



SEEK WISDOM, ELEVATE YOUR INTELLECT AND SERVE HUMANITY!



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

CENTER OF AFRICAN ORIENTAL STUDIES

**THE POTENTIAL SECURITY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 2018
RENEWED DIPLOMATIC RELATION OF THE HORN OF AFRICAN
COUNTRIES ON THE REGION**

By DEREJE MERGA

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE CENTER FOR AFRICAN AND
ORIENTAL STUDIES, COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, ADDIS ABABA
UNIVERSITY, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE REQUIREMENTS
OF THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN MIDDLE EASTERN
STUDY**

ADVISOR: DR. DECHASA ABEBE

ADDIS ABABA

SEPTEMBER 2019

Addis Ababa University

Center of African Oriental Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Dereje Merga Debelo , entitled *The Potential Security Significance of the 2018 Renewed Diplomatic Relation in the Horn of Africa on the Region* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of masters of Arts (Middle Eastern Studies Geopolitics) complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the examining committee:

Examiner _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Examiner _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Advisor _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Chair of Department

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	i
List of Figures	iv
Acknowledgments.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE	1
Introduction.....	1
1.1. Background	1
1.2. Statement of the problem	2
1.3. Objectives of the Study	4
1.3.1. General Objective	4
1.3.1.1. Specific Objective.....	4
1.4. Research Questions	4
1.5. Delimitation of the study	5
1.6. Limitation of the Study	5
1.7. Significance of the Study.....	6
1.8. Organization of the Study.....	6
CHAPTER TWO	7
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	7
2.1. Conceptual Frameworks of Diplomacy and Diplomatic Relations.....	7
2.2. The Forms that Diplomacy Applied through	8
2.3. Horn of Africa: States, State Formation and Political Tradition	10

2.3.1. State Formation and Political traditions of HoA Countries.....	11
2.4. The HoA States’ Diplomacy: Traditions and patterns.....	13
2.4.1. Some Regional Organization as Means of Planting Diplomacy of HoA States.....	16
2.5. Diplomacy and Concepts of Regional Security: definition, meaning and margins	18
2.6. HoA and its Regional Security Complex: the traditions and patterns	19
2.7. The Major Factors affecting Security of the Horn Region.....	21
2.8. External Actors and Reasons for interventions in the Region	25
2.9. The Continued tough regional Security Crisis Essence from 1991 to 2017	26
2.10. Theoretical Orientation	29
2.10.1. Regional Security Theory	29
2.10.2. Conflict Theory.....	29
2.10.3. Diplomacy theory	30
CHAPTER THREE	32
Descriptions of Study Area and Research Methodology	32
3.1. The Horn of Africa	32
3.1.1 Population.....	34
3.1.2. Economy	34
3.1.3. Ethnic and Religion Compositions	36
3.2. Research Methodology	37
3.2.1 Research Design	38
3.2.2. Sources of Data.....	38
3.3. Data Collection Methods	39
3.3.1. Interview Techniques	39

3.3.2. Document analysis Techniques	40
3.4. Methods of Data Analysis and Interpretations.....	40
3.5. Ethical Consideration	41
CHAPTER FOUR.....	42
Horn of Africa and its Security Hallmarks	42
4.1. Understanding the States of Horn of African Security	42
4.1.1. The Horn of African Region Security Hallmarks.....	42
4.1.2. Factors Affecting (Contributed for) Insecurity of the Horn	44
4.1.3. What can Address Regional Insecurity	48
4. 2. The 2018 Renewed Diplomacy of the Horn of Africa	49
4.2. 1. Attributes and Countries involved.....	49
4.2.2. The development of New Initiative and ways it performed	51
4.2.3. Understanding States of Countries’ Rapprochement.....	53
4.3. The Potential Security Significance of the 2018 Diplomacy	64
4.3.1. The 2018 Rapprochement and their Security indicators	65
4.3.2. An observed outcome of the 2018 Renewed Diplomacy	68
4.4. Challenges and Prospects of the 2018 Diplomacy	69
CHAPTER FIVE	72
Conclusion and Recommendations.....	72
5.1. Conclusion.....	72
5.2. Recommendations	74
References.....	76

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Showing the Conventional (greater) Horn of Africa. Source: Rondos, 2016 33
- Figure 2. *Abiy visit to Asmara, Eritrea: July 8, 2018. Photo by: Billion Temesghen* 56
- Figure 3. *Bilateral agreement at National Palace: July 9, 2018. Photo by: Billion Temesghen* . 57

Acknowledgments

My first and extreme gratitude goes to Almighty god. Next, my deepest gratitude and appreciation goes to my advisor, Dr. Dechase Abebe, for his continuous encouragements and critical guidance beginning from the early inception this study.

I would also like to thank both of my key informants Prof. Merera Gudina and Dr. Mohammed Hassan for their cooperation and availing their time to discuss on the topic of study. Further I would like to extend my gratitude to Mr. Bayesa Badhu who helped me in editing and reviewing this thesis. This research paper wouldn't have been realized if not the support and cooperation of the listed people.

Abstract

The study focuses on the potential security significance of 2018 renewed diplomatic relations between Horn of African countries on the region. Horn Africa was characterized by a very serious security problems which was affected the regional security for the long period of time. specially in the past two decades, horn of African countries experienced different security problems like boundary conflict, sponsoring gorilla against each other's, weak diplomatic relations, Nationalism, Religion, ethnicity, and interventions against internal affairs of each others are commonly factors that affecting the regional security of horn Africa regions based on this fact the 2018 has been a momentous year for horn of African countries in particularly, Ethiopia, Eretria, Somalia, and Djibouti while they renewed their relations which has a potential significance on the security of horn African region .Thus, the contention of this thesis is that, the potential security significance of horn African countries renewed diplomatic relation in 2018 on the horn African region. Through data analysis of primary and secondary sources the paper will provide the rationale of the thesis.

Keywords: *diplomacy, regional security*

ACRONYMS

IGAD INTER GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT

EEBC Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission

EPLF Eritrean People Liberation Front

OLF Oromo Liberation Front

SPLA South Sudanese Liberation Front

EPDRF Ethiopian people's Revolutionary Democratic Front.

SPLM Sudan People's Liberation Front

HOA Horn Of Africa

COMESA Common Market For Eastern And South Africa

EAC East African Community

EALA East African Legislative Assembly

AUHIP African Union High-Level Implementation Panel

AUPD African Union Panel Dartur

LRA Lord's Resistance Army

GCC Gulf Cooperation Councils

ONLF Ogaden National Liberation Front

G-7 Gimbot- 7

TPDM Tigray People Democratic Movement

NIF National Islamic Front

GDP Growth Domestic Product

AEO African Economic Outlook

USA United States of Africa

UAE United States Of Africa

TPLF Tigray People Liberation Front

EPLF Ethiopia People Liberation Front

CIA Central Intelligence Agency

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Background

The region of Horn of Africa is the most conflict prone region attributed with security complex and challenges arisen from compound facts. According to Ibrahim (2015), therefore, political instability, violence and economic underdevelopment are the hallmark of this region. Nearly all states in the region have faced and seems continued to face very much devastating conflicts which are imposed both from external and internal partners. The regional security complex been big headache for community in the region since conflict in one country intimately connected to the other (Healy, 2011).

Intra-state wars (civil wars) like those in Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan are the most unforgettable magnitude of such security crises in Horn region in line with intra-state forms of conflict (Brouk and Healy, 2011). The other custom of security challenges in the region is the inter-state war which even enabled the Horn to be labeled as the most conflict ridden region of African. Among the inter-state war, the Eritrea and Ethiopian bloody, prolong and devastating border war which killed lives of thousands (Ibrahim, 2015). Not only the two countries' conflict but also the Eritrea's war of independence and the longest (longest in Africa) civil war of north Sudan shares prominent place in challenge security of the region (Ibrahim, 2015). Each form of predicament experienced in the Horn witnessed by independent sources of conflicts such as by secessionist interest movements and self-determination questions. Such violent incidents and question were highly observed and evident in Ethiopia and Eritrea, Sudan and South Sudan, Somalia and Somaliland (Healy, 2011). Therefore, all above mentioned factors affected the

nature of diplomacy and undermined the integration of many Horn states territorial margins (Makinda, 1982).

In fact, numerous factors fostered all these frames of political instability and security complexes. Particularly, external pressures fueled because of the geo-political location of the region that found within international trade routes. All in all, such dynamics entirely caused prominent diplomatic fracture among states, resulted in state failures, escalated migrations, illegal weapon movement and terrorism.

Finally, this mounted regional security challenges. However, in 2018 the Horn countries refined diplomacy which could have paramount security significance and serve as solving machine. Therefore, this thesis assessed the potential security significance of the 2018 refined and renewed Horn African countries diplomatic relations, particularly between Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The horn region and its states are noted for their accommodation of violent conflicts branded by rebels' tricks, military coup' date, inter-state revelry and state collapse (Ibrahim, 2015 and Kassahun, 2014). From 1991, the Horn region increasing became the divided, reinforced by lawlessness (in Somalia for example), stricken by aggravated piracy, hosted influxes of migrants and internally displaced people, center for army smuggling and channel of terrorists movement. It became home for many fatal repercussions being a domain of political disaster, corridor of insecurity, and big floor for proxy wars. Furthermore, it appeared as the fertile land for civil wars, layers of complexity and instability which is very much volatile region. The environment

hosted some requests of independence (Eritrea and South Sudan), computed deadly boundary conflicts between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Djibouti and Eritrea.

For such reasons, consequently, the culture of deteriorate diplomacy among countries and broken cross boundary interconnections of people to people and socio-cultural traits, beg off integration of beyond borders infrastructure development (communications, transportations, roads and rail ways) networks among neighboring countries (for illustration, Ethiopia and Eritrea) were adopted. Such poor move finally provoked security problems within the region escalating levels of suspensions and hateful revelry between states where some of them even isolated alone (for example Eritrea). To the contrary of such intermission and prolonged diplomatic divergences, by the 2018, four geo-publically most important countries of the Horn came together: altering their conventional characteristic of diplomacy to work together which produced much hope for future safe regional and interstate security safeguard which they never witnessed before 2018 incident.

Henceforth, the 2018 coming together notion of these states much more has paramount potency of safeguarding the traditions of recurrent severe conflicts and security challenges of Horn African region.

Following this historic new diplomatic reunion, many have believed that it will bring new desire of consolidating diplomacy, economic and security relation between each state very importantly and essentially stabilize the region as they decided to retreat their difference and shifting of strategies. Regardless of such potential security significance that the 2018 renewed diplomatic ties has on the Horn of African region; indeed, there is research and knowledge gaps on the available literature. Hence, this research went to fill these gaps and give emphasis on the extents that each strategy within agreement fixes conventional grievances and aims to indicate the geo-

political strategic interdependence of horn countries. The research also dealt with indicators of the potency of the 2018 diplomacy meanwhile mapping out all major prospects furthermore.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study is to assess and analyze the potential security significance of the 2018 renewed diplomatic relations between Horn of African countries on the region meanwhile indicating much interdependence of security issues of each country of the Horn.

1.3.2. Specific Objective

- ✓ To explore the Horn of African Security challenges Hallmarks
- ✓ To analysis the significance of 2018 Diplomatic relations on security of the Horn region
- ✓ To describe the attributes of Conventional Diplomacy of Countries of the Horn
- ✓ To examines the strategic importance of countries rapprochement in line with the horns geo-political position

1.4. Research Questions

The central research question is:-What is the potential security significance of the 2018 renewed Horn of African countries diplomatic relation on the horn region. Sub research question pertinent to the general question are

- What are the importance of the Horn of African's security and the Global
- How the 2018 renewed Diplomatic relation respond to the security of the Horn of African region.
- What are the main security challenge of the Horn region and its responses

1.5. Delimitation of the Study

This study delimited to aspects of the Horn of African sub-region's regional security challenges and the potential security significance of the 2018 renewed diplomacy. The thesis dealt with the diplomacy of the key countries of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti of the Horn those their political and economic transformation entirely impacts whole aspects of the region. Accordingly, the study aimed at exploring character of the importance of their diplomacy for the substantial security protections which have very much interdependent feature. The study also focused on how the Horn of Africa countries solidarity is significant for security of region and even beyond.

1.6. Limitation of the Study

Quite a lot of challenges faced researcher both during collection of data, analyzing and writing. Among them, time constraints, finance and availability of sources of information for the interviews: key informants, academicians, institutions and researcher in this field due to their regular jobs. An attempt to incorporate the views and policies of certain governmental institution such as Ethiopian Minister of Foreign affairs, some regional organization such as IGAD, some diplomatic bodies like embassies of Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia didn't succeed due to time constraints. However, to overcome these constraints the researcher has taken some measures. For time and budget constraints researcher attempted to utilize available times and budget. Regarding short coming of meeting different institutions, the researcher used the different Medias sources and document analysis. In addition, researcher got chances of attending seminars on similar affairs held at Addis Ababa University where many discussion papers were presented and also interviewed some scholars.

1.7. Significance of the Study

The study will fundamentally help to fill the gap in the available literatures. It may also a good input for academicians, researchers, governmental and non-governmental organizations to analyze the 2018 Horn of African countries diplomatic relation and its potential security significance on the region. The Horn region founds along the critical and strategic geo-political location and shares border with international water way where many interests of different actors exist affecting security the Horn of African region. Therefore, the output of this study can contribute towards better understanding of the security problem of this region and used as a source of information to halt or minimize the security problem of region.

1.8. Organization of the Study

This thesis dealt with the potential security significance of the 2018 Horn of Africa countries' diplomatic relation on this sub-region. Accordingly, the first chapter presents background and justification of the study whereby the second chapter dealt about literature review and theoretical frameworks. The third chapter deals with geographical description and methodology the fourth chapter is all about data presentation and analysis of finally findings. Chapter five contains conclusions and recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Conceptual Frameworks of Diplomacy and Diplomatic Relations

Diplomacy signifies the nation of the formal relations, attributes of channel of communication, a principle which states conduct their internal affairs peacefully, interaction and an instrument of relations among states (FDFA, 2008, Tom Sauer, 2007, Berridge, Keens-Soper, and Otte, 2001). It is achieved either bilaterally or multilaterally and manages the states and other actors' relations (Freeman and Marks, 2016). Bilateral relation is seen as the political, cultural and economic relation between two actors in mutual recognition and willingness to facilitate the relationship which can also equally involves one State and International organization (FDFA, 2008).

In other way, multilateralism, as to Keohane (1990) is multiple members or actors working together to assist each-other to achieve mutual goals. Further, it is "the practice or coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states" (Keohane, 1990). On the other side, the notion of international relations signifies the techniques of creating mechanisms of advising, shaping and putting into practices the once own country's foreign policies (Baston, 2013). International relation is conducted through official representation of government (Collins and Packer, 2006).

Further, it is the comprehensive national power is applied to peaceful adjustment of difference between states and that sometimes coercive but non-violent (Freeman and Marks, 2016). In human history, diplomatic relation "came into being at the second half of 15th c in Italian Peninsula which was dealt between emperors or other authorities (FDFA, 2008; Berridge, Keens-Soper and Otte, 2001). The diplomatic relation has two types depending on the number of

participating states: bilateral (two states) and multilateral (several states) often through fundamentally institutionalized organizations (FDFA, 2008). The relation can be realized through making negotiation that commonly justified by treaties that protect each state's interest-giving legal protection to representatives (ibid). The notion of diplomatic relations doesn't something variant from the concept diplomacy, rather closely related. It is the relation between two countries that undertaken to substitute for the use of force in state-craft, series of international conventions (Baston, 2013 and FDFA, 2008).

