ETHIOPIA AND THE RISING POWERS: A CASE STUDY ON THE POST-COLD WAR ERA ETHIO-TURKISH RELATION

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Abstract

Ethiopia's foreign policy and strategy of the past several decades was characterized by 'western-centric' and highly securitized approaches. It was also dominated by a state to state relationship that marginalized the participation of non-state actors. The collapse of the former USSR in the late 1980s and the subsequent end of the Cold War era led to a significant transformation in the political economy of Ethiopia. In 1991 the largely ethnic and regional based guerrilla groups removed the military from power and established the late Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Unlike its predecessors, the post-Cold War era Ethiopia's foreign policy and strategy has been characterized by the effort to diversify its partners as well as area of engagement. As it is widely observed in the rationale of the EPRDF's foreign policy and strategy document, supporting the democratization process of the local politics and addressing economic constraints through strategic trade negotiations, aid and foreign direct investment are highlighted as priority areas. Furthermore, non-western powers such as China, India, Turkey, Brazil, Malaysia and the oil reach Gulf States became the main external relation partners of Ethiopia in the post-Cold War period. This new form of engagement, under the frame work of the 'South-South cooperation', is characterized by a two-way or equal partner relationship that doesn't rely on conditionality. As compared to the other non-western powers, Turkey's socio-cultural and historical depth, its special effort to maintain peace and stability in the troubled Ethiopian region and Horn of Africa and its commitments to practically assist the economic development and poverty reduction efforts of Ethiopia make her a preferred foreign policy partner.

Key Words: *Foreign Policy, Rising Powers, Ethiopia, Turkey.*

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ETİYOPYA VE YÜKSELEN GÜÇLER: SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI DÖNEMİ ETHİO-TÜRK İLİŞKİSİ BİR VAKA ÇALIŞMASI

Özet

Etiyopya'nın dış politika ve son birkaç on yıllık stratejisi 'Batı-merkezli' ve son derece menkulleştirilmiş yaklaşımlar ile karakterize edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda devlet dışı aktörlerin katılımını marjinal bir devlet durumuna ilişki hakim oldu. 1980'lerin sonlarında Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti'nin eski Birliği'nin çöküşü ve Soğuk Savaş döneminin ardından son Etiyopya politik ekonomisinde önemli bir dönüşüme yol açtı. 1991 yılında, büyük ölçüde etnik ve bölgesel temelli gerilla grupları güç askeri kaldırıldı ve geç Etiyopya Halkın Devrimci Demokratik Cephesi (EPRDF) kurdu. Öncekilerden farklı olarak, Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemi Etiyopya'nın dış politika ve strateji ortakları çeşitlendirmeye yanı sıra nişan alan için çaba ile karakterize edilmiştir. Yaygın yerel siyasetin demokratikleşmesi sürecini destekleyen ve stratejik ticaret müzakereleri, yardım ve doğrudan yabancı yatırım yoluyla ekonomik kısıtlamalar ele, EPRDF dış politika ve strateji belgesinin gerekçesinde görüldüğü üzere öncelikli alanlar olarak vurgulanır. Ayrıca, Çin, Hindistan, Türkiye, Brezilya, Malezya ve Körfez ülkeleri gibi Batılı olmayan güçler Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde Etiyopya ana dış ilişki ortak oldu. Angajman bu yeni formu, 'Güney-Güney işbirliği' çerçeve çalışması kapsamında, koşulluluk dayanmaz iki yönlü veya eşit ortağı ilişkisi ile karakterizedir. Diğer Batılı olmayan güçler, Türkiye'nin sosyo-kültürel ve tarihsel derinliği ile karşılaştırıldığında, özel çaba pratik Etiyopya ekonomik kalkınma ve yoksulluğun azaltılması çabalarına yardımcı olmak için Afrika ve taahhütlerini sorunlu Etiyopya bölgesinde ve Afrika Boynuzu barış ve istikrarı korumak için onu bir tercih dış politika ortağı yapmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dış Politika, Yükselen Güçler, Etiyopya, Türkiye.

