A STUDY ON THE IMPACT OF ETHIOPIA’S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS SOMALIA FROM 1991-2015

BY

MUHYADIN AHMED ROBLE

Student ID NO: 632146

This thesis is submitted to the School of Humanities and Social Science in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Masters of Arts Degree in International Relations

SUMMER, 2016
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Master’s thesis is my original work and I have documented all sources and material used. This thesis has not submitted for another examination board in any other university.

Signature: ______________________ Date: __________________

Muhyadin Ahmed Roble

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

Signature: ______________________ Date: __________________

Dr. George Katete

Supervisor

Signature: ______________________ Date: __________________

Dr. Tom L.S Onditi

Dean, School of Humanities and Social Science

Signature: ______________________ Date: __________________

Amb. Professor Ruthie Rono

Deputy Vice Chancellor, Academic Affairs
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated the following people;

To my hooyo (mother) Halimo Aden Jimale

To my father Ahmed Haji Roble

To my late grandmother, Madino Afyare

To everything I am today

Or hope to be, I owe to them.
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For all of my wonderful friends old and new, thanks for always being there for me!
ABSTRACT

From the Ancient period to the modern day, the relation between Ethiopia and Somalia has been marred by religious and ethnic rivalries as well as territorial dispute and competition for regional hegemony. With the collapse of Somalia state in 1991 shifted the balance of power in favor of Ethiopia; the latter repeatedly intervened Somalia politically and militarily in order to keep the new status quo. This thesis examines the nature and the impact of Ethiopian foreign policy towards Somalia from 1991 - 2015. The study, which is divided into five parts, is guided by three objectives that are to identify factors that drive the foreign policy of Ethiopia towards Somalia, to analyze its interests, and to examine the impact of such foreign policy on the efforts of rebuilding the Somalia statehood.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMISOM</td>
<td>African Union Mission in Somalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOAWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELF</td>
<td>Eritrea Liberation Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPLF</td>
<td>Eritrean Peoples’ Liberation Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENDF</td>
<td>Ethiopian National Defense Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPRDF</td>
<td>Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FANSPS</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPA</td>
<td>Foreign Policy Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICU</td>
<td>Islamic Courts Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIAI</td>
<td>Al Ittihad Al Islamiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGAD</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Authority for Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFD</td>
<td>Northern Frontier District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Salvation Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLF</td>
<td>Oromo Liberation Front</td>
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ONLF Ogaden National Liberation Front

PMAC Provincial Military Administrative Council

RRA Rahanweyn Resistance Army

SADC South African Development Community

SALF Somali Abo Liberation Front

SNA Somali National Alliance

SNM Somali National Movement

SSA Somali Salvation Alliance

SPM Somali Patriotic Movement

SPF Somali Patriotic Front

SRC Supreme Revolutionary Council

SRRC Somali Restoration and Reconciliation Committee

SSDF Somalia Salvation Democratic Front

SYL Somali Youth League

TFG Transitional Federal Government

TNA Transitional National Assembly

TNC Transitional National Council
TNC Transitional National Charter

TNG Transitional National Government

TPLF Tigrayan People's Liberation Front

USC United Somali Congress

UN United Nations

UNOSOM II United Nations Operation in Somalia II

WSLG Western Somalia Liberation Group

WSLF Western Somalia Liberation Front
CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Ethiopia and Somalia are two neighboring countries located in the Horn of Africa. They share a long and problematic border which has troubled their relations since pre-colonial period. They had never agreed on the exact location of their border. In 1977, the two countries fought over the Somali-inhabited region of Ogaden which Ethiopia grabbed during African scramble the nineteen century and the issue still remains unresolved.

Ethiopia which has been taking advantage of the state collapse in Somalia invaded its neighboring country several times since the Tigrayan dominated government was formed by the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in 1991. It had occupied Somalia in 2007 after destroying the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) which restored law and order in southern Somalia since the last government toppled in 1991. Before the invasion, the ICU defeated against Ethiopia backed warlords in Mogadishu, the country’s capital, in 2006. However, Ethiopia withdrew its troops from Somalia on the basis of UN sponsored peace agreement signed in Djibouti in 2009, but its troops are now back to Somalia as part of the African Union Peacekeeping Mission in Somalia known as Amisom.

1.1.1 Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a country that falls in the Horn of Africa region bordered by Somalia and Djibouti to the east, Sudan and South Sudan to the west, Kenya to the south and Eritrea to the north-east. In the continent, it has the second largest population, of 90.8 million after Nigeria and over 80 different ethnic and cultural groups predominant among them being
Orama and Amhara, with the Amharic being national language. Christianity and Islam are the two mayor religions in Ethiopia which is also the tenth largest country in Africa occupying a total area of 1,104,300 square kilometers.

It is one of the oldest civilizations in Africa dating back as early as 500BC, and had strong connections with ancient Egypt, the Judaic civilisations of the Middle East and Greece. It is historically known as Abyssinia. According to Mekonnen (2013), Ethiopia was one of the first Christian nations to have existed in the world and home to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church - one of the oldest Christian churches. It is also considered to be the oldest independent state in Africa apart from the five-year occupation of Italy’s Mussolini in 1936-1941 (Metaferia, 2009, p. 3).

In 1974, Ethiopia’s last emperor Haile Selassie was deposed by the Marxist military junta known as Derg – a short name for the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, and Territorial Army. Mengistu Haile Mariam who emerged as the head of the Dergin 1977 led Ethiopia into victory against Somalia during the Ogaden War in the same year. However, he turned the country a one-man rule state. He was overthrown in 1991 by joint armed oppositions which united under the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). EPRDF which still dominates the political landscape in Ethiopia transformed the country into a federal state and oversaw the secession of Eritrea.

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1 Oromo is the largest linguistic group and predominately Muslim. Its population is 34.5% of total Ethiopians. Amhara is the second largest ethnic group and 29.9% of the total population, according Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, Population Projections for Ethiopia 2007-2037.

2 The last Ethiopian census, in 2007, states that 43 percent of the population are Christians while Muslims are just 33.9 percent. However, the U.S State Department’s International Religious Freedom Report for 2004 estimates that Ethiopian Muslims are 45 percentage of the population.
which was federated with Ethiopia after the end of the World War II. Since then, Ethiopia has been expanding its economic and military hegemony in the Horn of Africa.

1.1.2 SOMALIA

Somalia is a country lies on the east coast of Africa between the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean. It is bordered by Kenya to the southwest, Djibouti to the northwest and Ethiopia to the west. It confined to the north and east by Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean respectively. It has the longest coastline, which extends 3,025 kilometers, on the continent’s mainland.³

Just like other Cushitic community which they share genealogical identity, Somalis have long led life of pastoralists, and the Horn of Africa region has been home to them since the ancient times. The ancient Egyptians admired Somalia as “the Land of Punt” (God’s Land). Greek geographers referred to it as the “Land of Blacks”, while Arab merchants called Somalis Berbers - a term referring to the coastal town of Berbera in north Somalia.⁴ Despite popular theories that Somalis are descendants of Arab origins, however a German scholar on African studies Helen Mets disagrees, and contends that Somali people settled and occupied the whole Horn of Africa as early as 100 A.D (Metz, 1992, p.5).

Modern day Somalia encompasses former British protectorate of Somaliland and Italian Somaliland which combined and united upon independence in 1960 to form Somali Republic. As a nation-state, it has more than 10 million people from four major clans of Darod, Dir, Hawiye and Rahanweyn. Between 60 and 70 percent of total population in

⁴ See J. Hawkes’ Pharaohs of Egypt, P. 27 and I. M. Lewis’ Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho.
Somalia is nomadic pastoralist herding cattle, camel and goats while the rest who live along the river areas in Jubas and Shabelle river and the coastline practice crop farming and fish farming respectively (Goyal, 2005, p. 234).

Until 1969, Somalia was a model of democracy for Africa, with its first president Aden Abdulle (1960-1967) making history as the first head of state in the continent to hand over power peacefully after being defeated in an election. But in 1969, a longtime dictator Mohamed Siad Barre took over the leadership in a coup after the position of the presidency was left vacant upon the assassination of the democratically elected president Abdirashid Ali Sharmake. He led Somalia into the Ogaden War against Ethiopia in 1977 and ruled the country under iron fist for two decades until he was deposed by armed opposition opposed in 1991. Since then, the country has been lawless with no functioning and central government.

After ten years of transitional very fragile regimes and numerous reconciliation efforts, the country got its first permanent international recognized government was formed in 2012 named the Federal government of Somalia. Traditional leaders and regional member states are expected to select new members of parliament who in turn will elect a new president when the current government’s term expires at the end of this year.

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5 CNN interview with Professor Ahmed Ismail Samatar on December, 2012; also see Abdi Samatar’s book of ‘Africa’s First Democrats: Somalia’s Aden A. Osman and Abdirazak H. Hussen.
1.2 Background of the Study

Ethiopia-Somali relations have a history of being contentious for centuries, going back to the antagonistic interaction between Christian Abyssinia and Muslim-Somali empires in the Horn of Africa in early fourteenth century (Lewis, 2002, p. 25). Religious, ethnicity and territorial expansion as well as access to the Red Sea had been at the centre of the conflict between the two nations. The Abyssinian Emperors which were the most dominant forces conquered and expanded their territory of control and power to the lands inhabited by the Somalis and other Muslims ethnics on southern fronts.

During the reign of Emperor Amde-Siyon (1314-44), who was the founder of the Ethiopian State, the Christian Abyssinian had initiated in one of the longest and the bloodiest conquest of Somali borderlands. It had defeated the Muslim state of Ifat which was seen the greatest threat to the Ethiopian Kingdom from the fiefdoms of Muslim states that had been firmly established in the Southeast in the fourteen century (Lewis, 2002, p. 26). Up until the rise of Imam Ahmed (1506-1543) known in Somali as Gurey to the leadership of Adal Muslim state (formerly Ifat) in the ancient Somali city of Zeila in 1529, the Abyssinian Emperors continued to maintain the annexed territories and to further extend its occupation on the lands inhabited mainly by ethnic Somali Muslims.

Imam Gurey, who was charismatic commander, had successfully built a strong religious Muslim Army and was able to rally the ethnically diverse Muslims of Horn, mostly Somalis and Afars in the decisive military campaign known as the Conquest of Abyssinia and broke the Abyssinian Christian control of the region in the sixteen century (Erlich, 2010,
He was inspired by the rise of Ottoman Empire\(^7\) which itself expanding its borders deep into Europe and North Africa in the fifteen century, supplied modern firearms such as cannons to the Imam’s force (Ehret, 2002, p. 381). From the mid-1520s to 1540s, Imam Gurey defeated the Christian Abyssinia state which was then under the leadership of LebnaDengel and conquered three-quarters of its territory before creating an Islamic Empire that included most of what is today Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia (Hassen, 2004, p. 177).

As Mekonnen (2013) discussed in a book that he edited and the original author’s identity withheld, the Portuguese Empire who had vested interests in the Indian Ocean got directly involved in the conflict in 1541. It provided aid to the Ethiopians in the form of 400 musketeers in order to help stop the conquest of Abyssinia by the Muslim state (Mekonnen, 2013, p. 40) (p. 40). Imam Gurey was initially succeeded against the Ethiopians and Portuguese forces which were under the command of Dom Christoval da Gama in August that year. Adal state forces captured the commander and killed him. However, the Portuguese army proved to be decisive in their second clash with the Imam’s forces in 1543 where Imam Gurey was killed in a battlefield and ended his conquest (Mekonnen, 2013, p. 40; Mukhtar, 2003, p. 33).

Though the death of Ahmed Gurey was a turning point of the conflict between the Abyssinians and Somalis, their hostility had never ended with it. With the Adal Muslim empire began to fell rapidly to pieces as its forces routed up until its total collapse in 1577, Ethiopian Christian imperialist emperors continued their expansionist ambitions by conquering the Somali territory. For instance, Ethiopia king Menelik II wrote a circular in

\(^7\)Ottoman Empire was the last Muslim state which controlled much of Southeast Europe, Western Asia, The Caucasus, North Africa and the Horn of Africa until the twentieth Century.
1891 to the European governments that were discussing about the partition of Africa. In their response of the Emperor’s demand of share in the partition of the continent, European powers made territorial concession to Ethiopia by giving the Somali region of Ogaden to appease him (Elmi, 2010, p. 91).