2.2. The Forms that Diplomacy Applied through

Diplomacy can be applied through coercive, shuttle, cultural, public, track one, track two and economic. The coercive connotes using threats to correct and influence the behavior of others (Goerge, 1997; Sauer, 2007 and Romeo, 2016). For Sauer (2007) it has demand over the opponent action needed to be stop, threats and technique that make opponent agree but if refused punishment and time pressure (deadline) for noncompliance. Coercive is very attractive since it shapes relation between states and alternative means instead of restoring military intervention (Romeo, 2016 and Perez, 2015).

Track two diplomacy refers to the "interactions of individuals or groups outside of official negotiation to composite the constraints imposed on leaders" (Kaye, 2007). It is non-official, none-governmental and informal contacts and activities between "private citizen and groups of individuals outside governmental power and interchangeably called "citizen diplomacy" (Mc Donald, 1987; Diamond and Mc Donald, 1991 and Fraser, 2012). "For Montville (1991 in Kaye, 2007), it can be between adversary aimed to develop strategies, influence public opinion... might help resolve conflict. However, track two diplomacy has both strength and weakness of its own.

For Mellissen (2005) public diplomacy is like “propaganda, nation-branding, cultural relations-disseminating information publically about the country of origin “with the views of changing the existing belief.” For Henrikson and Pajtinka (2006,2014) it is “reaching public abroad, cultivating public opinions in other countries, exchange of government (implementing) state with wider public-to mass audience (targeted stated) (Chahine, 2010, Wolf and Rosen, 2004). Diplomacy again retains economic components:-“an overlapping and interrelationships between economics and politics” (Heijmans, 2011)-government influence and employs economic tools as means to end of controlling in the policies of other nation and to pursue cross border economic activities i.e. economic is a means-policy interest (Moons and Boer, 2014). Gazdasag and Tarsadalom (2016) lighten it as “the “specific set of activities that focus on (1) the achievement of state’s foreign economic interest (2) the use of economic tools for attainment of both economy and security interest.”

Another part of diplomacy is cultural diplomacy that Pajtinka (2015), construct as “what focuses on the implementation of state’s foreign interests in the field of cultural policy” and often through cultural activities by specific sections or institutes. It is activity oriented on exchange of cultural values and promotion as well as ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understandings (Kurucz, 2007 in Pajtinka, 2014, Berridge and James, 2003 and Cummings, 2003). This includes dissemination national language, treaties on cultural cooperation and supporting, explaining cultural values of the sending state into receiving state (Pajtinka, 2014). Mark, (2009) asserts it is a powerful tool for improving a country’s image. Its main objective is to promote mutual understanding among states rather than to pursue foreign policy interests (Pajtinka, 2014).

Finally, the concept of diplomacy constitutes shuttle diplomacy-“mediation upon the difficulties or impossibility of direct communication the party involved” (Collins and Packer, 2006). Third party conveys information, proposals or concession in back and forth manner, particularly, when parties do not formally recognize one another but still want to negotiate and will receive and comment through third party (Collins and Packer, 2006 Fey and Ramsay, 2010). Sebenius, Green and Kogan (2016), says negotiator or initiator plays vital role to end conflict, isolation limited and bring issues to table. In conclusion, among these forms of diplomatic relations, the features of the HoA countries faceted with coercive type: the conceptual constructions made by people like Goerge (19970), Sauer (2007) and Romeo (2016) which connotes the using of threats to correct and influence the behavior of others. For instance, the diplomacy of Ethiopia and Eritrea, even though their relation is enacted indirectly, depict the coercive type.

2.3. Horn of Africa: States, State Formation and Political Tradition

The term Horn of Africa refers to the north eastern part of African continents constituting the countries of Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda-though different literatures name different countries (Abdirahman, 2019 and Kidist, 2014). Some literatures name Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti what comprises ‘great Horn of Africa’ while states of Kenya and the Sudan are recently added to the sub-region (Demessie, 2014, Abera, 2013 and Temesgen, 2012).

The sub-region shares boundary with Red Sea (east), Indian Ocean (southeast) and Nile Basin in Sudan (west) (Abdirahman, 2019 and Temesgen, 2014). The Region distinguished by sharing long boundaries among countries and various ethnic background in terms of culture, languages, religions and social structures (Demmessie, Abera and Temesgen (2014, 2013, and 2012). For

instances: Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Djibouti and Eritrea those attributed with such quality. The “region hosts close to 270 or more than 220 million people and differentiated levels of human development, colonial history and modern political influences”(Abdirahman, 2019 and De Waal, 2017).

2.3.1. State Formation and Political Traditions of HoA Countries

According to Abera and Temesgen (2013; 2012), the history of state formation of the countries of HoA traces back to the role of colonial masters where their territorial borders established by colonial powers-after 1884 scrambling Africa. After severe war with their colonial master, many HoA countries achieved their independence after 1960s, likewise other African regions. In history of state formation almost all of the HoA counties, otherwise Ethiopia and Liberia, were defined their own political ruling and obtained rights of self-governance after independence, whereas these facts are stated as follows.

In its history, for instance, Djibouti (former French Somali land) got its independence relatively being late from French colony in 1977 under the presidency of Hassan Gouled from 1977-1999 (Styan, 2016 and Abera, 2013). Djibouti is the smallest country in the sub-region both in its land and population size (Abera, 2013). Politically, Djibouti is relatively the stabled and peaceful state in the Horn, despite some external diplomatic competition over the territory (Styan, 2016). In the same sub-region, Eritrea is the second smallest state in territory, formerly governed under Italy and let to be part of Ethiopia in form of federation but achieved its independence from Ethiopia in 1991 (Abera, 2013). The state formation was what colonially created and socially engineered to incorporate multi-ethnic and multi-religious features (Redie, 2009 and EIU, 2000). Politically, the country nurtured in unitary state formation and seems silent in which election is not regularly campaigned but held general election in its history on December 2001 once only (EIU, 2000).

The other state in the Horn is Somalia. In similar way to the other states, the country had the history of colonial rules that divided the country into Italia and British colonies before its independence in 1960's. Following its dependence, the country was ruled democratically up to the 1969-until General Mohammed Siyad Barre assumed political power through blood less coup and ruled for two decades (Abera, 2013). Politically, the tradition of long terms of turmoil due to “ the increasing transformation of state of 1980s, the internal crisis that coupled with the external political pattern eventually led to its deconstruction by the different clan militias and finally collapsed in 1991” and advanced farthest to social disintegration (Debiel, 2002 in Abera, 2013, IAG, 1999: www.Africa.Upenn.edu in Abera, 2013). **Sudan** (north), is the largest country in its terms of territory among the HoA and obtained its independence in 1957 from Anglo-Egyptian dual rule. Politically, Sudan lagged due to its recurrent regimes changes that caused internal conflict and civil war after its independence (Abera, 2013). Internally, Sudan challenged a lot and diplomatically lost stability for more than five decades.

South Sudan is another country and youngest in the region that got its formal independence as provincial state and republican after five decades war and ruling under same central government based in Khartoum next to Sudan's independence (Varma, 2011). South Sudan declared its independence on July 9/2011 as the youngest country both in the Horn and World (Abera, 2013). Politically, the country experienced long-term civil war and fully unstable due to factors including conflict over border territories. As to Varma (2011), the current South Sudan's political crisis are resulted from long time operation and now interests of finding identity both as state and ethnic groups which revealed itself in Ethnic conflicts such as in Darfur and in the Nuba Mountains. **Kenya** is also the countries of HoA that achieved its independence from

British Colony in 1963 (Kenyan Foreign Policy, 2014). The country ruled under British direct rule political system up to 1963 under the first Kenyan citizen Jomo Kenyatta obtained presidency (Kenyan Foreign Policy, 2014).The country governed by republican political structure where the administrative structures are divided into provinces and more stable in history other than some turmoil following 2012 general election.

Ethiopia is the largest country in terms of territory size next to Sudan that never colonized (Adejumobi, 2007. The history of state formation potentially traces back to the Axumite dynasts of Ezana at 4thc and its political traditions had forms of dynasty, Kingship/ queens, monarchy, autocratic, dictatorship, and federal democratic (Bahru, 2002). The current territorial border is defined following Minilik the II's rule in 1889, though Tewodros II attempted to unify Ethiopia (Adejumobi, 2007. The 1889 is the time of “a great turning point in Ethiopian history that the Ethiopian empire was strengthened and the center of administration shifted from north to south:- central part” (Tesema, 1986).

2.4. The HoA States' Diplomacy: Traditions and patterns

The diplomatic relation of the HoA countries, comparatively, had long catalogued of inter-state disputes, active and latent conflicts: sponsoring proxies against one another, fighting bilateral disputes in the territory of third country and uncomfortable with each (de Waal 2015 and Temesgen, (2012). For example, Twagiramungu (2017) cited in de Waal (2017) revealed that, “to the minimum 92 cases of cross border violent incidents are recorded between 1960 and 2015.” De Waal (2017) argued that Ethiopia and Eritrea are the most hotly disputed and politically underwent salient inter-state war from 1998-2000 symbolizing Badime town as factor.

Despite UN tasked to delimit and demarcate “the colonial border treaties of (1900, 1902 and 1908) under its mission of Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC), but they continued “destabilizing each other by fostering other’s opposition of armed movements and seek influence in the region like involving in Somalia war” (Cordesman, etal, 2016 and Mosley, 2014). This is types of unconstructive diplomacy that the countries developed towards one another. The other diplomatic relation with similar pattern was the diplomacy of the two Sudanese which had conflicts of five decades i.e. 1955-2005, that later caused South Sudan’s independence (Varma, 2011). Such hostile relations latterly resulted in South Sudan’s independence on July 9, 2011, after 22-year civil war that ended in 2005 and long term ethnic operations” (Cordesman, etal, 2016 and Varma, 2011). Following this separation, conflict was erupted on Darfur resulting “100,000 and 500,000 died some directly in violence and many from malnutrition and disease” (Williamson, 2008). The major reason for such conflict was the British’s firing of the projecting of binding two independent states after its withdrawal together (Varma, 2011 and Deng 2006).

In line with Kenya and Somalia, diplomacy, following 1960s Somaliland granting of British independence, British proposed that all Somali-inhabited regions must united. But Kenya after 1963 independence, refused to let the Northern Province, thus, as a response Kenya government took a number of repressive measures to frustrate this effort in the name of *Shifita* war (Mahad, 2017). According to Mahad (2017), historically the Somalia and Kenya relation faced huge tense until Kenya intervened armed supported in Somalia 2011 to fight Al-shaba (ibid). The relation that Somalia had with Kenya and Ethiopia was ranging from petty skirmish to police harassment (Mahad, 2017). The Somalia and Ethiopia had conflict started soon after Somalia’s independence in 1964 of Ogaden War and which was territorial and political type since Somalia had made

claims on neighboring states aspiring to unify all Somali ethnics under single state (great Somalia) (Mahad, 2017, Menkhaus, 2011 and Kigen, 2004). According to Menkhaus (2011) this led to “disastrous war with Ethiopia in 1977-78”. Two countries were proverbial adversaries, plotting supporting armed rebellions within their borders in the 1980s” (Cordesman, et al., 2016).

In line with Sudan-Ethiopian diplomacy, the two countries underwent multifaceted relation that varied under different regimes. For instance, in 1971, Haile Sellassie of the Ethiopia led the initiatives of mediation among South Sudan rebellions and Khartoum government who finally signed agreement 27 February 1972” (Doop, 2013). However, 1974 on, Sudan supported Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) while Derg supported South Sudanese People Liberation Army (SPLA) (Doop, 2013). However, later on, EPDRF under Meles Zenawi started negotiating two Sudanese the tradition seemed changed positively. The unconstructive Sudan and Eritrean diplomacy is not that much complicated and was observed recently since Eritrea was part of Ethiopia before 1991 and the relation shrunken after Sudan accuses Eritrea of supporting eastern Sudanese rebel groups.

The diplomacy of states of Eritrea and Djibouti had somewhat short term border conflict on the Ras-Doumeira on 7 April 2008 after Eritrean armed forces penetrated into Djiboutian territory, dug trenches on both sides of the border on Ras Doumera peninsul (Styan, 2016). However, after intervention, the relation got its resolution. The other aspect is that of the Uganda and South Sudan that had historically experiences of supportive style by which Uganda provided substantial political and military aid to Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) during its armed struggle against Sudan. As a result, Uganda and Khartoum had unconstructive diplomacy that

Sudan also reciprocated support to the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. Likewise it is with Sudan, the Eritrea and Somalia diplomacy observed recently that Eritrea is accused of supporting the armed groups in Somalia both in military aid and equipment transportations. The Djibouti and Ethiopian diplomacy is largely positive and the most leading countries having intimate diplomatic relation, particularly in recent years, according to David Styan (2013).

The factor for such greater intimacy is due to Ethiopia-Eritrean war from 1998-2000 (ibid). According to Kassahun (2013), Djibouti and Kenya" are the two countries that Ethiopia had long-term peaceful diplomatic relation, particularly in relation to its neighboring countries. For Styan (2013), in the Horn region, Djibouti is the successful state in terms of diplomacy regardless of being relatively young, small, poor state and some international diplomatic influence. Therefore, as it can be seen from above discussion, the diplomatic relations of the countries of HoA mannered with variant features that could be of resulted of mostly the history of state formation and border lines drawn by their colonial masters.

2.4.1. Some Regional Organization as Means of Planting Diplomacy of HoA States

Regardless of their long-term patterns of inter-state conflicts and wars, many of the HoA sub-region countries made efforts in one way or another to shuffle their differences. Among these, they could form versatile and model inter-state organizations with various objectives and purpose which possibly enacted roles seeking for good diplomacy. Particularly, in East and Horn parts, with organization such as Common Market for Eastern and South Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), Inter governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) and African Union-this is across the continent at large.

Even though most of these organizations have had more of economic integration objectives, the roles they could play and position they retain in diplomacy are vital. For instance COMESA was originally established in 1981 as trade and economic development integration (all its 21 member states agenda), but later on it “the better-developed institution and programmes on issues such as peace and security” were added (Woolfrey and Verhaeghe, 2017 and Mutunga, 2014). On the other hand, EAC is a regional economic institution comprising the five east African countries i.e. Kenya, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi that originally founded in 1967, but collapsed in 1977 and revived in 2007 (Akamp, 2011). However, the basic aims were widening and deepening full co-operation among the partner states in, among others, political, economic and social fields for their mutual benefit (EAC, 2014).

In its totality, all of them played great roles in diplomacy, however, the role of AU at continental level and that of IGAD at regional level dealing with political affairs of interstate relation is worth mentioning (Styan, 2013). It has mediated and resolved conflicts, for example, among SPLA of John Garang and the SPLA-Nasir of Riek Machar et al, to jointly enter into talks with government introducing the ‘*Principle of self-determination*’ (DoP) for Southern Sudan under Kenyan leadership (Doop, 2013). The role of AU is also visualized in similar patterns, also on same case depending on its existing structure of African Union Panel for Darfur (AUPD) in October 2009. The framework was the African Union High-level Implementation Panel for Sudan (AUHIP) to task and “help parties achieved secession process” (Doop, 2013). Therefore, despite of the less power of influences and intervention, relatively such organization contributed to the peaceful co-existences of the states of the region

2.5. Diplomacy and Concepts of Regional Security: definition, meaning and margins

The concept of security is what requires the retaining of issues in mind to be dealt with, though Buzan (1991) defined it as “pursuit of freedom from threats.” For Wolfers (1952) security is what characterizes the fundamental nature of international relations but very much subjective. In its notion of state, security connotes the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostility (Wolfers, 1952). For Desta (2018) and Bellamy (1981), security is not only the situation in which a given state has relative freedom from war, but also presence of high expectation victory among its citizen. Thus, security is being free from both external and internal threats and maintaining peace and stability (Desta, 2018 and Ayoob, 1995). However, the notion of regional Security is conceptualized by Buzan (1991) as “the patterns of relations among states whose fates are bounded in the same geographical proximity.”

