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**Investigating the change and Continuity of Ethiopian Foreign Policy in the  
Horn of Africa since 2018**

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## **Declaration**

I the undersigned, declare that this thesis entitled investigating the change and continuity of Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn since 2018 is my original work and has not been submitted and presented for any degree award or any other purpose in this university or any other university. All materials, secondary and primary used for the study have been appropriately cited and acknowledged.

Name Tigist Dansa

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## **ACRONYM'S**

EPRDF-Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front

HOA- Horn of Africa

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## ***Abstract***

*When we look at it as a whole, the Ethiopian Foreign policy with the goal of achieving development, prosperity, economic, security, political and other better performance in the country should be designed to create good diplomacy with neighboring countries. But when there is weak foreign policy and diplomacy, then there will be conflict, displacement, terrorist coup in the country. Ethiopia is maintaining close diplomacy with the Horn of Africa and other African and European countries in order to achieve the best in each sector for the sake of national security and the security of its people at the same time. The main objective of the study is to evaluate the objective of Ethiopian foreign policy in the Horn of Africa since 2018. The qualitative research method guides the overall study, besides this the data were gathered through in-depth interview, key informant interview and supplemented by other secondary sources for literature purposes. In order to collect information's both primary and secondary data collection method employed. Thematic and narrative methods of data analysis were employed and participants were selected by using a purposive sampling technique. The study disclosed the following key Explanation regarding the findings. The administration of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (Dr.) generally started in the Horn of Africa with press releases and talks to create integrations, but the continuation and the files are controversial. Based on the clear matches seen in the study, it was revealed that the people governed by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed performed that Ethiopian foreign policy in the Horn of Africa is better than the others, but there are doubts about its continuation. Finally, according to the researcher, Ethiopian foreign policy in the Horn of Africa seems to be logical in the best interest of the country but some of the decisions are result of emotional quick decisions.*

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Ethiopia is located in the conflict-prone region of the Horn of Africa and faces economic and political challenges. The reason why the Horn of Africa is vulnerable to conflict is that, the region's security problems are caused by governments not accepting good governance and democracy and not being able to effectively manage ethnic diversity. Another geo-strategic importance of this region is driven by external security and economic interests. As the fate of domestic politics is always linked to neighboring regions, it is imperative to understand the direction of Ethiopia's foreign policy. In the era of globalization, the security challenges that determine Ethiopia's foreign policies have national, continental and global scope. Internal security issues are interrelated in the Horn of Africa region (Teshome, 2020).

One of the conflict zones in Africa, the Horn of Africa region is under the influence of external and internal forces in the geopolitical nexus. Competing powers and regional claims have made the Horn of Africa, comprising Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia and Kenya, an imperial playground. Each country in the Horn of Africa needs to consider these critical factors to respond differently to geopolitical dynamics: domestic challenges, regional interests, and pressure from aid donors or transcontinental powers (Munne, 2022). Recently, the region has become the world's first military base for foreign forces. The region has almost become a military base. Therefore, the participation of foreign forces in the Horn of Africa military campaign has security implications for Ethiopia; the government is surrounded by exploiting foreign forces (Teshome, 2020)

Efforts have been made to resolve the internal political instability in Ethiopia for a long time by improving the foreign relations policy. During more than a decade of military rule, they faced an armed struggle against the regime, which eventually led the country to a deep internal crisis. However, after 1991 world politics saw a major shift in the policy orientation of key actors. It tried to evaluate the direction of Ethiopia's foreign relations policy. Due to international political and economic changes, Ethiopia's foreign policy has also shown changes in many directions. The new government reformed its foreign policy with a new international political reform. The government of Ethiopia started preparing a new foreign

policy with different countries of the world. Even from an economic point of view, one of the structural changes that changed the command economy system implemented in the previous system to a free market economy is aimed at integrating the Ethiopian economy with the world economy (Teshome, 2020)

It should come as no surprise that changes in the environment easily affect the political, economic and social environment. As such, power interactions in the Horn have opened up an already fragile region to intense, complex geopolitical competition and potential inter-regional conflicts. This move could have brought Ethiopia into conflict if it had not repaired its relations with Eritrea. Ethiopia and Eritrea have resumed diplomatic relations after two decades of hostile relations. Thus, the new Ethiopian-Eritrean relationship is a positive step in a fragile region with many border disputes and tense territorial relations. In addition, the fact that Ethiopia played a major role in the peace agreement between Sudan and South Sudan shows that it is a reflection of change (Kabandula & Shaw, 2018).

Indeed, the threat of extremism and terrorism, against this unstable regional backdrop, has seen successive governments in Ethiopia constantly challenged to ensure stability, prosperity and regional integration in the face of the surrounding chaos. But Ethiopia is effectively navigating the regional situation and has embarked on a path to position itself in the global value chain (Jalal and Sarah, 2016). Therefore, in order to change this phenomenon, Horn of Africa countries must work together and strengthen their foreign policies (Borteab, 2011). Therefore, the study explores the changes brought about by Ethiopia's foreign policy in the Horn of Africa since 2018 and the ongoing process. The study first explores the nature of the Horn of Africa and then explores the changes that Ethiopia has brought to the peace, stability and integration of the region and how it is continuing the changes.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Even, Ethiopia does not have economic power; it has a decisive influence on decision-making based on its own national interests and on bilateral relations, regional and sub-continental affairs and multilateral Ethiopian foreign policy. Maintaining the status quo and gaining international legitimacy; these ideas are inseparable from their point of view and they support

each other over time (Abraha, 2019). Ethiopia's current foreign policy choices are characterized by problems, which include the struggle to maintain its security role and the effort to face security problems both internally and externally. The internal situation is due to political instability in the north and some violence in the country. Therefore, Ethiopia's foreign policy will be isolated from the wider region until the country's internal and external challenges are stopped and if it loses the ability to make its regional policy consistent with today and the future (DPSIR, IPSS and FES, 2022).

Since 2018, the current government led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has brought significant changes in foreign relations, but has threatened the country's economic and political stability. Although the Ethiopian Transitional Government's approach to managing relations with the Horn of Africa and the wider Red Sea region is good, there are many gaps in internal governance. Ultimately, this has implications for the future regional integration of the Horn of Africa as its neighbors look at Ethiopia's changing position (Mosley, 2020). Currently, Ethiopia is working to fight poverty and hunger, build strong infrastructure, and develop competitive social, economic and industrial environments. In addition, despite having wide and strong relations with the international community to maintain the peace and stability of the region, Ethiopia's regional situation is very dynamic and due to previous and ongoing conflicts, it is greatly influenced by the presence of foreign governmental and non-governmental entities (Jalal and Sarah, 2016).

For several decades, Ethiopia's foreign policy has not moved much on the principle that the Abiy administration's economic security is important for national security by reducing dependence on donors. However, the rich government sees opportunities for greater cooperation and mutual benefit in regional relations in the Horn of Africa. The rapprochement with Eritrea during Abiy's era brought about a big change in the local relations. In addition, the fact that they were able to reconcile Sudan and South Sudan, the regional relations with Kenya, Somalia and Djibouti show that Ethiopia's foreign policy is a good step (Mosley, 2020).

Here, adding the existing studies regarding Ethiopia's foreign policy in the Horn of Africa make the study logical; Arka Abota, (2002) in his review entitled "Ethiopian foreign policy

during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie", observes that the emperor controlled the foreign policy in Ethiopia for more than half a century. Also, Negra Gudeta (2018) in his study: Governments that determine Ethiopia's foreign affairs policy, military and EPRDF government evaluated the formulation and implementation of Ethiopia's foreign relations policy. They tried to define the former policies that the county does, about who will make and implement the foreign policy. But the existing research's doesn't reflect the changes and the continuation of Ethiopian foreign policy in the Horn of Africa after 2018. However, this study would examine the changes that Ethiopian foreign policy brought to the Horn of Africa and the process of continuing the changes, which makes this study unique from others. The researcher believes that Ethiopia's foreign policy efforts in the Horn of Africa will bring political stability, economic growth and peaceful movement in the region.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

The research questions of the study include:

1. What are the objectives of Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn before 2018?
2. What are the change in the objectives, orientation and approachment of Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn since the reform period (2018)?
3. What are the challenges that force changes on the Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn since 2018?
4. What are the implications of Ethiopia's foreign policy change in its relation with the horn countries since the reform period?

### **1.4. Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.4.1. General Objective**

The general objective of the study is to assess the change and Continuity of Ethiopian Foreign Policy towards the Horn of Africa Since 2018.

#### **1.4.2. Specific objectives**

The following objectives can be considered as the specific objectives of the study:

1. To examine the objective of Ethiopian Foreign Policy towards the Horn before 2018.
2. To identify the change in the objective, orientation and approachment of Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn since the reform period (2018).

3. To examine determinants that force changes on the Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn since 2018.
4. To examine the implication of Ethiopia's foreign policy change in its relation with the horn countries since 2018.

### **1.5. Significance of the study**

The researcher was interested to conduct research on the issue of Ethiopia's foreign policy change and Continuity will be helpful to understand the realities of politics, security and economic implication of Ethiopian foreign policy change towards the Horn countries and to apply the right thinking. Furthermore, the findings of this study will serve as;

- ✓ An input for different governmental and nongovernmental organizations to formulate necessary policies and strategies regarding to the problem.
- ✓ It was identifying the adverse effect and it will create awareness for different concerned bodies change and Continuity Ethiopia's foreign policy.
- ✓ This study will help for other researchers as a point of reference on some or related topics to differentiate what was actually done previously and what was be addressed currently in order to come up with updated and improved information.

### **1.6. Scope of the Study**

The study was limited in terms of geography, content and target groups. In terms of geography the study was conducted within the boundaries of the Ethiopia .in terms of content the study was on the topics Investigating the change and Continuity of Ethiopian Foreign Policy towards the Horn Africa since 2018 with political and economic implications. In terms of target groups the study concerns ministry of foreign affairs, Addis Ababa political science researchers, institute of policy studies and Ethiopian public policy study.

### **1.7 limitation of the study**

This study has limitations while collecting the data was person not willing to provide sufficient information for change and continuity of Ethiopian foreign policy and may not be available to our schedule. And the other limitation financial and time limitation was occurred by researcher. Also some of the interviewers are refrained from expressing their opinions freely.

In addition, related to the above reasons, there were some limitations due to the number of participants involved in the study, but the researcher carefully avoided these limitations.

### **1.8. Organization of the Study**

The thesis contained five chapters. The first chapter addresses introduction of the study. The second chapter discusses literature and theories that provides clue to evaluate the relevant concept. Chapter three deal with methodology of the study. The fourth chapter focused on the result and discussion found from the interview. The last chapter of the paper is conclusion and recommendation of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **2. Theoretical Review of Literature**

#### **2.1. Understanding the concept of Foreign Policy**

The term foreign policy has been defined in various ways by scholars; however, they are certain that it is concerned with behavior of a state towards other states. Hermann for instance, defined foreign policy as “the discrete purposeful action that results from the political level decision of an individual or group of individuals. It is the observable artifact of a political level decision. It is not the decision, but a product of the decision.” By this, it can be seen that Hermann defines foreign policy as the behavior of states. George Modelski, defines it as “the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. Foreign policy must throw light on the ways states attempt to change, and succeed in changing the behavior of other states.” Modelski, noted only those aspects of policy that aim at the change in the existing behavior of states, as the primary objectives of foreign policy. However, foreign policy is not only to change, but also continuation of the behavior at different times. It is concern both with the change and the status quo as far as they serve the national interest (Bojang, 2018).