In 1955 Ethiopia further annexed the Somali region of Haud, a reserved area which was the most important grazing land for the Somali pastoralists living along the Ethiopia-Somalia border on the basis of Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897 (Mukhtar, 2003, p. 93). The treaty of Ethiopia and the United Kingdom modified the limits of British Somaliland to exclude most of the Haud in Ethiopia. The annexation followed a secret agreement with Britain in 1954 and the withdrawal of British authority from the pastureland region in the same year (The Geographer, 1975, pp. 3-6).

When a delegation from British Somaliland led by Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, who later became a prime minister in Somalia, requested Haile Selassie the return of the Haud to Somalis in a meeting in Addis Ababa in May 1960, the Emperor insisted that the area is part of Ethiopian territory and is nonnegotiable (Qaybe, 2013, p. 36). Thus, the modern Ethiopia-Somalia relations are clearly marked by mutual suspicion and hostility that can be traced back to this history.

When the British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland territories gained independence and united to establish the Somali Republic in July 1960, Somalia refused to recognize the Anglo–Ethiopian demarcation which fixed its borders with Ethiopia during the colonial period (The Geographer, 1975, pp. 3-6). Instead, the new republic adopted a policy of irredentism for the creation of a Greater Somali Republic which should have tied the

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8Egal became the first prime minister of Somaliland in 26 June 1960 until the union with the Italian Somaliland in 1st July in the same year. He served as Somalia’s Prime Minister from 1967 to 1969.
Ogaden region including Haud occupied by Ethiopia, Northern Frontier District (NFD) now under Kenya, and Djibouti which was then under France colony under the Somali Republic.

Thus, the question of the legitimacy of the neighboring countries occupying the Somali inhabited regions has become a national policy leading by Somalia’s rejection to sign the establishment Charter for the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 because of a clause that stated that member states should respect the borders as inherited from the colonial powers (Farah, 2009, pp. 16-17).

The policy of the first two civilian governments was to retrieve the lost Somali territories in a peaceful way as stated in article IV (4) of the Somali independence national constitution which says, “The Somali Republic shall promote by legal and peaceful means, the union of all Somali territories”. But as Farah (2009) explained in his unpublished PhD Thesis ‘Foreign Policy and Conflict in Somalia, 1960-1990’, the Somali civilian governments between 1960-1969 were supporting and hosting leaders from the Ogaden and NFD including the leadership of the Western Somalia Liberation Group (WSLG) which was formed in 1961 to liberate Ogaden from Ethiopia.

When Emperor Haile Selassie and Somalia’s first president Aden Abdulle met during the 1963 OAU conference, the two leaders agreed that all aggressions and media propaganda should be ceased (Ghalib, 1995, pp. 106-107). That was initially seen as a positive step taken by both Ethiopia and Somalia towards peaceful resolution of their border dispute. But the 1964 border war, Ethiopia’s persistent in holding the disputed territory and Somalia’s failure to curb the activities of Ogaden rebels have aborted any possibility of improving the two country’s relations (Ghalib, pp. 106-107).
But Somalia ceased support to the Ogaden rebels in the final year of the civilian government led by Prime Minister Mohamed Ibrahim Egal (1967-1969) who tried to seek self-determination for Somali people in the disputed territories through diplomacy (Farah, pp. 115-117). From then Ethiopia-Somalia diplomatic relations seemed to be improving due to the new détente policy approach by Egal. As a result Ethiopia recognized the existence of a territorial dispute with Somalia and was seemingly willing to solve it through diplomatic channels (Farah, p. 117).

When the Commander of the Somali Army General Mohamed Siad Barre came to power in a bloodless coup in October, 1969, the constitution and Supreme Court were immediately suspended, the National Assembly shut down while political parties were abolished all in order to consolidate the power (Kimani, 2005, p. 47).9 With Somalia’s adoption of ‘scientific socialism’ in 1970, Barre developed a close relation with the Soviet Union which in return reorganized and modernized the Somalia army by supplying sophisticated weapons including aircrafts and fighters jets. The Soviets also upgraded the Berbera port which they used as a regional base used for handling, storage, and refueling for their surface to surface missiles. The quality and size of the Somali Army in 1973 was comparable, if not more superior to that of Ethiopia (Agyeman-Duah, 1994, p. 133).

With the Somali army strengthened and Ethiopia plunged into internal political crisis, following the ouster of Haile Selassie in 1974 by the Provincial Military Administrative Council (PMAC) known as Derg, Barre thought the conquest of Ogaden region was achievable waging the 1977 war with Ethiopia as his first active step towards the creation of a Greater Somalia. But with the rise of Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile

9The Somali Armed Force overthrew the civil government after the position of the presidency was left vacant upon the assassination of the democratically elected President Abdirashid Ali Sharmake in 1969.
Mariam in 1977 as the leader of the Derg, the dynamics of regional politics changed. He dropped Ethiopia’s long time pro-west foreign policy and allied the socialist block.

In return, the Derg government received military aid from the Soviet Union, and from other members of the Warsaw Pact like Cuba. The Soviet Union underestimating Ethiopia-Somalia conflict began plans to create a loose confederation of states between Ethiopia, Somalia and South Yemen in order to form a powerful geographic block surrounding the Strait of Bab al-Mandab (Darnton, 1977). But the idea which was motivated by Cuban president Fidel Castro’s trip to Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977 was scuttled the eruption of the Ogaden War in the same year with Somalia go-ahead with the war despite of the Soviet Union warnings. When Somalia National Army took most of the territories in the contested region, thousands of troops from Soviet Union, Cuban, and Yemeni as well as Libyan forces aligned with Ethiopia and helped push Somali forces back into Somalia in 1978 (Markakis, 2011, p. 183).

Since then, Ethiopia-Somalia conflict has been frequent, but mainly limited to words and backing each other’s’ rebel groups, which eventually culminated in the collapse of both military regimes in the early 1990s. The Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) which was trained and armed by Somalia ousted Mengistu’s government in 1991, while Ethiopia’s backed opposition groups such as Somali National Movement (SNM), United Somali Congress (USC) and Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) took over parts of Somalia including Mogadishu and Hargeisa– the country’s two major cities – after the fall of Barre’s government in 1991 (Elmi, 2010, p. 93).

Ethiopia continued its statehood under the leadership of EPRDF which was an alliance of the country’s main ethnic groups including Oromia, Amhara and Tigray and still
dominates Ethiopia’s government. But Somalia which its armed rebels lacked unity and structure was divided into fiefdoms controlled by warlords and it’s yet to fully recover from the ashes of Cold War.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

From 1996, Ethiopia taking advantage on Somalia state collapse have repeatedly attacked border towns, and displaced and detained citizens that tried to resist until it ousted the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) in Mogadishu and occupied the national capital in December, 2006 on the basis of self-defense. Such actions were motivated by Ethiopia’s attempt to maintain the new balance of power created by the fall of Somalia government in 1991 by contributing the prolonging of conflict in its southern border. That makes for an intriguing case in examining Ethiopia’s post-cold war foreign policy towards Somalia.

The history of Somalia and Ethiopia is marred by distrust, animosity and war. Suspicion of neighboring expansionism and political and religious extremism is deeply rooted in both states. Though it can be tracked to the pre-colonial interaction, their misunderstanding has been driven mainly by colonial legacy and arbitrary borders drawn up by the European powers, economic interests and by the efforts to control scarce resources.

With the failure of leaders from both countries to address the issue through diplomacy and negotiation coupled with the United Nations (UN) and the Organization of African Union (now the African Union) lack of consistent efforts in finding solutions had led the border war of Ethiopia-Somalia in 1964 just four years after the latter’s independence. Since then, both Ethiopia and Somalia who share approximately 994 miles long border had pursued overt and covert policies aimed at undermining each other’s
statehood and switched alliances between the World’s Super Powers – Soviet Union and United States – during the cold war.

Ethiopia and Somalia’s inability to resolve the conflict has also led the utilization of military means including the Ogaden War of 1977 which only complicated the situation. With the fall of the two countries’ dictatorial governments in early 1990s, there was high expectation for the beginning of a new era in finding solutions for the conflict. The expectation ended in vain. Ethiopia’s post-cold war government took advantage the civil war in its neighbor and meddled in Somalia’s domestic politics increasingly and continuously, created proxy factions it armed and undermined Somali peace process.

Therefore, this thesis project seeks to examine Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia from 1991 to 2015. That period is very significant in understanding Ethiopia-Somalia relations. It tries to find out the determinants and factors that have driven Ethiopia’s foreign policy to Somalia during this period and its impact on Somalia’s internal conflict and politics.
1.4 Objective of the Study

The main objective of this paper is to examine the impact of Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia from 1991 to 2015.

Specific objectives are as follows

i. To establish factors that drive Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia between 1991 and 2015.

ii. To analysis Ethiopia’s foreign policy interests in Somalia and the tools it uses in pursuing them.

iii. To examine the impact of Ethiopia’s foreign policy on Somalia’s peace process.

1.5 Research Questions

The main research question is; how have Ethiopia’s Foreign Policy towards Somalia from 1991-2015 impacted on the efforts of rebuilding Somalia’s statehood.

The specific research questions are stated below;

I. What are the determinants of Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia?

II. What are Ethiopia’s interests in Somalia, and how does it pursue?

III. How does the implementation of Ethiopia’s foreign policy on Somalia impact on conflict and peace process in Somalia?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The Horn of Africa has arguably been one of the most conflicted regions of the world since the end of World War II. Most of the conflicts can be linked to economic inequality, political marginalization, poor governance, ethnic tension, competition for scarce
resources such as water and good land. However, colonial legacy and conflict-oriented foreign policy has often been major factors driving turbulence. Ethiopia and Somalia is an example when studying how these two issues made the region a conflict prone environment.

Other than their 1964 and 1977 wars, the two countries created and hosted armed oppositions aimed at overthrowing each other’s state since 1960. But when the opposition groups rose to power in Ethiopia which its statehood survived from the fall of military government unlike Somalia, the new leaders took advantage in its neighbour’s civil war and state collapse providing constant flow of weapons to proxy factions. The ultimate goal it seems was to further destabilize and prolong the conflict. On the other hand, Ethiopia has also been largely involved in Somalia’s numerous peace processes and assigned mediator role by the African Union (AU) and Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). Some also link its involvement in Somalia politics to the rise of armed Islamist groups in the country.

Therefore, the study will be a significant contribution in understanding the prolonged Somalia conflict and the role of Ethiopia’s foreign policy. It will form basis on rarely studied field of the Ethiopia and Somalia foreign policy relations. It will be a reference point for other researchers in the same field who may find the literature reviewed in the study relevant to their own studies and the findings as a basis of further research in the field. It will also better inform policy-makers from the two countries and foreign diplomats on the challenges and interaction between Ethiopia-Somalia. The findings of the Thesis will provide recommendations and necessary adjustments needed in framing Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia that can help improve their positive relations.
1.7 Literature Review

The literature review will be composed of scholarly works done by researchers and scholars of international relations and is divided into three sub-headings. The first section will examine the perspective of foreign policy in general such as definition of and the importance of foreign policy. The second section explains the history or the general overview of Ethiopia’s foreign policy and the last part exclusively examines Ethiopia foreign policy towards Somalia from 1940s to 1991.

1.7.1. Foreign Policy

The term ‘foreign policy’ has been defined in a number of ways by scholars, historians and diplomats. The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations describes it as an activity which entails actions, reactions, and interactions of state actors. It is a “liminal” activity in the sense that policy-makers exist on a frontier between two worlds – the domestic politics of state and its external environment which policy-makers have to mediate (Graham & Newnham, 1999, p. 179).

Foreign Policy can also be explained as the strategy or approach taken by a particular government to achieve its interests in its relations with external entities, including by the decisions to do nothing about something. It is a state’s international goals and its strategies of achieving those goals (Lebow, 2007, p. 14). It can also be referred as an instrument through which states seek to influence or change the activities or the behaviour of another country.
Padelford and Lincoln (1962) explained foreign policy as “the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete courses of action to attain these objectives and pressure its interests” (p. 197). They identified two functions of foreign policy - its first function is to attain its broadly conceived goals and second function is to pressurize the national interests. In the words of Northedge, foreign policy is the use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law making power in a manner desired by the state concerned. It is an interaction between forces originating outside the country’s borders and those working within them (Northedge, 1968, pp. 6-7).