According to Persson (2012), the notion of regional security is the most interdependent facts of state relations that rely on the formal alteration in “distributions of power, shifts in prototype of amity and enmity and penetration of external actors.” In very indistinguishable explanation with that of the Persson (2012), Kirchner (2014) constructs the concepts at what manifested in the power of states’ “sheer size or GDP, population size and rising of interests in dominant role in international affairs.” And also regional security can be enlightened in political and military threats (Roba and Berouk, 2011). In another way, some scholars argues the regional security facts can be elucidated in the competing relation either in military stand-off (when power balance is) in genuine hostility or expectations of protection or support (genuine friendship).

Persson (2012) characterized the causing sources of this complex as the next: *three reasons lets the evolution of the security complex: (i) weak state capacity on agreed norms, rules of conduct, institutions and resources; (ii) the principles of state sovereignty and search for regional decision-making in conflict prevention and management; (iii) the act of presidentialism and prevailing pattern of executive dominance in member states and its repercussions. And these powers might be perceived in states' capabilities (economy, military and political), threats (geographic location and targets of the threat i.e. state or society) and security (governing and regulating) conflicts* (Kirchner, 2014). In comprehensive manner, regional security is the reality of countries relations that either experienced in avoiding threats or sustaining cooperation among neighboring states within lock of geographic relevancies (Attina, 2005)

2.6. HoA and its Regional Security Complex: the traditions and patterns

The region (HoA) experienced the long-terms traditions of security complex and confronted with its pressures. As the deriving factors of regional security complexities are vary throughout the globe, the Horn also hosted crisis arising of profound attributes at different seasons and periods. At large, however, inter-states and intra-states instability are worth mentioning factors. Dasta (2018) and Yohannes (2016) present the instabilities of the neighboring countries as the most leading catalyst heightening this region's security ramification. From his side, Demessie (2014) exemplifies dynamics such as the inter-linked and mutually reinforcing potency of past history, patterns of state formation, nature of political systems, social structures and underdeveloped economic.

Conceptualizing and characterizing this region's security complex patterns De Waal (2017) and Kidist (2014) could mannered that the sub-content of HoA is the most conflict prone region in

the world. These two researchers i.e. (de Waal, 2017, Kidist, 2014), cases out that this due to the region's critical vulnerability to geographical strategies that profoundly influenced by events in Middle East or Arab world. This is what initiated by the concepts that Kirchner (2014) indicated as "capabilities (economy, military and political), threats (geographic location and targets of the threat i.e. state or society)" and that Persson (2012), used to indicate "the act of presidentialism and prevailing pattern of executive dominance in member states." According to UNDP (2016), the "legacy of long decade's interstate conflicts and trans-boundary enmity with contest borders and cross-border identities are the important factors" of the region's insecurity. In addition, the region constitutes the most strategically important, complex, volatile regions (de Waal, 2017 and Menkhaus, 2011).

Out of internal factors, the external intervention such as the battle of cold war: "a theatre of Cold War confrontation in the 1960s" has also highly affected the security of Horn (Wenner, 1993 in Waal, 2017). The region remained the "paradigmatic instance of the development of the political marketplace in the contemporary era" (de Waal 2015). In old history, particularly, following many African countries independence from their colonial masters, the sub-region hosted and characterized by inter-state and intra-state conflicts, distractions, boiled up with proxy wars and underdevelopment which remained endemic to the region and "protracted chronic recorded for last 50 years" and severely suffered of these (Demessie, 2014 and Lionel, 2004). Such historical and traditions of disorders are posed and still posing regional security threats (Tadesse and Yonas, 2007).

An inter-states and intra-state crisis, the failure of state and governance systems functions, the poor diplomatic relations and competitions are every growing in the region (IGAD 2008, Abate,

2004 and Asnake, 2004). Further, propagation of the flow of the small arms and human trafficking resulted out instability in the region's state and among others" are mainly manifested the threats of the region (Kassahun, 2013 cited in Abera, 2013). Totally, the region known to the rest of the world as the region of labeled at first being the center of "ever increasing conflicts, development and democracy will impossible (Wille, 2002 cited in Abera, 2013). The horn of Africa is the region entirely suffering from "fragile state or state crisis" that resulting in the recurrent conflict and insecurity (Abera, 2013). The region had known to experiences instability and repetitive war after 1970s in history (Tadesse and Yonas, 2007). Totally the area had complex colonial experience with variety of Europe, African and Arab imperial domination which caused the larger security problems and crisis (de Waal, 2017 and Menkhaus, 2011). In fact, many entities forced the region to be labeled as the most conflict driven and insecure region which are discussed as below.

2.7. The Major Factors affecting Security of the Horn Region

Many factors caused the problems of regional security among which the intra and interstate conflicts take the first positions (Yohannes, 2016). The Somalia's failed state and malfunction of the governments systems for two decades, the Sudan's post colonial failed government and development as well as civil wars for five decades, the Ethiopia's longstanding experience war with neighboring countries like Somalia and Eritrea for two decades in 1979 and 1998 respectively are extremely unsecured and severely affected the region (Cordesman, etal, 2016 and Abera, 2013). Conflicts those are vigorously acquired sub-region transcending state borders, example, such as case that ethnic groups of same background divided into territories different countries, example, Afar in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Tigre in Ethiopia and Eritrea, Oromo in

Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda, Somali in Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya and Somalia manifests the reality (Tadesse and Yonas, 2007).

Furthermore, major factors such as inter-state and intra-states' conflicts and poor diplomatic relations are the pressing causes of those affecting regional security. For example, the inter-state conflicts those are engineered by border disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea after formal independence of Eritrea from Ethiopia in 1993 (Doop, 20130), the prevailing conflicts among Djibouti-Eritrea, South Sudan-Sudan, Somalia-Somaliland, Kenya-South Sudan, Uganda-South Sudan and Sudan with Egypt over border or territorial lines are immensely deteriorating regional security patterns (de Waal, 2017). The war conducted from 1998-2000 between Ethiopia and Eritrean has worsened the security situation of the entire Horn of Africa region and created fertile environments for terrorist groups in the region (Temesgen, 2012). Again the lawlessness and disorders within and among neighboring countries amplifies and threaten the security of states and regions (Desta, 2018). The causes for inter-states conflicts are largely computed by border disputes which produced out of the territorial delimitation those drawn by their colonial masters.

Justifying these facts, Abera (2013) and Temesgen (2012) briefed their examples as the next:

the conflict in the region are highly aggravated by the boundaries which created by colonial masters and the validity of territorial borders that established by them which left back the sources of intra and inter-state conflicts until today. For instances, Ethiopia-Eritrea on Badme, Eritrea-Djibouti on Ras Dumara, Sudan and South Sudan on Abyei, Darfur, Heglig; Somalia and Ethiopia on Ogaden, South Sudan-Kenya over Ilemi Triangle, South Sudan-Uganda along border, Sudan-Egypt over Halaib triangle, Somalia-Somaliland; Somalia claiming border on former colonial line, Somali region of Punt land claims the areas inhabited by Daarood clans and Somalia-Kenya: emergent dispute over the maritime boundary are the major factor causing interstate wars(de Waal, 2017).

Next to territorial factors, the inter-state divergence and proxy wars in which states intervenes each other's affairs and support for opposing groups are worth mentioning. For example, the Uganda and Sudan conflict are the substantial political and military support to (SPLM) and

Lord's Resistance Army, respectively (LRA). The interests of states' autonomy and competitions among international powers and external intervention (colonial, cold war, regional, territory and piracy) also leads as Zeliza (2008) cited in Abera, 2013) argued taking the case of the Ethiopia and Eritrean war. Still among some countries the issues those founded on domestic goals like security, economic and natural resources like water combined together to up high the inter-state conflicts: Sudanese and Ethiopia over Nile River are the good examples (Doop, 2013). For Doop (2013) the people of the two countries of Blue Nile and Atbara rivers have been shaped by the use of these rivers, which provided opportunities both for trade and frequent wars along the borders.

The fourth factors also encompasses the intra-state conflicts which aggravated by very complex realism like what are in the Horn region and the most seen crisis, even exerting pressure over the neighboring states. For such crisis, segregation and exclusion, the economic and social dominance by certain groups over the others (Cordesman, etal, 2016, Abera, 2013 and Seyoum, 2005). *The dysfunctional governance (absence of democracy, accountability, transparency and dictatorship) or unrepresentative electoral practices (alienation and marginalization of local indigenous institutions and practices) posed intra-state wars* (Zeliza 2008 cited in Abera, 2013). For instance, such truths are facts those speeded up the falls of dictators of Somalia-Siad Barre and Mangistu of Ethiopian in 1991. Likewise, it can also because of the combination what of livelihood-based resource competition, culture, political, socio-economic and life style factors underpin it (Abera, 2013).

For Zeliza (2008) cited in Abera (2013) characterizes components such as difference in “culture (language, ethnicity, and religion) and domination, discrimination and marginalization” of some ethnic groups fires this. Not only these but also conflict cause can be “embedded in social,

cultural, historical identity constructions and experiences of revenge (Singer, 1996 in Abera, 2013 and Abera, 2013). Furthermore, the prolonged civil war within Sudan after its independence from Anglo-Egyptian dual rule in 1956 was due to the political, economic and social dominance of the north Arab Muslims over the southern Christian and non-Arab Africans (Cordesman, et al, 2016).

Some intra-state conflicts are yet possibly as a result of segregation and exclusion of public from political decision making which affecting their daily life that traces back to the colonial eras (Abera, 2013 and Seyoum, 2005), “politics (power, inequality, domination, discrimination and marginalization)” Zeliza (2008) cited in Abera, 2013) puts the issues of Eritrea and Ethiopia (1998) war involves politics and socio-economic, economy or resources and livelihood: competition among ethnic and clan groups over access to equal sharing and control of scarce resource such as livestock, cash crops, charcoal, grazing land, water, marine resources (Zeliza 2008 cited in Abera, 2013, Abera, 2013 and World Bank Report, 2005). Especially, in the Horn Africa these are common case according to Abera (2013) and World Bank report (2005), explaining the cases of competition on potential oil and mineral reserves in Somalia (relatively resource rich South-central and resource scarce Somaliland and Punt land regions).

Totally, the general patterns of both inter-state and intra-state conflicts trends of the HoA countries are, at large, “falls into three categories of state-society (community challenge the state), state-state (conflicts between sovereign states) and society-society conflicts (intra-communal and inter-communal) (Abera, 2013). These traditions of longstanding conflicts severely affected the region. It has been wracked by major conflicts in Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Sudan and to the lesser extent Djibouti for last decades (IGAD 2008). The major pulling

factors for regional security threats in the region deep rooted in economic development policies, water resources, territorial and political integrity(Doop, 2013). For Abdirahman (2019) this interest arises since the region found on the strategic shipping line that connect Europe with East Asian; affecting the region to be the most vulnerable for tension of terrorism and conflicts for about four decades (ibid). Therefore, these challenged and highly threatened security in the region (Cordesman, etal, 2016 and Doop, 2013).

2.8. External Actors and Reasons for interventions in the Region

Other than their own intra-state conflicts, the external actors and interventionist contributed a lot for transnational conflict in HoA countries. The conflict in the Horn remains to involve various actors: governments, nationalist groups, religious groups and community or identity groups with significant backing from external forces (Tadesse and Yonas, 2007).De Waal (2017) hypothesize various reasons which he put at first place the political, military and economic interests of external powers. De Waal (2017) implies the “political competition” between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Historically, international actors have been a cause for instability in the region, notably in the 1970s when superpower rivalry exacerbated the Ethiopia-Somalia dispute and when there was an initiative to make the Red Sea an ‘Arab lake’. The region remains focus for American, European and Asian strategic interest which is in the stance of maritime security case (de Waal, 2017).

Other than those above mentioned facts, external pressures and interests of the international giants, the importance for international maritime trade and the nature of being center for these brushed number of frontlines among many states (Abdirahman, 2019 and de Waal, 2016). Such competing intervention and investments of these giants worried the countries of the horns and let them to launch proxy war and conflicts. For instance, the military, political, financial investment

and resources provided by some GCC (Gulf Cooperation Councils) countries to Eritrea worried Ethiopia. Again the roles US played in Djibouti, Ethiopia and Somalia, Uganda and Kenya establishing camps and drone bases from 2003 on, the France Foreign Legion base in Djibouti, the EU naval patrols off the Somali, Chinese's lease sign base in Djibouti are the most raising competition that worries countries in the region (de Waal, 2016). Therefore, the Gulf and the Horn actors have reciprocal effects and affects forth-back forms of relation (Dawit and Fana 2019).

Furthermore, the Saudi Arabia base in Djibouti and that of the UAE in Eritrea and Somalia (in Berbera) and of the Turkey's in Mogadishu symbolizes these backing in regional conflicts. That is why that De Waal (2017), Tadesse and Yonas (2007) argues that the stable peace and security order may be more difficult when external actors are assertively pursuing their interests. According to Dawit and Fana (2019), the issues of association of the Horn as the sole home of conflict are very interdependent across two sides of Red Sea region and the problem of security of these sides are not what affected by super powers only but also the coastal countries who were befitting from the trade and commercial ties with these super powers. Therefore, in general, the battle of war in some countries the intensification of inter-state conflicts influenced by extra parties such both the giant competing external actors or powers and countries within the region those receiving benefits from these powers. The main reasons of their interventions transmit both political and economic missions for actors.

2.9. The Continued tough regional Security Crisis Essence from 1991 to 2017

The stressed development of diplomatic crisis and regional security threats that long-drawn-out across the region was materialized after the new political customs were institutionalized in 1991. This year is the time that, within the Horn region the authoritarian governments of Ethiopia and

Somalia were overthrown (Styan, 2013). This political change speeded up both intra-state and inter-state conflicts (Cordesman, 2016, Abera, 2013 and Leencho, 2001). Consequently the region's states diplomatic relations were disturbed, destructed and fluctuated.

These tense crises were produced, particularly, succeeding the Ethiopia-Eritrea war on border of 1998. Yohannes (2016) sounded such regional security crisis are flourished many decades war such as fought in Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda since 1991. The interests of and question of independence and expansionist trends of some states learnt from colonizers, concepts of “*ethnocracy*”-monopolization of states power by certain ethnic groups led crisis in the region (Markakis 19994 cited in Abera, 2013 and Styan, 2013). For instance, the interest and question of independence and government's political policies divergence produced paring of Eritrea from Ethiopia in 1993 (Styan, 2013 and Leencho, 2001, www.ploughshares.ca.in Abera, 2013). The flipping point that fashioned greater challenges in the Horn Sub-region initiated after interests between TPLF and EPLF diverged following the time that both of them came to power in 1991 respectively in Addis Ababa and Asmara (Doop, 2013).

