



ISSN: 0975-833X

Available online at <http://www.journalcra.com>

International Journal of Current Research
Vol. 11, Issue, 08, pp.6340-6346, August, 2019

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24941/ijcr.36244.08.2019>

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF CURRENT RESEARCH

RESEARCH ARTICLE

ETHIOPIA'S ROLE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA FOR PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY

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ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 28th May, 2019
Received in revised form
25th June, 2019
Accepted 26th July, 2019
Published online 31st August, 2019

Key Words:

Ethiopia,
Peace,
Security,
Security Complex.

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Citation: Mulugeta Tesfaye Teshome, 2019. "Ethiopia's role in the horn of Africa for promoting peace and security", *International Journal of Current Research*, 11, (08), 6340-6346.

ABSTRACT

This paper is a review of peace and security in the Horn of Africa and the role of Ethiopia in peace operation in the region. The analysis presented in the article is based on the qualitative data provided by international organizations, governments, research institutions and other concerned bodies. The paper is developed with the use of a historical method, as well as discourse analysis of the literature on the subject, official documents and the press. In the contemporary world politics Regional security Complexes play an important role in sponsoring Peace and stability. Conflict and instability trends in the Horn of Africa region continue to make it one of the most unstable regions in the world. Significant portions of the Horn of Africa have not been able to break free of the lethal cocktail of armed conflicts, violent crime, extremism, communal violence, political instability, and state failure that has plagued the region for decades. Most parts of the Horn of Africa of armed conflict and instability today are concentrated near border areas, posing a major risk of spillover and featuring powerful cross border drivers, interests and actors. Ethiopia is a key ally of the Western world, especially the U.S., which considers it as an important regional security partner in the global war on terror, and recently as negotiators in conflict resolution stages in most of Horn of African states. Undoubtedly, Ethiopia plays a key role in the security complex of the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia, which is located at geographically strategic place, and the most populous country in the region, enjoys relative power among the countries in this region. Regardless of the external and internal problems, Ethiopia's position is growing from time to time, just as its economic and political potential developed. In the region itself, no country doubt Ethiopia's leading role and compete for hegemony in the Horn of Africa, which is because of the magnitude of Ethiopian economy and its rich history. It means the historic legacy/link with almost all of the horn countries levy Ethiopia a burden as well as privilege on Ethiopia in patrolling the region.

INTRODUCTION

The Horn of Africa region has a geopolitical notion. In geographical, traditional, and restrictive political terms, the Horn of Africa consists of the Somali Peninsula in East Africa between the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, which is home to the countries of Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea and Somalia. However, there is a growing tendency in scholarly literature dedicated to political issues to adopt a broader definition of the Horn of Africa, which, in addition to the above countries, also includes Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan and sometimes Uganda (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2003; Imf, 2013). The Horn of Africa is known for being very prone to violent conflicts and various forms of transnational (war) and new (under development) peace and security threats. For many decades, the region has witnessed wars between states, secessionist movements, intrastate violent conflicts, foreign interventions, terrorist attacks and piracy, as well as violence after contested elections (Witt, 2014). These battles include a state in Somalia that has failed, the impasse between Ethiopia and Eritrea (though it is solved right now),

unsettled boundary problems between Eritrea and Djibouti, and consistent dispute within South Sudan and between South Sudan and Sudan (Turton, 2006). According to Witt the region is seen as a complicated security area causing problems that are interwoven challenges transcending known state boundaries (Witt, 2014). It has also experienced outstanding instances of peace-making in Africa, and a steady creation of a regional peace-making construction via the IGAD and the East African Community. Witt (2014) said irrespective of these moves, security in the Horn of Africa has two contradictions. First, irrespective of the increased acknowledgement of the regional feature of the security problems, there is still high suspicion and distrust among the members of the region. Second, even though in the region there have been established official regional establishments that have permanently exchanged forum for heads of state and government, the goal of a transparent and well planned policy discourse is yet to be realized. Ethiopia is the only country in the region that has a written, formally published foreign policy strategy that is accessible by the public (Witt, 2014). According to Kłosowicz the Horn of Africa has currently witnessed great