A brief definition of foreign policy can be given as a starting point: foreign policy is the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually but not exclusively a state) in international relations. The phrase ‘an independent actor’ enables the inclusion of non-state entities (Hill, 2016: 4). The politics of foreign policy are perpetually changing, depending on the country or the region, often unpredictably giving significance to the importance of case and country studies (Ibid). Foreign policy vis-à-vis domestic policy is unique in a sense that its arena of implantation is the external international and regional domain despite being the continuation or extension of domestic policy. Hence policy refers to the general pattern and direction revealed by the aggregate of a state's specific understandings and the broad principles that undergird them. (Dejene, 2020)

While the Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) has been developed around issues such as power, security and conflict (war or not) –having the outline of the national interest-, it has been difficult to differentiate between the aspects related with realistic theory and the fundamental elements for the foreign policy of the states. Therefore, one of the topics that scholars should define in the academic field is whether there is a theory of foreign policy or whether foreign policy has been anchoring to the theoretical approaches of IR. Also, if it is imperative explaining foreign policy from the IR theoretical structures currently (Fernando, 2010).

A pair of basic problems appears to have impeded the development of an integrative understanding of international and foreign policy phenomena. The first has to do with the potential for foreign policy substitutability: through time and across space, similar factors could plausibly be expected to trigger different foreign policy acts. The second problem concerns the potential existence of "sometimes true," domain- specific laws. It is the logical opposite of the substitution problem: different processes could plausibly be expected to lead to similar results (BENJAMIN,1984).The analysis of foreign policy begins with theories that identify different factors—various force that influence a state’s foreign policy. Most analysts recognize that any explanation of foreign policy typically involves multiple factors. As you will see, there is no shortage of theories on what factors influence foreign policy. These multiple factors can be grouped into two broad categories of explanations: those dealing with factors outside the state, and those dealing with factors inside the state. The first category points to the international environment as the explanation for countries’ foreign policy. The second category points to factors internal to the state. In other words, characteristics of the domestic political system citizens and groups within that system, the government organizations, and the individual leaders—serve as the source of a state’s foreign policy (Kaarbo, Lantis, &Beasley, 20112).

Having discussed the concept of regional integration above, it is appropriate to look at foreign policy briefly before assessing the linkage between foreign policy and regional integrations. States as social institutions exist in two environments: on the one hand, there is the internal environment that is composed of all the other institutions located in the territory demarcated by the state and their interaction with it and each other; and on other, there is the

external environment composed of all the other states and their interaction with it and each other. States are involved constantly in attempts at intervening in both environments; that is, they engage in both ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ policy. Foreign policy is the totality of actions and non-actions, reactions and proactions, interactions, and contacts taken by sovereign states toward another sovereign entity or entities, or conducted between one sovereign state and another or others. It is also defined as directions and guidelines that states formulate to use as guiding principles in their diverse interactions with other states and international organizations (DERESSA, 2014).

Foreign policy is the underlying basic directions of a sovereign state in its interaction with other sovereign states typically manifested in peace, war, neutrality, and alliance or various combinations of or approaches to these.” According to this statement, states behave and act in their international interactions in accordance to the principles that they design to pursue their objectives in the international arena. Foreign policy is thus the elevation of domestic policies to the international level or scene. It aims at protection, promotion, and preservation of ‘national interests’<sup>2</sup> and promotes the image of a nation. Recognizing and articulating national interest is at the core of foreign policy formulation. How foreign policy is made and national interests identified can be influenced by different factors and circumstances. Foreign policy of a given state can be determined by combined factors of political psychology of leaders, organizational process and bureaucratic politics, military capabilities, level of economic development, types of government, geopolitical location, culture and national identity, domestic politics and international system (ibid).

## **2.2. Ethiopian foreign policy in the Horn of Africa**

The use of port has been longstanding bond between Ethiopia and Djibouti. For Ethiopia Djibouti port was (is) preferred outlet to sea even when the former had its own ports at Assab and Massawa due to the connection of the port with Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway, and its proximity to many parts of Ethiopia. However, as noted somewhere in chapter three, during the Ogaden war (1977-78) Somali forces interrupted the transit via Djibouti by cutting the railway line. Thereafter Ethiopia invested heavily in its own infrastructure, constructing a new road to Assab and upgrading the port equipment to compete with Djibouti. With the

addition of an oil refinery, Assab served Ethiopia well in the 1980s and continued as its principal port into the 1990s. Eritrea's independence from Ethiopia in 1991 and with it the latter's loss of sovereignty over the ports of Massawa and Assab initially had a limited impact on trade flows via Djibouti. Therefore use of port revived as important pillar of relations between Ethiopia and Djibouti for over period of time. Nowadays Djibouti Port is the principal transit point for cargo in and out of Ethiopia handling about 95% of Ethiopia's import/export traffic (ibid). In fact "Djibouti port is natural outlet for Ethiopia. From the beginning Djibouti port was developed to serve Ethiopia (DERESSA, 2014).

In general port service is vital factor of economic interdependence between Ethiopia and Djibouti. In the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia is the other key actor interested in the business of ports given its external trade heavily relies on sea ports In the post-1991, with the independence of Eritrea, Ethiopia was forced to pay the painful price of the geopolitical reality of being one the few landlocked countries in the world with economic and political implications. With its ever-growing populations, rising demand, fast-expanding economy, and landlocked geography, Ethiopia has short-term and long-term interest strategic interest to access to all of these ports on the Horn and the Indian Ocean to conduct its international trade. For the Government of Ethiopia, diversification of ports and reducing the overreliance on Djibouti has become a new foreign policy and national security priority for its fast-growing economic development projects and population. Ethiopia has recently started to pursue an aggressive foreign policy and diplomacy of expanding its port service in the new alignment of domestic reform and external diplomacy in the Horn of Africa region (Dejene, 2020).

Arguably, the most important constraint on Ethiopia's aspirations for regional leadership is its lack of sea access in which the country has recently focused on securing access to ports in neighboring countries, particularly the port of Berbera. Ethiopia's interest in other neighboring countries ports in including in Eritrea, Kenya, Sudan, and Somalia's Somaliland certainly makes sense from a geostrategic perspective and foreign policy perspective. After coming to power, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has made port developments and diversification one of the most important foreign policy priorities of the government dubbed "Neighbors First" policy approach indicating in his regional tour of neighboring countries:

Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, Djibouti and finally Eritrea. The 2018 Ethio-Eritrea rapprochement has created a new geo-political opportunity for both countries for port investments in rehabilitating Eritrean ports of Assab and Massawa. The Abiy administration has also signed deals with Sudan for access to Port Sudan, in a bid to diversify its port outlets and reduce port fees and create new options for Ethiopian shipping interests. Additionally, the state-owned Ethiopian News Agency reported that during May 2018 visit by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to Djibouti, the two countries agreed for the joint development of port facilities in the Port of Djibouti (ibid).

### **2.3 Implications for Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa**

Cooperation in the field of peace and security is another key issue in the relationships between Ethiopia and Djibouti. Ethiopia and Djibouti have longstanding relations of good neighborliness and cooperation. To further strengthen these cooperation's on various issues concerning defense and security, Joint Security Administration and Defence Forces created with the objective to create cooperation mechanism between the adjacent administrative and defense organ of the two countries along the common border to combat illegal activities and security threat at the common border areas. Thus the following joint plan of action was prepared to ensure their mutual security (DERESSA, 2014).

Rebuma Dejene (2020) in his research entailed; The New Geo-politics in the Horn of Africa and its Implications for Ethiopia's Foreign Policy stated that, the ever-militarization of the Horn of Africa region and the increasing presence of Asian powers in the Horn of Africa represents another major geo-political risk. In the backdrop of China's expanding presence in Djibouti, the coming Asian strategic rivalry in the Horn has developed in which there is increasing fear of Japanese and Indian presence to in the Indian Ocean. The proximity of Djibouti and the Horn to the Indian Ocean will attract Asian competition and rivalry due to its huge significance for international trade. Weak, vulnerable, and divided states in the region will not be capable of handling and managing the new global and regional geopolitics without long-term strategic thinking involving regional multilateral organization including IGAD and the AU. This has not just exported the tensions in the East China Sea to Africa but has also made Africa practically complicit in the actions of its guests elsewhere. The latter is evident

from the role of Djibouti as a base for US drone operations in Somalia and Yemen, as well as the United Arab Emirates' use of the Assab base in Eritrea for operations in Yemen (Dejene, 2020)

#### **2.4. Ethiopia's Foreign Policy and the New Geopolitics in the Horn of Africa**

Ethiopia's geopolitical position in Looking at any map of Africa, it is geographically located at the center or, better, Despite it being land-locked since 1991 and of national power which scholars of international determine a state's position in geopolitical state that can play a critical role in the backs the government in time of crisis and Africa's population with whom it retains. Ethiopian to extreme religious ideas and have no difficulty ethnic kin. They are geographically intermixed Somali and Afar-inhabited areas. Large in geographic size, Ethiopia is endowed hinterland constituted by high mountains external military attacks. It is also well-resources including water. Ethiopia is, for with practically all states around it receiving particularly contributes more than 85 percent. There are tangible economic changes accumulation of wealth in both rural and better and more infrastructure, a burgeoning more bridges and more clinics, and more Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front, Ethiopia's political landscape since 1991, transforming and expanding Ethiopia's economy needs of a growing and youthful population. The ruling party also hopes that Ethiopia's agricultural, energy and other sectors could economic growth, attracting foreign investment, Most meaningfully, Ethiopia has a significant international affairs as it is the seat of the African Union. It also has the region's most potent and best-equipped military (Mesfin, 2012).

Understandably, Ethiopia's current military set-up, dispositions and operations are held in great secrecy with few official or independent figures available, hence the difficulty in establishing reliable military strength. Ethiopia shares with all the states of the Horn of Africa which are very difficult to fully monitor. Indeed, Ethiopia is east by Djibouti (349 km), in the south-east by Kenya (861 km), Eritrea (912 km), in the south-west by Somalia (1,600 km) both Sudan and South Sudan<sup>8</sup> (1,606 km). Thus, no part of the is without Ethiopia's enduring presence and basic interests securing its borders, containing external threats and ensuring in the region. Its geopolitical location also means that Ethiopia is more regional issues than any other state in the Horn of Africa. In historical experience, this position has one significant

disadvantage. greater the number of states surrounding Ethiopia, the more deal with variegated and often contradictory interests and claims neighboring states. The fact that Sudan's problem with Ethiopia and hydrological rather than political whereas Eritrea's problem is more psychological and personalized than political provides illustration of this. Thus, the decisions of these states to initiate active hostilities or the emergence of hostile alliances were never and cannot be this, in turn, meant that Ethiopian decision-makers could term policies and soberly measure possibilities. They could only to circumstances as they arose because threats and opportunities quickly in the Horn of Africa (ibid).

