

GLOBALİZASYON VE OYUN SONRASI DÖNEMDE ETİYOPYA DIŞ POLİTİKASINA ETKİSİ*

Küreselleşmenin Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dönemde Etiyopya Dış Politikasına Etkisi

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Abstract

Like the other parts of the world, the Ethiopian region was also affected by the East-West rivalry of the Cold War Era. Both the Eastern and Western block countries believed that maintaining a strong hold in the strategically important area of the Ethiopian region and horn of Africa is a pre-requisite to safeguard their economic and political benefit. Furthermore, the two blocks aimed to stabilize governments which were pro for their respective ideologies. This helped Ethiopia to be the focal point of the United States largest economic and military assistance program and the location of largest embassy in sub-Saharan Africa. This long lived and strong U.S - Ethiopian relationship, however, was devoured by the coming to power of a Soviet backed military regime. On the other hand, the disintegration of the former USSR in the late 1980s manifested a serious blow in the overall capacity of the military regime. This finally led to the down fall of the military regime in 1991 and its replacement by the late Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Post-Cold War Era Ethiopia, as a main foreign policy partner of the U.S, was significantly influenced by the prevailed universal paradigm that mainly featured market economy and liberal democracy. Moreover, the culmination of the Cold War and the subsequent emergence of new powers in the region such as China, India, Turkey, Brazil, Malaysia and the oil rich Gulf States led to the diversification of Ethiopian foreign policy partners.

Keywords: Globalisation, Ethiopia, Democracy, Free Market, Foreign Policy

Özet

Dünyanın diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi, Etiyopya bölgesi de Soğuk Savaş Dönemi Doğu-Batı rekabetinden etkilenmiştir. Gerek Doğu gerekse Batı bloğu ülkeleri, Etiyopya bölgesinin ve Afrika boynuzunun stratejik açıdan önemli bir bölümünde güçlü konumlarını sürdürmeyi ekonomik ve siyasi fayda sağlamak adına önemli bir ön şart olarak düşünüyordu. Dahası, iki blok, kendi ideolojilerine yakın olan hükümetleri istikrara kavuşturmayı amaçlıyordu. Bu, Etiyopya'yı hem ABD'nin en büyük ekonomik ve askeri yardım programının merkezi haline getirdi hem de ABD'nin Sahra-altı Afrika'daki en büyük elçiliğinin burada konumlanmasına yol açtı. Ancak bu uzun ömürlü ve güçlü ABD-Etiyopya ilişkisi, Sovyet destekli bir askeri rejimin iktidara gelmesiyle paramparça oldu. Bununla birlikte, 1980'lerin sonundaki SSCB'nin çöküşü, askeri rejimin genel kapasitesine ciddi bir darbe indirdi. Nihayetinde 1991'deki askeri rejimin devrilmesine ve bunun yerine Etiyopyalı Halkların Devrimci Demokratik Cephesi'nin (EPRDF) gelmesine yol açtı. ABD'nin dış politikadaki önde gelen ortağı olarak Etiyopya, Soğuk Savaş Sonrası dönemde başta piyasa ekonomisi ve liberal demokrasi olmak üzere ege-

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men evrensel paradigmanın etkisinde kaldı. Ayrıca, Soğuk Savaşın sona ermesi ve ardından bölgede Çin, Hindistan, Türkiye, Brezilya, Malezya ve Körfez Devletleri gibi yeni güçlerin ortaya çıkması, Etiyopya'nın dış politika ortaklarının çeşitlenmesine yol açtı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Etiyopya, Demokrasi, Serbest Pazar, Dış Politika

Introduction:

Since the 1990s the concept globalisation has become one of the key areas that obtained a considerable attention from international relations and other social science scholars. Although this concept has been defined and interpreted in several ways, most of these conceptualizations claim the increasing level of international integration in terms of interchanging of world views, goods, services and other aspects of culture. This intensive interaction among diverse people of the world resulted in the compression of time and space.

A variety of factors can be sorted out as a driving force in the contemporary form of globalisation. These are the increase in the flow of financial resources, labour, and the rise in technology especially communication and information technology. This resulted in the asymmetrical distribution of the merits and demerits of globalisation towards various people and regions of the world. Accordingly, those people, who have better access to and control over the main driving forces of globalisation are positively influenced by the ongoing process of global interconnectedness and vice versa.