transformations and is constantly transiting but struggling with terrible violence and problems of security and peace (Imf, 2013). More than ever Security issue is getting great concern from leaders and their people. Due to the rise of regional cooperation in the post-cold war period Regional security complexes are instrumental to the maintenance of peace and security. Security complex is defined as set of states whose major security perception and concern are so linked and their national security problem cannot be analyzed or involved apart from each other (Buzan and Waeber, 2003). Virtually all states have a great role in maintaining national and international security. Sketching out the national and international security is providing a strong framework to analyze security issue. The globe is organized in to region and state in securing the human race. In security study the referent object (whose security is studied) is the main question. Barry Buzan and Ole Waeber in their work "Region and Power: The Structure of Contemporarily international security structure" geographically clustered regions' society are considered as referent object (Gupta, 2010). Regional security complex is the most workable security structure in post-cold war period. Regional security studies are parts which are arranged into a system where balance of power, power polarity, interdependence, and alliance are observed. The security of each actor in a region interact with the security of other actors (Gupta, 2010). There is also great security interdependence within the region, but not between the regions. This makes regional security interesting area of the study. To secure the stability and wellbeing of the member states through mutual cooperation in order to maximize regional security in preserving the social and economic development of our people. Among these regional security complex's inter-governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) is one of the strong regional security in the eastern Africa.

IGAD which was first established in 1986 as the Inter-Governmental Authority for Drought and Development (IGADD), a sub-regional organization focusing on prevention of drought and desertification in the region. Its performance during its formative years was hardly impressive despite the existence of a number of efforts to address issues related to cooperation for early warning of drought and efforts to prevent desertification. This is because eastern Africa has a common security agenda which ones security problem affect others. Another major milestone in the history of IGAD came in 1996 when member states finally decided to revitalize IGAD on more important and far-reaching aims than the original limited focus on drought and desertification. IGAD identified three priority areas on which to concentrate in future: peace and security, infrastructural development and food security and the environment. It might be noted that these priority areas tally perfectly with the main focus of eastern African countries National Security Policy and Strategy (Muhabie Mekonnen Mengistu, 2015). They initiating the priority areas (of food insecurity and environmental degradation) and detailing what they meant in terms of meaningful trans-boundary cooperation among member states. Generally, regional security complex is attractive strategy for contemporary world security. Regions are mainly influenced by the legacy of states in the region. The behavior and the threat of the region is based on the state's history and position. This paper is intended to describe the roles of regional security complexes in promotion of peace with a particular emphasis to Horn Africa. In addition the paper tried to investigate the place of Ethiopia in promoting peace and security in the region as hegemonic power. In the

following sections the paper addressed such an issue by consulting literature.

METHODS

The study approach was qualitative entirely based on secondary data. The researchers used previous research findings, governmental and intergovernmental reports, treaties as the sources of data. The data collected were analyzed using a combination of interpretive and constructivism to guide the qualitative method of research (). The scope of this article is describing the role of RSCs and condition of peace and security in the Horn of Africa with a particular emphasis of reviewing the role of Ethiopia in the region. The researcher tried to examine different perspective on Ethiopia's role in the east Africa. The perspectives analysed without biases.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The threat for postmodern state, modern state and pre modern state varied as the world's politico-economic contexts differ. For example, the postmodern state (western/ Westphalia state) national threats are illegal migration, terrorism, economic cycle and democratic deficits that shape the behavior of the western state as well as the regional security dynamics. For regions which are dominated by modern states (like Brazil, China, Russia) main security threats are outsider economic competition, the problem of inclusion-fear of competition with core state and exclusion-absence of shared benefit with center state. Whereas, the security threat for pre modern countries are fear for being neglected and fall in to chaos (Ayoob, 2002). In addition, according to Mohamed (Ayoob, 2002) the third world country security in general and the Africans in particular since African countries are pre modern states and a result of colonization they are in state building and state making stage. For them, the major threats are unstable internal regime and chaos. As Ayoob explained, they need to give priority to their internal affair than their external threats (Ayoob, 2002). The contemporary states under the global security complex demand corporate peace. Since the end of cold war, states begun to relay on their on regional security organization. However regional security complexes are not strong enough because of a number of reasons. Among these conceptual multiplicity about RCs. From a bulk of literatures one can learn that there are different perspective on the nature and roles of regional security complex. According to Waltz there are three important theoretical perspectives on international security structure on post-cold war period (Waltez, 1979). These are;