Foreign policies of African states are being shaped by changing international and domestic environments to the extent that it is difficult to isolate purely 'foreign' policies. These changes are having both detrimental and positive effects on policy options and are particularly impacting intra-African diplomacy. Africa's foreign policy is based on the system of the ex-colonial powers' foreign policy, which became the main source of Africa's post-independence foreign policy, in partnership with weak Pan-Africanism that led to the birth of idea of self-determination and African unity. In the early post independent period, African foreign policy took traditional approach to foreign policy that emphasized the state and its formal relations to the outside world. The foreign policies orientations of newly emergent African states were shaped by various factors such as the impact of colonialism and apartheid, memberships to international governmental organizations, nonalignment, security and sovereignty, the role of resources, economic development, debt crisis, structural adjustment, armed conflicts, centralized decision making and unity. In general, as indicated above, the foreign policies and international relations of the Horn of Africa is known by the policy of mutual interventions and client-patron systems. With this frame of mind about the general dynamics of foreign policy in the Horn of Africa, the nature of interstate relations between Ethiopia and Djibouti, and the implications it has on the sub regional integration schemes in the Horn will be assessed in the subsequent chapters (DERESSA, 2014).

The fundamental essence of Ethiopia's foreign policy has not changed over the past century despite the change in regime. Although the imperial regime has been displaced by a military Afro- Marxist government, the main focus of the country's foreign policy continues to be the desire to have the multiethnic character of the nation-state internationally accepted as

legitimate and to defend its territorial integrity. As in the past, these goals are pursued with the military aid of a big-power patron. The identity of the patron has changed, but the reason for the alliance has not. The ideological character of the new regime is less important for what it is than for what it does. It provides the government with the needed military wherewithal to ensure the survival of the state as well as the regime (Keller, 2014).

Rebuma Dejene (2020) in his research entitled; *The New Geo-politics in the Horn of Africa and its Implications for Ethiopia's Foreign Policy* argued that, in the post-1991 period and with the coming of the ERPDF to power and the secession of Eritrea, Ethiopia's domestic setting and external geopolitical landscape has been experiencing so many twists and turns of huge implications. Some of them include: the Ethio-Eritrea war, the war in Somalia and Ethiopia's subsequent military intervention, the global "war on terror", the independence of South Sudan and the country's later civil war. Ethiopia's regional landscape can be characterized by its many geopolitical upheavals with implications of shaping its intrastate relations in the Horn Africa and its foreign policy (Dejene, 2020).

According to Dejene, the post-1991 foreign policy and its foreign relations with countries near and afar, and the country's foreign policy and diplomacy can best be characterized as a process of change and continuity in which various determinants are involved (Solomon, 2017). The FDRE Constitution clearly stipulates Ethiopia's principles for external relations as: "to promote policies of foreign relations based on the protection of national interests and respect for the sovereignty of the country." The current working foreign policy whitepaper of Ethiopia, namely "The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy" (henceforth FANSPS), was introduced in the backdrop of domestic political instabilities and regional political developments including the Ethio-Eritrea war in 2002 (ibid).

## **2.5. Review of Empirical Studies**

### **2.5.1 Challenges to the current Ethiopian foreign policy towards the HoA**

#### **2.5.1.1 Internal challenges**

There are internal factors that challenging Ethiopia while bringing peace, stability,

economic integration and security. These challenges includes; ethnic conflict, border conflict, macroeconomic imbalance

#### **A. Ethnic Conflict**

Scholars believe that difficulty of getting a clear definition for ethnicity due to the lack of clarity of the objective and subjective criteria involved in the determination of member of the group. Usually, ethnicity shows grouping based on primordial ties like origin, language culture history territory etc which are based on objectively determined factors.

In Ethiopia, the recent inter-ethnic relations are based on the policy of rectifying the unjust historical relations that existed among the different ethnic groups. Informant form MoFA believes that the Ethiopian ethnic federalism gives birth to ethnic conflict (Mersha, 2022).

#### **B. Macroeconomic imbalance**

As the Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said the first challenge he face while coming to power is macro-economic imbalance. Confirming the challenge of macro-economic imbalance in Ethiopia MoFA mentioned different factors which are contributing for macro-economic imbalance. These factors include; systemic corruption, nepotism, and patrimonial governance lie at the heart of many of the socioeconomic and political drivers. He added that Ethiopia is in extreme economic crisis which is causing violence in the country. The macro- economic imbalance is undermining national economic development via the substantial diversion of public revenues (Mersha, 2022).

#### **2.5.1.2 External challenges**

The other challenging factors are external factors that includes; Al-shabab, crisis in South Sudan, opposition in republic of Sudan and conflict between Somalia and Kenya.

#### **A. Al Shabab**

As of the information gained from Somalia diplomat to Ethiopia, horn of Africa is highly challenging by terrorist violence experienced in the region. As of the informant different forms of social and political factors are aggravating it. These factors include; violence, sociopolitical marginalization and limited economic mobility and relative

deprivation, systemic institutional corruption, and restricted avenues of political or institutional redress are insufficient to produce violent extremism at the individual level (Mersha, 2022).

#### **B. Crisis in South Sudan**

Prior to its dependence in 2011 from Sudan, South Sudan is in civil war. Ethiopia, regional and international organizations are trying to stop the disagreement. The two conflicting parties also signed peaceful agreement the stop war and establish a joint government. However, the process is still unpractical. The South Sudan crisis is using as source of insecurity in the region. Different of the horn are in proxy war in south Sudan which aggravates the instability of the region. It also left a leadership vacuum in the region that combined with more recent domestic unrest and political instability in the region. Sharing the above idea informant from South Sudan embassy confirmed that though it is too soon to predict the extent of Abiy's energetic diplomacy his factors gives us the hope to peace and integration for the region (Mersha, 2022).

#### **C. Opposition in Republic of Sudan**

To make the issue more worst and escalate different countries and organizations with different interests are coming to Sudan. Here, Ethiopian government has to play and follow the process attentively so that they will be government of Sudan continues the diplomatic relation of the two states. If the situation not handled and follow up wisely, it may create proxy war as usual. So, Ethiopian government through a series of discussions with the collaboration of the AU, IGAD, and subsequent diplomatic efforts will help Sudanese-Ethiopian relationship remains a pivotal axis in the region, said the informant from MoFA (Mersha, 2022).

#### **D. The Competition of Supper states in the Region**

The strategic importance of Ethiopia makes it to be one of the countries strong states are competing for. The current reforms of Ethiopia concerning its neighbors get due attention by supper states. Instability in the region will undermine Ethiopia's efforts to decline and avoid if possible al Shabab from Somaliland from the region as well. The competition of these supper states will also aggravate proxy war to weaken the opponents. Besides Ethiopian can be challenging by ethnic violence which draw

Ethiopia's focus inward; away from regional peacekeeping commitments (Mersha, 2022).

#### **E. Border conflict**

According to informant from MoFA, in the horn of Africa the border is one of the main causes of instability. Different reason can be mentioned for this to happen. One of the reasons is the incorrect demarcated borders among neighboring countries. This border conflict brought famine and displaces the people. The horn of Africa is taking as the example of insecurity and disorder as the result of the border conflict among them. Even though, currently Abiy is bring the air of peace and stability; there is also suspicion that these border conflict obstacle the reforms (Mersha, 2022).

#### **2.5.3 Economic implications of Ethiopian foreign policy towards the Horn of Africa**

Ethiopian foreign policy reads that the neighboring countries have limited capacity for economic development in the short run (Adula, 2018). It explains that this is because of a shortage of capital and finance; the similarity of products and markets are small with little impact on development currently. But they can positively impact our economy for the future. However, it reveals that neighboring countries can impact Ethiopia's economic development through their ports in the long and short run (FANSPS, 2002: 59–60).

All neighboring countries, it doesn't including South Sudan because it was not an independent country in the document, have ports but Ethiopia has not. As Ethiopia develops, the need for efficient service rendering ports will be important. Ethiopia's stance is to use the port service for the mutual benefit of both the provider and the recipient of the service. Of course, if the neighboring countries neglect Ethiopia from port services it will be a disadvantage for all. For that reason, the port services should be exercised steadily, and predictably based on mutual benefit. As Ethiopia's neighbors register greater economic development they could serve as an important market for Ethiopia's products (Adem et al., 2018).

Regional integration and openness to the world, which is the third pillars of Medemer next to building a vibrant democracy and Economic vitality, is the concept that beliefs economic interdependency can reduces the likelihood of conflicts in HoA. The more

we cooperate the less we face conflict in the world in general and in the Horn of Africa in particular. Similar to the above concept Dr. Abiy uses the following phrase to illustrate his thought: “if you want to go fast go alone, but if you want to go far go together.” This implies that Ethiopia is running with a multicultural approach in its relation in the HoA.

Indeed, Ethiopia is keen in participating regional organizations (Continental Free Trade Agreement (CFTA), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and in the African Union (AU) and different world organizations. On his speech to world economic forum (2019), Dr. Abiy explains that Ethiopia is actively vowing in various regional and continental institutions. The prime minister further explained our Medemer or synergy brings interdependence whereas interdependence creates peace in the HoA. In return the HoA peace is also bringing a less favorable environment for criminal activities that threaten the security of states and their citizens (Mersha, 2022).

#### **2.5.4 Political implication of Ethiopian foreign policy towards the Horn of Africa**

The current foreign policy of Ethiopia has political implications for the relationship between Ethiopia and its neighbors. This is due to Ethiopia's large border share, a large number of populations, strong military power, and diplomatic strength. Ethiopia, also, has been able to influence regional security, economic and political agendas through sub-regional and regional organizations, like AU and IGAD respectively (Le Gouriellec, 2018). Therefore, the events taking place in Ethiopia have direct implications in the Horn of Africa region. Even though Ethiopia was in a state of contradiction with its neighbors before the 1991 regime; after the coming to power of EPRDF there were foreign policy shifts toward the region and others (Cannon & Rossiter, 2017). To begin with, Ethiopia is playing a decisive role in the Horn of African politics. Undeniably, the informant from the South Sudan embassy thought that Ethiopia was considered an iconic actor in the birth of South Sudan. The relationship between the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and Ethiopia started before the coming of EPRDF. However, following the coming to power of the EPRDF in 1991, the relationship between SPLA and Ethiopia was not good. This was because of Ethiopia's expel due to the EPRDF's good relations with Sudan during its fight against Ethiopia's pre-1991 government.

For the informant from MoFA, the currently sweeping reforms of Ethiopia have political implications for the relationship between Ethiopia and its neighbors. Even though Ethiopia is considered as defacto hegemony in the HoA; she was in state of contradiction with its neighbors. However, after the rise of Abiy Ahmed there are deepest hopes and sign of peace breathing in the region. Due to its large border share the events these taking places in Ethiopia have direct impact in the region. Here is worth mentioning that the two recent announcements: the normalization of relations with the northern neighbor Eritrea and the signing of a peace deal with the Ogaden National Liberation Front, a separatist movement that has sought self-determination for the Somali region of Ethiopia. According to the informant these events are crucial in Ethiopia relation with the region. This is because of Othese tensions between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and the Ogaden National Liberation Front has each contributed to instability in the region, before Abiy. For instance, the new rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea is not only affecting the domestic instability in Ethiopia. At the same time, the region is also breathing new political air (Mersha, 2022).

