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**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
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**US-HORN OF AFRICA RELATIONS: IMPLICATIONS TO
ETHIOPIA'S NATIONAL INTEREST(POST 2018)**

BY:

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JUNE, 2023

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

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**BY
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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY**

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DECLARATION

I have hereby stated that this thesis entitled “US-Horn of Africa Relations: Implications to Ethiopia’s National Interest(Post 2018)” comprises my own original work, has never been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Lami Tamene, entitled “US-Horn of Africa Relations: Implications to Ethiopia’s National Interest (Post 2018)” submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Art in International Relations and Diplomacy, has undergone the due process of examination and accepted as meeting the essential standards of the University pertaining to quality and originality.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

AFRICOM.....	Africa Command
AMISOM.....	African Union Mission in Somalia
ANDM.....	Amhara National Democratic Movement
ATA.....	Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program
AU.....	Africa Union
BBC.....	British Broadcasting Corporation
CJTF-HOA.....	Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa
DoP.....	Declaration of Principles
EACTI.....	East Africa Counter- Terrorism Initiative
ENDF.....	Ethiopian national defense force
EPRDF.....	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
EFFORT.....	Endowment Fund for the Rehabilitation of Tigray
EU.....	European Union
FDI.....	Foreign Direct Investment
GERD.....	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
HoA.....	Horn of Africa
ICU.....	Islamic Court Union
IFA.....	Institute of Foreign Affairs
IGAD.....	Governmental Authority on Development
IPSS.....	Institute of Peace and Security Studies
IPoEs.....	International Panel of experts
IR.....	International Relations
Military Base.....	MB
METEC.....	Metals and Engineering Corporation
NATO.....	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
National Interest.....	NI
OPDO.....	Oromo People Democratic Organization
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SNA.....	Somali National Army
TPLF.....	Tigray People Liberation Front
UN.....	United Nations

USA.....United State of America
UAE.....United Arab Emirates
UNSC.....United Nations Security Council
USAFRICOM.....U.S. Africa Command
USAID.....United States Agency for International Developments
USD.....United States Dollar

ABSTRACT

The Horn of Africa is one of the strategic places in the world as its geographical location attracts various actors for the purpose of their own national interests. The US is among those actors to protect its national and allies' _ interests. This study has attempted to analyse the US-Horn of African Countries relation and its implications to Ethiopia's national interest from 2018 to present. The study has employed qualitative approach because of the nature of the study along with primary and secondary sources of data. Depending on the qualitative investigations of texts, semi-structured and open ended interviews, the study has identified and analyzed implications of the US-Horn of African Countries relations to Ethiopia's national interests. From the opportunity perspective, the study revealed that the US has played role directly or indirectly to Ethiopia's economic interest through protecting trade routes and maritime in the region. The study also affirmed that the relation has played role to Ethiopia's peace, military and political security through preventing interstate war, counter-terrorism operations ,military training and intelligence. On the other side ,the study disclosed that the relations have negative implications to Ethiopia's economic interest. Even though Ethiopia and the US had signed agreement (from 2019 to 2024) that US has to provide about 2 billion US Dollar to Ethiopia for economic purposes,the deal has not properly accomplished due to US's complaint about the war between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government. In addition, the relation has resulted in the AGOA termination (on January 01, 2022) that brought a number of economic problems for Ethiopia and have negatively impacted in relation with GERD which is high national economic interest and pride for Ethiopia. Furthermore, the study confirmed that the relations has negative implications to Ethiopia's peace, political and military security_(undermining the national integrity and sovereignty) and the researcher realized that even if the US-Horn of African countries (Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti) relations have both negative and positive implications to Ethiopia's national interest,the negative implications outweigh the positive implications(from 2018 to present). Finally,based on the findings, the paper suggests that Ethiopia needs to work more on its internal assignments; needs to have the flexible, responsive and proactive policy options to the Horn region and super powers which are increasingly present in the region;in order to resume AGOA and to release the halted aids, Ethiopia may have to re-engage more with the US and properly implement the peace process started with TPLF; Ethiopia has to apply skilful and principle based diplomatic relations with super powers, and need to apply African solution to African Problems through IGAD and AU like conflict resolution being held between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the topic of the study. It presents background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, and research questions, significance of the study, research methodology, scope, limitations, ethical considerations and organizations of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

States practice international relations to cooperate with one another, pool resources, and share information including contemporary global issues such as pandemics, terrorism, and the environment (Baylis and Smith, 2020, p. 228). As there are no states or non-state actors which are self-sufficient and capable of existing independently from other states or non-state actors, their interaction is must so that they will fulfil their national interest (Sayid, 2010, p. 159). States establish and cooperate one another bilaterally and/or multilaterally regardless of geographic location (westerns with middle East, Horn of Africa, far East and others).

The important question is that why states are in relations? Obviously, to fulfil and defend their national interest. According to Gove (1976) national interest is: the interest of a nation in general which cannot be compromised by any group's interest, and it is the interest which gives the bases for the formulation of the foreign policy of a state. In addition to the above, interests can be shared among nation states implying that is general interest which is common goal. For instance, US-Horn of African countries have common interests such as insuring peace and security through counter terrorism in the horn for their national interest (Mathiasen, 2022).

Like other parts of the world, regional and international actors have concrete relations with Horn of African countries¹ as the horn is an epicenter security and economic interest of the international actors (Mesfin, 2019). US is among the super powers² that has relations with the horn countries to protect its national and allies interest (Watts and Biegon, 2021). As Sun and Zoubir (2016, P. 115) tried to explain the motivations behind US's presence in Horn of Africa is geopolitical and geo-economic calculations. In addition to that, Frederick *et al.*,

¹ Horn of African Countries: Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya

² Major powers: US, China, Russia, EU and others

(2018) affirmed that the military presence of the US and China in the region can help to respond to crises and to reduce the risk of interstate conflict in Horn of Africa.

US-Horn of Africa countries relations dates back to centuries. For instance, the US-Ethiopia realation began in 1903 when it was initiated by William H. Ellis, and Robert P. Skinner, the U.S. envoy. US and Ethiopia had signed the treaty so called Treaty of Amity and Commerce, under Emperor Menelik and President Theodore Roosevelt (Getachew, 2009,p.14). By the end of the Cold War, US became the military hegemony in world and used to realize its national interest with the flag of of human rights protection (Choi, 2013).

The relation between the two countries was enhanced during U.S's interest alteration from trade to Cold War geopolitics, which resulted in the foundation and operation of the Kagnew Station in Eritrea in half of twentieth century (Fawcett, 2012). In return to this, Haile Selassie, used the relationship to secure access to Eritrea and these connections were in many ways similar to patron-client relations (Lyons, 1986). During Derg, the relationship between Ethiopia and US was failed, but became smooth with Ethiopian Peoples Republic Democratic Front which came in position in May 1991 (Getachew, 2009, p.14).

But since 2018 (after Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy was selected to lead Ethiopia) the Ethio-US relationship has been degrading due to different reasons. For example, during Trump administration, US was involved in the negotiation process of the GERD (between Egypt and Ethiopia) that US's peace proposal named 'the Trump deal' ended with the complicated water diplomacy between the two parties, even calling Egypt to 'blow up' Ethiopia's dam (Yimer and Subaşı, 2021). In addition, on 3 November 2020 night there was attack by Tigray Peoples Liberation Front forces on the Ethiopian national Defense Force (ENDF) which TPLF leadership called the attack preemptive³. The law enforcement by Ethiopian government has invited diplomatic pressure from the Western countries, especially US, under the guise of humanitarian aid to prevent famine, and demand a halt to all hostilities (including removing Eritrean troops from the region) (Gavin, 2021; Abbink, 2021a). After a while, US, Biden administration has planned to target Ethiopian and Eritrean officials with visa restrictions that represent a potential turning point in U.S.-Ethiopian relations⁴.

To have conducive environment for its holistic system, US uses its bases and dominate strategically important areas of the world including Horn of Africa (Vine, 2015). With this it

³ <https://www.africanews.com/2020/11/27/themidnight-attack-on-an-army-camp-that-plunged-ethiopia-into-war/>

⁴ Biden Administration Plans Visa Restrictions on Ethiopian Officials

has military base in Djibouti which pronounced after 9/11 and established Combined Joint Task Force–Horn of Africa in late 2002 to chase “war on terror” goals (Melvin, 2019). The establishment of these military bases of US and other major powers has a great implication to Ethiopia’s economic (Ethiopia is landlocked and depends on Djibouti’s port to access international markets), peace and security interest(Solomon, 2016; Bruton, 2018; Istratii, 2021).

US and Somalia relations dates back to 1960 with the US recognition of Somalia’s Independence on July 1, 1960. As the Soviet Union had close relations with both the Somalia’s government (Siad Barre) and Ethiopia's government (communist Dergue), they were forced to choose one side to commit and Somalia tilted to the United States in favour of Somalia's strategic position at the mouth of the Bab el Mandeb gateway to the Red Sea and the Suez Canal(Oliver and Tom,1999). Being the shelter for Al-Shabaab and other terrorist(for instances al-Qaeda) Somalia was/is under the camera surveillance of US (Maruf & Joseph, 2018).

In 2006, the ICU which was an ally to the Shari’s courts was founded and began to struggle for power with the then Somalia’s government (SU, 2016; CFR, 2019). Throughout US-Somalia relations, there was withdrawal and redeployment of military forces by US in Somalia at different times though the terrorist groups expand and pose various attacks in the country, and may negatively affect Ethiopian national interest(Amin, 2018; Chigudu, 2021; Pamba,2021)

1.2 Problem Statement

These days, there are various powers in the Horn of Africa. One of these powers is the US which has been in the region for different reasons (Sung and Zoubir, 2016). For Horn of Africa countries, especially for Ethiopia the year 2018 came with special events such as political liberalization that impacted both the domestic and external policies of Ethiopia and alterations in the Horn of Africa (Woldemariam, 2019; Andemariam, 2020).

In addition, events such as war between TPLF armed forces and the federal government of Ethiopia (from November 2020 to late 2022); the Ethio-Eritrea rapprochement and Chinese inspiration in Ethiopia were/are not unacceptable to the western countries, specially to US (Cardoso, 2020). In addition to Ethiopia, these days, US policy has been changing to Somalia and Djibouti in relation to countering terrorism and consolidating military activities.

It is claimed that the present US and (Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations has positive implications for Ethiopia's national interest, while others argued it has negative implications. For positive impact claimers, the intention of US in the horn is to remove the security burdens, and to facilitate development activities for the governments of the region (Frederick *et al.*, 2018). From security perspective, the presence of the US in the region enhances a stabilizing factor in the region as well as enhance Ethiopia's national security through counter-terrorism, military intelligence operations and intelligence sharing initiatives (Mangistu, 2020). In addition, Pichon and Pietsch (2019) stated that maritime piracy and illegal fishing are threat to economies of the all (including Ethiopia's economy), hence US's presence in the horn saves Ethiopia directly or indirectly from such threats. Furthermore, Mangistu (2020) claimed that the presence of US's military base in the horn can create the secured environment and attract foreign direct investment which can lead to Ethiopia's economic development.

Contrary to the above claims, other scholars believe that the US-Horn of African relations' can negatively affect Ethiopia's national interest. The presence of military bases in the neighbour countries (in Djibouti) can undermine security of Ethiopia. For instance, During 2001, US's military bases in Saudi and Kuwaiti had facilitated removal of the regime in Afghanistan and the Iraq (Chaziza, 2018; Mangistu, 2020). Now days, US lacks a clear and coherent policy for the Horn of Africa. It focuses on individual countries' agenda rather than adopting a comprehensive regional strategy and even not pro-active to the problems of the horn. The scholar also added that the enforcement of AGOA violations has been selective and

inconsistent, which may affect Ethiopia and disrupt countless livelihoods in Djibouti and Somaliland⁵. The other scholar, Shinn(2018)⁶ also explained as, “US during the Trump administration has so far paid minimal attention to Africa” and “US’s influence in Ethiopia has diminished in recent years”.

In addition to security risks, the current US-Horn of Africa relations also can bring economic risks to Ethiopia. “If in Djibouti the economic and political problems were to worsen, the use of the port may be hampered by instability. It may open the door for other forces to prevent Ethiopia's use of the port by imposing their will on Djibouti”⁷ (FDRE, 2002:56). On top of that the contemporary US relations with horn can negatively affect the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD). Furthermore, US was intervening in Ethiopia’s internal affairs under the guise of humanitarian aid during the war between Tigray Peoples Liberation Front and the Ethiopian federal government(Gavin, 2021; Abbink, 2021a).

Moreover, US has made some changes to Ethiopian neighbour, Somalia regarding countering terrorism during Trump administration (with his foreign policy of ‘America First’) which later on evolved in withdrawing and redeploying military forces during Trump and Biden administrations. This US’s action can negatively affect Ethiopia’s national interest as it paves ways for terrorist’s newest strategy of posing threat(Chigudu, 2021; Pamba,2021).

To the best of my knowledge, the literature written on the current US-Horn of Africa relations and their implications to Ethiopia’s national interest have fragmented view and there are few interesting literatures that are not well enough to construct the full image of the issue. Therefore, this study is intended to contribute in identifying and presenting the US-Horn of Africa relations and its implications to Ethiopia’s national interest, particularly from 2018 to present.

1.3. Central Argument

The central argument of this study is that the US-Horn of Africa relations(post 2018) has negatively impacted Ethiopia’s national interest.

⁵ Gabriel N.(2022). The US Risks Losing Its Influence in the Horn of Africa. Here’s How to Get It Back. *Atlantic Council, January, 11*.

⁶ Shinn, D. H. (2018). US-Ethiopia Relations from Roosevelt to Trump. *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 12(2), 61-80.

⁷ The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy of 2002

1.4. Objective of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The overall objective of the study is to analyze the implications of the US-Horn of Africa relations(from 2018 to present) to Ethiopia's national interest.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are:

- To assess the main features of US-Horn of Africa relations.
- To examine the implications of the US-Horn of Africa relations(from 2018 to present) to Ethiopia's national interest.
- To analyse the perspectives in relation to US-Horn of Africa relations.

1.5 Research Question

1.5.1. Core Research Question

What are the implications of the US-Horn of Africa relations(from 2018 to present) to Ethiopia's national interest?

1.5.2. Specific Research Questions

The specific research questions are as follow:

- What are the main features of US-Horn of Africa relations?
- How does the US-Horn of Africa relations(from 2018 to present) affect Ethiopia's national interest?
- What are the perspectives of US-Horn of Africa relations?

1.6 Research Methodology: The Methodology Chosen, Sources of Data and Instruments of Data Collection

From methodological perspectives, the study had employed qualitative approach because of the nature of the study, which requires deeper explanation and analysis of views and opinions (Abdi and Belay, 2015). In this study, primary and secondary sources of data had been used. The secondary sources of data were collected from related review literature such as books, journal articles, governmental and non-governmental institutions' reports, and media outlets. The primary data were collected from the key informants of Ethiopian government institutions: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Institute of Foreign Affairs, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Industry) and key informants of

Embassies in Ethiopia namely, Somalia Embassy and Djibouti Embassy through key Informant Interviews(in –depth interviews) to generate more valid and reliable data.

Semi-structured and open ended interviews were used as primary data collection instruments as they are accommodative and helpful for both the researcher and the interviewees to have more space and to generate additional data on the issue under consideration. The study used a qualitative way of data analysis. Document analysis was also used to supplement the data collected from primary sources as it enables the researcher to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge. The key informants (government officials, embassy representatives and senior researchers) were purposely selected based on the necessary knowledge and experiences they have on the issue at hand.

1.7 Scope

The study covered US-Horn of Africa relations and its implications to Ethiopia's national interest specifically Economy, Politics, Peace and Security from 2018 to the present. In this study, from Horn of African countries only Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti were used as focal countries.

1.8 Significance of the Study

This study may contribute for Ethiopian policy makers to take necessary measures in order to utilize the opportunities and minimize challenges of US-Horn of Africa relations (Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti), especially on issues related to economy, politics, and peace and security from 2018 to present. In addition to the above, it may help as input for other researchers for further investigations on the issues under considerations.

Furthermore, since the issues conducted in this study are contemporary and on-going, it would fill the existing gap in the area and serves as a reference for those who aspire to conduct a study on the area.

1.9 Limitations

There were limitations that researcher encountered while conducting this thesis. From the beginning, it was planned to collect primary data from key informants of Ethiopian government institutions such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Institute of Foreign Affairs, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Industry, and key informants of the Embassies in Ethiopia namely, Somalia Embassy and Djibouti Embassy through key Informant Interviews (in –depth interviews) to generate more valid and reliable data. Even if the researcher had tried many times to make interview with

representatives of the embassies, they were not cooperative and informal interviews were used to collect data. In order to overcome these challenges, the researcher had used different tactics such as interviewing each and every department of Ethiopian government institutions such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Institute of Foreign Affairs, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Industry as well as collecting personal views of senior researchers of the institutions. In addition, informal interviews were conducted by researcher in order to get views of some representatives of the embassies listed above on the topic under consideration. Furthermore, extensive secondary data from related literatures, and documents of relevant institutions were used to realize the overall objectives of the study.

1.10 Ethical consideration

The participation of respondents in this study was solely on informed consent. Before starting the interview, the researcher had introduced himself, and he had given sufficient clarifications on the purpose and objectives of the study. Besides, the respondents consent on whether to use their name and positions as a source or not to use was asked and agreed up on and with this some respondents preferred to remain anonymous(both their names and positions) and the researcher guaranteed their privacy.

1.11 Organization of the Study

The study comprises six chapters. Chapter one presents the introductory part that includes background of the study, problem statement, central argument, objective of the study, core research question and specific research questions), research methodology and others.

Chapter two covers main topics such as conceptual and theoretical frameworks, and related literature review. The first section of this chapter discusses about conceptual frameworks (definitions of concepts of international relations and national interests), the second part elaborates the theoretical frameworks, and the last section presents some literature review related to the study under consideration.

The third chapter deals with two broad topics namely: the historical backgrounds of US-HoA relations and the main features of its relations. The first topic includes and discusses about the historical backgrounds of US-Ethiopia Relations, US-Djibouti Relations and US-Somalia Relations. The second topic presents about the main features of US-HoA relations including Political, Military, Peace and Security Relations and US-Horn of Africa Economic Relations

with elaborations of US-Ethiopia Economic Relations, Djibouti Economic and US- Somalia Economic Relations.

Chapter four presents about the issues of US-Horn of Africa Relations starting with how US want to engage in Africa in the coming decades, current issues in the Horn of Africa particularly from 2018 to present and US responses, and factors those contributed to the US-Horn of Africa relations, especially to Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti. Also, this chapter discusses US-Horn of Africa relations' implications (positive or negative implications) to Ethiopia's National Interest (political interest, economic interest, peace and security interest).

Fifth chapter presents implications and perspectives of US-Horn of Africa relations on Ethiopia's national interest and chapter six provides conclusion and recommendations for the study, while the references and annexes are listed at the end of the paper.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

This chapter presents conceptual and theoretical frameworks and related literature review. The first section of this chapter discusses about conceptual frameworks (definitions of concepts of international relations and national interests), the second part elaborates the theoretical frameworks, and the last section presents some literature review related to the study under consideration.

2.1. Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 Definitions of Concepts

In this section, the researcher is going to briefly explain international relations and national interest from various perspectives.