- a. Neo realist perspective
- b. Globalist perspective
- c. Regionalist perspective

Neo realist perspective is state centric and its argument rests on power polarity (bi-polar, unipolar and multi polar). The center of this debate is about the distribution of material power in international relation which determine the global security structure and interplay with balance of power logic (Waltez, 1979). From these premises, we can conclude that bipolar regional security complex is transformed in to unipolar in post-cold war period later in to absence of world hegemonic power. Therefor the international system is anarchical, hard power is a defining feature of a state and international system create a general tendency for competition among states. In the

competitive environment, state could be a greedy entity that interest could be achieved through power. Globalists on the other hands are the anti-thesis of neo realist (power politics) that understand international system structure as mutuality. Globalization is mainly rooted in cultural, transnational and political economy approaches towards international security. The hallmark of this perspective is about the acknowledgement of independent role in both transnational entity and non-governmental socio-economic organization (Gupta, 2010). In this theory, territorial sovereignty hardly ordering human activities. Technological improvement, transportation, communication, free flow of goods, information and ideas affect the territorial sovereignty. Many scholars like argues that globalization is responsible for complicating security agenda (Waltez, 1979). While at the same time reducing the element of control that underpin the security option of a state. Globalization increase incentives for the state to peruse more cooperative security policy, especially at the regional level after September 2001 attack. Even USA wants to sweep away state centric security analysis and replaced by center-periphery analysis model (Buzan and Waeber, 2003). After 2001 globalization in general and or specific aspect of it (e.g. financial globalization, terrorism, migration, trade liberalization and cultural imperialism) become securitized by actors in the international system (Buzan and Waeber, 2003). As we have seen in the globalist perspective, globalization is seen and represented as threat by states and other actors in the system. Then, it plays alongside and compete with more traditional securitization (states) and in the respective territory (regions). Global system directly and indirectly create constellation of securitization. Indeed there is a debate between anti globalist and pro globalists. Marxist insisted that the relationship is unequal, exploitative and manifested by colonialism, imperialism and cultural hegemony. But reflect Buzan, B. and Waeber, that economic liberalization creates security agenda. Zaire, Angola and Iraq evidenced to this relationship (Buzan and Waeber, 2003). Whereas, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore transformed themselves economically and politically within the embrace of globalization. For globalist, globalization is a path for steady erosion and elimination of traditional security agenda.

Globalization inevitably develop a trend of westernization and Americanization which poses a threat on others culture, identity and language. In post-cold war unipolar world globalization threatened peripheral states by imposing political, legal, social and financial conditionality as the price of access to international capital and trade. The response to this hegemonic system is forcing the developing country to take position with "BRICS" country (Buzan and Waeber, 2003). Western hegemonic globalization trigger regional responses where the regional securitization process can define threats as coming from global level. Globally triggered concern and resentments causes to constellation of regional actors and issues. The regional approach contains both neo realism and globalism, but give priority to the lower level of analysis. Neorealist mainly focuses on territoriality but regionalist contain system structure. Globalist on the other hands focuses on deterritoriality, but regionalist focuses both territoriality and de territoriality (Healy, 2008). Regionalist assumes that the logic of territoriality continued and non-territoriality also possible. Regional security complexes as a principally expected component of international security structure. The modern era (1500-1945) was characterized by power domination of few states, new land discovery and mass

European settlement in Middle East, Far East, America and Africa, the rest of the world mobilized under European settler and successful global scale imperialism practice by rivalry powerful states. Europe was important regional security complex at this time due to the existence of modern states in this continent. The cold war and decolonization (1945-1989) period was also characterized by contradictory effect of newly independent state (in Africa and Asia), bi polar rivalry (USA and USSR) and regional security started to work in Africa, Middle East and Eastern Europe. In Post-Cold war era (since 1990) regional security complex became more operational and autonomous because of the great powers indifference and shift the nature of security agenda from traditional to nonmilitary issues and actors. In nutshell regional security dynamics dominantly began with decolonization which opened a space for regional military political dynamics and ending of cold war enabled the regions to operate autonomously because the great powers became reluctant from cold war scenario and internal complications. Different State Legacies (History) of regional security complex. Each regions state has its own historical diversity and legacy which played a major role in conditioning how and why of security dynamics in any given region. Region may contain a state with great power, colonized /colonizer old/new, migrant/indigenous population, stateless/slave population and strong/weak states. In such a category, each states history affect the regional security dynamics. Under strong/weak state category, we have modern state postmodern state and pre modern state (Buzan and Waeber, 2003).