Also, foreign policy could be defined as the governmental activity which concerns relationship between the state and other actors, especially other states in the international system. Put differently, foreign policy could be seen as the totality of all actions, decisions, overtures, or interactions between states in the international system. Like any other policy, such could be policy aimed at achieving on economics, politics, and cultural, social, military or creating understanding or co-operation among the nations of the world.

From the above definitions and many others make clearly the three identifiable components of foreign policy which are the actions of a state; national or domestic interests, which influences these actions and lastly; external or foreign environment of a state towards which these actions are oriented. These components are closely interrelated and dependent on each other. They act together and one influences the other. It is from this perspective that the foreign policy of a state evolves in the competitive international environment.

Policy as a term denotes planning, which in turn suggests step-by-step procedure towards a known and defined goal. Yet, the realities of the behaviour of states show that,
decisions are taken to deal with new crises that may suddenly develop somewhere in the world. Very seldom are the nature and future implications of such crises so clearly defined, that the foreign ministry of a country can make its decision in full and complete confidence, that what it has done will surely enhance the fulfillment of its objective. Therefore, foreign policy is here defined as the strategies governments use to guide their actions in the international arena. Foreign policies spell out the objectives state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situations. This includes the means of achieving the objectives. For instance, the United States’ global war on terrorism has incited many conflicts, bloodshed and acrimony in Middle East such as Iraq and Syria and elsewhere, but yet services for its interests in maintaining a balance of power among nations.

1.7.2. An Overview of Ethiopia’s Foreign Policy

As one of only two African states that have never been permanently colonized, Ethiopia has a long history of diplomatic tradition and foreign relations with many ancient civilizations and empires. Emperor Tewodros II was the first ruler to have developed a foreign policy that transcended the Horn of Africa region in the mid-nineteenth century. His primary concerns included the security and expansion of Ethiopia’s traditional borders (Prouty, 1986, pp. 247-256).

The same foreign policy that Tewodros had was pursued by his successors including Emperor Yohannis IV and Menelik II as shown by the outcome of the First Italo–Ethiopian War, Ethiopia's admission to the League of Nations (28 September 1923), and the 1935 Second Italo-Abyssinian War. Since then, security and territorial expansion has been a key pillar of Ethiopia’s foreign policy. Though Emperor Menelik II established Ethiopia’s first

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10 see The Making of Modern Ethiopia, ch. 1
ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1900 as part of nine council ministries, the cornerstone of his foreign policy was the security, territorial expansion and Ethiopia’s search for access to the Red Sea as inherited from his predecessors who initiated its southward conquest as the basis for this (Abota, 2002, pp. 40-42; Khadiagala & Lyons, 2001, pp. 114-115).

Following the decisive Ethiopian victory at Adawa, Menelik II rapidly negotiated a series of treaties fixing Ethiopia's boundaries—with French Somaliland in March 1897, British Somaliland a few months later in June 1897, with Italian Eritrea in 1900, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1902, British East Africa in 1907, and Italian Somaliland in 1908—which simplified this problem on one level. Through some of these treaties, he acquired vast territory including parts of Haud and Ogaden regions which was inhabited by Somalis and actively participated in the partition of Somaliland during the African scramble (Kimani, 2005, p. 22).

Despite Ethiopia being one of the oldest countries in international relations, its foreign policy start to take modern shape during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie (1917 - 1974). The Emperor himself oversaw the ministry of foreign affairs for the first fourteen years of his reign (1917-1930) in which permanent representations and diplomatic missions were begun to open in abroad. As same as his predecessor, Haille Selassie however continued Ethiopia’s highly securitized and survivalist foreign policy (Abota, 2002, p. 44).

As Woodward (2006, p. 18) articulated in his book ‘US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa’, the Emperor Selassie had no innate sympathy for European powers and international community because of their abandonment of Ethiopia at the time of Italy’s invasion in 1935. When he negotiated Ethiopia's admission to the League of Nations in 1923, he had no any other reason other than protecting the country from attack as per the
covenant of the organization and thought the “League would muster collective security sufficient to defend Ethiopia against Italy” (Harold, 1994, p. 150). He was disappointed with the international community for their failure to meet his expectation (Woodward, p. 18; Abota, 2002, pp. 26-34).

With the decline of British influence in the post-liberation (after 1941), Haile Selassie worry was the possibility of Britain incorporating Eritrea lowlands to Sudan, and trying to unite Somali territories that were divided into five parts by the Colonial Powers: British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, French Somaliland, Ogaden Region under Ethiopia and NFD which was part of the British East Africa Protectorate - during the African partition. These two possibilities were against the Emperor’s expansionist ambition, and that pushed him to look partnership with America to find another strong ally and a friend (Woodward, 2006).

When Haile Selassie met with U.S president Franklin Roosevelt in Egypt En route home after his Yalta Conference in 1945, the Emperor submitted his agenda that characterized his foreign policy goals which were as follows (Spencer, 1984, pp. 159-160):

1. Ethiopia’s ownership over the railway to Djibouti;
2. Free and unfettered access to the sea;
3. Recovery of Eritrea which Ethiopia claimed to be part of its territory;
4. Military assistance to develop a small modern army; and
5. US investments in development projects.

But the United States’ policy was mainly focusing on the containment of communism in Europe and its possible extension to Africa. Thus, the USA which was in desperate need for a communication facility in the Red Sea area realized the former Italian
run “Radio-Marina” in Asmara would suit its interests. It was an important time in the face of heightening phase of the cold war in which the USA was looking for allies in a region that had been made strategically sensitive by Arab nationalism and Middle East oil and bases on the Horn of Africa. Ayele(1977) described this as a blessing in disguise and an opportune moment for Ethiopia which since then started to get significant aid from the United State though most of the areas of cooperation were in providing military equipment and trainings due to the highly securitized nature of the former country’s foreign policy(pp. 40-65).

But Emperor Selassie who was eager to show his genuine interest in partnership and support for America made the sacrifice of sending thousands of his troops to fight as part of the American-led UN force supporting South Korea against the communist North Korea and its ally, China in 1951 – just six years after he met with president Roosevelt. It was the first time Ethiopia, which is currently listed the fourth largest peacekeeping force producer in the world according to the United Nations Global Peace Operations Review report in 2015, send its soldiers to a peace-keeping mission. Ethiopian troops are currently involved in peace-keeping operations in Somalia, Darfur and the disputed Abyei region.

In return, the U.S shown sympathy for Ethiopia’s need for Eritrea because its ports and used its influence in the UN for the resolution that federated Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1952(Woodward, p. 19). The U.S also played a role in helping Ethiopia becoming a leading advocate of collective security in the fledging UN, with Ethiopia contributing troops to the most of UN peace-keeping missions from Korea to Zaire (present-day Democratic Republic of Congo) in 1960.
With the 1974 popular revolution in Ethiopia and the coming to power of the military regime, the only change that was observed was Ethiopia’s ideological alignment shifting from an ally of the United States during Haile Selassie era to key partner with Soviet Union during the leadership of Mengistu Haile Marriam. Such a shift in leadership with the new regime shaped its foreign policy in line with the socialist block and the cold war rivalry led to the deterioration of Ethiopia’s relation with the U.S (Sebsebe, 2015, p. 89). As same as the previous regime, the new foreign policy approaches was characterized by its emphasis on receiving military aid from the Warsaw pact countries the socialist block. It made the Somali and Eritrea conflicts the major determinants of its foreign policy and further fueled its war with Somalia in 1977(Tekle, 1989, pp. 479-502).

With the end of the Cold War led the downfall of the military regime by the EPRDF which was supported by the Somali government, the country’s domestic policy has changed significantly with the embracing of Federal system. The new government adopted by the name of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and has given each regional government some independence from the central government. But the securitization of the country’s foreign policy continued which led its border conflict with Eritrea which seceded in 1990s and its meddling and intervention to Somalia both politically and militarily. EPRDF has up until now strictly dominated and consolidated Ethiopia leadership, first through MelesZenawi which was the prime minister from 1995 until his death in 2012. He was replaced by his deputy and minister of foreign affairs HailemariamDesalegn who is also the chairman of EPRDF.
1.7.3. Ethiopia Foreign Policy towards Somalia

The relation between the Abyssinians and Somalis has been marred by religious and ethnic rivalries for hundreds of years dragging Portuguese and Ottoman empires supported the Christian and Muslim parties respectively. But their conflict entered into a new phase when territorial expansion and access to the Red Sea emerged as the major goals of Ethiopia’s Empire in the eighteen century. For instance, Emperor Menelik made himself the only African leader who participated actively in the partition of Africa when he wrote a circular in 1891 to the European forces that were dividing Africa among themselves and demanded his share, according to Charles Geshekter. In that writing, Menelik said “Ethiopia has been for fourteen centuries a Christian island in a sea of pagans. If the Powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to remain an indifferent spectator”(1985). The European powers bowing down the request from the king gave the Somali region of Ogaden to Ethiopia to appease him(Elmi, 2010, p. 91).

However, Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards the modern Somalia can be divided into the three main periods: Pre-Somalia statehood which is prior to the Somalia Independence in 1960, Somalia statehood from 1960 to 1991 and during the collapse of Somali statehood from 1991 to the present day. When Emperor Haile Selassie took the throne in 1917, he preferred the continuous of his predecessors’ foreign policy aimed at the expansion of Ethiopia and the search for secure seaports. This notion was based on the Emperor’s understanding that Ethiopia cannot exist and survive without access to the sea, according to John Spencer, a longtime advisor to the Emperor, Ethiopia.

Spencer highlighting the importance of sea for Ethiopia links the Empire’s defeat to the Italy during the second Italo-Ethiopia War because of Addis Ababa lack of sea ports and
France’s denial of access to the Djibouti port. He feared an independent Somalia might annex the French colony of Djibouti thus closing Ethiopia’s only reliable access to the sea, and that Italy might allowed to reassume its administration of Eritrea which was then administrated by Britain as occupied enemy territory after the World War II. Thus, Emperor Selassie began claiming both Eritrea and Somaliland which could have become a solution to Ethiopia’s search of seaports as part of his country. As part of his campaign, he drafted a letter to the London and Paris conferences in 1945 and 1946 respectively in which he asserted that both of these countries were part of greater Ethiopia (Spencer, 1984, p. 141).

Though Emperor Selassie succeeded his campaign of attaining Eritrea through UN resolution which order the letter should be federated with Ethiopia in 1950s, he didn’t succeed his claim of Somali territory. But his regime continued to undermine the establishment of Somali statehood and its independence and annexed Somalia’s Haud and Reserve Area through an agreement with British colony in 1954. When Haile Selassie sent his son Prince Saleh Selassie to attend the first conference of Independent African states took place in Accra in 1958, the participants that were Morocco, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Liberia, Ghana and Ethiopia adopted a resolution which ordered all participating states to respect and observe each other’s territorial and political integrity (Asante & Abarry, 1996, p. 533).

At that conference, Selassie realized the importance of not only attending such meetings, but also taking an active leadership position in determining the emerging character of African Unity. Therefore, When African leaders gathered in Lagos for their annual meeting in 1962, he extended an invitation the conference of Independent African States to be held in Addis Ababa the following year for the purpose of clearly spelling out the concept
of African Unity and suggesting ways in which might be applied (Abota, 2002, p. 56). In the process, the Emperor Selassie co-opted the movement and began to use for his own interest and to keep the status quo on the colonial borders. This was proven by the African presidents’ gatherings in Addis Ababa in 1963 in which the emperor presented a draft charter for an Organization of African Unity (OAU), the predecessor of African Union (AU). The controversial draft which was passed recognized the colonial era borders which was objected by Moroco and Somalia which has territorial dispute with Ethiopia (Keller, 1991, pp. 91-92).

It however argued that Haile Selassie’s effective role in the creation of the OAU and pan Africanism policy was cynically based on what Ethiopia could get from Africa, but not on what it could contribute. For instance, the Emperor’s regime opportunistically supported major European powers on several critical issues for African nationalism including the French’s refusal of ending colonialism in Djibouti and the British after Rhodesia’s unilateral declaration of independence (Tekle, 1989, p. 485).