2.1.1.1 International Relations

We live in the world where the international system is changing which forces state or non-state actors to depend on one another. As a result, it is better to deal with International Relations, which deals cross-border interactions between state and non-state actors (Folarin, 2012,P.2). It is somewhat hard to get the general definition of IR, as various scholars define it in different ways. Despite, the literal meaning of 'international' is beyond state and relations between nations, its relations among sovereign states are influenced by international governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations such as IGAD, AU, UN,USAID, Amnesty International, Human rights and others.

According to Keck and Sikkink (1998) IR is an academic discipline which is primarily concerned with what states do and how their actions affect other states. But the definition given for IR by Molloy(2006) is more different from Keck and Sikkink (1998) that adds international and transnational governmental and non-governmental organizations to IR. In the same way, Brown and Ainley (2003) stated that international relations is inclusive relations among states, institutions/organizations, and societies. Other scholars define IR as the relations of states that can be achieved through diplomacy(Chris and Ainley, 2005). In addition to the above, other writers explain IR as it is concerned with world-wide political, economic and social interactions of states⁸. To the wide-range sense, as explained by the scholars Schielder and Spindler (2014, p. 17) IR includes all cross-border interactions

⁸ <https://internationalrelations.sfsu.edu/what-international-relations>

between state and non-state actors that result in relevant value allocations in the spheres of political, economic and the social affairs. Bearing in mind all the above descriptions in attempting to conceptualize IR, the researcher understood IR as defined by Schielder and Spindler (2014, p. 17) which is going to be used for this particular study. From the explanations above, the conceptual framework of the contemporary US-HoA relations is presented diagrammatically as below.

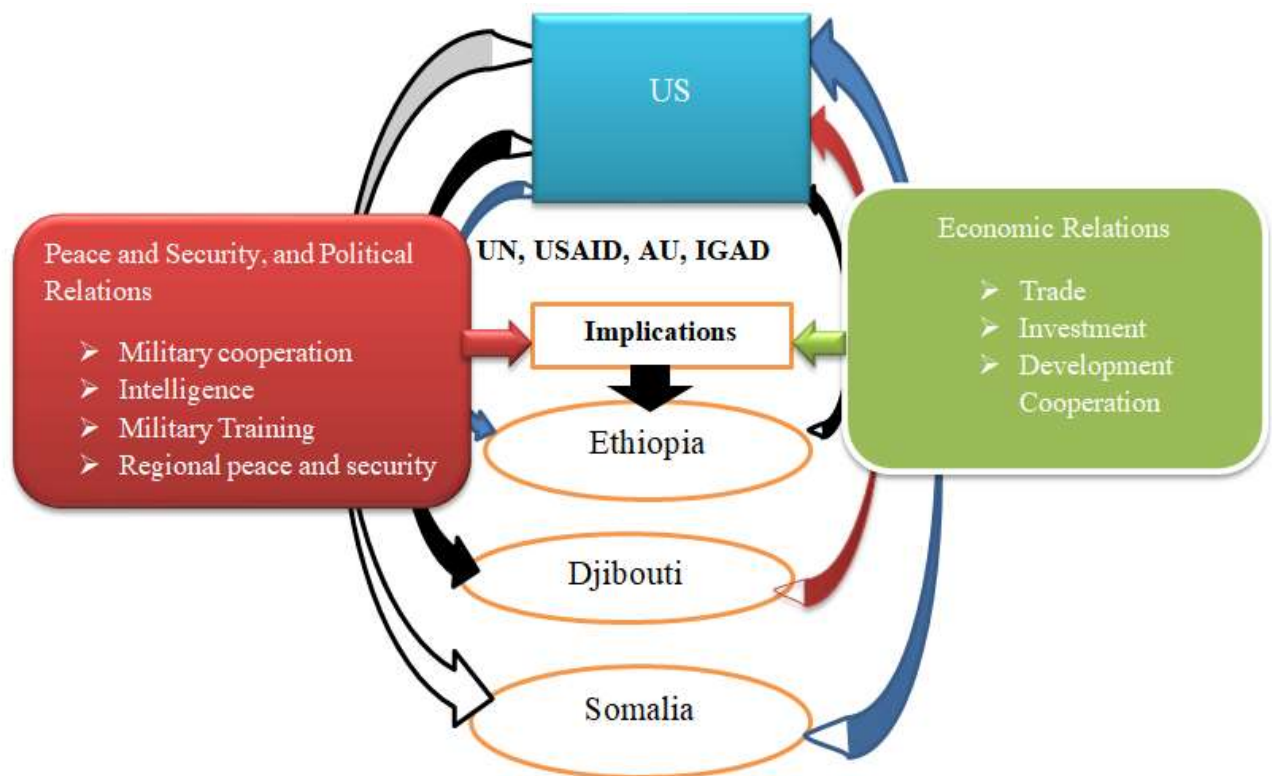


Figure 1: Conceptual framework of the US-Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations

Source: Developed by the researcher,2023

The above figure shows US-HoA relations in relation to politics, peace and security and economy. As can be observed from the figure, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia are represented by the ellipses whereas US is positioned on top by rectangle and the intergovernmental institutions are in between the two parts(US and the Horns). Each of horn countries has bilateral relationship with US politically, peace and security wise and economically.

The basic relation aspects (Economic, and Political, peace and security) have sub elements that show through what the states interact with one another bilaterally. From this, the political, peace and security relationship between US and Ethiopia, US and Somalia, and US

and Djibouti consist primarily of bilateral military (training, intelligence, cooperation), and peace and security, whereas, the economic activities between the US and the other states comprises of trade, development cooperation, and investment.

Beside bilateral relations, the states under consideration have relationship through IGAD, AU, USAID and UN which comprises them for common interest. As represented in the figure, US and the horn countries have indirect as well as direct political, peace and security and economic interactions through IGAD, AU, USAID and UN. Furthermore, the figure points out that the US-Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations and its implications on Ethiopia (national interest). In general, the above conceptual framework given in figure above illustrates the nature and elements of bilateral, regional, and multilateral US and the horn states relations.

2.1.1.2 The Definitions and Components of National Interest

National Interest is a key element in International Relations. States are always busy in realizing their national interests (Gove, 1976). There is no one and universal definition of NI. Dedicated realist, Morgenthau (1973:27) has stated the NI as 'survival' just protecting the own state from all external threats and they are permanent features of the international system. For scholars such as Nathan, (1986, p.10), NI is crucial element in guiding states to their goals and non compromised interest (Gove, 1976). The complex nature of the thought of NI originates from the behaviour of some ruling governments, as they sometimes detriment the it to maintain their interests (political power), because there may be clash of interests (Zhang *et al.*, 1990). In addition to the above, interests can be shared among nation states. For instance, US-Horn of African countries have common interests in the Horn (Mathiasen, 2022).

From security perspective, Barry and Ole (2003) explained that before all other national interests, the one to be preceded is security interests of state. For instance, Ethiopia has visibly postulated that security policy is a matter of ensuring national survival. The alpha and omega of security is the insuring of national survival. Other national security issues may be raised only if national existence is ensured (MIP & AP, 2002).

2.2.2 Components of National Interest

Morgenthau(1973:27) stated that vital components of national interests are essential for the survival of the nation and a nation even decides to go to war for securing it(peace and security). According to this scholar, components of NI are necessary(which includes territorial identity, politico-economic system and historical values) while the non-vital are determined by a host of factors and states will not go to war for these interest.

2.2.3 Classification and Methods of Securing National Interests

National Interests can be classified as ‘Primary(those cannot be compromised at all and states need to defend by any means)’, ‘Secondary’, ‘Permanent(constant long-term interests of the state)’, ‘Variable (considered vital for national good in a given set of circumstances), ‘General’ and ‘Specific’⁹.

Nations protect their national interests by employing various methods such as diplomacy, propaganda, economic means, alliances and treaties and coercive means. For instance US sometimes uses economic means or coercive means to secure its national interests or its allies’ interests. This can be well described in US-Horn of African countries’ relations, particularly with Ethiopia these days (Abbink, 2021a). When US influenced Ethiopia with GERD issue(to sign the draft agreement, refrain from filling or testing the dam prior to signing the deal, and implement dam safety measures) , the Ethiopian government left the process and filled the GERD dam to protect NI of Ethiopia but against US and Egypt interest (U.S. Department of the Treasury,2020). In addition, US sided TPLF during the northern war claiming that there was human right crisis in Tigray. In that process, Ethiopian government tried to defend the country’s NI through military, diplomacy and others, while US penalized Ethiopia(coercive means) by imposing sanctions on certain persons in September 2021, halting aids¹⁰ and terminating AGOA in January 01,2022¹¹.

⁹ Robinson,T.W.(1967).A national interest analysis of Sino-Soviet relations. *International Studies Quarterly*, 11(2), 135-175.

¹⁰ Reuters. 20 February 2021. U.S. to de-link Ethiopian aid pause from dam policy <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ethiopia-dam-usa-idUSkbn2ak08o>

¹¹ Ministry of Planning and Development

2.2 Theoretical Framework

In order to conduct meaningful research and get conclusive results, theories (social science theories in general and international relations theories) have great roles as they can be used for examining, analysing, and presenting the events (Sharp, 2009). In addition to that, they are used to explain the world of international relations and elaborate the dynamics of world politics (Donnelly, 2005).

There are a number of international relations' theories. For instance, Realism/ neorealism, Idealism/liberalism, Neo-liberalism and others. According to theory of realism: "states work only to increase their own power, especially military power, relative to that of other states as the world is a harsh and dangerous place." In addition to this, states believe as: "the international system is anarchy (the absence of a central authority)", as a result they affirm that power is the key to promote and protect national interests such as peace and security, and economy (Morgenthau, 1973:27).

But as globalization amplified and international trade enhanced, as a result economy also matters. Hence, some intellectuals began arguing that realism was old-fashioned. With this concept, liberalism theory was emerged which states that military power is not the only option but also Economic and social power. As different states have different primary interests, it is better to establish universal rules and entities those can make life easy among them (Sayid, 2010; Min Shu, 2018). Furthermore, as a response to classical realism, 'Neo-liberalism' emerged in the 1980s with motto of updating classic liberalism by accepting the presumption that states are the key actors in international relations, but still they maintain that non-state actors also matter (Brown and Ainely, 2005; Elias and Sutch, 2005).

Though, there are many IR theories those can be used to frame theoretically this paper (the post 2018 US-Horn of Africa_Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti, relations) neo-realism, liberalism, and constructivism are selected for this particular study.

2.2.1 Neo-Realism

Before explaining about neorealism, it is better to elaborate some points about realism which is the base of Neo-Realism. According to Realism, nations work only to increase their own power, especially military power, relative to that of other states as the world is a harsh and dangerous place; the international system is anarchy (the absence of a central authority) and states are there to fulfil and defend their NI (Morgenthau, 1973, p.27).

Furthermore, this theory confirms that states have no care about moralities rather they need their survival in the international system. For realists, the world is filled with security competition and war (Mearsheimer, 2001) and a MB is the mechanism that uses to expand and dominate the realm of world politics (Sutch and Elias, 2007). According to realists, military security is high politics, while economic issue is low politics (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012). Realists are often in a condition of building their military capacity. For example, the establishments of US MB in Djibouti in competition with others is the application of realism theory.

It is known that traditional realism elucidated the manoeuvres of international politics as being based on human nature which shines the ego and emotion of leaders rather than role of power politics in international relations (Morgenthau, 1973,p.27). Leaving this theory behind, Kenneth Waltz proposed other theory_Neorealism_a theory of international relations that emphasizes the role of power politics in international relations, invites competition, and gives ways limited potential for cooperation (Jervis,1999). Sagan(2004) in his work explained that for neo-realists the international system is anarchical in which states involve according to their capability and states are the only rational actors in international politics. Neo-realism prefers cooperation to conflict, but bear in mind that when cooperation occurs power relationship matters in the cooperative process. This means, the amount of share they get depends on their corresponding power. Particularly, the current version of neorealism focuses both high politics (political and security issues) and low politics (economic issue).

Most important events those took/taking place in international politics like the world wars, end of the cold war and dynamic changes related to military garrison in Horn of Africa were/are occurred because of changes in the system that resulted from shifts in the balance of capabilities among states. When it comes to the current proliferation of foreign MBs in the Horn of Africa as part of power projection to maintain security, US has built MB in of the Horn of Africa, Djibouti, to enhance its power projection capabilities and to balance other super powers like China and Russia, and countering terrorism (Sutch and Elias,2007; Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016).

This implies the relationship between US and Djibouti and US-Somalia relation can be explained with neo-realism. The capability concept of neo-realism can be stretched to the economic aspects, with this US and Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti have different economic

capabilities. US is more powerful in economy than the three states_Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti. This affirms that neo-realism can explain some aspects of US-(Somalia, Djibouti and Ethiopia) relations. In general, security issues relations, unbalanced trade between them, and their degrees of influence can be described by neo-realism arguments.

2.2.2 Liberalism

The over shining of globalization and advancement of international trade ignored the idea of the ‘only power military’ to decide on matters. As the result, liberalism theory was emerged which states as: “military power is not the only way but also economic and social power matters”. As different states differ in their needs, it is better to launch universal guidelines and officialdoms that pave ways for cooperation and development among states so that they can fulfill their national interests(Sayid,2010; Min, 2018).

As Nagayo(2015) tried to explain, the theory of Liberalism is based on the assumption that there are multiple channels of access between states, different branches of the state apparatus as well as non-state actors. David Ricardo introduced the concept of comparative advantage which elaborates as “a nation has a comparative advantage over its trading partner in the production of goods and services” but the trade has to bear in lower opportunity cost than that of its trading partner(as cited in Findlay,1991).

Scholars of liberal such as Mansbridge *et al.* (2011) described that the interests of states are multiple and changing and these interests can be increased and improved through interdependence of states those assures democratic values. On top of that liberals believe that if there are well organized institutions and diplomacy states can cooperate and abate their conflicts. This concept is explained by Robert(1989a,p.174)¹² as:

International institutions have the potential to facilitate cooperation, and without international cooperation I believe that the prospects for our species will be very poor indeed. Cooperation is not always benign; but without cooperation, we will be lost. Without institutions there will be little cooperation.

According to Shirae(2014) Liberalism emphasises on rebuff of power politics that realist boosts, mutual benefits and international cooperation, and the role of other actors in shaping state choices. For instance, the United Nations, the UNSC tries to solve problems between

¹² Keohane, R.(1989a), *International Institutions and State Power*

states in peaceful ways¹³. For this paper, US and HoA countries are involving in bilateral relationships. With that they are evolving themselves in trade, investments and exercising democratic values. Beside bilateral relationships, they are interacting through intergovernmental institutions and organizations as well as through non-governmental institutions. For instance, US work with those three countries via UN, AU, IGAD, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and others. Furthermore, US has its embassies in Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti and also these countries have their own embassies in US to conduct bilateral relations at various levels and to facilitate communications among themselves so that they can attain their multiple and changing interests.

Moreover, based on the countries' (US, Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti) economic diplomacy, liberalism as a theory of IR can promote trade they have been involved in (mainly free trade, comparative advantage, cooperation and others between them) which advocates democracy, institutions, liberty, and soft power to resolve conflict (McGlinchey *et al.* 2017, P.24).

2.2.3 Constructivism

As many changes occurred in the world, the traditional theories such as realism and liberalism failed to account for, thus constructivism theory has announced to the IR theory which became one of the major schools of thought within international relations since the late 1980s and early 1990s, (Jakson and Sorensen, 2010; Theys, 2018).

According to constructivist view, international relations are influenced not only by power politics, but also by idea and believes in the notions that ideas matter, and that agents are socially constructed rather than given and anarchy is what states make of it (Wendt, 1992; Wendt, 1999).

McGlinchey et al. (2017, p.24) in their book described constructivism as:

States can have multiple identities that are socially constructed through interaction with other actors.... Identities are representations of an actor's understanding of who they are, which in turn signals their interests".... "It is not only the distribution of material power, wealth and geographical conditions that can explain state behaviour but also ideas, identities and norms.

¹³ Liberalism (international relations) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberalism_\(international_relations\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberalism_(international_relations))
#cite_note-1

In addition to the above McGlinchey et al. (2017, p.24) in their book added that the focus of small state is to survive where as large state is to dominate global political, economic and military affairs. Considering this assumptions, one can apply the theory of constrictive to explain the US and Djibouti the relations in the horn as Djibouti is small state which seeks survival whereas US is the giant state running to dominate global political, economic and military affairs in theHoA.

According to Bull(1977), constructivism deals with the concept of responsibility(a social constructionist idea) which is attached to the moral and legal obligation of the great power state having legal responsibility to act rationally in the maintenance of international peace and security. For example, US engagement in the promotion of peace and security through countering terrorism in the Horn of Africa, particularly in Somalia and its neighbouring countries is the issue under consideration. Not only that but also the now days social practices in Ethiopia since 1991(formation of ethnic-based federalism under FDRE)which has resulted in social, economic, and political transformations related to social identities can be raised under this theory(Dessalegn,2021).

2.3 Horn of Africa

This section is added to this chapter to clarify about Horn of Africa, particularly, its location, consisting countries, the geo-strategic significance, security issues and military bases in the horn (for instance, US's Military Base).

The HoA is one part of Africa which is located at the easternmost peninsula of the continent (Stock, 2004). Different writers define Horn of Africa in different ways. Among those authors, Melvin (2019) defined the region as: "...it consists of the internationally-recognized core countries of Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Kenya", and main adjacent maritime areas. In addition to the above, the Horn of Africa is both a geographical and political notion that consists of the Somali Peninsula in East Africa between the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, which is home to the countries of Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, and Somalia (Klosowicz, 2015, p.84).

Also, De Waal (2015), defined that the Horn of Africa consists of three countries that have become (de facto) six: Ethiopia plus Eritrea; Sudan plus South Sudan; Somalia plus Somaliland; as well as the enclave of Djibouti used the member countries of the IGAD (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda) as reference point to define the Horn of Africa. Furthermore, there were other individuals those defined Horn of Africa by including other countries like Uganda and Tanzania (Khadiagala, 2008, p.1), while this study focuses on member countries of IGAD.



Figure 2: Horn of Africa Countries

HoA is the important region as it opens ways for various strategic areas (Al-Rahman, 2013). As a result there are a number of major powers with their military bases in the region (Sun and Zoubir, 2016, p. 115). The other author, Alem (2007) described that Horn of Africa is geologically strategic for local, regional and international powers for maritime security, MB, and terrorism. In addition, this region is the passing home for natural resources like oil that the Arab countries economy and others extremely rely on and its proximity to Strait Bab el Mandeb (Dias *et. al*, 2013).

2.3.1 The Geo-strategically Significance and Security Issues of Horn of Africa

The geographical location of the HoA has been epicentre to the holistic system of the Horn centuries. The region's wider geographical setting; the Nile and its other parts are exposed to the external influence (Woodward, 1996). Gashaw and Zelalem (2016, p.789) depicts Horn's importance as: "Horn of Africa is geo-strategically significant because of Red Sea, oil and Blue Nile". And Mabera (2020, p. 1), portrays the significance as "... the proximity of the Horn of Africa to the oil-rich countries of the Persian Gulf, and the vital commercial lanes that transit the Bab al-Mandab and the Gulf of Aden, reinforce the region as a crucial maritime chokepoint and port of call in an increasingly connected global order".

Besides the economic importance for trade and aqua-transport, the Horn is an epicentre security interest of the international actors, including the NATO, other major powers and organized makers of crimes like terrorism, piracy is among others (Mesfin, 2019). The security issue of the HoA is among the rudimentary triggering factors in elucidating the relation between the international actors; the Bush doctrine¹⁴, which is a doctrine to fight against terrorism and fundamentalism in the region, with collaborating the region countries especially with Kenya and Ethiopia (Bereketab, 2013; De well and Alex, 2017,p.4).