Key practical challenges of peace and security in the horn of Africa: Most states in the Horn of Africa have authoritarian and autocratic systems of government and that lack popular legitimacy, cultures of democracy, human rights and rule of law. Many of these states also pursue contentious national and regional policies that fuel mistrust and rivalry within and among the member states. In some of these states, such as Somalia, South Sudan, and Eritrea, state institutions are either too weak or totally lacking (Dersso, 2014). Weak territorial boundaries that invited external and internal challenges have long dominated the Horn of Africa. The Horn of Africa continues to evidence contention over the definition of territory, state, and nation, producing a new spiral of regional insecurities with implications for human livelihoods and economic viability (Khadiagala, 2008; Tetra Tech, 2012). There are some regional insecurity and conflicts in the Horn of Africa which stem from failed states in the region, poorly governed regions and borderlands, and countries in transition over central government authority (Tetra Tech, 2012). For instance, according to Kłosowicz since 1991, Somalia has been immersed in a civil war and for the last decades, it has been considered a failed state (Kłosowicz, 2015). Its northern part, Somaliland, has seceded from the rest of the country and declared independence, with the rest of the country controlled by warring clans and fractions, which often show a fundamentalist tinge and are part of Al-Qaida's network of terrorist organizations. Regional and trans-boundary water as a challenge for peace and security in the Horn of Africa includes issues of pastoral and ethnic conflict over water, climate change impacts, access and water rights, fishery disputes, interstate disputes over water sources, and regional management of trans-boundary water access (Healy, 2008). For instance, the tension between Egypt and Ethiopia has in recent years entered a new chapter. Following Ethiopia's move to build the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, whose construction was about 40 percent completed in 2014, Egypt

has been expressing opposition leading to rising tension between the two sides often with significant consequences on the relations among the countries of IGAD (Dersso, 2014). The Ethiopia government announces by its national TV that, currently, the construction of the dam has reached about 63 percent (though there is a conspiracy on the progress of the dam) and the Egyptians are doing their best to baulk the construction of the dam through supporting different anti-peace groups. Cross-border and regional land use conflicts as a challenge for peace and security in the Horn of Africa include land tenure and property rights, land use conflicts, migration/settlement issues, and legal cross border disputes over contested regions and others (Khadiagala, 2008). Cross-border conflict is also becoming a great threat of peace in Ethiopia which exists among the regional borders which weaken the peace keeping power of the country in the horn. Environmental and health susceptibilities that have made states and societies not to manufacture food and other kinds of physical provisions are the main problems of peace and security in the region (Khadiagala, 2008; Tetra Tech, 2012). In addition to these, climate variation, ecological dilapidation, movement, financial, political and social relegation, food used as a weapon, and policy of land use are other problems of peace of the region (Dersso, 2014). During the 1980s and 1990s, hunger and drought that overwhelmed the region that brought problems of resource caused the susceptibility of societies. For example, the fight in Northeastern Kenya affecting the Somali community affected nearby communities like the Orma pastoralists and Pokomo in Tana River district (Colin, 1998). HIV/AIDS confronts the Horn of Africa mostly youths and fruitful groups adversely affecting the social and financial state of the region (Khadiagala, 2008).