With their strong refusal of colonial forces and their unwavering inspiration to independence, Somalia became an independent state and member of United Nations in 1960. But this took Ethiopia-Somalia conflict into a new phase as now they are both sovereign states and have same legal authority. Just four years after the independence, both fought over the border, but it ended quickly with no side winning. They once again fought over the fate of Ogaden region in 1977 in which the world’s superpowers of United States and Soviet Union were involving in either way. The conflict was further worsened by the personality and characteristics of two military men – Mengistu Haile Mariam and Mohamed Siad Barre – who were at the top of foreign policy-decision making.
Since then, Ethiopia-Somalia conflict has been frequent, but mainly limited to words and backing each other’s’ opposition which eventually led the fall of Ethiopia regime and the collapse of Somali statehood in 1990s. The Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) which was trained and armed by Somalia emerged as the leadership of Ethiopia while Ethiopia’s backed opposition groups such as SNM, USC and SPM and others controlled parts of Somalia (Elmi, 2010, pp. 92-93).

With a new leadership came power through the TPLF in 1991, Alemayehu Fentaw (2009) argues that the central purpose of Ethiopian’s foreign and security policy has remained in line with the previous regimes and Emperors. His statement is backed by the preposition from Ethiopia’s Foreign Affairs, National Security Policy, and Strategy (FANSPS) document that was published in 2002 and states.

“In a fundamental sense, security policy is a matter of ensuring national survival. The alpha and omega of security is the ensuring of national survival. Other national security issues may be raised only if national existence is ensured. Foreign affairs and security policy must be formulated first to ensure national security. Issues of prosperity, sustainable peace, and stability and other related concerns then follow. In order to formulate a foreign affairs and security policy that addresses these issues, it is important to identify and examine the sources and basis from which the policy springs” (2002, p. 5).

Fentaw indicates that the shift in orientation, referring to the new Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, which was founded after TPLF ousted the military regime, has not brought about a change about Ethiopia’s foreign policy preoccupation of security. In his argument, Somalia has never been removed from Ethiopia’s security policy despite the
change in regimes. This statement from FANSPS notes the continuous of the country’s old foreign policy towards Somalia.

“Some time ago the Siad Barre regime in Somalia launched an attack on Ethiopia on the presumption that Ethiopia was unable to offer a united resistance and that it would break up under military pressure. The regime in Eritrea (the Shabia) similarly launched an aggression against Ethiopia thinking along the same lines. Both regimes were soundly defeated because of their misguided and misconceived perceptions”(2002, p. 36)

As Elmi(2010) articulates in his book ‘Understanding the Somalia Conflagration’, many were expecting that a new dawn will begin for the Ethiopian and Somali people when the two military regimes of these countries collapsed in 1990s. The Somali were refugees who fled to Ethiopia felt more welcome than their counterparts in Kenya where of the camps lived in by Somali refugees located. There were complaints about police harassment and abuses. However, Ethiopia’s behaviour towards Somalia has changed significantly after MelezZenawi who ruled Ethiopia as a prime minister from 1993 up until his death in 2014 consolidated the power.

Elmi writes “As time progressed, Ethiopia’s meddling increased: it sent weapons to its proxy factions; micro-managed and/or undermined the Somali peace Processes; it attacked and briefly occupied border regions; and finally, it invaded the country and captured Mogadishu in December, 2006”(2010, p. 93).

1.8Hypothesis

The study tested the following hypotheses:

The relationship between the implementation of Ethiopia Foreign Policy towards Somalia and the prolonged conflict and state fragmentation in Somalia.
1.9 Theoretical Framework of Analysis

This study uses realism theory and Allison’s approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) to explain Ethiopia’s Foreign Policy towards Somalia.

1.9.1 Realism

The theory which is the most firmly grounded theory in real foreign policy practice provides a more comprehensive framework of foreign policy analysis about world politics and anarchic nature of states. The key concepts found in realism are egotism, rationality and state-centrism, balance of power and national interest. Egotism which rooted in human nature often drives state’s political behavior. At interaction with other states, States act in rational ways for the purpose of serving their self-interest.

In Realist theory, the anarchy in international system is the principle factor driving states’ actions and policy. States create domestic laws and enforce them in order to protect the citizens from the prospect of conflict of civil war, but the same cannot be done at international level because of the absence of a ‘world government’ that regulate interactions between states by enforcing global rules and punish states that go against the rules. At the center of realist theory is that the rules of the international system are dictated by anarchy; in this sense, anarchy is perceived as a “lack of central government to enforce rules” and protect states (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2006, p. 73).

The second concept is that states are the major actors in the world politics and motived by the need to maximize their power. The lack of global government leads them to be self-relied and self-interest to survive in a conflictual environment. Lebow(2007)explains the self-help international system as “a brutal arena where states look for opportunities to take advantage of each other” (p. 55). State of anarchy exists in an environment where
conflict and war is a constant threat as each state seeks to ensure its own survival at the expense of others. Therefore, a state’s primary interest is self-preservation and it must seek power so that to protect itself.

National interest, a fundamental concept for realism theory in international relations. This interest is generic and easy to define: all states seek to preserve their political autonomy and their territorial integrity. Once these two interests have been secured, however, national interests may take different forms. Some states may have an interest in securing more resources or land; other states may wish to expand their own political or economic systems into other areas; some states may merely wish to be left alone.

Generally speaking, however, the national interest must be defined in terms of power. National power has an absolute meaning since it can be defined in terms of military, economic, political, diplomatic, or even cultural resources. For any study examining any country’s foreign policy must take this theory into account as it is a theory explaining what happens in anarchical environment and the conditions under which interstate interactions are likely to be conflictual. Therefore, this study finds realism as a critical framework in understanding Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia, from 1991 to 2015.

1.9.2. Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

As Allison (1999) elaborated in his book ‘Essence of Decision Making: Explaining Cuban Missile Crisis’, three critical approaches to foreign policy analysis are a rational actor approach, Bureaucratic model and Organizational model. In the first approach, the state acts as a unitary rational actor to make ‘decisions’ formulating foreign policy objectives. This model provides information by clarifying the goals and ordering them by importance, and
also by providing/ listing alternatives. It analyses the consequences of each alternatives and later choose the best option in achieving the goal. At this level, the cost and benefits of choices are evaluated. The assumption here is that the governments are unified and made up of individuals who have their different goals and opinions, thus making the state rational actor but wanting to adopt a well-defined foreign policy (Allison, p. 128).

At the bureaucratic political model, the state is not a unitary actor in the process of foreign policy analysis. Instead it is a collection of different bureaucracies, “where multiple players with different policy preferences struggle, compete, and bargain over the substance and conduct of policy” (Jones, 2010, p. 6). Individual decision-makers bargain and compete for influence with their own particular goal in mind. Things are often viewed as a zero sum game where one bureaucracy's "win" or increasing their level of funding is seen as a loss for another bureaucracy. Decisions are made by bureaucracies competing against each other and suggesting solutions to problems that would involve using their resources so as to increase their level of importance.

At the third model of Organizational Process explains deeply how organisation behaves and makes decision and as well as how these decisions are implemented. At this model, foreign policy is the output of organisation’s behaviour. The Organizational behaviour model reflects constraints that are place on decision-makers. Despite the well-defined goals and objectives, the model limits choices based on standard operating procedures (SOPs) that they mainly rely on.
2.0 Methodology

Data in this thesis is collected and gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was obtained mainly from a series of interviews conducted with experts, historians and scholars on the Horn of Africa region, in particular in Somalia and Ethiopia.

The secondary data which also formed a key aspect for this research includes relevant journal articles, books, reports, policy briefings and newspapers articles. They were useful in setting the theoretical foundations of the study and tracing the history of Ethiopia and Somalia in relation to their foreign policy. The secondary data including books and academic papers were obtained from United States International University (USIU) library.

2.1 Structure of the Study

The study consists of five chapters: Chapter One, which is the introduction to the study, includes the problem statement, objectives, hypothesis, Significant of the study, literature review, and framework for analysis, methodology and the structure of the study. Chapter Two identifies and analysis the factors that drive the foreign policy of Ethiopia towards Somalia.

Chapter three examines Ethiopia interests in Somalia and the tools it uses in pursuing them. Chapter four studies the impact of the implementation of Ethiopian foreign policy on the efforts of rebuilding of Somalia statehood, in particular on Somalia peace reconciliations. The fifth chapter provides a summary and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER TWO: FACTORS THAT DRIVE THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ETHIOPIA TOWARDS SOMALIA

2.1 Introduction

There are several determinants that drive and are at the centre of Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia, but in this chapter, the study examines three major factors such as historical factors, Somali irredentism and nationalism, and Fear of Radical Islam as discussed.

2.2 Historical Related Factors

Ethiopia’s foreign policy has not changed greatly since Emperor Menelik II period despite a change in leadership, style and orientation that took place in the past century. Such a remarkable consistency of a policy was made possible because Ethiopia has maintained its core value “while playing an important role from time to time in the international arena” (Tekle, 1989, p. 479; Iyob, 1993, p. 259). Its foreign policy has been primarily focused on territorial expansion which later became territorial integrity and on maintaining national unity, as well as fear of an external aggression. Mohammed (2007) writes that the only major change in Ethiopia’s foreign policy since the Second World War has been the recognition of Eritrea as an independent state in 1993 (pp. 2-5).

The factors that drive Ethiopia’s foreign policy, in particular to Somalia did not also experience much change in essence. Historical factors such as suspicion of its neighbouring nation-state, rooted in the memory of past confrontations are among the key determinants of such foreign Policy (Tekle, 1989, p. 494). Some of these historical factors can be drawn from the initial contentious relationship between the Christian Abyssinia Empire and Muslim

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11Interview with Ibrahim Farah, PhD, Lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) at the University of Nairobi, Nairobi, 26 March, 2016.
states such as Shawa, Ifat and Adal in the horn of Africa in thirteen century (Lewis, 1966, p. 38; Diffe, 2007, p. 57) (Diffe, 2007, p. 57; Lewis, 1966, p.38). These conflicts which lasted until the sixteenth century were essentially driven by economic and political competition (Ahmed, 2007, p. 264).

The aggressive territorial expansion of Christian Empire on the Muslim territories on its southern borders from its center in northern highlands incited the conflict which undermined the peaceful coexistence between the Christians and the Muslim in the horn since the earliest period of interaction with Islam. Given its military superiority, the Abyssinia Empire later conquered and incorporated Muslim states into its empire (Ahmed, 2007, p. 264). With the rise of Imam Ahmed Gurey as the leader of Somali Muslim state of Adal in 1529, the balance of regional military and political power shifted to the advantage of the Muslims. The Muslims conquered three-quarters of Abyssinia territory up until Imam Gurey was killed in a battlefield by the allied Abyssinia and Portuguese forces in 1543. His death marked the fall of last Muslim Empire in the Horn.

Centuries on, Imam Gurey’s conquest that nearly eliminated Christianity in Abyssinia remains vivid even today and has never been forgotten by Ethiopians. According to Henze (2002), author of ‘Layers of Time: A history of Ethiopia’, Every Christian highlander still hears tales of Gurey in his childhood. He notes that even Ethiopia’s last Emperor Haile Selassie (1917- 1974) referred Imam Gurey in his memoirs, "I have often had villagers in northern Ethiopia point out sites of towns, forts, churches and monasteries destroyed by Gragn (Guray in Oroma language) as if these catastrophes had occurred only yesterday" (p. 90).

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12 The first two are the oldest Islamic states in the sub-Saharan Africa.
According to Farah, the memory of these past experiences long shaped the perception and policies of Ethiopia’s leadership such as Emperors Menelik II and Haile Selassie. The former actively involved the partition of Somaliland territory during the African scramble in the nineteen century and colonized the Somali Ogaden region which still falls under Ethiopia. Haile Selassie who believed that a Somali state cannot stand alone and separated from Ethiopia claimed that Somaliland territory was part of greater Ethiopia and campaigned its return in 1940s (Rediker, 2004, p. 209). He later annexed the Haud area which was a reserved land for grazing for the Somali pastoralists on Ethiopia-Somalia border in 1950s.

To Somalia, Gurey was a national hero who fought against Abyssinian aggression to defend their ancient territories and to Ethiopia he is seen as conqueror and a destroyer of ancient Ethiopian state. This centuries-old grudges still haunt both countries and to some extent shape their relations even to date (Aidid & Ruhela, 1994). According to Tekle (1989), the perceptions of the different regimes that have ruled Ethiopia from the times of the empires has been dominated by suspicion of the neighboring states. This history is still among factors that shape Ethiopia’s post-cold war foreign policy towards Somalia.