The horn's conflicts occur at numerous levels _inter-state; intra-state armed conflicts and civil wars(Kidane, 2011, p.9) because of border issues, legacy of colonialism, competition for regional hegemony (De Waal,2017, p.4).

Above all, the horn gained its importance with Global War on Terror that the US and its allies launched following 9/11 terror attacks on the United States that caused for founding of the only U.S. MB in Africa, _in Djibouti during 2002 and other international as well as regional actors(Williams, 2011).

2.3.2. Military Bases in the Horn of Africa: The US's Military Base

Numerous reasons made the Horn the ever important area__ for international trade and geopolitics (Carbone, 2020). In light to this, Melvin(2019) explained that an important shift is underway in the relationship between the countries of the Horn of Africa and a diverse set of external security actors, the shift is most apparent in the growing foreign military presence in the Horn region. Currently, many military forces are operating in the region.

Mesfin(2019) added that in the period of the first two post-cold war decades, insecurity in the Horn and countering non-conventional security threats paved way for the build-up of a foreign military presence, but currently, geopolitical competition is the main driver of the regional establishment of overseas forces. Djibouti, French MB since independence in 1977, the country accommodates European countries anti-piracy force, US army permanent barracks, and East Asian powers; Japan and China, also Gulf countries in the Somalia coast, in Eritrea and Port Sudan (Carbone, 2020:20-21). Not only the US, but also others such as Europe aand China has been launching their MB in the Horn (Sung and Zoubir, 2016, p. 115). This can show us how intense and deep the competition on the region by the external forces from the West and East.

¹⁴ A doctrine by former US president George W. Bush with two aims; pre-emptive strike and regime in those countries perceived as a terrorist backing and funding.

According to Styran(2013) explanation, the United States has established its MB in the Horn, Djibouti during 2002 which was known as the United States' CJTF-HOA which later changed in to Africa Command (AFRICOM) in 2008, at Camp Lemonnier with relatively around 5000 personnel stationed permanently and temporarily. And Sun and Zoubir (2016, p. 115) added as: "...to utilize Djibouti's harbour and airport services, after the lease agreement, the US stretches the base to 590 acres....The US's intention is that the geopolitical and security concerns of the Horn of African region such as keeping the very strategic global sea lanes like the Bab al-Mandeb", and fighting antiterrorism and combating sea robbers and the minor cases like people to people diplomacy and enhancing collaboration with other worlds including Africa. The main intension of the America's MB in the Horn was to work on anti-peace elements in the area and to secure US diplomatic staffs. But since 2018, its goal extends beyond the previous one_ the US hegemony in competing with other powers(Dahir, 2019,P.11;Vertin, 2019 p. 14).



Figure 3: Foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa¹⁵

¹⁵ Source: <https://somalilandsun.com/the-fact-that-the-horn-of-africa-is-the-most-militarized-region-on-earth>

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS AND MAIN FEATURES OF US-HORN OF AFRICA RELATIONS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with two broad topics namely the historical backgrounds of US-HoA relations and the main features of US-HoA relations. The first topic includes and discusses about the historical backgrounds of US-Ethiopia Relations, US-Djibouti Relations and US-Somalia Relations. The second topic presents about the main features of US-HoA relations including its Political, Military, Peace and Security Relations and US-Horn of Africa Economic Relations with elaborations of US-Ethiopia Economic Relations, Djibouti Economic and US- Somalia Economic Relations. To be clear, US-Ethiopia Economic Relations is more explained than others in this paper as the research under consideration is going to examine the implications of the contemporary(post 2018) US-Horn of Africa relations to Ethiopia.

3.2 The Historical Backgrounds of US-Horn of Africa Relations

3.2.1 The Historical Backgrounds of US-Ethiopia Relations

The US-Ethiopia interactions began in 1903 when it was initiated by William H. Ellis, and Robert P. Skinner, the U.S. envoy. US and contracted the treaty so called "Treaty of Amity and Commerce," under Emperor Menelik and President Theodore Roosevelt (Getachew, 2009). By the early 1990s, US became the military hegemony in world and used to realize its NI and economic considerations in the name of human rights protection (Choi, 2013). It also holds true for Ethiopia, especially from World War II, maintaining a patron-client system political exchange that degraded human right in Ethiopia. US prioritise its political, military and economic interests than its promises in other countries (Lyons, 1986).

When Italy invaded Ethiopia, US became silent, but by the end of the Italian occupation during 1941, Emperor Haile Selassie sought close alliances with the United States so as to guard Ethiopian sovereignty from European countries and to get American economic support. When U.S's interest in Ethiopia shifted from trade to Cold War geopolitics, the relation between the two countries enhanced, hence the Kagnaw Station in Asmara in 1953 was established which was being used as a strategic base for communication services,

specifically military intelligence gathering(Fawcett, 2012). In return to this, Haile Selassie, used the relationship to secure access to Eritrea(Eritrea-Ethiopia federation)¹⁶, win military and gain legitimacy linked with the emperor's role in diplomatic affairs and these connections were in many ways similar to patron-client relations (Lyons, 1986). Having the political goal of resisting aggression and halting the spread of communism, on the side of US, the only African nation sent its ground forces to Korea was Ethiopia, through which it expressed its solidarity with the collective effort as it had felt abandoned by the League of Nations in 1935¹⁷.

During Derg, as the United States could not deliver defensive military hardware to Ethiopia, Dergue became the ally of the Soviet Union. US shifted its face from Ethiopia due to different reasons. In the periods of 1975 to 1991, the creation of people dependence on state was used as weapon of war and a means of accumulating food and building political support in Ethiopia. In addition, there were violent human rights' crisis during Derg. For instance about 500,000 people were killed during Mengistu's "Red Terror" purge including many innocent civilians and children (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005)¹⁸. Furthermore, the action that the Derg(Mengistu Hailemariam) took to get military assistance from Soviet Union based on the condition that he would sever Ethiopia's ties with the USA upset the US¹⁹. With this in December 1976, Mengistu signed a military agreement with the Soviet Union(Broich,2017)²⁰. Moreover, Broich(2017,p.33) explained it as:

In April 1977, the military relationship between the USA and Ethiopia came to an end under the era of U.S. President Jimmy Carter. On 30 April 1977, Mengistu abrogated the 1953 Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the U.S. administration...the Carter administration was no longer willing to continue supporting a repressive government perpetrating serious human right abuses with U.S. arms.

In 1979, also there was suspension of development assistance to Ethiopia by Carter administration including hindering multilateral development loans to Ethiopia due to

¹⁶ Negash, T. (1997). *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the federal experience*. Transaction Publishers.

¹⁷ Danzik, W. (1994). Coalition Forces in the Korean War. *Naval War College Review*, 47(4), 25-39.

¹⁸ Andrew, C., & Mitrokhin, V. (2005). *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World*. New York, NY: Basic Books

¹⁹ Marcus, H. G. (1975). *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844-1914*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press

²⁰ Broich, T. (2017). US and Soviet Foreign Aid during the Cold War—A Case Study of Ethiopia. The United Nations University—Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (UNU-MERIT).

nationalization of American-owned property which was approximately US\$30 million in unpaid compensation to US from 1975 to 1976(Kissi, 1997).

Ethiopian People's Republic Democratic Front came in position in May 1991 (Getachew, 2009) and the change of the government brought change of ideology which caused proliferation of the debate on human rights and the formation of other actors to defend them in the country.

During EPRDF, the Ethio-USA relation was focusing on key areas such as: firming up democratic institutions; Protecting American citizens and others(economy,peace). Between 2008 and 2010 Ethiopia received about \$1 billion annually, \$608.3 million in 2011, in 2013 about \$687.6 and \$742.2 in 2014(USA Department of States, 2017;Yonas, 2016).The reason behind such increment of aid level was to work with Ethiopia in the courses of international terrorism that proves US interest in the horn. In addition to operations in Somalia, Ethiopia gave drone base to US in Arba Minch which later on closed in 2016 with unknown reason(Reuters,2016; Tegegne, 2016).

Since 2018(after Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy came to power) the Ethio-US relationship has been degrading due to different reasons: “GERD issue between Egypt and Ethiopia” that ended with the complicated water diplomacy between the two parties (Yimer and Subaşı ,2021).

On 3 November 2020 night there was attack by Tigray Peoples Liberation Front leadership on the ENDF which TPLF leadership called the attack pre-emptive and the government has been forced to engage in the operation of maintaining law and order²¹. The law enforcement by Ethiopian government has invited diplomatic pressure from the Western countries, especially US, under the guise of humanitarian aid to ‘prevent famine’, and demand a halt to all hostilities(including removing Eritrean troops from the region) (Gavin, 2021; Abbink, 2021a).

3.2.2 The Historical Backgrounds of US-Somalia Relations

Somalia is one of HoA states which is surrounded by the Indian Ocean and other horn countries (Shay, 2017). US and Somalia's relations dates back to 1960 with the US recognition of Somalia's Independence on July 1, 1960.

²¹ <https://www.africanews.com/2020/11/27/themidnight-attack-on-an-army-camp-that-plunged-ethiopia-into-war/>

During Bush administration, US deployed its ground troops in Somalia as part of “Operation Restore Hope” in December 1992, which US explained it as “humanitarian mission driven by normative concerns”²², “pushed by President George H. W. Bush”²³ and “American leaders chose to intervene in Somalia in order to reduce pressure for US intervention in Bosnia”²⁴. While other scholars such as Stefano (2020, p.342)²⁵ described it as:

The deployment of US troops to Somalia was not driven primarily by humanitarian considerations. Instead, high-ranking Bush administration officials were motivated by pragmatic concern....the Somalia intervention was not pushed by President Bush, instead, it was recommended and indeed conceived by the US military under the leadership of General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)....and Bush initially envisioned Restore Hope as a short-term operation of only a few weeks. But such a temporally limited operation would have done little to diminish pressure for US intervention in Bosnia.

But in 1993, the US intervention in Somalia ended in failure after thirteen US soldiers were killed during the infamous ‘Black Hawk down’ incident in October²⁶.

Being the shelter for Al-Shabaab and other terrorist (for instances al-Qaeda) Somalia was/is under the camera surveillance of US (Maruf & Joseph, 2018). Despite, the US-Somalia relations were degraded after 1991, the United States did not sever diplomatic relations with the country and was trying to communicate and exercising some roles through neighbour countries. For instance, U.S welcomed the election for new Federal Parliament Somalia on September 10, 2012 and supported Somalia's government it., its territorial integrity and sovereignty²⁷.

The US-Somali relations also helped the improvement of social, political, economic and other sectors of Somalia so that Somalia will continue as state. The US-Somalia relations also embraces slight trade, partnerships and investment (Reuters Editorial, 2009). The good news

²² Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2003)

²³ Peter Feaver, *Armed Servants* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2003), 240

²⁴ Jon Western, ‘Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the US Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia’, *International Security* 26/4 (2002), 112–42

²⁵ Stefano Recchia (2020) Pragmatism over principle: US intervention and burden shifting in Somalia, 1992–1993, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 43:3, 341–365, DOI: 10.1080/01402390.2018.1441712

²⁶ Boutros-Ghali, UN and Somalia, 27–8; Bensahel, ‘Humanitarian Relief’, 26

²⁷ “Communiqué on Secretary-General's Mini-Summit on Somalia” (<https://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sg2187.doc.htm>). United Nations. Retrieved 02 December 2022

was that Somalia re-opened its embassy in Washington, DC in November 2015 and two decades after, US re-opened its Embassy in Mogadishu on December 2, 2018.²⁸

3.2.3 The Historical Backgrounds of US-Djibouti Relations

Djibouti is one the HoA countries which has an area of about 23,200 km², a population of about 1 million, official languages of French and Arabic (with largest ethnic groups of Somali and the Afar with about 94% of the population adhere to Islam while some follow Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism(Schraeder,1993; Zotova and Poltorak,2023).

The previous French colony, Djibouti became independent and started its relations with US on June 27, 1977, although the commencement of the relations between the two countries can be traced to 1929(Majerčiaková, 2019). Djibouti, having proximity to Red sea, it is a field for strategic competitions and countering terrorisms, where super powers, great powers and regional powers such as US, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Japan dance for their own interest. Furthermore, the country is home for US , France, China and regional institutions like Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (Sun and Zoubir,2016,P.115)

Different internal (porous borders and weak governance) and external factors paved ways the country to make relations with other countries of which US is one. In addition to Djiboutian importance, US's foreign policy in the HoA was revolving around the neighbour counties; Somalia and Ethiopia which was odd from cold war approach that US analyses as hostile takeover of the Horn would enhance the capability of America's rivals to destabilize pro-Western governments. As a result, US deployed its military in Djibouti and established(2002) and permanent MB in 2003 to chase "war on terror" goals through Operation Enduring Freedom-HoA (Melvin, 2019). Internally, US presence in Djibouti is geopolitical and externally geo-economic. Furthermore, US-Djibouti relations has benefited in various security and economic advantages (Downs et al.,2017).

²⁸ Department of State Country Fact Sheet: Somalia,<https://history.state.gov/countries/somalia>

3.3 The Main Features of US-Horn of Africa Relations and Ethiopia's National Interest

3.3.1 Why US in the Horn of Africa? Counterterrorism and Great Powers Competition

The HoA has becoming competition place for different powers(Dahir,2019, p. 14). Regardless of its size and low economic status, Djibouti's strategic location has attracted the attention of many military powers who are exercising their NI there. Russia has also tried to be in Djibouti, but Djibouti's government blocked it and as option Russia went to Sudan and it announced in 2020 (Mathew and Moolakkattu, 2022).

Great powers do not want to loose the horn. As Mathiasen (2022) tried to explain, Djibouti is the U.S. Department of Defense home base in Africa, with the U.S. neglecting the remainder of the continent in favour of endeavours elsewhere. US has also another agenda in the horn, Being the shelter for Al-Shabaab and other terrorist(for instances al-Qaeda) Somalia has been under the attention of US and its policy in Somalia became preoccupied with searching out, capturing, and killing the perpetrators of those attacks(Maruf & Joseph, 2018). Some scholars such as Mathiasen(2022) argued that the fight against al-Shabaab is a classic counter-terrorism and counterinsurgency effort, at a time when U.S. attention is turning to great power competition with China and Russia.

3.3.2 US-Horn of Africa: Political, Military, Peace and Security Relations

Terrorism actions in HoA including some Eastern African Countries have attracted many actors (Chris,2010). Following the attack on the US, September 9/11 attack, counterterrorism has enhanced. Amazing thing is that, despite the cooperation between various powerful states against al-Shabaab, the threat is increasing. Ethiopia, being the huge country with about 120 million and large geographic area, the political, military, peace and security issues takes the first priority (Debisa, 2021).

Getachew (2009) in his study stated that Ethiopia has been pro-US and reliable partner to fight al-Shabaab in Somalia, which grew after the September 9/11 attack on the United States of America. As Eritrean secessionist group got strength, the US-Ethiopia relationship became strong, with this, the countries tried to achieve their NI during Haile Selassie's government.

Ethio-US relations suffered a loss as Derg closed the Kagnaw base and the then relation resulted in the fall of Derg and rise of EPRDF. At the beginning of 1990s,the US that unwaveringly stayed on the side of Ethiopia shifted its face to the new Eritrean leaders and Ethiopia too and US-Ethiopia un-muted again. In Ethio-Eretria(border conflict in the Bademe)

, the United States had made effort during 1998 to 99 to end the war between the two parties and Ethiopia accepted while Eritrea rejected, hence this opened good condition for Ethio-US relation again(Habtamu, 2022).

The Somalia's ambition to annex the Ogden region from Ethiopia during the Derg regime (1977-78) was an attempt to degrade NI of Ethiopia. To balance what came to Ethiopia, the Derg tried to buy military equipments from the US but the later did not agree due to Dergue's the then ideological affiliation of the socialist world, particularly, Soviet Union (Getachew, 2009:64). As a result, in order to get arms Ethiopian government directed its face to Soviet Union while it terminated the Ethio-US security agreement.

The outcome of the Derg and Siad Barrie conflict came with amazing thing_Siad Barrie fall and Somalia became a territory without a state which might become hostile to both Ethiopia and the US(Fisher,2020).

So, what US and Ethiopia have to do?

They have to strengthen their security relationships again_to fight those forces of terrorism. This paved way for Ethiopia counterterrorism trainings and financial assistance from the US. Not only that but also the September 11, 2001 attack on US strengthened the relationship between the US and Ethiopia. After Siad Barre's fall in 1991, Somalia became home of terrorists like Al- Itihaad Al- Islamiya (AIAI), Al –Shabab, Union of Islamic Courts(UIC) and Al –Qaeda and without strong government until the formation of transitional national government in 2000 (Getachew, 2009; Fisher, 2020).

Al-Itihaad Al-Islamiya (AIAI) which had an ideology of establishing Islamic state and to unify Somalia with the neighbouring ethnically Somali territories (for instance Ethiopia's Ogaden) was founded in the early 1980. As Menkhaus (2005) explained,the disagreement between members of AIAI in 2003 (with conference in the Somaliland town of Laascaanood to decide upon a new political front), created other youth group called Al-Shabab which was against the Transitional Federal Government, African Union (AU) peace keeping force and the African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) as a rival Islamist movement. Al-Shabaab, that aims to remove western countries' impact in the HoA and to discharge forms of traditional Islam believe in creating a nucleus of Wahhabi sector stronghold in Somalia that would create an Islamic State of the Somalis in horn countries (Dagne , 2010; Shinn, 2011).

In addition to the above extremist groups, UIC had high dominancy in Somalia but its socio-political actions led to its own destruction and affected the security in Somalia (Ingiriis and Hoehne, 2013). In addition to internally formed terrorist groups in Somalia, there was externally formed terrorist group called Al-Qaeda which was founded formally during 1988 by Osama bin Laden. From the time of the attack, U.S. policy in Somalia became preoccupied with searching out, capturing, and killing the perpetrators of those attacks. During 2001, US was claiming that some bin Laden followers were in Somalia and in January 2002, U.S. and allies forces were deployed their military in East of Africa, Djibouti (Maruf & Joseph 2018:29). From 2001 to 2007, US has provided various assistances through AMISOM to the horn and established programmes and military commands that clarified US's intention in Somalia including strategic engagement in Africa (Karssen, 2019).

From 2007 to 2012, in order to keep the TFG and Al-Shabaab under pressure, US used AMISOM as its mind and leg. But between 2012 and 2016 US limited its security assistance to the mission which resulted in AMISOM's limitation to protection of smaller areas rather than expansion to newly seized areas (Karssen, 2019). Also US (during Obama administration) deployed official convoy of US forces that followed by increment of troops from 2014 to 2016, when al-Shabaab won several battles in the country (NYT, 2016) and issued the Presidential Policy Guidance (which work against terrorists) in 2013 (Online, 2013).

Now days, US's policie toward the horn (Somalia) are fluctuating. During Trump administration with his foreign policy of "America First", US-Africa relations has been degraded, which holds true for HoA. Despite the terrorist group are expanding and posing various attacks in the country, US (Biden administration) has withdrew its forces which may leave a major gap in the transition and Somalia's security architecture as other state (UAE) had suspended its financial support to Mogadishu (Chigudu, 2021). On the other hand, during 2022, US had redeployed its troops for countering al-Shabab, as it has controlled much of the rural area of the southern and central of the country²⁹.

