies of the country - "democratic developmental state " ; lack of mentioning country's role in maintaining peace and security in Africa through participating in peacekeeping mission; lack of specifying the role of tourism in the economic diplomacy of the country; excluding Latin America and the Caribbean countries from its policies; failing to mention about delimitation and demarcation of borders with neighboring countries; and failing to mention the country's role in the AU(Melaku,2017).

Moreover, the following have been identified as additional limitations: lack of its amendment with regard to recent update on the establishment of African standby force,

and the agenda 2063; reactive policy towards Eritrea as a result of the past war between the two countries; not seeing economic growth in relation to environmental protection of sustainable development; focuses on bilateral rather than multilateral forums like the Nile basin initiatives ; non-inclusion of general direction towards handling immigrants to Ethiopia and Ethiopian migrants to other countries ; failure to address the concept of cyber security ; lacking to consider gender role in empowering women in regional, continental and international organizations; and it lacks to include additional countries like South Sudan and important countries like South Africa, Nigeria ,South Korea , Saudi Arabia. As a result of the above listed reasons, the author suggested the importance of revisiting and amending the policy documents (Melaku, 2017).

Some scholars also argued that Ethiopia's strategic thinking on its emergence and development is mainly focused on the country's internal flaws of its vulnerabilities, poverty and famine, it is now rapidly facing greater risks from regional turmoil with surrounding civil conflicts (Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia) and the exacerbation of existing tensions due to the increased militarization of the region under 'anti-piracy' measures (Abdel-Latif&Mokaddem, 2016).

The argument related with Ethiopia's vulnerability to external threats was also raised from the perspectives of global powers competing for influence and control within the HoA over the region's geostrategic importance of the Indian Ocean and its sea routes connecting the Middle East, Africa, and East Asia with Europe (Abdel-Latif &Mokaddem, 2016). Here, the authors evaluate Ethiopia's national and regional peace and security actions towards addressing the insecurity of the Horn during the past quarter century in three-level approach: at sub regional level through IGAD as a mediator and playing a peacekeeping role; at Pan African level by bringing up issues to African union peace and security council; and at sub-regional level and at a country level, in cases of immanent and serious danger by unilateral strategy handling itself like in the case of Somalia and Sudan (Ibid).

#### **2.4.1 Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Horn of Africa countries**

In the foreign policy document, neighboring countries are comprised of the Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia and Kenya which are described as Horn of Africa countries

(FANSPS, 2002). In the policy, it is stated that the main reason of grouping those neighboring countries and giving prime focuses is due to their linkage in language, culture, history and natural resource. The policy specifies the relation with Horn of Africa countries from the perspective of the protection of national interest and security.

#### **i) Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Eritrea**

Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Eritrea, until recently, aimed at avoiding conflict by reducing vulnerability through building a strong defense force and an adequate reserve; working towards comprehensive and strict implementation of the peace agreement; and ensuring the international, regional, political, diplomatic and economic pressure. At this point, the policy stipulates that the absence of economic relations would not influence the country's situation (FANSPS, 2002).

Ethiopia and Eritrea started to have good relationship after separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia on 24 May 1993 which was considered as historically having adversarial and hostile relationship (The New York Times, 2016). However, after a few years of rapprochement, the two countries were engaged in a bloody border war which resulted in the agreement on cessation of hostilities and the Algiers Peace Agreement on 18 June 2000 and 12 December 2000, respectively (BBC News, 2018).

Even though the Ethio- Eritrean border commission delivered its final and bounding ruling on 13 April 2002, the two countries dispute and hostility continued for almost two decades until the signing of the recent peace treaty on July 8, 2018 in Asmara (CBC News, 2018). Subsequently, the two countries signed a joint declaration stating the end of Ethio- Eritrea border conflict on July 8, 2018, and also on September 16, 2018, another peace agreement was signed in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia to smoothen the relationship (BBC News, 2018).

Hence, it is clear and understandable that the two countries relationship was bounded by hostility in which there was no peaceful relationship in any social, economic and political aspects. Thus, both countries closed their door for each other and each tried to fight with a proxy war sense. Since the signing of an agreement on formal end of the no war, no peace situation, some new developments emerging between the two countries that hasten

the relationship positive prospects not only for the two countries, but also for HoA's peace and stability.

### **ii) Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Somalia**

Ethiopia's major objective and policy direction in Somalia is to see the establishment of peace and democracy in the country, and based on that, it contemplates the development of strong economic, cultural and political ties between the two countries. Ethiopia's contribution to the peace and stability of Somalia has been based on three dimensions. These includes helping those regions in Somalia which are relatively stable and do not shelter extremists and terrorists; creating the capability to defend Ethiopia and foil any attack by forces of extremism, terrorism and other anti-peace elements originating in Somalia; and finally working in cooperation with the Somali people, and the international community as a whole, to weaken and neutralize those forces coming from any part of Somalia (FANSPS, 2002)

Even though Ethiopia and Somalia have a stretched back relations, recent relations in the existing foreign policy dimension began in the early 1990s which were brought about by the start of Somalia civil war. Somalia and Ethiopian authorities' relations entered in to formal military cooperation on October 2011 with the previous emergence of the Islamic court Union (ICU) rebel groups and its more radical successor Al-Shabab where the Ethiopian army eventually joined the transnational peacekeeping government led mission (Business week, 2011).

### **iii) Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Sudan**

Development and security are given priority in the relation between Ethiopia and the Sudan. Prime focus is given to the problems existing in relation to Ethiopia's vulnerability to threats emanating from the Sudan or other neighbors. The other is related with internal situation of the Sudan in relation to absence of democracy and extremism in Sudan and securing Sudanese support for the fair and equitable utilization of Nile waters. In order to solve the above listed problems between the two countries, the policy document way outs to the reinforcement of basic infrastructural ties such as roads, railways (in due course), telephone lines, electric power, and the like, enabling the

creation of economic ties and creating strong trade links and vision of mutual benefit (FANSPS, 2002).

A protocol concerning Ethiopian access to Port Sudan was signed between the two countries on 5 March 2000 in Khartoum, and this protocol and its subsequent amendment were ratified by the Ethiopian federal parliamentary assembly on 3 July 2003 (proclamation no. 352/2003, preamble). However, the efforts to demarcate the porous boundary with Sudan were delayed by the Second Sudanese civil war.

#### **iv) Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Djibouti**

Ethio- Djibouti relationship is highly valued as it relates to port use and the development of Ethiopia. Thus, the policy towards Djibouti is to assure long lasting and reliable port services with reasonable fees by the means of reaching a long-term agreement with guarantees, and then, its implementation. The improvement and reinforcement of the railway line and the highway were given special attention like creating and expanding telecommunication and electric power services between the two countries and the promotion of peace in Djibouti and the region, constitute a major feature of the policy (FANSPS, 2002).

Djibouti remains a major economic partner of Ethiopia and, the two countries signed an agreement concerning the use of the port of Djibouti and the transit of cargo (proclamation No. 284/2002, see the preamble).

#### **v) Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Kenya**

In Ethio- Kenya relationship, the policy focuses on the creation of a strong legally based economic relationship. Where it elaborate the importance of economic ties for both countries and stated that the need to establish a strong trade relationship with Kenya and, through Kenya, with other countries in eastern and southern Africa. It also emphasizes the linking of the basic infrastructure; Supporting the people and government of Kenya in their efforts to tackle their political and economic challenges and, strengthening people-to-people relationship through regular discussions (FANSPS, 2002).

Ethiopia and Kenya maintain trading ties. Both countries are members the IGAD trade blocks. The two Countries signed a special status agreements in 2012 which stipulates

that both parties are permitted to open representative offices in each other's territory for trade facilitation, information sharing and liaison purposes (Chatham House the royal institute of international Affairs, 2015). Additionally, the Ethiopian and Kenyan governments have invested in cross-border infrastructure of Addis Ababa Nairobi road project which was launched in 2012 and in 2016, the two countries agreed to build an oil pipeline that would run from the Kenyan Port of Lamu to the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa (Ibid)

#### **2.4.2 Ethiopia's foreign relation after the political reform**

Ethiopia's foreign policy and its relation with neighboring countries in the HoA have been showing greater change after Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed came to power on 2 April 2018 (BBC News, 2018). During the inauguration ceremony, the PM promised political reform to bring unity among the peoples of Ethiopia, to resolve the ongoing border conflicts between Ethiopia and Eritrea as well as to work with opposition parties in the country and outside the country (Ibid).

Following the start of the reform process, there have been new developments with regard to bilateral as well as tripartite relationships including in May, 2018, port developments and the setting of port handling fees was signed with Djibouti and Ethio-Sudanese agreement on the port of Sudan and the Ethio- Kenya agreement for the construction of an Ethiopian logistic facility at Lamu port as part of the Lamu and Lamu- Southern - Ethiopia transport corridor(LAPSSSET) (Aljazeera News 2018: BusinessDaily Africa, 2018).

Ethiopia has also taken the initiative in resolving its long standing hostility with Eritrea which resulted in the signing of a peace treaty in July 2018 to put a formal end to a state of war between the two nations which paved the way for greater economic cooperation and improvements (Aljazeera news, 2018). This potential normalization of the two countries has opened the door for social, political and economic developments of both countries, in particular, and for the peace and stability of the HoA, in general. Accordingly, the peace agreement and renewal of friendship with Eritrea would create the opportunities to reestablish diplomatic relations, reopening direct telecommunication, road, and aviation links; and facilitate Ethiopian use of the ports of Massawa and Asseb

(Aljazeera news, 2018). In relation to this, Ethiopia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have agreed to develop Assab port and build a pipe line connecting Ethiopia to the Eritrean port of Assab on August 9 2018 (The reporter, 2018).

Ethiopia has also played greater role in building relationships with tripartite agreements of cooperation with neighboring countries such as the joint cooperation agreement with Eritrea and Somalia to enhance economic, political, and social and security cooperation (FBC news, 2018). In addition after the rapprochement of Ethiopia and Eritrea the positive developments have seen with regard to the maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia (Africa news, 2019).

The changes in foreign policy dimension and efforts of Ethiopian government were appreciated by the international community and organizations, including the United Nations, the African Union, the United States, European Union, and the World Bank (Getachew, 2018). The UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres also emphasis that recent developments between the two countries revealed a hope for Africa and the chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, Moussa Faki Mahamat, appreciated is the rapprochement as a milestone for Africa's 2020 Agenda for silencing the guns (Gedamu, 2018).

## **2.5. The role of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa peace, stability, and integration**

There are different scholarly works towards assessing the peace and security situation of HoA. In their studies, Mehari and Abel (2015), focus on considering key peace and security issues and concerns and internal and external threats to Ethiopia's stability and its effort in stabilizing the HoA. To reach in their finding and conclusion, the researchers used desk research of literature and documents; review of legislative, policy, strategic and programmatic documents and interviews with focal state and non-state actors. The researchers concluded that both internal and external factors and driving forces will have significant bearing on Ethiopia's future peace and development and, thus, its regional integrative and security role.