2.3 Somalia irredentism and nationalism

Since independence, from the first regime led by Aden Abdulle, Somalia governments have made reincorporating Somalis living in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti into a Greater Somalia, one united Somalia. The idea pan-Somali nationalism had been initially ignited by the British colonial officials which stated “the possibility of creating a Greater Somalia administration (under British trusteeship) as a basis for future

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13 Interview with Farah...
independence” in 1940s (Barnes, 2007, p. 277). But it was further propagated by the Somali Youth League (SYL) leaders who are the founding fathers’ of Somali Republic. According to Jacquin(1999), the quest for the unification of all Somali territories, Ethiopia’s Ogaden region, Northern Frontier District (NFD) and Djibouti, under a single Somali state emerged as the dominant legitimising principle for the independent Somali politics (p. 211).

Somalia’s irredentist policy was openly incorporated in its first constitution in 1960, with it’s a five-pointed flag said to represent each of the territories inhabited by Somalis. For Ethiopia, and Kenya too, that was seen as a direct threat to its territorial and integrity of its sovereignty. But as Mayall(1978)notes Somalia which has suffered the most from the border architecture established by the European colonial powers viewed Ethiopia as the last traditional colonial state in Africa which gained the Somali territory during the nineteenth-century partition(p. 337).

At the first conference for the OAU in 1963, Somalia’s first president Aden Abdulle Osman warned the possibility of increased tensions on Ethiopia-Somalia borders if an equitable solution is not found to the issue (Matthews, 1970, p. 471). However, the sense of a national identity was largely lacking in other parts of Africa, thus African leaders have insisted on preserving the borders as inherited from the colonial borders (Zoppi, 2015, p. 44). That put Somalia’s advocacy for the redrawing of the map of Africa in isolation.

On other hand, Ethiopia was making alliances, in particularly with its neighbor Kenya which it signed with Africa’s oldest Defence Pact in 1964 ostensibly formed by the two countries to protect and come to each other’s aid if either were attacked (Mayall, 1996, p. 97). Somalia was and still remains at the heart of the treaty which has been renewed consistently over the years, and is significantly based on a united response should Somalia
attack either of them.\textsuperscript{14}Kendie(2007) writes that Ethiopia, for its own national interests, used Addis Ababa’s position as a centre of Pan African unity and consistently invoked one of the “sacrosanct and cardinal principles of the OAU – the inviolability of state frontiers” (p. 7).

From 1969, as Yihun(2014) writes the rise of anti-Ethiopian regimes in Somalia, Sudan and Libya to power through coup d’états resulted in Ethiopia being diplomatically more isolated. But it was the Somali threat that seemed the most immediate. These governments supported Ethiopia’s armed oppositions and secessionist groups such as Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF), Somali Abo Liberation Front (SALF), The Eritrean Peoples’ Liberation Front (EPLF), Tigrayan Peoples’ Liberation Front and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) (Yihun, 2014, p. 678).

But the 1974 political turmoil in Ethiopia encouraged Somalia’s military ruler Mohamed Siad Barre who with the help of the Soviet Union built Africa’s third largest military to attempt to annex the contested Ogaden – one-fifth of Ethiopia’s territory. He launched the 1977 war in which Ethiopia and Somalia shifted alliances to Soviet Union and United States respectively. The war ended with the humiliation of Somali National Army due to the massive support from the Warsaw Pact countries to Ethiopia (Farah, 2009, p. 4).

That was not the end of Ethiopia-Somalia conflict. It was the beginning of implementation for a new Derg government’s policies intended for the total destabilization and fragmentation of the Somali Republic. With Ethiopia lost faith with Somali regime, it saw safety only in the total disintegration of Somalia, a phenomenon Farah says is still relevant on current Ethiopia’s policy to Somalia.\textsuperscript{15} According to Yihun(2014), the new

\textsuperscript{14}This pact was renewed in 1980 and again on August 28, 1987, calling for the coordination of the armed forces of both states in the event of an attack by Somalia.

\textsuperscript{15}Interview with Ibrahim Farah, PhD, Lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) at the University of Nairobi, Nairobi, 26 March, 2016.
strategy was designed by the imperial regime of Haile Selassie which had held only as a “last resort” policy (p. 678). Then, Ethiopia encouraged the creation of several armed rebel groups against Somalia regime such as Somalia Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), SNM), USC) and Somali Patriotic Front (SPF) which were based in Ethiopia. The aim for supporting these groups was neither to replace Barre’s regime nor to create a viable political alternative, but to merely disintegrate the state.16

When the rebel groups that entered Mogadishu ousted Siad Barre government in January 1991, Ethiopia’s ambassador to Somalia Asmamaw Qelemu wrote his last briefing from the embassy at Mogadishu claiming that Ethiopia well executed its policy of disintegrating Somalia and that the country was no longer dangerous to Ethiopia (Yihun, p. 686).

As stated by Ingiriis, Similar words with that of Amb. Qelemu can be found in Ethiopia’s current Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (FANSPS) document that claim that “Ethiopia’s vulnerability to the “Greater Somalia” ideology has been greatly diminished” (p. 74). Fentaw(2009) argues the document is a clear indication of a continuity of the past regimes’ policy towards Somalia, noting that Somalia has never been removed from Ethiopia’s security agenda despite changes on the ground. Highlighting Ethiopia-Somalia hostility in the past, FANSPS document claims that Somalia had always allied with groups and governments against the interest of Ethiopia. It further states that in response to Somalia’s irredentism pre-civil war Ethiopia adopted a policy aimed at taking the war to Somalia by aggravating the divisions among Somali clans.

With all these proves a factor that is at the center of Ethiopia’s policy towards Somalia: fear of the emergence of a new Somali nationalism and irredentism despite the country being at its weakest point in the history. The wary arises from the fact that Somali irredentism efforts was driven by nationalists, first liberals such as SYL leaders and then socialists such as the long time military ruler Mohamed Siad Barre since the end of Dervish struggle led by Sayyid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan in 1920s (Erlich, 2010, p. 142). In the past twenty-four years, Ethiopia did all it could to crush any signs of nationalism emerging from Somalia, and encouraged the division of the state into fiefdoms controlled by semi-autonomous regions and warlords that all had good relations with Ethiopia, but are foes to each other.

2.4 Fear of Radical Islam

Ethiopia is one of the first Christian nations to have existed in the world, and it is the footprint for earliest example of inter-religious and inter-state interaction in the history of Islam. The Prophet Muhammad advised some of his followers, then suffering from persecution in the hands of the Quraysh of Mecca, to immigrate to the Christian kingdom of Aksum in northern Ethiopia in 615 A.D. As Ahmed (2007) explains the migration which was the first for Muslims to go outside the traditional birth place for Islam set the foundation for the tradition of tolerance and coexistence that characterized the relations between Ethiopian Muslims and Christians (p. 263).

But by late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as Erlich(1994)states in his book ‘Ethiopia and the Middle East’, the peaceful relation between Ethiopian Christians and Muslims in the horn began to fade mainly because of the rise of radical Islam and use of religion as a political identity for both communities (pp. 5-19; 2010, p. 5). Since then, the
Christians and Muslims relations in the horn plunged into several bloody conflicts including ‘Conquest of Abyssinia’ during the first half of the tumultuous sixteenth century. In this period, the Muslim leader Imam Gurey broke the Abyssinian Christian control of the region and creating an Islamic Empire that included most of what is today Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia (Hassen, 2004, p. 177).

For the Christian ruling elites of Ethiopia, these experiences shaped their perception and attitudes about Islam and Muslims, making them view these two as a challenge to its interests and even its continued existence (Farer, 1979, pp. 46-7). It is the only non-Arab and officially non-Muslim state on the African coast of the Red Sea – Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Sudan. An Ethiopian expert, Cedric Barnes, PhD, says that these countries pose a challenge for Ethiopia’s struggle of holding together its heterogeneous population because they represent better and be more representative to some certain large communities. That has been one of the reasons inciting the secessionists in Ethiopia and successive governments’ suspicion to its mostly Muslim neighboring countries.

Even in this post-Cold War era, the Christian and Islamic political legacies remain relevant to Ethiopian and Somali relations and led Ethiopia’s intervention in its neighboring country from 1996 to this day. Despite showing openness towards Islam and Muslim when he came to power, Ethiopia’s former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi (1995-2012) was too wary of an Islamic force emerging from Somalia during his tenure. “I don’t fear Somalia. I don’t fear Somali nationalism. What I fear is a radical islam in Somalia”, Zenawi was quoted by some African Union diplomats in Addis Ababa. Zenawi’s concern might have

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17 Interview with Cedric Barnes, PhD, the Horn of Africa project director at the International Crisis Group, Nairobi, April 14, 2016.
18 Interview with Cedric Barnes, PhD, the Horn of Africa project director at the International Crisis Group, Nairobi, April 14, 2016.
basis. Nationalism alone has never posed any form of threats to Ethiopia unless it is fused with radical Islam. For instance, the Greater Somalia ideology which is the major issue in Ethiopia-Somalia conflict was driven by liberal and socialist nationalists, but were inspired by the Islamic momentum since 1940s (Erlich, 2010, p. 142).

Whenever there are signs of a movement fusing these two, Ethiopia which has regularly used military force in order to remove threats, to back up its political efforts or to demonstrate its power started to get involved in Somalia’s domestic issues both politically and militarily. That happens because Islamism, in the understanding of Ethiopia leadership, is seen as a challenge and indeed a rival to its ethnic federal model, and could be a force capable of destabilizing not only the Somali region of Ogaden, but entire Ethiopia. For instance, Ethiopia’s offensive against Al Ittihad Al Islamiya (AIAI) and Islamic Courts Union, and the subsequent occupation in Gedo and Mogadishu in 1996 and 2007 respectively were being driven by such fear of radical Islam.

2.5 Conclusion

From the analysis in this chapter, it becomes clear that the post-cold war Ethiopia’s foreign policy behaviour towards Somalia is mainly driven by pre-colonial and colonial grudges that raised the still unresolved Ogaden question and Somalia irredentism. Though the government system in Ethiopia has dramatically changed since 1991, the EPRDF government hardly adjusted Ethiopia’s Somalia policy of previous government and emperors. Thus, Ethiopia foreign policy towards Somalia is a just a continuous of previous old policies.

But the conflict in Somalia and the rise of Islamist factions has deepened fear of spill-over of the conflict and its groups into Ethiopia. That made Ethiopia’s current
government more involved in the Somalia issues than the past Ethiopia administrations. That is justified for two reasons: the global war on terror which made the horn of Africa region as one of its hotspots, and Ethiopia’s internal problem with its increasing Muslim populations. The Muslim uprising which caused a violent conflict between the state and Muslim population has these days become norm in Ethiopia. Thus, a rise of a radical Islam movement in Somalia will not only threat Ethiopia’s interests in Somalia, but also can inspire and incentive its angry Muslims to be more violent to the establishment of Ethiopia state. That fear is a factor in Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia.

CHAPTER THREE: ETHIOPIA’S INTERESTS IN SOMALIA AND ITS TOOLS OF PURSUING THEM
3.1 Introduction

The concept of foreign policy priorities is closely related to the concept of national interest, which is a key concept in International Relations. All nations are always engaged in the process of pursuing or securing the goals of their national interests. Thus, the foreign policy of Ethiopia towards Somalia that has remained mainly unchanged since Haile Selassie’s period is formulated because of its national interest that is securing Ethiopia’s national security, preserving regional hegemony and economic interests. It sees all these three interests in Somalia affairs.