3.3.3 US-Horn of Africa: Economic Relations

In international relations, states do not come together only to defend themselves from peace threats but also for their economic national interests. Like any other part of the world, HoA countries have been in economic relations with other worlds including Middle east, Far East,

²⁹ <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2022/05/20/raan-m20.html>

Western and other countries of Africa (Mengistu,2015). As other countries did/doing HoA countries such as Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia have long time relationship with United States of America(Bilateral relationship) and through multilateral relations such as International Monetary Fund, IMF(that works on internal finances of countries);World Bank(WB),Africa Development Bank(ADB)(which work on developments) and others. Horn countries export their domestic products and produced goods through “AGOA” and import various commodities to fulfil their national interests which was enacted in 2000.³⁰

The 1995 EFDR constitution under National Policy Principles and Objectives has explained clearly about economic issue as: in Article 86, ‘Principles for External Relations’ under sub article no.1 ‘to promote policies of foreign relations based on the protection of national interests and respect for the sovereignty of the country’ and no.5 ‘to forge and promote ever growing economic union and fraternal relations of Peoples with Ethiopia' s neighbours and other African countries’ with economic objectives of(Article 89),sub articles 2 ‘Government has the duty to ensure that all Ethiopians get equal opportunity to improve their economic conditions and to promote equitable distribution of wealth among them’ and 4 ‘Government shall provide special assistance to Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples least advantaged in economic and social development.

3.3.3.1 Ethiopia

Ethiopia lost its ports and sea routs, particularly, ports of Matsawa and Assab and became land locked country after Eriterea’s independent. Due that occasion, Ethiopia started to use Djibouti, the country that is the garrison of military bases of foreign powers such as US, China, France and others. In addition to countering terrorists in the HoA to enhance peace and security for the horn as well as Ethiopia, US-Ethiopia relations has also played a great role to Ethiopia’s economic interest(Dunn, 2019,P.14). Regarding bilateral economic relations between US and Ethiopia, the U.S has been engaged with the government of Ethiopia to improve the business climate and to foster an entrepreneurship culture. During 2018 and 2019 Ethiopia ranked eighty-second and 84th goods trading partner and in 2019, US exported to Ethiopia about \$1.0 billion³¹

Table 1: US imports from Ethiopia (Millions of USD)

³⁰ Office of United States Trade Representative, Executive office of the president <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa/east-africa/ethiopia>

³¹ Ibid

Year	Janu.	Fe.	Marc	April	May	Ju.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1992	0.40	0.40	0.10	1.10	1.10	0.70	1.0	1.40	1.40	0	0.40	0.40	8.60
1993	0.3	0.8	2.7	0.9	5	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.2
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2003	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1993	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.8	0.6	1.8	1	0.5	1	9.8
1994	1.4	0.8	1	2.4	5.1	4.8	6.1	4.4	2.1	4	1.5	0.7	34.2
1995	0.8	1	0.7	0.9	2.7	6.2	11	3.6	2.3	2	1.5	0.5	32.9
1996	0.6	0.3	7.3	5.5	2.3	2.2	2	3.6	0.9	2	3.5	4.4	34.7
1997	4.6	2.3	2.2	9.2	6.2	8.2	10	14	2.2	5	3.4	2.5	69.8
1998	2.6	6.1	5.7	9	6.2	3	4.6	2.3	1.4	4	2.2	4.9	52.2
1999	0.6	0.6	1	3.4	4.2	3.2	3	4.2	4.3	3	1.8	1	30.2
2000	2.2	2.7	3	2	1.6	3.3	2.4	2.3	1.6	2	3.6	1.9	28.5
2001	1	0.4	2.1	3.1	3.5	2.5	2.7	2.9	2.6	2	3.9	2	28.9
2002	2.4	1.5	3.8	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.8	1.6	2	1	1.2	2.6	25.7
2003	1.5	2.3	2	3.7	4.9	2.2	3.3	3.1	2.9	2	1.1	1.7	30.5
2004	1.5	1.3	1.8	3.5	3.8	5.9	5.2	5.6	3.7	4	2.6	2.1	41.17
2005	2.1	2.5	5.1	6.9	6.2	5.5	8.1	8.8	3.9	8	3	1.6	61.8
2006	3	2.4	5.6	8.9	12	8.7	7.5	5.4	16	3	4.5	3.7	81.12
2007	2.8	3.7	4.9	6.5	9.3	11	8.8	16	9.4	10	3.1	3.3	88.24
2008	3.6	4.7	8.7	17	17	20	19	20	18	11	8.7	4.6	152.2
2009	7.9	5	5	8.7	13	11	14	13	10	10	7.3	7.3	112.9
2010	4.9	6.5	8.1	8.5	11	9.1	14	14	15	13	13	12	127.9
2011	7.6	7.1	12	11	14	16	21	17	12	14	8.1	4.7	144.4
2012	4.5	5.1	6.6	11	16	18	17	12	14	11	11	57	183.1
2013	8	8.2	12	41	19	16	25	15	15	13	8.8	11	193.6
2014	10	12	25	18	21	19	26	22	17	12	13	12	207.2
2015	10	9.4	10	54	22	62	30	35	27	20	18	12	310.3
2016	14	14	17	19	26	25	25	30	23	13	14	15	236.2
2017	13	19	18	18	31	28	35	37	30	24	20	20	291.5

2018	18	25	30	37	51	46	43	49	35	47	32	33	444.8
2019	42	27	42	44	61	48	55	63	46	51	42	49	571.5
2020	38	42	38	33	40	50	57	43	49	57	43	33	524.5
2021	41	25	40	25	60	52	67	79	61	55	47	49	601
2022	72	41	54	48	80	70	74	74	63	46	46	48	716.7

Source: <https://ustr.gov/bilateral/trade>

One of the national interests of the nations is economic interest. Beside the protection of their nations from external and internal intimidations, nations need to bring their societies' wellbeing, hence economic security of their country. Like that of any country in the world, Ethiopia has been exercising its economic interests. For instance being one of Sub-Sahara Africa countries, Ethiopia has been one the beneficiaries of the AGOA which is a nonreciprocal trade preference program and provides duty-free treatment to U.S. imports of certain products, but currently, it has been removed from AGOA³².

From the table 1 above it can be seen that U.S. Imported from Ethiopia about \$445, \$571.5, \$524.5, \$601 and \$716.7 during 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021 and 2022 respectively. For the rest of years (from 1992 to 2017) one can check from the above table 1. From the table 1 the US imports from Ethiopia was decreased during 2020 while it increased again in 2022.

Table 2: US exports to Ethiopia (Millions of USD)

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1992	3	1.9	8.5	56.7	9.3	12.3	7.2	19	12.4	68.7	6.7	43.7	249.6
1993	8.4	12	11	17.3	8.2	7.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	63.4
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2003	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1993	0.4	0	0	0	0	1.5	34	4.2	6.5	19.4	5.2	4.3	75.5
1994	11	5.3	11	11.4	9.5	25.3	6.6	9.3	19	6.4	14	14.7	143.7
1995	9.1	3.6	20	14.1	11.1	4.3	8.7	7.2	28.6	10	22.5	8.2	147.7
1996	8.1	7.6	12	9.5	10.6	9.6	10.7	4.7	8.8	22.5	32.8	10.7	148

³² Brock R. Williams. 2015. African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA): Background and Reauthorization

1997	8.4	4.8	5	6.7	7.4	16.6	7.6	10	4.4	17.6	17.9	14.3	121.1
1998	5.1	7.4	13	4.1	10.7	10.7	4.8	5.5	7.8	6.7	4.5	8.3	88.9
1999	100	2.8	8.5	2.2	3.6	2.4	4.6	8	16.8	4.2	6.2	4.5	163.5
2000	4.5	3.4	32	13.1	7.7	31.5	12.2	9.6	12.1	13.3	10.4	15.6	165.3
2001	3.8	13	2.6	2.8	4.8	12.9	5.6	2.7	3.3	3.2	5	1.7	61.2
2002	1.6	1.2	2.6	2	1.8	4.1	3	26	3	2.8	6.3	6.5	60.4
2003	15	8.5	26	7.49	26.7	13.9	18.8	28	24.8	29.7	199	12	409.1
2004	8.7	9.8	9.2	15.3	26	110	63.9	15	20.9	5.53	10.4	8.33	302.7
2005	10	13	17	19.54	24.5	119	58.3	8.5	27.1	34.4	63.7	60.6	455.6
2006	7.8	19	7.1	6.346	11.8	5.35	4.29	7.8	13.1	26.1	6.76	21.6	137.3
2007	5.1	18	5	7.086	22.5	13.8	6.82	19	5.28	39.1	5.72	20.2	167.5
2008	17	30	16	49.81	31.5	22.1	10.6	14	9.29	51.5	25.3	25.4	301.6
2009	25	23	11	13.57	9.11	26.5	11.1	11	33.3	32.4	38.6	33	266.9
2010	32	37	50	21.25	27.6	13.7	28.9	33	29.6	98.2	232	170	773.2
2011	137	11	18	139.4	7.37	9.45	145	12	38.3	37.5	97.9	36.8	689.9
2012	10	12	20	50.44	23.6	104	22.3	131	229	279	373	19.8	1275
2013	27	7.5	18	17.89	50.3	12.6	265	13	44.9	30.8	178	24.6	688.5
2014	171	62	18	54.51	258	249	10.4	144	29.5	209	439	24.8	1669
2015	145	22	40	138.9	383	232	63	35	192	204	26.9	74.4	1555
2016	45	19	42	55.09	77.6	121	107	22	152	47.3	46.8	91.3	826.1
2017	15	13	125	23.34	94.8	150	20.8	20	18.6	160	201	34.1	877.2
2018	12	14	41	62.49	18.9	159	59.2	365	65.5	40.8	227	244	1308
2019	35	74	45	19.06	23.6	195	23.1	47	83.6	41.4	212	213	1011
2020	69	17	172	36	26.6	22.1	46.3	47	27.4	282	51.1	113	910.9
2021	45	21	56	30.84	44.2	41.4	63.3	43	33.7	41.8	67.8	87.4	575.1
2022	64	65	28	66.72	57.2	127	140	24	123	74.4	172	153	1094

Source: <https://ustr.gov/bilateral/trade>

From the table 2 above it can be seen that U.S. exported to Ethiopia about \$1308, \$1011, \$911, \$575 and \$1094 during 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021 and 2022 respectively. For the rest of years (from 1992 to 2017) one can check from the above table 2. From the table 2 the US exports to Ethiopia was decreased during 2020 to 2021 while it increased again in 2022.

3.3.3.1.1 Manufacturing Industry Sector

The following table 3 shows, the previous 10 years manufacturing industry sector mainly external trade, average growth and domestically produced goods and their share.

Table 3: Manufacturing Industry Sector (main) (2012 - 2021)

Description	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Manufacturing Industry Sector external trade (Millions of USD)	306.4	325.6	365.6	389.5	344.5	412.9	487	453.6	405.6	390
Exported to US (Millions of USD)	8.06	20.57	29.28	30.64	45.37	53.78	89.25	140.76	145	123.6
US market share (%)	2.6	6.3	8	7.8	13	13	18.3	31	35.7	31.6
Manufacturing Industry Sector average growth (%)	11.8	16.9	16.6	15.8	18.4	24.7	6.8	7.7	8.6	9.5
Manufacturing Industry Sector total domestic product share (%)	4.1	4.3	4.4	4.8	6.2	7.0	6.9	6.8	7.1	7.2

Source: Ministry of Planning and Development

The above table 3 indicates that US market share (%) in Manufacturing Industry Sector (main) from 2012 to 2014 has shown increment from 2.6 % to 8% and from 2016 to 2020 (13% to 35.7%), while it was decreased during 2015 (7.8%) and 2021 (31.6%).

African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) and Ethiopia

To be AGOA-eligible, countries are assessed annually on their progress in undertaking proper economic, institutional and human rights reforms.³³ Ethiopia has been using AGOA to export its products to the United States via its national utilization strategy. From 2015 to 2016, Ethiopia's export (AGOA eligible products) to US was increased in value by fifty percent (Mahabir and Mullings, 2020).

Using AGOA opportunity, especially, textile and garment industry sector, Ethiopia's external trade has shown growth. For instance, during 2005 it was 6.7million USD and increased to 151millionUSD in 2021. In addition, the market opportunity has boosted the country's investment (from 69 to 261). Furthermore, starting from 2017, the youth employment has been increasing by 24% annually and currently reached about 80,000 employee of which more than 70% are women workers. This market potential has also indirectly created job for more than 160,000 people.³⁴ But, starting from January 01,2022, Ethiopia is not eligible for AGOA which is related to the conflict between Ethiopian federal government and TPLF.³⁵

3.3.3.2 Djibouti

One of the national interests of the nations is economic interest. Beside the protection of their nations from external and internal intimidations, nations need to bring their societies' wellbeing, hence economic security of their country. Like that of any country in the world, Djibouti has been exercising its economic interests. For instance being one of Sub-Sahara Africa countries ,Djibouti is one the beneficiaries of the "AGOA"³⁶.

U.S. Imported from Djibouti about \$48, \$31,\$41,\$32.5 and \$42 during 2018,2019, 2020,2021 and 2022 respectively. For the rest of years(from 1992 to 2017) one can check from the following table 3. From the table 3 the US imports from Djibouti was decreased during 2019 and 2021 while it increased again in 2022.

³³ Africa Growth and Opportunity Act. (2000). United States of America. http://trade.gov/agoa/legislation/agoa_main_002118.

³⁴ Ministry of Industry.2022.AGOA assessment report

³⁵ Office of United States Trade Representative, Executive office of the president <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa/east-africa/ethiopia>

³⁶ Brock R. Williams.2015. African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA): Background and Reauthorization

Table 4: US-Import from Djibouti (Millions of USD)

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1992	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1993	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1997	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1998	0	0	0	0	0.4	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0.5
1999	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1
2000	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3
2001	0.1	0	0	0.2	0.1	0.2	0	0	0	0.1	0	0.2	0.9
2002	0.1	0	0.4	0.2	0	0.3	0.2	0.2	0	0	0.4	0.1	1.9
2003	0.17	0.13	0	0.01	0.01	0	0	0.04	0.06	0.17	0.02	0	0.62
2004	0.17	0.08	0.12	0.1	0.04	0.18	0.04	0.07	0.11	0.07	0	0.02	1
2005	0.17	0.14	0.17	0.32	0.05	0.17	0	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.02	1.1
2006	0.17	0.19	0.14	0.01	0.44	0.32	0.15	0.16	0.67	0.86	0.03	0.08	3.3
2007	0.17	0.02	0.79	1.06	0.3	0.34	0.25	0.16	0.03	0.44	0.65	0.25	4.48
2008	0.17	0.64	0.61	0.73	0.99	0.86	0.6	0.02	0.12	0.9	0.04	1.26	7.04
2009	0.17	1.54	0.05	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.34	0.16	0.28	0.14	0.14	0.04	2.9
2010	0.17	0.18	0.14	0.01	0.01	0.54	0.06	0.14	0.22	0.1	0.01	1.38	2.99
2011	0.17	0.05	0.06	0.5	0.14	0.39	0.33	0.78	0.36	0.39	0.53	0.51	4.05
2012	0.17	2.28	1.14	0.57	2.15	0.87	0.89	0.58	0.49	1.24	0.27	0.09	11.8
2013	0.17	0.22	0.51	0.24	0.49	0.23	0.09	0.09	1.61	0.04	0.12	0.16	3.95
2014	0.17	0.02	0.48	0.65	0.16	0.06	0.98	0.24	0.58	0.7	2.7	5.03	11.9
2015	0.17	2.82	2.22	4.34	7.64	0.49	0.39	0.78	0.1	0.71	1.54	3.09	35.5
2016	0.17	1.28	1	3.9	5.3	1.7	2.14	4.08	1.71	2.77	2.26	1.25	28
2017	0.17	3.74	1.88	1.12	5.02	0.72	7.72	1.88	1.91	2.42	3.51	2.65	34.2
2018	0.17	1.21	5.98	8.28	2.41	4.98	1.58	5.64	2.36	2.81	3.03	7.43	47.8
2019	0.17	1.77	2.01	0.69	2.1	3.46	2.37	4.62	5.17	1.86	3.35	0.84	30.6
2020	0.17	0.8	0.26	0.36	0.4	2.3	1.6	2.19	2.51	1.86	17.1	9.22	40.8
2021	0.17	1.05	1.53	0.47	2.99	5.87	4.34	1.7	7.04	2.07	0.72	0.67	32.5

2022	0.17	2.44	1.81	3.51	4.62	0.95	0.64	1.75	4.94	4.31	4.13	8.65	42.3
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Source: <https://ustr.gov/bilateral/trade>

In 2019, Djibouti was the United States' 136th largest goods export market. U.S. exported various products to Djibouti that worth \$151 million, up 35.7% (\$40 million) from 2018 but down 23.3% from 2009, and about \$111,\$150,\$184,\$187 and \$180 in 2018,2019,2020,2021 and 2022 respectively. For the rest of the years it is possible to check from the following table

4. From the table 4 the US export to Djibouti was decreased during 2022.

Table 5: US exports to Djibouti

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1992	0.8	1	0.4	1.6	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.4	1.3	0.6	1.8	0.8	10.5
1993	1.4	1	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.3	0.8	1.5	1.1	0.5	1.4	0.5	13.3
1994	1	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.7	1.1	0.2	6.8
1995	0.4	0.5	0.8	1.9	0.5	0.6	1.3	0.3	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.3	8.5
1996	1.6	1.5	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.5	8.3
1997	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.8	1.2	0.9	7.4
1998	0.8	0.7	1.4	1.7	2.1	1.7	2.5	1.7	2.6	2.7	0.7	1.7	20.3
1999	0.6	0.9	0.9	1.2	0.4	10	2.8	0.9	0.2	1.3	1.4	5.7	26.5
2000	5.8	1.9	0.8	0.7	1.4	0.6	1.1	0.8	0.7	1.5	0.8	0.7	16.8
2001	1.7	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.3	0.8	4	5.9	0.4	1	1.4	0.8	18.6
2002	1.2	1.3	3.5	1	2.1	0.8	4.5	15	11	0.9	10	7.6	58.5
2003	2.1	1.6	0.9	1.3	0.9	1.9	0.5	1.2	8.1	2.46	0.9	10	31.73
2004	12	5.2	1	1.1	1.3	1.5	7.3	2.1	5.5	1.85	1.5	2.75	43.65
2005	1.6	1.8	1.7	8.2	1.6	7.7	10	3.5	6.7	3.13	0.8	0.71	47.57
2006	5.1	3.2	1.7	2	2.9	1.5	3.2	2.7	10	5.75	1.4	8.2	47.63
2007	4.6	0.9	3.3	1.5	3.6	2	5.7	4.2	6.1	9.08	3.3	14.8	58.93
2008	2.9	2.1	3.1	5.7	2.8	7.3	16	15	34	10.9	19	22	140.8
2009	18	13	23	5.1	16	26	18	9.4	31	24.9	7.2	4.94	196.5
2010	4.6	9.9	27	19	14	12	7.5	11	6.2	4.97	2.7	3.49	122.8
2011	4.4	13	3.1	29	11	25	5.6	7.7	9.4	9.26	6.6	5.29	129.2
2012	12	10	8.7	6.8	8.1	11	5.4	10	15	4.13	3	23.7	118.8
2013	13	25	13	10	11	11	13	8.2	6.8	13	26	14	164.5

2014	6.5	10	5.4	11	7.2	6.1	8.7	16	8.9	13.8	8.4	8.47	110.9
2015	13	11	13	15	16	20	10	14	7.4	5.87	2.9	16.2	144.7
2016	10	5.5	14	6.3	18	11	14	11	14	12.3	10	6.77	132.8
2017	13	11	20	13	23	11	6.4	12	20	5.72	8.7	13.7	157.3
2018	12	3.3	13	17	9.4	6.9	6.6	9.5	8	9.82	6	9.29	111
2019	7.6	5.8	13	14	7.4	9.3	7.7	13	11	10.7	26	23.8	150.1
2020	9.7	54	11	7.9	8.6	10	8.6	19	13	15.2	19	9.18	184.4
2021	6.5	4.7	13	23	22	9.4	11	28	33	15.6	15	4.16	186.6
2022	11	9.7	9.5	16	12	15	27	16	20	13.9	22	7.71	180.2

Source: <https://ustr.gov/bilateral/trade>

3.3.3.3 Somalia

Though US-Somalia relations tilt to countering terrorism, they are also involving in little trade activities. The U.S exports some products such as machinery to Somalia while it imports such as precious stones from Somalia. The following table 6 shows that the US imports from Somalia (millions of USD) from 1992 to 2022.