The researchers outlined six factors which are basis for Ethiopia's contribution towards the internal, regional stability and integrative development ;i.e. Ethiopia's inward-looking foreign and national security policy and efforts to address longstanding internal political instability and extreme poverty; Ethiopia's recent promising economic performance, which offers hope for its people and attracts aid, trade, and investment; Ethiopia's military strength and role in regional peace and security; Ethiopia's trusted mediator role in IGAD and at the AU level; Ethiopia's role in combating terrorist acts and its sturdy counter-terrorism capabilities; and a Pan-Africanist historical heritage and Ethiopia's multiplied and effective use of multilateral platforms. Generally, they assess the future of peace and development in Ethiopia from the perspective of internal and external threats in relation with neighboring countries which signify Ethiopia's ability in the field of regional peace, stability and integration with the fulfillment of combating domestic threats (Mehari and Abel, 2015).

Another scholar, Sisay (2013), in his study entitled "*peace, human security and sustainable development through regional integration in the Horn of Africa, Challenges and opportunities for the 21st century; the role of Ethiopia*" assesses the premises that unity and integration in political and economic aspects will not be achieved at regional level unless economic and political integration and development takes place at every country's domestic level. Based on this conclusion, the researcher argues that Ethiopia and the other African countries need to overcome internal challenges to economic and political development and democratic good governance before effective integration aimed at sustainable development and poverty reduction in the long run. In addressing its objectives, the researcher used secondary data and documentation and wind up by stating the need for working towards strengthening democratic institutions of governance and conflict management, invest in people, enhance global and regional trade (Ibid).

In addition Sisay (2013) also strongly argues that without democratic government, there will not be effective regional integration towards peace and sustainable development. Here, the researcher basis his argument on the internal peace and stability. However, with the changing world situation and as peace, stability, and development are interlinked not only to the domestic situation but also depends on the situation of external issues. This

means giving exclusive attention to the internal threats and problems will create a problem in sustaining peace, stability, and development. In addition, the researcher, in the study, discusses about only economic integration where the political and social integration aspects are not addressed.

Mehari (2017) also assesses Ethiopia's diplomacy in the HoA in his research entitled "*A regional power in the making; Ethiopian diplomacy in the Horn of Africa*". In the study, the researcher analyses Ethiopia's regional engagement and foreign policy and he argues that Ethiopia plays a key role in maintaining regional stability through its engagement in IGAD, AU, its active participation in regional peace and security operation and its willingness to combat terrorism, a pan Africanist legacy.

In the study, secondary and primary data (interview with key informants) were used to collect data and he outlined issues that recent domestic, regional and international developments have presented serious challenges to Ethiopia's dominant position in the HoA and he also gives emphasis to Ethiopia's rooting of its foreign policy in domestic considerations is fundamentally correct, as it shifts the focus to solving internal challenges (Mehari, 2017). However, in the conclusion it was suggested that foresight and a balance between an inward- and an outward-looking orientation are essential considerations in the allocation of resources, to predict, prevent or respond to identified threats. The researcher winds up by emphasizing the need for giving attention for external threats with a more balanced approach considering trade and economic opportunities (Ibid).

In other study entitled "Ethiopia's growth and transformation plan and its implication for synergic sum effect contextualized in to regional cooperation in the Horn of Africa" the researchers, Assefa and Yeman(2017), examined the trend of Ethiopia in redressing the horn's much trouble pertaining to the nexus of security-peace and development in relation to the country's ongoing plan, actions and challenges and prospects and analyzes its implication towards Ethiopia's role for the durable regional cooperation in the areas of peace, security, and development in the HoA. To reach in their findings, the researchers followed triangulated research design through secondary data and analytically examined it with the descriptive and evaluation of document analysis. At last the researchers

concluded that despite its constraints in economic capacity, Ethiopia has played a prominent role and emerged as a regional power capable of projecting its power beyond its borders. As a result, it was suggested that there is a need to boost its economy to consolidate its regional power status and increase more recognition and credibility (Ibid).

In assessing Ethiopia's regional power status in the HoA, Kidist(2014) in her research entitled "*The role of regional powers in the field of peace and security; the case of federal democratic republic of Ethiopia*" argues that, despite its economic capability and lack of internal political contention, Ethiopia emerged as a regional power in the HoA. Here, the researcher focuses on analyzing Ethiopia's potential status as a regional power and its implication towards regional peace and stability. The researcher uses official documents and academic literatures, interviews of HoA experts, policy analysis, academicians, and top and middle level officials and she conduct field research in her methodology. The Researcher winds up that Ethiopia's military power, population size, and relative internal stability and diplomatic strength enabled the country to become a regional power; and for the consolidation, recognition, and credibility of its regional power, there is a need for improvement of internal political stability (Ibid)

## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Research Site**

The study was conducted in Addis Ababa where the offices of responsible governmental and non-governmental institutions, academic institutions, Embassies in Addis Ababa, and the African Union Commission are based. Hence, the interviews were conducted in these institutions with key informants.

### **3.2 Methodology**

The major aim of the study was to discover and discuss the ideas, insights and perception of governmental organization, non-governmental organization, politicians, academicians and scholars towards the role of Ethiopia in the peacebuilding in the HoA and its implication for regional integration. Therefore, qualitative research design specifically, descriptive and exploratory design were found appropriate to draw relevant policy direction and conclusion based on the information gathered through flexible process of data gathering in the qualitative research design. Furthermore, Kothari (2004) also discussed that, qualitative research methods of exploratory and descriptive research designs are the most relevant approach to convey and enable the collection of ideas, insights and perceptions.

#### **3.2.1 Methods of Data Collection**

As the research questions focus on examining the role of Ethiopia in peacebuilding in the Horn of Africa and its implication for regional integration, the thesis convey on the following qualitative research method data collection techniques that enabled the collection of primary and secondary data.

Primary data was collected through the use of nine in- depth interviews in addition to the use of press releases, videos, documentaries and institutional reports. During the process of data collection, multiple of views and insights were provided with regard to Ethiopia's foreign relation and its peacebuilding role in the HoA. On the other hand, secondary data was collected through the reading and analysis of documents and recordings including book publications, speeches, internet resources, electronic media outlets, newspapers, articles, journals, academic works, conference papers; official and administrative reports

related to the study area. This also provides how scholars and academicians understand Ethiopia's foreign relation, constraints of its peacebuilding role and implication for regional integration. Generally, the two sets of data collection strategies were helpful and concrete in collecting an adequate amount of data to draw understanding, to determine and examine Ethiopia's peacebuilding role, its constraints and implication for regional integration and finally to portray sound conclusions with regard to the scope that was discussed in chapter one.

At the outset, the study aimed at undertaking in-depth interviews to collect the ideas and insights of key informants from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Ethiopian International Peace keeping Training Center, the African Union Peace and Security Department, UN peace keeping operation and Embassies of South Sudan, Sudan, Kenya, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti and scholars. Realizing the different approach and relationship of primary data sources, an in depth interview were used to capture different ideas, insights and perceptions of the respondents. However, due to busy schedules, the request for interview were accepted by the MoFA neighboring country desk, Ethiopian International Peacekeeping Training Center, Embassy of the Republic of South Sudan , African Union Peace and Security Department and Some Scholars. Ideas and insights that were expected from the remaining data sources were completed by the use of secondary data especially articles and journals of different scholars and research institutions.

The interviews were conducted by using interview guide questions in relation to the research question of the study. However, the interview was not limited to the guiding questions, rather it also includes additional questions that help to clarify in detail and elaborates the guiding questions and check the responses of the respondents.

### **3.2.2 Sampling Method**

In selection of the respondents, the researcher used purposive and snowball sampling (particularly expert sampling) techniques to select key informants who have experience or expertise in the topic of the study area. The researcher also selected key informants who had knowledge and experience in relation with Ethiopia's foreign relation and its peacebuilding role in the HoA. In some cases, snow ball sampling was also used when

the researcher asked some of key informants and their suggestion in relation to the study area.

### **3.2.3 Data Analysis**

In this study, thematic analysis was used to analyze the collected primary data. Since qualitative research focuses on the ability to understand, describe and interpret, it is a key to uncover meaning in a particular circumstance and context. It is also important to use thematic analysis as it is the process of identifying patterns or themes with in qualitative data in a helpful manner of conducting different kinds of analysis and flexibility (Braun & Clarke, 2006 as cited in Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Accordingly, the six – phase framework for thematic analysis, including becoming familiar with the data, generate initial codes, search for themes , review themes, define themes and write up were used to analysis the data (Maguire& Delahunt, 2017).

In view of that, the researcher followed the above listed steps first by shifting the primary data from audio to transcription form and then following the relevant procedures translated the language of some interview records from Amharic to the English version. Following this, the researcher read and re-read the transcripts by jotting down notes. Secondly, the researcher followed the step of generating initial codes and organized the data in to a meaningful and systematic way by coding each transcript based on the specific research questions of the study and reduced lots of data in to smaller but meaningful manner.

Third, the researcher follows the step of searching themes by examining the codes with specific research questions and identified four basic themes including thematic area one- understanding the current Ethiopia’s foreign relation legal and policy situation; thematic area two - examining the contribution of Ethiopia towards peacebuilding in the HoA, thematic area three- identify the constraints/factors that hinder Ethiopia in its peacebuilding role in HoA, and thematic area four- analyzing Ethiopia’s peacebuilding role and its implication for regional integration.

In the fourth step, the researcher reviewed, modified and developed preliminary themes from all the coded data. In this step, the researcher articulated whether or not the theme

and the original data support each other and make sure that there is no overlap between the theme and the coded data. Then the researcher undertook the fifth step where the themes were defined. In this step, clear analysis was made with regard to understanding the identified sub research questions, and identified the relationship between the themes. Finally, taking the research questions and objectives as a base, the researcher interplayed and analyzed the data obtained from both primary and secondary data collection methods, winded up and writes up the report.

### **3.3 Ethical Consideration**

In conducting the study, the researcher took into consideration ethical aspects which are expected from a researcher. At the beginning, an official letter was written from the Institute for Peace and Security Studies to respective institutions for the facilitation of the study. Secondly, the researcher delivered the letters to the institution and after the institution assigned the respective key informant, the researcher had asked the consent of the key informants and got response from the concerned body. Before doing each interview, the researcher explained the purpose of the study and the rights of informants like the right to give response on questions which they need to do so, the right to refuse or answer all or few questions was respected.

## CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, Ethiopia's role in contributing to peacebuilding effort in the HoA, and its implications for regional integration is dealt in detail. It also tried to analyze the current Ethiopia's foreign relation legal, institutional and policy framework; the contribution of Ethiopia towards peacebuilding in the HoA and identify the constraining factors that hinder Ethiopia from utilizing its potential to peacebuilding and its implication for regional integration by using primary (interview of key informants) and secondary data.

### 4.1. Ethiopia's Foreign Relation Legal, Policy Framework and Institutional Set up

#### 4.1.1. Ethiopia's Foreign Relation Legal Framework

A country foreign relation is determined by different approaches and legal frameworks. The current Ethiopia's foreign relations anchor its bases under the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia constitution which enter in to force on August 21, 1995 (proclamation No. 1/1995). In the constitution, the power to formulate and implement foreign policy is given to the federal government and specifically the council of ministers entrusted with the task of formulating the country's foreign policy and exercise overall supervision on its implementation<sup>1</sup> (art 51(8) and 77(8) of the FDRE constitution).