Introduction

The global system of the post-Cold War period has witnessed various changes and developments in the socio-economic and political practices of the world society. With the collapse of the former USSR in the late 1980s the world transformed from a bipolar international system in to a unipolar in which the US emerged as a supreme global power. This in turn led to the establishment of democracy and free market economy as a universal paradigm.

Like the other parts of the world, the fifty-four African countries are also influenced by this global dynamism. One of the most important developments of the post-Cold War era that significantly influence Africa's political economy was the relaxation of the East-West tension and the subsequent disengagement of Western powers including the US from the region. This consequently marked a shift in the socio-economic and political relationship between African countries and traditional western powers.

Since the mid 1990's countries like China, India, Brazil, Turkey, Indonesia, Vietnam and the Gulf States began to emerge as an alternative foreign relation partner to the various African states. As compared to the approaches adopted by the traditional Western powers, these rising countries articulated new forms of engagement under the frame work of the 'South-South cooperation'. This new form of collaboration is characterized by a two-way or equal partner relationship that doesn't rely on conditionality in the one hand and a cooperative relationship that incorporates trade, investment and finance flows on the other. These make the 'South-South cooperation' different from its counterpart of the 'North-South' relation.

Ethiopia is one of the fifty-four African countries its foreign policy and strategy is extremely influenced by this new form of international relation. During the past several decades Ethiopia's external relation was characterized by 'western-centric' and highly securitized approaches. Furthermore it was also dominated by a state to state relation that marginalized the participation of non-state actors. People who were in charge to formulate and implement foreign policies effectively manipulated it to maintain their economic and political interest at the expense of the masses. This negatively affects the country's effort to maintain a stable socio-economic and political order.

On the other hand Ethiopia's foreign policy and strategy of the post-Cold War era has been experiencing important developments both in terms of the internal and external factors. These changes can potentially contribute to address the country's pressing problems.

In this study present the important aspects Ethiopia's post-Cold war era socio-economic and diplomatic relation with emerging powers, Turkey as a case analysis. The proposed study also aims to inform a strategic future engagement of Ethiopia with the emerging powers. To this effect related policy documents consulted. In addition secondary sources such as books, articles, magazines and newspapers also reviewed. The study starts by identifying the internal and external factors that are responsible to determine the nature of a given country's foreign policy. The next section deals about an overview of the past Ethiopia's foreign policy. Ethiopia's engagement with the rising powers in general and that of Turkey in particular will be discussed in the third and fourth section of the study respectively. The last section of the study deals about policy implications of the Ethio-Turkish strategic engagement.

1. STATE RELIGION INTERACTION FROM
   THEORITICAL VIEWOINT

In the course of analyzing factors that determine the nature, structure and process of a state foreign policy theory play remarkable role. Foreign policy analysts assert two major categories of factors from which the related theoretical explanations arise. Accordingly there are theories that are dealing with factors outside the state and theories that are dealing with inside the state.

Under the first category there are theories that provide much focus on the nature of the international system and the characteristics of the contemporary international relations. In addition, the actions of multinational corporations, international and transnational organizations and their subsequent implications towards a states' foreign policy options.

On the other hand, the nature of the domestic political system, the individual leaders, the government organization and other characteristics those are internal to the state designated under the internal source of foreign policy (Kaarbo, Lantis, and Beasley, 2012:7).

A. Realism and Its Effect on Foreign Policy

One of the basic assumptions of realism is the absence of an overarching government in the international system, i.e., anarchy. Unlike that of domestic politics, where well defined rules determine the way individuals and groups behave, the international politics lack this system of law as well as enforcing mechanisms. This condition of the international system determines the nature of states foreign policy. As a result, the driving force for states foreign policy becomes the effort to look out and defend their security (Jackson and Sorenson, 2006:59; 2012:7).