Regarding the influence of globalisation towards the process of foreign policy decision making, the lessening of states sovereignty and authority to pass an independent decision for their socio-economic and political affairs is worth mentioning. In the context of globalisation, issues began to be dealt in reference of the prevailing global economic and political frameworks.

In the case of Ethiopia, since the downfall of the military regime a series of socio-economic and political reforms, that aim to further integrate the country with the international system, have been introduced. Measures that enhance privatisation and foreign direct investment

are some reforms worth mentioning in relation to the global economic integration. Politically, in the immediate post-Cold War period, Ethiopia introduced a more liberal constitution that provides emphasis for the protection of human and democratic rights of the citizens.¹ There were also efforts to conduct periodic and competitive elections and maintain a balance of power among the different ethnic groups and peaceful coexistence among the various nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia were some of the promising starts.

In spite of this, however, poor governance, an underdeveloped economy, corruption and other problems of the regime negatively influence the countries to benefit from the global socio-economic and political integration. On the other side, little efforts have been done to systematically analyse the threats and opportunities that Ethiopia has been facing because of the globalisation process. This, in turn, jeopardises the country's capacity to fully utilise the benefits of the global socio-economic and political interconnectedness on one hand and to overcome possible challenges on the other. Providing some insights on Ethiopia's foreign policy decision-making process in the context of globalisation is one of the reasons to pen this article.

This paper has five sections. End of the Cold War and its implication towards the socio-economic and political practices of the Ethiopian region is presented in the first section. The second part treats important arguments regarding foreign policy in the context of globalisation. The third and fourth sections deal on the important rationales of post-Cold War Era Ethiopia's foreign policy and major foreign policy partners respectively. The political implication of Ethiopia's interconnectedness to the global order in particular reference to the global war on terror is examined under the final section of the paper.

End of the Cold War and Ethiopia

Like other parts of the world, the Ethiopian region and horn of Africa were also affected by the Cold War Era East-West rivalry. As it is noted by I. Mantzikos, the strategic location of the area near to the

¹ Terrence Lyons, "Assesing Risks to Stability", *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, June 2011, p. 4.

Middle East led to its designation as a potential crisis zone during the time under discussion.²

Both East and Western block countries believed that maintaining a strong hold in the strategically important area of the Ethiopian region and horn of Africa is a pre-requisite to guarantee their economic benefit and to stabilise a government which is a pro for their respective ideologies.³ As far as Ethiopia concerned, from the 1950s to 1970s it had a strong external relation with the west, especially with the United States. In his assessment of the Cold War Era U.S foreign policy towards Ethiopia, Peter J. Schraeder identified some important facts that make Ethiopia 'most attractive' of all countries in the region. To mention some of them:

Ethiopia's large population and economic potential, the historic nature of US-Ethiopian ties, the efficient ability of the Ethiopian bureaucracy (unlike "others" in Africa) to "get the job done," a strategic location bordering the Red Sea, a Christian heritage that could serve as a bulwark against Islamic movements, and Ethiopia's role as host to the permanent headquarters of the Organization of African Unity.⁴

Due to this strategic significance, the U.S further strengthened its economic as well as military support to the then Ethiopia's Emperor-Haile Sellasie. As it is commented by former U.S ambassador to Ethiopia, David Shinn, "in the late 1960s Ethiopia was the location of the United States largest economic and military assistance program and largest embassy in sub-Saharan Africa".⁵

This prolonged and strong U.S-Ethiopia relationship, however, was shattered with the coming to power of a Soviet-backed military regime led by Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam. Starting from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s Ethiopia strengthened its relation with Eastern bloc

2 Immanuel Mantzikos, "U.S foreign Policy Making Toward Ethiopia and Somalia (1974-1980)", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. IV/6, June 2010, p. 241.

3 Peter J. Schraeder, "The Horn of Africa: U.S Foreign Policy in an Altered Cold War Environment", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. XLVI/4, Autumn, 1992, p. 571.

4 Peter J. Schraeder, "The Horn of Africa: U.S Foreign Policy in an Altered Cold War Environment", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. XLVI/4, Autumn, 1992, p. 578.