Table 6:US imports from Somalia (millions of USD)

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1992	0	0	0.5	0	0	0.3	0	0.8	0.7	0	0	0.2	2.5
1993	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0.2
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1
1997	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1
1998	0	0	0	0	0.3	0.1	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0.5
1999	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1
2000	0	0	0	0	0.3	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0.4
2001	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0.1	0.1	0.3
2002	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3
2003	0.02	0.01	0	0.02	0.04	0	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.02	0	0.02	0.18
2004	0.02	0.08	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.17	0	0.01	0	0.16	0.06	0.14	0.67
2005	0	0	0.08	0	0.01	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.03	0	0.04	0.01	0.31
2006	0.18	0.01	0.01	0.01	0	0	0.06	0.01	0.08	0.02	0	0.01	0.39

2007	0	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.03	0	0.01	0.01	0	0.01	0	0.18
2008	0	0	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03	0	0	0.06	0.02	0.21
2009	0	0	0.01	0	0.02	0.02	0	0.01	0.02	0.04	0	0.12	0.25
2010	0	0	0	0	0	0.02	0	0.01	0.1	0	0	0.01	0.14
2011	0	0.2	0	0.23	0.29	0.05	0	0.07	0.21	0.02	0.01	0.02	1.11
2012	0.21	0	0.09	0.11	0.07	0.21	0.06	0.05	0	0.08	0.02	0.06	0.98
2013	0.01	0.08	0.28	0.1	0	0	0.07	0.08	0.23	0.1	0.06	0.16	1.19
2014	0.07	0.04	0.03	0	0	0	0.09	0.05	0.01	0.1	0.06	0.08	0.55
2015	0.07	0.02	0.1	0.14	0	0.11	0.02	0.09	0.01	0.13	0.04	0.18	0.9
2016	0.21	0	0.02	0.21	0.18	0	0.05	0.01	0.09	0	0.21	0.01	0.99
2017	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.11	0	0.12	0.05	0	0.46	0	0.07	0.07	0.99
2018	0.04	0.33	0.12	0.11	0	0.02	0.47	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.16	1.34
2019	0.51	0.06	0	0.05	0.1	0	0	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.23	0.99
2020	0.04	0.04	0	0.06	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.09	0.09	0.03	0.07	0.06	0.5
2021	0.07	0.06	0.04	0.16	0.3	0.05	0.16	0.22	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.01	1.16
2022	0.07	0.01	0.01	0.08	0	0.74	0	0.02	0.02	0.07	0.05	0.06	1.14

Source: <https://ustr.gov/bilateral/trade>

From the table above it can be seen that U.S. imported from Somalia about \$1.34, \$1,\$0.5,\$1.16 and \$1.14 during 2018,2019, 2020,2021 and 2022 respectively. For the rest of years (from 1992 to 2017) one can check from the above table 6. From the table 6 the US imports from Somalia was decreased during 2018 to 2020 and in 2022 while it increased again in 2021.

Table 7:US exports to Somalia

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1992	0	0	0	0	2.6	3.2	2.9	0	1.6	2.5	1.5	6.6	20.9
1993	2.3	7.4	4.2	2.5	9.8	4.6	3.1	0.6	0.8	2.6	4.1	4.4	46.4
1994	2	0.5	1.9	6.4	2.8	0.5	5.2	0.7	3.3	0.4	5.4	0.9	30
1995	0.3	0.2	4.5	0.1	0	2.6	0.1	0	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	8.1
1996	0.6	0	0.8	1.2	0	0.9	0.1	0	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	4.2
1997	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.7	2.9
1998	0	0.1	0.3	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.8	0	0.4	0.6	0	2.5

1999	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.5	0	0.3	0.5	0.1	0	0	0.1	0.8	3
2000	0	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	2	0.6	0.6	0	0.1	0.5	4.8
2001	0.1	0	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.7	0	1.2	1	0.4	0.2	2	6.6
2002	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.4	0.6	0	0.2	0.1	0.3	2.5	0.1	0.6	6.1
2003	0.19	0.06	0.1	0.16	2.4	0.74	0.57	0.06	0.2	1.3	0.12	1.14	7.02
2004	0.06	0.24	0.13	0.33	0.96	0.18	1.5	1.93	0.46	1.09	1.78	0.47	9.13
2005	0.9	0.79	0.81	0.49	0.04	0.14	1.68	0.97	1.49	0.36	0.07	1.11	8.83
2006	2.04	1.25	2.39	3.85	2.41	0.36	1.21	2.89	2.23	0.47	0.42	0.43	19.9
2007	0.35	0.07	0.71	0.06	4.39	2.18	0.76	1.26	2.28	5.99	1.72	0.93	20.7
2008	4.69	2.06	4.05	3.47	3.45	3.36	0.86	21.8	0.15	3.89	7.72	8.89	64.3
2009	0.16	0.33	2.7	0.14	0.18	0.08	0.28	0.1	0.08	0.01	0.03	0	4.1
2010	0.05	0	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.33	0.58	0.03	0.09	0.02	0.27	1.46
2011	0.27	0.08	0.05	0.3	0.23	0.04	0.09	3.66	0.58	0.4	0.05	0.32	6.08
2012	1.48	4.33	4.09	0.88	0.6	0.75	0.85	0.04	0.94	0.42	0.12	2.24	16.7
2013	0.34	0.82	0.13	1.4	3.65	1.93	3.46	1	0.35	0.44	0.38	2.06	16
2014	0.99	0.21	16.1	6.85	3.96	1.52	1.17	2.71	0.17	0.37	0.43	1.14	35.7
2015	3.86	1.39	2.32	2.95	3.02	3.39	18.5	1.79	1.91	0.74	1.01	4.16	45
2016	2.39	2.07	3.06	7.42	3.52	4.72	7.81	3.79	2.16	0.36	1.13	0.4	38.8
2017	5.3	4.84	14.1	2.87	5.18	1.61	3.54	2.28	11.6	7.2	6.03	6.05	70.6
2018	2.79	1.96	1.97	2.36	13.6	4.66	3.44	7.17	0.69	3.56	1.67	5.63	49.5
2019	1.49	0.15	3.78	5.31	4.26	1.95	5.77	19.7	15.6	18.6	11.9	16.7	105
2020	2.82	7.25	12	1.13	3.25	1.25	5.84	7.77	9.96	2.66	1.53	1.4	56.9
2021	3.09	3.57	4.19	2.66	1.55	14.6	0.68	0.9	6.28	5.71	5.19	5.73	54.1
2022	0.95	10.8	0.95	4.98	6.01	2	9.21	11.6	18	18.9	1.63	3.08	88.1

Source: <https://ustr.gov/bilateral/trade>

From the table 7 above it can be seen that U.S. exported to Somalia about \$49.5, \$105,\$57,\$54 and \$88 during 2018,2019, 2020,2021 and 2022 respectively. For the rest of years (from 1992 to 2017) one can check from the above table 7. From the table 7 the US exports to Somalia was decreased during 2019 to 2021 while it increased again in 2022.

CHAPTER FOUR

US-HORN OF AFRICA RELATIONS: IMPLICATIONS TO ETHIOPIA'S NATIONAL INTEREST (2018-PRESENT)

4.1 US-Horn of Africa Relations(Post 2018)

This section presents about US-HoA Relations starting with how US want to engage in Africa in the coming decades, current issues in the HoA particularly after 2018 and US responses, and factors those contributed to the contemporary US-HoA relations, especially to Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti.

4.1.1 How US want to engage in Africa now days(Post 2018)?

Before going to discuss about the US-HoA relations particularly after 2018, it is better to highlight the US-Africa relations in these days(after 2018) and their foreign policy toward Africa as a whole.

President Joe Biden on February 5, 2021 during African Union Summit said ,“We believe in the nations of Africa, in the continent-wide spirit of entrepreneurship and innovation”...”And through the challenges ahead, although they are great, there is no doubt that our nations, our people, the African Union — we’re up to this task”.... “It is impossible to meet this era’s defining challenges without African contributions and leadership”. And US strategy briefly explained as: “...US is going to pursue four objectives in Sub-Saharan Africa: fostering openness and open societies, delivering democratic and security dividends through the region’s commitment and capacity to renew its democracies and prioritizing counterterrorism, advancing pandemic recovery and economic opportunity and supporting conservation, climate adaptation, and a just energy transition³⁷”.

In addition to the above, as **Biden-Harris National Security Strategy** presented (published in October 2022),US has considered Africa as a major geopolitical force in solving global challenges, enhancing peace and prosperity, work on terrorist activities, and humanitarian crises(for instance Ethiopia, and Somalia) in the coming decade. Furthermore, US has promised to support accelerating growth through private sector investments and digital economy³⁸.

³⁷ United States. President (2021-: Biden). (2022). *US Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa*. White House

³⁸ Biden-Harris National Security Strategy presented (published in October 2022)

As mentioned in the contemporary US strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa under subtopic of a 21st century US-African partnership (published in August , 2022) ,US is going to advance its strategic objectives to the benefit of both Africans and Americans by elevating the US-African partnership, engaging more African states,bolstering civil society, transcending geographic seas, engaging America's African diaspora and leveraging US private sector and domestic leadership by using approaches such as revamp public diplomacy efforts, support sustainable development and resilience, refine and reinvest in US defense tools, strengthen trade and commercial relations and drive digital transformation and rebalance toward urban hubs.

4.1.2 What is happening in the Horn of Africa from 2018? US responses?

For HoA countries, especially for Ethiopia the year 2018 came with special events. The spontaneous mass protests started since 2015 and continued in 2016 resulted in political liberalization that impacted both the domestic and external policies of Ethiopia. Abiy Ahmed(PhD) was elected as the chairman of the party on 27 March 2018 and Prime Minister on 2 April 2018 and he took remarkable political reform measures in the country. For instance, releasing of political prisoners including charged with terrorism, inviting exiled political parties, lifting state of emergency, opening up and widening the space for freedom of press and abolition of repressive laws, and also promised to liberalize the economy, etc.³⁹. Not only that but also institutions such as security and justice, and democratic institutions(National Election Board , Human Rights Commission and Federal Court) were reformed.

The change that came in Ethiopia during 2018 also brought many alterations in the horn as well. Between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the period from 2000 to 2018 was no-peace no-war. But the two countries came with peace deal by July 2018. Following the peace deal, their interactions also changed. The peace deal also restructured inter-state relations in the HoA states. For example, in March 2019, tripartite cooperation agreement was signed by Ethiopia, Eritrea and South Sudan. In addition, HoA Cooperation (HoAC) was signed in January, 2020, by Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia to form a new regional bloc. The tripartite co-operation was expected to promote regional stability and prosperity. On the other side, it was also expected to undermine the activities of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development that may question Ethiopia's long-established links with other IGAD member states and may disappoint western countries/donors who are behind IGAD. Furthermore, following 2018 political reform in this

³⁹ Brazilian Journal of African Studies | Porto Alegre | v. 6, n. 11, Jan./Jun. 2021 | p. 129-150

country, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Kenya convened a three-way summit in Asmara (Woldemariam, 2019; Andemariam, 2020).

Although Ethiopian government brought various positive changes in the country, a number of challenges were arisen in the following years. For instance, in November 2020, TPLF armed forces opened war to EFDF in the northern part and the federal government reacted to the war to protect the country. And with this war, there were abuses against civilians, and growing humanitarian plight that made angry western countries to Ethiopian central government. Starting from that events, US-Ethiopia relations was degraded more than ever. Other events such as the Ethiopia-Eritrea new interactions, the agenda of Pan-Africanism and GERD issue were not unacceptable to the US. Even if the US claim was human right crisis in the northern part of Ethiopia during war, all the above events and others influenced US to impose sanctions on certain persons in September 2021, halt aids and AGOA termination in January 01,2022⁴⁰.

Other than Ethiopia, US has made some changes in Ethiopian neighbour, Somalia. During Trump administration with his foreign policy of “America First”, US-Africa relations degraded which holds true for HoA and in January 2021 , though the terrorist group are expanding and posing various attacks in the country, US (Biden administration) has withdrew its forces from Somalia and deployed in neighbouring countries (Chigudu,2021) and again redeployed its solders and fighting terrorists_ ‘al-Shabaab’ these days_2023⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Ministry of Planning and Development

⁴¹ <https://www.africom.mil/pressrelease/35119/somali-us-forces-engage-insurgents-in-support-of-the-federal-government-of-somalia>

4.2 Factors of US-Horn of Africa Relations(Post 2018)

4.2.1 New Political and Economic Platform in Ethiopia

When EPRDF came to power in 1991, though it promised for the advancement of democracy and rapid economic development, many of those promises were not accomplished rather it consolidated its power internally by strengthening its relation with westerns, especially US. Gudeta(2018) explained as: “...the party dominated the political landscape by military power and introduced a federal system of governance based on ethno-linguistic lines. By that time, the motivation behind for decentralization of political power was for ensuring popular participation and democratization while the regime left to Marxist-Leninist values such as Vanguard party and democratic centralism, which took democratic values to hell”. Also, externally neighbour countries such as Eritrea left to the ‘no war, no peace’ after 1998(Natnael, 2019).

In addition to political reform, the EPRDF promise during 1991 to achieve rapid economic development by introducing a free market economy. Rather than accomplishing its promises to the people of Ethiopia, the EPRDF/TPLF favoured and established endowments for its member parties⁴² such as Endowment Fund for the Rehabilitation of Tigray(for TPLF); Tired(for ANDM) ; Tumsa(for OPDO) and Wando(for SEPDM) that helped them to monopolize political economy of the country (Berhanu, 2011).

With all those problems, the mass started to protest and EPRDF/TPLF took military actions to suppress the them(Gudeta,2018). Step by step, the non-stopping protests fuelled by Master Plan around Addis Ababa ignited the mass protests which started during 2015 and resulted in new political and economic platform in Ethiopia. Following the selection of new prime minister, Abiy Ahmed (PhD), the other member parties were added to the previous four main member parties(though TPLF was not interested) and new party called Prosperity party was formed. In addition, China relation was strengthened than before, foreign capital was attracted more, the Great Dam of the Ethiopian Renaissance (GDER) was re-engaged in new way and privatization(with 51% of the shares under government control) was started in telecommunications and other sectors to maintain a good economic performance for the country (World Bank, 2020).

⁴² During EPRDF, there were 4 main member parties (TPLF, ANDM,OPDO and SEPDM) those decide on the issue of the country which were centralized and accountable to TPLF.

Furthermore, according to Visentini, (2018), after Abiy Ahmed(PhD) took the office in 2018, a number of reforms were made on regional integrations. For instance, rapprochement with Eritrea, the multilateral approach with South Sudan and Kenya for the construction of a trade corridor, and with Somaliland for the port of Berbera (Zekele, 2019).

4.2.2 War between Ethiopian Federal Government and TPLF

The previous evil works of the EPRDF regime resulted in conflict and instability in Ethiopia, hence, resignation of PM Hailamariam Desalegn and the new changes (political reforms) shifted power in between the previous four parties which turned the TPLF as a defender of the federal arrangement (Gavin, 2021).

In addition, the TPLF were not also willing to bring criminally suspected individuals who were working in different institutions like National Intelligence and Security Services, and the restructuring of the Metals and Engineering Corporation (METEC) and arresting the leaders further strained the relationship between TPLF and the federal government. Beside, the Ethio-Eritrea rapprochement was seen as marginalizing the TPLF from playing a role in national politics and the postponement of election because of Covid-19 by Federal Government had also more widened the gap between them. Following all those gaps, on 3 November, 2020, Tigray Peoples Liberation Front attacked the federal army bases in Tigray Regional State and the federal government launched “law-and-order operation” targeting the deserters who threaten the political stability of the country. Although the conflict between the two parties was internal problem, there were implications towards neighbouring countries, such as Sudan, Somalia and Egypt (Abbink, 2021).

Despite the US diplomat accused TPLF for it activated war on the Federal Government forces and subsequently attempted to regionalize the war, an expected pressure came from international community particularly US, EU and UN by targeting, the Ethiopian government and but not TPLF (Abbink, 2021a). The western were selective and incomplete in their appraisal of the conflict and in diplomatic actions towards it. Their pressure did not stop with that, but also they started to make sanctions and influences. For instance, US President Biden’s ‘Executive Order’ of 17 September 2021 personal sanctions and the EU Parliament’s resolution of 8 October 2021 on Tigray, Ethiopia. Furthermore, US imposed arm embargo on

Ethiopia on 2 November, 2021 and starting from January 01, 2022, Ethiopia is not eligible for AGOA which is related to the conflict between Ethiopian federal government and TPLF.⁴³

4.2.3 Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD)

The “Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) is a 6,450 MW hydropower project on the Blue Nile, located about 30 km upstream of the border with Sudan (Wossenu *et al.*, 2019). The primary purpose of the dam is electricity production to relieve Ethiopia's acute energy shortage and for electricity export to neighbouring countries (check the figure below)⁴⁴.

Even though Egypt neither consulted nor notified Ethiopia (the major contributor of Nile) for constructing projects on Nile, Ethiopia has the concern of sharing the water with its neighbours (Yacob and Tamrat, 2005), and unselfishly invited downstream to establish IPoEs in charge of reviewing GERD dam design documents (IPoE, 2013).

Following the Ethiopia's invitation to the two countries (Sudan and Egypt), they had started a trilateral negotiation in which negotiation and interactions were dominated by Egypt's securitization in the first phase (2011-2015). During that negotiation, Sudan supported GERD and the trilateral interaction finally resulted in a new legal order, Declaration of Principle (DoP). Unfortunately, the second phase (Post-2015) of negotiation and interaction was unsuccessful due to the Egypt's securitization, nationalization and as if the Nile issue is emerging security threat and geopolitical issue.

The new administration has done various decisions on GERD such as cancelling the subcontract awarded to Metals and Engineering Corporation, completing the first and second round of filling the dam without causing harm to downstream countries, marketing GERD as a sign and symbol of revivalism and appointment of new leaders for the project (Neamin, 2019). Egypt has used a number of manoeuvres such as policy of destabilization, psychological warfare, diplomatic wars and others to butt the GERD project by using the opportunities like political instability in Ethiopia, the division of a transitional civilian-military in Sudan, and a boundary tension between Ethiopia and Sudan, as Sudan is an oscillating actor as far as the hydro political dilemma is concerned (Salman, 2017).