3.2 National Security

Ethiopia’s post empire governments from 1974 inherited the obsession of external aggressive and securitized foreign policy from the Abyssinia Emperors, making national security the single major concern for the country. As written in its 2002 Foreign Affairs, National Security Policy, and Strategy (FANSPS) document, security is a matter of ensuring Ethiopia’s survival leaving behind issues such as prosperity, sustainable peace, and stability. According to Mohamed Ingiriis, the state’s security and interventionist policy is the result of Ethiopia’s problematic and unfavourable relations with all most of all its neighbouring countries - Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan and South Sudan except Kenya and Djibouti.19

But Mesfin(2012) notes that the fact Ethiopia shares border with all the Horn of Africa countries made it vulnerable to the regional turmoil such as instability and border conflict more than any other state in the region (p. 90). That justified Ethiopia’s enduring presence in the pursuit of its interests in securing its borders, containing external threats and

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19Interview with Mohamed Ingiriis, PhD candidate at University of Oxford and author, The Suicidal State in Somalia: The Rise and Fall of the Siad Barre Regime, 1969-1991, Mogadishu, May 11, 2016. He states Ethiopia-Kenya relations has been normal, but relations with Djibout was not a mutual, but a client relationship.
ensuring political stability in the region (p. 90). However, the Somalia issue was the most immediate threat to Ethiopia because of a historical territorial dispute, the state collapse and armed non-state actors including islamists emerging from Somalia.

3.2.1 Neutralizing threats from Somalia Factions

When the EPRDF government came into power in 1992, it inherited new security concerns emanating from Somalia’s state collapse and the unresolved question of Ogaden region that had been the cause of the two countries’ 1977 war. As it was weak, incapable of addressing these challenges by itself and influencing the Somali politics, the EPRDF government dominated by Somalia backed opposition leaders during their long struggle against the regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam sought to develop a close relationship with the leaders of Somali factions thinking they could form a national government among them.20 That interest was motivated by Ethiopia’s fear of possible influence from its major rival, Egypt on Somalia factions.

But the conflict in Somalia has provided space for another rival, an armed Islamist and nationalist group, Al Ittihad al Islamiya (AIAI) that established bases in Bari region of northeast Somalia immediately after the fall of Barre’s government in 1991. Al Ittihad that was founded in 1984 was largely concerned with domestic politics and wanted to establish an Islamic state in Somalia (Dagne, 2011, p. 28). When the leader of Somalia Salvation SSDF, Abdullahi Yusuf defeated them in 1992, the AIAI moved from Barri region to the south and subsequently captured several towns on Somalia-Ethiopia border including Luq in Gedo region (Elmi A. A., 2013, p. 182).

On Ethiopia side, the relocation of Islamist group on its border became a primary concern on the basis of Ethiopia historical cautious about the fuse of Islam and nationalism in Somalia. The group immediately developed alliance with the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) that has been fleeing from the crackdown of Ethiopian authority to the border. The ONLF was a member of the first transitional government of Ethiopia in 1992, but its push for the self-determination of the Somali region resulted its ousting from the ruling coalition of EPRDF in 1994 (Dagne, 2011, p. 28; Praeg, 2006, p. 155).21 The two groups jointly carried out attacks against Ethiopia (Jacqueline, 2010).

That signaled a threat to the Ethiopians which in response launched a cross-border offensive which led to the dislodging of both the AIAI and ONLF from Gedo region in 1996, and the eventual end of AIAI in 1997 (Elmi A. A., 2013, p. 182). Such offensive and intervention was motivated by Ethiopia’s security interests whose primary concern was to ensure that Somalia’s conflict and its factions did not pose a threat to Ethiopia in general and the Somali region of Ogaden in particular.

In the realist view, Ethiopia foreign policy to Somalia is justified by the understanding that states act entirely on the basis of objective national interests. The International Relation theory of realism has three basic assumptions; first, states are the primary actors in the international system. Secondly, states’ actions are always motivated by security and/or economic interests, and thirdly, the previous two assumptions result in the conclusion that international institutions and other non-state actors are not relevant (Viotti, 1993, p. 55).

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21 Interview with Ingiriis in Mogadishu
The Ethiopia and AIAI conflict was however a turning point for EPRDF policy towards Somalia. Before then, Ethiopia was much more concerned of its internal reimagining of the Ethiopian state including the Somali region of Ogaden. But after then, Ethiopia’s territorial intervention has continued and it repeatedly raided and seized the Somalia towns on the border including Balanballe, Baledhawo, Dolow town, Luq, Garbaharey till its occupation of Mogadishu in 2006. This time Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) can ousted Somalia’s Islamic Courts Union (ICU) in southern Somalia on the basis of defending its national security. Thus, Ethiopia has successfully pursued its interest in Somalia by preventing and removing by force, if necessary, such as the case of AIAI and ICU, any potential rival emerging from Somalia, in particular at the border regions, and still that interest motivates Ethiopia’s involvement.

3.2.2 Eliminating Eritrea threats from Somalia

Ethiopia had a vested interest in Somali internal affairs, the major interest being to maintain the balance of power created as result of the collapse of Somali State in 1991 (Opris, 2012, p. 64). But the status quo is not challenged only by Somali actors, but also other states such as Eritrea importing its war with Ethiopia in Somalia. Since the secession in 1993, Mohammed (2007) writes that Ethiopia’s main threats were coming from Eritrea(p. 4). As the same case with Somalia, Ethiopia has unresolved border conflict with Eritrea and the two countries went on war in 1998-2000.

Eritrea which sees its interests in a weak and unstable or disintegrated Ethiopia adopted a strategy of continuing its conflict. Thus, it maintained supporting Somali factions

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22 Interview with Dr. Barnes and Ingiirs in Nairobi and Mogadishu.
as well as Ethiopia oppositions including ONLF and OLF that operate from Somalia against Ethiopia regime. Eritrea has been in particular been using OLF not only to act against Ethiopia, but also to import large quantities of arms for its allied warlords in Somalia, “in an effort to open an additional southern front in the war against Ethiopia” (Opris, 2012, p. 61). Therefore, the presence of Eritrea supported factions in Somalia led to several Ethiopia military incursions into Somalia since Ethiopia-Eritrea war in 1998, and Ethiopia’s interest is to keep away these actors on its southern border with Somalia and its political sphere.

### 3.2.3 Weakening Egyptian Influence on Somalia

Eritrea influence in Somalia added headache to the Ethiopia’s long standing struggle with Egypt on Somalia. Egypt is historically Ethiopia’s main rival over the control of Horn of Africa, and their conflict has driven by Egypt’s total dependence on the Nile River and Ethiopia’s interests to collect and accumulate water for hydropower development and irrigation purposes. The British-drafted Nile Waters Agreements signed in 1929 and 1959 between Egypt and Sudan, excluding Ethiopia where 80% of waters originate, granted Egypt 87% of the Nile’s flow and gives it veto power over upstream projects.

But their policy towards Somalia was the reflection of Nile conflict. Egypt provided financial support and military hardware to Somalia as evidenced when Kenya forced down an Egyptian plane transporting arms to Mogadishu during Ethiopia-Somalia war in 1977(Farah, 2009, p. 77). According to New African magazine report in 2005, Egypt’s military aid to Somalia amounted to $30 million at that time. Egyptian strategy was Ethiopia to have more time with its conflict with Somalia so that it could be deterred from its planned
development of its Nile basin water resources. Egypt also supported armed opposition
groups including Eritrea Liberation Front (ELF) against Ethiopia.

Though the state collapse of Somalia has changed the regional power balance in
favor of Ethiopia; Egypt continued to have a foothold in Somalia for the purpose of
checking on Ethiopia, and certain of its Arab League colleagues in support of the Egyptian
effort even after 1991. For instance, When Egypt hosted the Cairo peace process in 1997,
Ethiopia fearing that the conference may produce institutions that are hostile to its interests
persuaded two main leaders, Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf of SSDF and General Aden Gabyow
of SPM to withdraw from the conference and they eventually flew to Addis Ababa (Elmi &
Barise, 2006, p. 9).

During the Ethio-Eritrean war, some reports suggested that Egypt delivered arms and
military hardware to Somalia factions engaged in attempts at destabilization in southern
Ethiopia. According to Foreign Policy magazine, Ethiopia and Egypt continued backed rival
factions in Somalia, which prolonged that country’s destructive civil war from 2001 to 2004.
Though Egypt’s involvement in Somalia has been declining in the past decade, it could
possibly reemerge again at time Egypt and Ethiopia are on deadlock on the Nile River.
According al-monitor.com, a popular online news outlet in Middle East, An Egyptian
scholar Hani Raslan linked Ethiopia’s challenge on Egypt’s historical rights on Nile the
popular Arab state’s waning influence in its traditional areas in the Horn of Africa. The
possible revival of Egypt’s historical stance of attempting to undermine Ethiopia has been a
nightmare for Ethiopia’s former Prime Minister MelesZenawi (1995 - 2012) who is the
architect of Ethiopia’s post-Derg foreign policy, according to an article published in Foreign
policy magazine in March, 2016. Keeping Egypt off the Somalia sphere is a major interest of Ethiopia’s foreign policy.

3.3 Preserving its regional hegemony

In his book ‘The Tragedy of Great Power Politics’, Mearsheimer(2001) defined hegemony ‘as a state that is so powerful that it dominates all the other states in the system’ (p. 40). He further explained that reaching some sort of hegemony is the ultimate goal for each state whether it is a global or regional level (Toft, 2005, p. 384). At a regional hegemony, the state should be the sole great power and have the capability, in terms of military and economic strength, by overpowering its neighboring independent countries (Godwin, 2004, p. 83). The absence of such a single power means that there is no hegemony state in that region. Mearsheimer(2001) writes the anarchic nature of the international system, the desire for survival, and the uncertainty about other states’ intentions ultimately leads states to pursue regional hegemony as their final goal (p. 29). The United States, United Kingdom and India are examples of traditional hegemons.

On the basis of these understanding, Ethiopia has been a traditionally and historically a hegemon in the Horn of Africa region. Africa’s oldest state that never been colonized has been a hegemon for two reasons; its sheer size and its large population (Dehéz, 2008). Its hegemony historically predates colonialism, and unlike Nigeria and South Africa which are regional hegemons in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and South African Development Community (SADC) respectively, Ethiopia “has been a rather strong, independent, even imperial power well into the twentieth century” (Dehéz, 2008). As the cold war competition between the East-West – the United States and the Soviet Union – came to the horn of Africa which Schwab (1978) defined as a major geopolitical area of the
world, Ethiopia’s hegemony began to be challenged thanks to the Warsaw country’s military to Somalia (p. 6).

The U.S has been a traditional supporter of Ethiopia and repeatedly rejected Somalia’s request in building its army, the Soviet Union that has been seeking to attract the post-colonial nations politically and militarily into its own communist camp stood to fill the vacuum and began building a 20,000 Somali army in 1963. Moscow and Mogadishu signed the Somali-Soviet military aid agreement in the same year (Natufe, 2011, p. 342). A large number of Soviet military advisors and trainers arrived in Somalia for the country’s first 10 years of independence – 1960-1970, in order to train Somalia army. Also, large numbers of Somali high school graduates were sent to the Soviet Union for military training (Mohamoud, 2006, p. 110).

When the Somalia’s Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) that rose to power through a bloodless coup in 1969 began to transform Somalia into a socialist state, the Soviet Union increased their military support including building air force to Somalia amounting $435 million from 1974-77 (Brown & Rosecrance, 1999, p. 77). Such gradual military buildup made the Somali National Army the third largest Sub-Saharan Africa, with a larger air force and more tanks (Farah, 2009, p. 4). Though Ethiopia and Somalia shifted their alliance to the Soviet Union and the United States during their Ogaden war in 1977, the region shifted from an Ethiopian hegemony to the phenomena of balance of power with U.S helped maintain it until the end of Cold War and collapse of Somalia state (Brown & Rosecrance, 1999, p. 78).

However, Somalia’s failure to recover from the overthrow of Barre’s government in 1991 shifted the balance of power in favor to Ethiopia which currently enjoys militarily and
economic superiority in the horn of Africa region. An important interest of Ethiopia in Somalia is to preserve such profound regional hegemony and to prevent any form of government and factions that could threaten it. It pursues those interests by creating preventive measures for the revival of the Somali state such as shaping the structure of Somali state by splitting into regional entities through the use of federalism system and keeping the status-quo through any means possible including a military intervention.23

According Bryden(1999), Ethiopia presented the first proposal for federating Somalia into five or six clan based regions at the partners’ forum of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in 1998. Bryden writes that Ethiopia sought that design which regions would be divided into territories dominated by the four large clans: Darod, Digil&Mirifle, Hawiye and Isaaq could be a foundation for restoration of peace and statehood to Somalia (p. 134). Though doubting about it, the international community accepted the proposal.