In parallel to the Eritrea and Ethiopian crisis an explosion of “political Islam” and terrorism of the National Islamic front (NIF) in Sudan and collapse of Somalia in 1991 have created political upheaval and disorder in the region”(Doop, 2013). In addition, the flourishing of *Al-shabab* in Somalia put region into great tensions. According to Cordesman, etal, (2016), the Horn severely “suffered from serious piracy-almost all coming from Somalia”-in recent years. The internal instability and poor diplomacy after 1991 by which countries supporting opposing group based in each other's boundary: Sudan supporting LRA rebels in Uganda and Uganda SPLA, Ethiopia and Eritrea i.e. Eritrea support OLF, ONLF, G-7 and TPDM-those against Ethiopia and Sudan (NIF) supported Jihad rebels in Eritrea. This phenomenon highly heightened the problem of

regional security toughly and affected the region (Doop, 2013). The tension between Addis Ababa and Khartoum heightened following assassination attempt on Egyptian president Mubarak in 1995 in Addis that Sudan involved supporting the culprits with weapons and passports (ibid).

The civil war in Sudan which developed on fragmented ideology around ethnic groups, regional, sectarian identities, the dichotomist attitudes of the South to the north and vice versa with negative designation which entrenched during Anglo-Egyptian condominium of 1898-1995 significantly cracked down security of the region (Hardallu, 1999 in Abera, 2013 and Samsom, 1995 in Abera, 2013).The summed up factors of state government's political policies divergence, the long descended historical poor diplomatic relation among states, unsafe interventions of some states into the internal affairs of the other and the external intervention of some giant powers due to their own political, economic and military interests entirely threaten the security of the region.

Though the Horn region known to the world with its severe and tough crisis and labeled as the conflict driven region, particularly from the 1991 political scheme change, recently this custom positively diverted following the rise of the reformist Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (Dr.) who assumed power in 2018. The Prime Minister labeled the reformist as a result of his attempts of changing existing conservative internal and diplomatic relations tradition through producing new forms of government and diplomatic policies, particularly renewing relation with Eritrea. This is new phenomenon in the region after 1991. Therefore; this thesis is going to and will emphasize the possibility that this renewed diplomacy could produce on regional security complexes.

2.10. Theoretical Orientation

Due to the nature and theme of this thesis, the following theories have employed.

2.10.1. Regional Security Theory

However, it varies per the core value it should accord primacy and protected, security represent being free from threats of a given entity i.e. individual, groups or states (Baylis, 2001). To the broader concept, according to Buzan (2003), regional security describes the patterns of inter-state relations by which their security concerns cannot be separated, rather sufficiently, effectively and closely interlinked. It is all about the capacity and ability of the states sustaining and maintaining independent identity and functional integrity (Buzan, 1991). The regional security theory is the theory that highly oriented with the reality of how the states' military, political, environmental and social security concerns are not seen and understood solely (Buzan and Weaver, 2003).

According to this theory and Buzan et al, (1998), these closely interlinked state relations usually affected and defined by the 'distribution of power and the 'durable patterns of amity and enmity relations' among them that could bring essentially regional security complex. The complexity is primarily shaped by territorial disputes, cross border ethnic distribution suspicion and fear, sustained historical links of genuine friendship of support or protection (Buzan and Wæver, 2003). Thus, since the contexts of the regional security complex of the HoA region attributed to the notion of regional security theory, this study applied this theory.

2.10.2. Conflict Theory

For Johan Burton (1990), conflict is what arises from human behavior: might be interests, power, resources and differences in identity and happen at various levels of human society life: inter personal, inter groups, international (states-intra-state-civil war and inter-state-between sovereign

states) (Sarkees et al 2003 and Deatson, 1991). For James Lave (1989) it is what arises out of the competition sandwiched between parties on and about resources, certain goals, prestige while the feeling to overcome such incapability results in reactions. In fact, different theories suggest and attribute causes of conflict differently. Case in point, the frustration-aggression-theory and theorists like (Jeong (2000) patterns it with what happens as results of aggression of people while they are prohibited or prevented from the goal they are oriented to achieve. Also arise if certain groups' identity consciously "manipulated by political leaders and discriminated in education and employments toward minority groups within a society or foreign countries" (Jeong, 2000).

Fisher and et al (2000), outlines it what happens after the fear developed out of the people's loss of fundamental psychological or social needs but take actions to obtain. Another very important theory is the social identity theory that assumes the sources of conflict are "feeling of threatened identity, often rooted in unresolved past loss and suffering" in history, language and believes (Fisher, 2000). This theory adds also the denial of political participation through state controls of certain groups, the existing physical and economic insecurity, injustices and repressive treatment due to ethnic distinction fuels up conflicts.

2.10.3. Diplomacy theory

Though the notion of theories of diplomacy vary in the ways different scholars perceive the fact, some theory like liberalism concludes diplomacy as the sum total of the state or other actors that shaped by state-society relations (Jonsson and Hall, 2005). So diplomacy is the relations and actions those taken place within the contexts of international rules, institutions and practices affecting the incentives of the actors (Jonsson and Hall, 2005). Rosecrance puts diplomacy as the interests of two systems of trading and territorial that determined by the character and interests of the constituent states (1986). Jonsson and Hall (2005) naturalize diplomacy as the institution that

response to common problems of living separately and having relation with others. Diplomacy the methods and approaches of reproducing the international society and community the enables the state relations get continued that the agents are given authorization and accountability to represent the needs and interest.

CHAPTER THREE

Descriptions of Study Area and Research Methodology

The physical geography of the Horn of African can be seen as the theatre in which regional and global actors perform. However, the Horn of African is not simply a passive stage. It also possesses intrinsic physical quantity that influences the actions of nations and the conduct of international relations. This may therefore, be viewed as a contextual analysis as well as summarizing of the geographical context of the Horn of African. And again it includes an analysis of the interactions between geography and political actions. In this chapter, the aim is firstly to provide a description of the Horn region as a whole, then reduce in scale and detail to look strategic importance of the region to the Horn of African countries and finally conclude with security interline between Horn of Africa and its countries.

3.1. The Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa, in geographical pattern, is the northeastern part of African continent facing Red Sea in the East, touching Indian Ocean in the Southeast and Nile Basin the west (Berouk, 2009). It is the region compressing countries of the countries of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia-with Kenya and Uganda very closely associated (Rondos, 2016). Mesfin (1999) indicates how much these countries are much interdependent state and can define the nature of Horn of African stating that:

All these countries have 100% of their land boundaries within the Horn. In other words, none has land boundary with any other country that is outside the Horn. All these states shares social and cultural values emanating from a centuries-old tradition of interrelationships, common religious practices and economic linkages.

But it is the most politically unsterilized and deprived sub-region in relation to other African regions (Ibrahim, 2015). However, this volatility of the region is, according to Rondos (2016), shaped by those facts of embedded diversities of geography, population, history, religion (both Christianity and Islamic old history), culture and politics. The Horn of Africa, which its name derived from its shape looking like horn but hugging six countries within this horn shape, is the region that known for its volatility which marked because of various reasons. Characterizing these reasons, Abera (2013) have constructed the following stating as:

The Horn of Africa is also one of the strategic vital areas in the world in terms of geopolitical consideration. The strategic importance of its location has always attracted outside interests, notably the proximity of the Horn of Africa to the highly sensitive region of Middle East where two factors- Oil and the Arab- Israel conflicts interface.

The Horn of Africa is a part or region adjacent to some of the world’s most important sea lanes, notably the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden which most of Europe’s maritime trade with Asia and Indian Ocean regions such as oil shipments passes through (Demessie, 2014).



Figure 1: Showing the Conventional (greater) Horn of Africa. Source: Rondos, 2016

A simple look at the map of the Horn of Africa shows the great strategic importance of the region that shares long geographical lines with Asian continents. It lies westward on the line separating the Middle East and East Africa. Thus, it is the heart of the area and the link between two big continents and worlds. The Horn of Africa constitute one of the most strategically, complex, volatile and yet under-studied of the world. Indeed there is no shared working definition of the 'Horn of Africa' while is conspicuous by its absence as an integrated unit of security and political analysis. Recent developments have meant that the states of the Arabian Gulf are also active players in this region.

3.1.1 Population

By large the region inhabited by people counted in number of million. Regarding the Horn of African region's population density, Waal (2017) constitutes nearly 200, 20 million. According to de Waal (2017), in their number of population density, Ethiopia takes leading while Somalia is the second. In the third and fourth places, Eritrea and Djibouti are mentioned respectively. Djibouti is the smallest state in terms of territory and population size (Abera, 2013). According to (Abera, 2013), Eritrea is the second smallest country in the sub-region-in terms of territory and population. Furthermore, Ethiopia is the most populace and second largest country in terms of territory in the sub-region next to Sudan (Kassahun and Abera, 2013) where Sudan is the largest among the Horn region.

3.1.2. Economy

The economic status of the Horn of Africa region entirely attributed with very much intermixed feature such as poverty depressed and underdevelopment both in human and infrastructures need. According to Abdilahi Ismael and Zhu Zhe (2019), the Horn of African states' economy are

characterized by the absence of unskilled human power, limited basic infrastructure such as (real ways and road transport) and soft infrastructures (information communication technology facilities), poor accessibility of funds and essential public service both in education and health sectors. From his side, Berouk (2011) argues the status of the Economic hallmarks of the Horn saying:

...political competition in the Horn of Africa is not rooted in viable economic systems. All of the region's states are barely capable of reaching a level of economic development at which even the basic needs of their populations are met. Economic activities are strongly skewed towards primary commodities for export which are subject to the whims of the fluctuating prices of the international commodity market.

Berouk (2011) again characterizes the Horn economy as what entirely influenced by external and internal factors and highly dependent of the contexts of the foreign economic moods. And he put it that:

Economic activities are hampered by external dependence, inadequate infrastructure shortage of capital, shortage of skilled manpower and misguided development policies. Moreover, the states are unable to provide adequate health and education services and to remedy mass unemployment which partly results from unsustainably high population growth.

There are many reasons for such status of the Horn of African poor economic backgrounds. Djibouti's economy, unlike all countries of the sub-region, totally depends on the service sector mainly on the port of the Djibouti (Schrader, 1993 cited in Abera, 2013). In fact, According to World Bank's 2019 update, Djibouti's growth rate was accelerated by 4.1% in 2017 but by 2018 it was in 6% and expected to be by 7% in 2019. This growth is expected to be driven by exports of transportation and logistics services. The Eritrea's economy was bonded with Ethiopia economy but to due to its bad relation with its neighboring countries, economically its performance retained bad status (Abera and Kassahun, 2013).

In Ethiopian case, the status fluctuating between fastest growing and lagging type, particularly, for decades before 2016 which grew at rate between 8% and 11% according to CIA (2019). According to CIA (2019), the noted growth was driven by government investment in in¹restructures and progress in agricultural and service sectors. The Somalia economy is highly dependent on remittance based style due to internal conflict and state failure that forced Somalia citizens to leave their home. By 2018 the Somalia macro economic performance analysis of African Development bank indicates the total GDP growth was estimated as 2.9% (AEO, 2019). In types, supply contribution came from agriculture, livestock, financial and telecommunication services whereas the demand side is from government and private sectors, consuming 83% of GDP (AEO, 2019). However, by 2019 and 2020, the real GDP is estimated to be 3.5%. From this discussion, it is very clear that the Somalia economic growth still underscored

3.1.3. Ethnic and Religion Compositions

The horn of Africa is the region with diversified ethnic and religious composition backgrounds where the entities are sometimes happened as a source of conflict and identity. In very common sense, the countries of the Horn such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia shares people with similar backgrounds in language, culture, ethnicity of clan descents and even religion. In order to see some ethnic groups in the Horn, especially those share common backgrounds, let us see the selected list of the following that inhabits in Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, Eritrea and Sudan for this illustration only.

Name of Ethnic Groups	Countries of Habitation
1. Afar	Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea
2. Somali	Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya
3. Tigrigna, Kunama, Saho(Irob)	Eritrea and Ethiopia
4. Oromo	Ethiopia and Kenya, Somalia
5. Luo	Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia,
6. Beja, Rashaaida, Tigre	Eritrea and Sudan
7. Anuak, nuer, Bertha, Shita, Gumuz, Murle,	Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia

Source: *Kidane 2011 in Discussion paper no. 67*

3.2. Research Methodology

Research methodology is the technical approach that used in research in order to design and manage research depending on its nature and purpose. According to Kazdin (1992, 2003a) research methodology is the principles procedures, and practices that govern research. Therefore, encompasses the entire process of conducting research such as planning and conducting the research, drawing conclusions and disseminating the findings. Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem (Kothari, 2004). Hence, since this research had belief of producing very good conclusion in the attributes of diplomacy and its significance for regional security, it is planned to critically analysis relevant literatures, identifying gap, stated problem, developed guiding questions and conduct interview with people having similar professions, lined institutions and sectors employing best fitting research methods.

3.2.1 Research Design

For Kazdin (1992, 2003a), defines research design as the plan used to examine the question of interest which can also refer to many ways in which research can be conducted to answer the question being asked. Therefore, due to the relevance of this thesis research question which does not refer to answer only 'what', 'how' and 'why' forms of imperatives, those can be answered qualitatively, the qualitative research approach designed because it is very much advantageous in gaining detailed information about the issues (Well,2007). It is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior and enables to develop in depth explanation of phenomenon (Well, 2012). And moreover, it enables researcher to understand phenomenon under the study. Thus, this thesis applied entirely qualitative inquiry to have an in depth look of the problem.

3.2.2. Sources of Data

Sources of data refer to where the relevant and sought information is obtained. There are two sources of data; namely primary and secondary.

3.2.1.1. Primary Sources of Data

Primary data are those which are collected directly from its source. It is the first hand data source thus, happens to be original (Kothari, 2004). It is often used as a method of generating data for understanding people's knowledge, experience, opinions and perceptions (Robson, 1993). Accordingly, in this thesis, interview with key informants, observation to public presentation which related with the topic held in order to meet the research objectives. In order to make the data more credible and valid, cross checking information from different bodies were under taken, researcher interviewed academician, politician and observation of researcher public presentation to triangulate the data from different perspective.

3.2.2.2. Secondary Sources of Data

The secondary sources of data refers to the data which have already been collected and analyzed by same else (Kothari, 2004). For the purpose this study, scholarly literatures, books, published journal, newspaper, articles, documents, media report and terms of written declarations are extensively used. Thus, relevant materials have been critically analyzed and reviewed.

3.3. Data Collection Methods

Methods of data collection refer to those techniques utilized to obtain data that would produce information. Methods of data collection are those techniques applied to produce information might through content analysis, historical record listening of tape and films in library, interviews, observations of participant and no participant, case studies, empirical testing, groups interview (FGD), email enquiries and etc., (Kothari, 2004). For Newman (2011) data collection is “the forms of empirical evidence or information carefully collected according to the rules and procedures of science” that relevant data are obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Hence, in this thesis the following data collection, especially, qualitatively techniques such as interview and document analysis are employed because of the nature of the issue understudy that requires document analysis and interview.

3.3.1. Interview Techniques

Kahn and Cannell (1957) as cited in (Marshal, 2006 and Bayesa, 2018), describe it as “a conversation with a purpose” and always conducted in the forms of long time discussion between the interviewer and interviewee Interview is a data collection technique that used to communicate with the informants directly in order to obtain information. It resembles every day conversation but not as it is very focused on the researcher’s needs for data. It is typically much

more like conversations than formal events with predetermined response categories (Marshal, 2006 cited in Bayesa, 2018). Interview technique embodies structured (purposely written), semi-structured and in-depth or unstructured interview types. However, in this thesis, structured (purposely written) employed in order to gather potential and directly related information and was conducted with politicians and scholars.

3.3.2. Document analysis Techniques

It is a technique of data collection utilized for producing information through critically reviewing available documents. According to Kothari (2004), this technique encompasses procedure such as content analysis, historical record listening of tape and films and media sources as well as audio listening. Some, it can also includes public presentation and lectures. In fact, these documents can also be both published and unpublished literature. Hence, due to the nature of this research, different literatures and media sources are analyzed.