In addition, the office of the prime minister also empowered to supervise the overall implementation of the county's foreign policy (art 74(6) of the FDRE constitution). Furthermore, the constitution also stipulates guiding principles for external relations under article 86. It states that;-

- *To promote policies of foreign relation based on the protection of national interests and respect for sovereignty of the country ;*
- *To promote mutual respect for national sovereignty and equality of states and non interference in the internal affairs of other states ;*

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<sup>1</sup>Article 51(8)of the FDRE constitution stipulates that the federal government "shall formulate and implement foreign policy ;it shall negotiate and ratify international agreements"

- *To ensure that the foreign relation of the country are based on mutual interests and equality of states as well as the international agreements promotes to the interests of Ethiopia ;*
- *To observe international agreements which ensure respects for the Ethiopia's sovereignty and are not contrary to the interest of its peoples;*
- *To forge and promote every growing economic union and fraternal relations of peoples with Ethiopia's neighbors and other African countries and*
- *To seek and support peaceful solutions to international disputes*

From this, it is clearly understood that the foundation of Ethiopia's foreign relation is on the above six core principles. Accordingly, Ethiopia guides its external relation with a foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy document issued on November 2002 (FANSPS, 2002). Hence, as per article 85 of the FDRE constitution, any organ of government has a responsibility for the implementation of laws and public policies, including the foreign affairs and national security policy of the country.

Ethiopia has made several legal frameworks with HoA countries, for example, around twelve different memorandums of understandings and agreements with South Sudan and more than eighteen agreements with Sudan were signed for the mutual benefit of the two countries. In an interview with the director general of international legal affairs of MoFA expressed that the agreements and memorandums of understandings focused on, transport, air, rail and road transport service, security, boarder trade, education and other diversified social, economic and political concerns (Interview,2019)<sup>2</sup>. In this respect, similar agreements and memorandum of understandings were signed with all neighboring countries except Eritrea as a result of the two countries hostile relationship (Ibid).

Ethiopia has relatively neutral position in the peace negotiation for example in South Sudan's conflict Ethiopia shows its neutral stand to bring peace agreement with government and rebel forces. This was underpinned with Ethiopia's foreign legal framework principles. It was also mentioned that Ethiopia has been trying to establish economic relationship with South Sudan as an example; however, due the South Sudan

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<sup>2</sup>Interview with key informant no. 9, MoFA official, Addis Ababa ,Ethiopia May 24, 2019

internal instability and conflict the effectiveness on economic relationship was not as expected (Interview, 2019)<sup>3</sup> .

Notwithstanding, the responsibilities of implementing laws and public policies by any government organ of the country, specific duties and responsibility of foreign service is given to the ministry of foreign affairs under proclamation no.916/2015 which provides the establishment, power and duties of ministry of foreign affairs and other executive organs of the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia (proclamation no. 916/2015, preamble). Some articles under proclamation no. 916/2015 were amended by the subsequent amendment proclamation no.942/2016<sup>4</sup>. Accordingly, up on its jurisdiction the MoFA has empowered to initiate policies and laws, prepare plan and budget, work towards for the implementation of FANSPS and it has also responsibility to submit performance report for the prime minister and council of ministers (Article 10(1) (a) and Article 10(7) of proc. no. 916/2015 respectively).

Under article 15 of proc. no. 916/2015, the detailed power and duties of the MoFA includes safeguarding the interest of the country, ensuring the strengthening of good relations with neighboring countries, negotiation, signing and enforcement of treaties, pursuing economic diplomacy through foreign trade , investment and technologies, and building public diplomacy are some of the most important powers and duties which is directly related to building good relationship and diplomacy with external relations.

Moreover, the detail power and duties of the ministry of foreign affairs is provided under proclamation no. 790/2013 which was promulgated to realize the objectives provided by the foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy and administering the foreign service to coordinate instructional mechanisms. The major power and duties related with protecting Ethiopia's national interest through economic, social and political cooperation; protecting the right and interest of nationals abroad; public diplomacy public relation works; the ratification and implementation of international laws and human rights and the

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<sup>3</sup>Interview with Key Informant No 4, MoFA , Addis Ababa Ethiopia, February 18, 2019

<sup>4</sup>The basic things amended in proclamation no. 942/2016 were related to the pastoralist development affairs, the ministry of justice , the ministry of youth and sports and the federal general attorney

mechanisms that should follow to carry out this duties are in detail incorporated (Article 3 of proc. No 790/2013).

In addition, any executive organ may have the power to carry out foreign service related activities, however, at the same manner, there is also an obligation to inform to the ministry of foreign affairs which shows the power of MoFA are extended to every foreign engagement and activities of social, economic and political affairs (article 6(3) of Proc. No. 790/2013).

The primary and secondary data analysis shows that, Ethiopia has well structured legal frame work with regard to its foreign relations. Starting from the constitution, supreme law of the land, it incorporates the six basic external relation principles which include the social, economic, and political and peacebuilding aspects of Ethiopia's foreign relation. In addition, both the foreign service proclamation and the proclamation that states the power and function of the executive organs of the FDRE government clearly stipulates the power and duties of MoFA and the detailed list of activities that should be entertained with foreign relation, in a consistent and coordinated institutional mechanism and identify administrative and procedural mechanisms for the effective, transparent and accountable foreign service.

Correspondingly, it was also observed that various cooperation agreements and memorandum of understandings were signed between Ethiopia and its respective neighbors in the HoA. Nevertheless, the foreign legal framework stipulates six core principles with regards to social, economic, political and peacebuilding aspects, its effectiveness in bringing together with HoA countries was limited and required to be further strengthened and supported.

In this analysis, it was observed that there was limitation to establish regional legal framework like developing tripartite and multilateral relationships in addition to the bilateral cooperation agreements. If the tripartite and multilateral cooperation agreements were established before it would have create the opportunity for Ethiopia to play significant role towards peacebuilding in the HoA.

#### **4.1.2 Ethiopia's Foreign Relation Policy Framework**

As it is discussed in the above section the foundation for Ethiopia's foreign relation is foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy which are based on three basic principles of development and building democratic system; national Pride and Prestige and globalization as the basis of the policy (FANSPS, 2002).

The foreign policy goals are all about development, democracy and survival with realizing development and democracies through the assurance of international conditions that are conducive to achieve development and democratic objectives. It is also criticized that even though the policy puts development as a basic principle, however the detail implementation are about economic growth. Development and economic growth are the two different aspects where development are wider and incorporate the economic growth perspectives. Nonetheless, the policy document focuses on only economic growth where it is difficult to view it under the lenses of development which includes much diversified characteristics of housing, education, health, democracy, and other basic human development needs (Interview, 2019)<sup>5</sup>.

The foreign policy of Ethiopia is an inward looking giving prime focus to economic development and democracy where Ethiopia's relationship with neighboring countries depends on economic development and peace and security. The existing 2002 foreign policy is an inward looking giving primary attention to internal peace and economic development which the policy boldly underlines Ethiopia's relation with other countries must be based on national interest, economic development and peace and security (FANSPS, 2002). In relation to this, Mehari (2017) also argues that the foreign policy is an inward looking originated on the threats to and vulnerabilities of internal political and socio-economic challenges opposed to externalizing the sources of the threats.

Some informants also highlights that the foreign policy framework and categorization of Europe ; USA; Asia ; International and nongovernmental organizations are identified based on the principle of protecting national interest, peace and security and non-

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<sup>5</sup>Interview with key informant No. 2 , Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, April 10, 2019

interference in the internal affairs of other states(Interview, 2019)<sup>6</sup>. Notwithstanding, working towards for the mutual benefit of countries especially for peace and security situation of HoA, there are some issues and changes which are not incorporated under the policy document.

Ethiopia's foreign policy orientation towards Eritrea was conflict prevention between the two countries; it shows some gaps on the policy and the practice perspectives. In practical terms the government is working towards building relationships like the Ethio- Eritrea rapprochement, however, the document lacks to incorporate an inclusive way of policy direction for building social, economic and political bondage between the two countries (Interview, 2019)<sup>7</sup>.

In the same manner the changing situations like the independence of South Sudan from Sudan in 2011 was not included on the policy document, however, practically, the two countries are building relations and Ethiopia had played and continues playing in trying to restore peace in the South Sudan's conflict (Interview, 2019)<sup>8</sup>.The informants also argue that Ethiopia's relation to Somalia highly emphasis to security aspects and neglect other social, economic and political bondages (Ibid).

The other issue is related with the changing dynamics around the HoA where the region is becoming more important strategic place for the world. Nonetheless, with regard to handling the situation and protecting the national interest of Ethiopia, there is a gap in the foreign policy framework in foreseeing the situation. The foreign policy is not updated to the changing situation of the region. Red sea as a transportation and security zone, oil and the Nile factor leads the western and powerful nation; the developed nation and the gulf interest on the horn by building their military base in the region (Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016). It further argued that "*since the advent of competing foreign powers in Horn of Africa is both an opportunity and security risk for Ethiopia, there is a need for a rational and assertive foreign policy aimed at utilizing the opportunity, minimizing the risk and countering neo-colonialism and Clientelism*" (Gashaw and Zelalem,2016, p798).

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<sup>6</sup>Interview with ,key informantsNo 5 & 6 , MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, February 22 & 27, 2019

<sup>7</sup>Interview with key informant No.6 , MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 27 February 2019

<sup>8</sup>Interview with key informant No 4, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 18 February 2019

It was also argued that "*Ethiopia, in particular, and the HoA in general, have been the theatre of competitions and rivalries between regional and super-powers where India and China's raising global ambitions, military capability, political and economic influence and their quest for energy security may also lead to an arms race in the region*"(Abdel-Latifand Mokadem (2016) p. 22).

The foreign policy has also limitation on reaching out the whole neighboring countries through social, economic, political and peacebuilding relationships. This can be further characterized by the practice with Somalia, which mainly focused on security dimensions (fighting with terrorism) and supporting the transitional government of Somalia.

Furthermore, the relationships with Eritrea were maintained on prevention of conflict or relapse of conflict between the two countries. The policy has limitation with regards to relationship with Eritrea where it highlighted that regime change was necessary to bring peace building relationships. However, this was disproved through the new developments after PM Abiy Ahmed came in to power. Again, Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Sudan stated that absence of democracy, presence of extremism, and lack of fair and equity utilization Nile River were taken as Ethiopia's vulnerability on security dimension towards peacebuilding relationship with Sudan (FANSPS, 2002).

The foreign relationship mostly with Kenya lacks attention to have strong economic, social and political relationships which were the base for peacebuilding. In recent developments, signs of improvements observed however, it still requires demonstrated foreign relationship with the rest of the neighboring countries in the region. The relationship with Djibouti was taken as relative better example that Ethiopia can replicate to the remaining countries in the region towards peacebuilding. Some of the key informants mentioned that economic development was positively progressing; however, it required long way to enhance social, economic, and political and peace building relationship (Interview, 2019)<sup>9</sup>. Hence, the above listed issues and new developments can be taken as an indication to fully update and revise the foreign policy by considering the regional social, economic, political and peacebuilding relationships.

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<sup>9</sup>Interview with key informant No. 7, MoFA official, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, April 24, 2019

In general, the inward looking nature of Ethiopia's foreign policy orientation is giving less emphasis to the external threats and vulnerabilities have a direct effect towards its peacebuilding role in the region. The policy framework does not include and update the changing situation such as the emergence of South Sudan as an independent country, Ethiopia and Eritria rapprochement, the foreign powers interest and military base in the HoA. Besides, the policy had limitation on foreseeing new developments including regional security dynamics on the HoA where world powers competition is unfolding.