However, the first attempt of designing a federal institution for Somalia took place during the Mbagathi Reconciliation Conference in 2002-2004. “The issue became controversial when a committee was tasked to draft a constitution. The committee broke into two groups,” writes Elmi(2015). The intervention of Ethiopia, Kenya and IGAD who sided with the pro-federalism warlords resulted adaptation of the Transitional Charter that sets basis on the outlook of a federal system in Somalia (p. 11). The current constitution is also based on the previous charter and adopts a ‘federal system’ for the country.

Ingiriis who attended that Somalia’s peace conference said it was dominated by Ethiopia who as resulted designed federal model. He explains that from the Djibouti I and II,

23Interview with Mohamed Ingiriis and Dr. Ibrahim Farahin Mogadishu and Nairobi.
Addis Ababa, and Kenya conferences, Somalia people and its leaders never had a discussion on how the nation building will look like. Instead it is Ethiopia that dictates the design of Somali state for its interests.\textsuperscript{24} Farah adds that for instance federalism form of current government is incompatible with Somali lifestyle and that its implementation was a challenge.\textsuperscript{25} Barnes says it is the willingness of Somali partners that gave Ethiopia such authority to design Somali state.\textsuperscript{26}

In addition to that, the creation of friendly semi-autonomous regions such as Puntland and Somaliland that Ethiopia pushes for also provide Ethiopia a sense of security on their territory and reduce the ungoverned space in Somalia that rivals such Islamists and nationalists can launch attack against Ethiopia. It also helps Ethiopia in achieving its interests in keeping Somalia national regions on its border safe and without the influence and control of Islamist and nationalist factions that could threaten its interests.

### 3.4 Economic interests

Ethiopia is the largest landlocked state in the world and the second most populated nation on the Africa continent (Woodward, 2006, p. 19). The lack of access to the sea has left a strong impact on Ethiopia's economic, political, strategic interest and access to trade. And for centuries, Access to the sea has been a critical issue in Ethiopian politics for centuries. In the ancient times, Ethiopia emperors have pursued two main foreign policy goals that explain their position on Somalia: The protection of their Christian island in a sea


\textsuperscript{25} Interview with Ibrahim Farah, PhD, Lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) at the University of Nairobi, Nairobi, 26 March, 2016.

\textsuperscript{26} Interview with Cedric Barnes, PhD, the Horn of Africa project director at the International Crisis Group, Nairobi, April 14, 2016.
of pagans, and the demand for a sea corridor (Elmi A. A., 2015, p. 5). It has been the major single reason why Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia through the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations 1952.

With Eritrea secession from Ethiopia in 1993 and subsequent border with Ethiopia, the latter search on reliable ports is still ongoing despite currently relying ports in Djibouti for importing and exporting. According to a report presented by Ethiopia’s the Ministry of Transport and Communication to the House of Peoples’ Representatives in 2009, the highly dependency to only Djibouti port has become a big concern to Ethiopia as the volume of its fast growing import-export trade keeps booming with time. According to Sudan Tribune, an online new publication, Ethiopia is currently seeking alternative, cheaper routes through which it can export and import goods in Somalia, Sudan and Kenya. A fragmental and friendly Somalia that has second largest coast in Africa can give Ethiopia all the access and entry it needs to sea and ports with cheap cost or might be zero expenses27.

According to Elmi, the Ethiopian designed federal system divided Somalia into six regions (Somaliland, Puntland, the Central Regions, Hiran-Shabelle, South-Western, and Jubbaland) – each of the six has a territorial boundary with Ethiopia, as well as access to the coastline (2015, p. 6). Ingiriis says Ethiopia most important ports in Somalia are Berbera, Hobyo and Kismayo ports. Ethiopia has already signed agreement on the use of Berbera port with Somaliland in March, 2016, and plans that 30 percent of its trade goes through it, according to a five-year growth plan published in 2010. But Ingiriis believes that Ethiopia will mainly use Berbera the military equipment imports as well as a base for the naval force which Ethiopia wants to build despite being a landlocked state. Ethiopia Naval might use

27Interview with Ingiriis and Farah in Mogadishu and Nairobi.
Somalia Sea as Addis Ababa has been increasing its meddling to Somalia affairs to a level Somalia scholar Elmi refers as the replacement of Somali central government.\textsuperscript{28}

Another interest of Ethiopia is its dominance and capitalization of Somali market outside Somalia. According to Farah, Ethiopia currently exports everything Somalia to export including livestock, both live and slaughtered. Ethiopia companies buy from Somalia with cheap price and sell it to the Gulf Corporation because Somalia has lost its dominance to the Gulf markets due to the absence of effective and functional state in the past two decades. Ethiopia which has enjoyed political and military influence on Somalia since 1991 is now trying to also have economic influence too. It began in Somaliland which its economy mostly depends on Ethiopia. The fruit, vegetables and other commodities are exported from Ethiopia to Somaliland via Berbera port cutting off from Somalia periphery. And the absence of Somali state institutions such as regulator control mechanism like Ministry of Finance and Central Bank will facilitate Ethiopia’s dominance and capitalization of Somali market outside Somalia. The deeper Ethiopia influence on Somalia gets, the more the prospects of the revival of Somalia statehood is complicated.\textsuperscript{29}

3.5 CONCLUSION

\textsuperscript{28}Interview with Farah in Nairobi.
\textsuperscript{29}Interview with Ingiriis in Mogadishu.
Ethiopia’s concern about irredentism, fear of radical islam and access to the sea can sum up foreign policy interest in Somalia. All these can be seen from the document of Ethiopia’s policy towards Somalia which identified three strategies that explains its actions and policies. According to the document, the three are as follows: 1) Extending assistance to the relatively stable parts of Somalia such as Somaliland and Puntland to enable them to continue enjoyment of the relative peace and stability they have managed to maintain; (2) Increasing Ethiopia’s defense capability to defend and foil any terrorist or extremist attacks launched from Somalia; (3) Weakening and neutralizing any force coming from any part of Somalia in cooperation with the Somali themselves and the international community(2002, pp. 78-82).
CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF ETHIOPIA’S FOREIGN POLICY ON THE SOMALIA PEACE PROCESS

4.1 Introduction

Ethiopia has been the most persistent external actor in Somalia’s domestic affairs since the beginning of the civil war in 1991. It provided financial, political and military support to the warlords in Somalia and set them against each other to undermine the efforts of building a viable state in post Siyad Barre era. Its support has hardly been consistent, with the exception of Somaliland and Puntland, and often switched sides by weakening one group in favour of another and supporting it again when it deemed fit, as was the case with Hussein Aideed’s USC (Elmi & Barise, 2006, p. 42).

From 1992, Ethiopia was also given a crucial role to play in the Somalia issues after the United Nations voted for the proposal of an Ethiopian nine member delegations that lobbied for the lead role of the Somalia reconciliation process during the first international meeting on Peace, and Rehabilitation of Somalia in Geneva (Aden, 2003). The delegation led by then the deputy minister of health Dr. Abdi Aden of Somali ethnicity from the Ogaden region propagated for the idea of paying back Somalia for its support of TPLF struggle against Mengistu regime.

4.2 The Addis Ababa Conferences

As the result of that meeting, the UN has sponsored the Addis Ababa Conference on National Reconciliation that brought together fifteen leaders from Somalia’s armed factions in 1993. The warlords initially signed a ceasefire in January, and in March the Addis Ababa

30 Interview with Ingiriis.
31 Dr. Aden defected from the Ethiopia government and sought refuge in Canada.
Agreement which was a basic blueprint for the creation of a Transitional National Council (TNC) as well as regional and district councils that would elect a two year transitional Somali government (Johnson, 2009, p. 24). In the end, the Addis Ababa Agreements failed, because among other reasons, the competition between the warlords each trying to increase their influence in regional councils and TNC, and their persistent lack of desire for compromise (Aoi, 2010, p. 77).

According to Dr. Aden who was the Deputy-Chief Delegate of the Ethiopian to those meetings, the failure of Addis Ababa Agreement was also contributed by the involvement of Ethiopia in the process. He asserted that his delegation was informed to ensure that the outcome of the conferences is in line with Ethiopia’s interests by keeping in mind the fact that some leaders of Somali groups were hostile to Ethiopia (Aden, 2003). He furthered noted that both ministries of Defence and foreign affairs were secretly providing large amounts of money and arms to the pro-Ethiopian warlords as an attempt in jeopardizing the prospects of the conference. However, the fighting increased, and the ambitious agreement later fell apart eventually leading to the withdrawal of the American forces and the end of United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) in 1994.

4.3 The Sodere and Cairo Conferences

The withdrawal of the U.S and UNOSOM created a vacuum in which Ethiopia stood up to fill as it took the lead in mediating the Somali factions. Encouraged by the U.S policy of “African solutions to African problems” and with the mandate of OAU and IGAD on the Somalia Peace Process, Ethiopia drafted four points – decentralization of power and guarantees of local autonomy, promotion of liberal Islam, representation of women and
lastly upgrading and nurturing the good neighborliness - as the guiding basis for any future reconciliation for Somalia (Smidt & Abraham, 2007, p. 187).

In the last quarter of 1996, it organized the Sodere conference where twenty-six Somali clan and political leaders agreed to form the National Salvation Council (NSC) which would have created a transitional government on the basis of clan representation ‘4.5 formula’(Hesse, 2013, p. 36).32 Ethiopia’s interest in that conference was to help its friendly Somali factions to create a government that could legitimize Ethiopia’s military intervention against the AIAI in inside Somalia (Renders, 2012, p. 183). But the conference however made no further progress, and Ethiopia blamed on its failure on a subsequent conference sponsored by the Egyptian government in Cairo in December 1997 (Fitzgerald, 2002, p. 5).

The Cairo conference brought together the Somalia factions who were that time divided into two alliances: the Ethiopian backed Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA), also known as Sodere Group, made of 15 factions and the Somali National Alliance (SNA) that consisted of 13 factions. The SSA was led by Ali Mahdi while Hussein Aideed who replaced his father Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed who was killed in a battlefield in August 1996, was chairman of the SNA. At the end, the twenty-eight faction leaders signed Cairo Accord by agreeing on a power-sharing formula and establishment of a national government. According to Fitzgerald Ethiopia which was wary of An Egyptian influence, its traditional strategic rival, on its neighborhood described the agreement as ‘detrimental to peace in Somalia’ (p. 5). It also convinced Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf of SSDF and General

32The 4.5 formula, first implemented during the 2000 Arta Conference, is a clan power-sharing system where Somalia’s supposedly four major clans: Darod, Dir, Digil and Mirifle, and Hawiye, gets equal representation in the parliament assembly while half of the share goes to other clans incorrectly grouped as “Others”.
Aden ‘Gabyow’ of SPM to quit from the conference (Elmi & Barise, 2006, p. 40). It continued to support and hosts these two warlords and later helped Col. Yusuf to form and became the president of Puntland administration in the northeast regions in 1998. Thus, Ethiopia openly squandered Egypt’s efforts in ending the civil war in Somalia.

4.4 Arta National Reconciliation Conference

With the Sodera and Cairo conferences sponsored by the two competing governments of Ethiopia and Egypt ending in vain, President Ismail Omar Gelleh of Djibouti launched another conference dubbed the Somalia National Peace Conference in May 2000. The IGAD endorsed conference brought together about 3000 representatives including traditional leaders, intellectuals, civil society organizations and business community making it the largest Somali-owned peace conference ever held since the 1991 state collapse (Hesse, 2013, p. 16). The conference produced over 900 delegates, who later appointed a 245-seat Transitional National Assembly (TNA), whose members enacted the Transitional National Charter (TNC). The TNA further elected Abdikassim Salad as the president of a three-year Transitional National government (TNG) in August, 2000.

However, Ethiopia whose prime minister MelesZenawi attended the inauguration ceremony of president Salad, still was the first state to denounce the new government (Makhubela, 2012, p. 3). According to an article he published on the popular Somalia website Hiiran Online, Buri’ Hamza, Somalia’s State Minister for Foreign Affairs from January to October 2014, Ethiopia, feeling the dominance of Djibouti in the process and the role of some islamists organizations and individuals had played, unleashed a systematic campaign against the TNG leaders labelling them as pro –al-Qaeda extremists. It also

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33Kingsley Makhubela was the former South African envoy to Somalia.
influenced some warlords such as Colonel Hassan Nur ‘Shatigudud’ of the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) whom Ethiopia helped to capture Baidoa from SNA faction to abandon from the new government (Elmi & Barise, 2006, p. 41).