3.4. Methods of Data Analysis and Interpretations

Data analysis is defined as involving a number of closely related operations which are performed with the purpose of summarizing the collected data and organizing them in such a manner that they answer the research questions (Kothari, 2004). Therefore, after collecting the necessary data, researcher organized and transcribed data those collected both from primary sources using interviews and secondary source and from literature were analyzed and interpreted to their validities and realities. Hence, data collected through these tools were analyzed to answer the central question “what is the potential security significance of the 2018 renewed Horn of Africa countries diplomatic relation on the region?”

3.5. Ethical Consideration

In order to maintain the integrity of the research and dignity of the interviewee, the researcher adapted ethical consideration approaches to avoid risks and build on trust between the researcher and the participant. The researcher is responsible to maintain that trust, just as participation expect, maintain and analyze the data they provide and not unveil their names due to anonymity. Therefore, the researcher maintained anonymity of one of the key informants as requested. The participants are informed about the purpose of the study and the duration of the time it takes. Moreover, the information which they provided is appropriately utilized without distortion and misinterpretation. And all material sources employed for this research purpose are all cited and acknowledged in the appropriate manner.

CHAPTER FOUR

Horn of Africa and its Security Hallmarks

4.1. Understanding the States of Horn of African Security

The term security refers to the absence of threats to appreciated values and being free from any forms of threats and risks vulnerability. But security is interpreted differently by those who uphold the need to preserve them as essential to their well-being (Evans and Newham, 1998). The notion, while comprehensively emphasized, broadly encompasses both the states and human being's security. Human security, in particular, is what has the essences of protecting people from both violent and non-violent threats. And which is also by laying ground for freedom from pervasive dangers to human rights, liberties and life. On the other side, the state security also comprehensively defines the condition by which a given country or region found being free from any forms of violent wars and crises of its people.

4.1.1. The Horn of African Region Security Hallmarks

The situation of security dynamics in the Horn of African sub-region have attributed by the state of fragility and inconsistency of stability which have become entrenched relatively over the last two decades. The region encountered copiousness (numerous) circumstances of instability and insecurity that driven by various causing factors. According to Kasahun (2012) the region is one among other regions that remain the fortress of the multifaceted crisis, particularly caused by the competition that been intensifying in the region which layering proxy conflict and increasing the potential for instability. The region characterized by complex conflict matrix and conflict marked

faces of the earth whereby these reasons have driven the increasing prevalence of insecurity of the region.

As results of such prolonged security problems and challenges within this sub-region, many human and state values those need to be existed peacefully were challenged. Certain values such as free access to values of human rights, liberties and life and the political, economic, socio-cultural traits promotion, the legitimate states' sovereignty and infrastructures development are perished. Elements of human security those associated with the legal and socially sanctioned protection of worth, dignity and safety of individuals and groups in the community and polity are significantly reduced. Many components of economic growth and development, process of democracy and its principles, political freedom and independence, sovereignty of states and regional integrities of countries in the region largely affected, undermined and ruined.

From and because of such very serious fragilities in the region, the complex and various crises such as human rights violations, the sharp increases in the number of refugees and asylum-seekers, political instability, lack of basic necessity like clean water, education, food, health care and economic underdevelopment resulted in very much escalating rates. In general, the region attributed with the conditions of prolonged insecurity, conflicts, underdevelopments and instabilities, those collectively caused latterly the total countries' poor diplomatic relations and human life crises. For example, country like Somalia categorized under the failed government and statehood which finally hosted many human and economic crises as results of it while Eritrea obtained nick name of the most isolated and undiplomatic state which ruined its whole economic insecurity and peace.

4.1.2. Factors Affecting (Contributed for) Insecurity of the Horn

In fact, many factors that forged the insecurity of the region can be mentioned as main sources of the long-term history of security challenges and instabilities: tracing back to many forms of its kind. However, the repetitive and long-term inter-state wars, violence, intra-state conflicts (civil wars) like those in South Sudan and Somalia, army smuggle and its trafficking networks, the frequent supply of illegal weapons, multiplication of various armed groups and terrorist, border disputes, the incidents of government and states' failures (Somalia) are worth mentioning factors. And they are considered as the most extensive causes of security status malfunctioning. For De Waal (2019), the recurrent circumstances of sectarian war contributed much in worsening the Horn of African region and its countries' security.

De Waal (2019), wanted to indicate the case of the shifting of alliance among the main local, national, region and global players who developed interest on the region due to the Horn of Africa's geopolitical importance. The manner of such alliance often applied on the states that are most geo-politically suitable and vulnerable for such objectives or interests. For instance, the countries such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia have very much important geo-political position that attracted and attracts the geo-political strategies of the giant powers but assisted existing regional security problems. So, because of such countries strategic importance, external interventions are advanced and even inviting some giants to fund and backing some Horn countries. For example, among those global alliances, China and USA had great interest on Djibouti whereas Saudi Arabia and UAE, backed by USA, had and developed interest on Somalia and Eritrea for their sole interests. But their interventions severely affected the relation of Horn African countries.

Basically, many vulnerability and catastrophe in the Horn are not solely internal rather imposed from other world's political fractions such as the case in Arab and Iran interest in order to become the regional super power. In addition, the cold war between USA and Iran have had and still having direct impact for the existing crises in the region. From other side, the other world's political fractions such as the case in Arab countries and proxy of cold war led by USA and Russia due to their sole political economic interest also playing remarkable role for both Red Sea and Horn region's instability. Furthermore, the ongoing crises in Gulf region, war in Yemen destabilizing the neighboring Red Sea region and an endeavor of Gulf States attributes of trying to create independent alliance with some countries of the Horn, even exclusively funding some of them, are some of very complex code and big challenge of Horn states' good diplomacy.

In fact, this is the most visible external interventions while the region also had internal or within region cases such as inter-state conflicts and poor diplomatic ties, revelry interests and polarity in political interest and policies. Overall the Horn of African region had experienced remarkable and the long-term historical security crisis those were because of many reasons. But the most serious, complicated, prolonged and very recent one originated with and escalated after the long-term border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea happened which started on 1998 but lasted up to 2000. Ethiopia and Eritrea have fought a bloody border war leaving lives of thousands to pass from both sides but they signed the Algiers agreement to stop war and accept peace accords of Ethiopia and Eritrean Border commission in 2000. This war created very much complicated frameworks of regional security problems. For example, as a result of it, the two countries even went up to taking proxy war against each other.

For their proxy, both countries used Somalia as their battle ground and field, using the existing opportunity created by Somalia's status of weaken government system and failure. For example, in 2006, Ethiopia acted unilaterally to intervene in Somalia with the intention of eliminating security threat consisting of Eritrean military advisors embedded within the security structure of the Islamic courts of Al-Shabab. The other hostile movement that contributed for the security challenge was the conflict between Eritrea and Djibouti, Eritrea and Sudan. Eritrea and Djibouti fought war that erupted along the disputing line of Dumeira after Djibouti accused Asmara of sending troops across the border and occupying of Dumeira Mountain. Their dispute extending back to 2008 on which Eritrea long accused Ethiopia of supporting Djibouti in the dispute. These bilateral accusations also re-boosted another tension in the region.

Again, the relationship between Eritrea and Sudan that changed into rough, particularly in very recent year, came with visible difference overwhelming status quo of security and tension. The Eritrea-Sudan diplomatic difference was created after Sudan closed border with Eritrea and deploying troops nearby and Eritrea accused Sudan of supporting anti-Asmara rebel movements: finally leaving behind of their poor diplomatic ties. In common, these and other condition of hostility between countries of the Horn brought and weaken the fruitful situation of countries' good diplomatic relations that later stick each of them to reluctance and dead interest to solve their difference peacefully. Such traditions of poor diplomacy sustained the life of crisis of the region and inflexible diplomacy in the region for long period of time.

The other wing of regional security threat was that developed out of the potential springing out of the radicalization in the Horn. Radicalization refers to the emerging presence of an exclusivist version of Islamism in African region that has historically enjoyed high degree of cohabitation

among faiths. Alexander Rondos (2017) argues and tried to justify this fact stating that the pressure of newly introduced extremism now seems to be prevalent along East African coast: in Somalia, parts of Ethiopia, Sudan and possibly Eritrea. Seemingly, the status quo of Somalia failed state following overthrowing of General Ziad Barre in 1991 largely conditioned, fostered, fastens and speeded up this version of Islamism and the crisis in the region. The main reason for this generalization is the truism of the paradigm of recently emerging power of ‘terrorist’ groups like Al-Shabaab in Somalia and some other insurgent group movements sprung in the region. In their very supportive form of argument of this idea, Cordesman, Toukan, Wang and Jones (2016) have put that relatively and almost all, the piracy and terrorism that occurred in the Horn was result of actions by Somalia origin pirates and terrorist. According to this argument or conclusion the unsteadiness of Somalia had created lots of opportunities for the destabilization of the Horn region.

Cordesman, Toukan, Wang, Jones and De Waal (2019) have indicated the piracy, terrorism, illegal migration, inflow of illegal weapon and other hostile movement in the Horn region as the major security problem that seriously affected countries of the region. Such state of affairs poses a dire (terrible) threat to sustainable social peace and stability. It resulted in and created the states of insecurity and instability which have developed the high tension in the region being headache to both states and international communities. For this reason, the Horn of Africa labeled as the most conflict reddens and destabilized region among others.

In addition to those abovementioned factors, the internal crisis and states of South Sudan civil war had also escalated regional security challenges and stability by lessening countries’ bilateral and multilateral diplomatic ties because insecurity in one country often seen while spill over into neighboring countries. Furthermore, conflicts in the Horn often take shape and escalates due to

the divergences in policy drives and attendant practices that often fail to pay due attention to the need to promote mutually beneficial measures that could result in win-win outcomes. Such divergences in policy and its visible differences and diplomatic failures assisted some states of the region to begin the courses of internal revelry and become the influential country within the region. However, in most cases, such internal revelry of the Horn of African countries was provoked by foreign intervention according to the argument of Alex De Waal of (2019).

In conclusion, the development of security crisis and instability in the Horn of African sub-region highly resulted out of the factors such as the external intervention by giant powers that have special interest over the region. And also by some facts like the intra-region complexity of inter-state and intra-state conflicts, poor diplomatic relations between states, divergences in policy, internal revelry of countries, the increasing development of terrorism, illegal migration, inflow of illegal weapon and many other preconditions. Therefore, since the strife and insecurity in one country spill over into the neighboring countries, the crisis in one state within the region had contributed and also will for the extensive regional insecurity. Further, the obtainable status of security strength and states of diplomacy can affect any regional security. Thus, this thesis aimed to give emphasis on the potential security significance of the renewed diplomatic relation of the 2018 among Horn of African countries.

4.1.3. What can Address Regional Insecurity

To address problems of regional security crisis and instability, the most appropriate and worthwhile measures and expected roles are instantly creating positive diplomacy and diplomatic relation among neighboring states. It is the best alternative and most important measure than others because international relations rule out any incompatibilities between the divergent interests, behaviors and actions of those neighboring countries. Diplomacy has supremacy to tackle any

forms of difference through its perseverance and commitment of enhancing dialogues and negotiation of states that lay impressions of capacity of forging and consolidating cooperation and partnership. Thatal Nizameddin (2006) analyzes that collective security based on the principle of multi-lateral diplomatic relation aggregated with international relations policy.

Accordingly, diplomacy is the most prominent element that speeds up the realization of an effective and substantial security within a given region as it addresses common dangers and problems. In order to understand the power of diplomacy in solving regional security problems and challenges, let us see the cases of the renewed diplomacy of 2018 among Horn of African countries.

4.2. The 2018 Renewed Diplomacy of the Horn of Africa

4.2.1. Attributes and Countries involved

4.2.1.1. Attributes

The horn of African countries came to experience, relatively, diplomacy relation of the most different of its kind; new and unexpected in 2018 which is one among ever positively witnessed kind of diplomacy in the history of the sub-region. This is so due to the fact that prior to this event, particularly for about two successive decades and long in history, four key countries in the region in particular and the sub-region in general hosted very critical and destructive types of diplomacy by which every country negatively connote each other.

In long history, nature of the diplomacy in the region was like having features of abdomen and shoulders relations. Many of them i.e. countries in the region, had trends of inter-state war and conflict that barely unnatural all aspects of economy, socio-cultural traits and political aspects of

the region as whole. However, in 2018, these Horn of African countries, especially the most geopolitically important states, came to re-new their diplomacy and materialized new chapter that created booming of hope of stabilities and productive integrations in the region. Consequently some improvements in and of relations have seen to some extents. Therefore, the year of 2018 is the momentous year for the Horn of African countries and the region.

In fact, different and various factors and realities as such those were discussed in previous subtitles of this chapter have contributed to the negative relationships of the countries of Horn of African. We can take the territorial issues, boundary spheres demarked by colonizers, the shared ethno-linguistic similarities and history of having common government and governing system like what Ethiopia and Eritrea had since they ruled under same government and its system from 1952 on. In between, Ethiopia and Eritrea had border conflict (1998-2000) over Badime town after Eritrea got its formal independence from Ethiopia in 1993. However, this status quo of conflict came to change, following the Ethiopian-Eritrean peaceful reconciliation that happened in new manner after two decades state of “no war no peaces” relations.

Reconciliation was in very peaceful way and surprising manner. That is why that Dessalegn (2019) could able to conclude it as what are both historic and incidental. Dessaleng (2019)’s conclusion is mustn’t get astonished and it was truth as the reconciliation was un expected and even wasn’t invited any intermediately or third part though it was even repetitively tried by numerous international and regional organizations such as UNSC and IGAD. In fact, other than some other countries of the Horn, the events in countries such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia have much more potential to affect the whole region-either positively or negatively or both at the same time.

In its characteristic, the renewed diplomatic relation of the countries in the Horn of Africa, particularly that of the Ethiopia and Eritrea brought new era in the region. It called and collected many countries together to discuss their affairs in group and together which enabled them to change their old individuality in history and rejuvenate facial appearance of diplomacy. As results of these relationships, definite situation of harmony, co-operations and friendships could observe. Many documents and agreements were signed by these countries being the most binding object of the regulation.

4.2.1.2. Countries Involved in these new Developments

Among those many countries in the Horn of African region, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti are those countries directly involved in this status quo. Particularly Ethiopia and Eritrea made this agreement the truths and unbelievable reality, having direct communication without any single third party. The pulling and pushing factors of these events and new forms of rapprochement were because of the truism that these countries had and having devastating hostilities at the time of their reconciliation that existed for many years and even decades that exhausted their socio-political spheres. They had historic inter-state wars, diplomatic crisis, economic disintegrations and socio-cultural imperialism which caused out of multiple reasons but needs to be ended to bring intended lasting peace and sustainable development in all aspects. In consequence, finally, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Somalia and Eritrea, Djibouti and Eritrea signed declarations of friendships and peaceful co-existences among themselves.

4.2.2. The development of New Initiative and ways it performed

The inflection or turning points of the 2018 renewed diplomacy of the Horn of African countries and changes was happened following the rises of the newly appointed Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed who took the chair of Prime Minister ship on April 2018. Prior to the coming of

Abiy Ahmed into government power, there were no significant political development within the region, predominantly after 1998 Ethiopia-Eritrean war. The new Prime Minister, subsequent to his succession of the Ethiopian government power, Abiy started embarking of reforming certain tangibly existing political traditions and barriers created by EPDRF government, both internally and externally, though he faced stiff resistance from his party: ‘Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front’ (EPDRF). Therefore, the initiation of the renewed diplomacy of the Horn of African countries of 2018 was inaugurated by Abiy Ahmed of Ethiopia.