#### **2.5.4 Security implications of Ethiopian foreign policy towards the Horn of Africa**

In this regard, the document has some sort of suspicion towards the Horn of African states. It explains that neighboring countries could play a negative role in discouraging democracy in Ethiopia. This can be through promoting religious extremism or providing the territory to religious extremists, and religious intolerance. Ethiopia has doubts about neighboring countries as if they make Ethiopia vulnerable to attack by external forces by using the neighboring countries as instruments. Generally, the document revealed that neighboring countries could seek to gain undue benefit from Ethiopia or to disturb Ethiopia`s peace directly or indirectly by falling under the influence of other forces (FANSPS, 2002:30). For that reason, Ethiopia`s diplomatic work must aim at eliminating or at least reducing external security threats. The security of Ethiopia cannot be secured by solely activities but it needs the collaboration of all Horn of African states. This is why Ethiopian foreign policy is motivated to broaden the number of foreign friends that can help to create a regional and global atmosphere favorable for Ethiopia`s peace and security. Ethiopia`s diplomatic activity also aims at forecasting potential threats and addressing them through dialogue and

negotiation. Thus, the policy should also secure allies that can help us withstand intractable challenges and threats (FANSPS, 2002: 24).

The recent Ethiopia's promising security offers hope for its people and externally draws stability, integration and peace. Recently Ethiopia added a new area of focus on regional security through Medemer, passion and excuse to neighboring countries. This approach may constitute a major improvement in addressing the shortcomings of Ethiopia's regional diplomatic practices, regardless of its current policy orientation. In his most recent remarks during a meeting with President Isaias Afework of Eritrea, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed neatly pointed out the border issues is the second issues for us and I will serve as the foreign ministry of Eritrea if the president is willing full. Here, in his saying so he neglected the triggering events of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Which implies that border are not the crucial issues in the bilateral relation between two and more states especially in the HoA, which in turn gives lesson for neighboring countries in which most of the countries get in to conflict because of borders(Mersha, 2022).

#### **2.5.5 Foreign policy change**

For Kjell Goldmann (1988) foreign policy change is the problems and possibilities of improvement specifically to address the pressure in international and national politics whereby states face pressures to change policies from the past (through changing conditions in the environment, learning, and domestic political changes that produce new leaders with new ideas), yet there remains a strong tendency to stick to the policies of the past. The "unresolved issue in foreign policy theory," he states, is to establish "what factors determine whether, when, and to what extent pressure for change in a policy will produce change" (Mersha, 2021).

##### **A. Change and resistance to change, in foreign policy**

Change is a fundamental concept in the social sciences. Even more fundamentally, as argued by Lundquist, change is the natural state of modern society, and we cannot understand society unless we acknowledge this fact. Capturing change requires an understanding of time. This means that we cannot understand social phenomena fully unless we analyze them as part of a

historical current. Situations or cases that look identical, when analyzed in a static framework may indeed be completely different when seen in a dynamic perspective. When it comes to foreign policy, it is possible to assume that there is a foreign policy change in all countries and at all times which is characterized by adjusting itself with continuity and change “in response to internal developments and external circumstances (Mersha, 2021).

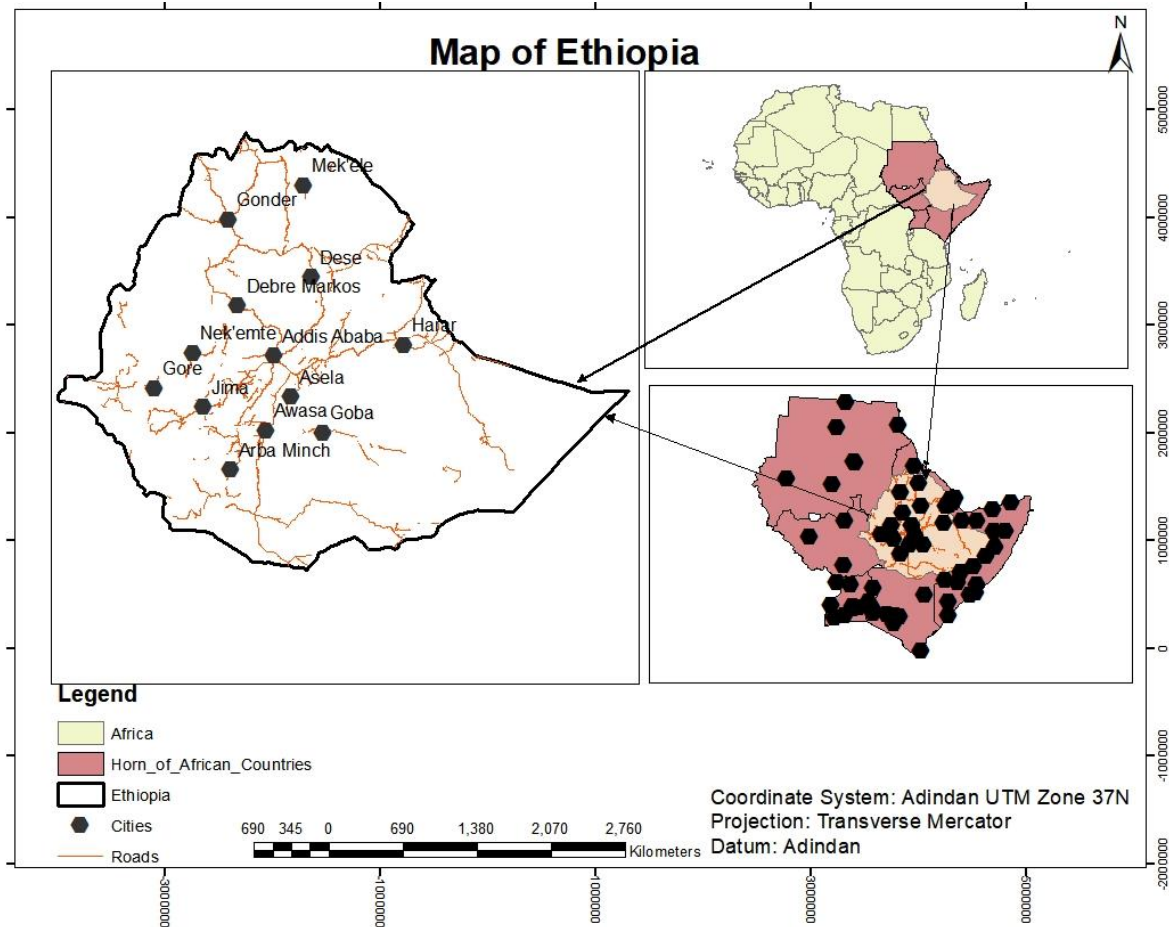
## CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### Introduction

This chapter explored the location and demography. Moreover, it discussed the research approach, research design, justification of selecting the study area and data source, sampling technique and size, method and instruments of data collection, method of data analysis.

### 3.1. Description of the Study Area

#### 3.1.1 Location



Ethiopia, with a total area of 1.1 million km<sup>2</sup>, lies in the northeastern part of the Horn of Africa. The country is landlocked, sharing frontiers with Eritrea to the north and northeast, Djibouti to the east, Somalia to the east and southeast, Kenya to the south, and South Sudan and Sudan to the west. Ethiopia's topographical diversity encompasses high mountains and flat-topped plateaux, surrounded by lowlands, and dissected by deep gorges with rivers and rolling plains with altitudes ranging from 110 m below sea level at the Denakil Depression in

the northeast to over 4 600 m above sea level in the Simien Mountains in the north. The Great East African Rift Valley divides the country. It is estimated that 16 million ha is cultivated and 20 million ha are permanent pastures (Table 1). Water bodies cover around 744 400 ha (IUCN, 2010), forest and woodland about 4 million ha and 29 million ha respectively, while over 26 million ha are protected (FAO, 2016).

### **3.1.2. Demographic characteristics**

The total population of the country is estimated at 99 million (2015), of which 81 percent is rural (Table 1). The annual population growth rate is 2.6 percent over the period 2005-2015 and the average population density is 90 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>, but varies from 7 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup> in Afar in the northeast to 114 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup> in Southern Region in the southwest of the country. The urban population is growing rapidly as a result of both population increase and high rural-urban migration(FAO, 2016).

In 2014, the Human Development Index ranks Ethiopia 174 among 188 countries and the Gender Inequality Index ranks it 129 among 152 countries for which data are available. Life expectancy in Ethiopia is 64 years and the under-five mortality is 62 per 1000 births in 2014, both progressing from 51 years and over 150 per 1000 at the end of the 1990s. Around 80 percent of the children in 2010 are enrolled in primary education, thus almost doubling the 2000 rate, and with a reduced gap between boys (82 percent) and girls (78 percent) compared to that period (50 percent of boys against 39 percent of girls). Adult literacy is 39 percent for the 2005-2012 period (UNDP, 2016), with a gap between female literacy (29 percent) and male literacy (49 percent). Poverty is still widely spread as it concerns almost a third of the population (30 percent) and is more concentrated in rural areas. In 2015, 93 percent of the urban and 49 percent of the rural population were using improved drinking water sources, that is 57 percent of the total population This represents a major improvement since 2002 when only 33 percent of the population had access to an improved drinking water source (JMP, 2015). Sanitation coverage also increased from 10 percent in 2001 to 28 percent in 2015 and almost no difference in coverage between rural and urban areas (FAO, 2016).

### **3.2. Research Approach**

In this study, the researcher used a qualitative approach. The reason for this is; a qualitative approach is used as a way to look at people's experiences and realities. It enabled the

researcher to discover issues such as depth of information and complexity in approach. And it is also useful in indicating the causes, effects and dynamic processes of the issues. In addition to above, the rationality behind employing qualitative research approach is that it involves with the assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior (Kothari, 2004).

According to Michael Patton, a qualitative research theory helps to obtain important information in deeper and broader way. Furthermore, it is used as broad evidence to understand behavior patterns and information movements, not necessarily quantitative and quantitative formations (Laureate Education, 2009).

### **3.3. Research Design**

A research design is defined as the clearly defined structures with in which the study is implemented (Burn&Grove, 2001; 223). According to (w.creswell, 2009, p, 36), research design is a sketch map and system for study that covers the decision from broad assumptions to in depth methods of data collection and systematic analysis and interpretation of field data. Therefore, The study aimed at gathering primary data at describing of changes and continuity of Ethiopian foreign policy orientation and practices towards the horn countries and the implication of change and continuity of Ethiopian foreign policy in relation with horn of Africa region after 2018 with the help of knowledgeable and professionals and experts on the topic under study .thus the research would be basically descriptive in design.

Descriptive research involves direct exploration, analysis and description of the particular phenomena as free as possible from unexplained presumptions, aiming at maximum intuitive presentation.

### **3.4. Target Population**

The target population of the study would consists of political science scholars, academics and political science researchers at Addis Ababa University, ministry of Ethiopian foreign affairs, employee of public policy institute.