Moreover, it is understood that Ethiopia followed context specific policy directions towards HoA like conflict prevention to Eritrea, security to Somalia and Sudan and economic relationship and infrastructure ties with Djibouti and Kenya. However, it would even be better to consider more comprehensive social, economic and political contents of the policy since it further gives the opportunity to enhance regional peacebuilding for ultimate regional integration opportunities.

The policy framework indicted that, Ethiopia's FANSPS lacks standardized approach towards establishing and implementing concrete peace-building relationships through enhancing social, economic, and political dimensions to the respective neighboring countries in the region. These required to further design and implement the policy for enhancing regional integration in the HoA where it consequently bonded the region to achieve peace, stability and integration in the region.

#### **4.1.3 Ethiopia's Foreign Relation Institutional Set up**

Institutionally, the power and duties to lead the foreign service and implement the foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy were given to different ministerial bodies of the government, office of the prime minster, ministry of foreign affairs, ministry of national defense, and the national intelligence and security service. Article 6 of proclamation no. 790/2013 states that, the ministry of foreign affairs has an independent power to lead the foreign service and implement the foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy. In relation to this, the ministry also has a responsibility to coordinate and work together with other ministerial bodies in every aspects of external relation.

The cumulative reading of Article 15(8) and (12) of proclamation no.916/2015 emphasizes that the MoFA have duties to coordinate all relations of other government organs with foreign states and international organizations and it has also the responsibility of pursuing economic diplomacy through the promotion of trade and tourism; attracting foreign investors; acquiring and packaging of technologies; mobilization of external financial and technical assistance in cooperation with the line sector ministerial institutions.

The MoFA obtain its major power and duties under article 7 of foreign service proclamation no 790/2013. Accordingly, diplomatic service sector, administrative and technical service sector and support service sector are identified as a foreign sector services provided by the MoFA. A director general for neighboring countries and IGAD affairs of MoFA describes that under foreign services there are four state ministers includes Africa and middle east and IGAD; Europe, Asia America and the UN, administrative affairs related with the human resources management and business diplomacy (Interview, 2019)<sup>10</sup>. There are also director generals with the set up of political department, business, and services service sectors within the two continental state ministers. Therefore, with regard to neighboring countries and IGAD there is one director general, the same is for the African affairs, Middle East, Europe, Asia and Austral Asia and America affairs (Ibid). Other relevant departments like boarder and border crossing properties focuses on neighboring countries , international law director general who has an advisory role for the organization at whole ,business department and other administrative budget protocol are support administrative sectors of the MoFA.

Other responsibility of MoFA is related with opening of mission in relation with the national interest of the country with priority. Accordingly, there are diplomatic missions (an embassy of, Ethiopia abroad), permanent mission (representing Ethiopia in an inter-governmental organization abroad) and consular office or trade office abroad (a consular office of the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia abroad) with a criteria based on the national interest of Ethiopia (Article 4 of proclamation no. 790/2013). Hence, there are six Embassies in HoA countries representing Ethiopia in Djibouti (Djibouti), Kenya

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<sup>10</sup>Interview with key informant No.7, MoFA official, Addis Ababa , Ethiopia, April 24, 2019

(Nairobi), South Sudan (Juba), Sudan (Khartoum), Eritria (Asmara), and Somalia (Moquadis) and three consulate offices were opened in Sudan, Somali land and Punt Land. The plan, report and evaluation of these respective embassies and consulate office have been done by MoFA neighboring countries and IGAD directorate (Interview, 2019)<sup>11</sup>.

Diplomatic missions (embassies) and consulate offices also open by taking in consideration citizens' right, business and people to people connection and cultural relationships. Thus, with regard to neighboring countries there are consulates offices in Sudan Gedarif (consulate office) in addition to the Embassy found in Khartoum and in Somalia there are consulate offices in Somaliland and punt land in addition to Embassy found in the Moquadis (Interview ,2019)<sup>12</sup>. The main reason for opening this consulate office is to improve people to people connection, trade and for peaceful relationship. Besides there is also honorable consulate office by the nationality of Ethiopian who is voluntaries and need not any budget from the government (Ibid).

The MoFA maintained regular relations internally with different ministerial organs and externally with diplomatic embassies and consulate offices to hasten social, economic political contexts. It was stated that in entertaining the joint foreign service activities between the MoFA and other line ministers there are no fixed contracts, agreements or memorandum of understandings between the MoFA and other line minister organs of the government of Ethiopia (Interview, 2019)<sup>13</sup>. There is a meeting once in a year to evaluate the performance of each ministry. Therefore, the cooperation and collaboration mechanisms between the MoFA and other line ministries are depending on the proposals from either sides, or evaluating the existing bilateral agreements (Ibid). On the other hand, external relationship of the MoFA and the diplomatic missions, permanent missions and consulate offices abroad are depend on the regular yearly plan and the performance report evaluated every month, quarter, six month, nine month and yearly duration of time (Ibid).

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<sup>11</sup>Interview with key informant No.7, MoFA official, Addis Ababa , Ethiopia, April 24, 2019

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup>Interview with key informant No.7, MoFA official, Addis Ababa , Ethiopia, April 24, 2019

To develop peaceful relationship among the people lived in the border areas there are boarder administrative committee that follow up the border trade, people movement , health and communicable diseases, to follow the vaccination program and to prevent the nomad conflict there are boarder development commission to address the social problem and interaction. Therefore, the ministry established the joint ministerial commission with Sudan, joint boarder commission with Kenya, and joint boarder administration committee with Djibouti. Thus, to check the effectiveness and implementation of the FANSPS the ministry entered in to bilateral agreements and joint commissions with Sudan, Kenya and Djibouti in a bilateral forum and with IGAD as a region one (Interview,2019)<sup>14</sup>.

Some informants also stated that the organization and institutional set up of the MoFA internally within the organization lack proper and qualified man power and also its relation with other ministerial organs are decimal which lacks collaboration and cooperation (Anonymous, Interview, 2019). The main reason raises here is even though the MoFA has entitled by the legal framework, the work related to it is influenced by the prime minister's office, it seems like not independent(Ibid). In addition, it was also stated that the check and balance mechanisms that a committee established under the house of people representatives for checking mechanism was not dully established with the respective important qualified persons (Ibid).

Given that, the MoFA has a key role towards coordinating and work together with the respective ministerial organs and its other duties and responsibilities to smoothen, strengthens and effectively implementing diplomatic services, administrative and technical service centers, and support services centers with the external relations , there is a need to build with a strong man power and qualified persons for the effectiveness and efficiency of the foreign service and the successful implementation of the foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy.

Having strong institutional set up both for internally and externally has tremendous contributions towards establishing economic, social and political bondages with HoA countries. Hence, to ensure regional integration, the ministry of foreign affairs has a

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with key informant No. 9 , MoFA official , Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 24 May,2019

prime role to boost social, economic, political and peace-building relationships. This can be further characterized by establishing strong frameworks through agreements or memorandum of understanding among government organization/ministries internally and across neighboring countries externally.

However, the study found that the collaboration among the line ministries lacks proper mutual understanding agreements that elaborate and incorporate the roles and responsibilities of each line ministries to work towards in one hand and on the other the mechanisms to evaluate the effectiveness of these ministerial bodies to ensure the mutual objectives of addressing the national interest of Ethiopia. Moreover, the analysis showed that the Ministry needs to establish mechanism to update itself through regular situational reports and analysis to take informed decision towards securing national interest of the Ethiopia in the HoA in particular and in rest of Africa in general.

## **4.2. The Contribution of Ethiopia towards Peacebuilding in Horn of Africa**

Economic development and peace and security are two basic wings that expressed Ethiopia's contribution in peacebuilding in the HoA. Creating economic and political integration with the notion of development outlined Ethiopia's peacebuilding efforts in the region. Ethiopia's effort in developing economic ties reflected with the infrastructural developments sustained in the region. In peace and security situation of the HoA Ethiopia tirelessly engaged in mediation and peacekeeping activities of the region.

### **4.2.1 Economic Ties and Infrastructural Developments**

Ethiopia strengthens its economic ties with the HoA countries through continuous and updated cooperation agreements and memorandum of understandings. Most of the agreements focus on infrastructure, trade, common projects, natural resources and special agreements with special preferential treatments (Interview, 2019)<sup>15</sup>. The trade agreements concerning with creating peaceful relationship with neighboring countries by specifying special situation that exempt foreign currency, inhabit custom and allowing the use of local currencies' in due course of trade exchange between people living in the border were signed with Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia and Sudan(Ibid).

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<sup>15</sup> Interview with key informant No. 9, MoFA official, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 24 may 2019

The number of cooperation agreements differ the significance of relationship and the level of diplomatic ties between two countries. Like for instance, the relationship between Ethiopia and Djibouti is highly valued as it related to use of the Djibouti port for its direct link with Ethiopia's economic development. In terms of foreign relation with Djibouti, 95% of Ethiopia's import-export relation passed through Djibouti. The peace and stability in Djibouti directly affects Ethiopia economically; therefore, to minimize risk of being land locked which has direct impact on economic development, Ethiopia keeps using the Djibouti port for facilitating smooth import and export progress. Accordingly, the two countries made more than seventy five agreements since diplomatic ties with two countries established(Interview, 2019)<sup>16</sup>.To make interlinking Djibouti with Ethiopia and to create excellent political and economic ties, twenty six recent agreements focused on port utilization, rail way, electricity were signed from 2002 until 2018 (Ibid).

The natural resources protection agreements with the aim of protecting forest and wild life signed with Sudan, Djibouti and Kenya; defense agreements to boarder security collaboration signed with all neighboring countries; unilateral agreements with giving special attention to strengthen the internal situation of the country like Somalia and South Sudan conclude scholarship agreements with Ethiopia; Preferential agreements in trade and investment also signed with Djibouti and Sudan to improve the trade relationship(Interview, 2019)<sup>17</sup>.To create vested interest between countries, strength people to people connection and free movement of people common project agreements on port utilization, road and railway transportation agreements were signed with Djibouti, Sudan and Kenya (Ibid).

Comparing the implementation level of cooperation agreements and memorandum of understandings among Ethiopia and HoA visa-vis other agreements made with European or Asian countries, it was observed that the implementation of HoA countries found in a better position (Ibid). The main reason for better implementation status was the nature of agreements where it leaves no option other than implementation (Ibid). Being, the nature of agreements vested on the national interest of the two countries like the port utilization

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<sup>16</sup>Interview with key informant No. 5, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 22 February 2019

<sup>17</sup>Interview with official, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, May 24, 2019

agreements a vital importance for Ethiopia as a land locked country the only import – export outlets to the external world and similarly, these cooperation agreements also a base for Djiboutian economy.

However, it was also argued that the overall implementation status shows still there are multiple of cooperation agreements registered on limited status. Policy difference, the willingness and commitment of countries and the internal political instabilities consider as a factor for poor implementations. As an example, South Sudan and Ethiopia were signed around 12 agreements and MoU, however, it becomes impossible to enter in to force and implement the agreements as a result of the internal conflict and civil war in South Sudan (Interview, 2019)<sup>18</sup>.

Cross boarder road constructions was one of the activities that Ethiopia has been working towards connecting bordering countries like Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia, and Kenya (MoFA, 2018). The Nairobi – Addis Ababa 895-km highway corridor linking Kenya where the Kenyan side was completed in 2016 and the last half of the road in Ethiopia is expecting to complete in 2019(African Development Bank Group, 2018). The road is expected to connect the Kenyan towns of merille and turbi, throug marsab it, and an additional 391 km stretch running throug Ethiopia linking ageremariam, yabelo and mega (Ibid). The construction of this corridor road is raising hope for a better economic integration besides its purpose for cross boarder traffic connection between the two countries. Estimation of the World Bank shows that the completion of the road will increase the trade between Kenya and Ethiopia fromUS\$35 million to US\$175millonto (African Review, 2018).