Moreover, the need to acquire and maintain power, especially military power, is also regarded as a prime mover of states foreign policy (2006:7). As it is noted by Juliet K., Jeffrey S.L., and Ryan K.B., the power capabilities of states have its own implication towards foreign policy choice of a given state. The foreign policies of those states that are militarily powerful are different from those medium and small power countries. As realists argue in a situation when the international system is characterized by bipolarity, middle and smaller states try to create alliance with one of the global power (2012:8). This was also the case in Ethiopian foreign policy during the cold war period. During the monarchy rule, Ethiopia was the major ally of the United States that paved the way for obtaining a considerable amount of support in various aspects. In fact among the sub-Saharan African countries the US opened its biggest embassy in Ethiopia and had been providing huge amount of military aid (Mantzikos, 2010:242, Schraeder, 1992:573).

B. Effect of Economic Interdependence on Foreign Policy: Liberalism

Contrary to what realists argue, liberalists regarded economic interdependence as the main factor that affects states' foreign policy. Promoting cooperation rather than conflict is depicted as states fundamental behavior. For liberalists the driving force behind a state foreign policy is cooperating with other state and building international institutions to facilitate that interdependence (2006:96). The rationales for the post Cold War era Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy also coincides with this liberal assumption. Ethiopia has been taking continuum of initiatives that led to cooperation with regional as well as non regional states.

On the other hand, the domestically oriented foreign policy approach contends that differences in internal political systems, cultures and leaders are main sources of a state foreign policy. Proponents of this approach also highlight the public groups, societal groups, government organizations and leaders as the main domestic sources of foreign policy (2012:13).

a. The public opinion

The attitude citizens of a given country hold on certain socio-economic and political issues has its own implication on foreign policy option. In the 2006-2009 Ethiopian military intervention in Somalia, for instance, the Ethiopian public deeply divided. There were people who argue for the military intervening while others were against this decision. Such a deep division in public opinion had its own impact on late foreign policy issues (2012:13-14; Chris Alden and Amnon Aran, 2012:55).

In addition to this the Ethiopian societies deeply divided by religious line. Most of the Muslims of Ethiopia prefer normal relation with Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States. Especially Saudi Arabia has tremendous influence on the Ethiopian Muslim because of Mecca and Medina. During Derg era, the great majority of Christian intellectuals in Ethiopia regarded Israel as the agent of Imperialism and allied with Palestine resistance but this does not represent the feeling of the ordinary people who even failed to see Israel as a Jewish state rather than Christian state. This ignorance and suspicion about Arabs, which is shared by some government officials, hindered the relation of Ethiopia with one of the most important area in the world history and politics.

C. The Effect of Societal Groups

Together with the public opinion, the attitude of societal groups such as economic interest groups, religious, ethnic groups, nongovernmental organization… can be also important source of foreign policy. As various research findings reveal the influence of societal groups in foreign policy often depends on the particular issue, how organized the group is and the relationship between the interest group and the government (2012:15).

D. Government Organization

Foreign policy processes are also constrained by the way the government is organized. In democratic governments, for instance, there are democratic institutions that enabled various actors to get involved in decision making processes. In contrast, in authoritarian governments decision making authority is monopolized by authoritarian leaders and there is only limited space for participation of other actors (2012:17).In Ethiopian case the foreign policy of the country is determined by emotion and government.

E. Leaders Personality

Leaders who are in charge in making policies can be also serves as an important source of foreign policy. Decision making of leaders often influenced by their childhood or early political experiences. Moreover, leaders' values and ways of managing uncertainties have tremendous influence on foreign policy decision making pattern of a given state (2012:23&24). During the past time there were leaders in Ethiopia who had been trying to solve the countries' boarder dispute and other political problems militarily. These leaders were more conflictual in their foreign policy approaches.

2. ETHIOPIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: AN OVERVIEW

As it is pointed by international relation scholar's foreign policy of a given country primarily concerned with the pursuit of national interest and attainment of national objective (2006: 226; 2012:3). Similar to other states Ethiopia, one of the oldest countries, has been also engaging in foreign relations with different countries of the world. Although this relation has counted several centuries, a centralized type of external relation was established during the reign of Emperor Menelik II (1889-1906).As modern diplomacy is a relatively recent phenomenon in the political history of the world, Ethiopia was not late to join this as Africa representative. Ethiopia's formal relation with different countries was started as of 1900. In 1900 Menelik II decided for the establishment of the council of ministers of which the ministry of foreign affairs was one. He made contacts with European states that had colonial possession in Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia and other neighboring countries of Ethiopia. In this regard Ethiopia's decisive victory against Italian colonialists at the battle of Adwa in 1896 enabled Emp. Menelik to transform the countries' external relation (Arka Abota, 2002:40).

Following the death of Menelik II and coming to power of the young prince, Lij Iyasu, however this relation started to change. European colonialists made an agreement to partition Ethiopia and extend their territorial possession in the region. On his part Lij Iyasu had a vision to maintain Ethiopia's independence by ridding the Horn of Africa from colonialism. In doing so the young prince established close relation with Somali nationalist leaders like Sayyid Abdalle Hassen who were fighting against British and Italian colonialism. Furthermore, Lij Iyasu

also allied with the Ottoman Turks and the Germans to remove Britain, France and Italian colonialists from the Ethiopian region and Horn of Africa. These foreign policy measures annoyed the colonial powers and begun to work with Lij Iyasu's domestic opponents. The Christian elites who were paranoid by fear of Muslim expansion, decided to ally itself with the so called Christian countries. In reality the First World War had no religious dimension. This finally led to a coup against the young prince and his deposition from power (Marcus, 1994:114).

From 1916-1930 as a regent to Empress Zewditu and from 1930-1974 as an Emperor of Ethiopia, Hailesellasie I and his government had played an important role in the formulation and implementation of the country's foreign policy. During this period, Hailesellasie effectively used foreign relation as a means to strengthen his authoritarian rule. Before he assumed power Teferi visited many European countries and this helped him to gain popularity in Europe. His past educational and political experiences enabled him to establish a strong relation with European countries, especially with Britain. This situation continued until the intervention of Italian imperialists in 1935-36 against Ethiopia's sovereignty (2002:26&27).

With the decline of British influence in the post-liberation period (after 1941) Ethiopia shifted its foreign relation collaborator. And from 1950s-1970s Ethiopia turn out to be the 'most attractive' ally of all countries of the Horn of Africa region towards the US foreign policy makers (Bahru Zewde, 1991:183; I. Mantzikos, 2010:242). Together with other factors, "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 (OAU)" (1992:578).

İn general the prime foreign policy objective of the past Ethiopian feudal lords was to consolidate their authoritarian regime rather than keeping the national interest of the country. Due to the highly securitized nature of the country's foreign policy, most of the areas of cooperation were in providing military equipments and trainings. This seriously undermines the contribution of foreign policy towards domestic development endeavors. Ethiopia failed to capitalize its relation with Europe and USA for development.

With the 1974 popular revolution in Ethiopia and the coming to power of the military regime, a shift in foreign policy approaches has observed. The Cold-War era and the subsequent east-west rivalry led to the deterioration of Ethiopia's relation with that of the US and its replacement by Soviet Union (1992:571).

The U.S. human right rhetoric record in the one hand and the Dergue's lower record in this regard on the other obliged the later to look for an ideo-

logically compatible alternative partner. This led the military regime to join the Socialist bloc and to rearrange the country's external relation (2010:245). Like its predecessors, the foreign policy approach of the military regime also characterized by its emphasis on serving the political interest of those who were in power. The relation with WARSAW pact countries and Cuba was mainly military aid and student exchange program. The regime used the East-West difference to stay on power rather than attracting investment and development. The foreign policy of the country was ideological than interest based. As the result of cold war and the government policy the country turned all of countries shared border and history in to enemy .Minimal or no efforts were made to benefit the domestic socio-economic and political activities of the country by foreign policy tools and strategies.