### **3.5. Sample Size**

Since the study would not employed variables to select an adequate sampling size like quantitative research, the researcher considered the principle of data saturation. The notion of

data saturation entails bringing new participants and adding respondents until collecting complete data continually into the study (Kumar, 2020).

In addition to this the researcher used key informants such as ministry of foreign affairs, academicians, employ of public policy institute, political science researchers and employ of Ethiopian public policy study. In order to properly accomplish this study the researcher has used purposively 30 key informants for in depth interview, from them 10 key informants from ministry of foreign affairs, 10 key informants from Ethiopian public policy study, 5 key informants from institute of policy study and remaining five key informants from academicians and scholars at Addis Ababa University .

### **3.6. Sampling Method**

This study employed non –probability sampling techniques, especially the purposive sample. This allowed the researcher to select respondents who have relevant information about information about the problems under study. By choosing knowledgeable person and compressing the information that gives a better understanding of the problem, such sample helped to provide the necessary information to achieve the purpose of the study and to build historical facts, describe and develops events. A sample of key informants is selected based on personal skills or positions in society to provide more information and a deeper understanding of what is happening around them and to understand us much relevant information and data as possible. Non –probability sampling allowed you to take samples of the population that are not finite in number. Non –probability sampling is a procedure in which there is no basis for estimating the probability that each item in the sample is included in the sample. It is designs that are adopted due to the relative advantages of time and money available in small surveys and surveys of individuals (KOTHARI, 2004).

### **3.7. Type and Source of Data**

The types of data employed for the study are both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data is a new data that has not been analyzed or interpreted before. Whereas, secondary data will be receive from existing sources. Secondary sources are books, magazines, news, articles, government releases, printed documents and other similar media that are important for the study.

### **3.8. Data Collection Tools and Process**

Qualitative data is collected using in-depth face-to-face open ended interviews. Therefore, researcher and respondent interviews conducted with the relevant parties. The study used semi structured interviews: - in-depth-interview, key informant interview and Secondary data sources.

#### **3.8.1. In-depth interviews**

In-depth interview is a frequent face-to-face meeting between the researcher and the informants, where they express the informants about their lives, experiences or situations in their own words, so it is useful to understand thoughts and attitudes. This study explores the perceptions and experiences of a group of people with the change and continuity of Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn. For example, it includes government officials and researcher (elites).

#### **3.8.2. Key informant interview**

Key informant interview is one of a qualitative data collection method and it takes place with people who know what is going on in the community. The purpose of key informant interviews is to collect information from a wide range of people including community leaders, professionals, or residents who have firsthand knowledge about the community. These community experts, with their particular knowledge and understanding, can provide insight into the nature of problems and give recommendations for solutions (Carter & Beaulieu, 1992).

**3.8.3. Document Analysis:** The study have also conducted secondary data such as documents, unpublished report, articles and books which are written relation to Ethiopian Foreign policy change and continuity towards the horn and its implication for its relation with others. For this study the researcher would reviewed and analyzed various document sources to obtain full of meaning and understanding about the issue under study. In this regard, data have been collected from various published and unpublished sources including public documents, agreements, newspaper, journals, articles and books.

### **3.9. Methods of Data Analysis**

In the study the collected raw data that was obtained through by in-depth interviews, key informant interview, document analysis was analyzed qualitatively by employing narrative and thematic methods of data analysis through by organizing similar words, this processes were taking place in the following ways; on this research, initially, the data gathered in Amharic languages were systematically code, organized, transcribed and translated into English for data analysis without changing the meanings of the participant's words and eliminating components of stories.

Then the researcher looked to identify commonalities among these aspects between the accounts of different participants. The goal is to use these observations to identify themes. The themes are elements of the described experience. Aside from the notes taken from observations and from the participant's description; highlighted sentences that described their experience of the phenomenon and developed clusters of meanings in to the teams. Finding patterns among the collected stories and identifying the shared and unique experiences of participants. Hence, the researcher organized related segments of data into categories; identified key themes; created connections between different themes; generated a description of the context and interpreted the larger meanings of the data without altering their meanings. The main categories reflect the focus of the research questions.

### **3. 10. Ethical consideration**

In order to accomplish this study in a good and effective manner ethical considerations are very important. Before taking any action in the study area the researcher was taken a formal letter from Wolkite University, Department of governance and development study in order to ensure the legality of the research. The researcher was also free from bias like attempting to hide what is found in the study. The participants and experts were asked about their free will to participate in this study. Furthermore, the study participants were also told that their information and identity was held secure in this regard confidentiality was existing. To keep confidentiality the researcher used symbols instead of employing the exact name of the participants. After then, the researcher gained information through consent orally and in the form of written from the study participants and experts then, the data collection processes

were held. Finally, the researcher was present with heartfelt and genuine gratitude for all participants and experts.

## **Chapter four**

### **4. Result and Discussion**

#### **4.1.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, the researcher tried to answer the research questions by analyzing the data presentation method. The points raised in this section: stating with the nature of Ethiopia's foreign policy in the Horn of Africa before and after 2018. First of all: the nature of Ethiopian Foreign policy in the horn of Africa before 2018 explained very well. Secondly: Ethiopian Foreign policy in the horn of Africa after 2018 revealed what it looks like. Also, the various challenges Ethiopian foreign policy confronted in its contribution to the Horn of Africa discussed. Finally, the change that Ethiopian foreign policy resulted in Horn of Africa discussed. The data collected from various sources and informants has been organized and narrated. Therefore, based on the information obtained from the interviews the chapter covers a total of five main themes. Interviews of the research are referred throughout the chapter as: interview code, interview location and interview date. Finally, the thesis ends with conclusions and recommendations.

#### **4.2. The Objective of Ethiopia's foreign policy in the Horn of Africa before 2018**

Ethiopia is one of the oldest countries in the international system. It is a country with a long history of foreign relations with several states around the world. However, since the beginning of modern diplomatic foreign relations in Ethiopia, Ethiopia's foreign policy has been focused on promoting the country's independence status. One of Ethiopia's most notable issues is the horn for the Horn of Africa; this is because Ethiopia is the only African country to resist successfully European colonialism and usually the national interests of Ethiopia are focused on democratic development and rapid economic growth (Mersha, 2022). According to the informants, "Ethiopia's foreign policy from the past takes its meaning through its activities to ensure the country's developmental prosperity and democratization in accordance with its diplomatic relations with the countries of the Horn of Africa" (MOFA-6, Addis Ababa, April 30, 2023).

Ethiopia is developing its ties with the countries of the Horn by infrastructure, trade, culture, language, natural resources, fertile land, and religion. This is a diplomatic movement that helps to build trust between countries. Accordingly, it has built a railway that locates Ethiopia and Djibouti, and has started land-tracing to connect Ethiopia and Sudan, and is building a land-transport connecting Ethiopia and Kenya. With the realization of the Berbera-Adis Ababa corridor, work is underway to link Somalia-Land with Ethiopia. The two countries have agreed to build a road linking it to South Sudan and in addition, a project to connect Juba with Addis Ababa is being developed under the auspices of IGAD. Ethiopia sells electricity to Djibouti, Kenya and Sudan, and supplies drinking water to Djibouti. From Djibouti, it will soon purchase port services from Sudan and oil supplies from Sudan. This economic linkage was able to demonstrate in practice that by establishing interdependence, one of the vows could not exist and that mutual benefit was the dominant principle of the country diplomacy. Ethiopia is helping neighboring countries in the fields of peace and security, trade and technical assistance. It also provides significant technical assistance, economic cooperation and other support for the establishment of a strong government in Somalia and other neighboring countries. In order to develop bilateral relations between Ethiopia and neighboring countries, especially by strengthening public-to-people ties to help realize a firmly established diplomatic relationship, the next generation of country storytellers through education, training, and other support come to our country to receive education and training, efforts are being made to demonstrate and realize that there is a wide-ranging chain of culture, natural resources, language, and history that our country Ethiopia and its people link to the zones of neighboring countries. Our country, Ethiopia, has an unwavering diplomatic position that the collective security and security of its neighbors, Blum of the world, will be ensured when we work together for the common good (Yohannis, 2017).

A country's foreign policy can be characterized by change and continuity of that change, Ethiopia's foreign policy is based on its influence over surrounding neighboring countries. Ethiopian leaders have adjusted their foreign policy on the Horn of Africa to address those external threats and bring about regional cooperation and integration. This was also the case with the pre-2018 and past Ethiopian leaders. Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam was focused on the exterior; this meant that his administration, realizing that Ethiopia's main security

threat was a foreign threat, sought to stabilize the region. It focused on strengthening military capabilities to counter external threats; as a result Ethiopia was very t odds with neighboring countries. They are particularly good examples of war with the liberation movements of Somalia, Sudan and Eritrea (Mosli, 2020).

However, the administration of Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and Prime Minister Haile Mariam Desalegn focused inwardly on creating regional stability, due to internal pressures of Ethiopia's national security concerns such as politics (democracy and good governance) and economic (economic backwardness and poverty) problems. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) brought about the rise to power, and Ethiopian foreign policy became the opposite of the government of Mengistu Hailemariam, and led to changes in the country's foreign policy and in neighboring countries. Its aims have shifted to cooperation, respect, mutual economic interests, and the maintenance of peace in the Horn of Africa. To name some of them, the contradiction with the Republic of Sudan was resolved and relations changed to collective economic development, economic integration, mutual security, and peacekeeping. Moreover, Ethiopia is actively working towards the strengthening of economic diplomacy for collective development (Mosli, 2020). As the key informant justified;

*The establishment of industrial parks, electric power sharing programs, infrastructure and air transport links, and international and continental meetings are helping Ethiopia to coexist peacefully with the Horn of Africa countries. Ethiopia has deployed armed and police forces to maintain peace between South Sudan and the Republic of Sudan. Ethiopian armed forces have helped to promote peace in Somalia and Darfur, Sudan, through various peacekeeping missions (PSA-3, Addis Ababa, April 11, 2023).*

Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn's administration was able to modernize the country's energy complex in the foreign policy sector by introducing bilateral agreements with Kenya, Djibouti and Somaliland in addition to seeking foreign trade logistics options. In this work, he accelerated the pace of the country's economic growth, establishing a partial rapprochement with its neighbors of the Horn of Africa. At the regional level, the creation of various forums and partnerships can be lifted to help enhance South Sudan's security

capabilities, discuss and address common security concerns. In addition, the rapid growth of Ethiopia's economy contributed to the expansion of service and agricultural sectors, increasing government investments in infrastructure, and increased empathy between Addis Ababa and its neighboring areas. As an example, we can mention an increase in the amount of Ethiopian private investments in the energy and transport sector in neighboring regions, particularly Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti, and Kenya. This contributed to an increase in Ethiopian interests in the area, especially in the ports of Djibouti, in relation to their use for their foreign trade (Cesar Fernandez, Igor Estima Sardo & etal, 2021). According to the key informant; “The administration of the country, led by Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn, was largely unmanageable, although internal concerns and excesses were largely unmanageable, while relations with the Horn of Africa countries were better than those of his predecessors. They had made a good start by making deals with some countries to better run business conditions in Horn” (MOFA-5, Addis Ababa, April 17, 2023).