The Lamu Port and Lamu South Sudan Ethiopia transport corridor project(LAPSSET) with the aim of creating connectivity, promoting socio-economic development between Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan in the region working in progress (LAPSSET Corridor development Authority,2016).The project involving railway, road and port infrastructure focuses on two major elements of building 500 meter infrastructure corridor with the road, railway, pipelines power transmission and other projects and developing 50 km

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<sup>18</sup>Interview with key informant No. 4, MoFA, Addis Ababa , Ethiopia, February 18, 2019

economic corridors on each sides of infrastructure development for industry and investment purpose(Ibid).The effort of Ethiopia in undertaking huge investment for the construction of roads, railway, and industrial parks along with the LAPSSET corridor gain high recognition by the LAPSSET project development authority (Ibid).

The standard-gauge 752.7 km electrified railway linking Ethiopia and Djibouti has also the major infrastructure development jointly owned by Ethiopia and Djibouti governments (UNCTAD, 2018).It was completed in 2016 and in the process of opening commercial traffic (Ibid). Ethiopia has also working towards building huge electric power dams and exporting power to the neighboring countries. Accordingly, up to 65 MW of power to Djibouti and about 100MW to Sudan and conclude a deal with Kenya to provide 400MW hydropower proves how Ethiopia working towards connecting the region through crosses border electricity (MoFA, 2016). In addition to the prior agreements with Djibouti and Sudan, Ethiopia has also concluded agreements with Somaliland, Kenya, Tanzania, and South Sudan to create electric interconnections(FBC, 2018).The extensive link and the lion share of pan African network of Ethiopian air lines (Ethiopian Airlines, 2018) also the other great efforts of Ethiopia in creating connectivity within the HOA.

#### **4.2.2 Peace and Security**

Ethiopia's contribution towards the peace- building in the HoA can be expressed in its endeavor and engagement on the peace and security situation of the region. Its engagement was focused in mediation, peacekeeping mission and conflict resolution part. Starting with the recent phenomena Ethio- Eritrean relationship and the rapprochement between the two show its commitment and initiative to build peace and revealed the historically hostile relations.

Ojite, MoFA Eritrea desk Minister Councilor and one of the key informants, described that the enactment of the foreign policy was after the war between the two countries as a result, the policy focuses on preventing the reorientation of conflict between the two countries (Interview, 2019)<sup>19</sup>. It was also stated that, although cooperation is significance

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<sup>19</sup> Interview with key informant No. 6, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 27 February 2019

for the two countries, it have presumed that the relationship can be fruitful if the existing regime have been changed which consequently showed that the policy lacked proactive nature in building better relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea(Ibid). Nonetheless, currently, the rapprochement and the signing of a peace treaty in July 2018 to put a formal end for a state of war between both nations has been paving the way for bigger economic cooperation and improved ties between them. To strengthen and normalize the relationship, there were commencement in some legal frameworks and bilateral agreements.

It is suggested that the rapprochement between the two states indicated some social reunification like the restoring of telephone lines; starting of commercial flights and the preparation to use Asab port on the red sea by Ethiopia and Ethiopian investors have been looking at opportunities in Eritrea though there is a long way to go to institutionalize and normalization process (Getachew, 2018). Gedamu (2018) argues that the rapprochement of Ethiopia and Eritrea has a prospect to have a claiming effect on the stability of the HoA especially, in realizing Ethiopia's potential as economic and military power which will transform the region in to united economic power house.

The rapprochement of Ethiopia and Eritrea was creating suspicion over Djibouti since their economy founded mainly on Ethiopia's relation (Interview, 2019)<sup>20</sup>. In general, Ethiopia's contribution towards developing improvements with Eretria on peace-building relationship was extremely immense and that will help to sustain social, economic and political healing processes between the two countries. This was, therefore, hoped that regional integration can be improving among other neighboring countries.

In the case of political instabilities recurring in Somalia, Ethiopia has made a tremendous diplomatic efforts geared towards resolving the tensions in two major ways; bilaterally the Ethiopian national defense force (ENDF) stationed in Somalia to provide support for the national armed force and since 2014 with African union mission in Somalia (AMISOM) contribute troops for sustainable peace and security in Somalia (Kaleab, 2018 p; 204).

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<sup>20</sup>Interview with key informant No. 5, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 22 February 2019

Ethiopia's intervention in Somalia was first in 2006 at the request of the transitional federal government of Somalia and the second is with AMISOM. Meaza (2017) argues that Ethiopia's involvement in Somali conflict was from the context of defensive intervention and a desire to see the reestablishment of Somalia's government. It was also further argued that due to the internal problems, economic underdevelopment and vulnerabilities, Ethiopia's position and efforts in Somalia's peace-building was limited and difficult to play pivotal role (Meaza, 2017).

However, Woldiye's (2016) findings of his research show that Ethiopia's military intervention has been regarded as the most essential and successful operation which have encouraged other African countries such as Uganda and Burundi for military intervention through the AU. He further argues that the Ethiopian military achieved what no western states and African countries thought to be possible rather it is a daring response to the Lawlessness in Somalia, and laid the foundation of the current elected Somalia government and AMISOM.

Hence, Ethiopia's efforts was mainly focusing to combat and dissolve terrorism in Somalia especially Al-Shabab terrorist and to establish transitional government of Somalia its role towards building regional peace and stability as well as ensuring national security from the terrorist group.

Ethiopia had remarkable efforts and roles to find lasting peaceful solutions to the conflict between Sudan and South Sudan. Its role was significant in supporting the efforts launched to resolve the civil war in Darfur, Sudan by sending its peacekeeping forces to the conflict area and to ensure peace and stability in the sub-region (Interview, 2019)<sup>21</sup>.

Similarly, Ambassador James Pitia, Ambassador of the Republic of South Sudan and the other informant, described that Ethiopia was at the forefront to make sure that peace restored in the region and specifically with regard to South Sudan Ethiopia's effort was started from the Emperor Hailesilase period where the emperor had efforts in resolving the problem of Sudan as a country and Southern Sudan as a part of Sudan in the 1972

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<sup>21</sup>Interview with Key informant No. 1, South Sudan Embassy, Addis Ababa Ethiopia , 26 February 2019 & Interview with key informant No. 4, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia 18 February 2019

Addis Ababa agreement. The Ambassador expressed Ethiopia's commitment as an outstanding and said" .....*where ever there is a crisis Ethiopia never remains behind*". In addition, Ethiopia continued to play its peacebuilding role in the efforts to solve the crisis in the South Sudan, Abeyi, in cooperation with UN. Even though the issue of South Sudan negotiated for five years, it also had a great influence of Ethiopian government to restore peace; and helped to facilitate the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement on 12 September 2018 in Addis Ababa where it is an evidence for Ethiopia's great contribution in peace-building to the HoA(Interview, 2019)<sup>22</sup>

In multilateral relationships, Ethiopia has engaged in participating to regional and international organizations like the former OAU the then AU, the UN, IGAD and peace keeping missions of AU and UN for the promotion of peace and security, Ethiopia's contribution to the peace keeping operation has been counted more than seventy years with diligence and commitment (UN peacekeeping ministerial meeting, 2019).

As a founding member of the United Nations (UN), Ethiopia had participated in different peacekeeping operations of the UN starting from the 1950s, it has emerged as the largest single African troop contributing country to African and UN peace support operations led by the UN and the African Union (AU) that includes South Korea, Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Abiye and Darfur (in the Sudan's) and Somalia and Currently, the number of troops in the peace support operations shows that there are 4296 in Abyei Mission, 960 troops in Darfur Mission, 2100 in South Sudan Mission and 4123 troops in Somalia mission, in total 11479 troops were deployed on the above listed missions (EIPT document, 2019).

Ethiopia's contribution in the peace-building of the HoA was important and it brought positive outcomes; which got recognition, credibility and acceptance from the international community as a prominent role for the peace keeping missions. In the peacekeeping mission, the peacekeepers from Ethiopia are well disciplined and committed known by their commitment of not only addressing the peace keeping mission

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with Key informant No. 8, African union commission peace and security department, Addis Ababa Ethiopia , 26 February 2019

but also working in close cooperation with the local community and supporting the community in their societal needs (Interview, 2019)<sup>23</sup>.

Ethiopia's effort in creating economic ties and bondages through various bilateral, tripartite and special preferential cooperation agreements on infrastructure, trade, common projects and natural resources were the foundational efforts to build good relationship with HoA countries and contribute to the peace-building in the region. Again, the practical progress and developments of huge roads, railways, exportation of electric power were great contribution to building peace in the region. The great infrastructural developments open the door for investment, trade, job opportunities, social communications and economic developments by reduction the high costs to the countries import –export exchanges.

Ethiopia's recent peace development with Eretria which hoped to bring solid and reliable regional peace development so that the level of economic, social, and political challenges can be reduced significantly; its stabilization role in Somalia; its mediatory role in the conflict of Sudan, South Sudan and the global and regional troop contribution of peace keeping missions and social responsibilities for the host countries made Ethiopia a great unilateral, bilateral and multilateral player in the peace and security of the HoA.

Ethiopia's good diplomatic relations and friendly cooperation with neighboring countries based on mutual interest and benefits through the signings of bilateral and multi lateral agreements were a good input for its peacebuilding role in the HoA. In addition, its neutral foreign policy orientation in negotiations and mediation among faction groups and countries in HoA with enhanced reputation of foreign relationship considered as exemplary roles for other African countries to bring relative development and peace in the country.

The prominent effort of Ethiopia in building economic ties, infrastructure, reconciliation, mediation and peace keeping have a great place in the process of peacebuilding in the HoA. Significant changes were observed on the ground on building economic ties, and peace and security contribution of Ethiopia. However, the contribution that Ethiopia had

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<sup>23</sup>Interview with key informant No.3, EIPKTC , Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 28 February 2019

also losses concreteness in strengthening people to people connections and political unification and security developments. Therefore, it can be argued that Ethiopia had not exerted its full potential and capacity in creating enabling environment for people to people connection, free movement of people in the region, strengthening the security dynamics through strong, supportive and common military power vital for building peace in the region.

### **4.3 Constraints that Hinder Ethiopia from utilizing its potential to Peace building in the HoA**

Ethiopia owns comparatively strategic geographic location in the HoA, which has significant contribution in reaching out the neighboring countries to hasten the peacebuilding and regional integration for ensuring peaceful and stable HOA. However, there are different challenges register in Ethiopia's effort to the contribution the peacebuilding of HoA.

Internal economic challenges, internal political challenges and regional constraints related with poverty, unemployment, inflation rate and soaring food prices; the political disagreements and lack of political consensuses between the government other political fronts were considered internal challenges while Ethiopia's vulnerability to external threats and conflicts in the HOA region and its interdependence and complexity was also affect Ethiopia's role in the HoA (Kidist 2014).