The end of the Cold War era and subsequent developments of the global politics resulted to a regime change in Ethiopia. In 1991 the largely ethnic and regional based guerrilla groups removed the military from power and established the late Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDFs). This in turn led to the revival of the western-centric foreign policy and strategy of Ethiopia.

The post-Cold War era Ethiopia's foreign policy and strategy is significantly influenced by the prevailed universal paradigm that is mainly characterized by market economy and liberal democracy. This is widely observed in the rationale of the EPRDF's foreign policy and strategy document. In light of this, supporting the democratization process of the local politics and addressing economic constraints by actively engaging in strategic trade negotiations, aid and foreign direct investment are highlighted as priority areas (FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy, 2002:25&26). The policy paper tried to outline the principles of Ethiopian foreign policy but still affected by emotion and more than millennia old paranoia towards Muslim countries.

3. ETHIOPIA'S ENGAGEMENT WITH THE EMERGING POWERS

In his analysis of the factors that are responsible for the arrival of non-western powers in different parts of the African continent, the former U.S ambassador in Ethiopia, David Shinn, noted the end of the Cold War and the strategic disengagement of western powers as a main process. This marked a shift in the economic and political relationship between the fifty four African countries in the one hand and the traditional Western powers on the other (Shinn, 2012:1&2).

Since recent times many African countries have been developing a more 'East look' policy in their foreign relation approaches. As it is highlighted by Fantu Cheru and Cyril Abi in their analysis of Africa's strategic and development challenges in the twenty-first century:

Disenchantment with the poor track record of the Western development cooperation over fifty years, the double standards that Western government practice in their relations with African states, the tendency to give aid with one hand and to retrieve it with the other, through unfair trade practices and debt structures, have generated a lot of debate among Africans over the past decade, and a rallying point for pursuing an alternative and independent African development agenda (Cheru-Obi, 2012:4).

Similarly the post-Cold War era Ethiopia's foreign policy has been also characterized by the effort to diversify its foreign relation partners. Although the U.S maintained to reinstate itself as a main partner of Ethiopia's external relation, but it never had a monopoly as it was before between 1950s and 1970s. This is mainly because of the emergence of new powers in the region. China, India, Turkey, Brazil, Malaysia and the oil reach Gulf States are to mention some of them (2012:1). Even if Ethiopia was the member of non-alignment movement in the cold war era, it's remained in close contact with Eastern blocks. But the country remained friendly with some of 'the present day emerging countries' politically.

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 ministries of foreign affairs and other responsible bodies have been taking measures to strengthen the country's external relation with the traditional western powers as well as the newly emerging non-western powers.

4. ETHIOPIA AND TURKEY: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Together with assessing Ethiopia's relation with the emerging powers, this micro level study provides special attention in analyzing the implication of Ethio-Turkish relation towards the political-economy of the two countries. In doing so outlining the contemporary relation per se may not provide us the full picture. Hence, it is essential to uncover historical evidences to properly understand the magnitude and characteristics of the then relation. This in turn contributes to clearly analyze the current relation.

According to available literatures the beginning of Ethiopia's relation with Turkey goes back to the Ottoman period. The Ottoman Turks following their conquest of Egypt in 1517 begun to extend towards the Red sea coast region. This territorial expansion was aimed to maintain the security of the east trade that stretched from Far East to Europe and contribute a lot for the strengthening of the Ottoman's economic capacity (Sarinay, 2001:8; 1994:34).

On the other hand, the Portuguese who tried to control the Red Sea shore exerted pressure on Ottoman to deal with threat. This erupted a struggle between the Portuguese and Ottomans. The internal situation in the Ethiopian region invited both the Portuguese and the Ottomans to participate in the three hundred year old Muslim Christian conflict in the region. İn this struggle the Portuguese made an anti-Muslim alliance with the then central high land Christian kingdom of Ethiopia. The Portuguese sought to gain the support of the Christian dominated kingdom of Ethiopia to attack and end Muslims power in the region. This alliance alarmed the Ottomans and started to arm local Muslim forces that were fighting against the Christian kingdom (1994:34&35; Mordechai, 1980:87).