The speeding up of the process, patterns of scaling it to its high peak and realizing of these comprehensively growing relations that later facilitated the changing diplomatic environment among the Horn of African countries were, first, computed by the two most hostile countries of Eritrea and Ethiopia. By the way, the starting point of all these conformities lay its base on the date 13 of June 2019 that the EPRDF executive committee under the leadership’s of Abiy voted **27 to 0** and agreed to accept the Alger’s peace accord and implement the EEBC (Ethiopia and Eritrea Border Commission) ruling without preconditions. From this voting result, it is simply observable as Abiy’s government brought its initial slogan and speech into remarkable ‘walk you talk’s’ conclusion. Stauffer (2018) presented this occasion as new era because it was unseen development that put an end to the period of “no war no peace” and hope prevails. Regarding the ways that these relations performed, every step and procedures passed through were discussed here below.

4.2.2.1. The Abiy, His Diplomatic Approaches and Outcomes

After obtaining government power, Abiy’s government instantaneously swift into states of undertaking fundamental reforms those were positively taken both at national and international levels. The major reforms undertaken by Abiy’s government encompasses: the lifting of the

already affixed states of emergency within weeks, ending of the states of war between or with neighboring Eritrea, released thousands of political prisoners in Ethiopia, met and engaged with Ethiopian opposition political parties and civil societies to discuss about these reforms, invited all the opposition parties to come home or get returned and contribute their part to their country's reform process of those previously exiled and based in expel and embarked on institutional reforms: including the security and justice sectors.

This positive call for opposition political parties those in exile later enabled the signing of peace deal and accord with these entities of armed struggle against Ethiopia such as Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), Tigray People Democratic Movement (TPDM), Amhara Democratic Forces Movement and Patriotic Ginbot 7 (G7), (Addis standard magazine Sept. 18, 2018). Such huge transformation has normalized the diplomatic relations with bordering and strategic countries such as Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti. In first place, Abiy brought a new buzz word called “*medemer*”, an Amharic term which more or less means “unity” or “coming together” and mainly suggesting reconciliation, not division. And later on these fundamental reforms those taken by Abiy Ahmed of Ethiopia refreshed and seems to wash the minds of many international and national communities. And finally brought him and his government to have constructive forms of diplomacy and the brighten image of his country.

4.2.3. Understanding States of Countries' Rapprochement

4.2.3.1. Ethiopia-Eritrean Rapprochement Procedures

In the beginning, Dr. Abiy's passionate speeches, which started first on the date of his appointment at parliament, expansively attracted many people, both at the home and abroad. He largely used 'sweet' words that preach and extol peace; love and reconciliation which had fired

the long-subdued spirit of the people living on every corner of both sides. The people of both countries i.e. Ethiopia and Eritrea-were exhaustively keen to hearing from, particularly, from governments of Eritrea. However, two weeks later, President Issaias Afworki of Eritrea comes out in support to Abiy's Ahmed's initiatives and declared his commitment that he would send peace delegation to Addis Ababa. Hearing this news, the world renowned such refreshing states of the two regimes' willing of reconciliation that planned to be dealt directly with each other on their intractable conflict peacefully without any intermediary by avoiding the tendencies of their stubbornness and belligerence. In order to take how the Ethiopia-Eritrean rapprochement gone energized, let us the following documentation presented by international media agencies:

In the first week of June 2018, reports came out from within the Ethiopian state mechanism that Ethiopia would accept all the terms of the Algiers Treaty signed by Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2000 to bring...normalization between the two countries...the "guarantors"...were the UN, USA, EU and OAU (the current AU)...the Border Commission verdict some territory to Eritrea...village of Badme...was! This was unpalatable to...Meles Zenawi...Eritrea refused to move the final and binding decision...away from the agreement and to the negotiation table as that would...make the decision null and void...Fast forward sixteen years....Suddenly the Ethiopian government announces that it will abide fully with the decisions of the Algiers and hopes that Eritrea will follow suit. Positive news indeed for the peoples of the two nations...The fact that this announcement was not debated in parliament...While "hope flows eternally" and the two peoples pray that it comes...

President Isaias' Speech on Martyrs Day, June 20, 2018 (Shabait.com, 20 June 2018)...the current year (2018), as well as the previous year that heralded the beginning of the second quarter of our independence, represent periods of epochal change and transition. These events cannot but imbue additional significance to Martyrs Day that we are commemorating today. The Eritrean people, but also the Ethiopian people, have lost an opportunity of two generations for over half a century due to policies designed to promote external global agendas. When they achieved their respective liberations in 1991 through a common struggle, they embarked, with earnestness, on a new chapter. This was prompted by the desire to advance their complimentary bilateral interests as well as to enhance collective growth in the entire Horn of Africa region. Unfortunately, this promising...was rolled back by the resurgence of misguided global policies...devastations; sacrifices and loss of opportunities that ensued were very heavy indeed.

...The events and developments that have unfolded in our region in general and in Ethiopia in particular...warrant appropriate attention...it is the Ethiopian people...who have borne the main brunt, of the destructive policies of the TPLF regime and its paymasters. The second, relatively bigger loss from the TPLF's ability to derail and frustrate the positive bilateral and regional all-rounded growth that could have been achieved through the complimentary resources and capabilities of the Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples'...as the damage inculcated on the Ethiopian people became increasingly unbearable, it spurred the wrath and it is people who said "enough is enough". This in turn....the ends of the TPLF's shenanigans... "Game Over". Ethiopia is now at a turning point or transition...although it will require time and efforts to remove the TPLF's toxic and malignant legacy and to bring about a congenial climate; the positive direction that has been set in motion is crystal clear. Their speech was in fact the turning points which direct several diplomatic measurements taken by all government of each state. As it is the case with Eritrea, the people of Ethiopia also relish peace and harmony with their neighbor....The positive signals issued in these past days can be seen as an expression of this popular choice. The complimentary of both peoples and countries, their common bilateral interests and prosperity, are sacrosanct objectives to which we have toiled and paid sacrifices for two generations. As such, it remains a priority for which we will be actively engaged. For this reason, and outside myopic considerations of public relations stunts and advantages, we will send a delegation to Addis Ababa to gauge current developments directly and in depth as well as to chart out a plan for continuous future action...!

In fact, from President Speech, it is very clear that the long years divergent between Ethiopia and Eritrea wasn't keen and fired by the people to peoples' problems rather were due to the conflict between the two countries' leaders, particularly TPLF and EPLF parties dual crises. In addition to the two, the insurgency of foreign policies such as that of the USA escalated the fight and the EPLF wasn't accepting the policy that TPLF stacked at. However, following the Abiy's announcement, president Isaias' positively accepted the call. The Abiy's initiatives and Issaias's extraordinary response resonate with the will and aspiration of both Ethiopia and Eritrea's people who want to live peacefully and fraternally. Realizing his positive response, Issaias's sent his delegates to Addis Ababa on 26 of June 2019 and invited Abiy to Asmara. On 8 of July, Abiy warmly received a rapturous well come both by Isaias's government and people of Eritrea at Asmara. Eritreans came out in their tens of thousands to show their unreserved support for the

ongoing initiatives toward peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia (Fikrejesus Amahazion, 2018). See the next picture indicating mass people's rally in Asmara upon Abiy's visit.



Figure 2. *Abiy visit to Asmara, Eritrea: July 8, 2018. Photo by: Billion Temesghen*

Source: Eritrea Profile, Vol. 25 No. 38, July 11, 2018

From the above picture, we can simply conclude that people were lived decades hungry to see their brother in Ethiopia. At the evening time of the same day, the two countries leaders made speech on the state dinner time organized for the honor of Abiy. Both leaders made speech directing to the people of both countries:

President Isaias, applauded Dr. Abiy's bravery in coming forth with peace, referring to the unrestrained and enthusiastic emotions of Eritreans out on the streets as the true meaning of what Eritrea is all about. Dr. Abiy, on his part, expressed Asmara's and Addis Ababa's readiness for greatness (Billion Temesghen, 2018).

When we see points from the speeches have been made, both leaders could grasp how much the feeling of the Asmara people can be reflected also in their brother in Ethiopia. Hence, political transformation and people to people relations are what has to come immediately than ever. And on 9 of July 2019, the two leaders were signed joint declaration of peace and friendship between

Eritrea and Ethiopia after two consecutive decades divorce. The contents of this declaration were:

- The states of war between Ethiopia and Eritrea have become to end and a new era of peace and friendship have been opened.
- The two governments will endeavor to forge intimate political, economic, social, cultural and security cooperation that solves and advances the vital interest of their peoples;
- The direct services of transport, trade and communication links between two countries will resume, diplomatic ties and activities will restarts;
- Decision on boundary between two countries will be implemented as per Alger's peace accord
- Both countries will jointly endeavor to ensure regional peace, development and co-operations. And also will see both governments working towards economic co-operations which built on the frameworks that will beneficial for both countries in the medium and long terms



Figure 3. *Bilateral agreement at National Palace: July 9, 2018. Photo by: Billion Temesghen*

Source: Eritrea Profile, Vol. 25 No. 38, July 11, 2018

As it can be seen, within this document or memorandum of understanding, multiple issues were mentioned to settle the historic devastating war and beginning new era of peace and cooperation. The resuming of the abandoned trade and transport services, the restricted complex axis of the most interlinked socio-cultural traits of people in both countries were supposed to re-emerged. Not only these but also the jointly supported regional peace endeavor proposed as results. Generally, the two countries government have signed agreements that produced effective and positive types of relations those helps to succeed in every part of their socio-economic and political spheres.

Likewise it held in Asmara between July 8 and 9 of 2018, the event also repeated itself in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. President Isaias Afwerki arrived in Addis Ababa on 14 of July 2018 when he was accorded warm welcome by Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed, senior Ethiopian officials, religious leaders and a number of Addis Ababa residents (Fikrejesus, 2018). He had with him many other Eritrean higher officials. In similar to what Eritreans did in Asmara, Ethiopian also repeated it in Addis Ababa that thousands of Addis Ababa residents flocked to the streets of the city to accord warm welcome to the president and his delegates. President Isaias held extensive talks with different Ethiopian official, including President Mulatu Tashome, on the issues of strengthening peace and bilateral cooperation.

While staying in Ethiopia, President Isaias visited Hawasa industrial park in Southern Nations Regional state. On the 18 of July 2018, President Isaias officially reopened Eritrean Embassy at Ethiopia and Abiy of Ethiopia accompanied the occasion and two leaders jointly raised the Eritrean flag meanwhile marching band played the Eritrean national anthem. Throughout stay,

President Isaias attended farewell at Millennium hall, Addis Ababa. In his speech, the president ensured the Ethiopian and Eritreans saying:

“Hate, discrimination and conspiracy is now over,” the said to cheers and people chanting his name. “Our focus from now on should be on developing and growing together. We are ready to move forward with you as one. No one can steal the love we have regained now. Now is the time to make up for the lost times.”(Elias, 2018).

The president’s totally preaches peace, development, love and cooperation among people and the two states.

4.2.3.2. Eritrea-Somalia Rapprochement Procedures

This move i.e. the restoring processes of diplomacy relations between Eritrea-Somalia happened three weeks after Ethiopia and Eritrea signed such vital, historic and effective peace deals-that established working relations between the two. Eritrea and Somalia came to realize the renewing and restoring of this diplomacy after Mohammed Abdulahi visited Asmara. The phases of initiation of the process of such agreement was inaugurated at Asmara upon the Mohammed Abdulahi (Farmajo’s) historic arrival of visit which made on the Saturday 28 of July 2018, which he arrived Asmara with the plan of three days visit.

The renewing and restoring of Eritrea-Somalia diplomacy was taken in after the two countries’ presidents i.e. Mohammed Abdulahi Muhammed (Farmajo) of Somalia and Issaias Afworki of Eritrea marked the signing of such historic accord after fifteen(15) years states of animosity. This restoration took place for the first time to keep away from their two-pronged accusations that Mogadishu accused Asmara of funneling money to insurgents. Accordingly, the agreement made to restore and implies the new scenarios of their countries relations. The two presidents were signed agreement on 30 of July 2018 with document indicating components such as resuming these countries diplomatic ties and re-opening of respective embassies in each country’s capitals-

Asmara and Mogadishu. And it was the joint declaration on brotherly relations and proving the exchanges of their ambassadors.

Cognizant or mindful of the deep bonds of friendships between peoples of Eritrea and Somalia were suited indicating facts through recalling that the peoples of two countries have consistently evidenced by their intact solidarity and provided support to each other's aspirations for freedom, independence, self-government and progress in history. Hence, by the virtue of this opportunity, the presidents of the two countries have determined to re-build their historical brotherly relations and mutual solidarity to forge a partnership that benefits the two nations and region. The concise and comprehensive components of the declarations of these presidents were what started with introducing points of conveying message saying "the governments of Eritrea and Somalia have reached the following points of agreement." Somalia endowed with strategic location and vast human and natural resources. However, it has been hampered in realizing its potential due to the facts affected by the internal problems and external interventions. Thus, Eritrea strongly support the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia as well as the efforts of the people and its government to restore the country's rightful stature and achieve the lofty aspirations of its people:

- Eritrea and Somalia endeavor to forge intimate political, economic, social, cultural as well as defense and security co-operations;
- The two countries will establish the diplomatic relations and as a result will exchanges ambassadors for promoting bilateral trade and investments as well as educational and cultural exchanges
- Eritrea and Somalia will work in unison to foster regional peace, stability and economic exchanges

The main points and leading contents of this harmony filled with objectives of creating an extraordinary diplomacy which would bring transformation in security, economy, education, culture and stability in the region as whole, thus, it defines the supportive diplomacy than the blaming type. Especially, Eritrea committed to stand with Somalia in multi directional because the major problems forcing Somalia not to get stabled includes the intervention from outsiders in its internal political affairs, scratching its sovereignty and dividing among regional states and its clans. In addition, the agreement seems to have effectiveness in clearing out the negative images that the two countries have developed towards one another where both of them were accused vice versa. Particularly, where Asmara stood accused of backing Islamist militants in Somalia soil in proxy war with Ethiopia. Actuality, Eritrea experienced some sorts of accusation from country other than Somalia, such as USA, which USA blamed Eritrea in feature of reluctance in standing aside the agendas of counter terrorism mission and later on invited it to receive sanction from USA. The government of Eritrea has been accused of variety of destabilizing actions in the region though it hasn't been serious source of terrorist operations.

4.2.3.3. The Tripartite Cooperation: Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea

One after another, the countries in the Horn of Africa continued to sign special effects and agreement upon multiple affects that affect their socio-economic and political spheres of their diplomatic relation hemispheres. Because of the intuition to have substantial and long-lasting peaceful co-existence among themselves in such complex traits of diplomacy, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia have made the most comprehensive state of its kind tripartite cooperation in 2018. It was triggered by Ethiopia-Eritrean reconciliation and diplomatic ties and this cooperation has openly expressed an interest in improving relations and moving towards integration. As part of

their co-operation, the leaders of these countries had announced a series of tripartite summits which took in three different times, countries and towns.

A) The Asmara Summit

The Asmara summit is, among the other, the first summit held in Eritrea between the 6th and 7th of September of 2018, with its best aims of materializing the whole inclusive regional peace, security and economic co-operations. Within this agreement the issues of understanding those contexts of specialty, particularity, importance and specificity that the peoples of these three countries have in common such as language, religion, culture, history and geographic similarities they shares and very common interests they had together were highly emphasized. At the same time, they discussed the need to strengthen their historical attachments to achieve the lofty objectives and respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. And also conclude with jointly declaring the following points:

- a. The three countries shall foster comprehensive cooperation that advances the goals of their people;
- b. The three countries shall build close political, economic, social, cultural and security ties;
- c. They shall work in coordination to promote regional peace and security;
- d. The three governments, as result of this, established joint High-Level Committee to coordinate their efforts in the framework of this joint declaration

From this agreement, it is simple to grasp that the leaders of three countries prioritized the interests of their people who shares many common values and interests that the advancement in these common aspects would largely contribute to both economic and political developments of these states. Again the issues of promoting the regional peace and security also worth matter that these states shall work on.