Ethiopia then organised all the warlords and personalities that were against the Arta outcome and brought them together in the city of Awasa, Ethiopia with the purpose of creating an alternative to the Arta outcome (Elmi & Barise, p. 41). Ethiopia wanted the warlords it arms to unite their power against the TNG. In March 2001, the warlords created the Somali Restoration and Reconciliation Committee (SRRC) and made Hussein Aideed was until that moment was rival against Ethiopia its chairman (Schlee, 2010, p. 116). Ethiopia provided military aid such as landmines, ammunition and weapons to the different SRRC factions operating in southern Somalia including in Mogadishu in order to sabotage the TNG.

Though the Security Council passed a resolution demanding all governments including Ethiopia that were sending weapons to Somalia to cease, Ethiopia continued to delivery weapons to Somalia factions that were opposing the UN recognized government of Somalia. According to Ingiriis, Ethiopia’s denunciation of TNG can be attributed to the fact that its president and his Prime Minister Ali Khalif Galeyr were remnants of Barre’s irredentist government and leaning towards islamists, having developed close relations with Islamic Courts in Mogadishu. President Salad was Barre’s Interior Minister while PM Galeyr served as the Minister of Industry. As Shay (2011) notes the irredentist and radical Islam are two potential threats from Somalia that Ethiopia faces (p. 121). Ingiriis too adds the two which are Ethiopia’s major concerns is impossible to separate from a strong and unified

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34 Interview with Farah
Somalia statehood, so it always favours keeping the status quo. But Makhubela argues that the TNG was forced to work with the sharia courts because of the isolation by Ethiopia and international campaign against the TNG (p. 3).

4.5 Mbagathi Process

Ethiopia continued to insist that the 2000 Arta Process was incomplete until it destroyed the whole product when the head of states of IGAD bowing to Ethiopia pressure passed a resolution calling for a new peace conference in Kenya during their Khartoum meeting in 2001 (Elmi & Barise, p. 42). IGAD which has increasingly become a tool of enhancing Ethiopia’s regional interests launched the Mbagathi process and handed over the process to a Technical Committee comprising representatives of the ‘frontline states’ of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya. The Committee was chaired by Kenya which was expected to provide unbiased leadership and mediate between Ethiopia and Djibouti’s different approaches over Somalia (Johnson, 2009, p. 52).

More than 300 Somali faction leaders, traditional and religious leaders, politicians, and civil society representatives attended the opening of the conference on 15 October 2002 in Eldoret, witnessed by IGAD Heads of States and representatives of the diplomatic community. The Mbagathi Peace Conference was convened at a time when the international situation was greatly changed by the September 11 events. The U.S which was concerned about the possibility of Somalia becoming a safe haven for terrorist organizations renewed its interest in the country since the Black Hawk Down event in 1993.

The newfound interest of the U.S helped Ethiopia which Harry Verhoeven of Oxford University described Washington’s regional “deputy sheriff” in the Global War on Terror to

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35 Interview with Ingiriis
36 Interview with Ingiriis who was among the journalists covered the conference.
enjoy dominance on the process which was relocated to Mbagathi, outside Nairobi, in February 2003. In that conference, Ethiopia which often opposed any peace conference it had not dominated succeeded to destroy effectively and officially the product of Arta process as it did with the Cairo Accord of 1997. According to Farah, Ethiopia also prolonged that process and controlled even the agenda and forum. With the help of Kenya, it also marginalized the role of traditional, religious and civil society leaders in the process, and rather made the process warlord dominated, by giving power in particularly to pro-Ethiopia warlords. Ethiopia and Kenya which have some genuine security concerns such as irredentism and extremism originating from Somalia used their influence on the Mbagathi peace conference to promote the adaptation of clan-based federalism system (Elmi & Barise, 2006, p. 4).

At the end of 2004, Ethiopia produced a government of their own design with a Transitional Federal Charter and warlord dominated parliament which in turn elected another warlord Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf of Puntland, a protégé of Ethiopia, as the president of new Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in October, 2004 (Palmer, 2014, p. 37). Col. Yusuf helped Ethiopia to undermine both the Cairo Accords and the TNG government in 1997 and 2000. His Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Gedi formed a cabinet full of warlords and all allied to Ethiopia who were less influential in the Arta conference (Palmer, 2014, p. 37). In 2005, the fragile TFG relocated from Kenya to Somalia, first to Jowhar and then to Baidoa far from Mogadishu which was thought to be dangerous (Kohn, 2006, p. 512).

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37 Interview with Farah
4.6 Conclusion

In 2006, when the ICU expelled the Mogadishu warlords from the capital and established law and order in southern Somalia for the first time since Barre’s government collapsed in 1991, the TFG felt threatened, and Ethiopia send its troops to destroy the ICU and maintain the status-quo. It run over the ICU administration and helped the TFG to settle in Mogadishu in 2007 until Ethiopia forces withdrawn from Somalia on the basis of Djibouti agreement in 2009. Ethiopia troops are currently serving under the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) alongside Djibouti, Kenya, Uganda and Burundi. It is a power broker holding together the five different semi-autonomous regions that all share border with and are all friendly to Ethiopia, but rival to each other. According to Barnes, Ethiopia is less interesting the relations between the Federal Government of Somalia and these regional governments, but are more concerned with the relations the regional governments.\(^{38}\)

\(^{38}\)Interview with Dr. Cedric Barnes, the Horn of Africa project director at the International Crisis Group, Nairobi, April 14, 2016.
CHAPTER FIVE: GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusion

The research studied Ethiopia Foreign Policy and the role it has on the Somalia conflict as well as how it impacted the overall situation in Somalia in the post Siyad Barre era. The reviewed literature and interviews with experts shown that Ethiopia have security concerns which necessitated its actions and behavior towards Somalia which poses national security threats. Its main concern is the possible reemergence of Somalia irredentism and radical islam that not only threats Ethiopia’s Somali region of Ogaden, but the entire Ethiopia state. Such concerns have led Ethiopia’s military intervention in Somalia from 1996 until to this date. It sends weapons and ammunitions when it feels its allied warlords can take out the groups opposing threats to Ethiopia, but it sends its army when the status quo are threatened as happened in 1996 and 2006 when Al Ittihad Al Islamiya (AIAI) and Islamic Courts Union emerged from Somalia.

Despite playing a leading role in of Somalia’s reconciliations, Ethiopia undermined some of the efforts including the Cairo and Arta peace process in Egypt and Djibouti in order to protect its interests in Somalia. For the Cairo conference, it feared the creation of a government leaning towards Egypt, Ethiopia’s strategic rival, on its southern border. Ethiopia also denounced the product of Arta conference outcome just because the pro-Ethiopia warlords were less influential in it. The outcome was also the election of president Abdikassim Salad who served as Barre’s interior minister and also appointed Ali KhalifGaleyr, a former Minister of Industry. Ethiopia thought them both as remnants of Barre’s irredentist government and islamists as well. For both the conferences, Ethiopia used its allied warlords in Somalia to undermine the outcomes of these conferences.
In sum, Ethiopia-Somalia relations have been marked by suspicious and mistrust a long before the colonial powers arrived Africa. The partition of Somaliland territory among the European powers and Ethiopia during the African scramble only worsened the relations between the two in the contemporary world. Ethiopia and Somalia went to war over the Somali region of Ogaden in 1964 and 1977. With the question of Ogaden still unresolved, Ethiopia sought safety only in keeping Somalia lack of strong and central government, and fragmented. Thus, Ethiopia is struggling for maintaining the new balance of power which shifted in favor of its interests as the result of the collapse of Somali State in 1991.

5.2 Recommendations

Ethiopia has genuinely security concerns emerging over Somalia, because the instability and shape of the government in Somalia can have a direct impact on it. But the policies it adopted such as the use of warlords and semi-autonomous to address these concerns are not genuine and helpful. Thus, the study recommends that Ethiopia should refrain from interfering in Somalia’s domestic affairs and stop trying to engineer the shape of Somali state and its politics. In this case, Ethiopia should understanding that resolving the Somali conflict is equivalent to addressing to its security concerns and bringing peace in the threatened neighbors, the region and beyond.

Ethiopia should also come to terms to the fact that the concern over irredentism and radical Islam cannot be solved without strong and central government in Somalia. Such government will have full legitimacy and control over its people and territory, and hence will be in position to discuss with Ethiopia on a diplomatic way to solve the delicate and often sensitive issues. Ethiopia may foster relations with the warlords and semi-autonomous region which can provide a sense of security and safety to them, but such engagement
cannot bring a sustainable and long term solution to Ethiopia-Somalia problem. Thus, Ethiopia should rethink its ill-advised policy of engaging with warlords and semi-autonomous regions while neglecting the federal government in Mogadishu.

Ethiopia should also recognize Somalia as an equal counterpart when it comes to their relations and should stop bypassing the internationally agreed diplomatic channel when engaging with the regional governments in Somalia. It is undeniable the fact the two countries are not in equal in terms of political, economic and military power, but misusing the new balance of power ignite the misperceptions about Ethiopia’s motives and/ or intentions in Somalia. It should use her dominance to develop trust building measures that increase cultural sensitivity and respect. Ethiopia has to be careful in selecting policy options if it is genuine about its relations with Somalia.

Ethiopia has the potential of playing a pivotal role in the stabilization of Somalia. Therefore, it should provide all possible and visible assistance in areas such as, training and equipping Somali army, and sharing intelligence, defense and education for the stabilization of Somalia. Ethiopia should also actively participate in the reconstruction efforts of Somalia in accordance with the priorities of the Somali government and international community. In return, Ethiopia which is a landlocked state may take advantage of the ports in Somalia which are closer in terms of distance and have variety comparing to those it currently uses in Djibouti and Sudan. Thus, Ethiopia can be a potential market for Somalia. Additionally, the stabilization of Somalia will be helpful in the repatriation of the refugees from Ethiopia and other neighboring countries and, thereby, significantly alleviate the burden.
To Somalia, as a matter of fact, any policy formulated at Mogadishu will likely be ineffectual without total implementation by all the organs of the state and regional governments. Such coherence has been damaged by the past two decades of internal conflict in Somalia, and of course it will take time to recover and reconcile from such destruction. However, the study recommends that the Federal government has to find ways in reconciling its internal conflict and genuine concerning of the regional governments which often opens an entry point for a foreign intervention and influence, in particularly Ethiopia. Only a coherent and united Somalia can only try to contain any Ethiopian influence.

The Federal government of Somalia should also give a priority in rebuilding its damaged state institutions such as security and defense forces, infrastructure and the society, as a whole. It should find ways to reduce its dependence on Ethiopia in solving misunderstanding and conflicts that emerge between it and the regional government or/and among regional governments. It should be bold and diplomatic about telling Ethiopia to back off intervening Somalia internal affairs when it is necessary. The federal government should also take trust building measures so that regional governments can have confidence in it.

As always, Ethiopia is wary of any involvement of Egypt, Eritrea and islamist groups in Somalia affairs. Left unchecked, such developments will lead a continuous intervention from Ethiopia. Ethiopia will react by using its clout in the regional governments, should it find that these countries are manipulating Somalia. Somalia has to find a ways of balancing its relations with these competing and challenging countries and it should not bend to the influence of a foreign country interesting to engage proxy with Ethiopia through Somalia for their own national interests.
In sum, the Federal government of Somalia should design and define its foreign policy and priorities in very clear manner. It should also invest training its diplomats on the basis of achieving the defined priorities so that a professional diplomats and administration can be put in place. It should also increase and establish its diplomatic representation across the globe. It is advisable to start professionalization of its representations in neighbouring countries. At the end, Ethiopia continues its current policy of preventing the emergence of a coherent and united Somalia, the conflict in Somalia will linger for some, but that will a threat to the long term stability of Ethiopia. Thus, with the help of international community, Somalia should find a way in convincing Ethiopia that a stable Somalia is in the best interests of the region and the world.

Finally, this study is not exhaustive; hence the author suggests that further research should be done on this topic. That would help to better understand Ethiopia’s foreign policy towards Somalia, its role in the conflict and how to address it by the international community and Somalia itself.
Bibliography