⁴³ Office of United States Trade Representative, Executive office of the president <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa/east-africa/ethiopia>

⁴⁴ Ethiopia: GERD Increases Generation Capacity". *all Africa*. 28 February 2017. Retrieved on 02 January, 2023

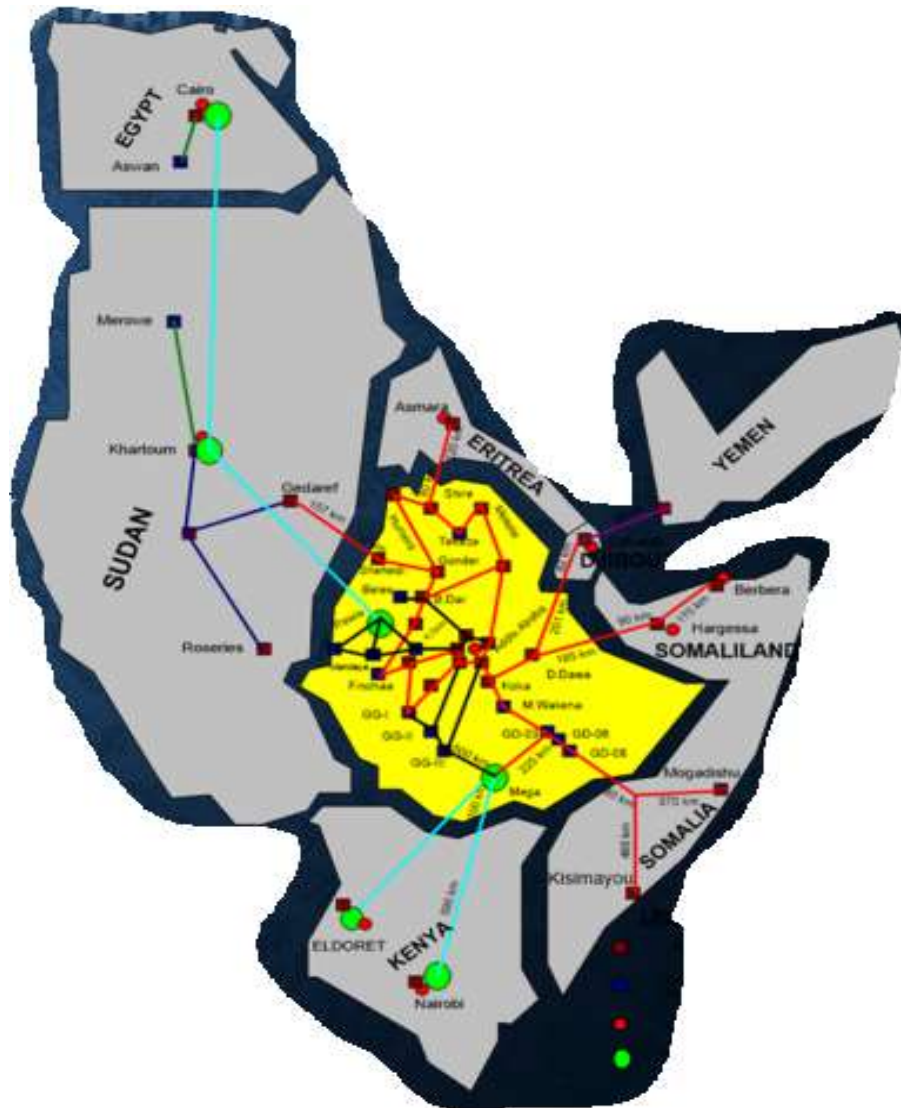


Figure 4: Regional interconnection with electric energy⁴⁵

Amazingly, US has been on the side of Egypt and demanded three points from Ethiopia: to sign the draft agreement, refrain from filling or testing the dam prior to signing the deal, and implement dam safety measures (U.S. Department of the Treasury,2020). Above all, what made angry Ethiopia was the Trump’s war of words-‘Egypt might blow up the dam’ (BBC, 2020a).As a result, the Ethiopian government withdrew from the U.S.-led mediation process by blaming America of bias, and then insisted that the African Union should preside over any future negotiations while it argued the U.S. and European Union should be observers in the negotiation process_ this degraded the US-Ethiopia relations. With this, the United States cut

⁴⁵ https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36067-doc-ethiopian_energy_sector_highlight_lome_togo_december_2017_final.pdf

\$100 million in aid to Ethiopia in September 2021⁴⁶. During Biden administration, even though the escalations between US and Ethiopia were increased due to Tigray-Federal government of Ethiopia conflict, Ethiopia has done its best. Despite Egypt brought the dam issue to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 2020 and 2021, Ethiopia proceeded with the first and second filling unilaterally (Attia and Saleh, 2021). Again, during Biden administration, with all diplomatic crisis with US, Ethiopia completed the third filling on 12 August 2022⁴⁷.

4.2.4 Chinese Influence in the Horn of Africa

The U.S. wants to play in the horn region for its national interest, but it is becoming difficult due to competing powers such as China, Russia, France and others (the Persian Gulf countries and Türkiye). Gebru (2020) explained that since the first Forum on China-Africa, China has shared the horn region with US, splitting interests between US's military-industrial security sphere and China's economic and trade relations.

Chinese interest is increasing in the HoA. Its current presence in the horn is led by Beijing's intention to leverage its position as a rising world power and seize new areas of influence. For instance previously, China was playing its best in economic and ideological aspects, but the contemporary (post 2017) China-horn region is also boosting Chinese peace and security interest. Horn countries get financial support, in the form of grants and concessional loans from the China that helps them to avoid conditionalities of the others (Breuer, 2017).

⁴⁶ Reuters. 20 February 2021. U.S. to de-link Ethiopian aid pause from dam policy

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ethiopia-dam-usa-idUSKBN2AK08O>

⁴⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Ethiopian_Renaissance_Dam#cite_note-wossenuetal-35



Figure 5: Chinese projects in the HoA (mentioned by yellow stars)⁴⁸

These days, China is expanding its investments more than before in the HoA, especially in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia. For instance, the Ethiopian Eastern Industrial Zone which was formally launched in 2009 in the town of Dukem had increased to 83 companies by 2018(Ding & Chuan, 2020).

What worries US more than before is the foundation of Chinese MB in the horn region_Djibouti on 1st August 2017 with a total cost of 590 million USD for logistical and humanitarian support operations (Pamba,2021). What adds value to Chinese-horn relations is that, Chinese also finance peace operations and sends military personnel to the horn during harsh times(donated about 300,000 USD to the AMISOM in 2009. Furthermore, China is providing humanitarian aids, expanding investments and promoting peace and security more than before that promotes its NI than ever (Xinhua, 2018).

In addition to the previous interests, China is exporting its ideology to the horn. For instance, Ethiopia is among the importer of this ideology. During 2016, Chinese model of state-led economic growth was the second most popular across the Africa after the US economic

⁴⁸ CRU Policy Brief (April 2018).China and the EU in the HoA: competition and cooperation? (Page 5)

model⁴⁹. Moreover, very odd to the previous contributions, this country is promising Africa to build a comprehensive regional healthcare and disease control system. For instance, with the help of Chinese government(providing Chinese-made medical equipment), AU is building Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Addis Ababa (Habibi and Zhu,2021).

From the above explanations one can conclude that China is expanding its area of influence in the HoA particularly in Ethiopia with holistic interests that affects US NI which in turn degrades US-Ethiopia relations.

4.2.5 Countering Terrorism

Menkhaus (2013) in his work explained that since the fall of Said Barre administration in 1991, Somalia has been the centre of political violence, competition, transnational crime, terrorism and international attention. Rooting out extremism at the end of the day requires intervention beyond traditional military means to bring stabilization and economic development, and resolve conflicts⁵⁰. This scholar added that in addition to great powers competition, with China and Russia, US has also another agenda in the horn_fighting against al-Shabaab (a classic counter-terrorism and counterinsurgency effort)(Mathiasen, 2022).

The current US document, Biden-Harris National Security Strategy(published in October 2022), presents the US position on terrorism issue in the horn as:

Today's terrorist threat is more ideologically diverse and geographically diffuse than that of two decades ago...Somalia remain terrorist sanctuaries; local affiliates have become entrenched actors in regional conflicts. Many of these groups still intend to carry out or inspire others to attack the United States and our interests abroad, even as years of sustained counterterrorism and law enforcement pressure have constrained their capabilities, and enhanced security measures and information sharing have improved our defences.

These days US's administrations are constantly changing in relation with Somalia's issues_countering terrorism.For instance, deploying,withdrawing and redeploying of armed forces in Somalia from 2021 to 2023 by during Trump(Chigudu,2021) and Biden administrations⁵¹.

⁴⁹ CRU Policy Brief(April 2018).China and the EU in the Horn of Africa: competition and cooperation?

⁵⁰ <https://www.africom.mil/pressrelease/35119/somali-us-forces-engage-insurgents-in-support-of-the-federal-government-of-somalia>

⁵¹ <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2022/05/20/raan-m20.html>

4.2.6 Other Factors

The change that came in Ethiopia during 2018 also brought many changes in the horn as well to US-Horn relations. Firstly, Between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the period from 2000 to 2018 was no-peace no-war. But the two countries came with peace deal by July 2018 and their relation has changed as well(Roba and Selam, 2021). Secondly, the peace deal has restructured interstate relations in the Horn of African countries. For instance, HoA Cooperation (HoAC) was signed in January 2020, by Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia to form a new regional bloc. The tripartite co-operation was expected to promote regional stability and prosperity. On the other side, it was also expected to undermine the activities of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development that may question Ethiopia's long-established links with other IGAD member states and may disappoint western countries/donors who are behind IGAD(Woldemariam, 2019; Andemariam, 2020).

But the problem is that the Ethiopia's Prime minister steps did not change the Eritrea's president behaviour as US expected(Thinking that PM Abiy Ahmed(PhD) "refused to demonize Eritrea's president, and in so doing, tacitly rejected America's intention and its policy towards Eritrea"). In addition, the US got other assignment for the formation of the new regional bloc, HoA Cooperation (HoAC) as it needs search outs to control it like IGAD so that US is going to protect its NI in the horn. And the US points its finger to Ethiopia as father of all this changes, as a result the US-Ethiopia relations was declined.

Thirdly, the newly elected Ethiopian prime minister promotes Pan-Africanism and African solutions to African problems, which help African countries to stand together in terms of their social and economic policies so that they may reduce unfair exploitation of their natural resources by westerns, especially US, which led to the ruin of US-Ethiopia and other African countries relations.

4.3 US-Horn of Africa Relations(Post 2018): Implications to Ethiopia's National Interest

Contemporary US-HoA Relations has various implications (positive or negative implications) to Ethiopia's national interest (political interest, economic interest, peace and security interest). In this section from US-Horn of African countries' relations, US-Ethiopia relations were discussed in detail as various events were taking place(after 2018) between these two countries than other states(Djibouti and Somalia) and at the end, US-Djibouti relations were presented emphasising on economic security. c

4.3.1 Implications to Ethiopia's National Interest

4.3.1.1 Implications to Ethiopia's Economic Interest

US-HoA Relations(post 2018) has negatively affected Ethiopia's economic interest. From 2016 to 2021, the US-Ethiopia trade on average was 1.65 billion USD of which US's export to Ethiopia was 1.4 billion USD and 251.9 million USD was Ethiopia's export to US. Among various sectors which open trade between US and eligible Sab-Saharan countries, the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) was enacted in 2000 and a duty-free access platform to the U.S. market. It helps eligible nations grow, diversify their exports to the United States, and create employment and inclusive economic growth. In order to be AGOA-eligible, countries are assessed annually on their progress in undertaking proper economic, institutional and human rights reforms⁵²(there was US claim on human right crisis in the northern part of Ethiopia during war between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government)⁵³.

Ethiopia has been using AGOA to export its products to the United States via its national utilization strategy that identified five priority areas such as textiles and garments, leather and leather products, horticulture, handcrafts, and agro-processing. From 2015 to 2016, Ethiopia's export (AGOA eligible products) to US was increased in value by 50 percent, from US\$44 million to US\$66 million (Mahabir and Mullings, 2020).

Using AGOA opportunity, especially, textile and garment industry sector, Ethiopia's external trade has shown growth. For instance, during 2005 it was 6.7million USD and increased to 151millionUSD in 2021. In addition, the market opportunity has boosted the country's investment (from 69 to 261). Furthermore, starting from 2017, the youth employment has been increasing by 24% annually and currently reached about 80,000 employee of which more than 70% are women workers. This market potential has also indirectly created job for more than

⁵² Africa Growth and Opportunity Act. (2000). United States of America. http://trade.gov/agoa/legislation/agoa_main_002118.

⁵³ Ministry of Industry.(2022). AGOA assessment report

160,000 people.⁵⁴ But, starting from January 01,2022, Ethiopia is not eligible for AGOA which is related to the conflict between Ethiopian federal government and TPLF.⁵⁵

Based on 2021 US's export share in trade, because of AGOA's termination, the manufacturing industries may face tariff of 33,716,705 million USD. Among the the manufacturing industries, Textiles and Apparel, leather and food industries may be posed with tariff of 29,000,000 million USD, 1,766,000 million USD and 496,800 million USD of which 86% goes to Textiles and Apparel industries. In addition, with AGOA's terminated from Ethiopia, it may pose 10 to 30% tariff on export products from Ethiopia to US which paves way for US companies to shift themselves to other countries who will provide them with less prices, a result, Ethiopian industries have to export their products with less prices which in turn declines Ethiopia's income from trade. After April 2022 more than 90% of the industries have no orders from US companies. With this, it is expected that manufacturing industries may miss up to 110 million USD annually. Furthermore, due to AGOA, two industries in Hawasa were closed and 1,763 employees have lost their job. Not only that but also most of manufacturing industries are decreasing the number of their workers and it is expected that more than 90,000 employees will lost their job. Moreover, FDI inflows may decrease as the investors may leave this country(it is expected that Ethiopia may lose more than 553million USD capital) and finally, this problem(AGOA termination) may result in decrease in government's income, for instance, it may lose about 14,411,163 USD from shade rents only in a year⁵⁶.

In addition to the above, the peresent US-HoA relations has negatively impacted in relation with GERD, which is accepted as national economic interest and pride of Ethiopia. US has been on the side of Egypt(“ as Egypt is a valued U.S. partner in counterterrorism, anti-trafficking, and regional security operations, which advance both U.S. and Egyptian security⁵⁷”) and demanded three points from Ethiopia: to sign the draft agreement, refrain from filling or testing the dam prior to signing the deal, and implement dam safety measures (U.S. Department of the Treasury,2020). Above all, what made angry Ethiopia was the Trump's war of words-‘Egypt might blow up the dam’ which is totally against Ethiopia(BBC,2020a). Furthermore,Ethiopian government withdraws from the U.S.-led mediation process in GERD

⁵⁴ Ministry of Industry.(2022).AGOA assessment report

⁵⁵ Office of United States Trade Representative, Executive office of the president <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa/east-africa/ethiopia>

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ <https://www.state.gov/the-u-s-egypt> relationship

and this Ethiopia's action insisted the United States to cut \$100 million in aid to Ethiopia in September 2021⁵⁸.

Contemporary(Post 2018) US-HoA relations may negatively affect Ethiopia's economy in other way. For instance, Ethiopia being landlocked state_the presence of foreign powers like US in the area may negatively affect the national economic security of it, as Djibouti alone may not decide on its issues(Sun & Zoubir, 2016 p. 115; Mangistu,2020). On the other hand, the present(post 2018) US-HoA Relations has positive implications to Ethiopia's economic interest. According to Pichon and Pietsch(2019:3) "illegal fishing and armed robbery at sea" are being considered as a risk to the "global economies" including HoA that harms directly or indirectly Ethiopia's economy as it increases the costs of imports and exports, but the presence of super powers like US in the horn reduces/avoids these problems and the military facilities of US in the Horn provide technical assistance and logistic hub for countering piracy and armed robbery and secure Ethiopia's ships from possible attacks.

It is known that Ethiopia has no access to sea in HoA. Ethiopia gets the sea through Djibouti where US MB is there. The presence of this MB protects Djibouti from external and internal threats which indirectly protects Ethiopia's economic activities (Sun & Zoubir, 2016, p. 115 ; Mangistu, 2020). In general, the US-HoA relations(after 2018) has both negative and positive implications to Ethiopia's economic interest.

4.3.1.2 Implications to Ethiopia's Peace, military and Political security

In addition to Ethiopia's economic interest, the post 2018 US-HoA relations has both positive and negative implications to Ethiopia's security, military and political interest.

The presence of the US(with its military base) in the HoA can lead to stability as it may respond to the wars in the region which holds true for Ethiopia because one of the main pillars of Ethiopia's foreign policy and security strategy of 2002 and the draft foreign policy document of 2019 is stability (Mangistu, 2020).

The US existence in Djibouti may have positive implication for Ethiopia's security and military as it may provide military supports like materials/equipments and skills through training for Ethiopian armed forces. USAFRICOM in its posture statements (2018, 2019, 2020)

⁵⁸ Reuters. 20 February 2021. U.S. to de-link Ethiopian aid pause from dam policy
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ethiopia-dam-usa-idUSKBN2AK08O>

illustrated that fighting against state instability, violent extremists, engagements in providing basic military skills, humanitarian assistance and others are the USs new strategic priorities. US presence in the horn has also advantage for horn countries such as Ethiopia as US may share the burden of ensuring regional security (Dahir, 2019 p. 11).

Contemporary US-HoA Relations has also negative implications to Ethiopia's security, military and political interest. During 2018(December) the Trump administration publicized a new strategy for Africa that emphasizes on super powers (China and Russia) competition, beside advancing US economic interests and countering violent extremist groups⁵⁹. But, opposite to this promises, US has withdrawn its military forces committed to counterterrorism in Africa_Somalia while Al-Shabaab is strategically preparing itself to pose a threat, not only to the isolated Somalia, but also to the rest of the HoA counties including Ethiopia(Chigudu,2021). In addition to the above explanations, the US MB in the HoA may negatively affect the national integrity and sovereignty of Ethiopia due to Ethiopia's internal politics and the country's nature(different ethnic groups) (Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016).

Furthermore, it is known that there are a number of MBs in the HoA, including US and Chinese who have different political ideology (for instance US follows liberalism while China opposes it) that may lead to political and military insecurity to Ethiopia, in case ideology is going to be a contributing element to establish future relation between the nation states(Solomon, 2016). Finally, the current gap between TPLF and the Ethiopian federal government (which is under progress after Pretoria agreement) may paves way for foreign powers like US to exercise their tactical and dirty agenda which may cause a national security risk to Ethiopia incase it fails its promises. In general, the present(2018 to present) US-HoA relations has both negative and positive implications to Ethiopia's security, military and political interest.

⁵⁹ Copp, T., 'Understaffed AFRICOM cutting hundreds more troops', *Stars and Stripes*, 21 Feb. 2019

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLICATIONS OF THE US-HORN OF AFRICA RELATIONS TO ETHIOPIA'S NATIONAL INTEREST(POST 2018)

This chapter presents the collected data from key informants of various institutions and the analysis that the researcher forwarded regarding the implications of US-HoA relations to Ethiopia's national interest(economy, military, peace and security).This section also discusses about the perspectives of US-Horn of Africa relations. In addition to primary data collected from respondents, the researcher also has used policy documents, reports of relevant institutions and views of some writers.

5.1 Implications to Ethiopia's Economic Interest

5.1.1 Positive Economic Implications (Opportunities)

It is known that HoA is the region with low economy where majority of peoples depend on agriculture and nomadic pastoralism, and suffer from droughts (Abdulqadir *et. al.*,2018; Meala, 2011,p. 1). The data collected from different institutions illustrated that contemporary US-HoA Relations has both positive and negative implications to Ethiopia's economic interest, even if the negative implications outweigh positive implication.