The propagation of unruly and minimal communities endangered by the whims of the weather, internecine communal conflict and state abandonment are few among the major challenges of peace and security in the Horn of Africa (Khadiagala, 2018). The common underlying causes of conflict relate to problems of center-periphery relations, with substantial communities experiencing economic marginalization and political exclusion. There are, for example, similarities between descriptions of social, economic and political conditions in Darfur and those in the Ogden. Associated with this, there are patterns of inequitable sharing of national resources and lack of representation in the structures of government. Throughout the region, political contestation is overtly molded around identity politics. Social identity has been politicized and mobilized around ethnic and national differences not just to contest *who gets what* but to challenge the shape and form of the political community itself (Healy, 2018). Eastern Africa is prone to trans-border crime and violent extremism which includes piracy, terrorism, insurgency, and organized crime, recruitment into armed groups, and illicit trade and trafficking. Eastern Africa has become exposed to outside terrorist groups because of negligent border controls, underpaid security forces, and rickety immigration policies (Khadiagala, 2008). According to Dersso (Dersso, 2014), the region also has emerged to be a major front in the war on terror that became a defining feature of the international system after the 9/11 attacks in the United States. At least two factors account for this. The first is that the region was seen as having served as a basis for terrorists including Osama bin Laden, who was in Sudan before moving to Afghanistan. It also witnessed a large number of terrorist attacks including a major one in the US embassy in Nairobi,

Kenya, a few years before 9/11. Second, in the post-9/11 world in which failed or weak states are considered as safe havens for terrorists, the fact that Somalia, as an epitome of a failed state, is in IGAD made the region one of the centers of attention in the fight against terrorism. The region's proximity to the Middle East, particularly Yemen, where al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula established its base, added the value of the region as a staging ground for undertaking counterterrorism operations across the sea. The United States established the Combined Joint Task Force, Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) of the US Africa Command with its base at an old French site, Camp Lemonnier, in Djibouti (Dersso, 2014).

Major challenges of Ethiopia to bring about peace and security in the Horn of Africa: To begin with the major challenge internal financial problems: Ethiopia is a highly destitute nation with poor average income by the standard of the Horn of Africa. High costs of food and great are some other problems the country is experiencing. It is very difficult for the country to recover from years of intra and interstate wars, and whose main financial base is from primary wares (Kidist, 2014). According to the 2014 UNDP report, Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world, ranking 184th out of the 194 countries in the Human Development Index. Over 44% of the population lives below the poverty line, with 77.5% living on less than 2 dollars a day (Kłosowicz, 2015). However, a number of international economic institutions predict that in the next few years Ethiopia will experience intensive growth. Ethiopia is the fastest growing African economy among the non-oil producing African countries (Kłosowicz, 2015). On the other way round, Ethiopia's development has been blamed by many people for the reason that, it advances the interests and needs of few individuals and groups than improving the living standards of the whole societies in general. The party leading in Ethiopia (the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)) had many problems related to security from a lot of fortified rebellious sets; the ONLF, OLF, and the EPPF (Dehez 2008). In the past, the antipeace groups have launched high-level attacks on the country and on the ruling party of (Kidist, 2014). In 2014/15 and 2015/16, they destroyed many infrastructures and private companies by opposing the government at power and took this power via force. To defend their destructive action and protect the wellbeing of the society, the ruling party declared a six month state of emergency on 9 October, 2016. However, these groups, especially OLF and Ginbot 7 have agreed with the ruling party and come in the country to struggle peacefully for peace and democracy. Besides the fortified rebellious sets, Smith argued that, there is no co-operation among the diverse political groups in Ethiopia. Since the EPRDF took over power, some good things have been done like the use of law consisting of democratic and human rights values and the free and fair votes done in 2005 (UN, 2014). After the violent election done in 2005, the leading party reduced the political arena by enforcing a set of laws; electoral codes of conduct, terrorism law, press law and the CSO law. Reporters, opposing party members, and followers were arrested and sent on exile by force. The election done in 2010 had less competition; the leading party gained 99.6% of the seats of parliament (Kidist, 2014). On the same manner, the 2015 election was absolutely far from competitive and all inclusive form of election and the ruling party won 100 percent of the parliamentary seats. The winning party does not intend to open up the political space (Tekle, 2011). However, president Dr. Mulatu Teshome alleged, while he addressed a