B) The Bahir Dar and Mogadishu Summit

Further discussing the points of tripartite agreement, these states again continued to meet for the second time which held in Ethiopia on the 11th of November 2018, Bahir Dar, with its main objectives of reviewing the level of development and achievements of their ties after Asmara summit where they finally noted it with satisfactions. Meanwhile, they agreed yet further to consolidate their customs of mutual solidarity and supports in addressing any challenges that they face individually and collectively. Again the importance of respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Somalia and showed their firm support for the Somalia peoples and its federal Government and all its institutions were stressed. Not only these but also the three countries commended or praised Somalia for the progress they are making towards peace and stability and this meeting welcomed the impending lifting of all sanctions against Eritrea and underscored their conviction that this act would enhance peace, developments and cooperation in the region and reaffirmed their commitment to do so.

As the third part summit and its turns, Mogadishu also held meeting though it was attended only by leaders of Eritrean and Somalia in absences of Ethiopian prime minister but became recognized as the parts of the joint comprehensive cooperation of tripartite treats of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia. The agenda was the continued part of the Ethiopian Bahar Dar summit on how to consolidate the regional peace and stability yet further.

4.2.3.4. The Eritrea and Djibouti Rapprochement

The two classiest and neighboring countries of Eritrea and Djibouti have agreed to normalize their existing traditions of failed diplomatic relations after a decade of its stalemate. According to the Dewall (2018: [http:// African arguments. Org/2018/07/11](http://Africanarguments.Org/2018/07/11)), Eritrea followed suit by signing an accord with Djibouti after more than a decade of border disputes over the Dumeira Mountain

and Dumeira Island along the Red Sea on September 11, 2018. The two countries existing in the strategic Horn of Africa region were developed state of hostility after 2008. On way for the accomplishment of their comprehensive tripartite meeting, the leaders of Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea were agreed that dialogue would be initiated to resolve a long standing dispute between Eritrea and Djibouti. Following the tripartite summit, a delegation of the three countries foreign affairs ministers met Djibouti's president Ismail Guelleh, who told them his country was ready for 'reconciliation and formalization of its ties with Eritrea'. "After a long period of separation, Eritrea and Djibouti have agreed to restore ties" on 7 Sept 2018. Finally, therefore, the two countries settled their disputing factors and agreed to work together.

4.3. The Potential Security Significance of the 2018 Diplomacy

The status, conditions and fates of security of a given continent, region or country usually and most often affected when there are circumstances of poor governance, absence of democracy and its principles, underdevelopment and weak economy, external interventions, intra-states and inter-states conflicts and/or downside nature of diplomacy substantively existed. However, such cases can be changed as well as positively restricted through introducing and producing technical logics of combating measures; taking diplomatic actions: the fact of actions taken by countries of HoA in 2018.

In 2018 four countries those found in very strategic geo-political positions of Horn of African region such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia restored and renewed their diplomatic relation customs. These new and historic ties were initiated by Ethiopia and followed by Eritrea by which two countries ended their two decades proxy and revelry wars. Then Somalia and Djibouti joined the process. These countries developed new features and attributes those never

observed in history of their diplomacy, particularly after 1991 or for last two decades. By courses of this diplomacy, most of them came to remove their previous culture of negatively existed diplomatic ties and grievances. By virtue of this diplomacy, they smoothly formulated proper ties regeneration where their former cracked relation able to be replaced by new lots of agreement; implying good and hopeful future changes in some courses of regional security significance.

The 2018 diplomacy varnished ground and programmed to bring new scenarios that enforces any situation of bloody wars between these countries to be ended. Among their formal agreements, they announced statements of ending war, substantially working on regional security and warrant the sustainable peace, economic cooperation, realizing impressive socio-cultural ties and multilateral support among one another. All in all and by large they incorporated uncountable profound components to realize breaking of their circumstances of hostility and suspicion that developed over one another previously. For instance, deals among Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia were highly focused on such points. All of them agreed to promote cooperation than repelling apart. As results, vital codes of solidarity were proposed against common threat of security on the region. Very importantly all components are to wipe out both attributes of countries' and regional hostility. Thus, any forms of external security pressures and political interference which contributing for regional hostility will no longer in place.

4.3.1. The 2018 Rapprochement and their Security indicators

To understand the potential security significance of the renewed diplomatic relation of the 2018, exploring its very central components incorporated in agreements and best logics proposed to address security problems is very important. Among them, for illustration, the logics such as understanding of their cooperation in each other's esteem full conducts are included. The relations were suggested as what must chiefly depends on respecting each country's best values,

refraining from interfering of domestic cases of one another's, recognizing of state sovereignty, supporting each other's internal peace and stabilities were the cores. As such, all interstate relations were proposed to be one that must be institutionalized on the basis of reciprocal respect of one another's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Such bilateral and tripartite relation would combat any types of security problems of both interstate and within region because it resists any reinforcing forms of incompatibilities in divergent interests, behaviors and actions; replacing by the quality and techniques of negotiation and dialogues for the effective cooperation and partnerships among states. It brings the strong tie that even helps these countries to forget their prolonged hostility.

Furthermore, likewise the point, the rapprochement of 2018 implied such qualities. For instance, if we take the Ethiopia-Eritrea situation, the points those these countries were prioritized in their bilateral declaration defined the oath of stopping previous codes of war and refining of the old rhythm of their cracked diplomacy. They agreed to addresses and end war and instead focusing on the renewing of previously abandoned political, social and security intimacy. Both of them eager to solve any forms of their difference and inspired to transform the two countries people interest. Consequently and as results of this positive diplomatic reunion, they proved the accepting of border peace accord and removal of both sides' military bases. This marked the absences of border conflict and enhanced sounding security outcomes which can totally foster and shoot up the rates of inter-state peace and solidarity. Further, within this agreement, there are too codes of jointly declared forms of working cooperatively on regional security and peace. Therefore, the Ethiopia-Eritrean renewed diplomacy brought regional security signifies: ensuring peace development and co-operations.

The other rapprochement is that of the states of Eritrea and Djibouti. The two countries were agreed and positively engaged in processes of restoring peace as well as diplomacy of working together: leaving back their history of hostility that lasted for a decade. Following this, both of them freed from border conflict tension and could materialized agreement. Abandoning of such states of distractive competition between countries who shares territorial borders have significant role and share in ensuring regional security. It drives down regional tensions, reduces political suspects, blocks internal and external military insurgents groups and illegal inflow of weapon. What is more, in 2018, Somalia and Eritrea had prospect to restore their relations likewise. Upon their days of signing this harmonic diplomatic relation, both states approached to stick into firm positive cooperation.

Their declaration of firm diplomatic ties entirely focuses on the principles and values of settling their comprehensive divergences those were developed earlier. Accordingly, Eritrea and Somalia pointed out some very necessary notions those thought they would help them while endeavoring bilateral intimacy in political, economic, social, cultural wings development. Meanwhile, they proposed bilateral support in defense and security matters exchanges while working in unison to foster regional peace and stability. Therefore, this harmonious relation would contribute for the regional security significances through creating extraordinary peace objectives and would too bring transformation in security and stability. In addition, this agreement have had effectiveness nature in clearing out the negative accusation that both of them have had in vice versa and significantly forces down long-existed proxy because after this occasion, Eritrea took positively supportive role of reconstructing Somalia.

Furthermore, in order to realize the processes of addressing state of Horn of African region conflict and fragility, countries of Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea signed tripartite comprehensive cooperation treaty. The treaty seems what has kinds of having main objectives of clearing out the long-term and prolonged strife and insecurity characteristic of the Horn of African region. The comprehensiveness of this agreement can be measured by its container of statements of ending war, forging each country's people interest, boosting economy, trade, communication, working on inter-state peace and solidarity. Therefore, the new development of diplomacy worked in the Horn of African region in 2018 which characterized by peaceful cooperation have huge scale of producing security. It has potential security significances and profound prospects of stability of the region. That is why that this thesis focused on this new development that totally differed from any other time diplomacy of states in the region.

4.3.2. An observed outcome of the 2018 Renewed Diplomacy

An out comes, under this subtitle, refers to those have been seen positive indicators following the 2018 regional diplomacy. Accordingly, many remarkable positive results have been recorded and registered. It could bring within the region certain features of economic, political and socio-cultural transformations and changes that prolonged having negative connotations.

Regarding the affairs of political transformation, the black shadow of imposed umbrella between many states of the Horn transformed. For instance, because of the resumption of dead diplomacy among states, sectarian conflict and proxy war by the developed countries on the region could kept silent and reduced. The long-term political cold war calmed and those deadly tensions were refined. Victorious political advantages are obtained by which Eritrea is the most benefited country but followed by Ethiopia. Particularly, Eritrea able to rejoin both regional and international communities and changed its status of isolation in all aspects. The multilateral

sanctions imposed by UN on Eritrea finally lifted. Very importantly, the geo-political strategic competencies will never affect the region which was the most leading factors of political crises. Not only these but also all these states able to exchanges their ambassadors and open embassies. In general, political expulsions imposed among states such as supporting of each other's some armed groups, intervening of each other's internal affairs, releasing of destructive propaganda against each other (Ethiopia and Eritrea),

Again, rapprochement had reinforced significant economic transformation through regenerating inflow and outflow of goods and services through re-opening many closed trade routes and ports. The case of Ethiopia and Eritrea significantly defines this fact. Both countries able to have an access of using direct air and land transport and telecommunication services were. The trade routes between two countries through Zala Ambassa to Asmara and Asmara to Mekele reopened. Likewise, other countries trade relations also got opportunities of importing and exporting goods and services via existing ports. In line with socio-cultural relations, people from all these countries, particularly people of Ethiopia and Eritrea those had restricted and limited access to visit able to do so. Families reunited, relatives visit one another and religious festivals and preligrems were celebrated together. In general, the new diplomatic ties of 2018 by the countries of the Horn have contributed for well being of the region by which those abovementioned components of an out comes are some of other indicators. Thus, this diplomacy has possibilities of great security advantages in the region.

4.4. Challenges and Prospects of the 2018 Diplomacy

Even though the renewed diplomatic relations of the 2018 among Horn of African countries has comprehensive possibilities for regional security significances, it is not totally lets the region free

from challenges. Extensive challenges would exist encountering the region from different angles. Scholars and political scientist still suggest lots of indicators. Among many others, the following are considerably the majors. The frequent and repetitive internal conflicts and turmoil been observed within each neighboring countries, including countries that signed these ties would the prominent security challenges. It seems what still going on and will also continue to happen.

The other and second problematic forms of security challenges are the sustaining pressures those imposed both directly and indirect from external power players such as USA, UAE, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, France and Egypt who have special interest over the Red Sea trade routes and Horn of Africa. Further, the region would face inconsistency of peaceful diplomacy that affected by insurgents military groups supported by Yemen based Militia who can destabilizes peace status of trade routes along Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia ports. In addition to this, the long term proxy war and hostility that these countries experienced still can rejuvenate. For instance, some politician and scholars who I have interviewed during my data collection still have big reservation arguing their position as if this diplomatic relations largely looks like what is more of the leaders' friendship relations than that of the people to people and state to state diplomacy.

Moreover, some people have stands that reflect an old trend of diplomacy still lets them to have good points of reservation. For these people, different forms of attempts that taken by different Ethiopian leaders such as Mengistu Hailemariam, Meles Zenawi and Hailemariam Desalegn such as being the revered and accepted leader within the region as well as by all neighboring states would make the Abiy Ahmed's case also to be the reserved. This is so because he could want to do same. Hence, it is diplomacy with the full of suspects and temporary than strong, lasting and substantial one. Therefore, it must be fully exercised, reached both people to people

and state to state levels with strong commitment of these countries political leaders. Again on the future fates of the 2018 diplomatic relation challenges many political scientist points out their cases of reservation speaking out some major reasons. For instance, during my observation of the scholarly seminar and discussion on this state of affairs that held at Addis Ababa University, I could able to grasp that every of them had big reservation. They say that there is no visible and concrete evidence that indicates whether this diplomacy will continue in future in very peaceful manner and sustain. For them there is no insurance for its continuity and reality.

However, in another way, the 2018 diplomacy have more or less potential security significances other than the previous status of this regional security crisis. But its affairs of positive continuity needs each country's strive and endeavor for its realization. If the current i.e. 2018 attributes of this diplomacy continued, both now and in future, it will highly contribute for the security of the region and even including the Red Sea region. As result, crises of countries' proxy war, potency of human trafficking network across region, rates of refugee intensity, regency of illegal weapon transportation, the increased over sea robbers and etc., would weaken and seen stopped in future. Further, it would solidify the strength of inter regional organization and assists the consolidation of Eritrea with IGAD. However, it requires long lasting commitment of these countries to sustain their cooperation that they signed upon their new 2018 GC diplomatic relation agreement.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

Security is the most important elements that greatly contribute for the sustainable, successful and prosperous states of human life by which its absence totally ruins everything of human being. Therefore security is everything for human being that any country's government has to worry to work continuously on security both drafting policies and institutionalizing security sectors. In today's world that full of insecurity and instability the quality of legislative policies and diplomacy has strong quality of putting peace in place both within and between countries. The strong state can secure probability of insecurity meanwhile playing leading roles in economic and human being well-being. For and to bring security, both within and out of country, creating and having smooth diplomatic relation with neighboring countries significantly plays concrete roles because upon the cases that diplomatic crises occurred between states, the state of proxy war can extensively destabilize the other state.

In paradox to this fact, many countries face security crises due to their cracking diplomacy. The countries in the Horn of African are the true example for their instabilities twisted of such basis. However, in 2018 this trend seems changed as they refined their diplomacy. It is the kinds of reemerging diplomacy between the countries of the Horn which resulted in some very positive outcomes. It enabled the people and government of the region to work together on their common security problems, economy, social and cultural integrity as well as peace affairs after many decades of conflict and clashes. Due to the new diplomatic relation of 2018 some progressive changes were witnessed between Horn of African countries. This would have a say to the entire

stability and security of the region both for now and in the future. Among the potential security significance, many conflicting countries had settled their difference by coming together and warming potency of dialogues as well as negotiation. For instance, Eritrea had opportunity to rejoin international and regional community as of the security established in the region after this diplomacy.

Eritrea acquired free chance of lifting all sanctions and removed its state of isolation. Somalia started testing standards of diplomatic support from its neighbors on internal affairs and external affairs. Accordingly, this integration had helped hefty part of supporting purpose with impressive consequences upon some deteriorated security values of the Horn region and states. Somalia awaked to coordinate against national and regional security threat. All in common, some states started to undergo certain internal political and policy reforms. For illustration, Ethiopia made a historic diplomacy ties, police reforms and reconciliation with its opposition parties. In addition it resumed diplomatic ties with Eritrea which changed vibration of long lasted security tensions in the region.

Because of its both internal and external political policy reforms, the government of Ethiopia signed reconciliation and agreements to end hostilities with many rebel groups those against it. As results, almost all of them came home ending the status of exiled oppositions and proxy war of supporting of each other's armed strugglers of certain countries. Consequently, the frequency of army smuggle, migration, refugees and asylum seekers would reduced in future which might a great change in security crises. Overall, the 2018 renewed diplomacy, initiated by Ethiopia but empowered by Ethiopia-Eritrea ties for that matter, had crucial potency in shifting the custom of insecurity in the Horn. It was an action of success and what impressed international community

and whole world changing the previous cracked image that existed for more than two decades due to the region's insecurity and instabilities.

The 2018 diplomacy brought great advantage for many countries in the region in which Eritrea is the most luck country but followed by Ethiopia. Visibly these two countries retained lots of advantage whatsoever capacity countries internally have and Ethiopia is a single country that contributed to this diplomatic ties taking lion's share. Following this measure, the sustainability of security in the region and nations seemed much realized than ever because the security and economic development of any country comes only if the bordering states insured their diplomatic ties well-being. These facts have been observed in cases of new diplomatic relation among the countries of the Horn of Africa in 2018. Many cases of conflict between them and internally publishing instabilities were settled as a result. Particularly, the cases of Eritrea-Djibouti and Ethiopia-Eritrea conflicts that challenged the Horn of African regional security and world's community in past years went positive as a result of this new diplomatic relations. Particularly after Ethiopia and Eritrea come to end their hostility of "no peace, no war" period what scholars and political scientist confirmed that this relation is the new and different one from its previous relations as many difficulties and accusation among these countries became leaned.

5.2. Recommendations

The positive intergovernmental and states relations, particularly the neighboring countries who share same sub-region like that of the Horn of African countries have immense advantage for aspects such as security and sustainable peace. This would exist if and only if the states properly realize their bilateral and multilateral agreements. The security, stability, economic development and politics of the Horn countries are entirely interdependent that insecurity and instability of one state extensively impact and affects the other. So, constructive diplomacy between the Horn

states is not an option rather mandatory and that is why in 2018 they intended to improve trends of splintered diplomacy and some changes have been seen within the region. However, this alignment desires long-term efforts of support from political decision makers who acts both within and out of the region since the region lies between the most insecure and instable corridor due to external and internal pressures. Thus, the 2018 new diplomatic setting needs collaborative support from international communities, regional government and organizations.

Besides, the role of each country of the Horn must seen boldly and heightened than ever using the opportunity been created and shall consistently work without idleness. Countries have to stand by side of other, shield external intervention, foster harmony, maintain their citizens' good interests, value magnitude of security, admire other's autonomy, run off proxy war and refraining from interfering internal affairs of other country. Moreover, they have to prioritize regional interest, speeding up economic integration, fasten cross border infrastructure projects, solve their internal crises and problems by themselves and stick to principles of cooperation; ensure democracy and shall dedicate to meet common development goals. Likewise, any processes of peace consolidations should acquire popular legitimacy and transparency, consider importance of non-state actors such as religious institutions, civil society organizations and communities living on borders of dealing countries because comparatively all countries of the Horn accommodates citizen who share religious, culture, language and clan backgrounds.

Each country has to develop dedication for realization of 2018 agenda, work to reform their old foreign policies, must fully respond to the deteriorated political and security situations across the region, abide themselves to principles of their agreements, think their responsibilities and must empower some working regional organization such as IGAD.

References

- Abdilahe and Zhu (2019). Discussing Opportunities and Crisis in the Horn of Africa. International Journal of Management Science and Business Administration. Vol.5
- Abdirahman, O. (2019). Challenges and Breakthrough for Horn of Africa Regional Integration. *Journal of Political Science and International Relations*. Vol. 2, No. 1, 2019, pp. 11-17. doi: 10.11648/j.jpsir.20190201.12
- Abera Sh. (2013). Conflicts Patterns in the Horn of Africa in Post Cold War Periods. Thesis (MA) in State and Citizen. Addis Ababa University.
- Adar, K.G. Conflict Resolution in a Turbulent Region: The Case of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in Sudan. Conflict resolution in a turbulent region.
- Adejumobi S. A. (2007). The History of Ethiopia. Greenwood Press Westport, Connecticut. London
- Akamp, M. (2011). COMESA, EAC & SADC Tripartite FTA: Implications on Uganda's Export Performance. Post Graduate Diploma in International Trade Policy and Trade Law (Intermediate). Trade Policy Training Centre in Africa. Tanzania.
- Asnake K. (2004). *Federalisms: Some Trends of ethnic Conflicts and their Management in Ethiopia*. In Alfred G. Nhema (ed). The Quest for Peace in Africa. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSERA.
- Attina, F. (2005). Regional security partnership: the concept, model, practice, and a preliminary comparative scheme. Jean Monnet Working Papers in Comparative and International Politics. University of Catania
- Axt Heinz-Jurgen et al. (2006). Conflict: A Literature Review, Duisburg: Tean Monnet Group, 23 February.

- Ayoob, M. (1995). *The third World Security Predicament: State making, Regional Conflict and the International System*. London: Lynne Rienner Publisher
- Bahru, Z. (2002). *A History of Modern Ethiopian:-1855-1991*. 2nd ed. Addis Ababa University Press.
- Baylis, J. (2001). International and Global Security in the post Cold War Era. In Baylis, J., and Smith, S.,(ed.) (2001) (2nded.).*The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bellamy. I. (1981). Towards a Theory of International Security. *Political Studies* .29(1),100-5.
- Berregde, R. and James, A. (2003). *A dictionary of Diplomacy*.(2nd .ed.). Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN 978-1-4039-1536-8.
- Berridge, Keens-Soper and Otte (2001). *Diplomatic theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. Palgrave publishers. New York
- Billion Temesghen (2018). ‘Selam’ at Last! Eritrea and Ethiopia join in peace after two decades of hostilities. *Eritrea Profile*, Vol. 25 No. 38, July 11, 2018.
- Buzan, B. (1991) *People, states and fear: An Agenda for security Analysis in the Post-Cold War Era*. Brighton: Weatsheaf
- Chahine,J.(2010).Public Diplomacy: A conceptual Framework. Thesis(PhD) in Communications. Montreal. McGill University.
- Collins, C. and Packer, J. (2006). *Options and Techniques for Quiet Diplomacy. The Initiative on Conflict Prevention through Quiet Diplomacy. Printed by Edita Stockholm*
- Cordesman, etal. (2016). *The Indian Ocean Region: Red Sea and Horn Sub-region*. Center for Strategies and International Studies (CSIS).

- Cumming, M.C.(2003).*Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*.Washington: Center for Arts and Culture.
- Dawit , Y.(2019). Transregional Conflict Crossing the Red Sea: The Horn of Africa
- Dawit ,Y. and Fana G. (2019). Transregional Conflict Crossing the Red Sea: The Horn of Africa
- De Waal (ed.) (2004). *Islamism and its Enemies in the Horn of Africa*. Addis Ababa:
- De Waal A. (2007). Horn of Africa and Red Sea Synthesis Paper. Conflict Research Programme. London School of Economics and Political Sciences.
- Demessie F.(2014). Regional Approaches to Maritime Security in the Horn of Africa. Published by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Addis Ababa Office
- Deng, Francis M. "Sudan: A Nation in Turbulent Search of Itself." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603.1 (2006): 155-62. Pg. 156
- Doop, V. M. (2013). How to Handle Your Neighbors' Conflict: Ethiopia's Relationships with Sudan and South Sudan. UNISCI Discussion Papers, N° 33
- EAC (2014).East African Community Secretariat: Sub-regional input to the 11th Session of UN Forum on Forest (UNFF). Submitted to the UNFF Secretariat on 26th September, 2014
- EIU(2000). Country Report: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti. <http://www.eiu.com>.
London SW1Y 4LR United Kingdom
- Elias Meseret (2018). Eritrean, Ethiopian leaders call new peace example to Africa; AP 15-7-2018
- FDFA (2008) or Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs . ABC of Diplomacy: www.eda.admin.ch
- Fey, M. and Ramsay, K.W. (2010). When is Shuttle Diplomacy worth the Commute? Information Sharing through Mediation.

- Fikrejesus Amahazion , (2018). “Yes Peace, No War.” Eritrea Profile, Vol. 25 No. 38, July 11, 2018
- Fraser, R.(2012). Track Two Diplomacy-A distinct Conflict Intervention Category. Thesis (MA) in Dispute Resolution. University of Victoria.\
- Gazdasag and Tarsadalom (2016). Economic Diplomacy and the Role of Diplomatic Missions Nowadays. Journal of Economy and Society. DOI: 10.21637/GT.2016.1.03.
- George, A,(1997).Forceful persuasion. Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to war, US institute of peace. Washington DC.
- Heijmans,M.O. (2001). Conceptualizing Economic Diplomacy: The Crossroads of International Relations, Economics,IPE and Diplomatic Studies. Netherlands Institute for International Relations *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6. 7-36. ‘Clingendael.
- Henrikson K.A.(2006). What Can Public Diplomacy Achieve? Discussion Papers in Diplomacy. Netherland Institutes of International Relation. ‘Clingendael’ and Antwerp University.
- Jonsson C. and Hall, M. (2005). The Essence of Diplomacy. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kaye, D.D. (2007). Talking to the Enemy: track two diplomacy in the Middle East and South Asia. RAND Corporation. Santa Monica. www.rand.org.
- Kenyan Foreign Policy (2014). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Nairobi.
- Kidane M.(2011). Critical Factors in The Horn of Africa’s Raging Conflicts: A discussion Paper 67. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. UK.
- Kidist M. (2014). The role of Regional Powers in the Field of Peace and Security: The cases of Ethioipa.
- Kigen, C. (2004). The impact of the Cold War on the Ethiopian-Somalia Relations, 1960-1990. Thesis (MA) in International Studies. University of Nairobi.

- Kirchner, E.J. (2014). *Theoretical Debates on Regional Security*. European University Institute: Governance Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. Global Governance Programme-97
- Knife A. (1994). *Ethiopian from Bullets top the Ballot Box: The Bumpy Road to Democracy and the political Economy of Transition*. Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press Inc.
- Kothari C.R. (2004). *Research Methodology. Methods and Techniques*. New Age International (P) Ltd.,Publishers.
- Kurucz,M. 2007. Kultúrna dimenzia diplomacie. In *Zahraničná politika a diplomacia Slovenskej republiky v kontexte európskej integrácie. Zborník z vedeckej konferencie*.Bratislava: Ekonóm, 2007, pp. 62-71. ISBN 978-80-225-2467-4.
- Lionel, C. (2004). “Regional Impact of the Eritrea-Ethiopia War; in Dominigue Jacquin-Berdal and Martin Plaut (eds.), *Unfinished Business: Ethiopia and Eritrea at War*, Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press
- Mahad , A.(2017). The Problems of Sustaining Friendly International Relations between Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia. *International Journal of Academic Research and Reflection* Vol. 5, No. 1, 2017 ISSN 2309-0405
- Mark. S.(2009). *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy*. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy(ed). Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael’ and Antwerp University
- Matsuoka John (2001). *Ghosts and shadows: Community of Identify and Community in an African Diaspora*. Toronto: University of Toronto Incorporated
- McDonald, John W. and Diane B. Bendahmane,(1987) (eds)..., *Conflict Resolution: Track Two Diplomacy*, Washington D.C.: Foreign Service Institute,

- Mellissen, J. (2005). *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in international Relations* (edited). *Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael*. Palgrave.
- Menkhaus, K. (2011) *Somalia and the Horn of Africa*
- Moons S.J.V. and Boer, de R. (2014). *Economic diplomacy, product characteristics and the level of development*. International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University. The Hague.
- Mosley, J. (2014). *Eritrea and Ethiopia: Beyond the Impasse*. Africa Programme | April 2014 | AFP BP 2014/01
- Mosley, J. (2014). *Eritrea and Ethiopia: Beyond the Impasse*. Briefing paper; African Programme.
- Mutunga, E. (2014). *The Role of COMESA in Consolidating Peace, Peace, Governance and Development within the Context of Agenda 2063*. Governance Peace and Security COMESA Center Secretariat
- Pajtinka, E. (2014). *Cultural Diplomacy in Theory and Practice of Contemporary International Relations*. **Faculty of Political Sciences and International Relations–UMB Banská Bystrica**.
- Pajtinka, E. (2015). *Cultural Diplomacy and its Organizational and Institutional Models in Selected States*: Journal of International Relations. Volume, XIII., Issue2. Pages: 111-122.
- Perez, M.A. (2015). *Coercive Diplomacy in 21st Century: A new framework for the “Carrot and Stick”*. (PhD Dissertation in International Studies): Miami University. Open Access Dissertations. 1557.
- Persson, J. (2012). *Regions as Security Providers: The Evolution of the West African Regional Security Complex*. Lund University.

- Redie Bereketeab (2009). *The Eritrea-Ethiopia Conflict and the Algiers Agreement: Eritrea's March down the Road to Isolation*
- Richard Rosecrance, R.(1986). *The rise of Trading State: commerce and conquest in the Modern World*. New York: Basic books.
- Roba, Sh. and Berouk, M. (2011).*Regional Security in the post-Cold War Horn of Africa*(ed).Institute for Security Studies.
- Romeo, S. (2016). *Coercive Diplomacy, Theories and Application: A case Study on US Administration and Libya*.
- Samson S. (1999).*The Sudan Conflict. In Conflict in the Horn of Africa: What can civil society do to bring about solidarity and cooperation in the region*. Nairobi.
- Sauer, T. (2007:ed.).*Coercive Diplomacy by the EU: the case of Iran*. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy.
- Sebenius, J.K., Green, L.A., and Kogan, E.B.(2016). *Henry A. Kissinger as Negotiator: Background and Key Accomplishments*. November 24, 2014, v3.1 rev. December 12, 2016 Shama Books.]
- Stauffer, H. (2018). *A new Era: Eritrea-Ethiopia in Peace Documentation*. Afrika-Komitee: Basel, Switzerland. July 30, 2018
- Stone, M.(2009). *Security According to Buzan: A Comprehensive Security Analysis*. Security Discussion Papers Series 1.Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs – New York, USA
- Styan D, (2016). **Djibouti: small state strategy at a crossroads. Journal of Third World Thematics: in Special Issue on Small States**: Birkbeck College

- Styan D.(2013). Djibouti: Changing Influence in the Horn's Strategic Hub.Briefing paper. www.chathamhouse.org.
- Tadesse and Yonas (2007). Afar: the impact of Local Conflict on Regional Stability. Researching local conflicts and regional security.
- Temesgen, A. (2012). Ethiopian–Eritrean Conflict: Security Implications for the Horn of Africa. Manuscript (Diplom); United States Army War College.
- Tesema, T. (1986). The Political Economy of the Western Central Ethiopia: From the 16th C to the Early-20th c. Dissertation (PhD) in History. Michigan State University. USA.
- UNDP (2016). Ending Need Indeed: *Harmonizing Humanitarian, Development and Security Priorities in the Horn of Africa* UNDP Africa Sub-Regional Strategic Assessment No. 2
- Varma, A.(2011).The Creation of South Sudan: Prospects and Challenges. Observer Research Foundation.
- Williamson, R. (2008.)*The Continuing conflicts in South and North Sudan*. London: British Academic Press.
- Wolf, C. Jr. and Rosen, B. (2004). Public Diplomacy. How to think about and improve it.RAND Corporation. Santa Monica.
- Woolfrey, S. and Verhaeghe, E. (2017). Understanding the COMESA Industrialization Agenda. Regional integration, cooperation or learning? The Political Economy Dynamics of Regional Organizations (PEDRO).
- Yohannes, T. (2016). The Dynamics of Security Threats to the Horn States: Implications for Peace, Federalism and Human Rights. Papers presented at the First Graduate Conference on Peace, Federalism and Human Rights. Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS). Addis Ababa University