In fact this support of the Ottomans reached to its pinnacle during Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi of Ethiopia- who made frequent battles against the central highland Christian kingdom. Dr. Yusuf Sarinay in his analysis of Ottoman archives and Ethio-Ottman relations pointed this confrontation and the remarkable support of the Ottoman's:

> *Up on the Portuguese provocations on the people in Abyssinia, Ahmed bin Ibrahim declared war against the kingdom of Abyssinia in 1527. He gained great success with the Ottomans' support during this struggle. The Sultan and the Caliph Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent had been very pleased about this success and addressed him as the 'Sultan Ahmet El Hakim be Vilayet-I Habesh' (2001:9).*

This relationship between the Ottomans and Ethiopia further strengthened with the appointment of the Ozdemir Pasha as governor general of Yemen in 1548. He expanded his domination in the red sea region and in 1555 he had founded the province of Abyssinia. As archival information noted, on Nov. 30, 1555 a man named Abdulvehab Efendi was appointed as the first Kadi of the province (2001:10).

Despite some declines in later periods Ethio-Ottoman relations restarted during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II. Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia sent Ato Josef and Kont de Leonitif to Istanbul as Ambassador. The king also sent various gifts and also requested Ottoman support for the protection of Abyssinian properties in Jerusalem, especially the Monastery of Deiru's Saltana. Sultan Abdulhamid II sent a reply with some presents and also made efforts to solve the

problem concerning the monastery in Jerusalem (2001:12).

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and establishment of the Republic of Turkey also the two countries continued their economic and diplomatic relation. It was only after three years following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, 1926; Turkey opened its embassy in Ethiopia, which was the first Turkish embassy in sub-Saharan Africa. Ethiopia opened its embassy in Ankara in 1933 and it had been remained active until the Communist Derg regime closed it in 1984. In April 2006 Ethiopia reopened its embassy in Ankara. Furthermore, TIKA (the Turkish International Coordination Agency) also opened its first office in Africa in Addis Ababa in 2005 (MoFA official web site).

In general all the above mentioned facts about past Ethio-Turkish relation have their own implication for the current and future socio-political and economic ties of peoples of the two countries. In the next section of the paper efforts will be made to comprehend the important features of the contemporary relation between the two parties.

5. TURKEY AS A PREFERRED PARTNER

The contemporary relationship between Turkey and Ethiopia is marked by important developments of the post-Cold War era foreign policy approaches of the two countries. Unlike the previous period, Turkey foreign policy makers of the post-Cold War era undertook a series of measures that reunite the people of Turkey with whom they shared common historical and socio-cultural attachments. This enabled Turkey to strategically reintegrate with its neighbors in Asia, Europe and Africa (Davutoglu, 2012: 2).

Similarly, the post-Cold War era foreign policy and strategy of Ethiopia also aimed to attach the country with whomever that can positively influence its economic development and political stability. Hence, without any ideological restriction Ethiopia opened its foreign policy door. This measure enabled Ethiopia to further strengthen its external ties with former partners in the one hand and with the various emerging powers on the other. Countries like Turkey, China, India, Malaysia, Indonesia and the oil reach Gulf countries have been emerged as an alternative to the traditional foreign relation partners of Ethiopia (FDRE Foreign Policy and Strategy, 2002: 151-153).

As compared to the already established Western powers, the foreign policy approach and implementation tools of the newly emerging powers have its own distinct features and characteristics. In this particular section of the study efforts will be made to examine the socio-economic and political implication of the new approach by taking the Ethio-Turkish relation as a case study.

During the past several decades Ethiopia's external partners had been providing supports that mainly aimed to strengthen its military capacities. The various agreements signed between Ethiopia and its traditional allies targeted on the area of security. Such a highly securitized foreign policy objective had its own consequences for the economic development and democratization process of the country. Until recent times western governments were supporting authoritarian regimes in Ethiopia both diplomatically and militarily. In the post WWII period, for instance, Emperor Hailesellasie of Ethiopia emerged as the main ally of the U.S despite his government was accused of gross human right violations (Assefa Jalata, 2011:133).