joint sessions of the two chambers of parliament on 10 October 2016, that the government is ready to amend the country's electoral law to place proportional representation and a majority system on an equal and balanced footing after detailed negotiations among political parties with a view to make the voices of the people heard in both chambers of the parliament and a majority of the country in order to consider the vote of each elector (<https://www.mfa.gov.et>). This may open up a new insight into the future political improvements of the country. Conflicts experienced in the Horn of Africa hinder aspirants to become regional leaders. The conflicts are mostly interwoven in this region, leading to mutual dependence in terms of security. In complicated cases like this, lesser states try to oppose the power of the region through forming of unions and opposition unions or backing up delegates (International Affairs). The UIC opposition and that of Al-Shabab in Somalia plus the invasion of Ethiopia by Eritrea and its persistent delegate fight reveal that smaller and very feeble states and non-state players attempt to counteract the power of Ethiopia in the region alone or through combine effort. The power and position of Ethiopia are restricted by outside regional players like Egypt, which has often use the policy of adversary for Ethiopia; the Blue Nile origin and one of the major offshoots of the River Nile. The policy of Egypt comes from the ideology that the monopoly of the Nile by Egypt can be sustained by the instability and weakness of Ethiopia; hence, it tries to down play the rise of Ethiopia as a regional power (Kidist, 2014; Healy, 2008; Colin, 1998; Kłosowicz, 2015).

Major opportunities of Ethiopia to promote peace and security in The Horn of Africa

Ethiopia has one of the biggest and well-armed armies in Africa and in the Horn of Africa (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2003). The army of Ethiopia is well armed with armored automobiles, tanks, battle airplane and helicopters mainly bought from Russia, China and Ukraine. Also, its defense organization produces light arms, weighty mortar, and weaponry (Weldemariam, 2009). Its army is hardened by war as a result of the country's protracted history of military practice and battles, and the country's large population of the makes it have an edge over its neighbouring states in terms of army (Kidist, 2014). According to the Global Fire Power (World Military Strength Ranking), Ethiopia is currently the strongest Sub-Saharan country in military terms and the third strongest country in Africa after Egypt and Algeria, ranking higher than South Africa (Kłosowicz, 2015). The ranking takes into account 40 factors determining the position of each country in terms of military strength. Ethiopia, with its population of 96 million, is the second after Nigeria (most populous African country), which obviously translates into military potential (Kłosowicz, 2015). Fortwo decades, Ethiopia has experienced stability amidst the fortified rebellious sets, deplorable records of human rights and sluggish democratic procedure in the Horn of Africa (Kidist, 2014). At this time, as of the FBC news, the Ethiopia's political situation is seemingly unstable, but the government tries to bring about the political stability via reshuffling the leadership of the federal and state governments in a new and comprehensive manner giving emphasis to the demands and concerns of the people to increase the implementation capacity of the government. Magnus (Magnus, 2012) said, in the last 20 years, Ethiopia advanced from a fighting state that cannot provide food for itself to one having a stabilized power in the

midst of chaotic neighbors. In Ethiopia, the army, police and civil service are very powerful and function in all the government tiers (Kidist, 2014). The EPRDF took over power in 1991; it has dominated and maintained territorial and social control. The party also extended its power to the villages via government bureaucracy and tactics of party institution (Kidist, 2014). But now on, with the appointment of a new Prime Minister (Dr. Abiy Ahmed) the ruling party of Ethiopia seemingly widens its political arena for more active political participation and democratization process. Ethiopia has been in existence for a very long time compared to its neighbors in the Horn of Africa. It is an ancient state with a long custom of free statehood and statecraft. The fact is the country has not experienced colonization apart from the five years of Italian occupation. That is why it can delimit its own boundaries, and its succeeding and refashioned state organizations were and are still very powerful (Mohammed, 2007). Dezehdebates that Ethiopia is powerful, autonomous, even grand power till the twentieth century, but it seemed to lost its past exceptionalism during the Cold War due to civil wars, coups, and regional battles. In terms of diplomatic and military aspects, Ethiopia has done well in the region (International Affairs).