5 David Shinn, "U.S. Policy towards the Horn of Africa", *International Policy Digest*, <http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/10/13/u-s-policy-towards-the-horn-of-africa/>

countries. It had signed a series of agreements that resulted in the provision of massive military and technical supports from the Soviet Union, Cuba and other member countries of the then Socialist world.⁶As it is noted by Schraeder, the military regime in Ethiopia maintained large arms deal with the Soviet and other Eastern bloc countries. In addition to the arms deal, they also signed agreements on principles of friendly relations and on economic, scientific and cultural cooperation.⁷ In general, Ethiopia's external relation with both the Western and Eastern bloc countries before the 1980s was highly characterised by security-based relation. Most of the areas of cooperation were in providing military training and equipment. This seriously undermined the course of democratisation and development in Ethiopia. Instead, it had been effectively exploited by the then Ethiopian feudal lords and military dictators to strengthen their undemocratic and authoritarian rule.

Since the late 1980s onwards, however, dramatic changes have occurred. With the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev as an undisputed leader of the Soviet Union and the subsequent introduction of new political thinking's under perestroika (economic restructuring) and glasnost (political openness) a major shift entailed upon the foreign policy approaches that were determined by Cold War rationales.

Among various countries of the third world, where the new political thinking poured its influence, Ethiopia is one of them. Starting from the late 1980s onwards, for instance, the Soviets officially declared the abrogation of former treaties with Ethiopia to provide firearms and other military equipment.⁸ This, in turn, marked a serious blow in the overall capacity of the military regime. On the other hand, the various secessionist movements which were active since the 1960s and later won the support of the U.S intensified their attack and started to threaten the military regime in Ethiopia. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), The Tigrean Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) were the major and largely regionally and ethnically based guerrilla movements in Ethiopia. Although ini-

6 I. Mantzikos, p. 242-243.

7 Ibid.

8 Getachew Metaferia, *Ethiopia and the United States: History, Diplomacy, and Analysis*, Algora Publishing, New York, 2009, p. 68-70.

tially, they aimed to liberate their own people and establish an independent state free from the then central government, they eventually formed a coalition and become the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF).⁹ For almost two decades, by maintaining strong support from the U.S and Arab government's these guerilla groups made a prolonged civil war with the then military regime in Ethiopia. The military regime on its part was supported by Israel as part of the latter's strategy to prevent the formation of a pro-Arab state in the Red sea region.¹⁰ As it is explained by Schraeder 'the Eritrean conflict became a southern extension of the Arab-Israeli conflict'.

In 1991, the guerilla groups intensified their attack and achieved a decisive victory against the military regime in several battles. This led to their entrance into Addis Ababa (the capital) in May 1991 without any strong resistance from the already collapsing military regime. Here it is essential to mention the role of the U.S to negotiate with both sides and maintain a transfer of power without the bloodshed and clan conflict. The U.S sent several high-level delegations to Addis Ababa and Khartoum where leaders of the EPLF and TPLF resided. This involvement, in turn, paved the way for a strong relationship between EPRDF and the U.S. Furthermore, the U.S supported a referendum by the Eritrean people to determine whether they needed independence or not. This was finally materialised in 1993 with the separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia.

In general, the end of the Cold War Era and the subsequent collapse of the military regime in Ethiopia enabled Ethiopia to revive its external relation with the U. S and the adoption of United States universal economic and political paradigm.

Globalisation and Foreign Policy

A proper examination of the role of foreign policy in the context of globalisation demands critical assessments of various globalisation models. Globalisation theorists have been depicting numerous models

⁹ Ibid, p. 71.

¹⁰ Assefa Jalata, "Ethiopia: The State of Terror and War in the Horn of Africa", *Sociology Publications and Other Works*, Washington D.C, July 2007, p. 3.

that help to systematically analyse the changes in the role of foreign policy in conditions of globalisation. These arguments vary in their view regarding the extent of the influence that globalization-induced in foreign policy making and implementation. The hyperglobalist and global-skeptic thesis are the key approaches in this regard.

Proponents of the first argument assert that the power and importance of the state are constrained by the globalisation process, particularly, economic globalisation. This condition affects the status and position of sovereign states in passing a supreme decision in their socio-economic and political affairs including foreign policy. As is noted by David Held, “Virtually all nation-states become part of a larger pattern of global transformations and global flows. Goods, capital, people, knowledge, communications and weapons, as well as crime, pollutants, fashions and beliefs, rapidly move across territorial boundaries. It has become a fully interconnected global order...”¹¹ The above-mentioned assertion regarding the implications of globalisation towards the nature of the state has valuable inferences to the nature of foreign policy decision-making process. In place of state monopoly in making and implementing foreign policies, in the post-Cold War Era other non-state and sub-state actors such as NGOs, civil societies, multi-national corporations, and transnational corporations become more active and visible.¹²