On the other hand, the post-Cold War period Ethiopia's external partners in general and that of Turkey in particular provide special focus on economic cooperation and development endeavors. Turkey's GOs and NGOs actively engage in various development activities that potentially contribute to those efforts in Ethiopia aiming poverty reduction and sustainable development. In textile, construction, grain and cotton import and export, and agro-processing and other sectors a total of 250 Turkish entrepreneurs are investing in Ethiopia (Nazreth, 2009). As it is noted by former Ethiopian ambassador in Turkey, Dr. Mulatu Teshome, annual trade volume between Ethiopia and Turkey currently reached to $400 million from only $30 in 2006. AYKA textile, the largest textile factory in Africa that created job opportunity for about 8,000 Ethiopians is a clear manifestation of Turkish commitment to potentially support Ethiopia's effort to maintain sustainable development by eradicating poverty. Furthermore, Turkey also working to open a huge Ethio-Turkish Industrial zone that has also a capacity to create job for a large number of Ethiopian people. According to foreign policy analysts, these and other similar foreign policy approaches that aimed to benefit the masses made Turkey a preferred foreign policy partner of contemporary Ethiopia (Todays Zaman, 2011).

In addition to its focus on maintaining a mutual benefit through economic cooperation, Turkey's unreserved effort to realize a sustainable peace and regional stability in the Horn of Africa also made Turkey a chosen partner of Ethiopia. The Horn of Africa region where Ethiopia is situated suffered from frequent civil wars and inter-state conflicts. In this regard the internal strife in Somalia and the subsequent intervention by regional and non-regional actors is a case in point. Ethiopia as a neighboring country of Somalia has been highly affected by the situation in Somalia. Although attempts were made by traditional Western powers and regional actors to stop the prolonged regional instabilities, they remained fruitless. This was mainly because of the militaristic, top-down and interventionist nature of the trials. Since recent times, however, Turkey come up with a new and yet successful model to address the problems of instabilities in the Horn of Africa region in general and to that of Somalia in particular (International Crisis Group, 2012:8&9).

As it is analyzed by International relation scholars, "Ankara is also increasing its involvement in peace building in Somalia, contributing to the stability, security, state building and economic infrastructure in that fractured country"(2012:8&9). Turkey foreign policy makers are taking practical measures in this regard. Instead of trying to solve the decades old problems of civil strife from their offices in Addis Ababa or Nairobi, Turkey's GOs and NGOs base themselves inside Somalia. Turkey is the only country that opened its embassy in Mogadishu after the down fall of Ziad Barre's regime two decades before. Moreover the Turkish Airlines is also the first long-distance international airline that is offering two flights in a week from Mogadishu to Istanbul. These and other remarkable efforts of Turkey to maintain sustainable peace in Somalia through developmental cooperation has direct implication for the regional stability that Ethiopia badly desires (Shinn, 2012:3). However turkey needs a policy effectively work with Ethiopia and Somalia without compromising the interest of both countries. Ethiopian foreign policy towards Somalia is one of the most complicated and dominated by disagreement. Ethiopia is very critical about the changes in Somalia and at times led to military intervention. Excessive involvement with Somalia may lead Ethiopia to its old suspicion.

Although Turkey has achieved remarkable economic progresses since recent times, certain sectors of its population are still suffering from various kinds of socio-economic and environmental stresses. Poverty, unemployment, growing urban-rural income disparity and infrastructural problems are to mention some of them. Similarly the majority of Ethiopian population also living under the above-mentioned difficulties. From this comparative observation one can infer that the methods and approaches that Turkey has been applying are likely to provide appropriate lessons for Ethiopia to address its pressing problems. More over the focus areas of Turkey's operations in Ethiopia such as promoting trade and economic cooperation and improving infrastructural services and technical capacities are very strategic to make Turkey a preferred partner.