Official of the Secretary State confirms that Ethiopia, since the end of World War II in the Horn of Africa, has started a movement to promote, implement systems of independence and good governance in Africa, even as some countries calculating their interests are hindered by the instability of the country's foreign policy, which has made many efforts even before 2018. Although the ideology is incorrect as to whether the enemy is my friend, for example, Ethiopia has been active in regional affairs with the other Horn of Africa countries outside Eritrea (IEPS-5, Addis Ababa, May 19, 2023).

The Horn of Africa is located on the east coast of Africa and covers eight countries: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda. As it is known, the Horn of Africa regions are the result of political and diplomatic agreements between the powerful European nations. However, Ethiopia is the only country in the middle of the Horn of Africa to have survived European attacks and reconstituted itself as a political base of sovereignty, stability, resistance and strength. As a result, Ethiopia has become a pillar of stability and development in the politically unstable Horn of Africa (Nilton Cesar Fernandez Cardoso, Guilherme Geremias da Conseisao, Igor Estima Sardo, 2021). As one of the study's participants regarding this stated;

*Ethiopia receives the greatest attention from its foreign policy towards the Horn of Africa, as its surrounding neighbors must be stable enough to govern a stable Ethiopia. Indeed, the relationship of that size was not one to be hoped for, as the country's relations with the Horn of Africa countries before 2018 were tied to the notion that "the enemy of my Enemy is my friend. Although not all levels of governance, some of the country's ties to the Horn of Africa countries are to create internal stability and transition to external relations in order to make them relentless. Because, the Horn of Africa is a strategic place, not all nations have ever been hidden in sight, and to throw it on their hands, it is the one who makes many footprints to keep Ethiopia from becoming stable. This is because "the regional integration of the Horn of Africa will be fostered by the economy, politics, bringing together dynamic economic pillars, emphatically fighting for peace and security, and after the end of World War II, establishing the Organization of African Unity to decolonize the African continent, and supporting the liberation of the remaining colonized nations, Europeans persistently monitor Ethiopia's activities on the Horn of Africa" As a result, the leaders in charge of the country have also been managing the relationship with the Horn of Africa using various methods to make it better (MOFA-9, Addis Ababa, March 16, 2023).*

#### **4.3 The Objective of Ethiopia's foreign policy in the Horn of Africa After 2018**

The Horn of Africa is one of the most politically dynamic areas in the world. A number of issues arise in the Horn of Africa, such as terrorism, persecution, human trafficking, border disputes and etc. The Horn of Africa countries are highly intertwined with each other through cultural, social, economic, and border sharing. From the Horn of Africa countries, Ethiopia is the country that shares borders with other Horn of Africa internationally, and events in Ethiopia have a major impact on the Horn of Africa. This is Because of Ethiopia is a major player and active participant in peace, security and stability of the region (Mersha, 2022). Regarding to this the key informant said;

*Frankly speaking, there is no change in Ethiopia's reconciliation with Eritrea, although its permanence is questioned. However, as mentioned above, some initiatives are carried out by Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn to the Horn of Africa countries. Despite that, he was replaced by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (Dr) The foreign relations of the governed with the*

*Horn of Africa countries are a form of arbitrary relationship that is, dialogue and harmony at the opportunity but unsustainable, contact without being explored as incapable of making the other beneficiary. But it's largely better with the Horn of Africa countries because it follows a foreign policy that prioritized exit communication over internal communication (MOFA-10, Addis Ababa, April 26, 2023).*

Prime Minister Abiys administration follow a more of conciliatory and active foreign policy than its predecessors. Simple justification for this was the peace treaty between Ethiopia and Eritrea. It is the diplomatic relations that has recently begun with Eritrea. In the first months of his government, the Ethiopian Prime Minister formally accepted the decision of the Eritrean Ethiopian Border Commission (EBC) in 2002 regarding demarcation of borders between the two regions, in addition to making a new peace agreement, which Eritrean President Isaiiah Afewerik aimed to restore diplomatic relations between the two countries and to open their borders. Peace and friendship, such as ending the state of war; political, economic, cultural and security cooperation as well as opening its embassies in its respective capitals, re-establishing trade, transport and communication channels; and cooperation to promote peace and security in the region (March, 2020). According to the head of the Foreign Office interviewed,

*The Ethiopian administration, led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (Dr.), said that under the principle of reconciliation, forgiveness and inclusion, good diplomatic relations with all countries are being worked to ensure such. Of course, those who want to weaken some Ethiopia and don't want it to settle down will harass the Horn of Africa countries and work day by day to ensure relations are strained. However, he said Ethiopia was softening and maintaining relations, adding that the reconciliation with Eritrea was one of the main examples (PSA-4, Addis Ababa, April 11, 2023).*

Developments concerning Prime Minister Abiy's diplomatic role and peace between the two countries also appeared at the regional level, and in September of the same year, a tripartite agreement was signed between Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia under the regional economic, political and security framework. The agreement was mediated by Ethiopia, which established a joint high committee, which was unified by the foreign ministers of the three

regions, to move relations between the Eritrean and Djiboutian governments to the normal level. And a meeting between South Sudanese President Salva Kiir and Rik Machar, leader of the Sudan Opposition People's Liberation Movement, in Addis Ababa. In the economic sector, the new administration reformed the public sectors and opened companies in the telecommunications, transportation, energy and logistics sectors. It caused Ethiopia to increase the amount of its private investments in Sudan (Cesar Fernandez Cardoso, Estima Sardo & etal, 2021). According to a key informant, *Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's administration is making many changes in the country because it has made regional ties better, worked more than ever with all Horn of Africa countries on the issue of solidarity, because Ethiopia's engagement with neighboring countries to achieve better growth in different sectors will perform better. Simple example for this is Ethiopia providing a stretch of drinking water for Djibouti (IEPS-4, Addis Ababa, May 13, 2023).*

Following the rise of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's (Dr) to power, rapid policy changes are emerging in both domestic and foreign policies. Prime Minister Abiy (Dr) visited Kenya with the intention of strengthening the strong relations and trade between Kenya and Ethiopia. Ethiopia and Kenya agreed to strengthen their strong bilateral relations, maintain a key partnership in maintaining security and peace in the region, invest time and resources in combating terrorism, and be more committed to the struggle to bring Somalia to a lasting peace (Mersha, 2022). A key informant says that; “Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's administration will work not only with Djibouti, but with other neighboring country Kenya in agreeing around ways to combat various infiltration enemies. For these good demonstrations, he allowed Ethiopia to enter Kenya without a visa and create other economic ties of the trade bloc” (EPPS-2, Addis Ababa, April 11, 2023).

In this sense, it is now possible to cite the conflict in the Tigray Region as a serious challenge to Ethiopia's foreign policy. The conflict in Tigray has had a particularly wide impact on neighboring regions. For example, when the Tigray conflict began a year ago, the conflict has shown a desire to extend as far as Eritrea or Sudan through the border dispute between Ethiopia and Sudan. Therefore, although controversial, the current Ethiopian administration understands Ethiopia's foreign policy and is working to tackle problems in the direction of

foreign policy. Prior to the reform period, Ethiopia had ended bilateral diplomatic relations and diplomatic relations of citizens, but it is arguably the best performance of resumption during the reform, as well as changing the approach and direction of solidarity ideology foreign policy (MOFA-8, Addis Ababa, May 8, 2023).

#### **4.4. Challenges forcing changes in Ethiopia's foreign policy since 2018**

The changes in domestic politics, as well as conflicts over neighboring countries, have had a direct impact on Ethiopia's foreign policy in various ways. The system has influenced different standards on each of the guiding principles and the specific nature of the policy. Thus, the following sections examine what are the influences of Ethiopia's foreign policy on the Horn of Africa.

One of the challenges to Ethiopia's foreign policy is internal influences. Conflict in the Horn of Africa is caused by either by differences of opinion or by claims, which occur between different communities and are commonplace events: most Horn of Africa countries are in turmoil in civil war: it was a period of extreme internal turmoil during the rise to power of Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. During this time, various conflicts that had been occurring in the country due to various factors had begun to escalate and spread, and there was one of the conflicts in the Tigray region, and the political unrest that followed caused internal conflicts and socio-economic damage in Ethiopia to become more severe, and the problem was that it had lost its own shadow over the activities that had been undertaken by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to strengthen regional ties by improving confidence and understanding between the countries of the region (Chala, 2020). According to informants, “one of Ethiopian foreign policy stifling issues is caused by pressure from entities with different motives that arise in the country. For example, the Tigray War had done much to break the peace with Eritrea. In addition, Fano and Shene militias arising in the Amhara region and Oromia regions have become a setback from the country's foreign policy” (MOFA-7, Addis Ababa, March 24, 2023).

The other challenge due to Ethiopian foreign policy in the Horn of Africa is the issue of safety. Due to mismanagement, the Ethiopian government faced security problems in the

country. For this, security problems led to the reform of the Ethiopian government and the election of Abiy Ahmed as the new Prime Minister of Ethiopia. As a result, there were renewed calls to tackle highly controversial regional militants, both within Ethiopia and from international human rights groups. After Eritrea's secession from Ethiopia in 1993, Eritrea's hostility towards its neighbor, especially until the arrival of Abiy Ahmed in 2018, was a constant threat to Ethiopia. The hostility was expressed through proxy warfare. One of its common characteristics, proxy wars, this type of foreign policy as well as the policy of supporting the enemy of my enemy, was the main foreign policy strategy pursued by the Horn of Africa countries. Indeed, while Ethiopia supported Sudanese rebels, in response Sudan aided Ethiopian and Eritrean opposition, Eritrea supported Somali rebels (Chinigo, 2020).

Here, according to the informant, *Ethiopia is frequently visiting neighboring countries to help these countries solve their problems with a diplomatic and increased sense. There are internal factors that challenge Ethiopia while bringing peace, stability, economic integration and security. Although they avoid mentioning the names of the countries, some horn countries support, and train Ethiopian internal rebels. In practice, they create influence by offering various supplies to rebels to keep the interior from settling in, under the pretense of having good diplomatic relations (IEPS-1, Addis Ababa, April,12, 2023).*

The other challenge is ethnic conflict. In Ethiopia, the recent national relations are based on a policy of correcting the unjust historical relations between different ethnic groups. In Ethiopia Ethnic federalism has given birth to ethnic tensions. Ethnic conflict is defined as the basis of ethnic diversity because the parties in conflict claim that our nation has specific powers over our region. However, other ethnic groups do not have the same rights as them. Currently the main reason why Ethiopian ethnocentric conflicts seem to be ethnic tensions stemming from pure ethnic differences is the ethnic differences that have arisen in the past (Fasil, 2020). The informant claimed that; *unless Ethiopia was removed from this ethnic tension, it would create a difficult situation for the country and the Horn of Africa. This is because, for example, when the country was in the Tigray War, Sudan was conducting raids across the Ethiopian border, and in addition, South Sudanese militants carried out the same*

*riots. The country must necessarily end ethnic uprisings to repel foreign invasion and enforce borders (IEPS-3, Addis Ababa, April 18, 2023).*

Related to this, the other challenge is economic inflation. Ethiopia is in a deep economic crisis which is causing chaos in the country. Macroeconomic inequality is undermining national economic development by significantly shifting public income. Macroeconomic inequality also represents the violence, discrimination, and injustice that are being experienced by millions of people every day. This is challenging for Ethiopia's foreign policy to be better applied to the neighborhood. There are also concerns that they are expanding into the Horn, causing problems with current economic integration and the political stability in the region. Finally, the problem of economic inequality leads to limited or inaccessible stress of societies, which can be explained otherwise, resulting in violent consequences (Mersha, 2020). As the informant put, "it is difficult for a country to operate and grow its own bloom country economy independently if it does not have internal peace and stability. Of course, living conditions have risen in the country as the country's citizenry is threatened due to rising bodies with different objectives and goals" (EPPS-5, Addis Ababa, June 06, 2023).