According Dr. Henock(Interview on March 1, 2023) who is from Institute of Foreign Affairs, even if US's investment is not as much as that of China, "the flow of Foreign Direct Investment to the region" by US and because of US(as it gives confidence to investors) is one of the economic opportunities for Ethiopia. He also forwarded that "the US-horn relation can create some market and demand which could augment the regional economy" that directly or indirectly affect Ethiopia's Economy positively.

In addition, for Mr. Sebsibe (Interview on February 22, 2023 at Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the presence of US in HoA has positive implications to Ethiopia's economy as well as for the neighbouring countries. He affirmed that the contemporary US-Djibouti relation with its MB in the country can maintain trade route in the region. He also added that the contemporary US-horn relation boosts Ethiopian Economy indirectly, elaborating that the foreign soldiers and their families in Djibouti generate income to Ethiopia during their annual visit in our country.

Similarly, from the Ministry of Finance, Mr. Samuel (Interview on February 24, 2023) explained that indirectly, Ethiopia can be benefited economically as US invests a lot of money

in destination country (Djibouti) for its MB. For instance, it had provided millions of billions of dollar for land lease, economic growth and trade in the country and Djibouti uses this money to export utilities (electricity, water and others) from Ethiopia.

Furthermore, other participant from IPSS, interviewee 1 (interview on February 28, 2023) forwarded that the US-horn counties relation has economic advantage for Ethiopia as it is a landlocked country in the HoA and gets the sea through Djibouti, where US MB rationed and protecting the route from threats.

From the above data (interviews) the researcher came with the following conclusions regarding economic benefits those Ethiopia gets from contemporary US-horn relations. The US-horn relations can protect trade routes and maritime in the region including Ethiopia's ships from possible attack of piracy and armed robbery. In addition, the presence of US in the horn may encourage other countries' companies to invest in Ethiopia.

Furthermore, Ethiopia may also benefit from competitions that US does with other countries like China. This is supported by Cobiskey (2018) who claimed as the US supplied about one billion dollar for better economic growth of the horn and Djibouti to extend and get more land. Not only that but also Sun & Zoubir(2016, p. 115) and Mangistu (2020) argued that the US-horn(Djibouti)relation protects Djibouti from external and internal threats which indirectly protects the national economic security of Ethiopia.

Moreover, Ethiopia is a landlocked country in the HoA and the presence of US in the region secures imports and exports of Ethiopia from external threats. This is also backed by other researchers such as Pichon and Pietsch(2019:3) who described as illegal fishing and armed robbery at sea are being considered as a threat to the global economies including HoA implying that it harms directly or indirectly Ethiopia's economy as it increases the costs of imports and exports. But, the presence of super powers like US in the horn reduces/avoids these problems (Melvin, 2019).

But the researcher has some reservations with what the interviewees forwarded regarding the positive implications of the contemporary US-HoA Relations to Ethiopia's economic interest. Some participants confirmed that the presence of US in horn gives confidence to investors of other countries to invest in Ethiopia. But this cannot hold true when it comes to Chinese and Russian investors. For instance, Us is not happy with the chinese investments(realways, roads and other utilities) in Ethiopia and other parts of the horn regions. To add more, US's

economic development promises to developing countries like Ethiopia are not consistent, even during harsh times. For instance, US had halted aids from Ethiopia during TPLF and Ethiopian federal government war. Finally, the US military base in Djibouti may protect trade routes including that of Ethiopia, but what about if Djibouti is not willing? This means, for researcher, it is some what hard to be sure if the two counties have no common interests with Ethiopia.

5.1.2 Negative Economic Implications (Risks)

On the other side, the key informants also forwarded the negative implications of the contemporary US-HoA relations to Ethiopia's economic interest. According to Mr. Dereje (Interview on February 23, 2023) the current US-Ethiopia relation has negatively affected Ethiopia's economy. As he explained, Ethiopia and US had signed agreement (from 2019 to 2024) that US has to provide about 2 billion US Dollar to Ethiopia for economic purposes, but due to the war between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government, the deal has not properly accomplished (primarily it was signed for development cooperation) but later on, it was supplied for humanitarian aids.

The other participant from Institute of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Anteneh (Interview on February 16, 2023) confirmed that these days Djibouti has become a play field of various powers such as US that poses pressure on it in determining its own fate and the country which Ethiopia uses for importing and exporting goods. His view is that in case Ethiopia gets some problem with US, it may halt Ethiopia's import and export route in Djibouti.

In addition to the above, other researcher from the same institute, Interviewee 2, (Interview on February 16, 2023) claimed that if the Ethiopia's current sophisticated relationship with China continues, US may ignore Ethiopia at all and will start to work with other neighbour countries which may result in decrease or strike of US and its allies' aids to the country.

Another key informant from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sebsibe (Interview on February 22, 2023), forwarded that the current US-Ethiopia relation has brought some economic problems; the war between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government degraded the relationship between Ethiopia and US that resulted in holding of aids from westerns.

Furthermore, other participant from Institute of Foreign Affairs (Interviewee 3, on February 15, 2023) explained that US (which is a country with giant economy) can change the current situation between Ethiopia and Djibouti and can halt Ethiopia's access to the Djibouti's port.

Moreover, as IPSS informant, interviewee 1, (Interview on February 28, 2023) tried to present, the now days Somalia-US policy changes regarding countering terrorism in Somalia may negatively affect Ethiopia's Economy as Al-Shabaab can be main threat to Ethiopia internally as well as externally. He also added that the US's geo-economic competition with other powers like China could negatively affect Ethiopia's international trade.

Finally, Dr. Anteneh(Interview on February 16, 2023) and Mr. Eshetu (Interview on February 28, 2023) raised that the contemporary US-HoA relations has negatively impacted Ethiopia's economy pointing that the issue of AGOA which was the result of northern Ethiopian war. The other key informant Dr. Wuhibegzer (Interview on February 15, 2023) elaborated that the contemporary US-HoA relations have negatively impacted in relation with GERD which is national economic interest and pride for Ethiopia, but US has been on the side of Egypt, thus, Ethiopian government withdrew from the U.S.-led mediation process in GERD which insisted the United States to cut \$100 million in aid to Ethiopia in September 2021.

From the data above, the researcher has presented the opinions of participants as follow regarding the contemporary US-HoA Relations and its implications to Ethiopia's economic interest. Directly or indirectly, the contemporary US-HoA relations has negative implications to Ethiopia's economic interest as can be confirmed from the data the key informants forwarded. For instance, as Dr. Anteneh (Interview on February 16, 2023) tried to explain, the contemporary US-HoA relations(particularly with Ethiopia) has negatively impacted Ethiopia's economy. This is supported by the data obtained from Interviewee 6 (Interview on February 28, 2023) . According to this Interviewee 6, from 2016 to 2021, the US-Ethiopia trade on average was 1.65 billion USD of which US's export to Ethiopia was 1.4 billion USD and 251.9 million USD was Ethiopia's export to US.

The Interviewee 6 presented that African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) was enacted in 2000 and a duty-free access platform to the U.S. market. It helps eligible nations grow, diversify their exports to the United States, and create employment and inclusive economic growth. But due to the US claim on human right crisis in the northern part of Ethiopia during war between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government ,Ethiopia became not eligible to AGOA from January 01, 2022. According to Mahabir and Mullings (2020) from 2015 to 2016, Ethiopia's export (AGOA eligible products) to US was increased in value by 50 percent, from US\$44 million to US\$66 million.

The Interviewee 6 also added that using AGOA opportunity, especially, textile and garment industry sector, Ethiopia's external trade has shown growth. For instance, during 2005 it was 6.7million USD and increased to 151millionUSD in 2021. According to him, the Interviewee 6, the market opportunity had boosted the country's investment (from 69 to 261), starting from 2017, the youth employment has been increasing by 24% annually and reached about 80,000 employee of which more than 70% are women workers. The key informant again discussed that the market potential had also indirectly created job for more than 160,000 people. But the AGOA termination came with a number of economic and social problems to Ethiopia. For example, based on 2021 US's export share in trade, because of AGOA's termination, the manufacturing industries may face tariff of 33,716,705 million USD (Textiles and Apparel, leather and food industries may be exposed to tariff of 29,000,000 USD, 1,766,000 USD and 496,800 USD respectively of which 86% goes to Textiles and Apparel industries).

Furthermore, the Interviewee 6 forwarded that as AGOA's terminated from Ethiopia, it may bring 10 to 30% tariff on export products from Ethiopia to US which paves way for US companies to shift themselves to other countries which in turn declines Ethiopia's income from trade.

Moreover, the the Interviewee 6 affirmed that after April 2022 more than 90% of the industries have no orders from US companies, hence the manufacturing industries may miss up to 110 million USD annually, FDI inflows may decrease as the investors may leave this country(it is expected that Ethiopia may lose more than 553million USD capital), and it may result in decrease in government's income(for instance, it may lose about 14,411,163 USD from shade rents only in a year).

Finally, the contemporary US-HoA relations have negatively impacted in relation with GERD which is national economic interest and pride for Ethiopia and also halted about \$100 million in aid to Ethiopia(Dr. wuhibegzer, February 15, 2023). At the end, the contemporary US-horn relations(particularly its relation with Djibouti) may negatively affect Ethiopia's economic interest as its MB activities may inhibit Ethiopia's use of the Djibouti port (FDRE, 2002; Gashaw and Zelalem ,2016; Zelalem ,2018). To conclude it, the researcher realized that the contemporary US-HoA countries relation has significant negative economic impact on Ethiopia and forwarded that even if the relation has positive implications to Ethiopia's economy, the more goes to negative economic implications from 2018 to present.

5.2 Peace and Security, Military and Political security Implications

5.2.1 Peace and Security, Military and Political security Implications: Opportunities

In addition to economic opportunity, the contemporary US-Horn of African countries' relations has also positive peace, military and political security implications to Ethiopia. According interviewee 1 (interview on February 28, 2023) the contemporary US-Horn counties relations, particularly with Djibouti has positive security implications for horn countries. He added that the US's MB in Djibouti has great concern in fighting against anti-peace elements in theHoA. For instance, the presence of US reduces the expansion of terrorists such as Al-Shabaab and others in the horn as well as Ethiopia. The other participant from Institute of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Anteneh(Interview on February 16, 2023) explained that the Djibouti-US relation (regarding the MB) can pave way for military training for Ethiopian military forces that help them to combat terrorists.

Furthermore, Dr. Wuhibegzer(Interview on February 15, 2023) argued that the US-Horn of Africa relations has a great role in stabilizing the HoA as US has the potential of inhibiting inter conflicts among the countries and halting external destabilizing parts. Mr. Sebsibe (Interview on February 22, 2023 at Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and Interviewee 2, (Interview on February 16, 2023) argued that the US-Somalia relation in countering terrorism in Somalia and neighbouring countries has reduced security threats in the destination country including Ethiopia.

Moreover, other participant from Institute of Foreign Affairs (Interviewee 3, on February 15, 2023) explained that the US's primary objective in theHoA is security rather than economic issues. Hence, US engage itself in realizing and ensuring region's peace and security via various organizations such as IGAD,UN,USAID, CJTF-HOA and others by providing intelligence, military training and cooperation to horn counties(particularly Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti).

Finally, Dr. Henock(interview on March 1, 2023) explained that US's participation in horn countries in security sector can bring political security for Ethiopia as it hinders the criminal activities of terrorist groups and other rebels those have the potential of destabilizing countries.

From the above data (interviews) the researcher came with the following conclusions. Almost all the respondents agreed that the contemporary US-Horn of African countries' relations has helpful peace, military and political security implication to Ethiopia.

The US's relation with Djibouti and Somalia can play a stabilizing factor in the region through preventing interstate war and counter-terrorism operations which is NI of Ethiopia. In addition to that the US's military activities in the horn can provide great opportunities for Ethiopian military forces to get training, intelligence and skills so that they will defend Ethiopia and the region from external and internal threats(Dr. Anteneh, Interview on February 16, 2023;Dr. Wuhibegzer, Interview on February 15, 2023;Interviewee 3, on February 15, 2023; interviewee 1, interview on February 28, 2023).This is clearly supported by other scholars such as Gashaw and Zelalem (2016) and (Volman,2009) who uncovered United States has been providing military training and assistances to the horn countries including Ethiopia through East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative and Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership.

Furthermore, Frederick *et al.*(2018) and Mangistu(2020) presented that the presence of the US(MB) in the HoA can lead to stability as it may respond to the wars in the region which holds true for Ethiopia because one of the main pillars of Ethiopia's foreign policy and security strategy of 2002 and the draft foreign policy document of 2019 is enhancing stability.

Fianlly, US-Djibouti relations have positive implication for Ethiopia's peace and security, and military as it provides military training, technology transfer and skills for Ethiopian armed forces. For instance, during March 2016, US and Ethiopia had signed a new agreement to enhance security partnership as elaborated in CJT-HOA(2016) and also Dahir (2019, p. 11) and USAFRICOM in its posture statements (2018, 2019, 2020) illustrated that fighting against state instability, violent extremists, engagements in providing basic military skills, humanitarian assistance and others are the US's new strategic priorities.

5.2.2 Peace and Security, Military and Political security Implication: Risks

The data collected from the informants revealed that the contemporary US-HoA Relations has also negative implications to Ethiopia's peace and security, military and political security. According to interviewee 1 (interview on February 28, 2023) the US-horn counties relations (particularly with Djibouti) may undermine security of the horn. He discussed that the presence of US MB in this region may pave way for interring illegally in the affairs of the horn sovereign states like Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia as they do not have strong military forces. The interviewee 1 also said: US puts individual liberty before inviolable sovereign rights and believes that armed interventions are sometimes necessary through 'Responsibility to Protect'.

The other participant from Institute of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Anteneh(Interview on February 16, 2023) described that the contemporary US-Somalia relations regarding countering terrorism

which fluctuates with US presidents(Obama, Trump and Biden) admirations has negative peace and security, military and political security implication for Ethiopia. He reasoned out that the gap that US makes by withdrawing and redeploying its forces from/to Somalia can pose threat to Ethiopia and others as terrorist groups are expanding in the region. Dr. Anteneh also confirmed that US policy makers pin at the top the issue of Countering terrorism, and stability in Africa, but when it comes to reality, US may undermine such foreign policy with the change of its administrations. For example, Trump's national security strategy was solid on countering terrorism in horn and other parts of the world but later on the president planned to withdraw US forces from some parts of the destination countries.

Dr. Henock (Interview on March 1, 2023) also explained that as US prioritise its political and military interests, in competition with other super powers (for instance, China) US may compromise the security interests of theHoA. In addition to the above, Interviewee 2, (Interview on February 16, 2023) argued that the now days Ethio-US relation has negative implications for Ethiopia's NI. As example, he forwarded, US was selective and incomplete in its appraisal of the conflict between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government and in diplomatic actions. He also claimed that in spite of the US diplomat accused TPLF for it activated war on the Federal Government forces and subsequently attempted to regionalize the war, an expected pressure came from international community particularly US which targeted Ethiopia and even the US had tried to change regime.

According to Interviewee 3, (on February 15, 2023) US was/is planning to create puppet leaders in horn countries those compromise their NI and long last their regime. On top of this, he introduced that US was trying to degrade Ethiopia's role in securing its internal affairs and external security issues. For instance, US has been conducting meeting with Kenya as a regional hegemony on different issues in last two years. Beside that he forwarded that because of geopolitical aggression and intransigence between great powers, US was trying to conduct proxy war to Ethiopia in northern conflict which has the potential of risking Ethiopia's peace and security.

Moreover, Dr. Anteneh (Interview on February 16, 2023) also confirmed that US's key interests in the horn are combating terrorist group from Somalia, preventing any regional power from controlling the horn and establishing the strongest MB in Djibouti with the objectives of winning the war on terror and gaining military gain on China and Russia. With this contrasting concept of US to China and Russia, he replied that there is the diverging interest between US

and China on political, economic, and security issues. The worst is that previously China was following non-interference policy in African countries especially on peace and security but now days it is involving inHoA. It has officially launched its MB in Djibouti starting from August 2017. His fear is that the competition between these super powers can negatively affect Ethiopia's peace and security, military and political security.

Finally, according to Mr. Sebsibe (Interview on February 22, 2023 at Ministry of Foreign Affairs) as a country, Ethiopia does not have problem with Djibouti and Somalia, but the conflict of interests that super powers have in those countries may come with sound problems to Ethiopia's political interest. For instance, he presented as: the US's intention is to promote democracy and the rule of law through consolidation of democratic institutions in Africa including Ethiopia while China prefers economic growth and development before individual liberty. And he argued that for how long Ethiopia continues to be in relationship with these states at the same time? In case choice will come from these super powers, where Ethiopia will tilt to, US or China? He claimed that even if Ethiopia can use sophisticated diplomacy to such ambiguities, directly or indirectly the events can affect Ethiopia's political and other interests.

From the above data (interviews) the researcher came with the following analyses. The participants in this study affirmed that the contemporary US-horn counties relations (particularly with Djibouti) has the potential of undermining security of the horn including Ethiopia as they do not have strong military forces. This is supported by works of Styan(2013) and Chaziza(2018) who uncovered the US's military evils to the 2001 war in Afghanistan and the Iraq to remove the regime by using Saudi and Kuwaiti facilities respectively. Similarly to the above explanations Gashaw and Zelalem(2016) presented in their paper as, the US MB in the HoA may pose a threat to the national integrity and sovereignty of Ethiopia _due to Ethiopia's internal politics and the country's nature(different ethnic groups).

In addition to the above, the contemporary US-Somalia relations may bring risk to Ethiopia's peace and security, military and political security. Similarly other writers such as Chengdu(2021) confirmed that though the terrorist group are expanding and posing various attacks in the country, US (Biden administration) has withdrew its forces from Somalia and deployed in neighbouring countries and redeployed 450 US soldiers to Somalia at the request of the Pentagon for countering al-Shabab⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2022/05/20/raan-m20.html>

Furthermore, the participants revealed that the now days Ethio-US relation has negative implications to Ethiopia's national interest. This can be witnessed by the US's selective and incomplete judgement of the conflict between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government which targeted Ethiopia (Abbink, 2021a). To add on this, the current gap between TPLF and the Ethiopian federal government (which is under progress after Pretoria agreement) may paves way for foreign powers like US to play game which may pose a national security threat to the country in case Ethiopia fails to protect its promises.

Moreover, as can be understood from the data collected, US may degrade Ethiopia's national interest(peace and security, political and military security) through creation of puppet leaders in horn countries and proxy war to Ethiopia.

Finally, it is affirmed that the geopolitical aggression and intransigence between US and other powers, and their diverging interest on political, economic, and security interests can negatively affect Ethiopia's peace, military and political security. US's intention is, to promote democracy and the rule of law through consolidation of democratic institutions in Africa including Ethiopia while China prefers economic growth and development before individual liberty⁶¹. Beside the above claims, other writers like Haile (2015) and Solomon(2016) elaborated in their work that US and Chinese who have different political ideology (Chinese socialism, US's liberalism) may lead to political and military insecurity to Ethiopia, in case ideology is going to be a contributing element to establish future relation between the nation states.

The researcher shares the opinion of the participants regarding the contemporary US-HoA Relations' negative implications to Ethiopia's peace and security, military and political security. For instance, the researcher strongly agree with the participants on the now days Ethio-US relations' and the issues such as the US's selective and incomplete judgement of the conflict between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government which targeted Ethiopia. To add on this,It is impossible to be sure about US regarding countering terrorism as US may suddenly stop such activities(Forr example, United States pulled out its forces from Afghanistan in 2021 and Taliban takeover the country).This means, US does not care about the other states's regimes,stability,territorial integrity and human rights unless it matches with the US's interest.