On the other hand, according to the global-skeptics, the contemporary process of globalisation is not a new phenomenon to restrain the role of traditional nation states. Instead, it is the manifestation of a high-level internationalisation of the world economy. As it is noted by Hirst and Thompson, there is a difference between internationalisation and globalisation. In the former case, the role of the nation-state to determine the nature and structure of the international economic and political situations is not constrained rather strengthened.¹³ Hence pro-

11 David Held, “The End of the Old Order? Globalization and the Prospects for World Order”, *Review of International Studies*, V XXIV/5, December 1998, p. 220.

12 Chris Alden and Ammon Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis New Approaches*, New York: Routledge, 2012, p. 81.

13 Mehmet Seyfettin Erol ve Şafak Oğuz, “Dış Politikada Ulusal Özelliklerin Etkisi: Kavramsal Boyut ve Türk dış Politikası Örneği”, *Dış Politika Teorileri Bağlamında Türk Dış Politikasının Analizi*, Cilt 1, Ertan Efeğil ve Rıdvan Kalaycı (Ed.), Nobel Yayıncılık, Ankara 2012, s. 388-390.

ponents of the global-skeptics argue against regarding the influence of the growing interdependence between states in limiting the role of sovereign states in the course of making and implementing foreign policies and strategies.¹⁴

The Rationale on Post-Cold War Era Ethiopia's Foreign Policy:

With the dissolution of the former USSR and the transformation of the international order from a bipolar to unipolar form, a 'universal paradigm' for socio-cultural, economic and political practices begun to propagate. This process was mainly featured by the market economy and liberal democracy. As a post-Cold War Era, main foreign policy partner of the United States, Ethiopia was also significantly influenced by these developments. The U.S clearly asserted that the establishment of legitimate democracy is a prerequisite to the maintenance of cooperation with Ethiopia. As it is quoted from the then U.S assistance Secretary of State, Cohen 'no democracy, no cooperation'.¹⁵ These external pressures, in one hand, and the internal political developments on the other resulted to the provisions of democracy and democratic governance as a rationale for the post-Cold War Era Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy. The newly formulated foreign policy and strategy of the EPRDF government witnessed this fact.

Needless to mention the prime objective of a foreign policy is to protect national interest- that refers to the interest of the entire people. In the case of Ethiopia, there were and /or are a strong interest of the entire people to maintain democracy and good governance. This is because establishing such an order is an important instrument to respect peoples and individuals' rights. It also provides the members of the various nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia to live together in a state of tolerance.

On the other hand, as it is already noted in the policy document, the absence of a democratic order led to the violation of human and

14 Ibid, p. 80.

15 Peter J.Schraeder, p. 589.

democratic rights of citizens that in turn led to chaos and even disintegration. On the basis of this fact, the foreign policy and strategy of Ethiopia in the post-Cold War Era primarily targets the promotion of democracy and democratic governance. As it is also mentioned in the document, democracy serves as a criterion for Ethiopia to select its external relation partner.¹⁶

In general, the propagation of democracy as a universal paradigm has an influence on the nature, structure and process of post-Cold War Era Ethiopian foreign policy.

In addition to democracy and democratic governance, understanding the regional and global contexts and acting in that regard is also part of the rationale in post-Cold War Era Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy. The rise in global socio-economic and political interconnectedness and its influence in achieving the primary objective of nation's foreign policy are examined by Ethiopian foreign policy decision makers. As it is clearly stated in the document "we can't attain development and democracy by closing our doors and taking refuge into our mountains".¹⁷

Understanding the laws and procedures by which the world of globalisation act and governed is essential. In most cases, these international economic and socio-political laws are based on 'give and take and balance of interests'. And in the course of negotiating the interests of countries with greater capacity and power can influence the negotiations.

It is obvious that a country's integration with the globalisation process has its own challenges and opportunities. Especially developing countries like Ethiopia should critically examine their socio-economic potentials and consciously engage in the process so that they can minimise the risks and fully exploit the opportunities.