Together with the above-mentioned features, the shared socio-cultural and historical legacy between Ethiopia and Turkey also determine the nature of their foreign relation. Turkey maintained close economic and diplomatic ties with the various peoples of the Ethiopian region since the Ottoman time. As historical documents reveal the Ottomans had founded the province of Abyssinia that incorporates Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, the Harar region in modern Ethiopia and coastline of the Red sea in modern Sudan in 1555. Generally speaking Ottomans had loose control over the horn region. The province maintained its existence until the second half of the 19th century- when Western states begun to intensify their competition to dominate the region (2001:11).

In general from its inception till to decline, people of the province of Abyssinia had a strong social and economic interdependence with the other people living under the Ottoman Empire. During the latter period, this intimacy paved the way for restarting the Ethio-Turkish relation following the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and establishment of the modern republic of Turkey. It was in 1926, three years after the declaration of Turkish Republic Turkey opened its first embassy in Africa in Ethiopia. This action can be considered as one manifestation of Turkey's commitment to maintain a sustainable diplomatic and economic relation with that of Ethiopia.

Peoples of the two countries have also historical resemblances in other perspective. Both the people of Ethiopia and Turkey were subjected to the threats of colonization although they successfully resisted and keep their independence. In fact both the Turkish and Ethiopian war of independence served as a source of inspiration for later anti-colonial movements in different parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In his assessment of Turkey-Africa relation Numan Hazar, a former Turkish diplomat, pointed that Turkey's war of independence had deep influence on the independence movements in Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Democratic Republic of Congo (ORSAM, 2012:6). In general these shared historical and socio-cultural legacies and Turkey's absence of colonial experience in Africa are likely to make it a preferred partner to Ethiopia's foreign policy and strategy.

6. RESULTS OF THE STUDY AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR ETHIO-TURKISH STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT

As it is clearly asserted in the contemporary foreign policy and strategic document of Ethiopia and other related literatures that I consulted for the purpose of this study, maintaining economic development, assisting the democratization process and securing the territorial sovereignty of the country are identified as priority areas. Similarly the prime objective of Turkey's foreign policy also aimed to secure the socio-economic and political interest of its people. On the course of attaining these grand objectives, the study at hand infers the following important results:

1. Turkey's increasing engagement in Ethiopia in terms of trade, aid and investment has substantial contribution to galvanize economic development of both countries. With its huge population resource and fastest-growing economies, Ethiopia can be best place in Africa for Turkish investors. Ankara can benefit a lot from the various advantages in Addis Ababa including the low labor cost, cheap land rent and trainable young population. This can be serves as a means for the further consolidation of a win-win relation between Addis Ababa and Ankara.

2. Turkey's engagement in Ethiopia also provides special contribution for

the formers' socio-economic and political interests on Africa in general and to that of the Horn region in particular. Addis Ababa as a seat for the Africa Union (AU) and other regional and international organizations can positively contribute to Turkey's global ambitions. Ethiopia is a good way for Turkey to understand the socio-cultural, economic and diplomatic capacity of Africa and benefit from it.

3. Turkey's desire to work under the framework of regional organizations such as IGAD /Inter-Governmental Authority on Development) and with AU / African Union/ at large has also a positive impact in facilitating regional integration that Ethiopia along with its neighbors has been striving.

4. Turkey's increasing engagement in the Horn of Africa has significant implications in maintaining regional stability in a sustainable manner. As one important feature of Turkey's foreign policy approach – zero problems with neighbors- provides valuable lessons for Ethiopian foreign policy makers in establishing a peaceful and cooperative relation. And to address conflicts through dialogue and mediation than resorting to force.

5. Turkey's initial success in handling the age-old problems of instability in Somalia has also its own implication towards Ethiopia's effort to bring a permanent end to instability in Somalia. Turkey and Ethiopia need to conduct a coordinated effort to address their shared security challenges and establish a fertile ground for economic development in the region.

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