Its government has greatly influenced security issues in the region through political will. Ethiopia is vitally involved in AU and IGAD. According to kidistthe country joined the first supporters of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) nominated in 2003 which functioned for two successive six years (Kidist, 2014). Then again, the United Nations General Assembly elected Ethiopia on 28 June, 2016 as a non-permanent member of security council and served up to 1 January, 2017 (<http://www.un.org>). Ethiopia was selected for its prominence and place in the Horn of Africa and for ensuring safety and peace in the region as it was a very active and powerful member of PSC. Ethiopia is very powerful in taking and implementing decisions in PSC (EAC, 2014). Ethiopia's growing political position is not only limited in the Horn of Africa, but also across the continent. The country is also a home to Major African and international organizations (the African Union, the UN Economic Commission for Africa). Apart from playing a crucial role in international relations, it is a key ally for Western countries in fighting terrorism and extremism in the region. At present, the U.S. is an influential and a strategic associate of Ethiopia (Kłosowicz, 2015). The US is mainly concerned about terrorism in the Horn of Africa in terms of safety. The USA is suspect that terrorist groups connected with Al-Qaeda can make Somalia their safe harbor. Ethiopia struggled to war against Islamist sets from Somalia, Al-Itihad and the UIC; now, it is fighting Al-Shabab in large-scale army assaults. This has made Ethiopia an active and a strategic associate of the USA (Muhabie Mekonnen Mengistu, 2015). EU is the other strategic ally of Ethiopia. The EU is particularly concerned about piracy and terrorism in the Horn of Africa; hence focusing more on the security of Somalia. Ethiopia is a great strategic associate of the EU in trying to bring stability to Somalia and fighting these intimidations. The policies and positions of the EU in the Horn of Africa are backed up by UK and Italy (Kidist, 2014). Healy (Healy, 2008) noted that UK is thankful that one country, Ethiopia, at least exists in the Horn of Africa with operative organizations, working intelligence and army influence and also able to play a great role in regional peace and security matters. Thus, the country is among the largest receivers of aid from UK.

Ethiopia's Role in promoting Peace and security in the Horn of Africa: Ethiopia is increasingly described as a regional power in the Horn of Africa, in consideration of its military and diplomatic power and demographic size. Ethiopia's increasing engagement in regional peace and security issues further indicates that it has the will to lead and influence the region (Kłosowicz, 2015). The position of Ethiopia geo-strategically at the center of the Horn of Africa and being that it shares penetrable boundaries plus ethnic and historical ties with all of its neighbours in the region expose it to wars in the region. As a regional power, Ethiopia having regional power is very willing to be involved in the activities of safety and peace in the Horn of Africa (Muhabie Mekonnen Mengistu, 2015) Presented below are some ways the country has caused peace and security to prevail in the east and Horn of Africa. Ethiopia first fight with Somalia after Somali state was with Al-Ittihadal Islamia in the 1990s. Al-Ittihad was a Somali fundamentalist movement, whose main aim is to establish an Islamic state in Somalia by joining all Somali areas inhabited in the Horn of Africa, plus those in Ethiopia. It fired a chain of terrorist attacks in Ethiopia in 1996; Ethiopia successfully attacked and dislodged its bases in Luuq and Buulo Hawwa, close to the Ethiopian border in late 1996 and 1999 (Kidist, 2014). From that time till date, Ethiopia has been interested in developing Somalia politically, and its army has always solved issues from Somalia. In 2006, the Ethiopian army helped Somalia advance to Mogadishu and Kismayo forcing out the United Islamic Courts (UIC). The UIC is connected to Al-Ittihad, and its army, Al-Shabab, has the same beliefs and views with AlQaeda. The alleged union between UIC and the Ogaden National Liberation front (ONLF), (Orommo Liberation Front) OLF, and Eritrea troubled Ethiopia later on. The Ethiopian army chased the soldiers of UIC out of Somalia in less than two weeks and installed the internationally known Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Mogadishu, and in 2009, called back its troops, but helped Somalia again in 2011. This time, Ethiopia joined force with AMISOM troops to attack Al-Shabab. The Ethiopian army united with AMISOM officially early 2014, raising the number of countries contributing troops (Kidist, 2014; Healy, 2008; Colin, 1998; Kłosowicz, 2015).

Ethiopia is the foremost provider of peacekeeping troops in Africa, and the fourth largest in the world which comes only after Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India (UN, 2014). Ethiopia has committed troops to peacekeeping missions in Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Cote d'Ivoire, Darfur, and presently in Somalia and Abyei, a troublesome boundary area between Sudan and South Sudan. From 22 July, 2011 afterwards, Ethiopia sent almost 4,200 troops to Abyei in the name of the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA). The UN goal is to demilitarize Abyei and watch for peace. The peacekeeping mission in Abyei is special in the history of the UN, being composed totally of troops from one state, Ethiopia. Ethiopian army in Abyei is very effective and has sustained security in the region (Kidist, 2014). The country is very active in the peace process between South Sudan and Sudan mediated by AU, they signed a treaty in Addis Ababa on 27 September, 2012. Both groups decided to continue the production of oil and demilitarize their common boundaries. The contribution of Ethiopia to ease tensions between the two Sudan is seen as a good progress (Kłosowicz, 2015). Kidist (2014) noted that, Sudan and South Sudan accept the involvement of Ethiopia in the peacekeeping mission and acting as a mediator. She feels Sudan and South Sudan trust Ethiopia for many reasons.

Firstly, Ethiopia has balanced its ties with both states and secondly, Ethiopia is the only country in the Horn of Africa sharing boundaries with Sudan and South Sudan. The ties between Ethiopia and Eritrea deteriorated into a violent and bloody conflict for over ten years, irrespective of early positivity after Eritrea's independence. The breakaway of Eritrea from Ethiopia in 1991 was taken as the dawn of a new period of peace and wealth. But, both states warred against each other between 1998 and 2000 because of a border at Badme, leading to the death on more than 100,000 people. In 2000, both states agreed at Algiers to settle their border dispute via arbitration (Borchgrevink and Sande, 2009). But, the decision of Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC) to award *Badme*, the flash point of the war to Eritrea was considered unfair by Ethiopia, which was victorious with great effort. Later on, Ethiopia called for dialogue to handle the anomalies and impracticability of the borders' separation; Eritrea advised for the implementation of the binding decision of the committee without any challenge (Khadiagala, 2008). After the Ethiopian government announced it would fully accept and put to work the 2000 Algiers Peace Accord, the two countries signed a new peace treaty at Jeddah, Saudi Arabia on September 17, 2018 to stabilize the Horn of Africa region. Ethiopia is playing a leading role in major regional initiatives and undertakings aimed at stabilizing and integrating the region, and it takes an active part in peacekeeping and stabilizing missions (Kłosowicz, 2015). Ethiopia is actively supporting the efforts towards strengthening the capacity of IGAD to ensure peace and security, as well as political and economic cooperation. Besides this, Ethiopia's current initiatives to combat terrorism in the Horn of Africa focus on integrating and reinforcing the regional military efforts and cooperation of the AU and the UN to eliminate the Al-Shabab terrorist group operating in Somalia. Ethiopia is also playing a pivotal role in the Eastern African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG). The head quarter of the brigade command was established in Addis Ababa (Kłosowicz, 2015).

Conclusion

The Horn of Africa is correctly known as the hotspot of Africa in terms of security and peace problems. The main challenges to peace and security in this region have originated from many sources like: weak states and illegitimate governments; failed states and ungoverned spaces in the region; ecological, environmental, and health vulnerabilities; regional and trans-boundary water conflict in between and/or among the states of the region; the escalation of lawless and marginal communities and susceptibility to worldwide terrorist and criminal networks. As a result, the region can be accurately described as one in which states has existed insecurely, as victims of their neighbor's insecurities, or conversely, as threats to their neighbors. Ethiopia is playing a key role to overcome these security challenges of the region. Ethiopia is well positioned to promote stable region, as it is at the center of the Horn of Africa, sharing boundaries with all the states of the region. Despite internal political problems and the huge economic underdevelopment and vulnerability, Ethiopia's position is growing from year to year playing a dynamic role in peace and safety matters in the region via diplomatic involvement, army interference, intermediation, and peacekeeping actions. The followings are positive developments in the region: the consolidation of the Federal Government of Somalia, the comparative peace in Punt land and Somaliland, peaceful breakaway of South Sudan, the treaties signed between Sudan

and South Sudan, comparative stability preserved in violent Abyei region and peace agreement with the government of Eritrean. Ethiopia helped in these developments leading to peace and security in the region via IGAD, AU and other regional and international organizations. This active involvement of Ethiopia in sustaining security and peace in the region has strengthened its standing as a regional power.

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