16 *FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy*, Ministry of Information Press and Audiovisual Department, Addis Ababa 2002, p. 6.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Hence, Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy of post-Cold War Era understood the inevitable nature of the globalisation process and it has been working on achieving economic development and democratisation in the framework of globalisation. In this regard, the document highlights the need to work together with other developing countries. In the world of globalisation, the various important socio-economic and political laws, as well as covenants that govern international economic relations, are established through negotiations among countries that established the system. It is due to this reality of the globalisation process, common action by developing countries like Ethiopia is noted as a precondition to derive maximum benefits from it.¹⁸

Change and Continuities in Ethiopia's Foreign Policy Partner

Together with influencing the rationale behind the formulation of Ethiopia's foreign policy and strategy, the end of the Cold War also resulted in the emergence of new foreign policy partners. Although the U.S maintained to reinstate itself as the main partner of Ethiopia's external relation, it never achieved the monopoly it had between the 1950s and 1970s. This is mainly due to the emergence of new powers in the region. China, India, Turkey, Brazil, Malaysia and the oil rich Gulf States are to mention some of them.¹⁹

As it is noted by D. Shinn, the emergence of non-Western powers in different parts of the continent was influenced by the end of the Cold War and the strategic disengagement of Western powers, including the U.S from Africa. This marked a shift in the economic and political relationship between the fifty-four African countries in one hand and the traditional Western powers on the other (ibid).²⁰

Since recent times many African countries have been developing a more 'East look' policy in their foreign relation approaches. As it is

18 Ibid, p. 22.

19 David Shinn, "Emerging Powers in Africa: Introduction to African Security Issues", *Africa Center for Strategic Studies*, Washington, D.C., September 2012, p. 2. <http://davidshinn.blogspot.com/2012/09/emerging-powers-in-africa.html>

20 Ibid.

highlighted by Fantu Cheru and Cyril Abi in their analysis of Africa's strategic and development challenges in the twenty-first century, the unimpressive socio-economic and political relations between Africa and the developed world during the past several decades have obliged the former to look for an alternative foreign relation partner. This new form of partnership aims to secure African's right to chart their own development framework which is compatible with the priorities of the masses.²¹

As far as the Ethiopian case concerned, unlike its predecessors, the post-Cold War Era Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy identified both western as well as non-western powers as a main external relation partner. The document provides special attention to the particular significance of the rising powers in accelerating the countries socio-economic as well as political development. Accordingly, the ministry of foreign affairs and other responsible bodies has been taking measures to strengthen the country's external relation with traditional western powers, especially the U.S and newly emerging non-western powers, especially China, India, Turkey and the Gulf States.

Although the beginning of Ethio-Chinese relation goes back to the 1970s, Chinese aid, trade and investment in Ethiopia presented a significant rise following the downfall of the Derg regime in 1991.²² Together with other factors Chinese development aid, which is free from any policy conditionality, is particularly appealing to the EPRDF government. Especially following the disputed parliamentary election of 2005, most of the traditional donors put political conditions (such as good governance, observance of human rights, multi-party democracy etc.) towards their development assistance to Ethiopia.²³ Since then Ethiopia further strengthened its attachment with China.

21 Fantu Cheru - Cyril Obi, *The Rise of China and India in Africa: Challenges, Opportunities and Critical Interventions*, Zed Books, London, 2012, p. 4.

22 Cosmas Ochieng, "Mapping Chinese Development Assistance In Africa: An Analysis of the Experiences of Ethiopia", *African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRO-DAD)*, 2011, p. 17.

23 David Shinn, "China and the Horn of Africa", *Middle East Studies Association*, Washington, D.C. , 2011, p. 3.

As compared to the traditional western 'donors', whose main support concentrate on food aid, China's development assistance towards Ethiopia mainly focused on the construction and manufacturing sectors. To mention some of the important projects which have been accomplished through Chinese development assistance:

- Addis Ababa International Airport,
- The ultra-modern Addis Ring Road,
- Gibe and Tekeze hydroelectric power dams,
- Ethiopia's first industrial park,
- Renovation of the Africa Union Hall, and
- Ethio-China Polytechnic College in Addis Ababa, among others.²⁴

On its part, Ethiopia- with a population of around 100 million has a potential to be a good market for Chinese industrial products. Together with this, the country is also potentially rich in a variety of natural resources that can contribute to China's rising demand for raw materials. For D. Shinn and other scholars, Ethiopia as a seat for headquarters of the African Union is also very much important for China to promote its diplomatic efforts.²⁵