Extreme poverty, lack of democracy and instability through the political crisis like the 2015/2016 protests, violence, and state measures in Amhara and Oromia regional states which were serious challenges to the countries internal stability and external role in the region and beyond (Mehari,2017). The external threats expressed in relation with Somalia state failure and Al-Shabab, boarder and proxy war with Eritrea, the Nile rivalry between Egypt and its Supporters and the emerging issues and long standing threats in the HoA in relation with recent domestic, regional and international developments political crisis in the middle east, the migration crisis in the Europe and large-scale violence following ethnicity-based protests in Ethiopia's Oromia and Amhara states were

considered challenges that hinder Ethiopia's integrative and diplomatic role in the Horn of Africa (Ibid).

The escalation of previous challenges and the emergency of new developments in the internal political situation of Ethiopia, regional and global politics continued to restrain Ethiopia's effort in contributing to the peacebuilding in the HoA. Hence, limited economic capacity; internal political instability neighboring countries issues, and extra neighboring and international politics are the major constraining factors that hinder Ethiopia in its peacebuilding role in the HoA.

#### **4.3.1 Limited Economic Capacity**

Although Ethiopia's economy has been growing in double digit for the last two decades, currently the world bank report shows that Ethiopia's economy experienced strong broad based growth of 5.4% averaging 10.3% a year from 2006/07 to 2016/17, compared to a regional average and it's real domestic product (GDP) growth decimated to 7.7% in 2017/18(UNDP, 2018).

Ethiopia's poverty line dropped from 27 percent in 2016 to 25 percent in 2018 (The world Bank, 2018) and developments were registered in access to social services such as education, health, water and sanitation as well as infrastructure road, railways, telecom and power generation however, still there are over 22 million people are living below the national poverty line (UNDP, 2018 p; 1-2). In the year 2017, Ethiopia's external debt reached to \$24.2 billion and the IMF/WB in its sustainability analysis stated that the risk of debt distressed increased form moderate to high (Ibid).

Limitation in the economic capacity affects Ethiopia in its peacebuilding role first by spoiling its image to the external world and second through effectiveness of the MoFA in establishing and extending its diplomatic and consulate offices to HoA countries where it presumed important for strengthening the link in social, economic and political relationships (Interview, 2019)<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with key informant No. 7, MoFA official, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 24 April 2019

Based on the interview with key informants, Ethiopia has relatively low “soft power” (which mostly joined with money or economic capacities to influence its national interest over the others), instead Ethiopia has great “hard power” that chiefly connected with strengthen the national and regional defense needs. Soft power "*consists of a country's history, geography , culture, diversity, economic strength, social pattern, democratic development, civil society organizations prevalence and impacts, sciences and technology infrastructure and values like art which the social life produce in the intellectual sense*" (Ney,2005 as stated in yavuzaslan & Cetin, 2016, P.2 ). It is further elaborated that gaining soft power means gaining the good impression and acceptance of other countries through attraction rather than coercion or payment (yavuzaslan & Cetin, 2016). In advancing soft power public diplomacy which is founded with credibility, self criticism and engagement of civil society has a prominent role (Nye, 2008).

Progresses noted in Ethiopia's public diplomacy in the HoA, however, it is still confirmed that Ethiopia is far beyond capable of influencing other countries with its soft power (Interview, 2019)<sup>25</sup>. It was stated that an opening of consulate offices in the HoA Sudan, Somali land and Punt land some of the progress in image building and people to people connection. The need to open consulate offices to all neighboring countries rises through time, however, as a result of budget constraints still the MoFA has working with the above three consulate offices in the HoA(Interview,2019)<sup>26</sup>. Hence, Ethiopia's limited economic capacity has affects its capability and role that has to be played in peacebuilding and contribute pivotal role in the region. Furthermore, it has also negative effect in building strong relationship among neighboring countries (Interview, 2019)<sup>27</sup>.

Even from the peace keeping mission perspectives, Ethiopia experienced financial constraints for military material supply, administration, logistics and other miscellaneous expenses for the peace keeping forces and to play prominent role in the neighboring countries a country needs to be economically capable (Interview, 2019)<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> Interview with key informant No. 4, MoFA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 18 February,2019

<sup>26</sup> Interview with key informant No.7, MoFAofficial, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 24 April 2019

<sup>27</sup> Interview with key informant No. 5, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 22 February 2019

<sup>28</sup> Interview with key informant No.3, EIPKTC , Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 28 February 2019

### **4.3.2 Internal political Instability**

In due course of the implementation of FANSPS in 2002, there were various political instabilities occurred in the country at different time frame work. The major ones were related with 2014 protest against the expansion of Addis Ababa capital city to Oromia region; the eruption of protests related with ethnic violence in 2015; declaration of state of emergency in October 2016; again the new protest emerged in 2017 as a result of the ending of state of emergency in August 2017; the resignation of prime minister Hailemariam Desalign in February 15,2018 was bring inter-communal tension and the declaration of state of emergency and the escalation of ethnic violence among the country since September 2018 (International Crisis Group report, 2019).

After Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed came in to power, the spreading of communal violence, the proliferation of ethnic militias related with ethnic tension and violence are continued and driving Ethiopia's political situation to violence and instability (International Crisis Group report, 2019). Badwaza (2018), also states that the emerging challenges of internal political instability in Ethiopia are related with power struggle within the EPRDF and its four constituent parties; reviving the independent media and the human right communities; ethnic tension and clashes; reintegration of armed militias; electoral reforms and lack of trust in the security service.

The disarray of different political parties, development of extreme nationalism interests towards respective ethnic groups for social, economic and political achievements, development of high youth unemployment rate (which puts the youth to be exposed for human trafficking and other social problems) in the country, and challenges within Christian and Muslims religions put Ethiopia under additional strain to undertake leading roles towards peace building and regional integration in the HoA(Interview,2019)<sup>29</sup>.

The political instability and the emerging ethnic nationalism has an adversary effect on Ethiopia's foreign relation, its efforts on infrastructure development and its role in building peace in the region(Interview,2019)<sup>30</sup>. Even to the extent, it has an effect on the strength of the national defense force in the international arena where there exist various

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with key informant No. 5, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 22 February 2019

<sup>30</sup> Interview with key informant No. 4, 5 & 6, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 18, 22 & 27 February 2019 respectively

ethnic groups with respective interests within the military forces and it further affected the unity and strength of the military forces (Ibid). In order to get back Ethiopia's regional and international acceptance in the field of diplomacy, Ethiopia should rework and improve the internal political instability in connection with ethnic nationalism and other related factors.

#### **4.3.3 Neighboring Countries Issues**

Due to more than two decades hostile relationship with Eritrea, Ethiopia tried to look for other options to get access to the sea for international trade link which have adversary effect on the ability of Ethiopia to boost its regional and international influences to maintain peace and security to the extent of Yemen and other neighboring countries (Interview, 2019)<sup>31</sup>.

Being a landlocked, Ethiopia suffers social, economic, and political gains for the last number of years in the region. On the other hand, Eritrea was supporting rebel groups based in the country to destabilize Ethiopia's internal stability because of no war no peace relationship sustained for more than two decades. Beside, the current situation of the two countries in settling peace between them, there are still various challenges in sustaining the relationship in smooth manner which drag Ethiopia's effort in its peace-building role in the HoA.

It was also argued that still the peace deal has its own sustained incipient challenges related with the Ethio-Eritrean peace deal related with "..... 1) *the lack of transparency about the terms of the agreements between the two countries;* 2) *the elements of haphazardness and lack of institutionalization of the budding relationship between them;* and 3) *Domestic developments in both countries that have direct bearing on the nature of their relationship*"(Awet, 2019, p.6). He further argues that challenges have a spillover effect not only on the relationship between the two countries but also in weakening regional integration in the HoA(Ibid).

With the prolonged internal instability in South Sudan and Somalia, Ethiopia was placed under pressure to enhance proper peacebuilding relations with the neighboring countries

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<sup>31</sup>Interview with key informant No. 6, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 27 February 2019

in the region. Countries like Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia were placed under competition role to lead the region instead of working together with Ethiopia to bring sustainable peace and security for regional integration (Interview, 2019)<sup>32</sup>.

The key informants discuss that even though there not in a satisfactory level. The rationale behind for the non implementation of bilateral agreements and memorandum of understands are related with the countries internal instability, different policy orientation and interference in the internal politics by other neighboring state to forward their national interest.

As a result of South Sudan's crisis and civil war, Ethiopia has obliged to work towards sustaining finding sustainable peace in the country. Following this, it was impossible to work for the implementation of cooperative agreements and MoUs (Interview, 2019)<sup>33</sup>. In addition, countries in the region also interfere in the crisis to complement their interest. In the political crisis of South Sudan, Sudan was suspected in supporting the opposition group of South Sudan, which has adversary effect on the relationship between the two countries. Hence, it is also an obstacle on the process of peace-building in the region.

In addition the internal policy orientation of each neighboring country was also an obstacle for Ethiopia's contribution to the peacebuilding in the region. It was stated that, it is difficult to oblige countries to implement the agreements; rather it needs the commitment of each country. Hence, unless otherwise vested interest developed on both countries, it is difficult to implement and take action on the agreements. In general, this required Ethiopia to play leading role so as to bring all countries together to work for regional peace-building which consequently has great effect on region integration.

#### **4.3.4 Extra Neighboring Issues and International Politics**

In relation to its geostrategic importance, the HoA has been a place where all the world powerful nations interested to persuade their economic and political interests. Since the end of cold war different security actors from Europe, the United States, the Middle East,

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<sup>32</sup> Interview with key informant No.2, & Interview with key informant No. 4, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia , 10 April 2019 &18 February 2019 respectively

<sup>33</sup> Interview with key informant no 4, MoFA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, 18 February 2019

the gulf and Asia are operating in the HoA and build- up external military force on land and at sea to persuade their on local, regional and international issues (Melvin, 2019).

Melvin(2019), argued that the external security actors engagement in the HoA are with the aim of support for African regional and multilateral action; efforts to combat nontraditional security threats; the expansion of gulf and middle eastern security in to Indo-pacific security dynamics, however, it is argued that security expansion have the prospect of proxy struggles, growing geopolitical tensions, and an extension of external driving security agenda in the region which implicates Horn countries could have a probability to align with or join a particularity grouping. Hence, this has great outcome in influencing the efforts which Ethiopia to make towards regional peace-building in the HoA. It was also further argued that both the individual nation in the HoA and the region at large are vulnerable to fragmentation as a result of the increasing presence and political, economic and military competition of the external actors in the HoA (Tana high level forum security in Africa, 2019).

Therefore, limitation of regional countries to work together was reflected extensively with the stationing of military bases from gulf and western countries in the region. This may have reason for fighting terrorism and others; however, it compromised the success of the Ethiopia towards bring peace in the region.

In general, the primary as well as the secondary data indicated that the major constraints that hinder Ethiopia form utilizing its potential role in peacebuilding are associated with limited economic capacity, internal political instability, neighboring countries conflict and extra neighboring and international politics issues. These factors are related and interdependent each other and has a direct negative effect on Ethiopia's peace-building role in the HoA. With the existence of these constraints it is difficult to play significant role in the peacebuilding relationship between neighboring countries and it is also challenging to reconcile external conflicting parities or groups without combating internal problems.

The huge presence of gulf, western and powerful nations in HOA hampered Ethiopia's role in the region since these powers have their own interests in the region. It created

challenges in peacebuilding in the region where countries used to follow the national interests of powerful nations that are present in the region.