The influential challenge to Ethiopian foreign policy to the Horn of African country is external challenge. The Leading external challenge is inter-governmental conflicts. The lack of proper borders in the region, the presence of natural resources and trade routes such as water and pastures shared by communities living in undistinguished and demarcated areas, the fact that affairs are interfered with in the region's countries and support for the opposition is common, the increase in terror and other threats when the capacity of governments is weakened, as well as the threats posed by the openness of the relations the region's countries establish outside their neighbors and region, are seen as the starting point for conflicts between countries (Mersha, 2021). According to an informant; *the given strategic importance of the region, the tendency of other parties to seek control over the area and the accompanying conflicts through these entities, making one friend the other the enemy and bribing and threatening the countries with various advantages, can be seen as making it less reliable for the countries of the region to develop their cooperation and improve the peace and stability of the region less effective: other challenges include external factors; opposition*

*and conflict from neighboring countries. South Sudan, which is in a civil war; The South Sudan crisis is being used as a source of insecurity in the region. Various members are involved in proxy warfare in South Sudan which exacerbates local unrest; South Sudan's security crisis could hamper Abiy's desire to join the region (MOFA-1, Addis Ababa, March 16, 2023).*

Another external challenge is internal conflicts that occur in neighboring countries. Just as ensuring the peace and development of the neighboring bodies is directly or indirectly the greatest share of the peace and prosperity continuity of our country; the problem of not having a stable peace and development in our environment inevitably becomes a hurdle for our nation's prosperity journey, so it remains an important issue to move, especially with a strong emphasis on local externalities. While the region's natural resources are a resource that has harmonized many of them as resources that are classified among the various opportunities to make the region better, the region is often seen as plagued by several years of civil war due to these resources (Mersha, 2020).

*According to the informant; natural resources are usually becoming more cross-border and countries are also mutually resourceful, not creating situations in which they can be used by agreement, their contribution to conflict as a starting point and aggravation factor has been raised: Along with this, the boundaries of the Horn of Africa countries are still poorly demarcated, so that boundary and border-related conflicts continue to be sources of strong civil conflict, fueled by governance-related conflicts. As such, conflicts within a country are observed to spread to other countries and also complicate the internal problems of other countries (MOFA-3, Addis Ababa, June 06, 2023).*

In contrast, the current opposition in Sudan could pose a challenge to a border dispute affecting Ethiopia, as well as Ethiopia's future political situation. Various countries and various interested organizations are coming to Sudan to make matters even worse and escalate. Here, the Ethiopian government continued diplomatic relations between the two countries, paying close attention to and monitoring the process for them to become the government of Sudan. If the situation is not handled and wisely monitored, it can create a proxy war as usual. Therefore, the Ethiopian government has chosen to remain silent in

cooperation with the African Union, the IGAD, through a series of discussions and subsequent diplomatic efforts to balance Sudanese-Ethiopian relations in the region. Another external challenge is border conflict. Insecurity is one of the most significant in the Horn of Africa border. Various reasons can be cited for this to happen; one reason is the faulty border between neighbouring countries. There is also some doubt that these border conflicts would impede changes (Mersha, 2022). As the key informant stated the above explanations are further elaborating as follows; *internal unrest, the issue of the dam, conflicts in northern Ethiopia and other parts of the Ethiopian region. Many determinants among them were internal instability and conflicts within a country that had a significant impact or forced effect on Ethiopia's foreign policy. Also, the competition of foreigners over us for their own benefit and interference with decision-making is another determinant factor (IEPS-2, Addis Ababa, April, 12, 2023).*

#### **4.5. Implications of Ethiopian foreign policy change to the Horn of African countries since 2018**

There are some indications that Abiy sees opportunities for greater co-operation and mutual benefit in the Horn of Africa, moving away from the politics that is the enemy of my enemy is my friend. In his primary regional diplomacy, Abiy said his focus was to repair relations with Eritrea and Somalia, to establish personal relationships with presidents, and repeated a vision based on inclusion: Abiy has personally invested in the political crisis in Sudan in mid-2019 and has penetrated the role of mediation between the resistance movement and the security sector (Mersha, 2020). According to the interview; *the rapprochement with Eritrea has been marked by a significant shift in regional relations during the Abiys era. Relations between Eritrea and both countries have become somewhat stronger; While Eritrea and Ethiopia's initiative to rekindle relations has been pushed far by domestic political issues, including the opening of border crossings for the first time since 1998. The flight between Addis Ababa and Asmara, an Ethiopian airline that was quickly revived after an initial agreement, still links the two countries (MOFA-3, Addis Ababa, June 06, 2023).*

In addition, Abiy pushed early on to create an axis of cooperation in the Horn of Africa, based around Ethiopia and Somalia; however, this start seems to have stopped in the same way. The

three countries signed a 'triple agreement' to promote regional cooperation in September 2018, which was reaffirmed by the 'Joint Action Plan' in January 2020 (Mosli, 2020). As key informant revealed; *during a visit to Somalia, Ethiopia's leader, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, one of the three pillars of the additive mindset, stated that regional integration, along with developed democracy and economic vitality, has the potential to reduce conflicts by bringing economic interdependence in the region. The more they united, the more they were heard to declare that conflicts in the Horn of Africa would be continually reduced. The two leaders promised to cooperate 'in the fraternity' and Abiy also announced, ironically, that Ethiopia would jointly invest in four Somali port projects. Kenya's private sector is concerned with Ethiopia's planned opportunity for independence, particularly in telecommunications (which Kenya's Safaricom competes to enter) and other banking systems (IEPS-2, Addis Ababa, April, 12, 2023).*

#### **4.5.1 The political implications of Ethiopia's foreign policy to the Horn of Africa**

Ethiopia's current foreign policy has political implications for the relations between Ethiopia and its neighbors. This was due to Ethiopia's large border share, large population, strong military power and diplomatic strength. Ethiopia has also been able to influence regional security, economic and political agendas through sub-regional and regional organizations such as AU and IGAD. Although Ethiopia was in a conflict with its neighbors prior to the 1991 government; there were foreign policy changes to the region and elsewhere after the EPRDF came to power. At its inception, Ethiopia was playing an important role in the politics of the Horn of Africa. In addition, Ethiopia has been the first country to have a national championship since its establishment in 1995. It was described as influential in drafting the General Peace Treaty Declaration of Principles (DOP), which recognized the right of self-determination for South Sudan in 1994 and later became the basis for the Igad Peace Initiative. Ethiopia has been the chairman of IGAD and has played a significant role in the implementation of the CPA and the South Sudan referendum. Finally, the policies and actions of Ethiopia and other continental and international actors combined to secure South Sudan independence in 2011 (Fasil, 2020).

On the other hand, Ethiopia is a powerful driver of foreign relations in Somalia. It is capable and willing to do what if national security is threatened. Although it is difficult to predict what will happen in Somalia given the political dynamics and complexity of its politics and security, Ethiopia will continue to carefully and closely monitor the political process in Somalia. Ethiopia has been supporting the process of resolving Somalia's crises since the early 1990s. With this, Ethiopia has allocated many of its financial resources and has dealt with various warlords' issues and is often trying to bring political stability to Somalia and the HoA. Ethiopia has helped Somalia breathe a relatively air of peace and hope, according to the whistleblower. As a result, Somalia has held democratic elections and the country is now approving a federal structure (Fernandes Cardoso, Estima Sardo & etal, 202).

More precisely, the Ethiopian government's recent political decision on Eritrea brought an end to 20 years of war between them. Also, the governments of the two countries signed the Joint Declaration of Peace and Friendship, ended the 20 years of war and implemented the Boundary Resolution and restored diplomatic, economic and communications agreements, among other issues. This is a historic and significant development with great positive implications for Djibouti and Eritrean relations (Tafesse, 2018). According to the informant: -

*The ongoing reconciliation between Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and President Isaiiah Afewerki will help Djibouti and Eritrea resolve our differences peacefully. Ethiopia is undertaking large projects with the intention of creating a stable environment with all neighboring countries. Therefore, Ethiopia's foreign policy has an appropriate focus on the politics of the Horn of Africa and has a sense of co-improvement through the development of solutions. He made it clear that if he did not stabilize the entire region, Ethiopian development would not be realized. Accordingly, it has been operating since then (MOFA-1, Addis Ababa, March 16, 2023).*

According to analysts monitoring the various regions, the current transformative movements in Ethiopia's internal and external affairs approaches are based on the relationship between Ethiopia and the countries in the region, as well as higher implications for the overall politics of the region. Although Ethiopia had long been seen as the supreme coordinator in the Horn of Africa, it was a country with some of its neighbors that had various issues that could have

put them in conflict. The bilateral and tripartite agreements with neighboring countries that Ethiopia has been conducting due to its extensive border-sharing with other countries in the region, as well as efforts by various countries to mediate their problems through treaties, are instrumental in alleviating distrust between local countries and advancing a step towards the political ties of the region (Mersha, 2021). As the interviewer stated,

*Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is taking on the initiative to mediate conflicts in the countries (within and between) the region and the willingness of these entities to solve problems as well, despite the good beginnings; while the countries of the region still promote mutual trust in order to bring about the political ties required in the region<sup>7</sup> They should co-develop treaty frameworks that allow for the resolution of conflicts with the ownership of natural resources and the state of their use across borders and borders, and address the problems by including all the parties concerned, as well as further intensify the work of external influences on mutual defense issues (MOFA-4, Addis Ababa, April 11, 2023).*

#### **4.5.3 The security implications of Ethiopia's foreign policy to the Horn of Africa**

The Horn of Africa countries are highly intertwined with each other in a way that can be defined by culture, social, economic and border sharing. The Horn of Africa is one of the most politically dynamic areas in the world. The Horn of Africa is one of the most complex and confrontational areas of the world, and the countries of the region are defined as those who have lived and been in political difficulties for long periods, tested by local and national resistance, angered by internal and regional civil unrest and fuckers. The activities of the countries in the region to address their internal and environmental problems through dialogue are creating a less favorable environment for the various conflicts and other problems that threaten the security of the countries in the region and their citizens (Yohannis, 2017). According to key informants stated that; “Ethiopia's promising relationship based on the idea of increased foreign relations is one that gives hope to the peoples of the region and brings stability, close ties and peace to the region, as well as to collectively address the internal and external problems of the countries of the region” (EPPS-3, Addis Ababa, April 11, 2023).