In addition to China, during the post-Cold War period, India also emerged as a main foreign relation partner of Ethiopia. Trade, investment, technical assistances in the area of education, small-scale irrigation schemes and micro dams are to mention some of the major areas of cooperation between the two countries. As far as investment is concerned, India is the second largest foreign investor in Ethiopia. The major portion of this investment is budgeted to the agricultural sector. The number of Indian companies who have been cultivating roses, rice, palms and sugarcane is rising from time to time. In mining, textile, and leather industries Indian investors' participation is considerable.²⁶

24 Cosmas Ochieng, p. 11.

25 David Shinn, "China and the Horn of Africa", p. 5.

26 David Shinn, "Emerging Powers in Africa", p. 3.

Furthermore, in the post-Cold War Era period a number of scholarships provided to Ethiopian students for university education in India have also shown a considerable change. Every year around forty Ethiopian students frequent India sponsored by the Indian government. Whereas some 350 scholarships are provided by the Ethiopian government for students to study in Indian Universities.²⁷

Similar to India and China, Turkey has also obtained an important place as a strategic partner in the post-Cold War Era Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy. Turkey's vibrant economy and its historical ties with Ethiopia are among the most important points highlighted by the foreign policy document.²⁸

Ethiopia as the second populous country in Africa and with 8.5% annual growth rate of GDP since the mid-1990s can provide potential market opportunities for Turkish industrial products. Accordingly, the ministry of foreign affairs has been taking various measures that further strengthen the socio-cultural and economic relationship between the two countries. The different agreements and memorandum of understanding signed between the two countries are important manifestations in this regard.²⁹

Turkey would also like to develop a free trade zone with Ethiopia. As it is noted by D. Shinn Turkish investors are involved heavily in textiles, construction, leather, furniture, agro-processing and water well drilling. Similar to China and India, Turkey's investment and development assistances can have a valuable contribution in building the overall capacity of Ethiopia in the long run.³⁰

The Global War on Terrorism and Ethiopia

Together with the above mentioned socio-economic and political developments, the post-Cold War Era Ethiopian foreign policy and stra-

27 India Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "India-Ethiopia Relation", http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Ethiopia_January_2014.

28 *FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy*, p. 136.

29 *Ibid.*

30 David Shinn, "U.S. policy towards the Horn of Africa", p. 4.

tegy has been also influenced by the global war on terrorism. The term war on terror is commonly applied to indicate the international military campaign in different parts of the world that were initiated following the September 11 attacks against the United States.³¹

This global level military, political, legal and ideological struggle—targeting both organisations designated as terrorist and regimes accused of supporting them began earlier in Africa than the other parts of the world. As compared to other parts of Africa, the horn of Africa is considered as a major source of global terrorism by the U.S for over a decade. Together with its geographic proximity to the Middle East, domestic socio-economic and political situations have their own contribution for the long-lived instability of the region.

The shared socio-cultural and historical elements made most countries of the horn highly interconnected. Hence, any dynamism in one of these countries has its own impact towards others. This is quite true when we see the case of Ethio-Somali relationship. Ethiopia has always had a political and strategic interest in Somalia and would never remain indifferent to any crisis in Somalia. Geographically whatever happens in Somalia invariably affects Ethiopia. Partly because of this extreme interconnectedness the relation between Ethiopia and Somalia has been characterised by frequent clashes and violence.³²

With the collapse of the Siyad Barre's government in 1991, the various clans in Somalia begun to fight for control of Mogadishu and other valuable areas. The Union of Islamic Courts also emerged in that turbulent period. It was a group of Sharia courts supported by the prominent Hawiye clans. Contrary to the warlords, the UIC established a wider alliance by transcending clan identity. They organised a Shura Council with representatives from most clans. In 2006, the organisation constituted the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT) which was able to stabilise south and central Somalia and begun to take measures to establish a broad-based Islamic government.³³

31 Princeton N. Lyman, "The War on Terrorism in Africa", in J. Harbeson & D. Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics*, Colorado: Westview Press, 2013, p. 4.

32 Berouk Mesfin, "The Horn of Africa as a Security Complex: Towards a Theoretical Framework", *Institute for Security Studies*, 2010. p. 2.