Hence to bring sustainable development and prosperity for the regional countries; it is crucial and vital to develop mechanism for sustainable peace in the region. Therefore, cooperation and collaboration are essential to bring social, economic, and political ties and relationship by ensuring peace and security in the region as most of the people in the region shared close cultural and social ties and it is also better to strengthen border security for free travel of citizens among the countries.

## **CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

### **5.1. Summary of Key Findings**

The major aim of this study was examining Ethiopia's role in peacebuilding in the HoA and its implication for the regional integration. Accordingly, Ethiopia's foreign relation legal, policy frame work and institutional set up; its contribution towards peacebuilding and constraining factors that hinders its role was assessed in detail. Thus, the key findings are summarized below.

First, it is clearly understandable that Ethiopia has well structured legal frame work to entertain foreign relation activities internally, with in government organs and externally through Embassies and consulate office found abroad. Internally, the legal framework is based on the FDRE constitution which is the supreme law of the land. In the constitution, six basic external relation principles that give emphasis to protection of national interest, respect sovereignty of states, equality of states, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Following the incorporation of basic external relation principles subsequent proclamation on Foreign Service (Pro. no. 790/2013) and proclamation which defined the power and duties of the executive organs (Pro. no 916/2015) were entered in to force. These proclamations were aimed at creating effective, transparent and accountable foreign relation through proper institutional, administrative and procedural mechanisms in a consistent and coordinated manner.

However, the study found that the collaboration among the line ministries lacks proper mutual understanding agreements that elaborate and incorporate the roles and responsibilities of each line ministries to work towards in one hand and on the other the mechanisms to evaluate the effectiveness of these ministerial bodies to ensure the mutual objectives of addressing the national interest of Ethiopia. And this required comprehensive and well dealt mutual collaborative agreement among the ministries so that to develop a mechanism for effective and efficient institutional set up.

It is also found that Ethiopia's external relation with neighboring countries were based on the bilateral agreements and cooperation which is very important relationship but, it has limited consideration of the tripartite and multilateral agreements which are the base for regional integration.

Ethiopia's FANSPS follows context specific approach policy direction to each neighboring countries in the HoA like for instance conflict prevention to Eritrea, strengthening peace and social interaction with Kenya, strengthening infrastructure development and economic ties with Sudan, Djibouti and Kenya as well.

The context specific approach of Ethiopia's FANSPS has a good stance in protecting the national interest and building good relationships, however, it is also equally important to develop comprehensive policy direction for the successful foreign relation and to enhance peacebuilding in the region. However, Ethiopia's FANSPS has a gap in incorporating comprehensive peacebuilding dimensions on social, economic and political concerns towards each HOA countries.

Second, it was found that the constraining factor that hinders Ethiopia from utilizing its potential in peacebuilding in the HoA are related to the internal constraint linked with limited economic capacity and its adversary effect in image building and public diplomacy building, in extending embassies and consulate offices and in strengthening the soft power related with creating positive attraction to the outside world.

Internal political instability also the other constraining factor, that hinder Ethiopia's peacebuilding role in the HoA. Even though political instability was not a new phenomenon in the country, the newly emerging challenges related with ethnic tension and clashes; reintegration of armed militias; electoral reforms and lack of trust in the security service are deep rooted problems which have a great effect in the country's stability and peace at large.

The other constraining factors related with the conflict in neighboring countries including the internal political instability HoA countries like South Sudan and Somalia; the Ethio-Eritrea spoiled relationship and the horn countries lack of commitments in

implementation the cooperation agreements and MoU between countries are also challenges that hinder Ethiopia's peace- building role in the region.

The extra neighboring and international political constraining factors were related with HoA strategic importance and the increasing presence of different international security actors which has the ability of create disintegration between HoA countries that affects Ethiopia peacebuilding role in the region.

Finally, Ethiopia's contribution towards the peacebuilding in the HoA were focused on creating economic and political integration among HoA countries through infrastructure developments and its efforts in the peace and security situation of the region. Accordingly, Ethiopia has been playing a great role for infrastructure connectivity of HoA countries by the Nairobi- Addis highway corridor road, the LAPSSET project with South Sudan, the road link with Djibouti and Sudan, the standard-gauge railway link with Djibouti the huge electric power dams building and exports Djibouti Sudan and its deal with Somaliland, Kenya, Tanzania, and South Sudan the extensive link and the lion share of pan African network of Ethiopian air lines and were the great success that accomplished.

In addition, in working towards sustaining peace and stability in the HoA Ethiopia also solve its long hostile relationship with Eritria , its role in recurring Somalia's instability and fighting terrorism, its mediatory role in the South Sudan conflict and its engagement in the international and regional organization like AU, IGAD, UN and its outstanding contribution in the peacekeeping mission in the Sudan Darfur, Somalia and South Sudan Abyei region were evidenced Ethiopia's great contribution in the peacebuilding of HoA.

However, it was also found that Ethiopia's bilateral and multi lateral contribution to peace building in the HoA were highly emphasized on economic relation, infrastructural developments ,mediation and peace keeping missions and giving less emphasis in exerting its potential to social and political peacebuilding, in creating enabling environment for people to people connection, free movement of people in the region, strengthening the security dynamics through creating strong, supportive and common military power vital for building peace in the region.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

Ethiopia's existing foreign relation is based on the 2002 foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy. The policy was developed to attain the three fundamental goals of development and the building of a democratic system, national pride and prestige, and globalization. The notion of development and building a democratic system were centered on addressing poverty, ignorance and backwardness as well as creating a democratic system with the practice of good governance, respect of human right and tolerance among various nations, nationalities and religious division of the country. Likewise, the goal of attaining national pride and prestige was aimed at eradicating poverty and overcoming the national humiliation through enhancing development and democracy. Besides, the policy dimension on globalization gave emphasis in ensuring the protection of national interest and security under the framework of globalization in regional and global context.

In order to achieve development and democracy, the FANSPS was realized ensuring international conditions conducive to economic diplomacy. Based on these, the major objectives were centered on identifying market, attract investment, seek grants, loans and technical support and take the lessons from the negative effects of globalization .In addition, the policy was aimed at resisting external threats to the national security of the country by forecasting potential threats and addressing them through dialogue and negotiation, widen the number of foreign partners, secure allies and eliminating or at least reducing external security threats.

Institutionally, the anchor power to implement the FANSPS was given to Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign affairs. The MoFA has also the responsibility to work in collaboration with other ministerial organs of the FDRE government. Internally the ministry of defense, national intelligence and security service and all other ministerial bodies had the responsibility to collaborate and work together with the MoFA. Externally, the MoFA works with the respective Embassies and consulate offices of HoA countries and other regional and global countries that have a diplomatic relationship with Ethiopia.

The power and duties of the MoFA and other line ministries were emanated from the FDRE constitution, the FANSPS document and the subsequent proclamation no. 790/2013 and 916/2015. Similarly, the MoFA and its relation with the respective neighboring countries were guided by MoU and cooperation agreements signed between countries. Hence, there are six Embassies in HoA countries representing Ethiopia. These are located in Djibouti, Nairobi, Juba, Khartoum, Asmara, and Moquadis and three consulate offices in Gedarif, Sudan; Somaliland and Puntland, Somalia.

Ethiopia has well-structured legal framework that clearly stipulates the type of foreign policy, its basic principles, the responsible organs for the implementation of the policy and basic foreign service activities and their structural framework. In addition, there are also various MoU and cooperation agreements signed between Ethiopia and HoA in the issues of social, economic and political cooperation.

However, there are also limitations observed in the legal, policy framework and institutional set up of Ethiopia's foreign relation. The collaboration among the line ministries lacks proper mutual understanding agreements that elaborate and incorporate the roles and responsibilities of each line ministries to work towards and the mechanisms to evaluate the effectiveness of these ministerial bodies to ensure the mutual objectives of addressing the national interest of Ethiopia. As a result, it creates huge burden to the MoFA in identifying all sectors and engaging with HoA which ultimately, creates a gap in addressing all related social, economic and political situation.

Since other ministerial organ of the FDRE government organized with their own specialized human resources and professionals like for example the ministry of education has a better capacity in educational matters than the MoFA, hence, rather than expecting the proposal from the MoFA, it would have been better that each line ministries to propose how to develop the social, economic and political bondages with their specific area of professionalism.

To enhance Ethiopia's contribution to peace-building in the HoA, the professionalism and qualified personal capacity support of each ministerial organ is very essential. Therefore, cooperation agreements, contracts or memorandum of understandings are vital

where the MoFA and other line ministries lack to have. In addition, it is also important for the proper implementations of the MoU and cooperation agreements that were signed between Ethiopia and HoA countries.

Ethiopia's FANSPS notion of giving prime focus for development and democracy with the goal of eradicating poverty, backwardness and ignorance, building democracy and good governance was very essential and significant for a developing country like Ethiopia. Since Ethiopia is a landlocked country bordering the six countries in the region, its specific policy direction and giving special attention for neighboring countries is also important in protecting and securing its national interest.

The context specific policy direction of the FANSPS on conflict prevention in relation to Eretria contributes to bring peace and democracy; and defending terrorism in Somalia; establishment of economic ties and trade links with Sudan and Djibouti. Linking of basic infrastructure and people- to people connection with Kenya have also a weak side in incorporating comprehensive approach in building the social, economic and political aspects of each country in the Horn. It shows that the policy lacks standardized approach towards establishing and implementing concrete peace building relationships through enhancing social, economic, and political dimensions to the respective neighboring countries in the region. It should have been done simultaneously and inclusively. This context specific approach creates the opportunity to drag Ethiopia's peacebuilding role, in the region.

Constraining factors that hinder Ethiopia's peacebuilding role that are related with limited economic capacity, internal political instability, neighboring countries conflict, extra neighboring and international politics have adversary effect on Ethiopia's contribution towards peace- building in the HoA. Its limited economic capacity shadowed its image building, hinders its capacity in extending embassies and consulate offices and in strengthening the soft power related with creating positive attraction to the outside world. Hence, it is creating a shadow on Ethiopia's peace- building role and spoils its image with the international community. It has also an influence in building soft power and playing prominent role in the region.

Similarly, the internal political instability generated as a result of the newly emerging challenges related with ethnic tension and clashes; reintegration of armed militias; electoral reforms and lack of trust in the security service have been creating serious challenges to the Ethiopia's peacebuilding role. Without addressing the internal problems and instabilities, it is not possible to work towards building peace and good relation in HoA, first. It has a direct effect on the credibility of Ethiopia specifically in relation to HoA countries and the international community at large. In addition to losing credibility these problems are far reaching and needs quick measures in stabilizing the situation otherwise it will lead to disorder and conflict.

Correspondingly, neighboring countries conflict related with the internal instability of South Sudan, Somalia and the Ethio-Eriteria spoiled relationship have still take a great stake in dragging Ethiopia's role in peacebuilding in the HoA. Following the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eretria there is a good start in building good relationship between the two countries, however; still the relationship is not stabile and has not reached the proper level of diplomacy. Therefore, if it is not handled properly, there is no guaranty for the sustainability of the rapprochement. Absence of sustainable peace in the South Sudan and Somalia also encumber Ethiopia's peacebuilding role since it is difficult to build social, economic and political relationship and bondage with the existence of conflict and turbulence in the internal politics of each HoA countries.

Limitation in implementing bilateral agreements has also its own negative side in Ethiopia's peace- building role in the HoA. Even though, various MoU and cooperation agreements on social, economic and political dimension had signed between Ethiopia and neighboring countries their implementation on the ground has lagged behind as a result of the internal policy orientation of the countries. These MoU and cooperation agreements are a base for building good relationship, creating opportunities and enhancing Ethiopia's role in the region.