Ethiopia's launch of a new focus that prioritizes neighboring countries based on the notion of inclusion is significant in its contribution to the peace and stability of the Horn. This approach is likely to be instrumental in improving the gaps in visible regional diplomatic activities in the region's countries: Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed pointed to the issue of the border as the second issue in his discussions with Eritrean President Isaiah Afewerki that triggered the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, noting that he wanted to focus on other issues that would strengthen the Brotherhood before: . This suggests that 'random' and 'synthetic' colonial borders in the Horn of Africa are worthy of priority in the relations of neighborliness that should exist between two or more countries: this is also an issue that provides education to the region and other African countries that are in conflict due to borders(Mersha, 2022). Key informants stated that, Ethiopia believes that it is equally important for its neighbors to have peace and stability at home, so that peace, a cohesive and prosperous region can be established.

*Ethiopia has signed comprehensive economic integration and cooperation agreements with Horn of Africa countries. To this end, the most unusual and in many ways reached, Ethiopia and Eritrea signed a bilateral agreement that included closer relations and peaceful coexistence. The agreement could close the hostile chapters of the two countries' relations. This new rapprochement extends to the distance of the Horn of Africa countries. Moreover, the whistleblower concludes, Ethiopia is engaged in strong security cooperation with the Horn of Africa countries, especially after the rise of Prime Minister Abiy (MOFA-3, Addis Ababa, March 20, 2023).*

#### **4.3. Economic implications of Ethiopia's foreign policy change to the Horn of Africa**

Regional integration and the third pillars of inclusion after openness to the world, developed democracy and economic vitality, is the concept that belief is that economic interdependence reduces the likelihood of conflict reduction in the HoA. Addition brings unity, unity brings integration and integration brings mutual benefit to all in the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia's economic cooperation and unity for the Horn of Africa are attracting member states to have new hopes for economic integration (Mosley, 2020). The Key informant explained that the addition would create the prospect of free trade, customs union, free markets and common

money. Moreover, Ethiopia's work with its neighbors increases their chances of opening up to the world by fostering cooperation and saving resources, the informant added (IEPS-1, Addis Ababa, March 14, 2023).

In addition, practical new approaches to foreign policy changes are now designed to create a favorable time for economic cooperation in the region. Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed stated that regional integration, one of the three pillars of the additive mindset, along with developed democracy and economic vitality, has the potential to reduce conflicts by bringing about economic interdependence in the region. The more they united, the more they were heard to express that conflict in the Horn of Africa would be continually reduced. Ethiopia, with a population of over 100 million, is one of the world's fastest growing economies in landlocked conditions (Mersh, 2022). In turn, the informant claimed that Ethiopia was guaranteeing the success of peace and economic integration within a few months of its diplomacy. It can therefore be concluded that there is a clear strategy behind the pursuit of economic integration that reduces political competition and enhances economic integration in the Horn of Africa (MOFA-2, Addis Ababa, June 05, 2023).

In addition to this, the economic, especially infrastructure and investment-oriented agreements that Ethiopia is signing with neighboring countries based on the notion of an increased local central position; their significance in achieving economic or universal ties in the region is significant in strengthening relations and bringing support to them, and various analysts state that the importance of economic ties and the idea of integration to the region is significant if it is possible to establish similar economic relations with other countries in the region: : The new diplomatic relations with neighboring countries created an economic impact of the recent peace rapprochement. An agreement that would give Ethiopia access to alternative ports questioned at the time how long the ports of Djibouti would remain in Ethiopia (Mersha, 2022). According to a history teacher and researcher at the African Research Center of Addis Ababa University College of Social Sciences Dechasa Abebe (Associate Prof):-

*There is no doubt that maritime penetration is a serious issue in Ethiopian politics. He said that although Ethiopia was able to import and export ports in Djibouti when Eritrea seceded*

*from Ethiopia in 1993 and bordered Ethiopia, the work of finding safe ports continued. The whistleblower cited that the dependence on the port of Djibouti alone posed a major threat as the fast-growing revenue and spending trade increased over time. Currently, Ethiopia is looking for alternative, cheaper ways to export and import goods in Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan and Kenya (EPP-1, Addis Ababa, June 06, 2023).*

## Chapter Five

### Conclusion and Recommendation

#### Conclusion

Ethiopia's foreign administration priority from 2018 in power sets out that Ethiopia's foreign policy for the neighborhood should have mutually beneficial-centric relations with all our neighbors: Since the reform government led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (Dr) began to govern Ethiopia, as an apology, it has seen that their government is committed to strengthening peaceful relations with neighboring countries in addition to the remarkable work done to achieve national unity under the principle of love to cross. As a result, they reconciled Ethiopia and Eritrea, which had been at odds for many years, and promoted relative peace between the countries. He also travelled to the other countries of the Horn of Africa and advised around ways to establish regional peace and democracy. They were also able to perform better than their predecessors on things where it was possible to work closer and more recited to realize political and economic prosperity. However, although they were able to communicate with the Horn of Africa countries regarding regional ties, it has been observed that they face larger impairments when it comes into effect. For example, the TPLF conflict with Eritrea, a treaty with Somaliland, caused relations to be strained with Somalia. Leaders of the African Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) member states; said “of any agreement concerning Somalia's sovereign territory should win the approval of the country's government. The leaders urged “that any relationship should have respected Somalia’s” sovereignty’s, unity and territorial integrity. As a result, the government must re-evaluate and correct any agreements it has made. Additionally, the government promoted internal peace and democratization and replaced it with external diplomacy, although there would be no one to accept a bill for a household who did not govern the house to administer its blessing. Ethiopia's internal relations are not stable, as a result of which the people are free to move and have difficulty in achieving economic growth. Adding to it, it can be understood that Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's administration from 2018 is in charge of foreign policy doing well off the Horn of Africa and that it contains events that are going to give good hope, and will discourage.

## **Recommendations**

If any diplomatic activities undertaken to bring about it, recognizing that our country determines the vision and position of diplomacy abroad due to the internal peace, stability and strength of Ethiopia. It is clear that internal peace and stability can be brought about by the building of democratic system and the establishment of a permanent and sustainable economic development. Development and democracy should be able to demonstrate in diplomacy and practice that they do not harm anyone's national interests but rather extend mutual benefit.

The stretchy divide between Ethiopia and its neighboring states and challenges should be worked out in practice to narrow them down. The practicality must be part of a sustainable solution that is not only bleeding for today, but also continuous. Of course, a sustainable solution should be put in place for those as well, despite the fact that some countries of the Horn of Africa can be influenced because they are scoffed and ridden by others. Therefore, the following measures should be taken to narrow the diversity and challenges by protecting national interest.

First, it is understood that since the Abiy administration came to power, the foreign policy has constantly changed diplomatic relations with the Horn of Africa. Therefore, the government must compute and operate the Side Effect of neighboring countries before reaching a decision.

Secondly, movement around the Horn of Africa should be achieved through discussion of the relevant sharecroppers at all levels, not out of emotion, but through computational and logically intensive decision making. For example, the Somaliland Seaway Agreement, created by the demarcation of Somalia and Ethiopia, gave the idea to the Ethio-Somali region in a way that the head of state seemed to side with Somalia.

Thirdly, irreparable action must be taken against border conflicts with neighboring countries and land invasions.

Fourthly, as we may already know that war in the Horn of Africa through the intervention of other countries is common. A recent agreement with neighboring Somaliland may be an example of the possibility that how much other countries would fight Ethiopia on the behalf of Somalians. Therefore, the foreign policy goals of the Ethiopian government must weigh the importance of horn countries.

Fifthly, the Ethiopian government is critical to the foreign policy of achieving a good change in the Horn of Africa, if possible, to resolve armed forces operating in the country through diplomacy or Machiavillian means for peace and security, for the improvement of livelihood, economic growth.

Finally, it must be revealed that it was well-listed and initiated; setting no conditions for the historical rapprochement that had recently been suppressed between Ethiopia and Eritrea. In addition, Ethiopian and Somali issues in Somaliland have to be resolved as soon as possible before turning into more violent conflict and chaos.

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## APPENDIXES

### Appendix-I

#### Interview guidelines

This interview question is prepared for the officials of ministry of foreign affairs (MOFA), the institute of Ethiopian policy study, Addis Ababa university political science academicians and Ethiopian public policy study.

1. What are the objectives Ethiopian foreign policies towards the horn before 2018?
2. What are the change in the objectives and orientation Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn since the reform period?
3. What do you consider about the Ethiopian foreign policy approaches and objectives towards the horn especially Eritrea and Sudan?
4. What are the roles and achievements of Ethiopian foreign policy in ending conflicts in two Sudan's since the reform period?
5. What are the determinants that force changes on the Ethiopian foreign policy towards the horn since 2018?
6. What measures should be taken to enable the Ethiopian foreign policy to play an important role towards the horn since the reform period?
7. What are the implications Ethiopia's foreign policy changes in its relation with the horn countries since 2018?
8. What are the challenges facing the Ethiopian foreign policy in implementing its role in the horn countries since the reform period?
9. What else would you propose regarding the Ethiopian foreign policy change and continuity approach with its relation with horn countries in the future?

## Appendix- II

### List of Informants

<b>No</b>	<b>Interview's Code</b>	<b>level of Education/position</b>	<b>Place of Interview</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>
<b>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</b>				
1	MOFA-1	A Member of Woreda Administration	Addis Abeba	<i>March 16, 2023</i>
2	MOFA -2	A Member of Woreda Administration	Addis Abeba	June 05, 2023
3	MOFA -3	Chief of Woreda Administration	Addis Abeba	March 20, 2023
4	MOFA -4	Chief administrator of Sodo Wereda	Addis Abeba	<i>April 11, 2023</i>
5	MOFA -5	Ex-Sodo Woreda council member	Addis Abeba	April 17, 2023
6	MOFA -6	Ex-Sodo Woreda Chief Administrator	Addis Abeba	April 30, 2023
7	MOFA -7	A Member of Woreda Administration	Addis Abeba	March 24, 2023
8	MOFA -8	Ex- Gurage Zone Administrator	Addis Abeba	May 8, 2023
9	MOFA -9	Chief administrator of Meskan Wereda	Addis Abeba	<i>March 16</i>
10	MOFA -10	Ex-Zone council member	Addis Abeba	<i>April 26, 2023</i>
<b>Institute of Ethiopian Policy Study</b>				
1	IEPS-1	MA in Philosophy	Addis Ababa	March 14, 2023
2	IEPS -2	MA in Philosophy	Addis Ababa	April12, 2023
3	IEPS -3	MA in Philosophy and MA in Social Anthropology	Addis Ababa	April18, 2023
4	IEPS -4			<i>May 13, 2023</i>
5	IEPS -5			May 19, 2023
<b>Ethiopian Public Policy Study</b>				
1	EPPS-1	Member of National Party	Addis Abeba	June 06, 2023
2	EPPS -2	Member of EZEMA	Addis Abeba	April 11, 2023
3	EPPS -3	Residence of Bek'e Beshanjelba	Addis Abeba	April 11, 2023

4	EPPS -4	Former Chair Person of Bek'e Beshanjelba	Addis Abeba	April 11, 2023
5	EPPS -5	REsedence of Agena	Addis Abeba	June 06, 2023