33 Mohamed A. Mohamed, *U.S. Strategic Interest In Somalia: From Cold War Era to War on*

These internal developments in Somalia, however, preyed by Washington and Addis Ababa as a threat to global and regional stability. The U.S accused the UIC of providing shelter for those who are suspected of involvement of bombing the U.S embassy in Nairobi and Dar-el-Salam. The Ethiopian government on its part made guilty of the UIC of having an alliance with an organisation known as - al-İti-had al-İslami (AIAI)- an armed group that aims to have a regional network including the Somali-inhabited areas of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa also accused of AIAI as responsible for the bombings of two hotels and an assassination attempt of Abdulmajeed Hussein, an ethnic Somali Ethiopia and a cabinet minister.³⁴

The tension between Ethiopia and the Sharia Courts reached its climax in the last half of 2006. In Dec. 2006 with a considerable intelligence and material support from the U.S, Ethiopia, one of the United States partners of the war on terror in the Horn of Africa, militarily intervened in Somalia and dislodged the court's movement from Mogadishu. Although Ethiopia's military intervention resulted in the collapse of the UIC's movement, it never maintains regional stability.³⁵ Instead, as it is commented by Fekade Shewaqena, the 2006-2009 Ethiopia's military intervention in Somalia resulted in the rise of more militant Islamists like Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen ("Movement of Warrior Youth," al-Shabaab), a group that was designated as "global terrorist" by the U.S. Department of State in 2008 and "listed terrorist organization" by the Australian government the following year.³⁶

Summary and Conclusion:

Since the downfall of the military regime a series of socio-economic and political reforms, that aims to further integrate Ethiopia with the international system, have been introduced. Economic and political reforms, cognizant of the global situation, is highlighted as one of the important rationales of the EPRDF's foreign policy and strategy. Like

Terror, Pro Quest LLC, Michigan, 2009, p. 24.

34 Princeton N. Lyman, p. 5.

35 Ibid.

36 Fekade Shewakena, *Ethiopia - Invasion of Somalia A Serious Long Term Foreign Policy Blunder*, Kinijit pres release, January 2007. p. 2.

many other countries of the world, the introduction of free market economy and liberal democracy as universal values also affected the nature of economic and political reformations of post-Cold War Era Ethiopia.

Economic reformations, which enhance privatisation and foreign direct investment, have had their own positive contribution to Ethiopia's remarkable economic developments of the 1990s and 2000s. As it is confirmed by World Bank, Ethiopia is regarded as one of the fastest growing non-oil exporting economies of sub-Saharan Africa. But, this does not mean that Ethiopia's integration of the global economy is free from challenges. Limited institutional capacities and human capital have resulted in market instabilities and failures at times.

Together with the economic reforms, political rearrangements such as periodic elections, multi-party system, press freedom have had an also valuable role in consolidating democratic practices of post-Cold War Ethiopia. The introduction of a more liberal constitution that provides much emphasis for the protection of human and democratic rights of citizens also positively influence the country's political culture.

Furthermore, the high-level global interconnection of the post-Cold War Era also contributes to the emergence of new global actors. The emergence of non-western powers like China, India, Turkey, Brazil, Malaysia and the oil rich Gulf States influence Ethiopia's effort to successfully integrate into the global political economy and maintain sustainable development. The rise of new global actors enhances the bargaining power of many developing countries including Ethiopia in their negotiation with the West.

As part of the globalisation process, Ethiopia was obliged to adopt some economic and political measures forwarded by international organisations such as the World Bank and IMF. In some instances, such policy proposals lack to consider political and economic situations on the ground. However, International Organizations impose these proposals as a condition during aid negotiations. With the emergence of new development partners, however, stringing aids with economic and political conditionality's has started to decline. This, in turn, pro-

vides some rooms for Ethiopia to propose policy alternatives which are responsive to real demands of the society. In many regional and international stages, Ethiopia strongly argues for the need to consider the African agency in designing policies. This enhances the benefit of developing countries from the ongoing globalisation process.

Moreover, considering the African agency has also strong implication in maintaining sustainable peace and stability in the troubled Ethiopian region and Horn of Africa. Since the late 1990s, there were frequent military interventions in the region. Most of these military interferences were sponsored under the global war on Terrorism. Although the operations aimed to maintain sustainable global and regional peace, they hardly achieved their objective. Economic and political development activities of many regional states, including Ethiopia, are still challenged by terror attacks. Therefore, in order to enhance Ethiopia's benefit from the globalisation process, the following two steps have to be taken. First, Ethiopia has to crystalize its promising economic and political restructuring of the late 1990s and early 2000s. Second, both the traditional as well as emerging development partners should consider the Ethiopian agency in proposing development policies.

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