Developing strong people to people connections in the border area is difficult without taking in to force and proper evaluation and assessment of those MoU and cooperation agreements. In addition, Ethiopia's peacekeeping troops in the missions of Somalia and Sudan have been working with great effort not only to settle the situation peacefully but

also in creating the bondage of social interaction and support. However, as a result of funding issue, Ethiopia is still obliged to contribute by its own effort. Therefore, it is also hindering Ethiopia's effort in trying to build peace in the region.

Furthermore, the presence of global powers in the HoA and its effect on the relationship among HoA countries is another constraining factors related with extra neighboring and international politics. It has also constrained Ethiopia's peacebuilding role by creating difference among the countries in the region. Thus, appropriate mechanisms needs to be established to find solution in averting these constraining factors that hinder Ethiopia's peacebuilding role.

Ethiopia's bilateral and multilateral efforts and its diplomatic roles in developing connectivity through infrastructural developments of such as roads, railways and strengthening economic ties; resolving tensions in Somalia and help for the establishment of Somalia National government; its efforts to find the lasting peace solutions to the conflict between Sudan and South Sudan and its efforts to solve the crisis in South Sudan Abyei region; its commitment and contribution to the peacekeeping missions in Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan shows Ethiopia's great contribution to the regional peace and stability.

In addition, Ethiopia's recent development of solving the long lasted hostile relation with Eritria and its efforts in creating an opportunity and positive developments for the maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia makes Ethiopia great player in peacebuilding .This great contribution and role of Ethiopia highly emphasizes on economic relation, infrastructural developments, mediation and peace keeping missions. However, it lacks inclusiveness in building comprehensive relationships in social, economic, political as well as military perspectives.

With Ethiopia's potential capacity, its contribution towards peacebuilding needs to be done in an extensive manner incorporating the social, economic and political link of strengthening People to people connection, creating free movement of citizens and strong political bondage including building common military army of the region.

Notwithstanding the constraints and Ethiopia's restricted peacebuilding effort, there are still positive outcomes in the regional integration of HoA which is verified by the Ethio-Djibouti and Ethio- Sudan relations as an exemplary and other ongoing infrastructure development, social, economic and political interactions of the countries. This clearly shows how good relationship and peacebuilding is an input for regional integration. Thus, one of the requirements for the strengthening of the regional integration in the HoA is peacebuilding where the social, economic and political interaction and relations of countries can increase and then the achievement of regional integration can be visible and attainable. Hence, considering Ethiopia uses its full power and potential in building peace in the region and it clearly shows the attainment of regional integration will come to reality.

Ensuring peaceful and smooth regional relationship among HoA countries is a base for regional integration which benefits most of all through social, economic and political aspects. This was characterized by the relationship developed between Ethiopia and Djibouti where more than 95% of Ethiopia international trade links are entertained.

The foundation of regional integration is first the peace and stability of the region where it starts from a single country perspective then continues to the relationship between the two countries and the rest. The concept inclusivity and its relation with peace and regional integration expressed in the 8<sup>th</sup> Tana High level forum discussion that the major challenges for HoA countries related with the lack of inclusivity in the socio- political opportunities where working towards improving access to socio-economic opportunities and promoting dialogue between and among different actors and constituencies has the positive outcomes of minimizing the tensions in the HoA(Tana High-level forum security in Africa, 2019). Therefore, in spite of the limited relationship between Ethiopia and its neighbors, it can be understood that if the relationship building is more inclusive and practical in each country social, economic, political as well as military level and among countries of the region, then, the regional integration will be stronger and effective.

In order to restore peace, the security dimension which is related to the military perspective of relationship building and Ethiopia's role in the peacekeeping missions and its bilateral military and boarder security needs to be more strengthened through time in a

way of creating strong military relationship to the extent of deploying troops in each country with a bonded manner and creating common military and security base in the region. Without strengthening the security aspect, it is difficult to achieve the regional integration because, if there is no secured environment in the borders, it is difficult for trade, investment etc. So to create free and fair movements of people in the region, securing air spaces, roads and secured environment is very important.

With the conception “Peace, security and regional integration inextricably linked” that the progress in economic and regional integrations leads to develop a peaceful and stable region (Tana High-level forum 2019 , Key takeaway messages, bullet no. 11). Hence To ensure strong regional integration, the implication of peace-building via social, economic and political dimension takes the lion’s share in the region. Without attaining sustainable peace and security in the region, it is very hypothetical to achieve fair and equitable resources sharing among citizens which, in turn, leads to conflicts and instability whereby regional integration faces critical problem. This finally put the HoA to be very fragile and non-favorable for trade and investment to reduce the youth unemployment rates as example to the region.

In conclusion, it is evidenced that with all existing gaps in the legal, policy framework and institutional set up and with the existence of major internal and external constraining factors; the contribution of Ethiopia in peacebuilding in the HoA was progressing forward. This shows that Ethiopia has great potential to build peace in the region with an integrated and cooperated manner. Hence, it is not hard to imagine successful regional integration in the HoA, if Ethiopia exerts its full effort in contribution to peacebuilding not only from the economic ties, infrastructural developments, mediation or peacekeeping mission rather with the inclusion of all the social, economic and political perspectives.

### **5.3. Major Implications/Way Forwards**

In order to uphold Ethiopia's contribution in peacebuilding in the HoA and to create strong economic and political integration in the region, the following policy implications need to be considered.

- Ethiopia should work towards stabilizing its internal political situations through strengthening the building of the existing democratic government which is ruled by law; inclusive development not only economic growth, but also incorporates human development aspects like housing, education, health etc.
- There is a need to broadening with HoA traditional states on the bilateral relationship of engaging in cooperation agreements and memorandum of understandings to tripartite and multilateral one.
- The policy revision should incorporate comprehensive policy direction on social, economic and political peacebuilding dimensions to all HoA countries and consider the geo political dynamics of HoA and its effects on Ethiopia's peace building role in the region
- Ethiopia should strengthen its collaboration with other ministerial organs by establishing binding legal framework agreements, contracts or it may be memorandum of understandings.
- The MoFA needs to establish a more standardized and mechanized system to update itself through situational reports and analysis focused in the social, economic and political affairs of the respective HoA countries
- Ethiopia should work hard in broadening its diplomatic efforts in avoiding hostility and proxy war and develop friendly and brotherhood relationship among HoA countries
- Ethiopia should take the leading and initiative roles in paving the way for building common policies and objectives with in HoA countries and revitalization of IGAD.
- Ethiopia should coordinate the HoA countries to have similar objectives for ensuring social, economic, and political integration through sustainable peacebuilding in the region instead of exerting efforts unilaterally.
- It is also timely that all the HoA countries need to stop supporting rebel groups for destabilizing one over the other which consequently impacts the region.
- It is worthwhile to strengthen the initiatives for social, economic and political integration via peacebuilding in the region.

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## Annex 1

### List of key informants

No	Name	Position	Date & Place of interview
1	Ambassador James Pita Morgan	South Sudan Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ethiopia & Djibouti (2019)	26 Feb 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia
2	FekadeTerefeYenieneh (PhD)	Assistant professor and Chair Department of political Sciences and international relations, Addis Ababa University	10 April 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia
3	General HabtamuTilahuHesbeto	General Director, Ethiopian International Peace Keeping Training Center, (2019)	28 Feb 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia
4	Alemu Ayele	Ethiopian foreign Affairs, Neighboring Countries South Sudan Desk Minister Councilor II	18 Feb 2019 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
5	Hailu Tefera	Minister Councilor II, Neighboring Countries Djibouti Desk to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs (2019)	22 Feb 2019 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
6	Ojitei Oso	Minister Councilor II, Neighboring Countries Eritrea Desk to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs (2019)	27 Feb 2019 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
7	Yibeltal Aemero	Director General For Neighboring Countries & IGAD Affairs to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs	24 April 2019 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
8	Mr. Zinurine Abiodu Alghali	Africa Union Commission, Peace and Security Department Policy Development Unit, Peace Support Operations Division, (2019)	26 February 2019 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
9	Lemelem Fiseha Minale	Director General for International legal Affairs to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs	27 May 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia

## **Annex 2**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS**

#### **I. Introduction**

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today.

My Name is Fikerte Ajebew, a student of the graduate school of Institute for Peace and security studies at AAU. I am now doing my Master's thesis on the title "The role of Ethiopia in peace building in the Horn of Africa; Implications for regional integration". The purpose of this research is that to examine Ethiopia's peacebuilding role in the HOA, and analyze its implication for regional integration. You are purposely selected because of your experience and expertise knowledge in the study area.

#### **II) Interview guide questions for MoFA and EIPKTC (officials and experts)**

- How do you describe the current legal and policy framework of Ethiopia towards foreign relation? Please explain in detail
- How do you describe the institutional set up of Ethiopia's foreign relation?
- Who are the internal stakeholders and organizations working with the MoFA?
- How do you collaborate and work together with internal stakeholders and organizations? Is there any legal framework, contracts, agreements or mechanisms?
- How do you work with the respective Embassies and consulate offices of HoA countries? Is there any legal framework, contracts, agreements or mechanisms?
- How do you ensure the effectiveness and implementation of Ethiopia's FANSPS in the HoA countries?
- Are there any government bodies or organ that checks the implementation and effectiveness of the policy and evaluate the ministry?
- What major roles has Ethiopia played in stabilizing and peace-building in HOA?
- How Ethiopia's foreign relations go through with HOA countries?
- What do you say about Ethiopia's peace keeping role in Somalia (AMISOM, individually), Sudan (Darfur), and South Sudan (Abyei) in the HOA?
- Given Ethiopia's strategically important position in the HOA, do you believe that Ethiopia plays the role expected from it? Please explain

- Are there any constraining factors that affect Ethiopia's role in its peace building effort of the region?
- What are the possible implications of Ethiopia's peace building role for regional integration? Please describe it from social, economic, political and military perspectives
- What is your recommendation for future prospects?

**III) Interview guide questions for AU peace and Security department and embassy of the republic of South Sudan (officials and expertise)**

- What is your observation to the role of Ethiopia in the peace building of HOA?
- What major role has Ethiopia Played in stabilizing and building peace in the HOA?
- What major strength, weakness, opportunities and threats do you observe in relation to Ethiopia's peace building role in the HOA?
- Are there any constraining factors that affect Ethiopia's role in its peace building effort of the region?
- What are the possible implications of Ethiopia's peace-building role for regional integration? Please describe it from social, economic, political and military perspectives
- What is your recommendation for future prospects?

**IV) Interview Guide questions for Academicians**

- What are the major strengths and relative weaknesses that Ethiopia has on foreign policy on HOA? From the legal framework, policy framework and institutional setup
- What is your observation to the role of Ethiopia in the peace building of HOA?
- Given Ethiopia's strategically important position in the HOA, do you believe that Ethiopia plays the role expected from it? Please explain
- Are there any constraining factors that affect Ethiopia's role in its peace building effort of the region?

- What are the possible implications of Ethiopia's peace building role for regional integration? Please describe it from social, economic, political and military perspectives
- What is your recommendation for future prospects for sustainable peace, stability and integration



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### **Declaration**

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

**Fikerte Ajebew**

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

This thesis is submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor of the candidate

Kidane Kiros (PhD)

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_