⁶¹ U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa, White House, June 2012, [http://www. whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/ docs/Africa strategy 2.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/Africa_strategy_2.pdf).

5.3 Perspectives of contemporary US-Horn of Africa relations

Different scholars, experts and researchers have various perspectives on the contemporary US-Horn of African countries' relations. According to Dr. Anteneh (Interview on February 16, 2023) there are two broad perspectives regarding the contemporary US-Horn of African countries' relations, particularly Ethiopia. The first group belongs to hardliners (out-in perspectives) and the second group are from soft-liners (inside-out perspectives). As he tried to explain, for hardliners (out-in perspectives) there are a number of enemies which this group call historical enemies. According to this group, westerns and some regional nations have harsh problem with Ethiopia. They believe that Ethiopia is the only African country not colonized by westerns and a pre-eminent symbol of pan-Africanism. In addition, Dr. Anteneh forwarded that this group see the problem Ethiopia is facing from outside to inside. They reason out that Ethiopia is the origin of humankind and the country which developed the writing system (Geez or Ethiopic)⁶². As a result, westerns and other regional nations do not want the development of Ethiopia by any means. To add more, this group lists various actions that western and other parts of the world are doing to Ethiopia. As example, they raises the GERD issue which has been under obstacle of different counties, including US. Furthermore, he described that the group believes that the current US-Ethiopia relation is modern colony that degrades Ethiopia's national interest..

According to Dr. Anteneh the second group belongs to soft-liners (in-out perspectives). In his explanation, this group accepts the internal problems of Ethiopia such as low knowledge of diplomacy, culture of work, lack of good governance, political problems, inappropriate use of resources, corruption, ethnic conflicts and others which contributed to underdevelopment of Ethiopia rather than pointing to western countries like US. He added that they believe that they have to admit their problem and use skilful diplomacy to work with US.

The other participant from IPSS, interviewee 1 (interview on February 28, 2023) replied that even if some aspects of US-Ethiopia relations have indicative problems for Ethiopia, the internal problems are more threats than outside threats to Ethiopia. He also added that the contemporary US-Ethiopia relations lack skilful diplomacy and strong institutions. According

⁶² Professor Kinfu A.(2006), "The Impact of the Adowa Victory on The Pan-African and Pan-Black Anti-Colonial Struggle," Address delivered to The Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University.

to the respondent, US has played a great role to development of Ethiopia through aids, trainings, and securities.

From the Ministry of Finance, Mr. Samuel (Interview on February 24, 2023) revealed that even if Ethio-US relation has contributed more for the development of Ethiopia, US has preconditions for Ethiopia as well as Somalia and Djibouti which may affect national interests of Ethiopia. As example, he forwarded what US and its allies did to Ethiopia(halting aids and embargo) during TPLF and Federal government war.

Mr. Sebsibe (Interview on February 22, 2023 at Ministry of Foreign Affairs) argued that the contemporary US relation with the horn counties (particularly Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti) is more related to military and political interest than economic interest. In his explanation, he added that US does this for imposing its political agenda to global arena. Beside this, Mr. Sebsibe claimed that US is in horn for securing trade routes in the red sea, to protect its staffs and allies in the region and to expand its activities to the whole African countries; generally to defend its NI rather than the horn's interest. He also argued that US needs Ethiopia as country to protect the HoA (a good keeper) rather than to be the hegemony. At the end, he argued that the US-Ethiopia relation has some gaps. For instant, US promises Ethiopia for its economic, security and political developments, but it does not back Ethiopia for its economic growth. A good example is that the more US related to Egypt the more Ethiopia miss its NI, for example, GERD issue between Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan, and US expectations. As Dr. Wuhibegzer (Interview on February 15, 2023) explained, the contemporary US-HoA relations has some advantages to horn countries. For example, the presence of US in in these countries has secured them from terrorist attacks. For this respondent, the solution is not to go away from US but implementing skilful diplomacy that insures Ethiopia's NI.

The odd view was from other respondent, Interviewee 2, (Interview on February 16, 2023) who claimed that these days, US perceives Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti as burden rather than its good allies. Starting from 1990s to the beginning of 2010s US and (Ethiopia and Djibouti) were good friends as they were actively working together on countering terrorism. For this interviewee, currently, Africa as whole is insignificant to US rather its focus is on Asia and Europe.

Dr. Henock (Interview on March 1, 2023) who is from Institute of Foreign Affairs, affirmed that now days the US-Ethiopia relation is degrading, especially after the broke out of war in

northern part of Ethiopia. He added that US is more tilting to Kenya than Ethiopia as central/hegemony part of horn even if Ethiopia has more national power than Kenya.

For interviewee 4 (interview on February 22, 2023) US-Somalia Relations is nothing rather than killing and arresting Somalia citizens in the name of countering terrorism and undermining Somalia's sovereignty while it claims US is enhancing security of Somali as a whole and bringing resilient growth for the country. The interviewee 4 added that the US's drone attacks in Somalia has actually decreased al-Shabaab's spoiler capacity and has secured the destruction of the HoA, but as a country Somalia did not become free from terrorists nor US did not leave alone the country.

Finally, according to interviewee 5 (interview on February 16, 2023) to exist as country Djibouti has to strengthen its relationship with super powers like US and China. As a reason the interviewee 5 argued as: "Djibouti is a country with less national power (a population of about 1 million, physically with small size territory, small and weak military strength when compared to other horn countries, weak economy and geographically exposed state to enemies)". As a result the respondent preferred the presence and US protection (economic and territorial integrity) for Djibouti though there are some reservations.

From the above discussions, the researcher came with the following conclusions. Respondents have different perspectives on the contemporary US-Horn of African countries' relations. The "contemporary US-Horn of African countries' relations" has played a great role to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia through investment, aids, trainings, and securities. In addition to the above, the researcher discovered that the problem of horn countries are in to out such as low knowledge of diplomacy, culture of work, lack of good governance, political problems, inappropriate use of resources, corruption, ethnic conflicts and others which contributed to underdevelopment of the HoA rather than pointing to western countries like US.

On the other side, the others' perspectives to the contemporary US relation with the horn counties (particularly Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti) are opposite to the above one. According this group, US perceives Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti as burden rather than its good allies which extends its believes and argues as 'Africa as whole is insignificant rather its focus is on Asia and Europe'. On top of that, this perspective tells that US is in horn for securing trade routes in the red sea, to protect its staffs and allies in the region and to expand its activities to the whole African countries; generally to defend its NI(modern colony) rather than the horn's interest .

Depending on the two above perspectives, researcher shares both of the perspectives but with some reservations. To be frank the presence of US in the horn countries has secured these horn countries from terrorist attacks and brought regional stability including humanitarian aids. On the other hand, a US-horn relation has the potential of ignoring states' national interests even during harsh times. When it comes to the researcher's view, US has no big deal with horn countries rather than using this states as optional chair to control the strategic areas so that it can secure its interests(competition with other super powers and countering terrorisms).

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 conclusion

This study has attempted to analyse the US-Horn of African Countries (Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti) relations and implications to Ethiopia's national interest from 2018 to present. To conduct the study, qualitative approach has employed because of its nature. In this study the data collected from key informants of various institutions and secondary sources were used to analyze the implications of US-HoA relations to Ethiopia's national interest.

Accordingly, the paper has found that the US-horn relation has both opportunities and risks to Ethiopia's national interest. As opportunities, the study revealed that the US has played role directly or indirectly to Ethiopia's economic interest through protecting trade routes and maritime in the region. Also, the paper confirmed that the US-HoA relations has positive implications to Ethiopia's economic interest as it is a landlocked country in the HoA and the existence of US in the region secures imports and exports of Ethiopia from external threats.

The study also indicated that the contemporary US-HoA countries' relations have helpful peace, military and political security for Ethiopia. With this, the paper examined that US's relation with Djibouti and Somalia can play a stabilizing factor in the region through preventing interstate war and counter-terrorism operations. In addition, the US's military actions in the HoA can provide great opportunities for Ethiopian military forces to get training, intelligence and skills so that they will defend Ethiopia and the surrounding from external and internal threats.

On the other side, study also clarified that directly or indirectly, the US-Horn of Africa relations(from 2018 to present) has negative implications to Ethiopia's economic interest. For instance, due to the US's claim on human right crisis in the northern part of Ethiopia during war between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government, Ethiopia became not eligible to AGOA from January 01, 2022. As a result, based on 2021 US's export share in trade, the manufacturing industries of Ethiopia are expected to face tariff of 33,716,705 million USD of which 86% goes to Textiles and Apparel industries. In addition, the paper examined that because of the deterioration of the contemporary US-Ethiopia relations, after April 2022 more than 90% of the industries have no orders from US companies, hence the manufacturing industries may miss up to 110 million USD annually; FDI inflows may decrease as the investors may leave this country(expected to miss up to 553million USD capital) and decrease

in government's income(about 14,411,163 USD from shade rents only in a year). Moreover, the paper affirmed that the contemporary US-HoA relations have been negatively impacted in relation with GERD which is national economic interest and pride for Ethiopia.

Furthermore, the study confirmed that the contemporary US-horn countries relations has negative implications (risks) to Ethiopia's peace, political and military security. The paper affirmed that US-Horn relations(particularly US military base in Djibouti) has the potential of undermining security of the horn(threat to the national integrity and sovereignty) including Ethiopia as they do not have strong military forces and the nature of their internal politics. The paper also examined that the contemporary US-Somalia and Ethio-US relation have risk to Ethiopia's peace, military and political security. Currently, the terrorist group are expanding and posing various attacks in the horn countries, while US pinned itself on withdrawing and redeploying its forces from Somalia which may create gap for terrorists and targeting Ethiopia (its selective and incomplete judgement of the conflict between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government, which is under progress after Pretoria agreement) that undermines Ethiopia's national interest. To add more, the paper revealed that the geopolitical aggression and intransigence between US and other powers, and their diverging interests on political, economic, and security interests can negatively affect Ethiopia's peace, military and political security.

Moreover, the study found various perspectives on the US-Horn of African countries' relations. Accordingly, the paper came with pessimistic and optimistic perspectives. For the pessimistic group, now days, US perceives Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti as burden rather than its good allies and Africa as whole is insignificant rather its focus is on Asia and Europe. In addition, this group believes that horn states are under modern colony of US and it is in the horn for securing trade routes in the red sea, to protect its staffs and allies in the region and to expand its activities to the whole African countries; generally to defend its national interest rather than the Horn's interest. On the other side, optimistic group believes that the US-Horn of African countries' relations has played a great role to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia through investment, aids, trainings, and securities. And the problem of horn countries are: low knowledge of diplomacy, culture of work, lack of good governance, political problems, inappropriate use of resources, corruption, ethnic conflicts and others which contributed to underdevelopment of the HoA rather than pointing to western countries like US.

To recap it, the researcher realized that even if the US-Horn of African countries (Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti) relations have both negative and positive implications to Ethiopia's national interest, the negative implications outweigh the positive implications (from 2018 to present).

6.2 Recommendation

Finally, based on the findings above, the paper suggests the following so that US-Horn of African countries (Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti) relations can minimize risks and maximize opportunities for Ethiopia's national interest.

- Ethiopia as country needs to work more on its internal unity; economic strength and political stability so that it will focus on and tackle the external threats against its national interests.
- Ethiopia need to have flexible, responsive and proactive policy options to the HoA as the region is home of military garrison, terrorist groups and landlocked country.
- Ethiopia has to work with its neighbours and other Africans having common strategy on regional economic integration, and peace and security.
- Ethiopian leaders, security organs and the people as a whole have to learn from the contemporary US's responses to GERD and the war between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government.
- In order to resume AGOA and halted aids Ethiopia has to re-engage more its current relation with US and properly implement the peace process started with TPLF.
- Ethiopia must apply skilful and principle based diplomatic relations with super powers having contrasting interests such as US and China.
- Ethiopia and horn counties have to rethink and work hard on their expectations and dependency on super powers for their economic and regional security.
- In case problems arise between Ethiopia and its neighbours, it is better to use African solution to African Problems through IGAD and AU like conflict resolution being held between TPLF and Ethiopian federal government.

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APPENDIXES

Interview Guide Questions

Dear participant:

This research is going to be undertaken by student (Lami Tamene) of Addis Ababa University, **College of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science and International Relations** in Partial Fulfilment for the Requirement of Master of Art Degree in **International Relations and Diplomacy**. This questionnaire is designed to obtain information on research titled as:US-Horn of Africa Relations: Implications to Ethiopia's National Interest(Post 2018). The information collected from you will be used for academic purposes, and will be kept confidentially. Your genuine response is critically helpful for the better result of the study.

I thank you for your cooperation and time!

1. Interview Guide Questions

1.1 Interview Guide Questions for Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia

1. Why US is in Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti)?

2. What is your view about the current US-Horn of Africa relation?

- ✓ US and Ethiopia relation
- ✓ US and Djibouti relation
- ✓ US and Somalia relation

3. What is perspective regarding the contemporary US-Horn of Africa(Limited to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations?

4.What are the opportunities that the contemporary US-Horn of Africa (Limited to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations brings to Ethiopia's national interest in particularly;

- ✓ Peace and Security
- ✓ Political interest,
- ✓ Economic interest,
- ✓ Military interest

5.What are the risks that the contemporary US-Horn of Africa(Limited to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations brings to Ethiopia's national interest in particularly;

- ✓ Peace and Security
- ✓ Political interest,
- ✓ Economic interest,
- ✓ Military interest

6. What are the methods (as recommendations) to be employed by Ethiopia so that it can exploit the opportunities and minimize the risks?

7. Does Ethiopia have a type of policy tool which is responsive to these recent relations?

8. Do you have anything to add on the basis of our discussions so far?

Thank you for your cooperation

1.2. Interview Guide Questions for Institute of Foreign Affairs

1. What is strategic importance of the Horn of Africa for US
 - ✓ What is strategic importance of Ethiopia for US?
 - ✓ What is strategic importance of Somalia for US?
 - ✓ What is strategic importance of Djibouti for US?
2. How the current US-Ethiopia relation affects Ethiopia's economy, politics, military, and security?
3. What is your view about the current US-Horn of Africa (Limited to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations?
4. What strategies should Ethiopia employ to re-engage its relation with US?
5. Does Ethiopia have a type of policy tool which is responsive to these recent relations?
6. Do you have anything to add on the basis of our discussions so far?

Thank you for your cooperation

1.3. Interview Guide Questions for Institute of Peace and Security Studies

1. How the current US-Ethiopia relation affects Ethiopia's economy, politics, military, and security?
2. How the US-Djibouti (with military base of the US in Djibouti) relation affects Ethiopia's economy, politics, military, and security?
 - ✓ What are the opportunities?
 - ✓ What are the risks?
3. How the US-Somalia (withdrawing and redeploying of US forces) relation affects Ethiopia's economy, politics, military, and security?
4. What strategies should Ethiopia employ to re-engage its relation with US?
5. Does Ethiopia have a type of policy tool which is responsive to these recent relations?
6. Do you have anything to add on the basis of our discussions so far?

Thank you for your cooperation

1.4 Interview Guide Questions for Ministry of Industry

1. Do you think that US has economic interest in Horn of Africa? Particularly, Ethiopia?
2. What are the opportunities that the contemporary US-Horn of Africa (Limited to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations brings to Ethiopia's national interest in particularly, Economic interest?
 - ✓ Manufacturing industries
 - ✓ Investments
 - ✓ Trade
3. What are the risks that the contemporary US-Horn of Africa (Limited to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations brings to Ethiopia's national interest in particularly, Economic interest?
 - ✓ AGOA
 - ✓ Manufacturing industries
 - ✓ Investments
 - ✓ Trade
4. What are the methods (as recommendations) to be employed by Ethiopia so that it can exploit the opportunities and minimize the risks?
5. Does Ethiopia have a type of policy tool which is responsive to these recent relations?
6. Do you have anything to add on the basis of our discussions so far?

Thank you for your cooperation

1.5 Interview Guide Questions for Ministry of Finance

1. Do you think that US has economic interest in Horn of Africa? Particularly, Ethiopia?
2. What are the opportunities that the contemporary US-Horn of Africa (Limited to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations brings to Ethiopia's national interest in particularly, Economic interest?
 - ✓ Aids
 - ✓ Loans
 - ✓ Investments
 - ✓ Developments
 - ✓ Trade
3. What are the risks that the contemporary US-Horn of Africa (Limited to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia) relations brings to Ethiopia's national interest in particularly, Economic interest?
 - ✓ Aids
 - ✓ Loans
 - ✓ Investments
 - ✓ Developments
 - ✓ Trade
4. What are the methods (as recommendations) to be employed by Ethiopia so that it can exploit the opportunities and minimize the risks?
5. Does Ethiopia have a type of policy tool which is responsive to these recent relations?
6. Do you have anything to add on the basis of our discussions so far?

Thank you for your cooperation

1.6 Interview Guide Questions for Somalia Embassy (of Ethiopia)

1. What is the strategic importance of the Horn of Africa for US, particularly, Somalia?
2. What is your view (perspective) about the current US-Somalia relation?
3. How the current US-Somalia relation affects Ethiopia's economy, politics, military, and security?
4. Do you have anything to add on the basis of our discussions so far?

Thank you for your cooperation

1.7 Interview Guide Questions Djibouti Embassy (of Ethiopia)

1. What is the strategic importance of the Horn of Africa for US, particularly, Djibouti?
2. What is your view (perspective) about the current US-Djibouti relation?
3. How the current US-Djibouti (hint: US military base in Djibouti) relation affects Ethiopia's economy, politics, military, and security?
4. Do you have anything to add on the basis of our discussions so far?

Thank you for your cooperation

2. List of Key Informants

2.1 List of key informants from Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia

1. Mr. Sebsibe Bade, IGAD Affairs Director, at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 22, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

2.2 List of key informants from Institute of Foreign Affairs

1. Dr. Wuhibegzer Ferede, Director for African Affairs, Institute of Foreign Affairs, February 15, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
2. Dr. Henock Getachew, Senior Researcher, African Affairs, Institute of Foreign Affairs, March 1, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
3. Dr. Anteneh, Senior Researcher, America and Europe Affairs, Institute of Foreign Affairs, February 16, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
4. Anonymous (interviewee 2), Institute of Foreign Affairs, February 16, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
5. Anonymous (interviewee 3), Institute of Foreign Affairs, February 15, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

2.3 List of key informants from Institute of Peace and Security Studies

1. Anonymous (interviewee 1), Institute of Peace and Security Studies, February 28, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

2.4 List of key informants from Ministry of Industry

1. Mr. Eshetu Sitotaw, Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Ministry of Industry, February 28, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
2. Anonymous (interviewee 6), Ministry of Industry, February 28, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

2.5 List of key informants from Ministry of Finance

1. Mr. Dereje Girma, Bilateral Cooperation Directorate Director, Ministry of Finance, February 23, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
1. Mr. Samuale Eshete, Senior expert, Ministry of Finance, February 24, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

2.6 List of key informants from Somalia Embassy (of Ethiopia)

1. Anonymous (interviewee 4), Somalia Embassy of Ethiopia, March 3, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

2.7 List of key informants from Djibouti Embassy (of Ethiopia)

1. Anonymous (interviewee 5), Djibouti Embassy of Ethiopia, March 6, 2023, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia