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GLOBAL AND REGIONAL RELATION EXIT EXAM MODULE

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2023

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CHAPTER ONE

THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

1.1. Definition of international law

International law is a set of principles, rules, and standards that govern relations between nations and other participants in international affairs. It is the body of rules and principles of action which are binding upon peace loving states in their relations with one another. Public international law involves a super-legal system that operates between states and exists separate from domestic laws. International laws depend almost entirely on the States that create them and have a political aspect that is lacking in other legal subjects. International customs are generally applicable rules that apply to all States in the world.

1.2. The Scopes of International Law

Peace and Security

Among the central aims of the UN are the maintenance of peace and security and the suppression of acts of aggression. The principles of the UN Charter prohibit the use of force to settle disputes and bar intervention by a nation into the domestic affairs of another nation. The charter also expressly includes among its objectives the maintenance of respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law.

International law provides methods for the settlement of disputes by means other than war. The UN Charter directs disputants to engage in negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, or recourse to the International Court of Justice. When conflicts do arise, the UN Security Council may determine that there exists a threat to the peace or a breach of the peace, or that an act of aggression has been committed. The Security Council may vote to deploy UN peacekeeping forces—military personnel and civilians volunteered by UN member governments—to help implement peace agreements, monitor ceasefires, provide emergency relief, and perform other functions essential to maintain peace.

Human Rights

Since World War II, the international community has become increasingly concerned with the protection of human rights. Although concern for human rights is expressed in the UN

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Charter, the development of specific norms related to human rights began in 1948 with the passage of two nonbinding declarations:

- ✓ The American Declaration of the Rights and
- ✓ Duties of Man, approved by the Organization of American States, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the UN.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights described a variety of rights, including the rights to life, liberty, and security of person; to freedom from slavery; to freedom of conscience, religion, opinion, expression, association, and assembly; to freedom from arbitrary arrest; to a fair and impartial trial; to privacy; and to education. This document remains the cornerstone of international human rights law.

Other important international treaties related to human rights include

- The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948);
- the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965);
- the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and its companion, the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966);
- the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979);
- the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984); and
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). These treaties have been widely ratified; every country in the world except the United States and Somalia, for example, has accepted the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The treaties have been supplemented by three regional human rights agreements:

- The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950);
- The American Convention on Human Rights (1969), and
- **The Global Commons**

Large areas of the globe and beyond do not and legally cannot belong to any nation: most of the oceans and their resources, Antarctica, Earth‘s atmosphere, outer space, and the Moon and other natural objects in space. These areas are known collectively as the global commons. The absence of political sovereignty for these areas means that international

regulation is required to avoid conflict over them and to protect them from overuse, pollution, and other harm. International agreements for these areas are generally accepted as providing the legal framework for all those who conduct activities in them. See Aviation Law; Maritime Law; Freedom of the Seas.

- **Other Issues**

International law has no fixed content. New threats that cannot be addressed or resolved by a single nation constantly call for new international responses. For example, recent international agreements aim to combat terrorism, the distribution of illicit drugs across national boundaries, and the spread of infectious disease. The development of new technologies, such as the Internet, can also lead to the creation of new international legal frameworks.

1.3. The Nature and Development of International law

In the long march of mankind from the cave to the computer, the idea of law has played a central role. Law is that element which binds the members of the community together in their adherence to recognised values and standards. It is both permissive and coercive, reflecting the ideas and preoccupations of the society within which it functions. International law is divided into conflict of laws (or private international law) and public international law (usually just termed international law). The former deals with those cases, within particular legal systems, in which foreign elements obtrude, raising questions as to the application of foreign law or the role of foreign courts.

1.4. SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice

1. The Court, whose function it is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as is submitted to it, shall apply:

   A. international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;

   B. international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;

   C. the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;

D. subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

2. This provision shall not prejudice the power of the Court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono*, if the parties agree thereto.

- **Treaties**

Treaties are a source of law whose importance has grown since 1945. There is a distinction between law-making treaties (traité-lois) and treaty contracts (traité contracts). Law-making treaties create obligations which can continue as law, while treaty contracts create a particular obligation between the signatories. The term 'law-making' can lead to confusion and should be used with care. Normative treaties bind signatories as treaties, but may also provide evidence of rules of custom which bind all states. Customary law and treaty law have equal authority, but if there is a conflict between the two it is the treaty that prevails.

- **Custom**

In any society rules of acceptable behaviour develop at an early stage and the international community is no exception. As contact between states increased, certain norms of behaviour crystallised into rules of customary international law. Until comparatively recently the rules of general international law were nearly all customary rules.

- **Definitions of international custom**

Custom in international law is a practice followed by those involved because they feel legally obliged to behave in such a way. Custom must be distinguished from mere usage, such as acts done out of courtesy, friendship or convenience rather than out of obligation or a feeling that non-compliance would produce legal consequences. Article 38 circumscribes customary law as _international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law.‘ The Court cannot apply custom, only customary law and subpar 1(b) arguably reverses the logical order of events since it is general practice, accepted as law, which constitutes evidence of a customary rule. Judge Hudson of the International Law Commission listed the following criteria for the establishment of a customary rule: (a) concordant practice by a number of states with reference to a type of situation falling within the domain of international relations; (b) continuation or repetition of the practice over a considerable period of time; (c) conception that the practice is required by, or consistent with, prevailing international law; and (d) general acquiescence in the practice by other states.

- **General principles of law**

The general object, then, of inserting the phrase [_general principles of law recognised by civilised nations‘] in the statute seems to have been, essentially, to make it clear that the Court was to be permitted to reason, though not to legislate, and by, for instance, the application of analogies from the law within the state, to avoid ever having to declare that there was no law applicable to any question coming before it. The prevailing view as to the meaning of Article 38(1) (c) is that it authorises the Court to apply the general principles of municipal jurisprudence, in particular of private law, in as far as they are applicable to the relations of states. It is not thought to refer to principles of international law itself, which are to be derived from custom or treaty. International tribunals will often refer to _well-known‘ or _generally recognised‘ principles such as the principle of the independence and equality of states. Such principles do not come within Article 38(1) (c).

[General principles] are, in the first instance, those principles of law, private and public, which contemplation of the legal experience of civilised nations leads one to regard as obvious maxims of jurisprudence of a general and fundamental character – such as the principle that no one may be judge in his own cause, that a breach of legal duty entails the obligation of restitution, that a person cannot invoke his own wrong as a reason for release from legal obligation, that the law will not countenance the abuse of a right, that legal obligations must be fulfilled and rights must be exercised in good faith, and the like.

No decision of the Court, or indeed the Permanent Court, has yet been based explicitly upon a principle or rule of law drawn from the _general principles of law recognised by civilised nations‘ referred to in Article 38, para 1(c) of the Statute. It is comparatively rare for a state to base a claim before the Court on such principles, so that it is correspondingly infrequent for the Court to have occasion to refer to them for the purposes of its decision. Even where referred to by a party to proceedings, the general principles tend to be employed as something of a makeweight or last resort, a supplementary argument in case the contentions based on customary law or treaties fail to convince: with the result that the Court hardly ever needs to refer to them. On the other hand, individual Members of the Court invoke general principles more frequently: Judge Ammoun was particularly attached to them, though he had strong objections to the use in the Statute of the term _civilised nations‘.

- **Judicial decisions**

In the event of the court being unable to solve a dispute by reference to treaty law, custom or general principles, Article 38 provides a subsidiary means of judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations be employed – although the increase of treaty law has led to a decline in the use of the subsidiary source.

Judicial decisions may be applied subject to the provisions of Article 59 which states: The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case.

- **The teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations**

In the formative period writers helped to determine the scope and content of international law. However as the body of substantive law has increased so the influence of writers has decreased – although writers still have an important role in developing new areas of law, e.g. marine pollution. Who are the most qualified writers is a matter for subjective assessment – as usual in these matters death is often seen as an important qualification! It should be noted that the Court itself does not usually make reference to specific writers.

1.5. The Relationship between Municipal Law and International Law

International law is not confined to regulating the relations between states, and the scope of international law is no longer limited to the rules of warfare and the conduct of diplomatic relations. Matters of social concern such as health, education and economics fall within the ambit of international law and a growing body of rules sets down rights and duties for individuals. Even if it were still correct to speak in terms of international law being a system of rules governing the conduct of states, the fact remains that states are abstract entities which can only act through individuals. State actions are performed by individuals and it therefore follows that international rules have to be applied by individuals. Individual conduct within a state is the subject of municipal law and thus it can be seen that there is potential for the rules of international law to come into contact with rules of municipal law. That relationship gives rise to two main areas of discussion:

1. The theoretical question as to whether international law and municipal law are part of a universal legal order (_monism‘) or whether they form two distinct systems of law (_dualism‘);

2. The practical issue of what rules govern the situation where there appears to be a conflict between the rules of international law and the rules of municipal law: This may occur either:

(a) Before an international court; or

(b) Before a municipal court

✓ **The theoretical issue**

Historically there have been two main schools of thought: monism and dualism. Their ideas are outlined here but it should be noted that many modern writers doubt the utility of the monism/dualism dichotomy. Furthermore, courts faced with practical problems involving potential conflicts between the rules of international law and municipal law rarely refer to the theoretical issues. It is, however, instructive when considering actual court decisions to question their theoretical underpinnings.

The relationship between international law and municipal law has been the subject of much doctrinal dispute. At opposing extremes are the ‗dualist' and ‗monist' schools of thought. According to the former, international law and the internal law of states are totally separate legal systems. Being separate systems, international law would not as such form part of the internal law of a state: to the extent that in particular instances rules of international law may apply within a state they do so by virtue of their adoption by the internal law of the state, and apply as part of that internal law and not as international law. Such a view avoids any question of the supremacy of the one system of law over the other since they share no common field of application: and each is supreme in its own sphere.

On the other hand, according to the monistic doctrine, the two systems of law are part of one single legal structure, the various national systems of law being derived by way of delegation from the international legal system. Since international law can thus be seen as essentially part of the same legal order as municipal law, and superior to it,1 it can be regarded as incorporated in municipal law, giving rise to no difficulty of principle in its application as international law within states.

❖ **Monism**

Monism considers international law and municipal law to be both part of the same body of knowledge – law. They both operate in the same sphere of influence and are concerned with the same subject matter and thus can come into conflict. If there is a conflict, it is international law that prevails. Some, like Kelsen, argue that this is because international law is a higher law from which the state derives its authority and thus its ability to make municipal laws:

Since the basic norms of the national legal orders are determined by a norm of international law, they are basic norms only in a relative sense. It is the basic norm of the international legal order which is the ultimate reason of validity of the national legal orders too.

Others, including Lauterpacht, argue on natural law grounds that international law prevails because it protects individuals, and the state itself is only a collection of individuals. It is supported by the natural law doctrine that authority and legal duty are both subject to the universality of natural law. A recent articulation of this view is to be found in the writing of Philip Allott:

> Every legal power in every society in the world is connected with every other legal power in every other society in the world through the international law of the international society, the society of all societies, from which all law-making power is delegated.

❖ **Dualism**

The dualist doctrine developed in the 19th century partly because of the development of theories about the absolute sovereignty of states and partly alongside the development of legal positivism. Dualist doctrine considers international law and municipal law to be two separate legal orders operating and existing independently of one another. International law is the law applicable between sovereign states and is dependent on the common will of states for its authority; municipal law applies within the state regulating the activities of its citizens and has as the source of its authority the will of the state itself. On this basis neither system has the power to create or alter rules of the other. Since both systems may deal with the same subject matter it is possible for conflicts between the two systems to arise. Where there is a conflict between the two systems, a municipal court following the dualist doctrine would apply municipal law. This might lead to a state being in breach of its international obligations, but that would be a matter for an international tribunal.

✓ **The practical issue**

Municipal law before international tribunal There is ample judicial and arbitral authority for the rule that a state cannot rely upon the provisions or deficiencies of its municipal law to avoid its obligations under international law. One of the earliest authorities is the decision in

the Alabama Claims Arbitration (1872). During the American Civil War, a number of ships were built in England for private buyers. The vessels were unarmed when they left England but it was generally known that they were to be fitted out by the Confederates in order to attack Union shipping. In the Draft Declaration on the Rights and Duties of States 1949 prepared by the International Law Commission, Article 13 states:

Similarly, Article 27 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969 provides: *A party may not invoke the provisions of its internal law as justification for its failure to perform a treaty.*

Another manner in which municipal law may be of importance in a case before an international tribunal arises from the doctrine of opposability. This doctrine allows one state to invoke against, or _oppose' to, another state a rule of its own municipal law. As a general principle, provided that the rule of municipal law is not contrary to rules of international law it may be legitimately opposed in order to defeat the international claims of the other state.

1.6. Subjects of international law

International personality means capacity to be a bearer of rights and duties under international law. Any entity which possesses international personality is an international person or a subject of international law, as distinct from a mere object of international law.

A subject of international law is considered to be an entity capable of possessing international rights and duties and endowed with the capacity to take certain types of action on the international plane.

The subjects of law in any legal system are not necessarily identical in their nature or in the extent of their rights, and their nature depends upon the needs of the community. Throughout its history, the development of international law has been influenced by the requirements of international life, and the progressive increase in the collective activities of states has already given rise to instances of action upon the international plane by certain entities which are not states.

States are the principal subjects of international law. Of the term _state' no exact definition is possible, but so far as modern conditions go, the essential characteristics of a

state are well settled. The normal criteria which the government apply for recognition as a state are that it should have, and seem likely to continue to have, a clearly defined territory with a population, a government who are able of themselves to exercise effective control of that territory, and independence in their external relations. Other factors, including some United Nations resolutions, may also be relevant.

Non self-governing territories/dependent states - There still exists, although the number is dwindling, a number of territories which have limited/restricted powers of control over their own affairs and can therefore not be considered as fully independent states. The question arises as to whether they possess any degree of international personality prior to full independence.

International organisations- Accordingly, the Court has come to the conclusion that the [United Nations] Organisation is an international person. That is not the same thing as saying that it is a state, which it certainly is not, or that its legal personality and rights and duties are the same as those of a state ... What it does mean is that it is a subject of international law and capable of possessing international rights and duties, and that it has capacity to maintain its rights by bringing international claims. It is clear that international organisations are capable of possessing international personality and of being subjects of international law. The functions, rights and duties of such organisations are governed by what Starke refers to as international constitutional law. Institutions will be defined by reference to their legal functions and responsibilities and the constitutions of such institutions will set out their powers, objects and purpose – analogies can perhaps be drawn with municipal company law and a company‘s memorandum and articles of association. In that major respect international organisations differ from states.

The criteria of legal personality of international organisations may be summarised as follows:

(1) A permanent association of states, with lawful objects equipped with organs to carry out those objects;

(2) A distinction between the organisation and its member states;

(3) The existence of legal powers exercisable on the international plane and not solely within the national system of one or more states.

As far as international organisations are concerned the principal questions to be decided are:
(1) the extent to which the organisation can conclude treaties;

(2) The privileges and immunities to which the organisation is entitled;

(3) The capacity of the organisation to bring international claims

Individuals

[An individual] is a person in international law, though his capacities may be different from and less in number and substance than the capacities of states. An individual, for example, cannot acquire territory, he cannot make treaties, and he cannot have belligerent rights. But he can commit war crimes, and piracy, and crimes against humanity and foreign sovereigns and he can own property which international law protects, and he can have claims to compensation for acts arising ex contractu or ex delicto. Any individual who commits a crime against the peace and security of mankind is responsible for such crime.

CHAPTER TWO

RECOGNITION AND STATE RESPONSIBILITY UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW

2. Recognition

International society is not an unchanging entity, but is subject to the ebb and flow of political life. New states are created and old units fall away. New governments come into being within states in a manner contrary to declared constitutions whether or not accompanied by force. Insurgencies occur and belligerent administrations are established in areas of territory hitherto controlled by the legitimate government.

Recognition is a statement by an international legal person as to the status in international law of another real or alleged international legal person or of the validity of a particular factual situation. Once recognition has occurred, the new situation is deemed opposable to the recognising state that is the pertinent legal consequences will flow. As such, recognition constitutes participation in the international legal process generally while also being important within the context of bilateral relations and, of course, domestically.

2.1. Recognition of states

There are basically two theories as to the nature of recognition. The constitutive theory maintains that it is the act of recognition by other states that creates a new state and endows it with legal personality and not the process by which it actually obtained independence. Thus, new states are established in the international community as fully fledged subjects of international law by virtue of the will and consent of already existing states. The disadvantage of this approach is that an unrecognised ‗state' may not be subject to the obligations imposed by international law and may accordingly be free from such restraints as, for instance, the prohibition on aggression. A further complication would arise if a ‗state' were recognised by some but not other states.

The second theory, the declaratory theory, adopts the opposite approach and is a little more in accord with practical realities. It maintains that recognition is merely an acceptance by states of an already existing situation. A new state will acquire capacity in international law not by virtue of the consent of others but by virtue of a particular factual situation.Itwillbelegallyconstitutedbyitsowneffortsandcircumstancesand will not have to await the procedure of recognition by other states. This doctrine owes a lot to traditional positivist thought on the supremacy of the state and the concomitant weakness or non-existence of any central guidance in the international community.

For the constitutive theorist, the heart of the matter is that fundamentally an unrecognized state‘can have no rights or obligations in international law. The opposite stance is adopted by the declaratory approach that emphasizes the factual situation and minimizes the power of states to confer legal personality.

2.2. Recognition of Governments

Change of government is quite common. In democracies, elections often result in the formation of new governments. Each State has discretion as to how it will conduct its foreign relations. Recognition of new governments is thus a decision for each State to make on its own. The issue of recognition is separate from the issue of whether to continue diplomatic relations, travel, and trade. A government may decide, again at its discretion, to recognize a new government but nonetheless to cut off diplomatic relations and trade with a new government. A State also may make *no statement* as to whether it recognizes or does not recognize a new government.

To the extent that recognition practice affects the internal affairs of a State – as would be the case if lack of international recognition weakened a new government – it could be argued that recognition of governments is interference in the sovereignty of a State. The U.S. for some time applied the so-called ―To bar Doctrine‖ which said that, in order to promote democratic transfers of power, new governments formed by use of force or subversion of legitimate democracies would not be recognized. The idea was to use recognition practice to promote a certain type of government in other States. This certainly comes close to interference in another State‘s internal affairs. One aspect of sovereignty is the right to form whatever type of government a State wants.

For such cases, there are two opposite legal positions that one can take. First, there are the so-called *de jure* criteria of governmental legitimacy. On the opposite end there are *de facto* criteria. The only question here is whether the government has effective control over the State‘s territory.

In all the majority of cases the UN refused to recognize *de facto* governments but rather, as the U.S. did in the 50s and 60s, continued its recognition of *de jure* governments in exile as a means to censure undemocratic transfers of power.

2.3. State jurisdiction

State jurisdiction concerns essentially the extent of each state‘s right to regulate conduct or the consequences of events. In practice jurisdiction is not a single concept. A state‘s jurisdiction may take various forms. Thus a state may regulate conduct by legislation; or it may, through its courts, regulate those differences which come before them, whether arising out of the civil or criminal law; or it may regulate conduct by taking executive or administrative action which impinges more

directly on the course of events, as by enforcing its laws or the decisions of its courts. The extent of a state‘s jurisdiction may differ in each of these contexts.

Jurisdiction concerns both international law and the internal law of each state. The former determines the permissible limits of a state‘s jurisdiction in the various forms it may take, while the latter prescribes the extent to which, and the manner in which, the state in fact asserts its jurisdiction. Much of the law relating to jurisdiction has developed through the decisions of national courts applying the laws of their own states.

Jurisdiction is not coextensive with state sovereignty, although the relationship between them is close; a state‘s _title to exercise jurisdiction rests in its sovereignty‘. That jurisdiction is based on sovereignty does not mean that each state has in international law a sovereign right to exercise jurisdiction in whatever circumstances it choose.

2.4. State Responsibility

2.4.1. Meaning of Sate Responsibility

State responsibility is a fundamental principle of international law and it lies on the understanding that states are sovereign and equal. It provides that whenever one state commits an internationally unlawful act against another state, international responsibility is established between the two. This obligation gives rise to a requirement for reparation.

2.4.2. The nature of State Responsibility

Among the essential factors for state responsibility:

- First the existence of an international legal obligation in force as between two particular states;
- secondly, that there has occurred an act or omission which violates that obligation and which is imputable to the state responsible; and
- Finally, that loss or damage has resulted from the unlawful or omission.

Article 1 of the International Law Commission‘s Articles on state responsibility reiterates the general rule, widely supported by practice, that every internationally wrongful act of a state entails responsibility.

Article l
Responsibility of a State for its internationally wrongful acts
Every internationally wrongful act of a State entails the international responsibility of that State.

Similarly Article 2 provides that there is an internationally wrongful act of a state when conduct consisting of an action or omission is attributable to the state under international law and constitutes a breach of an international obligation of the state.

Article 2

Elements of an internationally wrongful act of a State

There is an internationally wrongful act of a State when conduct consisting of an action or omission:

(*a*) Is attributable to the State under international law; and

(*b*) Constitutes a breach of an international obligation of the State.

This principle has been affirmed in the case-law. It is international law that determines what constitutes an internationally unlawful act, irrespective of any provisions of municipal law. Article 12 stipulates that there is a breach of an international obligation when an act of that state is not in conformity with what is required of it by that obligation, regardless of its origin or character.

Article 12

Existence of a breach of an international obligation

There is a breach of an international obligation by a State when an act of that State is not in conformity with what is required of it by that obligation, regardless of its origin or character.

A breach that is of a continuing nature extends over the entire period during which the act continues and remains not in conformity with the international obligation in question, while a breach that consists of a composite act will also extend over the entire period during which the act or omission continues and remains not in conformity with the international obligation. A state assisting another state to commit an internationally wrongful act will also be responsible if it so acted with knowledge of the circumstances and where it would be wrongful if committed by that state.

2.5. Diplomatic law

Diplomacy as a method of communication between various parties, including negotiations between recognized agents, is an ancient institution and international legal provisions governing its manifestations are the result of centuries of state practice. The special privileges and immunities related to diplomatic personnel of various kinds grew up partly as a consequence of sovereign immunity and the independence and equality of states, and partly as an essential requirement of an international system. States must negotiate and consult with each other and with international organisations and in order to do so need diplomatic staffs. Since these persons represent their states

in various ways, they thus benefit from the legal principle of state sovereignty. This is also an issue of practical convenience.

Diplomatic relations have traditionally been conducted through the medium of ambassadors and their staffs, but with the growth of trade and commercial intercourse the office of consul was established and expanded.

The field of diplomatic immunities is one of the most accepted and uncontroversial of international law topics, as it is in the interest of all states ultimately to preserve an even tenor of diplomatic relations, although not all states act in accordance with this.

the rules of diplomatic law, in short, constitute a self-contained regime, which on the one hand, lays down the receiving state's obligations regarding the facilities, privileges and immunities to be accorded to diplomatic missions and, on the other, foresees their possible abuse by members of the mission and specifies the means at the disposal of the receiving state to counter any such abuse.

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961

This treaty, which came into force in 1964,297 emphasises the functional necessity of diplomatic privileges and immunities for the efficient conduct of international relations as well as pointing to the character of the diplomatic mission as representing its state. It both codified existing laws and established others. Questions not expressly regulated by the Convention continue to be governed by the rules of customary international law. The International Court has recently emphasised that the Convention continues to apply notwithstanding the existence of a state of armed conflict between the states concerned.

2.5.1. The inviolability of the premises of the mission

In order to facilitate the operations of normal diplomatic activities, article 22 of the Convention specifically declares that the premises of the mission are inviolable and that agents of the receiving state are not to enter them without the consent of the mission. The receiving state is under a special duty to protect the mission premises from intrusion or damage or ‗impairment of its dignity'. The US Supreme Court, for example, while making specific reference to article 22 of the Vienna Convention, emphasised in Boos v. Barry that, ‗The need to protect diplomats is grounded in our Nation's important interest in international relations... Diplomatic personnel are essential to conduct the international affairs so crucial to the well-being of this Nation.' It was also noted that protecting foreign diplomats in the US ensures that similar protection would be afforded to US diplomats abroad.

2.5.2. Diplomatic immunities – property

Under article 22 of the Vienna Convention, the premises of the mission are inviolable and, together with their furnishings and other property there on and the means of transport, are immune from search, requisition, attachment or execution. By article 23, a general exception from taxation in respect of the mission premises is posited.

It is to be noted that by article 24 of the Vienna Convention, the archives and documents of the mission are inviolable at any time and wherever they may be. Although _archives and documents‘ are not defined in the Convention, article 1(1) k of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations provides that the term _consular archives‘ includes _all the papers, documents, correspondence, books, films, tapes and registers of the consular post together with the ciphers and codes, the card-indexes and any article of furniture intended for their

protection or safe keeping‘. The term as used in the Diplomatic Relations Convention cannot be less than this.

2.5.3. Diplomatic immunities – personal

The person of a diplomatic agent is inviolable under article 29 of the Vienna Convention and he may not be detained or arrested. This principle is the most fundamental rule of diplomatic law and is the oldest established rule of diplomatic law. In resolution 53/97 of January 1999, for example, the UN General Assembly strongly condemned acts of violence against diplomatic and consular missions and representatives, while the Security Council issued a presidential statement, condemning the murder of nine Iranian diplomats in Afghanistan. States recognise that the protection of diplomats is a mutual interest founded on functional requirements and reciprocity. The receiving state is under an obligation to _take all appropriate steps‘ to prevent any attack on the person, freedom or dignity of diplomatic agents.

After a period of kidnappings of diplomats, the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents was adopted in 1973.

However, in exceptional cases, a diplomat may be arrested or detained on the basis of self-defence or in the interests of protecting human life.

Article 30(1) provides for the inviolability of the private residence of a diplomatic agent, while article 30(2) provides that his papers, correspondence and property are inviolable. Section 4 of the Diplomatic Privileges Act 1964 stipulates that where a question arises as to whether a person is or is not entitled to any privilege or immunity under the Act, which incorporates many of the provisions

of the Vienna Convention, a certificate issued by or under the authority of the Secretary of State stating any fact relating to that question shall be conclusive evidence of that fact.

2.5.4. Waiver of immunity

By article 32 of the 1961 Vienna Convention, the sending state may waive the immunity from jurisdiction of diplomatic agents and others possessing immunity under the Convention. Such waiver must be express. Where a person with immunity initiates proceedings, he cannot
claim immunity in respect of any counter-claim directly connected with the principal claim.416 Waiver of immunity from jurisdiction in respect of civil or administrative proceedings is not to be taken to imply waiver from immunity in respect of the execution of the judgment, for which a separate waiver is necessary. In general, waiver of immunity has been unusual, especially in criminal cases.

2.5.5. Consular privileges and immunities

The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1963 Consuls represent their state in many administrative ways, for instance, by issuing visas and passports and generally promoting the commercial interests of their state. They have a particular role in assisting nationals in distress with regard to, for example, finding lawyers, visiting prisons and contacting local authorities, but they are unable to intervene in the judicial process or internal affairs of the receiving state or give legal advice or investigate a crime. They are based not only in the capitals of receiving states, but also in the more important provincial cities. However, their political functions are few and they are accordingly not permitted the same degree of immunity from jurisdiction as diplomatic agents. Consuls must possess a commission from the sending state and the authorisation (exequatur) of a receiving state. They are entitled to the same exemption from taxes and customs duties as diplomats. Article 31 emphasises that consular premises are inviolable and may not be entered by the authorities of the receiving state without consent. Like diplomatic premises, they must be protected against intrusion or impairment of dignity, and similar immunities exist with regard to archives and documents and exemptions from taxes.

2.6. State Enforcement of International Law

2.6.1. The principle of reciprocity

The concept of reciprocity involves the idea that bilateral relationships between at least formally equal parties are not unidirectional, but necessarily involve at least some element of quid pro quo. This broad social concept of reciprocity, which States apply on the basis of either short- or long-term considerations of self-interest, may be responsible for a great deal of inter-State co-operation or exchange, outside or in

addition to any international legal obligations. As such, *reciprocity i*s a legal consequence of the formal equality of States. Yet it is a consequence which, by allowing for the generalisation of rules in response to State practice, is of paramount importance to the process of customary international law.

2.6.2. Collective Security

Collective Security, according to Inis Claude's Article "Collective Security as an Approach to Peace", is seen as a compromise between the concept of world government and a nation-state based balance of power system, where the latter is seen as destructive or not a good enough safeguard for peace, and the first is deemed to be imaginary at the present time. And while collective security is possible, several prerequisites have to be met for it to work.

- ✓ **Basic principles**

First: almost every state, especially all major states, has to be in the collective security arrangement and committed to it for it to work. The League of Nations faced major problems with this given that the United States, a leading international power, did not join nor give its support to the organization. Similarly, when Italy invaded Ethiopia, Britain's and France's governments were more committed to blocking the rise of Germany, and hence did not seriously chide Mussolini, who they saw as a potential ally against Hitler in 1935.

Second: no one state can block the decision making process. This was a major issue with the League of Nations, as it gave every state veto power, as well as with the UN, which gives it to 5 powerful nations. Should vetoes be allowed, the collective security arrangement will be greatly weakened as one country can subvert a democratic decision.

Third: for sanctions to work, the international economy has to be sufficiently interdependent such that sanctions harm the intended country enough, but do not harm the countries doing the sanctioning. And for sanctions to work, universality of their application is especially important for them to have an effect.

The fourth prerequisite; that for countries to trust collective security, they have to know it works well enough to safeguard their security. But at the same time, unless countries trust it, it's less likely to work.

2.6.3. International Cases under International Court of Justice

All members of the United Nations are parties to the ICJ Statute and therefore eligible to submit disputes to it. There are fifteen judges on the Court elected by the Security Council and the General

Assembly in separate elections by majority vote. The jurisdiction of the Court in contentious cases is based on the principles of consent and reciprocity. Article 36 of the Court‘s statute provides:

1. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

2. The states parties to the present Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory ipso facto and without any special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning:

(a) The interpretation of a treaty;

(b) Any question of international law;

(c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an obligation;

(d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

3. The declarations referred to previously may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain states, or for a certain time.

4. Such declarations shall bed eposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies thereof to the parties to the Statute and to the registrar of the Court.

5. Declarations made under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and which are still in force shall be deemed, as between the parties to the present Statute, to be acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for the period which they still have to run and in accordance with their terms.

6. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Under Article 36 there are basically three ways in which a state can give its consent to the Court‘s jurisdiction. First, the parties to a dispute may decide on an ad hoc basis to refer it to the Court. The parties usually do so by way of a special agreement called a compromise.

2.6.4. The principle of jurisdiction

Jurisdiction may be defined generally as the authority to engage in activities of control or regulation within a certain geographic area. In international law, jurisdiction appears always to be linked to territory in some way.

A legal system's jurisdiction may be defined as its authority to make, apply and enforce rules within a certain geographic area. Although the jurisdictions of different legal systems occasionally overlap, each legal system has its own, specific jurisdiction. The principle of jurisdiction qualifies the application of power within the process of customary international law by giving each State the right to control, and therefore to limit, the legally relevant practice of other States within its own territory. In certain situations this right to territorial control may provide an important advantage to States in their efforts to manipulate the behaviour patterns which drive the customary process, thus enabling them to protect and promote their own interests more effectively than might otherwise be the case.

2.6.4.1. Extradition

The term extradition denotes the process whereby, under treaty or upon a basis of reciprocity, one state surrenders to another state at its request a person accused or convicted of a criminal offence committed against the laws of the requesting state, such requesting state having jurisdiction. The rationale behind the law and practice of extradition is as follows: (a) a desire not to allow serious crimes to go unpunished. Frequently a state in whose territory a criminal has taken refuge cannot prosecute the offence because of a lack of jurisdiction. It will therefore surrender the criminal to a state that can try and punish the offence; (b) the state on whose territory the offence has been committed is the best able to try the offence because of the availability of evidence etc.

2.7. Territorial principle

The ability of a state to exercise jurisdiction over crimes committed within its territory is an essential attribute of sovereignty, and the territorial principle has received universal recognition. According to the territorial principle, events occurring within a state‘s territorial boundaries and persons within that territory, albeit temporarily, are subject to local law and the jurisdiction of the local courts. The principle has practical advantages in terms of availability of witnesses.

Application of the territorial principle will usually be straightforward where the crime has been committed wholly within the territory. However, it is not always possible to decide on the exact location of the crime. The activities constituting the offence may have taken place in more than one state, for example, suppose X fires a gun in state A killing someone in state B. *Which state can claim territorial jurisdiction?* Under what is known the _subjective territoriality principle‘, state A has jurisdiction, since that is where the offence was commenced. Under the _objective territoriality principle‘, state B has jurisdiction, since that is where the offence was completed and had its effect. Both principles are recognised by international law and thus, in the example, both state A and state B would have concurrent jurisdiction.

CHAPTER THREE

INTERNATIONAL LAW OF TREATIES

3. INTRODUCTION

What is a treaty? A treaty is an agreement governed by international law. This definition is meant to distinguish between treaties on the one hand and contracts entered into by States on the other. States may enter into contracts, commercial or otherwise, that are governed by the national laws of one of the States involved.

In international relations, treaties tend to serve one of two functions. Some treaties are like international ―legislation‖; they are open for all States to join and are intended to be universal and binding on all. Their purpose is to establish a set of universal rules to govern State conduct. Other treaties are more like ―contracts.‖ These treaties are the means by which two or more States transact business.

3.1. Treaty Formation

The basic process for entering into a treaty often is laid out in a particular State's Constitution. In Ethiopia treaties are negotiated by the Executive and then ratified by the House of Peoples' Representatives (See Article 55(12) of the FDRE Constitution.) For a point of contrast, in the U.S. the President negotiates the treaty and then must get the advice and consent of two-thirds of the senate to ratify the treaty. Once Ethiopia ratifies a treaty (and the treaty enters into force), Ethiopia is bound by that treaty.

The details of treaty formation are somewhat more complex. Typically, negotiations over a potential treaty begin when representatives from the State parties meet. Negotiations will proceed over the language in the treaty text. Some of the exchanges in these negotiations are recorded in a separate document known as the drafting history (also called ―preparatory materials‖). The drafting history may be relevant later on if a dispute arises as to the interpretation of a particular provision. At the end of negotiations, the parties will be asked to adopt the full text of the treaty and authenticate it, possibly by signature. At this point the text of the treaty has reached its final form.

3.2. Ways of Interpretation of Treaty Terms

The ultimate goal of a court in interpreting treaty terms is to fulfil the intentions of the parties to the treaty. The parties are free actors and may enter into agreements that are substantively unfair to them. A court is not there to make the deal fair. Rather, the court is there to guarantee to each party its reasonable expectations under the agreement. Thus, the intentions of the parties matter, but only

those intentions that were expressed and made clear to the other parties to the treaty. Treaty interpretation, then, must focus on what the parties to the treaty communicated to one another at the time of treaty formation.

Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 1969.

Article 31, General Rule of Interpretation

1. A treaty shall be interpreted in good faith in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to the terms of the treaty in their context and in the light of its object and purpose.

2. The context for the purpose of the interpretation of a treaty shall comprise, in addition to the text, including its preamble and annexes:

(a) Any agreement relating to the treaty which was made between all the parties in connection with the conclusion of the treaty;

(b) Any instrument which was made by one or more parties in connection with the conclusion of the treaty and accepted by the other parties as an instrument related to the treaty.

3. There shall be taken into account, together with the context:

(a) Any subsequent agreement between the parties regarding the interpretation of the treaty or the application of its provisions;

(b) Any subsequent practice in the application of the treaty which establishes the agreement of the parties regarding its interpretation;
(c) Any relevant rules of international law applicable in the relations between the parties.

4. A special meaning shall be given to a term if it is established that the parties so intended.

Article 32. Supplementary means of interpretation

Recourse may be had to supplementary means of interpretation, including the preparatory work of the treaty and the circumstances of its conclusion, in order to confirm the meaning resulting from the application of article 31, or to determine the meaning when the interpretation according to article 31:

(a) Leaves the meaning ambiguous or obscure; or

(b) Leads to a result which is manifestly absurd or unreasonable.

The basic provision relating to interpretation is found in Article 31(1): ―A treaty shall be interpreted in good faith in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to the terms of the treaty in their context and in the light of its object and purpose.‖

Who Can Interpret Treaties

A further question may arise as to who has authority to interpret treaty terms. Although it is clearly advantageous to have a neutral third party like the ICJ determine rights and duties under a treaty, inevitably the State parties to the treaty will engage in some interpretation on their own in the domestic application of the treaty. The State legislature often will draft implementing legislation; domestic courts often will apply treaty terms to domestic disputes before them. Domestic application of treaty terms will not become an international issue until one of the State parties has a problem with the way in which another State party is applying treaty terms domestically and sues that State before an international tribunal for violation of the treaty.

3.3. Invalidity of Treaties and Treaty Termination

International law does not allow treaties to end easily. There is a general policy of the international community in favor of stable interstate relations. The policy also favours stable treaty relations and continuation of treaty obligations. One might compare, for example, the termination of contracts under domestic law with the termination of treaties under international law. A party to a contract may unilaterally terminate the contract and pay damages to the other party for the unlawful breach. In a sense, the breaching party is paying to be free from the contract. In international law, a State cannot unilaterally terminate a treaty and simply pay damages for the unlawful breach. The treaty will continue in force even after payment of damages by the breaching party, unless of course the non-breaching party opts to terminate the treaty (i.e. unless the non-breaching party agrees with the breaching party to terminate).

In rare cases a seemingly binding treaty is discovered to be invalid from the beginning. This is not a case of treaty termination per se but still may require that the State follow the procedures above for treaty termination – the State probably will have to resort to an impartial international body before effectively declaring the treaty invalid. In any case, invalidity of a treaty is difficult to prove and rarely argued. The various grounds for invalidity are not particularly important but are listed here to give the student the complete picture. (1) A treaty may be invalid because it is ―ultra vires‖ or in other words because the representative acted beyond his authority and agreed to a treaty or a term in a treaty that was against the State‘s domestic law. The violation of domestic law must be ―manifest‖ (i.e. obvious), and the domestic law that is violated must be one of ―fundamental importance.‖ (See VCLT Article 46) (2)

A treaty may be invalid because of error, i.e. the treaty is based on some incorrect understanding of facts. For example, a treaty establishing a border may be invalid because it is based on an incorrect map. (3) A treaty may be invalid because of fraud. This happens when a State is induced to conclude a treaty based on misrepresentation by other parties. (4) A treaty may be invalid because of corruption, for example when a State‘s representative is bribed. (5) A treaty may be invalid because of coercion, for example when a State is threatened into signing a treaty. (6) Finally, a treaty may be invalid because it violates a peremptory norm (*jus cogens*).

3.4. Reservations to treaties

A reservation is defined in article 2 of the Convention as:

a unilateral statement, however phrased or named, made by a state, when signing, ratifying, accepting, approving or acceding to a treaty, whereby it purports to exclude or to modify the legal effect of certain provisions of the treaty in their application to that state.

Where a state is satisfied with most of the terms of a treaty, but is unhappy about particular provisions, it may, in certain circumstances, wish to refuse to accept or be bound by such provisions, while consenting to the rest of the agreement. By the device of excluding certain provisions, states may agree to be bound by a treaty which otherwise they might reject entirely. This may have beneficial results in the cases of multilateral conventions, by inducing as many states as possible to adhere to the proposed treaty. To some extent it is a means of encouraging harmony amongst states of widely differing social, economic and political systems, by concentrating upon agreed, basic issues and accepting disagreement on certain other matters.

3.5. The 1982 Law of the Sea Convention

Under the Convention, the Area and its resources are deemed to be the common heritage of mankind and no sovereign or other rights may be recognized. Minerals recovered from the Area in accordance with the Convention are alienable, however. Activities in the Area are to be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole by or on behalf of the International Seabed Authority (the Authority) established under the Convention. The Authority is to provide for the equitable sharing of such benefits. Activities in the Area are to be carried out under article 153 by the Enterprise (i.e. the organ of the Authority established as its operating arm) and by states parties or state enterprises, or persons possessing the nationality of state parties or effectively controlled by them, acting in association with the Authority.

3.6. Landlocked states

3.6.1. Conceptualizing Landlocked States

The definition given by United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982; article 124 (1(a)) of the Convention defines the term land-locked State as _a State which has no sea-coast‘. Putting it simply, land-locked state means a state which has no sea-coast; instead, it depends on its neighbouring state (s) to have access to the sea. In other words, land-locked state relays on transit state which is _a state with or without a seacoast, situated between a land-locked state and the sea, through whose territory traffic in transit passes (Article 124 (1,
b) of the Convention).

1. Land-locked states shall have the right of access to and from the sea for the purpose of exercising the rights provided for in this Convention including those relating to the freedom of the high seas and the common heritage of mankind. To this end, land-locked states shall enjoy freedom of transit through the territory of transit states by all means of transport.

2. The terms and modalities for exercising freedom of transit shall be agreed between the land-locked states and the transit state concerned through bilateral, sub regional or regional agreements.

3. Transit states, in the exercise of their full sovereignty over their territory, shall have the right to take all measures necessary to ensure that the rights and facilities provided for in this

3.7. The rights and duties of the coastal state

The coastal state may exercise _sovereign rights‘over the continental shelf for the purposes of exploring it and exploiting its natural resources under article 77 of the 1982 Convention. Such rights are exclusive in that no other state may undertake such activities without the express consent of the coastal state. These sovereign rights (and thus not territorial title as such since the Convention does not talk in terms of _sovereignty‘) do not depend up on occupation or express proclamation.

The coastal state may, under article 80 of the 1982 Convention, construct and maintain installations and other devices necessary for exploration on the continental shelf and is entitled to establish safety zones around such installations to a limit of 500 metres, which must be respected by ships of all nationalities. Within such zones, the state may take such measures as are necessary for their protection. But although under the jurisdiction of the coastal state, these installations are not to be considered as islands. This means that they have no territorial sea of their own and their presence in no way affects the delimitation of the territorial waters of the coastal state.

CHAPTER FOUR
INTERNATIONAL LAW ON WAR CRIMES AND PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

4. War Crimes

War crimes are essentially serious violations of the rules of customary and treaty law concerning international humanitarian law, otherwise known as the law governing armed conflicts. Article 2 of the Statute of the ICTY, by way of example, provides for jurisdiction with regard to: grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, namely the following acts against persons or property protected under the provisions of the relevant Geneva Convention:

(a) wilful killing; (b) torture or inhuman treatment, including biological experiments; (c) wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health; (d)extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly;(e)compelling a prisoner of war or a civilian to serve in the forces of a hostile power; (f) wilfully depriving a prisoner of war or a civilian of the rights of fair and regular trial;(g) unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement of a civilian; (h) taking
civilians as hostages.

Article 3 provides for jurisdiction for violation of the laws or customs of war. Such violations include, but are not be limited to:

- Employment of poisonous weapons or other weapons calculated to cause unnecessary suffering;
- want on destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity;
- attack, or bombardment, by whatever means, of undefended towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings;
- d)seizure of, destruction or wilful damaged one to institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, historic monuments and works of art and science;
- plunder of public or private property.

4.1. Laws of war and laws in war

Law of war- is the part of international law that regulates the conduct of hostilities and the protection of victims of armed conflict in both international and non-international armed conflict and occupation, and that prescribes the rights and duties of neutral, non-belligerent, and belligerent states. It is often called the _law of armed conflict‘ or _international humanitarian law,‘ and is

specifically intended to address the circumstances of armed conflict. It encompasses all international law applicable to the conduct of military operations in armed conflicts.

International humanitarian law is an alternative term for the law of war that may be understood to have the same substantive meaning as the law of war. In other cases, international humanitarian law is understood more narrowly than the law of war (e.g., by understanding international humanitarian law not to include the law of neutrality).

The law of war may relate to other bodies of law through: (1) law of war rules superseding rules in other bodies of law with respect to armed conflict; (2) construing the rules in other bodies of law to avoid conflict with law of war rules; (3) law of war rules informing the content of general standards in other bodies of law, should such standards be construed to apply to armed conflict; and (4) law of war treaties explicitly incorporating concepts from other bodies of law.

War has been an ever–present danger for states and their peoples. Thus, laws of war to ‗civilize' war have arisen. Numerous laws dealing with the opening and ending of hostilities, fighting on land and sea, the kinds of weapons allowed, and other concerns became accepted rules of war at the **Hague conventions of 1899** and **1907**. Two of the most fundamental laws of war are that **Aggressive war** is unlawful and that **Self-defense** in cases of aggression is lawful. **The Kellogg–Briand pact** of 1928 and the **UN charter** of 1945 established these written rules. Especially, the **Geneva Convention** of 1949 say a lot about how to fight wars and with what weapons, and lay down rules about the treatment of enemy civilians and prisoners of war during war.

❖ Purposes of the Law of War. The main purposes of the law of war are:

• protecting combatants, non-combatants, and civilians from unnecessary suffering;

• providing certain fundamental protections for persons who fall into the hands of the enemy, particularly prisoners of war, civilians, and military wounded, sick, and shipwrecked;

• facilitating the restoration of peace;

• assisting military commanders in ensuring the disciplined and efficient use of military force; and

• preserving the professionalism and humanity of combatants

❖ **Uses of Law of War Principles**- Law of war principles provide the foundation for the specific law of war rules.

Legal principles, however, are not as specific as rules, and thus interpretations of how principles apply to a given situation may vary.

Law of war principles :(1) help practitioners interpret and apply specific treaty or customary rules; (2) provide a general guide for conduct during war when no specific rule applies ; and (3)work as interdependent and reinforcing parts of a coherent system.

4.2. International Criminal Court

The International Criminal Court (I.C.C.) was officially established on July 1, 2002, and is located in The Hague, The Netherlands. However, all of the world's nations have not ratified the Rome Statute of the I.C.C., the document outlining the purposes, capabilities, and restrictions of the I.C.C. In fact, the United States, Russia, and Japan are among the major industrialized states that have yet to ratify this document. However, a sufficient number ofmnations have ratified the Rome Statute, and in accordance with its rules, the court now officially exists.

A key component of the I.C.C. is that only war crimes committed after the I.C.C.'s establishment can fall under its jurisdiction. Another aspect is that only those nations that ratify the document will fall under its jurisdiction. In general, the I.C.C. will have jurisdiction over crimes brought to its attention by outside parties or by its own investigators. The I.C.C. will not replace national tribunals, but will complement them by offering an arena for hearing claims that may be too complicated or extensive for a national court.

The International Criminal Court (―the ICC‖ Or ―the Court‖) is a permanent international court established to investigate, prosecute and try individuals accused of committing the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole, namely the crime of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and the crime of aggression.

Why was the ICC established?

Some of the most heinous crimes were committed during the conflicts which marked the twentieth century. Unfortunately, many of these violations of international law have remained unpunished.

The Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals were established in the wake of the Second World War. In1948, When the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide Was adopted, the United Nations General Assembly Recognised the need for a permanent international court to deal with the kinds of atrocities which had just been perpetrated.

Which crimes fall within the jurisdiction of the ICC?

The Mandate of the Court Is to try individuals (rather Than States), And to hold such persons accountable for the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole, namely the crime of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and the crime of aggression, when the conditions for the exercise of the Court‘s Jurisdiction over the latter are fulfilled.

4.3. Laws of war and Protection of civilians

The Fourth Geneva Convention is concerned with the protection of civilians in time of war and builds upon the Hague Regulations (attached to Hague Convention IV on the Law and

Customs of War on Land, 1907). This Geneva Convention, which marked an extension to the pre-1949 rules, is limited under article 4 to those persons, _who, at a given moment and in any manner whatsoever, find themselves, in case of a conflict or occupation, in the hands of a party to the conflict or occupying power of which they are not nationals‘. The Convention comes into operation immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities or the start of an occupation and ends at the general close of military operations.

4.4. Laws on Prisoners of war

The Third Geneva Convention of 1949 is concerned with prisoners of war, and consists of a comprehensive code centred upon the requirement of humane treatment in all circumstances.

The definition of prisoners of war in article 4, however, is of particular importance since it has been regarded as the elaboration of combatant status. It covers members of the armed forces of a party to the conflict (as well as members of militias and other volunteer corps forming part of such armed force) and members of other militias and volunteer corps, including those of organised resistance movements, belonging to a party to the conflict providing the following conditions are fulfilled: (a)being commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates; (b) having a fixed distinctive sign recognisable at a distance;(c)carrying arms openly; (d) conducting operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

Article 5 also provides that where there is any doubt as to the status of any person committing a belligerent act and falling into the hands of the enemy, _such person shall enjoy the protection of the present Convention until such time as their status has been determined by a competent tribunal‘. This formulation was changed somewhat in article 45 of Protocol I. This provides that a person who takes part in hostilities and falls into the power of an adverse party _shall be presumed to be a prisoner of war and therefore shall be protected by the Third Convention‘. The term _unlawful combatant‘, therefore, refers to a person who fails the tests laid down in articles 43 and 44, after due determination of status, and who would not been titled to the status of prisoner of war under international humanitarian law.

The framework of obligations covering prisoners of war is founded upon _the requirement of treatment of POWs as human beings‘, while _At the core of the Convention regime are legal obligations to keep POWs alive and in good health.‘ Article13 provides that prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated and must at all times be protected, particularly against

acts of violence or intimidation and against _insults and public curiosity‘. This means that displaying prisoners of war on television in a humiliating fashion confessing to _crimes‘ or criticising their own

government must be regarded as a breach of the Convention. Measures of reprisal against prisoners of war are prohibited. Article 14 provides that prisoners of war are entitled in all circumstances to respect for their persons and their honour. Prisoners of war are bound only to divulge their name, date of birth, rank and serial number. Article 17 provides that _no physical or mental torture, nor any other form of coercion, may be inflicted ...to secure from them information of any kind whatever.

4.5. Just war Versus Aggression War

International law distinguishes **just wars** (which are legal) from wars of **aggression** (which are illegal). The legality of war, today, is defined by the UN Charter, which outlaws aggression. The idea of aggression, around which the doctrine of just war evolved, is based on a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. It assumes recognized borders that are legally inviolable.

Aggression – refers to a state‘s direct use of military force, or an imminent threat to do so, against another state‘s territory or sovereignty – unless the use of force is in response to aggression. For such a threat to constitute aggression (and justify the use of force in response) it must be a clear threat of using force, not just a hostile policy or general rivalry. Iraqi invasion of Kuwait with the former claiming the latter to be part of its territory is a typical ***example*** of an act of aggression. The fact the both Iraq and Kuwait had signed the UN charter binding them to respect each other‘s territorial integrity also implies UN‘s profound support to the latter to embark on a just war to defend the aggression.

Just war doctrine is not based on non-violence. Instead victim states are legitimate to respond to aggression reliably through using their military force unilaterally. Responses can include both the repelling of the attack itself and the punishment of the aggressor.

4.7. The Protection of Human Rights in International Level

The concept of human rights implies that basic rights belong to every member of the human race. the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, states that human rights belong to every human ―without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status‖ (Art. 2).

1. **The Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

The preamble affirms the ―Peoples of the United Nations . . . faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.‖

Article 1 states that a purpose of the United Nations is the ―promoting and encouraging of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.‖ The U.N. Charter also contains the goals of strengthening international law and advancing human health and welfare.

With the evils of the recent Holocaust in their minds, everyone at the U.N.‘s founding knew that one of its first major tasks would be to prepare a universal bill of rights. A Commission on Human Rights was soon established and given the charge of writing it. Eleanor Roosevelt, President Franklin Roosevelt‘s widow, was unanimously selected to chair the 18-member Commission. Her intelligence, ability to build trusting relationships and humanitarianism were all clear to her fellow delegates.

The Commission began its work in January 1947. An immediate issue was whether the bill of rights should be a covenant or convention that is, binding law for all nations that ratify it, or merely a declaration, which is just a statement of ideals. Several smaller nations wanted a binding covenant, but all of the major powers that had won the war (the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union) wanted only a declaration, in large part because the Western democracies and communist countries differed on what rights should be included in a binding covenant.

, launched tirades against each other‘s human rights records, and drafted and redrafted each article several times. At times, they worked with considerable harmony; at others, their disagreements and animosities almost wrecked the whole effort. But when the process was over, they had given to the world the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Articles 3 to 21 and Articles 22 to 28 seem to be different kinds of rights. French Jurist Karel Vasak called these two kinds of rights the ―first generation‖ and ―second generation‖ human rights. Articles 3 to 21, the ―first generation‖ rights, covers the kinds of civil and political rights that are familiar to Americans Bill of Rights (e.g., protection against cruel punishment, presumption of innocence, and freedom of thought and religion). Articles 22 to 28, the

―second generation‖ rights, cover economic and social rights (e.g., the rights to education, employment, safe working conditions, health care, and social security in times of need).

2. Amnesty International

Amnesty International (commonly known as **Amnesty** or **AI**) is a non-governmental organization focused on human rights. Amnesty International was founded in London in 1961, following the publication of the article "The Forgotten Prisoners" in The Observer on 28 May 1961, by the lawyer Peter Benenson. Amnesty draws attention to human rights abuses and campaigns for compliance with international laws and standards. It works to

mobilize public opinion to put pressure on governments that let abuse take place. Amnesty considers capital punishment to be "the ultimate, irreversible denial of human rights".

3. Human rights Watch

Human Rights Watch was founded by Robert L. Bernstein as a private American NGO in 1978, under the name Helsinki Watch, to monitor the former Soviet Union's compliance with the Helsinki Accords. Helsinki Watch adopted a practice of publicly "naming and shaming" abusive governments through media coverage and through direct exchanges with policymakers. By shining the international spotlight on human rights violations in the Soviet Union and its European partners, Helsinki Watch says it contributed to the democratic transformations of the region in the late 1980s.

omparison of HRW with Amnesty International

Amnesty International is a mass-membership organization. Mobilization of those members is the organization's central advocacy tool. Human Rights Watch's main products are its crisis-directed research and lengthy reports, whereas Amnesty International lobbies and writes detailed reports, but also focuses on mass letter-writing campaigns, adopting individuals as "prisoners of conscience" and lobbying for their release. Human Rights Watch will openly lobby for specific actions for other governments to take against human rights offenders, including naming specific individuals for arrest, or for sanctions to be levied against certain countries, recently calling for punitive sanctions against the top leaders in Sudan who have overseen a killing campaign in Darfur. The group has also called for human rights activists who have been detained in Sudan to be released.

4. The Role of UNHCR on Refugees

The Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 (the ―Refugee Convention‖) focuses on the protection of the victims of persecution. However, in order for an individual to receive protection, he/she should fall within the scope of the definition of refugee. Indeed, the Refugee Convention, which came in response to the atrocities of World War II, was not meant to cover every refugee, thus various limitations were envisaged from the start as to its scope.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner (UNHCR) was established by the General Assembly as a subsidiary organization to be concerned with refugee protection. The main role of the UNHCR, as outlined in the UNHCR Statute, is to provide ―international protection‖ for refugees and ―to seek permanent solutions to the problem of refugees by assisting governments, in cooperation with NGOs and other international organizations, to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of such refugees, or their assimilation within new national communities.‖ Indeed, according to the general principles of international law, States are obliged to protect all the individuals living within

their national boundaries. The prime responsibility for the protection of refugees thus lies with the country in which the refugees are present. The role of the UNHCR is, therefore, complementary to the protection that States are supposed to accord to the refugees involved.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

5. International Organizations: Definitions and Characteristics

5.1. Essential Characteristics of international organizations

The outstanding features come under three headings:

- ***Membership***: an international organization should draw its membership from two or more sovereign states, though membership need not be limited to states or official state representatives such as government ministers
- ***Aim***: the organization is established with the aim of pursuing the common interests of the members. It may end up not undertaking this task or favouring the interests of one member over that of another but it should not have the express aim of the pursuit of the interests of only one member, regardless of the desires of others.
- ***Structure***: the organization should have its own formal structure of a continuous nature established by an agreement such as a treaty or constituent document. The nature of the formal structure may vary from organization to organization but it should be separate from the continued control of one member. It is this autonomous structure that differentiates a number of international organizations from a series of conferences or congresses.

5.2. Classification of International Organizations

What is the basic difference between IGO and INGO?

A public organization has a membership of states and is an International Governmental Organization (IGO). These types of organizations are mostly associated with the term _International Organization‘. These are organizations that are made up of primarily of sovereign states (referred to as member states). Examples include the United Nations, European Union, and the World Trade Organization. On the other hand, a private organization has a membership of individuals or groups and is an international nongovernmental organization. Included are organizations that originate for reasons other than politics and may include international non-profit organizations. Examples include the Coca-Cola Company and Toyota.

- **What are Transnational Organizations?**

In contrast to an intergovernmental organization (IGO), a TNO must have a non-state actor for at least one of its members. Three sorts of TNOs are commonly identified in the literature

1. *The genuine INGO* which is an organization with only non-governmental members. Such organizations bring together the representatives of like-minded groups from more than two countries and examples are the International Olympic Committee, the World Council of Churches, and the Salvation Army.
2. The hybrid INGO which has some governmental and some non-governmental representation. If such a hybrid organization has been established by a treaty or convention between governments, it should be counted as an IGO, an example being the ILO which has trade union and management (i.e. non-governmental) membership as well as governmental representatives.
3. The transgovernmental organization (TGO) which results from relations between governmental actors that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of their governments‘.

5.3. Organizations/ Institutions of Regional Character

- **European Union**

It is in Europe that regionalism became most developed institutionally. The establishment of the European Economic Community (there after European Union), in particular, was intended to lay the basis for a resurgent Europe with meaningful economic and political integration. It has developed to become a major regional organisation with significant supranational components.

The membership of the Union has progressively increased and currently stands at twenty-seven. The institutions of the Union comprise primarily the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Commission and the Court of Justice. The Council of Europe was created in 1949 with wide-ranging cooperative aims. There are currently forty-seven member states.

- **The Organization of American States**

The Organization of American States emerged after the Second World War and built upon the work already done by the Pan-American Union and the various inter-American Conferences since 1890.Itconsistsoftwo basic treaties: the 1947 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Treaty), which is a collective self-defence system, and the 1948 Pact of Bogot´a, which is the original Charter of the OAS and which was amended in 1967 by the Buenos Aires Protocol, in 1985 by the Cartagena de Indias Protocol and by the 1992 Washington Protocol and the 1993 Managua Protocol. There are currently thirty-five member states.

- **The Arab League**

The Arab League was created in 1944 and has broad aims. The Council of the League is the supreme organ and performs a useful conciliatory role and various subsidiary organs dealing with economic, cultural and social issues have been set up. Its headquarters are in Tunisia, having been moved there from Egypt after the Israel–Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979.There is also a permanent secretariat and a Secretary-General.

- **The Organization of African Unity**

The Organization of African Unity was established in 1963 in Ethiopia and was replaced by the African Union in 2001. The Constitutive Act of the Union lists a series of objectives in article 3 and these include the achieving of greater unity between African countries; defending the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member states; the promotion of peace, security and stability on the continent and of human and peoples‘ rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples‘ Rights and other relevant human rights instruments; and the promotion of sustainable development.

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was created in 1967. It possesses economic, political and cultural aims and groups together Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. In1976 three agreements were signed: a Treaty of Amity and Co-operation, which reaffirmed the parties‘ commitment to peace and dealt with the peaceful settlement of disputes; the Declaration of ASEAN Concord, which called for increased political and economic co-ordination and co-operation; and the Agreement of Establishment of the Permanent Secretariat to co-ordinate the national secretariats established under the 1967 ASEAN Declaration. In 1987, the Protocol amending the Treaty of Amity was signed, under which countries outside the ASEAN region could accede to the treaty.

➢ **The League of Nations**

The League of Nations came into being after the end of World War 1 (1914-1918). The League of Nation's task was simple - to ensure that war never broke out again. After the turmoil caused by the Versailles Treaty, many looked to the League to bring stability to the world.

The League of Nations was to be based in Geneva, Switzerland. If a dispute did occur, the League, under its Covenant, could do three things - these were known as its sanctions:

1. It could call on the states in dispute to sit down and discuss the problem in an orderly and peaceful manner. This would be done in the League‘s Assembly - which was essentially the League‘s parliament, which would listen to disputes and come to a decision on how to proceed. If one nation was seen to be the offender, the League could introduce verbal sanctions - warning an aggressor nation that she would need to leave another nation's territory or face the consequences.

2. If the states in dispute failed to listen to the Assembly‘s decision, the League could introduce economic sanctions. The League‘s Council would arrange this. The purpose of this
sanction was to financially hit the aggressor nation so that she would have to do as the League required. The logic behind it was to push an aggressor nation towards bankruptcy, so that the people in that state would take out their anger on their government forcing them to accept the League‘s decision.

3. If this failed, the League could introduce physical sanctions. This meant that military force would be used to put into place the League‘s decision. However, the League did not have a military force at its disposal and no member of the League had to provide one under the terms of joining - unlike the current United Nations. Weaknesses of the League of Nations The only two countries in the League that could have provided any military might were Britain and France and both had been severely depleted strength-wise in World War One and could not provide the League with the backing it needed..

Principal organs of the United Nations (UN)

The UN Charter established six distinct bodies that serve different functions: (1) the General Assembly, (2) the Security Council, (3) the Secretariat, (4) the Economic and Social Council,
(5) the International Court of Justice, and (6) the Trusteeship Council

General Assembly

The General Assembly is made up of all member countries, each with one vote. It undertakes all major discussions and decisions about UN actions. It is like a global town hall, providing a powerful medium for countries to put forward their ideas and debate issues.

Established in 1945 under the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly occupies a central position as the chief deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations. Comprising all 192 Members of the United Nations, it provides a unique forum for multilateral discussion of the full spectrum of international issues covered by the Charter.

In general, according to the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly may:

- ✓ Consider and make recommendations on the general principles of cooperation for maintaining international peace and security, including disarmament;
- ✓ Discuss any question relating to international peace and security and, except where a dispute or situation is currently being discussed by the Security Council, make recommendations on it;
- ✓ Discuss, with the same exception, and make recommendations on any questions within the scope of the Charter or affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations;
- ✓ Initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law.
- ✓ Make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation that might impair friendly relations among nations;
- ✓ Receive and consider reports from the Security Council and other United Nations organs;
- ✓ Consider and approve the United Nations budget and establish the financial assessments of Member States;
- ✓ Elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of other United Nations councils and organs and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, appoint the Secretary-General.

Security Council

The Security Council is the most powerful body in the United Nations. It is responsible for maintaining international peace and for restoring peace when conflicts arise. Its decisions are binding on all UN members and have the force of international law. The Security Council has the power to define what is a threat to security, to determine how the UN should respond, and to enforce its decisions by ordering UN members to take certain actions. For example, the council may impose economic sanctions, such as halting trade with a country it considers an aggressor.

The Security Council has 15 members, 5 of which hold permanent seats. The General Assembly elects the other 10 members for rotating two-year terms. The 5 permanent members—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), and China—have the most power. These nations were the winning powers at the end of World War II in 1945, and they still represent the bulk of the world‘s military might.

All in all, the functions and powers of the Security Council are

1. To maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations

2. To investigate and dispute or situation which might lead to international friction
3. To recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement
4. To formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments
5. To determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken
6. To call on member states to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force in order to prevent or stop aggression
7. To take military action against an aggressor
8. To recommend admission of new members and the term on which states may become parties to the Statute of the international Court of Justice
9. To exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in ―strategic areas‖
10. To recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

The Economic and Social Council is established with the noble purpose of promoting higher standards of living, find solution to solve problems in economy and social and Promote Universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedom of all.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) works under the authority of the General Assembly to coordinate the economic and social work of the UN. ECOSOC has 54 member countries elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms, 18 being elected each year for a three-year term to replace 18 members whose three-year term has expired.

The functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council are:

1. To serve as the central forum for the discussion of international economic and social issues of a global or interdisciplinary nature and the formulation of policy recommendations on those issues addressed to member states and to the UNs system as a whole
2. To make or initiate studies and reports and make recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters
3. To promote respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all
4. To call international conferences and prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly on matters falling within its competence
5. To negotiate agreements with the specialized agencies defining their relationship with the United nations

6. To coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies by means of consultations with and recommendations to them, and by means of recommendations to the General Assembly and the Members of the United Nations
7. To perform services, approved by the Assembly, for members of the UNs and, upon request, for the specialized agencies
8. To consult with non-governmental organizations concerned, on matters with which the Council deals.

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council was established to oversee the transition of a handful of colonies to independence. The last of those colonies, the Palau Islands, gained independence in 1994, making the Trusteeship Council obsolete.

The International Court of Justice (ICJ)

The International Court of Justice, also known as the World Court, is the judicial arm of the UN. It is located in The Hague, Netherlands. The court hears cases brought by nations against each other. It has 15 judges, elected by the Security Council and the General Assembly. A country is not required to participate in the court's proceedings, but if it agrees to participate, it must abide by the court's decisions.

The World Court—Composition and Functions

The international court of justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

The Court is open to all states which are parties to its statute, and automatically includes all members of the UNs. A state which is not a member of the UN may become a party to the statute on conditions determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendations of the Security Council.

Jurisdiction

The jurisdiction of the Court covers all questions which states refer to it, and all matters provided for in the United Nations Charter or in treaties or conventions in force. States may bind themselves in advance to accept the jurisdiction of the Court in special cases, either by signing a treaty or convention which provides for referral to the Court or by making a special declaration to that effect. Such declarations accepting compulsory jurisdiction may exclude certain classes of cases.

In accordance with Article 38 of its statute, the Court, in deciding disputes submitted to it, applies:

1. International conventions establishing rules recognized by the contesting states
2. International custom as evidence of a general practice accepted as law
3. The general principles of law recognized by nations

4. Judicial decisions and the teachings of the most qualified publicists of the various nations, as a subsidiary means for determining the rules of law

Membership

The Court consists of 15 Judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. They are chosen on the basis of nationality, and care is taken to ensure that the principal legal systems of the world are represented in the Court. No two judges can be nationals of the same state. The judges serve for a term of nine years and may be reelected. They cannot engage in any other occupation during their term of office.

The Court normally sits in plenary session, but it may also form smaller units called chambers if the parties so request. Judgments given by chambers are considered as rendered by the full Court

- **The Secretariat**

The Secretariat is the executive branch of the United Nations. It oversees the administration of the UN‘s programs and policies and carries out day-to-day operations. This branch is headed by the secretary general, who acts as the UN‘s spokesperson.

One purpose of the Secretariat is to develop an international civil service of diplomats and bureaucrats whose loyalties are not tied to any one country. The staffs answers only to the United Nations and takes an oath not to obey any outside authority. The UN Charter calls on its members to respect the independence and international character of the staff. However, the UN has had mixed success following through on this ideal. The secretary general is generally seen as an independent diplomat. But member nations still compete to place their citizens in control of staffs that administer important UN programs.

➢ **The UN Charter**

All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.(Article 2(4) (a) of the UN Charter).

Article 2(4) was elaborated as a principle of international law in the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International law and analyzed systematically:

- First, wars of aggression constitute a crime against peace for which there is responsibility under international law;

- Secondly, states must not threaten or use force to violate existing international frontiers (including demarcation or armistice lines) or to solve international disputes;
- Thirdly, states are under a duty to refrain from acts of reprisal involving the use of force;
- Fourthly, states must not use force to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination and independence;
- And fifthly, states must refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another state and must not encourage the formation of armed bands for incursion into another state‘s territory.

5.5. Development of the Prohibition on the Use of Force in International Law

- **Early Prohibitions on the Use of Force**

According to Van Den Hole, ―The bellum justum doctrine, which originated in the Middle Ages, legitimized the resort to violence in international law as a procedure of self-help only if certain criteria were met relating to a belligerent‘s authority to make war, its objectives, and its intent.‖

It was the development of the modern state system, predicated on the idea of sovereignty that led to the development of formal rules to regulate interactions between these juridically equal entities.

- **Customary International Law and the Use of Force**

The regulations on the use of force in customary law are less stringent than those found in treaty law. One of the first instances where the use of force was limited under customary law came in the mid-1800s. In what is referred to as the Caroline incident, the limitations and requirements for the use of force in self-defence were articulated by Secretary of State Daniel Webster. Webster argued in order to justify its use of force against the Caroline, the British Government must prove that the action was undertaken because of the ―necessity of self-defence, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation.‖ Webster went on to state the following:

- **Modern Treaty Law and the Use of Force**

The first modern attempt to limit the use of force through treaty law came with the establishment of the League of Nations. Under the Covenant of the League of Nations an extensive set of procedures was established to regulate the use of force. The League of Nations established an elaborate institutional process through which states were supposed to be able to resolve their differences without using force. Article 12 of the Covenant states

- **The United Nations Charter and the Use of Force**

Today, international law has been codified in the Charter of the United Nations. Virtually all sovereign states are members of the UN, and, accordingly, are bound by the Charter's provisions. As a result, the Charter is viewed as having universal applicability. McCormack notes that the United Nations was established to maintain international peace and security, and that the ―whole scheme of the Charter was based on the provision of a system of collective measures to prevent and remove threats to the peace.‖ The Charter deals extensively with the use of force, but with respect to self-defence two provisions are particularly relevant. Article 2(4) of the Charter expressly prohibits the use of force. It states:

All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

There are only two exceptions to this general prohibition of the use of force. Chapter VII allows for the Security Council to sanction the use of force to ―keep the peace.‖ Article 51 allows for force to be used in self-defence in response to an armed attack:

- **The law of Anticipation, Pre-emption and Prevention Pre-emption vs. Prevention: Temporal Distinctions**

The most often described distinction between pre-emptive and preventive military activities revolves around the proximity of the threat. For example, according to the United States Department of Defence, ***a pre-emptive*** *attack is defined as, "an attack initiated on the basis of incontrovertible evidence that an enemy attack is imminent*.‖ **A preventive war**, on the other hand, is ―*a war initiated in the belief that military conflict, while not imminent, is inevitable, and that to delay would involve great risk*.‖

Stephen J. Cimbala argues that a *"**preventive** war is one undertaken by a state in anticipation of an enemy intent to attack at some future date or in response to an expected power transition in the international system which the state considers unacceptable and is willing to go to war to prevent*.‖ **Pre-emption**, on the other hand, ―*is a decision to strike first in the belief that an enemy has already decided to attack and is now attempting to implement that decision."* Reiter states that,

A war is pre-emptive if it breaks out primarily because the attacker feels that it will itself be the target of a military attack in the short term … This definition is limited to perceptions of short-term threats to national security; in contrast, the term preventive war is used for a war that begins when a state attacks because it feels that in the longer term (usually the next few years) it will be attacked or will suffer relatively increasing strategic inferiority.

For Tucker, ―whereas a preventive war initiates the deliberate and premeditated initiation of hostilities at the most propitious time, a pre-emptive attack involves an action in which the

attempt is made to seize the initiative from an adversary who has either already resorted to force or is certain to initiate hostilities in the immediate future.‖

Harkavy offers a similar definition of pre-emption and prevention, stating that:

Pre-emption, then, is usually linked to an immediate crisis situation, one with mutual escalating fears and threats, in which there is an apparent advantage to striking first. Preventive war, on the other hand, and in its pure form, involves longer-term premeditated behaviour on the part of one antagonist, often where striking the first blow may not be perceived as crucial.

Kegley and Raymond distinguish between the two activities in the following manner:

A pre-emptive military attack entails the use of force to quell or mitigate an impending strike by an adversary. A preventive military attack entails the use of force to eliminate any possible future strike, even when there is no reason to believe that aggression is planned or the capability to launch such an attack is operational. Whereas the grounds for pre-emption lie in the evidence of a credible, imminent threat, the basis for prevention rests on the suspicion of an incipient, contingent threat.

- **Self-Defense, the Use of Force, and International Law Today**

International law is not a monolithic bloc of rules and regulations. Rather, it is an amalgamation of numerous sources and components. It is unclear if one element is more important or carries more weight. Accordingly, it is difficult to determine the legality of an action that is in violation of treaty law but consistent with customary law. Furthermore, since customary law evolves and changes over time, it is difficult to determine if an action taken is a violation or merely an indication of the evolution of customary law. For example, if a state violates existing customary law but is not sanctioned by other states, is this an example of a violation? Also, since treaty law is also susceptible to new interpretations, it is difficult to determine if a specific action is a violation of the law or an indication of a new and valid interpretation. Additionally, if states are unwilling or unable to impose effective punishment on violations, how effective or influential is international law? Furthermore, the meaning of treaty law can also change over time. As discussed above, the interpretation of treaties can evolve over time and analysis of the meaning of treaties must be adaptive to changes in state practice.

- **Weapons of mass destruction**

One of the first decisions taken by the UN General Assembly was made in January 1946 to establish a Commission for, inter alia, the _elimination of major weapons adaptable to mass destruction‘. The Commission for Conventional Armaments in 1948 defined weapons of mass destruction to include atomic explosive weapons, radio-active material weapons, as well as certain lethal chemical and biological weapons. The General Assembly later expanded the definition to include any weapons developed in the future which have characteristics comparable in destructive effect to those of the atomic bomb. The main type of weapons of mass destruction is nuclear weapons and the international law on the subject operates on two levels. First, there are restrictions on the production and possession of nuclear weapons, for example, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons 1963 which restricts the number of states which can build and possess nuclear weapons.

- **Humanitarian Intervention**

Using military force to save lives is difficult, dangerous, rarely politically rewarding—and yet somehow here to stay. American presidents, UN Security Councils, and western publics will almost always want to do something when thousands or tens of thousands of innocent people are dying as a result of war. But dozens of civil wars are being waged around the world at any given time; demands being made on the U.S. armed forces already verge on being excessive; and conducting successful interventions is difficult. American policymakers must be judicious in deciding when and how to use force to save lives in conflicts that do not involve vital, strategic U.S. interests. (Adissu & Kiruger, 2009:301)

Part-II ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMACY

UNIT ONE

1. Foreign Policy

Introduction and Conceptual Clarification

1.1Theoretical perspectives

Theory is defined as ‘a set of logically connected propositions that propose to explain and predict the relationships among variables in a given field of study. A theory exists in either proven or unproven form’ (Henderson, 1998). For Kenneth Waltz, as cited in Arka Abota (2002), “theory is not very useful and in many cases has been proved to be wrong”. As Waltz argued theories are not relevant in explaining foreign policy. He says that, “theories must deal with coherent logic of autonomous realms while foreign policy is the bi-product of both internal and external factors, it does not constitute an autonomous realm; and therefore does not strive for theoretical explanation.”

But others dissatisfied with the above position and make efforts to construct a general theory of foreign policy that fall into several schools/theories. For those groups there are schools of thought by

which foreign policy can be defined and explained. These includes, Innenpolitik theory, Offensive realism (sometimes aggressive realism) and Defensive realism to mention a few.
The Innenpolitik theory argues that the domestic factors such as politics, economics, ideology, national character, partisan politics or socio-economic structure determine how a state behaves towards another state beyond its national borders. This theory believes that "foreign policy is best understood as the product of a country's internal dynamics. To understand why a particular country is behaving in a particular way, therefore, one should peer inside the black box and examine the preferences and configurations of key domestic actors"(Rose 1998 cited in Arka 2002:10)

On the other hand Offensive Realism believes that systemic factors are very important. It assumes that international system is anarchy and full of deterrence where security is scarce and states try to achieve it by maximizing their relative advantage. Offensive realists say that rational states that are pursuing security are prone to take defensive actions that can lead to offensive conflict due to the structure of international system. Offensive realists consider that domestic differences between countries are unimportant because pressures from the international system are assumed to be strong and straightforward enough to make similarly situated states behave alike, regardless of their internal characteristics. Thus, foreign policy, according to this view is the outcome of nervous states competing for positions within the international system of power configuration. Therefore, to understand why foreign policy of a particular country is forced to behave in a particular way, as offensive realists suggest, one should examine its relative capabilities and its external environment, because those factors will shape how the state chooses alternatives to advance its interests.

Defensive realism on its part assumes that international anarchy is often more benign in which security is often plentiful rather than scarce. According to defensive realist world states have to relax because external threats are rare. It further says that even if threats happen to take place, rational states in a timely manner should use a balancing mechanism in order to deter the threat (rogue states) and obviate the conflict.

The three foreign policy theories, shortly elaborated above have their own weaknesses. The Innenpolitik theory bases its analysis on domestic independent variables and neglects the international system/systemic factors which have unavoidable impact on foreign policy decision making. The offensive realist theory of foreign policy limits its analysis to systemic factors that is inaccurate much of the time and also misguided while defensive realism also bases its analysis on systemic theory, but in practice FPDM rely on both systemic and domestic independent variables to account for different kinds of foreign policy behaviour.

1.2. WHAT IS FOREIGN POLICY?

The level of socio-economic and political development the world has reached has made it imperative that any country (small or big, weak or strong, rich or poor) cannot live in isolation or without being influenced, either directly or indirectly, by the rapid transformation of the world in socio-cultural, economic and political aspects. The Nations of the world are becoming increasingly interdependent in many aspects. Therefore, now days one can hardly find a country virtually isolated from the scene of world interactions and interdependences (Taye, 2010:1).

Since the early times in the history of Nations/states, states have had established contacts guided by certain policies. The policy that regulates a nation's/state's relations with others is called Foreign Policy. So, what is FP?

Foreign policy is a strategy or planned course of action developed by decision makers of a state vis-à-vis other states or international entities. It determines the direction upon which a country's international activity is depending (ibid).

Foreign policy is a plan of what a country does in its relations with others. FP also known as International Relations refers to all facets of relations/contacts that transcend international boundary of a state.

Foreign policy is 'national' response to global process. It is a course of action or set of principles adopted by a nation's government to define its relations with other countries or groups of countries. Foreign policy of a country also defined its positions on a wide range of international issues which transcend the national boundary. It may reflect broad national objectives or represent a narrow and specific response to a particular situation.

Foreign policy is a reflection of domestic policy. It is the continuation or expression of the domestic policy whereby a state may achieve some aspects of its national interests through its activities in international relations (Taye, 2010:1). Due to this, as Taye further stated, foreign policy has an inseparable dual nature. That is, as a policy of a nation towards others, it underscores the principles the state upholds in maintaining its foreign relations and as a reflection of a nation's domestic policy, it depicts interests and positions of government in the country's socio-economic, political and institutional set-ups and strategy of development (2010:1-2). Analysis of a country's foreign policy can give an insight to the nature of the country's political institutions and socio-economic foundations.

Countries' foreign policy and diplomacy is affected by the changing nature of global politics. New global phenomena lead to new policy and diplomacy of countries. E.g. the 1990-91 gulf war changed foreign policies and diplomacy of many countries. Although it seems that countries have similar attitudes to aggression, different countries allied either with Iraq or Kuwait while calculating the economic, social, and political impacts of the Iraqi aggression for their own. Similar observations could apply to the Ethio-Eritrea war from May 1998-May 2000.

In foreign policy decision making constant modifications/alterations to changing circumstances without affecting the basic substances of own foreign policy may be important. This is because 'No static foreign policy is desirable.' Of course, Foreign Policy is neither static nor in a constant state of flux. It does not necessarily remain the same at all times and conditions. Nor does it necessarily change when conditions do not require.

Policy makers should be able to make choices/ options among the available variables. Foreign policy must be able to cope up with the changing situations, but it should not compromise the core values/fundamental national interests for the sake of change. As the history of IR clearly demonstrates the pivotal factors in determining the nature of states' foreign policy are national interests.

Foreign policy choices range from the dramatic to the mundane. Leaders make decisions to go to war, make peace, form an alliance, establish diplomatic relations, implement a position on nuclear non-proliferation, impose economic sanctions, ratify global environmental agreements etc. (Mintz and DeRouen, 2010:3).

1.2.1. Foreign Policy Decision Making

Foreign policy decision making (FPDM) refers to the choices individuals, groups, and coalitions make that affect a nation's actions on the international stage. Foreign policy decisions are typically characterized by high stakes, enormous uncertainty, and substantial risk (Renshon and Renshon cited in Mintz and DeRouen, 2010:3).

1.2.1.1. Determinants of FPDM

Foreign Policy Decisions are influenced by multiple of factors which includes the following;

Decision environment: the environment/situations by which decisions are made can shape the eventual choice. That is, an actor could arrive at different outcomes depending on the decision process.

Psychological factors: significant cognitive limitations often distort information processing. Some decisions are calculated carefully, whereas others are more intuitive.

International factors: The uncertainty involved in foreign policy making can pertain to an opponent's motives, beliefs, intentions, or calculations. If decision makers can understand how decisions are made, they can better understand and predict outcomes in the international arena.

Domestic factors: Domestic politics can shape foreign actions. Multiple of internal factors determine the way foreign policy decisions are made, including, type of government, leadership, level of economic development etc. These all affect foreign policy decision making.

Many foreign policy decisions resemble a chess game. It is characterised by moves and counter moves in reaction to prior moves and decisions of other actors in the international diplomatic landscape. As in chess, players learn from prior moves of their opponent. Likewise, when playing with the same opponent for many years, states also learn from 'game to game'.

FPDM consists of four components:

Identifying the decision problem, searching for alternatives, choosing an alternative, and

Executing the alternative (Robinson and Snyder cited in Mintz and DeRouen, 2010:4

1.2.1.2. Level of Analysis in Foreign Policy Decision Making

In a foreign policy decision making, decision processes and actual choices are shaped by who makes the decision i.e. the decision unit. In this regard Alex Mintz and K. DeRouen (2010:18) identified three main levels of foreign policy decision making. These are the individual, the group, and the coalition.

Both the size and composition of the decision unit directly influence foreign policy decision making. The decision-making process taken by a single person is not expected to follow the same dynamics as a group decision or a coalition decision. If there are several groups involved, the process will be different from the other processes.

- **Individual-Level Decisions**

This level of analysis depends on the premise which assumes that 'leaders matter in the explanation of foreign policy decisions by acting on their definitions of the situation in the domain of world politics'. Individual-level decisions are more likely when leaders have a disproportionate amount of power within a state. Powerful leaders typically do not need to seek consensus in decision making. For such type of personalities Institutional constraints are not a major factor in decision making.

- **Group-level Decisions**

Unlike the individual-level model, in group level decisions certain group dynamics can influence the decision process. In this case the decision reached by this unit is a group decision that emerges after debate. And the group comprises members whose allegiance is primarily directed within the group, and the respective actors do not have to consult others outside the group. Decisions made here involve a fair amount of political power struggle and debate between agencies and influential bureaucrats. Actors recognize that political conflict and differences of opinion, even differences of philosophy, are inevitable.

1. Coalition Decision Making

Coalition decision making represents a third type of FPDM unit, as identified by A. Mintz and K. DeRouen (2010). As this unit level analysis stressed 'Individual units within a coalition cannot make decisions on their own, thus there is some level of bargaining and leverage between relatively independent actors. No single actor in the unit can make the decision unilaterally. Here, the first level of allegiance is directed outside the group towards the party or constituency of the coalition members. In the context of international politics, this means no one actor can decide state's foreign policy.

1.3. National interests and its Classification

What is National Interest?

We have no eternal allies and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow.

Lord Palmerstone (1784 - 1865) British prime minister. Speech to the British Parliament

Foreign policies are not built upon abstractions. They are the result of practical conceptions of national interest arising from some immediate exigency or standing out vividly in historical perspectives.

Charles A. Beard

The Idea of National Interest

The most important factors in diplomacy and foreign policy are the national interests of the represented state i.e. the goals and objectives to be attained or secured by the state in its relations with other states or international legal persons.

National Interest refers to anything that can be defined as ''national goals and objectives''. A state's citizens are its most vital and fundamental national interest, and their protection is central to national security.

Dictionary of Diplomacy defines national interest as something which is deemed by a particular state to be a 'vital or desirable goal' in its international relations.

Hans J. Morgenthau, the leading realist thinker, recognised the interest of a nation as "the kind of interest determining political action [of a state] in a particular period of history [that] depends upon the political and cultural context within which foreign policy is formulated".

National interest claims to provide objective standards of conduct in international affairs and guide to the formulation of national strategy. It is a value that determines what is good for the nation as a whole in the international affairs.

Foremost, among national interests is the maintenance and protection of national security and protection of citizens of the country concerned. The most important national interest of any state is its citizens, but national assets, endowments, prestige, image, territorial integrity, and economic and

cultural interests are also vital for national survival and prosperity. Hence, there is a need to maintain and protect these interests as well.

1.3.1. Classification of national Interest

National interest can be classified in to different categories. For example Morgenthau saw two levels of national interest i.e. the primary (vital) and secondary. To preserve the first, which concerns the nation's physical, political and cultural identity and survival or security of the nation, there can be no compromise or hesitation about going to war. All nations must defend them at any price.

Secondary, includes those over which one may seek to negotiate or compromise. These interests fall outside of the first category and represent not threat to sovereignty. If an interest is secondary, mutually advantageous deals can be negotiated.

In addition to the primary and secondary, Morgenthau distinguished between permanent and temporary interests. Permanent interests are relatively constant over long period of time. Variable or temporary interests are what a nation chooses to regard as its national interest in a particular time.

FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATIONS

FP orientation refers a course of action or strategy states follow/choose (depending on their position in the international system) to obtain their FP objectives. In other word FPO is a general attitudes and commitments towards the external environment based on the examination of global structure of power and influence. Based on this states may adopt a foreign policy of Isolationism, Non-alignment, or neutrality.

1. Isolationism

Isolationism is a non-or low-level involvement in most issues of the regional, international or global affairs.

Basic assumption:

- The state can best gain security and independence by reducing areas of transactions with others.
- Success of this strategy depends on: Diffuse system structure (multi polar in which there is a possibility of regularly shift alliance)
- Stable domestic socio-economic and political structure i.e. self-sufficiency and stability.

2. Non-alignment

A foreign policy course adopted by states to refrain from alignment with military or ideological blocks of the cold-war era (either communism or capitalism or NATO or Warsaw military blocks).

Non alignment was a strategy adopted by developing nations of Africa, Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific to escape the bipolar trap. It was political neutrality.

This policy has its roots in the Bandung conference of April, 1955 in Indonesia where leaders of 29 Asian, African and Caribbean states met. Participants of the conference proclaimed themselves to be a third force in global affairs of the time.

Pioneer leaders of the non-alignment movement were; Marshal Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, President Sukarno of Indonesia.

The first formal conference of the movement was held in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) in 1961 (with the attendance of 25 heads of states) and adopted the goals of non-alignment as;

Pursue an independent policy based on peaceful coexistence. Policy of non-participation in multi military alliances,

Support liberation and independence movements in Africa, Asia Pacific and other parts of the world.
Policy of non-participation in bilateral military alliance with the great powers(USA + USSR or NATO + Warsaw)

Factors for adopting these principles

Nationalism: after liberation the newly independent nations did not want to become tools in the hands of the big powers. They did this to preserve their hard won independence.

Anti-Colonialism: the memory of the past and prevention of subjugation by the ex-colonial powers by avoiding membership in both blocks.

Economic aid: to widen their chance for economic aid and assistance to achieve their development objectives. So, it was thought as proper to keep off from political alignment. It was a pragmatic approach.

3. Neutrality

Neutrality is the international legal status of a state under which a neutral state does not participate in war or render military assistance to belligerent parties or groups.

Switzerland (since the congress of Vienna, 1815), Austria by the Federal Constitutional act of October 26,1955, Malta since 1981.

Rights and Duties of Neutral States Rights,

Territorial inviolability of neutral state,

Acceptance of the neutral's status of impartiality, Non-interference with its commerce except to the degree sanctioned by international law, Recognition of its right to self-defence-as defined under art. 51 of UN charter. Duties, Neutral states have the following duties; Maintenance of impartiality Refraining from aiding any belligerent state

Denying to belligerents the use of its territory for military purposes

Permitting belligerents to have commercial interactions to the extent specified by international law.

Non-alignment vs. Neutrality

Non-alignment: it is subject to change with change of a government in a non-aligned country that would bring a change in attitude with it. Non-alignment implies abstention from existing conflicts of East-West rivalry during the cold war.

FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES

The goal and objective of FP is protecting national interest and playing roles defined by policy makers.

National interest like increasing power, gaining security, economic prosperity, image building…

Roles like being regional leader, protector, mediator, liberation supporter….

INSTRUMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY EXECUTION

1. Secret intelligence

States analyses the information gathered by their secret intelligence agencies before deciding on how to pursue their foreign policy. Intelligence inquiries are rich source of evidence for foreign policy decision making.

Secret intelligence has four functions,

To obtain info. By covert means: information which cannot be acquired by conventional methods can be acquired by secret intelligence. It helps to gather information about future military plans, capability of an enemy (both actual and potential).

Important for accuracy and speedy delivery of information: it helps to gather information from friends as well as enemies. Gathering secret information against friend is easier because of greater intimacy. E.g. Israel's Mossad on US.

Deception: helps to feed other government with disinformation to confuse the opponent about one's own plans and purposes as well as military policy. It is important in wars or in situations which threaten war.

Political warfare: secret participation in the domestic politics or civil wars of other states either to defend friendly government or overthrow hostile one.

2. Force

Despite rhetoric, force remains the most important instrument for the prosecution of conflict. The art of using force in the service of foreign policy is known as strategy. It can be either overtly or covertly like;

Destruction of enemy's main military force i.e. Napoleonic strategy.

The strategy of indirect approach: this is a weak state strategy. They use indirect strategy to avoid immediate battle, surprise attack, strategic bombing, moral blockade…

The other means of using force as foreign policy instrument is coercion. Coercion is the use or threat of force to encourage the opponents to have the 2nd thought. Threat made with the purpose of preventing aggression is deterrence.

Deterrence: designed to forestall attack by convincing a potential aggressor that the cost of its action will substantially outweigh any possible gains. Deterrence is a balance of terror. It refrain both powers of the cold war from directly threatening the other. Because both were nuclear powers and have no defence for nuclear bomb. So, they deter each other by creating terror on one another.

Coercive Bargaining: the other form of coercion also called compliance, coercive diplomacy. It focus on the threat or causing pain in an attempt to persuade an enemy to conform to one's will i.e. to surrender a position or change some of its policy.

3. **Economic statecraft:**

This is the economic instrument of foreign policy aiming at influencing foreign states using economic resources through;

a. Foreign aid in the service of foreign policy by using it as reward or punishment. As reward state commit to continue aid for a foreign state concerned. And as punishment by suspension of aid.

- **Economic sanctions:**

It is auxiliary to military action aimed to halt military aggression. To weaken the military potential of the enemy and to destabilize the government of the weak enemy state.

To encourage states to observe human rights To stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction(WMD) To restore democracy etc.

- **Propaganda**

Propaganda is manipulation of public opinion by symbols and words through mass media. It is a political advertising and a psychological warfare. The end goal or usefulness of propaganda varies as the aim of the foreign policy of the state. In general propaganda aims at the following; Encouragement of internal opposition to unfriendly government /regimes,

Undermining the moral of the opponent's armed forces, To influence the target government to take a friendly and positive attitude towards the other's purpose and activities, To influence the attitude of the target population so that they would influence the policies of their own government.

Examples;-

A. in USA: Voice of America(VOA),

Radio free Europe –targeting eastern Europe during the cold war Radio Liberty –targeted East Europe and the USSR

Radio Marti and TV Marti- targeting Cuba

Radio Asia- targeting China and other southeast Asia

- Germany: Duestsche Welle
- UK: BBC radio and TV global network.
- Soviet Union: Radio-Moscow

Factors for effectiveness of Propaganda

The following factors determine the success of any propaganda. The use of mass media based on population habit of the mass media Degree of literacy. Degree of population involvement in their government. Therefore, correct targeting is important for success of propaganda.

5. Diplomacy

Diplomacy is not a foreign policy. Foreign policy is the attitude struck by one state towards another. Diplomacy is one of the numbers of instruments employed in order to make that attitude persuasive. Therefore, diplomacy is; the process of conducting communications among states through officially recognized representatives/diplomats. Diplomats protect national interest of the sending states and reduce conflicts among states.

UNIT TWO

2. Diplomacy

2.1. Diplomacy: Origin and Development

Peaceful contacts between independent groups have always, since the start of human time, required the kind of representational activity which has come to be known as diplomacy.

The word diplomacy comes from the Greek word ‘‘diploma’’ which means ‘‘folded in two.’’ In ancient Greece, a diploma was a folded paper or certificate used for state papers, charters, etc. In ancient Rome ‘‘diploma’’ described official documents such as passports or passes for travel on imperial roads that were stamped on double metal plates. Later, this diploma provided a privilege, license, or degree conferred upon an individual who was a diplomat, messenger, or envoy, who took or carried state papers on behalf of a state or sovereign to another state or sovereign.

The term ‘diplomacy’ in our times mostly refers to the various means by which nations manage their relationships and communicate with one another, and within its sphere fall a host of international mechanisms and institutions to aid in matters of peace-making, cultural exchange, economics, trade, and war (Eilers,2009).
As Eilers’s statements shows diplomacy is; a two-way process, The conduct of international relations by negotiations.

Ernest Satow defined diplomacy as the ‘‘application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states, extending sometimes to their relations with vassal states… more briefly it is the conduct of relations between states by peaceful means.’’

In this regard, diplomacy is the art of adjusting the varying and often clashing interests of states to the advantage of the state the diplomat represents, but also with a view to preserving amicable relations with other states where possible. Diplomacy is also the greatest protector, projector, and defender of national interest and image.
Diplomacy is the art, practice, and management of international affairs or international relations by negotiation or by conducting negotiations between representatives of groups or states. Diplomacy is thus the method by which these relations or affairs are adjusted and managed by diplomats—ambassadors, national envoys, and representatives.
These individuals are professionals who are trained in handling matters of state. Like politics, diplomacy is a way of doing things—the management of affairs by diplomats. This is why diplomacy, like politics, is an art, and not a science. In diplomacy, it is not what you do, but how you do it. In addition in diplomacy, diplomats aim at using peaceful means to resolve disputes, wars, and differences between and among states.

The differences are thus to be resolved by peaceful means through negotiation or persuasion, that is, without resort to wars, violence, the use of brute force, or armed conflicts. The idea is for the diplomat to take or obtain the maximum national advantage of issues, events, etc., for his/her country without the use of violence, and without maximum friction or resentment, ensuring the minimum disadvantage to the sending state (home country) or organization.

Diplomacy is a tool, and a means to an end. It is a means of managing international relations and implementing foreign policy decisions. Foreign policy and diplomacy are the managers of international relations.

Furthermore, a diplomat is the one who is negotiator in international matters and manager of inter-state relations, who aims at accomplishing the purposes of diplomacy to acquire the national interests of his/her country through;

representation

information gathering and communication for his state

negotiation and search for common ground among the national interests of different states, and for short-term and long-term solutions to problems and issues at stake

reduction of disagreement among different states and parties to negotiations; pursuit of international peace and security and

Management and resolution of conflict.

Diplomats fill administrative and advocacy roles, pursue regional arrangements for economic integration, and mobilize resources for development. They deal with international organizations for the creation and management of world order and avoidance of international disorder; protect and promote the interests of their own states, and search for ways of peaceful coexistence among different states.

2.2. Qualities of Good Diplomats/Negotiator

For better accomplishment of his/her task or mission diplomats must have good skill, integrity and oration, interest, competence, commitment/loyalty/, belief in his/her country's foreign policy.

Basic skills: as it has been noted above, diplomacy is solving problems through negotiation. So, for best outcome that promote his/her nation's interest the negotiator should know the culture, history and psychology of the counterpart.

2.2.1. Structural problems of diplomacy today

Professional diplomacy: it also known as career diplomacy. Career diplomacy is carried out by professional/career diplomats who are educated, well-experienced and fulfil other qualities.

Modern diplomacy: conducted by political officials like heads of states & government, foreign ministers, ad hoc mission and etc.

Professional diplomacy is facing numerous challenges.

Major challenges of career diplomacy

The followings are the main problems career diplomacy is facing today.

- Lack of continuity: because of high attrition rate of career diplomats caused by unconstitutional ways of changing regimes/governments. Change of regimes in developing countries means change in diplomats. Therefore, our diplomacy is always young which creates structural difficulties i.e. back –to- square-one in terms of experience.
- Politicization of selection and appointment: it is another major challenge to the development of career diplomacy. In most of the cases appointment of a diplomat is based on political loyalty not on career/merit.

Politicians should make distinction b/n domestic politics and foreign policy. Foreign Service is understanding / pursuing the interest of the state, not that of politicians.

NB. One who does not believe in his/her government and its policies cannot be a good diplomat.

- Lack of clarity in defining national interest:

Do we correctly define our core national objectives? Do we correctly set our priorities?

How broad are our objectives and how active are our diplomats to pursue these objectives?

These and the likes are the major pitfalls facing career diplomacy.

7. Lack of capability to engage our diplomats:

Are diplomats given opportunity to practically engage themselves in negotiations?

Diplomats should not be leave idle. If we leave them idle they would engage in non-diplomatic (non-official) activities such as business undertakings.

If we can engage our diplomats in different issues, we will be able to have experienced and refined diplomats. Diplomatic activities help to produce skilled diplomats/negotiators.

4. The problem of trust and authority

Lack of trust on and confidence in their diplomats and lack of proper delegation of authority.

Delegation of responsibility without commensurate authority.

5. Training programme and promotion

Since the civil service system emphasizes on the job-to-be done; the human aspect is missing and is so characterised by poor motivating environment.
However, this does not mean that we don't have successful diplomats.

2.2.2. Citizen diplomacy

This is also known as public diplomacy. Diplomacy is not something to be left only for foreign office or MoFA. Since recently, there is what is called citizen diplomacy where individuals and organized groups of the civil society independently conduct diplomatic activities. E.g. the Egyptian delegation those come to Ethiopia to negotiate over the GERD (The Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam) and related issues (like pending the ratification of Entebbe Agreement by the Ethiopian parliament until elected government seized state power in Egypt) was the best example of citizens/public diplomacy.

Citizens' diplomacy cannot be organized along political lines. Rather it bases national/state interest as national interest cut across political lines.

For having successful diplomacy, the following are very important:

On the part of a Diplomat: commitment to national interest, loyalty to country's foreign policy, competence (skill, knowledge…).

The government: training, upgrading and revising courses in diplomacy, providing autonomy i.e. delegate responsibility with commensurate authority, making mission/objective very clear are the responsibilities of government to be fulfilled for effective, efficient and successful diplomacy.

Diplomacy cannot be treated apart from the reality of a society. The concerned country's image significantly affects the nature of its foreign policy and diplomacy. In this regard the image of most

African countries has been severely affected by drought, hunger, and deadly conflicts. These in turn have adversely affect their diplomacy.

In addition to their internal conditions, countries' foreign policy and diplomacy can also influenced by great powers. E.g. third world countries' foreign policies and diplomacy are highly prone to the influence of great powers.

2.2.3. Brief History of Diplomacy

According to Harold Nicolson, 'the first diplomats were angels and messengers b/n deities/divinity and human beings (Nicolson, 1963)'.

E.g. in ancient Greece Hermes, the divine messenger, was the deity messenger in the language of diplomacy. However, others consider that as "Mytho-Diplomacy".

Going From mythological to Historical As Sharp (1999) argued diplomacy "express the human condition that precedes and transcends the experience of living in the sovereign territorial states of the past few hundred years".

Ancient Greek Diplomacy:

Diplomatic communication among the Greek city states were conducted verbally. Communication was open and public, relying on oratorical skills. Diplomacy conference, by implication and confidential negotiation were largely unknown in the relations of the Greek city-states.

Eloquence/articulacy and fluency/ was considered as an essential criterion in the selection of envoys in ancient India.

The Introduction of Resident Ambassadors/Embassies

Carrying out Diplomacy with resident ambassadors is the most important innovation of renaissance diplomacy. It was happened because of the growing need not only to send messages but also to gather information about neighbours among Italian city states. Since then information gathering has become one of the basic functions of modern diplomacy- as explicitly listed in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations Of 1961. So, diplomats are labelled as 'honourable spy'.

Intelligence taking was the centre-stage in the ancient Indian and Byzantine diplomacy.

Treaty of Westphalia (1648)

Classic European diplomacy (which is "the direct origin of all modern diplomacy" as Satow believed) has begun when the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 established a new order of relationship among European states.

Raison d'état (political reason) took unquestioned precedence over morality. Diplomacy of this time was conducted by avowedly ruling class, expressed in the interest of a dynasty and the aristocracy.

Post- revolutionary Europe (post-1848)

New objectives began to eclipse earlier values; Monarchical order gave way to the growing will to overturn the status quo.

International struggle for power brought in to play collective national energies which could effectively harnessed: By constitutional methods and cabinet government than the rule of the prince.

By stressing on 'diplomacy now should be exercised in the interest(at least in name)of the nation as a whole.'

Diplomacy after World War I

In the post WWI period diplomacy has experienced transformation from small international elite in old style diplomacy to a new or democratic conception of international relations and open diplomacy.

There emerged a conviction that diplomacy should be made more open and more accessible to public scrutiny and appraisal. A 'cry' for 'open covenants openly arrived at'. Today the UN requires that all agreements concluded by member states must be registered and their texts be deposited with the Secretary-General in treaty series. But there is a predominant view that if negotiations are carried out on under the public eye it quickly turns into a travesty of efficient procedure and runs the risk of betraying any constructive purpose.

By its nature true negotiation must be confidential. If exhibited it degenerates into polemic and this is not diplomacy but the continuation of warfare by other means.

'Peace is not a continuation of conflict by other means.'

Diplomacy since the 1960s

It was characterised by change in the styles and methods of diplomacy. It was the period of Cold-War and so, the intrusion of ideology into diplomacy and its explanation.

This period also witnessed the decline in the decision making power of the ambassador but the widening of his/her area of competence through economic and commercial diplomacy.

There is a growth in the number of ministries involving in diplomacy and the corresponding decline in the influence of the foreign ministry.

2.2.4. ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Patterns of Diplomatic Relations:

Exchange of diplomatic missions between states,

Permanent diplomatic representative to international organisations,

Ad hoc (special) mission that may include head of state or government.

Establishment of diplomatic relations take place by mutual consent of the concerned states. There is no duty or rights under international law to establish diplomatic relations.

Procedure for establishing diplomatic missions

Agreement:

The sending state must make certain that the proposed person (as ambassador) to be accredited has got the agreement of the receiving state. The receiving state may refuse the request of the sending state for agreement and is 'not obliged to give reasons' for its refusal.

Beside the head of the diplomatic mission (Ambassador) other members of the staff of the mission do not require agreement; a sending state can freely appoint them.

But in the case of military, naval or air attaches, the receiving state may require their names to be submitted for its approval.

Possible reasons for refusal to produce agreement:
If the person is hostile to the institutions and the people of the receiving state; like

Making public pronouncement/criticizing the receiving state

Criticizing citizens of the receiving state- not entitled to immunities enjoyed by diplomatic envoys
Obnoxious (unpleasant and offensive) to the sovereign (ruler) of the receiving state.

Letter of Credence or Credentials

Issued to diplomats (ambassadors), signed and sealed, asking the receiving state that the bearer be trusted as a representative of the sending state.

Accreditation to posts:

4. The sending state may accredit or assign a head of mission to more than one state. Requirement includes the followings;

Due notification to the receiving states concerned If no expressed objection by any of the receiving states.

5. A head of mission may act as representative of the sending state to any international organisation.

Commencement of diplomatic Functions

The head of the mission is considered as having taken up his/her functions in the receiving state either;

When he/she has presented his/her credentials or When he/she has notified his/her arrival and a true copy of his credentials has been presented to the foreign ministry of the receiving state.

2.2.5. Law of Diplomatic Relations

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961

- It has been adopted by the UN Conference in April 1961,
- Entered into force in April 1964 upon the deposition of the 22nd instrument of ratification (Art. 53),
- By 1986 there were 149 parties and
- It was one of the most ratified multilateral treaties.

The basic principles underlying the convention include;

- Recognition of the status of diplomatic agents ;
- The principle of the sovereign equality of states;
- Concern for the maintenance international peace and security;
- The promotion of friendly relations among nations, irrespective of their differing constitutional and social system;
- Privileges and immunities given to members of the diplomatic mission not to benefit individuals but to ensure the efficient performance of the functions of diplomatic mission as representing the state.

Nationality of the Diplomatic Staff

Members of the diplomatic staff should be national of the sending state. And may not be nationals of the receiving state. However, there are occasions when a need arise to appoint nationals of the receiving state. Appointing nationals of the receiving state for the post requires:

Consent of the receiving state Such consent may be withdrawn at any time; The receiving state may reserve the same right with regard to the nationals of a third state.

Persona non grata:

Declaring a member(s) of the diplomatic staff not acceptable anymore to the receiving state. The receiving state may take such a decision at any time and without any duty to explain it and notify the sending state thereof. In any such case, the sending state shall;

- Either recall the person concerned, or

- Terminate his/her functions with the mission i.e. waiver of immunities.

If the sending state fails to take action within a reasonable period, the receiving state may refuse to recognise the person concerned as a member of the mission and will withdraw/deny immunities and deport him/her.

2.2.6. Classification of Diplomatic Personnel (Mission-Staff)

- The diplomatic staff: members of the staff of the mission having diplomatic rank;

- The administrative and technical staff: members of the staff of the mission employed in the administrative and technical service of the mission,
- The service staff: members of the staff of the mission in the domestic service of the mission; composed of the private servants.

Private servant': a person who is in the domestic service of the mission not employed by the sending state.

The Premise of the Mission The premise of the diplomatic mission includes the following;
The buildings or parts of the buildings The land auxiliary thereto, irrespective of ownership, used for the purpose of the mission, Including the residence of the mission.

2.2.7. Immunities of Diplomatic Representative and the Premises

As provided by the International Law states and other legal persons enjoy jurisdictional immunities. There is a traditional principle stating "no state is entitled to exercise jurisdiction over another state". Thus "the immunity of foreign states from the jurisdiction of foreign courts" has been governed by law.

There are three theories on the necessity of immunity,

5.2. **Extraterritoriality theory**: says the premises of the mission represented a sort of extension of the territory of the sending state.

 Representative character theory: immunities of the head of the mission were based on the idea that the diplomatic mission personified the sending state.

4. Functional necessity theory: justifies immunity as being necessary to enable the mission to perform its functions. Therefore, the raison d'etre of diplomatic immunities is not to benefit an individual; but for performing diplomatic functions effectively and without interference from the receiving state.

Inviolability of Mission Premises

Diplomatic premises are immune from search, requisition, attachment or execution. Government agents of the receiving state may not enter the mission except with permission (express consent) of the head of the mission. Archives and documents of the premises are inviolable.

2.3. MODES OF DIPLOMACY

 Bilateral diplomacy: diplomacy between two sovereign states. It is the traditional one, but still dominant mode of diplomacy. Bilateral exchange of diplomatic mission is governed by Vienna convention on diplomatic relations.

 Multilateral diplomacy: conference attended by three or more states. The origin of multilateral diplomacy goes to the 17th C Europe. It began in 1648 with

conference of Westphalia. Since then it continued with greater importance. For example the 1815 Vienna congress after the end of Napoleonic war, the Berlin conference of 1884/85, the Versailles peace conference, the UN etc. are examples of multilateral diplomacy.

C. Personal Diplomacy: a diplomacy directly conducted by the head of government of state. Personal diplomacy is often referred to as nemesis of career diplomacy, because it conducted at the expense of local ambassador.

D. Gunboat diplomacy: In international politics gunboat diplomacy refers to the pursuit of foreign policy objectives with the aid of displays of military power particularly naval power. E.g. US, in the 19th C, used this method to pressure Japan in order to open it 'doors.'Gunboat diplomacy implies a direct threat of warfare. It is an aspect of coercive diplomacy backed by the threat of use of force to advance foreign policy objectives. Britain and USA have used this diplomacy for the last two centuries.

Does gunboat diplomacy has relevance for Ethiopia?

- Shuttle Diplomacy: Also known as crisis diplomacy/crisis management. It is a diplomacy conducted by travelling between the capitals of the parties in conflict. Hennery Kissinger was the master of this diplomacy during the cold war.

UNIT THREE

- **Ethiopian Foreign policy and diplomacy Ethiopia's Foreign Policy and Relations in The 19th Century, 1855-1896**

Foreign policy of anti-imperialism and domestic rivalries

- The country's foreign policy during emperor Tewodros II (1855-1868)

Since the second half of the 18th C (1769) Ethiopia was divided and ruled by local lords (princes) which was known as Era of Princes (Zemene Mesafint) in History. During this period the country was highly divided and its central government was very weak. This period has come to an end in mid-19thC i.e. 1855.

In 1855 the former Kasa Hailu of Quara later emperor Tewodros II took the country's throne. Once he defeated his rivals, emperor Tewodros II began the unification of the country under his rule which was highly divided in his time. As a part of his "Uniting Ethiopia Mission" he has made successive campaign to different parts of the country (Wollo, Shewa…).

After assuming the throne emperor Tewodros II has done his best effort to modernise Ethiopia. And his foreign policy goals were aimed at:-

Defending the country from external intrusion

Getting an ally capable of providing technical and diplomatic assistance Modernising the country

Getting Access to the port

The waves of invasions, which has begun since the early 16thC, were escalated unprecedently in the early 19th C. The period was characterised by a complex and tense world situation caused by the expansion of colonial powers of Europe in all corners of the world.

Before his coronation emperor Tewodros has fought with Egyptians who were posing threat on the North- western frontier of the country. However, he was defeated and has learnt a lesson about the decisive role of modern army and weapon. Once he become emperor he has taken steps to modernise the Ethiopian army and armament. For this end he wrote letter for European powers, particularly Britain, for giving technical assistance for making modern firearms and alliance in his fight against Turks for their occupation of Massawa port. He demanded Queen Victoria of Britain to send artisans to make weapons and training of his men at Gafat.

Finally, emperor Tewodros who aspired for a strong, developed and united Ethiopia had sacrificed his life for the dignity of his country in 1868 at Meqdela. He was referred by many as a person "born ahead of his time." What does it mean?

- **Emperor Yohannes IV Foreign Policy (1872-1889)**

The reign of emperor Yohannes IV was characterised by constant wars against the Muslim power encroaching upon his dominion and by resistance to the incipient European penetration.

After he became emperor in 1872, he has managed to establish diplomatic relation with European powers. He engaged in love and hate relationship with Britain. To balance the British dominance he has established relationship with France.

His foreign policy objectives were centred on: Maintaining territorial integrity of the country, Getting Christian alliance to ride off the Muslim threats (Egyptians and Mehadists) from northern, eastern and western part of the country. Getting access to the sea

3. Emperor Menelik II Foreign Policy (1889-1913)

The era of Menelik's reign was a period which the sinister manoeuvres, direct and naked aggression of imperialists, was heightened unprecedently (Taye, 2010). It was a time when massive military and

diplomatic intervention by Europeans in north-east Africa was creating, in Menelik's eyes at least, a very critical situation for Ethiopia (Sanderson, 1964). Cognizant of this fact Menelik tried to strengthen his central government and to widen his contacts with many countries (Taye, 2020).
He sent and received missions and signed treaties with the purpose of modernising his country and establishing peaceful and friendly relations with foreign countries (ibid). For example, on May 2, 1889 he signed the Treaty of Wuchale with Italy. For emperor Menelik the treaty was meant to maintain peace and friendship with Italy. However, the Italian version of article 17 contrary to its Amharic version was a violation to Ethiopia's sovereignty. It gave a protectorate status to Italy over Ethiopia.

Menelik unaware of Italy's claim of protectorate over Ethiopia made a request to some European powers to send him weapons. But, the European powers, recognising the claim of Italy, had agreed among themselves (as they have agreement on the way of partitioning Africa at Berlin Conference 1884/85) not to allow Ethiopia to import weapons from their respective countries. When Menelik learnt their refusal, he asked the European powers to lift the arms embargo.

Being well aware of Italy's refusal to renounce its claim, which was based on a false version, and other European powers' reluctance to take heed of his messages and their tacit and explicit acceptance of Italy's colonial conspiracy, Menelik finally denunciated the treaty on February 12, 1893.
By I896 Menelik, naturally enough after his experience with the Italians, had become extremely, perhaps excessively, sensitive to 'European threats' of this kind. He had knocked out the Italians at Adowa, only to find that another and more formidable power had entered the military arena in north-east Africa (Sanderson, 1964).

Post-Adwa Foreign Policy and Relations: Implications of Victory

Following the war imperial powers adjacent to Ethiopia quickly signed boundary delimitation treaties with Ethiopia. However, the threat of European imperialists, particularly the sinister act of Britain was intense on the western frontier.

Of course, Emperor Menelik II has skilfully managed tightened tensions on the western frontier of Ethiopia towards the closing years of the 19th C. As G. N. Sanderson (1964) noted "…the Negus was statesman enough to look beyond local power-relationships in the interests of a broader diplomacy."

In general the Victory;

Arouse Ethiopia's international image significantly.

Forced imperial powers to recognise the absolute independence of Ethiopia and rushed to conclude boundary agreement with Menelik. E.g. with British Somaliland, French Somaliland, Eritrea, Kenya, and Sudan.

Ensure Ethiopia's territorial integrity for the next 40 years

Menelik expanded his domain further to the western and southern frontier of the country.

Menelik's foreign policy was aimed at the following core values,

Uniting the country started by Tewodros

Defending the territorial integrity of the country Getting access to the sea

Modernising the country etc.

- Lij Eyasu's Foreign Policy (1913-16)

Emperor Menelik fell ill in 1906 and very soon he became totally incapacitated. His illness and the anticipated death alarmed a bitter struggle among the different factions for succession domestically. In 1907 Menelik officially declared Lij Iyasu as his heir and designated Ras Tesemma Nadaw, as regent plenipotentiary to rule until Iyasu came of age. In 1913 Emperor Menelik died and the struggle for power became acute. Empress Taitu the wife of Emperor Menelik was one of the strongest competitors.

Lij Iyasu came to power in Ethiopia when international relations were in crisis. The First World War between the Allied and Central powers had its own effect on the foreign policy behavior of the prince. He favored the Central powers because his policy was to incorporate the lost territories (of Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia) under Britain, France and Italy.

He rendered material and moral support to Sayyid Mahammed Abdille Hasan, the Somali patriotic leader who had been fighting British and Italian colonialism by sending him arms and ammunition. Thus, he represented a challenge to the Allied powers that posed a threat to the country's sovereignty.

The Allied powers also perceived the independence of Ethiopia as a bad influence to their adjoining colonies. They agreed implicitly and explicitly to put pressure on Ethiopia to safeguard their respective national interests.

Like his predecessors Lij Eyasu's foreign policy was aimed at the following;

Territorial integrity of the country Getting access to the sea

Getting alliances to remove colonial powers having territories adjacent to Ethiopia. To this end he gave material and moral support for the Somalia's resistance to the British and Italian colonialism.

During the WWI he attempted to align with central powers (Ottoman Turkish and Germany) to defeat adjacent colonial powers.

As a result of this move on the part of the prince, the Allies were determined that he was a threat and should be removed forthwith. To this effect, the Allied powers' legations in Addis Ababa began to work closely with his domestic enemies.

Finally by the coordinated conspiracy of domestic rivals and adjacent colonial powers (Britain, Italy and France) he has removed from the throne and replaced by Empress Zewuditu in 1916.

5. Ethiopia's foreign policy under Emperor Haile Selassie I

Before his coronation Ras Teferi Mekonnen was appointed as regent (spokesperson) of Empress Zewditu. He has done many important activities in the country's foreign policy. For example he was succeeded to realise Ethiopia's membership to the League of Nations in 1923.

This was one of the primary aim of his foreign policy. However, he has faced Omni-balancing i.e. to balance domestic and external forces. For this purpose the emperor used Nationalism as the rallying force (Ethiopian nationalism as an ally).He wanted to create Pan-Ethiopianism based on language and religion. He wanted one language and religion. This was a complete departure from Lij Iyasu's approach.

5.1. 1941-1960: Foreign Policy of "Liberation", and State Building and Consolidation of Power:

The period 1941 marked the eviction of Italy's domination from Ethiopia and the horn of Africa. As Ethiopia was the first to oppose axis power, and was the first to be freed.

The post- liberation state reconstruction in general was aimed at the centralization of power in the hands of the Emperor.

Foreign policy objectives after 1941:

The following were the main focus of Emperor Haile Selassie's Foreign policy;

- To get rid-off the British dominance not only on Ethiopia but also the horn of Africa. The British considered Ethiopia as Occupied Enemy Territory (OET). During this period_ (1940s) _ the emperor's communication withoutsiders was very much curtain/monitored by the British. Regarding the British the emperor has conflicting interests. On one side he wanted the restoration of his power by avoiding the British dominance. On the other he needs the British support to supress domestic opposition.
- To restore the country's political independence for the status quo ante. The emperor wanted an ally to get diplomatic support to help Ethiopia in its effort for getting its pre-1935/6 status. For this end he allied with US to balance British dominance.
- Territorial acquisition: the emperor demanded the re-unification of lost (Eritrea, Somalia, and Djibouti) and occupied (Ogaden) territories of Ethiopia. Particularly, he strongly struggled for direct control of Ogaden and Eritrea to the extent of Djibouti as much as possible to have access to the sea. Eritrea and Djibouti sought as direct and permanent sea ports for Ethiopia. For this end Ethiopia had assigned the then Foreign Minister Aklilu Habtewold1 to finish the lost territories' cases.
- War reparation: to this end Ethiopia wanted to participate in the Paris and New York peace conferences following the end of the WWII.
- To make Ethiopia member of the coming UN from the outset: Despite bad experience of Ethiopia in collective security and suspicion about the effectiveness of collective security, the emperor had reaffirmed his unswerving support for the principle of collective security. This principle had influenced Ethiopia's foreign policy during the imperial era. To ensure the country's membership in the coming UN the emperor wanted diplomatic support.

5.2. Foreign Policy of Ethiopia, 1960-1974:

1. Foreign Policy of Diversification- turn to the Third-World

The emperor's close relation with US was not solved regional threats Ethiopia is facing particularly from the Arab World. This was due to the fact that US was not interested in protecting Ethiopia from threat. B/c the US wants Ethiopia to be always in threat to her & in close alliance with her always.

Thus Ethiopia diversified its diplomatic relation to get different support from different corners and to blackmail the Americans.

This diversification started in the 1960s. Among the countries the emperor established relations include the following;

- Belgium: was important for training the Imperial Body Guard (IBG).

- India: Indians were the participants in the fight against Italy in 1941 under the leadership of Britain. The emperor has admiration for Jawaharlal Nehru of India. Indians were selected for Military Training Academy of Harer and Holeta.
- Switzerland: it was sought b/c of its position in international politics i.e. its neutrality.
- Yugoslavia: the first socialist country to broke relation with USSR. It was socialist but avoids Stalinism.
- Soviet Union: to bargain especially to blackmail US to continue its support for Ethiopia. The emperor's visit to Moscow in 1959 was a breakthrough in Ethio-soviet relation.
- Sweden: trained Ethiopian Air Force (EAF). Sweden also participated in the economic development activities of Ethiopia.
- Nassir's Egypt: Nassir was strong Arab nationalist and Egypt is believed to the leader of Arab world. So, to reduce Arab world's support for insurgencies the emperor established relation with Egypt.
- China: the development in the 1970s brought new position for Mainland China in world politics. In this year china become member of the UN. Thus Ethiopia became the first to vote for China's membership of UN.

5.3. Ethiopia and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

Ethiopia had been attacked many times by colonial powers to occupy it as a launching board to subjugate other Africans. The repeated victory of the country over the foreign enemies has boosted the moral of the colonized people. Ethiopia not only served the African cause, but also overtly identified itself with the continent.

Pan- Africanism was among the guiding principles of Ethiopia's foreign policy. Ethiopia's /Pan-Africanist foreign policy acquired a leap after the 1955 Silver Jubilee of the coronation of the Emperor. There were internal and external reasons for the radicalization of the Emperor's policy. Internally there was popular discontent that erupted in an abortive coup in 1960.

5.4. Ethiopia in the Non-Aligned Movement

Non-alignment was one of the basic guiding principles of Ethiopia's foreign policy. The basic objective of this policy was to diversify aid, and to change the country's image of being identified with the western world in particular with the USA. In 1961 the Emperor attended the Non-Alignment Movement Conference where he articulated his perception of Non-alignment or neutralism.

To be neutral is to be impartial, impartial to judge actions and policies objectively, as we see them either contributing to or detracting from the resolution of the world's problems, the preservation of peace and the improvement of the general level of man's living conditions. Thus, we may find ourselves now opposing, now supporting, now voting with, and now voting against, first the East, next the West. It is the worth of policies themselves, and not the source of sponsor, which determines the position of one who is truly neutral.

Since the 1950s Ethiopia has turned her face to the third world. Since its establishment in 1955 Ethiopia has support and active member to the third world block (Non-aligned Movement).
Ethiopia has worked for the realisation of UN and Non-alignment goals and objectives. It has given loyalty for both groups. In this regard the Emperor said the following as Atnafu, 1960 cited in Arka (2002:55)
All of you are aware that Ethiopia's foreign policy is based on the principles of the United Nations charter as well as on the Bandung and Accra declarations. These principles, which We have long cherished and for which We have striven are, among other, collective security, peaceful and active coexistence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the suzerainty and territorial integrity of other nations and peaceful settlements of all disputes among nations.

6. Ethiopia's Foreign Policy under the Derg, 1974-1991

The reign of Haile Selassie came to an end in September 1974. The emperor was deposed by a military coup d'état. The new regime at first did not attempt to alter the country's foreign policy significantly. Emperor Haile Selassie I was removed from power in 1974 with revolution. Despite opposition, following the revolution the Derg has sized state power and has established Provisional Military Administration.

A. The Foreign Policy Context

As noted above the reign of Haile Selassie came to an end in September 1974. The emperor was deposed by a military coup d'état. Of course, initially the new regime did not attempt to alter the country's foreign policy significantly. Also the question of pursuing either the old pattern of alignment or looking for new ally was blurred because the nature of revolutionary movement has not yet acquired a clear line until Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam; the first deputy chairman emerged as its real power.

In fact, priority was initially given to addressing the long-standing problem of underdevelopment that had characterized Haile Selassie's rule. An equally pressing problem from the perspective of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) was a resolution of the nationalist insurgency in Eritrea that had been raging since the early 1960s and that by 1974 had intensified (Keller, 1987).

A multitude of pressing socio-economic and political problems has faced the Derge domestically from the outset. These significantly affected its foreign policy behavior.

B. Impact of Domestic Politics on Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

Before the revolution Ethiopia was a feudo-capitalist country. Public demands like the students' slogan of "Land to the Tiller" have attracted the Derg. Immediately after sizing state power the Derg has took radical restructuring on the political- economy of the country Most of the measures were influenced by Marxism-Leninism ideology. Because, the Derg was convinced only socialism can brought radical change for Ethiopia.

The Regime turned its face to the socialist camp for assistance of any kind. Opposition groups have forced the regime to rely extensively on the Soviet Union to maintain itself in power and to preserve the country's territorial integrity (Keller, 1987). According to Arka Abota (2002:105) four major domestic factors have influenced the foreign policy decision of the Derg to switch its alliance from the USA to the USSR. These were the following.

The tendency of the Derg right from the very beginning towards Marxist-Leninist ideology,

The decision of the USA Government under president Carter not to supply arms and military equipment which was agreed upon earlier,

The opening of war by the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU),

The intensification of the Eritrean war of secession in the North - West.

These provoked the USSR to arm the Ethiopian army.

However, the forces that did not want Ethiopia to embark upon the new socialist system made unholy alliance in a bid to nip in the bud the nascent revolution. They hatched their sordid conspiracies to dismember the country. With the abetment, encouragement and support of certain quarters, the expansionist regime of Somalia invaded Ethiopia in 1977. Ethiopia has got all rounded and timely including troops, logistics, weapons and other support from the socialist countries particularly Cuba, South Yemen, Soviet Union and Democratic Republic of Germany (East German). Their support was instrumental in the defeat of the invading Somali force.

C. Foreign Policy Behaviour: Changes and Continuity

Ethiopia has never brought its independence into compromise. As Edmond J. Keller (1987) stated "as did the previous regime, the [Derg] government has accorded [Ethiopia's] international image and territorial integrity the highest priority in its foreign policy."
As Keller (1987) further explained, even though, ideologically, the [Derg] is oriented toward the Soviet Union, this has made little difference in the fundamental essence of its foreign policy. It continues to strive to have its commitment to the principles of nonalignment, self-reliance, and self-determination accepted as genuine.

Like his predecessor Mengistu wielded centralized decision making power and supreme authority in his role as Secretary-General of the WPE, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, he also controlled the bureaucracy. The Council of Ministers as an institution was turned to be powerless, and relegated to the implementation of foreign policy decision made by him.

7. Ethiopia's Foreign Policy in the Post-1991

7.1. Sub-regional and Domestic Contexts of the Regime's early Foreign Policy Concerns

After 17 years of protracted civil war the Derg's era has come to end in May 1991. The EPRDF which took state power in the same year has devised new approaches in formulating foreign policy and diplomacy.

The main focus of the regime's early foreign policy was aimed at normalising relations with neighbouring countries. This was intended to disarm the Derg's soldiers who fled to the neighbouring countries with arms and to avoid any threat of Derg's remnants stationed in neighbouring countries. The transitional government has tried to gather diplomatic support for its internal reorganisation of the Ethiopian state. It has also tried to convince other states of the region not to conceive the ethnic federation of Ethiopia as a threat for their own. Many countries of Africa have opposed the secession of Eritrea and the new government's domestic politics. So, balancing all these odds was the priority of the regime's foreign policy.
Somalia was also on the way to state collapse which exposed Ethiopia for new dimension of threats. As Somalia became failed state it served as camp for different anti-Ethiopia elements.

1. Coping with Changes in The Global Political Economy

The defeat of the Derg was coincided with the end of the cold war and bipolar world order. Capitalism has emerged as a champion out of the ideological contest lasted almost a century since the October revolution, 1917. This systemic structural change fundamentally altered the foreign

policy decision making scenario of many countries including Ethiopia. As a formerly socialist country Ethiopia has forced to cope-up the new global realities in its foreign policy decision makings.

Recognising the systemic change the post- Derg Ethiopia has took many reforms on political and economic landscape of the country. The command economic system was replaced by free market economic system. In the political sphere too has taken important reforms. Multiparty system, as the global democratisation trends demanded, was introduced over the vanguard party system of the Derg.

i. Foreign Policy Behaviour/ Continuities and Changes

As it has been clearly stated in the Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy(FANSPS) Ethiopia's main focus in the post Derg period is democratisation and economic development. It reads as "there can be no doubt that the attainment of speedy economic development, democratization and peace is fundamental to the survival of our country which finds itself in a state of abject poverty and backwardness."As stated in the policy document "Unless the overall policy direction pursued by the Government takes this basic reality into account, our national existence and security will face grave danger"(FANSPS,2002).

Giving priority to national survival in foreign policy decision making was the continuation of the past. Historically ensuring territorial integrity, independence and peaceful co-existence constituted Ethiopia's foreign policy and diplomacy. "In this respect it is clear to see that our foreign relations and national security policy and strategy can only have relevance if it contributes to the fight against poverty and promotes speedy economic development, democracy and peace"(FANSPS, 2002).

…since the downfall of the Derg regime, it was theoretically understood that our national (domestic) policies were the basis of our foreign policy…The demands of security and survival have thus made it necessary to elaborate a foreign relations and national security policy that took our internal situation into proper account.(FANSPS, 2002).

Basic Principles the post 1991 Ethiopia's Foreign policy

The basic principles of current Ethiopia's foreign policy springs from the followings,

- Development and the building of a democratic system
- National pride and prestige
- Globalization

Part- III International political Economy

CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY INTRODUCTION

The parallel existence and mutual interaction of the state and the market in the modern world create political economy. This unit is divided into two broad sections: controversies surrounding the concept of political economy, and the interaction between international economics and international politics. It also discusses the variety of issues involved in the study of international political economy.

1.1. What Is Political Economy?

The concept of political economy has evolved from its original application by classical economists as the science of economics and statesman, but scholars still disagree as to what constitutes it. This unit aims to understand the meaning, nature, scope and significance of international political economy by focusing on the controversies surrounding the concept, the specific meaning of the concept in political science and particularly in international political economy, the interaction between international economics and international politics, and the variety of issues involved.

Political Economy Defined

Dear student, what do you think is political economy? And how different is political economy from the science of economics?

The term "political economy" is fraught with controversy and has been defined over the last two centuries. Adam Smith and classical economists used it to mean what today is called the "science of economics". Alfred Marshall, the father of modern economics, turned his back on the earlier emphasis on the nation as a whole and focused on the "political" as important. Lionel Robbins provided the definition to which most present-day economists subscribe: "Economics is the science which studies human behavior as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses." In more modern terminology, economics is defined by economists as a universal science of decision-making under conditions of constraint and scarcity.

The term "political economy" has come back into fashion among economists, but there is controversy over its meaning. Neoliberal economists have extended the scope of their study to include all aspects of human behavior, while three different schools of economists employ an

economic approach to human behavior: neoclassical institutionalism, the public-choice school, and the "new political economy". Marxists believe that the discipline of economics has become too formal, mathematical, and abstract, making it irrelevant to the understanding and solving of real social and economic problems. Economics has been criticized for its isolation from the real world and its pretension to be a "science" modeled on physics and other natural sciences. Marxists and others argue that conventional economics reflects the values and interests of the dominant groups of a capitalist society and is infused with an implicit conservative social and political bias. Robert Heilbroner and William Milberg argue that contemporary economics is nothing but a "handmaiden of modern Western capitalism" and its primary purpose is to make this troubled system work. By the end of the twentieth century, the term "political economy" had been given three broad and different meanings.

Political scientists believe that social and political affairs cannot be reduced to economics, and political economy refers to questions generated from the interactions of economic and political affairs. Fundamental differences between economics and political economy are exemplified in their definitions of the economy to be studied, the basic economic entities or actors, and the forces responsible for economic and sociopolitical change.

1.2 Scope and Nature of PE

1.2.1 Market, State and Political Economy

Dear student, what is the market and what is the state? How this does creates what we call political economy?

The study of political economy focuses on the market and its relationship to the state, as the world market economy is critical to international relations. The definition of the market is an abstract concept, but its essence is the making of a price by haggling between buyers and sellers. Markets differ with respect to the freedom of participants to enter the market and the extent to which individual buyers or sellers can influence the terms of the exchange. A market economy is a self-regulating and self-contained system composed of changing prices and quantities to which individual economic actors respond. Three characteristics of a market economy are the critical role of relative prices in the exchange of goods and services, the centrality of competition as a determinant of individual and institutional behavior, and the importance of efficiency in determining the survivability of economic actors. Economists view an economy as a market composed of impersonal

economic forces, while specialists in political economy interpret it as a sociopolitical system populated by powerful actors.

The political economy interpretation of the economy defines it as a sociopolitical system composed of powerful economic actors or institutions such as giant firms, powerful labor unions, and large agribusinesses competing with one another to formulate government policies in ways that advance their own interests. The role of institutions in determining economic behavior and outcomes is of particular interest in the political economy interpretation. The study of political economy requires an understanding of how markets work and how market forces affect economic outcomes, as well as how powerful actors manipulate market forces to advance their private interests. Economic science is limited and abstract, while political science focuses on the "realities" of power and position. Recognition of the interrelationships between the two spheres has led to increased attention from historians and social scientists.

1.2.2 Embeddedness of the Economy and the Political Consequences of the Market Dear student, what do you think are the political consequences of the market?

The central idea that markets are embedded in larger sociopolitical systems underlies the basic interpretation of both political economy and international political economy. Contrary to economists' belief that economic activities are universal, the specific goals of economic activities differ widely over the face of the earth. The sociopolitical system and values determine the role that the market or price mechanism plays and the socially approved ways in which economic objectives may be pursued. David Ricardo's law of comparative advantage suggests that domestic and international society should be organized in terms of relative efficiencies, resulting in a universal division of labor based on specialization. This harmony of interest among individuals, groups, and states is assumed to underlie the growth and expansion of the market and economic interdependence.

The real world is divided among many different and frequently conflicting groups and states, and markets have an impact on the political, social, and economic well-being of various groups and states differentially. This has profound consequences for domestic and international politics, such as disruptive effects on a society, the introduction of market forces and the price mechanism, the competition of the efficient, the cyclical fluctuations and disturbances over which the society may have little control, specialization and its dependencies, and the unequal distribution of wealth and power among the participants in the market and the stratification of societies in the international

political economy. Markets are a powerful source of sociopolitical change and produce a powerful response as societies attempt to protect themselves against market forces.

1.1.3 International Economics and International Politics

Dear student how do you think is the interaction between international economics and international politics results in IPE?

It is hard to imagine a world without International Political Economy because the mutual interaction of International Politics (or International Relations) and International Economics is today widely appreciated and the subject of much theoretical research and applied policy analysis. The political actions of nation-states clearly affect international trade and monetary flows, which in turn affect the environment in which nation-states make political choices and entrepreneurs, make economic choices. It seems impossible to consider important questions of International Politics or International Economics without taking these mutual influences and effects into account.

And yet scholars and policy-makers often do seem to think about International Economics without much attention to International Politics and vice versa. Economists often assume away state interests while political scientists sometimes fail to look beyond the nation-state; both miss the dynamic interaction of state and market that characterizes political economy.

The mutual astigmatism that hide International Politics and International Economics from each other cleared up a bit in the 1970s as a number of dramatic international events made plain how tightly the two fields were intertwined. The oil embargoes of the 1970s and the breakdown of the Bretton Woods monetary system are frequently cited as key events in IPE's development as a field of study. These events posed practical and theoretical problems that necessarily forced scholars and policy-makers to consider economics and politics together.

Other events such as the Third World debt crisis, the fall of communist regimes, the rise of the East Asian Newly Industrialized Countries (NICS), the expansion of the European Union, and the financial crises in Mexico, Russia, and East Asia all provided impetus for the growth and development of IPE studies. The simple divisions between state and market, domestic and international, and politics and economics were no longer applicable to a wide range of issues. An increasingly complex world required a complex approach to analysis, which IPE provided.

1.1.4 The Issues of International Political Economy

Dear student what do you think are the major issues that we deal in IPE? Whereas powerful market forces in the form of trade, money, and foreign investment tend to jump national boundaries, to escape political control, and to integrate societies, the tendency of government is to restrict, to channel, and to make economic activities serve the perceived interests of the state and of powerful groups within it. The logic of the market is to locate economic activities where they are most productive and profitable; the logic of the state is to capture and control the process of economic growth and capital accumulation.

Debate has raged for several centuries over the nature and consequences of the clash of the fundamentally opposed logic of the market and the state. The conflicting interpretations represent three fundamentally different ideologies of political economy, which the next chapter will discuss.

The inevitable clash gives rise to three general and interrelated issues that pervade the historic controversies in the field of international political economy. The first issue is concerned with the economic and political causes and effects of the rise of a market economy. Under what conditions does a highly interdependent world economy emerge? Does it promote harmony or cause conflict among nation-states? Is a hegemonic power required if cooperative relations among capitalist states are to be ensured, or can cooperation arise spontaneously from mutual interest? On this issue theorists of different schools of thought have profoundly conflicting views.

The second issue pervading the subject of international political economy is the relationship between economic change and political change. What are the effects on international political relations and what problems are associated with structural changes in the global locus of economic activities, leading economic sectors and cyclical rates of economic growth? And, vice versa, how do political factors affect the nature and consequences of structural changes in economic affairs?

The third issue revolves around the significance of a world market economy for domestic economies. What are its consequences for the economic development, economic decline, and economic welfare of individual societies? How does the world market economy affect the economic development of the less developed countries and the economic decline of advanced economies? What is its effect on domestic welfare? How does it affect the distribution of wealth and power among national societies? Does the functioning of the world economy tend to concentrate wealth and power, or does it tend to diffuse it?

1.1.5. The nexus between Politics and Economics

When we consider IPE definition, IPE "is the study of the tension between the market, where individuals engage in self-interested activities, and the state, where those same individuals undertake collective action

 . . From this definition, we recognize that, there are only two significant subjects of international political economy: (a) markets, which are composed of self-interested individuals (and the firms that they operate), and

(b) states, which are the primary political institutions of the modern international system

And further, it suggests that a clear-cut distinction exists between economic or market-based activities and political or state-centered ones.

Second, this definition tells us that the most important aspect of the relationship between markets and states is based on tension, which is "a strained state or condition resulting from forces acting in opposition to market. However, Karl Polanyi wrote about the inextricable connection between the emergence and subsequent development of the market economy and the modern state. In one of his most important works, The Great Transformation, Polanyi explains how the "road to the free market was opened and kept open by an enormous increase in continuous, centrally organized and controlled interventionism [on the part of the state]". And argued that they are mutually constitutive—or have dialectical relationship of the state and the market. Nor is it, in retrospect, a particularly controversial view.

Among scholars of international political economy, more importantly, it is fair to say that Polanyi's views are generally accepted (although there certainly may be disagreement on specific points). In other words, there is an understanding that markets and states are interdependent, or mutually constitutive: each depends on the other, and therefore they cannot be analytically separated. This is, in an important way, a starting point of IPE.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. Theoretical Perspectives in International Political Economy

Theoretical Perspectives in International Political Economy have traditionally been divided into three broad categories: liberalism, nationalism and Marxism. These three approaches differ on a

range of questions, such as the significance of the market for economic growth and the distribution of wealth among groups and societies, the role of markets in the organization of domestic and international society, and the effect of the market system on issues of war or peace. The intellectual clash between economic liberalism, Marxism, and economic nationalism is still alive at the end of the twentieth century, defining the conflicting perspectives that individuals have with regard to the implications of the market. The term "ideology" or "perspective" of political economy is used rather than "theory" because each position entails a total belief system concerning the nature of human beings and society and is akin to a paradigm. These three theories have had a profound influence on scholarship and political affairs, and are divided into three sections: liberalism, economic nationalism and Marxism.

2.1.1. Economic Nationalism

Dear student, what do you think is the major premises of the nationalist perspective?

Economic nationalism is a doctrine of state building that argues that political factors should determine economic relations.

Economic nationalism is a set of themes or attitudes rather than a coherent and systematic body of economic or political theory. Its central idea is that economic activates are subordinate to the goal of state building and the interests of the state. It ascribes to the primacy of the state, of national security, and of military power in the organization and functioning of the international system. Although economic nationalism should be viewed as a general commitment to state building, the precise objectives pursued and the policies advocated have differed in different times and in different places. However, all mercantilists share convictions concerning the relationship of wealth and power, such as that wealth is an essential means to power, power is essential or valuable as a means to the acquisition or retention of wealth, wealth and power are each proper ultimate ends of national policy, and there is long-run harmony between these ends.

2.1.1. Liberalism

Dear student welcome to the first section of unit two. As we have mentioned earlier in this section the focus is one of the classical perspective in IPE: liberalism. Liberalism, which emerged from the enlightenment in the writings of Adam Smith and others, was a reaction to mercantilism (the economic philosophy of the absolutist sates in Europe) and has become embodied in orthodox economics (what is often called the modern science of economics). It assumes that politics and economics exist, at least ideally, in separate spheres; it argues that markets in the interest of efficiency, growth, and consumer choice should be free from political interference.

Dear learner, what do you think liberalism represents?

Liberal theory of political economy is a set of values from which liberal theories of economics and of politics arise. It is committed to free markets and minimal state intervention, as well as individual equality and liberty. It is embodied in the discipline of economics and has assumed many forms, such as classical, neo-classical, Keynesian, monetarist, Austrian, rational-expectation, etc. Liberalism is a doctrine and set of principles for organizing and managing a market economy to achieve maximum efficiency, economic growth, and individual welfare. It assumes that a market arises spontaneously in order to satisfy human needs and functions in accordance with its own internal logic. The rationale for a market system is that it increases economic efficiency, maximizes economic growth, improves human welfare, and enhances the power and security of the state. Liberals argue that free trade and open markets increase the range of goods and services available to the consumer. Liberalism argues that individuals behave rationally and attempt to maximize or satisfy certain values at the lowest possible cost to themselves. It also assumes that a market exists in which individuals have complete information and are able to select the most beneficial course of action. Finally, it argues that an individual will seek to acquire an objective until the costs associated with achieving the objective are equal to the benefits. Economics is an empirical science of maximizing behavior, governed by a set of economic "laws" that are impersonal and politically neutral. Governments should not intervene in the market except where a "market failure" exists or to provide a public or collective good. The law of demand is fundamental to the operation and success of a market system of economic exchange, while liberal economics assumes that individuals pursue their interests in a world of scarcity and resource constraints. Every decision involves an opportunity cost, and to gift something one must be willing to give up something else.

2.1.3. Marxism

Dear learner, what do you understand by the Marxist perspective of IPE?

Marxism evolved from the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the middle of the 19th century. Two basic strands of modern Marxism can be discerned: evolutionary Marxism associated with Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky, and revolutionary Marxism associated with Lenin. Despite the existence of these different Marxism's, four essential elements can be found in the overall corpus of Marxist writings: the dialectical approach to knowledge and society, the class struggle and the working out of contradictions inherent in social and political phenomena, and the belief that there is no inherent social harmony or return to equilibrium. Marxism believes that capitalism is driven by capitalists striving for profit and capital accumulation in a competitive market economy, and that the two key characteristics of capitalism are responsible for its dynamic nature and make it the most

productive economic mechanism yet. The origin, evolution, and eventual demise of the capitalist mode of production are governed by three inevitable economic laws.

The first law, the law of disproportionality, entails a denial of Say's law, which (in oversimplified terms) holds that supply creates its own demand so that supply and demand will always be, except for brief moments, in balance. Say's law maintains that an equilibrating process makes overproduction impossible in a capitalist or market economy. Marx, like John Maynard Keynes, denied that this tendency toward equilibrium existed and argued that capitalist economies tend to overproduce particular types of goods. There is, Marx argued, an inherent contradiction in capitalism between its capacity to produce goods and the capacity of consumers (wage earners) to purchase those goods so that the constantly recurring disproportionality between production and consumption due to the 'anarchy' of the market causes periodic depressions and economic fluctuations. He predicted that these recurring economic crises would become increasingly severe and in time would impel the suffering proletariat to rebel against the system.

The second law propelling the development of a capitalist system, according to Marxism, is the law of the concentration (or accumulation) of capital. The motive force of capitalism is the drive for profits and the consequent necessity for the individual capitalist to accumulate and invest. Competition forces the capitalists to increase their efficiency and capital investment or risk extinction. As a result, the evolution of capitalism is toward increasing concentrations of wealth in the hands of the efficient few and the growing impoverishment of the many. With the petite bourgeoisie being pushed down into the swelling ranks of the impoverished proletariat, the reserve army of the unemployed increases, labor's wages decline, and the capitalist society becomes ripe for social revolution.

Activity

Compare and contrast the following theories of International Political Economy based on
Their assumptions, core propositions and policy prescriptions: Mercantilism, Liberalism, and Marxism.

2.2. Components of IPE

2.2.1. Basic terminologies

The focus of this section is to define the most important terminologies used in international trade, finance and monetary relations.

2.2.2. Terms of Trade (ToT)

Dear distance learner, what do you understand by the terms of trade?

Terms of trade refers to the value of a nation's exported goods relative to the value of goods that are imported. It is a measure of prices paid for import relative to the price received from exports.

2.2.3. Balance of Payment (BoP)

What is the difference between balance of trade and balance of payment?

Balance of payment is a tabulation of all international transactions involving a nation in a given year measured in current dollars ($). In simple terms the BoP measures the inflows and the outflows of money from one nation to other nations. Each international transaction involves both substance and shadow which gives BoP a dual importance. The substance refers to the goods, services and ownership claims that move from country to country-are what really count. They are too hard to quantify in themselves and pretty much impossible to add-up in their natural state. So, the BoP records the shadows-the equal and opposite money movements- the real resource transfer. The BoP is a best indicator of the nation's economic status. The most important parts of BoP are the Current Account and Capital Account.

2.2.4. Current Account

What about the current account?

Current account is a part of a nation's BoP that records financial flows due to international trade in goods and services and unilateral transfers (aids or gifts between nations). It measures the way international transactions affect national income. A Current Account deficit means the nation is paying out more for goods and services than it receives for goods and services it sells on the international market. Current account also includes Balance of Trade.

2.2.5. Balance of Trade (BoT)

Balance of trade is part of the current account which measures the dollar value of payments in receipts for goods and services. BoT usually gets a lot of attention in ordinary circles as an indicator of the nature of international competition. However, it is an incomplete measure of the impact of international transactions on the economy since it does not take into account payments and receipts

of investment income and unilateral transfers. The current account which includes all these items in addition to those in BoT is a better indicator of international economic relations impact a nation.

2.2.6. Capital Account

Capital account is the part of BoP that records international borrowing, lending and investment. It is a receipt of foreign private and lending and investment in excess of repayment in of principal and interest on former loans and investments. It measures the impact of international transactions on a nation's wealth. If a nation has a capital account surplus, it means that it is net debtor during a particular period.

2.3. International Trade

What Is International Trade

Dear learner, what do you think is international trade?

International trade is the inter-country flow of goods and financial resources, and is part of the production structure of political economy. It is regulated to capture its benefits and limit its costs, and has grown significantly since the end of the Cold War Why States Trade?

2.3.1. The Absolute Advantage (Adam Smith Model)

Dear learner, what do you think is the theory of absolute advantage?

Adam Smith (father of liberalism and economical science) brought the argument in his book "The Wealth of Nations", published in 1776, about absolute advantage. Adam Smith's theory starts with the idea that export is profitable if you can import goods that could satisfy better the necessities of consumers instead of producing them on the internal market. The essence of Adam Smith theory is that the rule that leads the exchanges from any market, internal or external, is to determine the value of goods by measuring the labour incorporated in them.

In order to demonstrate his theory, Adam Smith analyzed using one country (say A), using one factor of production, the productivity of labour (evaluated in the necessary of hours needed to produce a unit of measure of the products X and Y). Because all the economies have limited

resources, there are limits in the level of production, and if a country wants to produce much of one product it has to give up producing another goods, existing in this case renounce of trade.

COUNTRY	PRODUCTS units of product/units of time			
	WITHOUT TRADE		AFTER SPECIALIZATION AND TRADE	
	X	Y	X	Y
A	6	3	12	-
B	3	6	-	12
TOTAL	9	9	12	12

Country A is more productive than B in the production of X and it has an absolute advantage in this product and country B is more productive in producing product Y. It is reasonable and in the benefit of the two countries to concentrate all resources of labour to the product for which they have an absolute advantage. After specialization, exchanging products, both countries can gain from trade.

2.3.2. The Comparative Advantage (David Ricardo model)

Dear learner, what do you think is the difference between Smith's and Ricardo's theory?

Ricardo argued that factors of production were immobile within countries and immobile among countries, while goods were perfectly mobile within and among countries. He also emphasized the interdependence of industries, ctreating them as integrated, producing one output and using one primary input (labor). He argued that each country should specialize in the production in which it has less opportunity cost.

2.3.2.1 Mill's Law of International Value

Dear learner, how does Mill improve Ricardo's theory?

Mill's essay "On the Laws of Interchange between Nations" sought to find a precise solution to the problem of whether there would be an intermediate price ratio for which the demand was sufficient to carry off the supply.

The problem was then whether there would exist a price ratio for which "the demand shall be exactly sufficient to carry off the supply". He recognized the possibility of "an extreme case" in which

demand might be so rigid that no such intermediate price ratio would exist; in that case, the equilibrium price ratio would have to correspond to one of the limiting cost ratios, and there would be partial specialization in the corresponding country.

2.3.2.2. THE H-O MODEL

Dear learner, what do you understand by factor endowments?

One of the most popular model advanced in explaining the concept of comparative advantage was provided by two Swedish economists Eli Heckscher and Bertil Ohlin is known as the Heckscher-Ohlin model or the factor endowments or factor proportions model. Since its development in the early 1930s this model has been accepted as the standard explanation of international trade.

Heckscher-Ohlin (or H-O) model of comparative costs or advantage postulates that a country will specialize in the production and export of those products in which it has a cost advantage over other countries. This model suggests that a country will have a comparative advantage in, and therefore will tend to export, those goods whose production requires the intensive use of a factor of production with which that country is well endowed. This theory implies that:

- A country will export those products that are intensive in its abundant factor; that is, a capital-rich country will export capital- intensive goods.

- Trade will benefit the owners of locally abundant factors and harm owners of the scarce factors. Thus, although all countries will benefit in absolute terms, there will be important distributive consequences that will favor either capital or labor in trading countries.

- Trade in factors (capital or labor) and trade in goods will have the same effect and can fully substitute for one another.

- Under certain circumstances, trade in goods will over time equalize the return (wages to labor and profits to capital) for each factor of production. The basic problem with the H-O model or theory is that actual trading patterns frequently differ from what the theory predicts. A notable example is found in intra-industry trade among countries with similar factor endowments. Indeed, most trade among industrialized countries takes place largely in the same product sectors; for example, the United States both exports to and imports from other industrialized countries.

Another important intellectual development that has undermined the H-O theory of international trade is a shift among economists from emphasizing "comparative" to emphasizing "competitive" advantage, especially in high-tech sectors. International competitiveness and trade patterns frequently result from arbitrary specialization based on increasing returns rather than from efforts to take advantage of fundamental national differences in resources or factor endowment. This new thinking about the arbitrary or accidental nature of international specialization and competitiveness emphasizes the increasing importance of technology in determining trade patterns.

Mainstream economists have been hesitant to acknowledge the increased importance of such factors as technology and learning by doing in the determination of trade patterns. Nevertheless, the fundamental idea that comparative or competitive advantage is largely arbitrary and a product of human intervention rather than a fixed gift of nature is accepted by growing numbers of mainstream economists.

Some economists regard actual trade patterns as resulting from many factors other than natural endowments, factors including historical accidents, government policies, and cumulative causation. Moreover, the standard H-O theory itself has been modified and expanded to include such important factors as human capital (skilled labor), "learning by doing," technological innovation, and especially economies of scale. Revisions have so transformed the original H-O model that some economists now argue that the theory of international trade is not much more than an eclectic enumeration of the many factors that determine comparative advantage and trade flows.

However, it is very difficult to incorporate these newly recognized factors into a formal model, and because there is no satisfactory alternative model, economists continue to support the standard H-O theory of trade based on factor endowments. As Richard Caves and Ronald Jones have argued, the Heckscher-Ohlin theory, with its emphasis on factor endowments, is still largely valid. Moreover, as economists argue national specialization and the benefits of a territorial division of labor remain valid concepts that are of overwhelming importance for the efficient use of the world's scarce resources. True! But this generalization does not explain or determine which country will produce what, and nation-states will always be very reluctant to leave that decision entirely up to the market.

These important considerations that "international comparative advantage in the production of and sale of high-technology goods must be struggled for and earned through superior technological innovativeness" has significantly intensified what F. M. Scherer has labeled "international high-

technological competition.” The drive for technological superiority has notably increased the receptivity of governments to the “new trade theory.”

New Trade Theory

Dear learner, what do you think is the weakness of the H-O model?
The most important and controversial development challenging the conventional theory of international trade is the "new trade theory" (STT). STT is the culmination of earlier challenges to conventional trade theory and incorporates a growing appreciation of imperfect competition, economies of scale, economies of scope, learning by doing, the importance of R & D, and the role of technological spillovers. It is significant because it challenges the theoretical foundations of the economics profession's unequivocal commitment to free trade.

Oligopolistic firms can and do consciously choose a course of action that anticipates the behavior of their competitors, allowing them to capture a larger share of the market than would be the case under perfect competition. Two of the most important strategies used to increase a firm's long-term domination of an oligopolistic market are dumping (selling below cost to drive out competitors in the product area) and preemption (through huge investment in productive capacity to deter other entrants into the market). Imperfect or oligopolistic competition is most likely found in certain high-tech industries characterized by economies of scale and learning by doing. The theory of strategic trade suggests that a government can take specific actions to help its own oligopolistic firms, such as assisting them to generate positive externalities and shift profits from foreign firms to national firms. A government's decision to support a domestic firm's plans to increase its productive capabilities (preemption) or even to signal intention to build excess productive capacity exemplifies a strategic trade policy.

2.4. Perspectives in International Trade: Free Trade versus Protectionism Dear learner, should states protect their industries from external competition?

The different perspectives on IPE provide different motivations for trade to take place, with a large but far from universal consensus that a liberal international trading system is desirable. The liberal doctrine of free trade is based on the principles of the market system formulated by Adam Smith and David Ricardo, and maximizes consumer choice, reduces prices, and facilitates efficient use of the world's scarce resources. Trade liberalization also increases competition in domestic markets, undermines anticompetitive practices, lowers prices, increases consumer choice, and increases

national wealth. Free trade increases both national and global wealth, encourages the international spread of technology and know-how, and increases the prospects of world peace. It also has a negative impact on income distribution, as it creates economic or monopoly rents and shifts income from consumers and non-protected sectors to the protected sectors.

The one exception to economists' universal belief in the superiority of free trade over trade protection is the protection of infant industries. From eighteenth-century mercantilists to present-day protectionists, advocates of trade protection have sought to achieve certain political, economic, and other objectives more than the economic benefits. Opponents of free trade in developing economies include advocates of the "developmental state" who believe that the state should have the principal role in economic development. Proponents of trade protection reject free trade and other forms of globalization as threats to jobs, wages, and domestic social welfare. Friedrich List argued that every successful industrial power has pursued protectionist policies to safeguard its infant industries.

In the 21st century, many trade protectionists advocate promotion of high tech and other favored sectors to build the nation's industrial strength and increase its competitiveness. Economic nationalists believe that the state should guide and shape the industrial and technological structure of society through trade protection, industrial policy, and other forms of government intervention. However, economists have disputed the benefits of trade protection, pointing out that it reduces both national and international economic efficiency.

Despite economists' arguments supporting trade liberalization, trade protectionism persists, and its advocates too frequently succeed. Endogenous trade theory explains the success of protectionism by calling attention to the fact that the political process generally favors special interests desiring protection rather than general consumer interests. Whereas the benefits of free trade diffuse across a society, the benefits of protection are concentrated in a few groups of producers.

2.5. Instruments of Trade Policy: Utilization and Impacts

? Dear learner, what do you understand by instruments of trade policy?

Contemporary trade policy is deeply conditioned by all the three IPE perspective on trade. As noted earlier, there seems to be a consensus on the liberal international trade system whose most important justification is contained in the H-O model. However, states tend to behave as mercantilist when national interests are threatened.

2.5.2. Instruments of Trade Policy

(A)Tariffs: a tariff is a tax on an import that is usually a percentage of the price of that import. They are used as a way of raising revenue for the government and can also be used to raise the price of an imported good up to a certain level to prevent foreign competition for domestic producers of that good. There are different kinds of tariffs. Imports tariffs are usually two kinds:

2. Specific tariff: this refers to a monetary sum that must be paid to import physical one unit of a product. The advantage is it is easy to collect. The disadvantage is it doesn't take price changes into account.

3. Ad valorem tariff: this is a percentage of the monetary value of one unit of import. The advantage it takes price changes into account. The Disadvantage is you need to know the monetary value of the good and seller is tempted to undervalue the price.

Other tariff instruments include: import subsidy and export tariff. In the first case, the home government may intentionally encourage some products via subsidy that are produced outside the country while discouraging others. That is why it sometimes called negative import tariff. On the other hand, export tariff or subsidy is levied or paid on home-produced goods that are destined for export.

Features of Tariff Schedules

Preferential duties- products from certain countries are subject to lower tariffs than the normal tariff rate. Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) for developing countries

Most-favoured-nation (MFN) treatment, equivalent to what is sometimes called normal trade relations (NTR) "if country A grants country B the status of most favoured nation, it means that B's exports will face tariff that are no higher (nor lower) than those applied to any other country that A calls a MFN".

(B)Non-tariff Barriers to Trade

There are many forms of non tariff barriers to trade and some of these barriers will be discussed as follows.

Import Quotas: a government agency allocates the rights to import by limiting the number of goods (not the price) for a given time period. It is a limit imposed up on the amount of a particular good that can be imported in to a country. Quotas may be imposed or can be achieved through Voluntary export restraints [VER]: foreign suppliers agree to "voluntarily" refrain from sending some exports.

Exchange controls: there are a number of different ways in which to control foreign exchange. These includes limits on the amount of foreign exchange made available to importers or citizens travelling abroad or limits on the amount of foreign exchange to be for investment purposes and also charges made when purchasing foreign currency.

Import licensing: this occurs when importers obtain licenses so that the government can better enforce restrictions.
Embargos: an embargo is imposed when a government decides to completely ban imports or exports to certain country.

Export taxes: these can be used to increase the price of a country's goods when that country has a monopoly on the supply of that good.

Subsidies: subsidies can be imposed on the production of goods made at home for the home market to prevent competition otherwise lower priced foreign goods. Subsidies can also imposed on exports to artificially increase trade (known as dumping).

Domestic content provisions and Administrative barriers- Domestic content provisions require a given percentage of the value of a good must consist of domestic components or labour. Administrative barriers may take different forms different Domestic policies affecting trade: health, environment and safety standards; packaging and labeling requirements; inconsistent treatment of intellectual property rights; subsidies to domestic firms, etc.

1. International Monetary and Financial Relations

International monetary and financial relations are essential for the private sector, intergovernmental relations, and private-public sector interaction. This section will discuss international monetary relations and the political economy of finance.

3.1 International Monetary Relations

3.1.1 The Vocabulary of International Money (Exchange Rate)

Dear learner, what do you think is an exchange rate?

Exchange rate is the ratio of exchange between the currencies of different countries, and is essential for any state as it links its macro and micro economies to the rest of the world through the asset market and goods market. The higher the exchange rate, the higher the prices of imported goods in the home currency will be. The exchange rate is an important variable in micro-economics, as it links a country to the rest of the world and affects resource allocation. When an exchange rate change makes an economy more competitive, the numbers of tradable goods increases, while when it makes an economy less competitive, resources are largely utilized in the domestic market. Exchange rate changes affect the resource allocation in an economy because the distribution of income between different groups or sectors is often dependent on the level of competitiveness.

The three main types of foreign exchange systems (which will be examined in greater detail in the coming sections) are: Fixed or pegged FX- where FX rate is most heavily influenced by states actions;

Flexible or floating FX- where international FX markets (demand and supply) are the principal determinants of exchange rate and;

Managed or coordinated FX- where states and markets are important determinants.

Special vocabularies used in discussing changes of FX rate are depreciation and appreciation. When a currency becomes more valuable relative to other currencies it is said to be appreciated and when it becomes less valuable relative to other currencies it is said to be depreciated. While many economic forces affect exchange rate two of the most important are the inflation rate and interest rate. All else being equal, a nation's currency tends to depreciate when that nations experiences higher inflation rates. Inflation, a rising of overall prices, means that the currency has less real purchasing power within its home country. This makes the currency less attractive to foreign buyers. In the same way, if a nation has lower inflation rate, its currency tends to appreciate reflecting the relatively higher power of its money,

Interest rate also affect exchange rate because they influence the value and desirability of the investment that a particular currency can purchase. For instance lower interest rate can lead to a lower demand for a hard currency making a hard-currency- dominated investment less attractive to foreigners. For borrowers, the rate of interest basically measures the cost of borrowing for investment purposes; the lower the cost of borrowing is, other things being equal the more borrowers will wish to invest. For lenders, the rate of interest measures the rate of return which will be received

when their wealth is invested. Consequently, the higher the return, the more wealth those lenders will wish to invest.

2.6.1. The Era of The Specie Money

Dear learner, what do you think was the basis of international exchange before the invention of paper money?

In the pre modern period, precious metals, principally silver, served as the basis of the international monetary system, with local and international trade separated from each other. This system began to change in the 16th century with the discovery of gold in the Americas and the expansion of international trade, leading to the intertwining of local and international money and the development of the science of economics. David Hume's price-specie flow theory demonstrated that if a country gained precious metals in payment for an excess export over imports, its domestic and then its export price would rise and its citizens would be able to import more, leading to a decline in export and increase in imports. This led to the development of liberal economics. The financial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries revolutionized the nature of the monetary system, transforming it from a gift of nature to the creation of a state.

This brought about a clash between domestic economic autonomy and international monetary order, resulting in the political economy of international monetary relations. Monetary stability and the efficient operation of the international monetary system require subordination of domestic policies to international rules and conventions, and if individual governments create too much money, the resulting inflation can destabilize international monetary relations, defining the phases in history of monetary relations.

2.6.2. The Classic Gold Standard

Dear learner, have you ever heard of the era of the gold standard?

The international gold standard was a monetary arrangement between 1875 and 1914 that fixed the prices of domestic currencies in terms of a specified amount of gold, providing a fixed exchange rate mechanism for adjusting the international balance of payments. It was not an automatic, impersonal and politically symmetrical political order, as banks manipulated the buying and selling of gold to reduce the effect of the flow of gold on domestic economy. The clash between domestic autonomy and international order under the gold standard was an example of a dominant hegemonic power

enforcing the rules of the game and managing world economic affairs. However, the rise of the new industrial powers and the relative decline of the British hegemony began to undermine the basis of the British global economic leadership. The First World War destroyed the political foundation of this economic era and plunged the world into monetary and economic chaos for the next three decades.

2.6.3. The Interwar Period (1914-1944)

? Dear learner, do you know the major cause of the great depression of the 1930s?

The First World War was a major consequence of the nationalization of the world's monetary system. The gold standard collapsed and its place was taken by a makeshift of floating (freely exchangeable) currencies. Domestic economic autonomy prevailed over international monetary order due to the requirements of war. Keynesian economics focused on the opportunity to eliminate the evils of the free market, while conservative liberal economists feared that the state would use its new taxing and borrowing powers to shift the distribution of national income from the producer and saver to the non producer. This could undermine both capitalism and democracy.

The collapse of the gold standard in the 1930s was caused by governments prioritizing domestic welfare objectives over an international monetary order. This led to the fragmentation of the international monetary systems in to several competing blocs, with the British and its trading partners creating the sterling bloc and Germany, Japan and Italy creating autarchic empires. This ushered in an era of unprecedented economic warfare, with competitive devaluations and fluctuating currencies as each economic bloc attempted to solve its payments and employment problems at the expense of the other.

2.6.4. The Bretton Woods System (1944-1976)

Dear learner, what do you understand by the Bretton woods systems?
The Bretton wood system was a set of economic priorities established by the western powers to prevent a return of the destructive economic nationalism of the 1930s. It envisions a world in which governments could have considerable freedom to pursue national economic objectives, but the monetary order would be based on fixed exchange rates. The American economy became the principal engine of world economic growth, and the Federal Reserve became the world's banker and the dollar became the basis of international monetary system. This system was quickly replaced by

what the French call the dollar hegemony. The Bretton Woods System of fixed rates was a gold exchange standard based on the dollar, which was the principal medium of exchange, unit of account and store value.

However, there was a fundamental contradiction at the heart of this system, as the huge outflow of American dollars to finance the rebuilding of Western Europe and Japan and the American military buildup during both the Korean and Vietnam Wars meant that the United States would one day be unable to redeem in gold. Robert Triffin predicted that confidence in the dollar would be undermined as the American balance of payments shifted from a surplus to a deficit, and this problem became acute late in the 1960s when escalation of the Vietnam War and its inflationary consequences caused deterioration in international confidence in the value of the dollar. This led to intensifying speculation in gold, and attempts to find ways to recreate confidence in the system. However, it was only when a political solution was devised that maintenance of the dominant position of the dollar was ensured.

2.6.5. The End of Fixed Exchange Rates

Dear learner, what do you think is the reason for the collapse of the Bretton woods system?

In the early 1970s, the deteriorating position of the dollar became the central issue in the world economy due to the escalation of the Vietnam War and the Great Society Program. The U.S. government refused to increase taxes and chose instead to pay for its warfare and welfare policies through inflationary macroeconomic policies. This led to the Nixon Administration's decision on August 15, 1971, to force devaluation of the dollar. Subsequent efforts to develop a new system of stable exchange rates failed due to the overwhelming problems posed by increased capital mobility and fundamental differences between the United States and Western Europe. The OPEC monetary surplus and the need to recycle funds led to the development of the international financial market, transforming the international economic system. This situation was described as a "non-system" because there were no generally recognized rules to guide the flexible rates or any other decisions on international monetary affairs.

2.7. International Financial relations

2.7.1. Meaning And Scope

? Dear learner, what do you understand by international financial relations?

Financial structure is the set of relationships, institutions, and practices that bind together creditors and debtors, borrowers and lenders, creating a pattern of rights and obligations that conditions the behaviour of nations, businesses and individuals. International finance is a major force in integrating

the world economy, connecting the international economy and contributing to its dynamic nature. However, it also has significant political consequences, such as creating dependency relationships and being a major source of national power. Foreign investment and international finance have always aroused political and nationalistic passions.

2.7.2. International Finance And Balance Of Payments

Dear learner, what do you think is the relationships between international finance and BOP?

International finance is based on the concept of Balance of Payment (BoP), which requires a surplus in one account to offset a deficit in the other. Each international transaction involves foreign exchange, and for the foreign exchange market to balance it is necessary for inflows and outflows of a currency to balance. A nation can continue to experience deficit in the current account as long as it can obtain the necessary funds through a capital account surplus. A balance of payment crisis is a bad thing both for the nation that experiences it and for the other nations of the world, as it disrupts trade and international finance relationships. Economic peril can spread from one nation to another, and it is up to the state and its political leadership to propose and implement harsh policies to bring international payments back into balance. To prevent this, the Post-War Bretton Woods system of international finance sought to provide a lender of last resort.

2.7.3. The Globalization Of International Finance

Dear learner, what do we mean by globalization of finance?

The post WWII period has seen the growth of highly mobile capital, which has been aided by the removal of capital controls and the internationalization of financial and banking practices. Capital flows have grown dramatically since the 1980s, with net private capital flows growing in significance. There are powerful reasons to study the political economy of international capital movements, as factor movements are substitutes for international trade and may even perform similar functions more rapidly. The future of international financial relations is a function of both economic and political considerations, and a political economy approach to the international financial relations should focus on the relationship between international investment interests and the foreign economic policy preferences they imply.

2.7.4. Foreign Directed Investment and MNCs

MNCs are a key feature of globalization, but opinions differ over their significance for domestic and international economic affairs.

The Nature and Significance Of MNC

Dear learner, what do you think is a MNC?

Although there are many more technical definitions of a multinational firm, a MNC refers simply to a firm or corporation of a particular nationality with partially or wholly owned subsidiaries within at least one other national economy. Tens of thousands of MNCs with numerous subsidiaries conduct business around the world. Such firms expand overseas primarily through foreign direct investment (FDI), whose purpose is to achieve partial or complete control over marketing, production, or other facilities in another economy; such investments may be in services, manufacturing, or commodities. FDI can entail either the purchase of existing businesses or the building of new facilities (called "greenfield" investment).

Whereas the purpose of portfolio investment is to obtain a financial return on the investment, FDI, as well as alliances, mergers, and similar ventures, are usually part of an international corporate strategy to establish a permanent position in another economy. In one sense, multinational firms have existed for a very long time. The Dutch East India Company, the Massachusetts Bay Company, and other companies of merchant-adventurers were forerunners of today's MNCs like IBM, Sony, and Daimler-Chrysler. These earlier transnational firms, however, were far more powerful than contemporary MNCs are; they commanded armies and fleets, had their own foreign policies, and controlled vast expanses of territory: the sub- Asian continent (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh), the East Indies (Indonesia), and South Africa. Modern MNCs are much more modest.

Another major difference between those early transnational firms and today's is that the former were principally interested in agricultural products and extractive industries in particular regions of the world, whereas major firms in the early twenty-first century are principally involved in manufacturing, retailing, and services, tend to operate on a regional or worldwide basis, and usually pursue an international corporate strategy

The Multinationals And The International Economy

Dear learner, what do you think is the importance of a in the international economy?

The Multinationals (MNCs) are a major player in the international economy, accounting for four-fifths of world industrial output and employing two-thirds of their work force at home. Foreign direct investment (FDI) has grown at an average rate of 30% a year between 1985 and 1990, and has

become a major determinant of trade patterns. However, FDI is highly concentrated and is distributed unevenly around the world, with most FDI placed in the United States and Europe and only a small percentage of U.S. foreign direct investment going to developing countries. MNCs have profoundly altered the structure and functioning of the global economy, becoming major determinants of trade flows and of the location of industries and other economic activities. MNCs have become major players in international economic and political affairs, leading to a backlash in many countries due to their control of investment capital, technology, and access to global markets.

Moreover, internationalization of services and production is highly concentrated among the major powers and within particular regions notably Japan in southeast Asia, the euro zone in Eastern Europe, and the US in the NAFTA area. Evidence thus suggests that regionalism as well as globalism characterizes the strategies of multinational firms. While economic competition and financial markets have become increasingly global, production and services are increasingly regional.

The increased importance of regionalization in the world economy raises some disturbing possibilities. The trend toward regionalization could lead to weakening of the post–World War II movement toward trade liberalization. While the MNCs of the major economic powers continue to pursue global strategies and to invest in one another's economies (with the exception caused by Japan's relatively low level of inward FDI), they are also concentrating their own FDI in neighboring countries. Creation of regional rather than global production and sourcing networks has become a notable trend.

CHAPTER THREE

The Governance of International Economy

Today, all political economists acknowledge the need for some minimal rules or institutions to govern and regulate economic activities; even the most ardent public-choice economist would agree that laws are needed to enforce contracts and protect property rights. In his pioneering work Economics of Interdependence (1968), Richard Cooper went on to evaluate various solutions that had been proposed against the clash between the "irresistible force" of economics and the "immovable object" of politics. He concluded that the ideal solution was some type of international governance of the global economy. Since then, the great need for international governance, the rapid globalization of the world economy has elevated the governance issue to the top of the international politics and economic agenda.

3.1. International Regimes

An international governance mechanism is needed to assume several functions in the new global economy; in particular, it must provide certain public goods and resolve market failures. Provision of international public goods must include maintaining the rule of law; providing mechanisms for the

settlement of disputes in trade and investment and other areas; ensuring monetary and financial stability, setting common standards and regulations for business, managing global communication and transportation, and solving environmental problems.

What do we mean by the international liberal economic order?

A liberal international economy is an international economy characterized, at least in ideal terms, by such factors as open markets, freedom of capital movement or mobility, and nondiscrimination alongside the existence of certain agreed rules and regulations to govern it. A liberal economy can succeed only if it provides public goods like a stable monetary system, eliminates market failures, and prevents cheating and free-riding. Although the primary purpose of rules or regimes is to resolve economic problems, many are actually enacted for political rather than for strictly economic reasons. Empirically speaking, a liberal international economy could not politically tolerate too many free-riders who benefit from the opening of other economies but refuse to open their own markets. This position entails some implications for the governance of the global economy. Before delving deep into the discussion of the subject, let us have a brief insight of some of the concepts and approaches involved.

The concept of international regimes, defined as "sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations," has been at the core of the research on international institutions. Although a distinction can be made between an international regime as rules and understandings and an international institution as a formal organization, the word "regimes" and the word "institutions" are frequently used interchangeably, in writings on international political economy, to refer to bodies that encompass both rules and such formal international organizations, which are important for the functioning of the world economy.

Governing the international economy has always remained to be a challenge, as governments have been able to make domestic public policy and have remained politically independent actors in international affairs. But one possibility has been set forth by Wolfgang H. Reinicke (1998) in his Global Public Policy: Governing without Government? He proposed, in the first place, that "government" and the "functions of governance" can be disentangled from one another, at least in the discussions pertaining to IPE. In the modern world, "government" has been referred to formal institutions that enjoy national sovereignty, possess a monopoly of power over a particular territory, and are not answerable to an external authority.

Governance, on the other hand, is a social function that is essential to a market economy at the national or international level, and is not necessarily the same as government. Governance, according to Reinicke, need not be equated with government, but can be achieved through networks of public and private groups or institutions at national, regional, and international levels. While many liberal thinkers believe that only minimal rules are necessary, most scholars of international political economy argue that extensive rules or formal regimes are needed regardless of the level of operation.

3.2. Approaches in Governing the International Economy

Do you know any approach to international economic governance?

There are three predominant positions regarding: neoliberal institutionalism, new medievalism, and trans-governmentalism.

3.2.1. Neoliberal Institutionalism

Neoliberal institutionalists believe that international institutions have become sufficiently strong to meet the challenges of a globalized international economy. Neoliberal institutionalism, like realism, accepts the continued existence and importance of the nation-state in international affairs. However, it generally assumes that the state is a liberal, market-oriented state, more interested in cooperation and absolute gains than in conflicts over relative gains. Although neoliberal institutionalism is based on the assumption of the importance of the state, and the belief that formal international regimes and institutions are necessary, it does not emphasizes the ever-present problem of interstate conflict and rivalry. Neoliberal institutionalism stresses interstate cooperation, unlike state-realism.

The types of international regimes and institutions advocated by neoliberal institutionalism have achieved considerable success. Despite some failings, the IMF, WB, and GATT/WTO have improved significantly the ways in which the international economy functions.

3.2.2. The New Medievalism (Neo-medievalism)

The medieval world of Western Europe, from approximately the fifth to the fifteenth centuries, shared a heritage of Christianity and Roman law. The ruling aristocracy of each major European country shared many similar ideas, norms, and values as well as some similar socio-political structures (E.g. feudalism, the Church, and kingship); despite its continual political, religious, and social strife. This era, the rise of the modern territorial state was also characterized by fragile and dispersed concentrations of economic and political power with a limited technology and level of

organizational skills for mobilization and effective use of economic and military capabilities. And, the neo-medievalist is a reconsideration of the medieval model of governance.

The new medievalism is based on the assumption that the state and the state-system have been undermined by economic, technological, and other developments and are being eclipsed by nongovernmental actors and the emergence of an international civil society. New medievalists believe that the end of national sovereignty and the resulting diffusion of power will enable selfless nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to solve the world's pressing environmental and other problems.

A major theme of the new medievalism is that nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have, or at least should have, a central role in the governance of international or "post-national," affairs. The "new medievalism," based on the belief that the world is experiencing the end of national sovereignty, implicitly rejects the idea of a liberal international economic order based on cooperation among sovereign states. Organized primarily around such specific issues as safeguarding the environment, protecting human rights, and promoting a safer world, NGOs are believed to have become a significant force in particular issue areas.

3.2.3. Trans-governmentalism

Transgovernmentalism argues that international cooperation by domestic government agencies in specific functional areas is rapidly replacing the decision-making functions of centralized national governments in the management of the global economy. Transgovernmentalism poses a third possibility for a rule-based international economic and political order. Like liberal internationalism, and unlike the new medievalism, this position accepts the continued existence of nation-states. However, the nature of the state envisioned by this intellectual position is fundamentally different from that in state-centric liberal internationalism and political realism. Like the new medievalism, this position assumes that the governance functions of the state can be divided and delegated to intergovernmental bodies or networks dealing with specific policy issues.

The scholars of this school point out that many transgovernmental organizations already exist to deal with such matters as banking regulations, antitrust regulation, and judicial matters. These transnational networks composed of technical experts, business executives, and lawyers are needed to manage an increasingly complex and integrated world in which extensive technical input is required. Yet, it would be a large leap from transgovernmental mechanisms in specific policy areas to international governance of the globe. This position assumes that technical and other functional

problems can be solved in isolation from larger national concerns and parochial political matters. Technical issues are believed to be separate from politics and, thus, can be solved independently. Regulatory matters, for example, can be isolated from national economic priorities and from the pressures of powerful interests. Finally, transgovernmentalism ignores matters of national security and foreign policy and assumes no hierarchy or priority among the issues of interest to governments.

3.3. Major International Economic Organizations

The most important institutions came out of the Monetary and Financial Conference held in 1944 at Bretton Woods [New Hampshire, USA] laying the basis for envisioned stability of world economic order via establishing International Financial Institutions [IFIs], namely the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] commonly known as the World Bank [WB]. Taken together, the IMF and the World Bank are often known as the Bretton Woods Institutions named after the place of Conference that gave birth to the two IFIs. The other important international regime is the World Trade Organization [TWO]. We will have a look at each of these international institutions that functioned the post war era.

3.3.1. Bretton Wood Institutions: IMF and IBRD (WB)

Have you ever heard of people referring to the IMF and WB as Bretton wood institutions and what do you think is the reason?

The Bretton Woods Institutions are IFIs that laid down regulatory (organizational) framework within which the international economy has to operate, more specifically by shaping the manner in which international payments are conducted. This system envisions a world in which governments have a meaningful freedom to pursue domestic (national) economic objectives. But at the same time, a monetary order was to be brought through establishment of fixed exchange rates. And, this was believed to prevent the destructive competitive depreciations that most nations have been making use of, in 1930s. At any rate, the basic principles in which the Bretton Woods System operates are found to be three. These are: autonomy of national economic policies, fixed exchange rates and currency convertibility. The principles are meant to resolve the inherent conflict between national autonomy and international stability.

3.3.1.1. International Monetary Fund [IMF]

3.3.1.1.2. IMF's Formation, Objectives and Functional Mechanisms

International Monetary Fund (IMF) is international economic organization established by the Bretton Woods Conference, in 1944. However, it began its operations in 1947 with headquarter in

Washington, D.C. The IMF operates as a United Nation's specialized agency. The IMF membership is open to all independent nations and currently it has more than 180 countries.

As far as the organizational leadership is concerned, the board of governors, made up of leading monetary officials from each of the member nations, is the highest authority in the IMF. Day-to-day operations are the responsibility of the 24-member executive board, which represents member nations individually (for larger countries) or in groups. The managing director serves as chairperson of the executive board.

What are the objectives of IMF?

It has already been mentioned above that, originally, international monetary system was designed conforming to the fundamental principle of fixed exchange rates in order to overcome economic anarchy of the earlier decade. This time, it was intended to provide monetary reserves sufficient to enable member governments to maintain the exchange rates for their currencies at predetermined values in such a way to use contributions from member countries and to offer reserve credits to states with international payments problems. It was also meant to prevent global inflation or competitive devaluation.

What are the mechanisms to build and maintain an effective international monetary system?

Stabilization of a monetary system can be achieved by tying every currency to a "nonmonetary" asset (gold being the asset of choice), by coordinating national monetary policies, or by following a leader whose past policies promise that it will provide the desired degree of economic stability in the future. Although all three methods were in fact employed in the early postwar years, the monetary policies of member states were fastened by tying every currency to the dollar, which in turn was tied to gold. Even the major powers coordinated their economic policies only informally.

In view of the attainment of autonomy and stability, some degree of flexibility was also maintained to enable individual states to deal with extraordinary situations (including pursuit of full employment), reliable reserve credit in the event of an international payments problem, and agreement among member countries to peg their currencies to the dollar at $35 an ounce in gold.

The postwar monetary system of fixed rates, which lasted until the early 1970s, proved extraordinarily successful. However, as we have discussed in chapter three, by the time of the

Vietnam War in the 1960s, the United States had ceased to pursue price stability. Rising inflation caused by that war eventually led the Nixon Administration to abandon the fixed-rate system in August 1971. Yet, the United States and the dollar remained central to the system.

The "hegemony" of the dollar conferred "extravagant privileges" on the United States, because it alone could simply print dollars to fight foreign wars, could buy up foreign businesses, and could go deeply into debt without fearing negative consequences. However, the gradual decreased of confidence in the dollar led to intensifying speculation in gold, and this was followed by futile attempts to find ways to recreate confidence in the system.

3.3.1.1.2. Controversial Issues of IMF's Reform: Technical and Political Issues

Economists' theories, about the varied and complex aspects of the international monetary regime, have usually followed rather than preceded events that they attempt to explain. Indeed, many theories regarding monetary affairs have been merely ex-post-facto explanations of important developments that economists had failed to predict.

Although an efficient international monetary system benefits every country, serious political and economic difficulties almost invariably impede creation or reform of an international monetary system. The creation (or reform) of an international monetary system involves highly complex technical issues. The formal models and mathematical techniques of economists that are required to deal with monetary and financial matters are beyond the technical competence of most non-economists, and even beyond many economists.

Yet the international monetary system is of intense concern and importance to national governments and private economic interests. The mechanisms responsible for the system's efficient functioning—adjustment, liquidity creation, and confidence-building measures—produce a differential impact on the national interests of various countries and also on the interests of powerful groups within economies.

The distributive consequences of solutions to technical problems are illustrated by the liquidity issue, which is closely tied to the issue of 'seigniorage', i.e. that is, the economic benefits accruing to the country whose currency is used as the basis of the international monetary system. Solutions to the adjustment problem determine whether deficit or surplus countries must pay the high costs of reestablishing a balance-of-payments equilibrium.

Technical mechanisms are seldom politically neutral; they affect the economic welfare, political autonomy, and even the international prestige of individual states, and they also have an impact on the interests of capital, labor, and other domestic groups.

Political differences mean that a well-functioning monetary system requires strong leadership by a nation or group of nations with an interest in maintaining the system. The leader(s) must assume the initiative in solving highly technical problems as well as providing and managing the key currency used for maintaining reserves, carrying out economic transactions, and providing liquidity. Furthermore, the leader should be the "lender of last resort" and from time to time should provide financial assistance to countries experiencing severe financial problems. Although this leadership role could, in theory, be provided by two or more nations or even by an international organization, leadership has historically been provided by a dominant economic and military power; for example, Great Britain in the late nineteenth century and the United States following World War II. Not surprisingly, the rules governing the international monetary system have in general reflected the interests of the leading economic powers.

The other main issue of debate has been the functionality of the IMF's policy of adjustment. An international monetary regime must determine the method by which national economies will restore equilibrium (i.e., reduce a deficit or a surplus) in their international accounts (balance of payments), and an efficient international monetary system should minimize the costs of making adjustments. Every adjustment policy results in economic costs, and some methods of adjustment are considerably more costly for individual economies and for the overall world economy than are others.

Both deficit and surplus countries employ additional methods to overcome payments imbalances. One such method is to change the exchange rate by devaluing the currency (a deficit country) or appreciating it (a surplus country). Another method is to make changes in macroeconomic policy; that is, to shift to deflationary (a deficit country) or expansionary (a surplus country) economic policies. The rules governing the international monetary system will determine the approved methods of making such an adjustment.

3.3.2. The World Bank: Organization, Objectives and Functions

? Do you know the WB's main functions, and the Bank's sources of funds?

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, rather commonly known as the World Bank, is another specialized United Nations agency established at the Bretton Woods Conference in

1944 alongside with the IMF. The World Bank was designed to meet the three main objectives: (i) assisting in the reconstruction and development of territories of members by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes; (i) promoting private foreign investment by means of guarantees or participation in loans; and (iii) supplementing private investment by providing, on suitable conditions, finance for productive purposes out of its own capital.

Conventionally, the Bank's leadership has mainly been of the USA, unlike the IMF that has always been led by the West Europe. As an organization, all powers of the bank are vested in a board of governors, comprising one governor appointed by each member nation. The board meets at least once annually. The governors delegate most of their powers to 24 executive directors, who meet regularly at the central headquarters of the bank in Washington, D.C. Five of the executive directors are appointed by the five member states that hold the largest number of capital shares in the bank. The remaining 19 directors are elected by the governors from the other member nations and serve two-year terms. The executive directors are headed by the president of the World Bank, whom they elect for a five-year term, and who must be neither a governor nor a director. The bank's functions are of three types: lending, non-lending and grants. The Bank provides investment loans that fund actual projects like road building; adjustment loans, the WB's most controversial activity, through which it funds nations that wish to make changes in their policies; and financial intermediary loans or funds funneled through a country's financial system for some commonly agreed objectives.

3.3.3. Postwar Trade Regime: The GATT and WTO

? Dear student who do you think is responsible for the governance of international trade?

Despite the different regions' experience of the dramatically uneven patterns of economic growth throughout the world, the pace and size of international economic transactions has risen steadily, as the world has experienced in the second half of the 20th century. New institutions have developed to promote and manage the world's trade. From 1948 to 1995, nations negotiated a series of treaties through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which gradually lowered tariffs for most manufactured goods. In the 1990s the GATT transformed itself into the World Trade Organization (WTO), with more powers of enforcement and a broader mandate to promote trade.

3.3.3.1. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

? Dear students what do you think is the difference between GATT and WTO?

As we have seen above, the Bretton Woods institutions are the result of attempt of the allied power, led by USA and UK; to restructure the world political economy in the post war era in such a way to prevent potential economic conflicts like those led to the outbreak of the WWII. But, it is not

commonly known that the conference also advocated the formation of 'International Trade Organization' [ITO]. In his original concept, John M. Keynes thought that this organization would be responsible for stabilization of the prices of primary products by employing different mechanisms. At the time, ITO was proposed to oversee the new liberal trade rules as it applies to tariffs, subsidies, and other protectionist measures that states may utilize.

The whole idea was that ITO would serve as an international counterbalance against domestic tendencies of protectionism. However, ITO did not take the ground for the U.S. congress soon forced the government to withdraw the negotiation. The H. Truman's government soon proposed a temporary alternative structure of multilateral trade negotiations, called rounds, under the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade [GATT]. GATT was signed by 23 nations at a trade conference in 1947 and became effective in January 1948.

Upon its establishment, GATT was not more than what its title suggested: a forum for bringing the countries together and to reach agreement on trade and tariff issues. GATT also originated as a "charter" for the proposed International Trade Organization (ITO), which was to be a specialized agency of the United Nations. Although the ITO failed to win ratification by the United States Congress in 1950 and never came into being, the GATT remained in use to govern international trade. Hence, GATT was both treaty and organization of international trade in existence from 1948 to 1995.

GATT members, known as 'contracting parties', worked to minimize tariffs, quotas, preferential trade agreements between countries, and other barriers to international trade.

What are the main objectives of GATT?

Dear learners, the major objective of GATT was to augment trade by removing its barriers in various forms. More specifically, this aim targeted at what is known as "tariffication", i.e. converting non-tariff barriers [NTBs] to be followed by lowering the existing tariff levels. The other objective of GATT was the "universalization" of trade relations. This was to be materialized in a way of extending the scope of most favoured nations [MFN] concept. The simple definition of this concept is that, the trade concessions agreed upon between any two countries would automatically be extended to other member countries of GATT.

GATT was founded on three principles. These principles are (i) "non-discrimination", "multilateralism" and the application of "most-favoured-nation" [MFN], (ii) the expansion of trade by reducing barriers, and (iii) unconditional reciprocity to all member nations bound by the treaty,

which required members to treat one another in the same manner if not equally. Once a member reduced a tariff for another member country, that reduction applied to all member countries. However, an escape clause allowed a nation to withdraw its tariff reduction if it seriously harmed the country's domestic producers.

Accordingly, both the industrialized and industrializing economies have taken a number of initiatives, under American leadership, to lower trade and investment barriers. GATT members sponsored eight specially organized rounds of trade negotiations: Geneva round 1947, Annecy (France) round 1949, Torquay (UK) round 1951, Geneva (for the second time) round 1956, Dillon round 1960-61, Kennedy round 1964-67, Tokyo round 1973-79, and Uruguay round 1986-93.

By the mid-1980s, the GATT trade regime was no longer adequate to deal with a highly integrated world economy characterized by oligopolistic competition, scale economies, and dynamic comparative advantage. In addition, the “new protectionism” of the 1970s had led to the erection of numerous nontariff barriers, such as quotas and government subsidies. The “new protectionism”, as distinct from the “old” protectionism, was particularly characterized by hidden trade barriers, a shift from rules to discretion, and a return to bilateralism. Moreover, the character of trade itself has changed and outgrown the rules and trading regime of the early postwar era. Trade became closely intertwined with the global activities of multinational firms, and trade in both services and manufactures expanded rapidly. Trade among industrialized countries became the most prominent feature of the trading system.

Nevertheless, all the eight rounds of multilateral trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the principal forum for trade liberalization, have significantly decreased trade barriers. However, another development in the 1980s was the so-called “new regionalism”. Especially the acceleration of the movement toward European integration was recognized as a threat to the multilateral trading system. From the mentioned time onwards, the U.S.A. pressured its West European and other trading partners for a new round of trade negotiations to strengthen the multilateral trading system. Eventually, this American pressure overcame European and other resistance, and the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations was launched at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in 1986, resulting in intense negotiations until it ended in 1994.

The Uruguay Round was crucial as it came out of the dynamic nature of world economic development and the accompanying debates that lasted for over four decades.

Why is the Uruguay round regarded as the most important in the development of the post-war trade regime?

The treaty produced by the Uruguay Round, which came into force on January 1, 1995, reduced tariffs on manufactured goods and lowered trade barriers in a number of important areas. At the same time, the formal tariffs on merchandise goods were reduced to the lowest level. The Uruguay Round decreased or eliminated many import quotas and subsidies. The agreement's twenty-nine separate accords also reduced trade barriers and for the first time extended trade rules to a number of areas that included agriculture, textiles, services, intellectual property rights, and foreign investment.

In doing this, the Round took an important step toward completion of the framework of international institutions that had originally been proposed at Bretton Woods (1944). At the end of the negotiations, the members of GATT, as well as representatives from seven other nations, signed a trade pact that will eventually cut tariffs overall by about one-third and reduce or eliminate other obstacles to trade. The pact also took steps toward opening trade in investments and services among member nations and strengthening protection for intellectual property—that is, creative works that can be protected legally.

While the first round [Geneva 1947-48] with its 23 participants took only few months, the last round i.e. Uruguay round, with 108 members lasted for more than six years. The Dunkel draft, on which the Marrakesh agreement was made in April 1994, was a bulky document that contained in itself 28 proposed accords. Thus, the Marrakesh Treaty happened to be one of the most ambitious international trade agreements to be signed by such a large number of nations.

Many of the supporters of the agreement said it would create jobs and improve business. On the other hand, opponents claimed that the new GATT treaty would lead to massive losses of jobs in manufacturing and that the powerful WTO would threaten independence nations. A number of groups, including environmentalists, human-rights activists, and labour organizations in liberal democratic states and other countries, argued against the treaty, claiming that it failed to link trade preferences to protections for the environment and workers' rights.

The ultimate goal of GATT, i.e. "establishing a world trade regime or universal rules for the conduct of commercial policy" seemed real, when the 1994 trade agreement officially took effect and fully implemented in January 1995. As such, this pact, while providing for the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO), facilitated the takeover of GATT's functions by the WTO, an

international body that administers trade laws and provides a forum for settling trade disputes among nations.

In addition, more and more nations have been pursuing neoliberal economic policies. These developments have resulted in an increasingly market-oriented global economy. Despite the impressive achievements, however, of the Uruguay Round in reducing trade barriers, many vexing issues were left unresolved.

3.3.3.2. World Trade Organization (WTO)

The World Trade Organization was created to replace GATT, when the members of the latter signed a new trade pact established in 1994, and began operation on 1st January of 1995. After the transition period, GATT ceased to exist. All of the 128 nations that were contracting parties to the new GATT pact at the end of 1994 became members of the WTO upon ratifying the GATT pact. A number of other nations have joined the WTO since then.

World Trade Organization [WTO], based in Geneva, is an international body that promotes and enforces the provisions of trade laws and regulations. It has the authority to administer and police new and existing free trade agreements, to oversee world trade practices, and to settle trade disputes among member states.

As far as the organizational leadership is concerned, the WTO is controlled by a General Council made up of member states' ambassadors who also serve on various subsidiary and specialist committees. The ministerial conference, which meets every two years and appoints the WTO's director-general, oversees the General Council. What significant changes were made and continuities maintained?

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is, in essence, an American creation. The WTO's predecessor, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) had served well America's fading mass production economy, but it did not serve the emerging economy equally well. In effect, WTO has the primary responsibility to facilitate international economic cooperation in trade liberalization. The agreement that established the WTO expanded and entrenched the GATT principle that trade should be governed by multilateral rules rather than by unilateral actions or bilateral negotiations.

Although the WTO incorporated the GATT along with many of its rules and practices, the legal mandate and institutional structure of the WTO were designed to enable it to play a much more

important role than the GATT had played in governance of international commerce. The WTO has more extensive and more binding rules. It has also created a trade-policy-review mechanism to monitor member countries.

It is true that WTO was not given as extensive rule-making authority, as some desired. However, it does have much more authority than the GATT. The GATT dispute-settlement mechanism was incorporated in the WTO, reformed, and greatly strengthened by elimination of such basic flaws as long delays in the proceedings of dispute panels, the ability of disputants to block proceedings, and the frequent failure of members to implement decisions. The agreement also established a new appellate body to oversee the work of the dispute panels.

Most importantly, and perhaps controversially, the WTO was empowered to levy fines on countries that refused to accept a decision of the dispute panel. Although the WTO operates a dispute settlement process similar to the one under GATT, it has stronger power to enforce agreements, including authority to issue trade sanctions against a country that refuses to revoke an offending law or practice. WTO has also a significantly broader scope than that of GATT. GATT regulated trade in merchandise goods. The WTO expanded the GATT agreement to include trade in services, such as international telephone service, and protections for intellectual property, i.e. creative works that can be protected legally, such as sound recordings and computer programs.

The institutional structure of the trade regime also changed significantly. Whereas the GATT had been a trade accord supported by a secretariat, the WTO is a membership organization that increases the legal coherence among its wide-ranging rights and obligations and establishes a permanent forum for negotiations. Periodic ministerial meetings increase political guidance to the institution. The WTO is also a formally structured organization whose rules are legally binding on its member states. The organization provides a framework for international trade law. Members can refer trade disputes to the WTO where a dispute panel composed of WTO officials serves as arbitrator. Members can appeal this panel’s rulings to a WTO appellate body whose decisions are final. Disputes must be resolved within the time limits set by WTO rules.

What are some of the criticisms against WTO?

Since its creation, the WTO has attracted criticism from those concerned about free trade and economic globalization. While the advocates of the WTO argue that it plays a critical role in helping expand world trade and raise living standards around the world, the opponents of the WTO have forwarded several arguments some of which are outlined below.

WTO as an organization is “too powerful” and it can declare the laws and regulations of sovereign nations in violation of trade rules, in effect pressuring nations to change these laws. Critiques of WTO also argue that trade rules do not sufficiently protect workers’ rights, the environment, human rights or human health. It is also accused of the widespread democratic deficit. Claims argue that the Organization lacks democratic accountability, because its hearings on trade disputes are closed to the public and press. However, the WTO officials have tended to reject this argument, claiming that its member nations, most of which are democracies, wrote the WTO rules and selected its leadership.

Trade in certain areas such as agriculture, textiles, and shipping continues to be highly protected. The failure to reduce tariffs on agriculture and textiles was and continues to be especially vexing because lower tariffs would greatly benefit LDCs. Trade barriers are still high in most developing countries, especially with respect to services, and developed countries continue to restrict imports of automobiles, steel, textiles, consumer electronics, and agricultural products. Even more menacing, in most cases, public opinion has become more skeptical of the costs and benefits of trade, and by the late 1990s the WTO and trade liberalization were clearly on the defensive. Scholars criticize the WTO’s propagation of free trade within an overall neoliberal conception of economic growth, justified through the universalistic belief that everyone benefits (mainly as consumers) from trade and growth. This has not in fact produced economic growth and higher incomes for poor countries and people.

Doubts are also arising due to the fact that with over 130 members, the WTO’s ability to carry out its assigned responsibilities is subject to doubt. Criticism of the WTO reached an apex in late 1999, when more than 30,000 protesters disrupted a WTO summit in Seattle, Washington. The protesters called for reforms that would make the organization more responsive to consumers, workers, and environmentalists. The summit failed in its goal to set an agenda for a new round of global trade talks, largely because of disagreements between industrialized and developing nations in areas like the agricultural subsidies provided by the former nations, notably the support of EU and U.S.A. to their farmers. Developing countries objected to the extent of the subsidies, which amount to about $300 billion annually, arguing that such generous support artificially lowered world crop prices and made it difficult, if not impossible, for farmers in developing countries to compete. The failure of the richer nations to reach agreement on lowering agricultural subsidies continued to derail trade talks in the early 2000s.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Political Economy of North-South Debate: Conflict and Cooperation

Introduction

4.1. The Colonial Legacy and Nation-building

Dear learner, why do you think is reference to colonialism and its legacy should be made in the discussion of the relations of the global North-South?

By the 1950s, many of the former European colonial empires and territories began to disintegrate. The disintegration of colonies unfortunately resulted in the birth of new-states in the formers' place in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These economically underdeveloped countries, or the LDCs as some prefer to call them, were considered as an entity with common characteristics, such as poverty, high birthrates, and economic dependence on the advanced countries. Until early 1960s, these new states were on the threshold of the new international order that was being shaped and reshaped by the Cold War.

This combination of conditions in Asia, Africa, Oceania and Latin America was linked to the absorption of the third world into the international capitalist economy, by way of conquest or indirect domination. The main economic consequence of Western domination was the creation, for the first time in history, of a world market. By setting up throughout the third world sub-economies linked to the West, and by introducing other modern institutions, industrial capitalism disrupted traditional economies and, indeed, societies of the "South". This disruption led to underdevelopment, as the economies of underdeveloped countries have been geared towards the needs of industrialized countries. They often comprise only a few modern economic activities, such as mining or the cultivation of plantation crops. Control over these activities has often remained in the hands of large foreign firms. The prices of third world products are usually determined by large buyers in the economically dominant countries of the West, and trade with the West provides almost all the third world's income.

Throughout the colonial period, outright exploitation severely limited the accumulation of capital within the foreign-dominated countries. Even after decolonization (in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s), the economies of the third world developed slowly, or not at all, owing largely to the deterioration of the "terms of trade", i.e. the relation between the cost of the goods a nation must import from abroad and its income from the exports it sends to foreign countries. Terms of trade are said to deteriorate

when the cost of imports rises faster than income from exports. Since buyers in the industrialized countries determined the prices of most products involved in international trade, the worsening position of the third world was scarcely surprising. The only exception that can be mentioned here are the oil-producing countries (after 1973) which succeeded in escaping the effects of Western, domination of the world economy.

The worsening condition was exacerbated by class formation in the world that helped determine the political and economic position of states. These 'classes' of countries of the world are known as: first world- the USA and its allies of the industrialized and liberal democracies; second world- the Soviet Union and its allies; and the third world- former colonies of the west and vast majority of the world countries often known as the Least Developed Countries [LDCs].

As these new states began to build their own 'national identity', they faced a pressing and complex set of economic, political and social problems that exacerbated the already prevalent difficulty in creating a truly sovereign and genuine institutional apparatus. Hence, for the LDCs economic advancement has been crucial not only as an end in itself but also as a means to ensure a sustained and stable political system, independence and a defined cultural identity.
However, the envisaged 'development' as Sunil Kukreja noted has had "two faces" for the LDCs. These are: the attractive face that promised an end to poverty and beginning of true independence; and the repelling face of exploitation, manipulation and continued subjugation.

1.1 The North-South Dilemma

Recognizing the fact that the LDCs were unable to significantly influence the working international system and its institutions, a number of countries, largely from the 'South', attempted to forge their collective identity. Politically, the birth of Third World brought the lack of economic development and prosperity in the LDCs to the foremost global agenda, while building their common position in the world order. Then after, the contrasting economic disparities between the best developed and least developed nations became a defining feature in the new international order, what latter came to be known as the North- South dilemma.
It is because of the fact that the term 'Third World' was originally intended to distinguish the nonaligned nations that gained independence from colonial rule beginning after World War II from the Western nations and from those that formed the former Eastern bloc, and sometimes more specifically from the United States and from the former Soviet Union (the first and second worlds, respectively). For the most part the term has not included China.

What do you think is the political significance of this movement?

The political emergence of third world, led by Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Joseph Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, even Emperor Haileselassie, inter alia, laid the basis for dialogue that subsequently led to the institutionalization of the Southern Perspective, i.e. the formation of the Nonaligned Movement [NAM] in 1961. As the NAM came to encompass many nations from as far as the Latin America, it appeared that NAM members are numerically dominant in the United Nations. But the group is diverse culturally and economically, and its unity is only hypothetical.

Nevertheless, the movement has served three basic purposes. First, it aimed to be the political arm of LDCs that helps them in addressing the initiatives against the impacts of neo-colonialism, particularly as far as Africa is concerned. Secondly, it was a vehicle that drives them outside the arena of the Cold War scenario; and thirdly, it was an instrument to promote the collective interests of LDCs.

Hence, as Sauvy noted the third world is 'nothing', and it wants to be "something". The term therefore implies that the third world is exploited, much as the third estate was exploited, and that, like the third estate (as in the French revolution) its destiny is a revolutionary one. It also conveys a second idea, also discussed by, that of non-alignment, for the third world belongs neither to the industrialized capitalist world nor to the Communist bloc.

As far as the economic prospect is concerned, the development that has occurred in the third world has not been distributed fairly between nations or among population groups within nations. Most of the third world countries that have managed to achieve substantial economic growth are those that produce oil. They have also shown their leverage after 1973 the OPEC cartel that succeeded in raising the price of oil quite dramatically. But, with increasing urgency, the problem of underdevelopment then became the focus of a permanent, although essentially academic, debate. Despite that debate, the unity of the third world remains hypothetical, expressed mainly by the platforms of international conferences.

Same holds true in the North-South cooperation spheres. The relationship between the underdeveloped and the industrialized countries has continuously improved. One of the conventions that provided a framework of xcoperation between the North and South, more particularly between the European Community (EC)—the EU's predecessor—and former British, Dutch, and French

colonies in the developing world, was the Lomé Convention. Lomé Convention, first signed in February 1975 in Lomé (Togo) was an agreement trade and aid between the European Union (EU) and 70 African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries. The agreement enabled most ACP agricultural and mineral exports to enter the EC free of tariff. In addition, the EC provided assistance to ACP nations to protect against fluctuations in the world prices of primary commodities of agricultural and mineral exports. It also committed $3.8 billion toward aid and investment in ACP countries. Subsequent renewals of the Lomé Convention, i.e. Lomé II, have steadily increased aid and investment expenditures, which amounted to $17.9 billion in 1995.

Most observers agree the Lomé Convention has lost its effectiveness in addressing problems of poverty and underdevelopment in ACP nations. The global trend toward liberalization of international trade and the moving away from trade preferences of any sort have undermined the special relationship between EU and ACP nations. While the goal of the Lomé Convention was to expand trade between ACP and European nations, the ACP's share of European markets has actually declined since 1975. ACP nations have also found themselves increasingly at odds with industrialized nations and other developing nations over the issue of preferential access to European markets. In the 1990s, for instance, Caribbean banana farmers feared that more open global trade would enable corporate plantations in Central America to flood European markets with cheaper bananas, with devastating effects on Caribbean economies. Negotiations in 1993 led to an agreement maintaining the Caribbean producers' preferential access. However, the controversy divided nations within the EU and led the United States, which represented corporate growers of bananas in non-ACP countries, to file a complaint with the World Trade Organization.

In response to these challenges, the European Union has essentially abandoned the tradition of a special relationship between EU and ACP nations. In 1995 negotiations with ACP nations and in subsequent statements, the EU has committed itself to a more pragmatic relationship based upon principles of free trade, open markets, private enterprise, diminished aid contributions, and tighter controls over these contributions. The 1995 negotiations between the EU and the ACP nations also tied aid more directly to a nation's quality of governance and respect for democracy and human rights.

1.2 The New International Economic Order

Dear learner, what do you think is the NIEO?

The third world membership in different international institutions is a reflection of urgent demand to foster their solidarity and momentum for the change in the international political economy. This is often attributed to the prevailing agreement among all international agencies that drastic action is

required to improve conditions in third world countries, including urban and rural public work projects to attack joblessness and underemployment, institutional reforms essential for the redistribution of economic power, agrarian reform, tax reform, and the reform of public funding. But, in reality, political and social obstacles to reform are a part of the very nature of the international order and of most third world regimes. Hence, virtually all efforts of existing institutions and structures, have failed to solve the problem of underdevelopment.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was established in 1964, spearheaded by 77 countries of the South, known as Group of 77 (G-77). UNCTAD served as a mechanism for dialogue and negotiation between the North and South in trade, finance and other area of economic development.

In UNCTAD I, the LDCs have proposed the establishment of the international trade organization to replace GATT. Under the initiatives of UNCTAD, the LDCs are said to have been able to gradually secure some concessions and preferential treatments, i.e. generalized system of preferences [GSP], on tariffs for their export to the developed nations. The UNCTAD conference held in New Delhi in 1971 suggested that one percent of the national income of industrialized countries should be devoted to aiding the third world. That figure has never been reached, or even approximated. In 1972 the Santiago (Chile) UNCTAD set a goal of a 6 percent economic growth rate in the 1970's for the underdeveloped countries. But this, too, was not achieved. The living conditions endured by the overwhelming majority of the 3 billion people who inhabit the poor countries have either not noticeably changed since 1972 or have actually deteriorated. In 1973, the OPEC oil cartel, that raised the price of oil by 400 percent, helped enhancement of attention to the third world concerns by temporarily altering the global balance of political and economic power, as it jolted the developed economies. This critical event, by extension complicated the development dilemma. The OPEC leverage resulted in six special sessions of the UN General Assembly in the establishment of what is called the New International Economic Order [NIEO].

NIEO was essentially designed to facilitate the pace of development among the LDCs and change the unequal economic balance between the North and South. Unlike previous efforts, the NIEO was not seen as an attempt to fine-tune the existing institutions, but as an effort to evaluate the development issue on the top of the international agenda; changing the respective institutional structures and making them more conducive to LDCs development concerns.

1.1 The Political Economy of Third World Development

What do you think explains the development of what is often called “Asian tigers”? And what do you think is the implication of this for development theory?

Much of the north’s resistance to the efforts of the south to restructure the IPE reflects the North’s conviction about the functioning of the liberal model of development, which places emphasis on the market. Among both scholars and public officials, there are strong disagreements regarding the relative importance of the state and the market in economic development; these disagreements have been central to the conflict between the developed and the less developed countries. Throughout much of the postwar era, a debate has raged between the neoclassical proponents of reliance on the market and the proponents of state intervention.

In the early postwar period (1945–1970), development economics, which emphasized the role of the state, was preeminent. Development economists argued that developing countries required an activist government; moreover, they believed that the international community should play a central role in LDC development.

Then, during the 1970s and 1980s, the neoclassical belief in the free market triumphed both in academia and in international institutions, and the ideology of “neoliberalism” and the doctrine of “structural adjustment” became dominant in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the “theory of the developmental state” arose to challenge neoliberalism. Differing with the policy prescriptions of neoliberalism but consistent with development economics, the theory of the developmental state emphasized that the state should play the central role in economic development. The controversy between proponents of the “developmental state” and of neoliberalism has focused on differing interpretations of the rapid and extraordinary economic success of the Newly Industrializing Countries (NIEs) of East and Southeast Asia. Neoliberalism argues that the success of these economies has been due to their reliance on the market and the minimal role of the state in the economy. The theory of the developmental state, on the other hand, credits the central role of the state for the rapid industrialization of the East Asian economies.

This position gained many adherents among non economist scholars of economic development. Then, in 1997, the East Asian financial crisis shifted the weight of the argument to the neoliberal emphasis on the importance of the market and the dangers of state intervention in the economy.

Proponents of the developmental state strongly disputed this assessment and argued that the crisis was caused by international economic and political pressures. And so the debate continues.

To a significant degree, the fate of the great mass of mankind located in LDCs will be affected by whether the state-centric or market- centric approach to economic development is ultimately dominant.

To understand the nature of this crucial debate about the best path to economic development, one must begin at its origins in the early post–World War II era. You have been introduced to this debate in your course Development Theories and Practices and hence we are not going to repeat that debate here for the want of time and space. Rather we will only concentrate on the notion of the developmental state.

1.2 Theory of the "Developmental State"

What is the underlying theoretical basis of the notion "developmental state"?
It is Chalmers Johnson (1982) that used the term "developmental state" to analyze the whole process of industrialization of Japan. Developmental state is often conceptualized between open liberal economy and a central-planned model. It is, then, within this framework that Meredith Woo-coming (1991) described the theory of developmental state as an explanation for the East Asian socio-economic transformation. Developmental state, sometimes called a plan rational capitalist system, conjoining private ownership with the state guidance seems to be an interventionist state. Explicitly stated, the developmental state is an embodiment of a normative or moral ambition to use interventionist power of the state to guide investment in a way that promotes a certain vision of national economy.

A historical insight in to the subject matter hints that developmental state existed in Bismarck's Prussia and in Japan during the Meiji era. These governments followed state policy designed in development path favoring a state interventionism over a liberal open market; whether in the form of East Asian economies or what later became the continental European model of capitalist welfare state. However, it is the research on East Asian that prompted the theory formulation and allowed its implementation and scholarly debate and literature. Its roots, nonetheless, are drawn from the theory of mercantilism advocating a substantial degree protectionism and intervention of the state in the economy.

CHAPTER FIVE

Globalization and Environment

.1 The Concept of ‘Globalization’

Dear learner, what do you understand by the term globalization?

The concept of ‘globalization’ is not only the most contested and controversial, it is also the most confusing topic in the social sciences. Globalization constitutes what is known as the defining ‘buzzwords of our time’. It is appears to be one of the most widely used but less understood. Indeed, no one is capable of providing a precise or single definition of globalization.

Anthony Giddens defined ‘globalization’ as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. Emphasizing on the intensity and scope of these linkages, F. Jameson further defines the concept globalization in a way that reflects the sense of an immense enlargement of world communication, as well as of the horizon of a world market, both of which seem far more tangible and immediate than in earlier stages of modernity. For D. Held, globalization may be thought of as a process (or set of process) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity velocity and impact generating trans-continental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power. Hence, globalization as a concept refers to what Roland Robertson attributed to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole. In the same venue, argues J. Mittelman, the term globalization implies the temporal and spatial compressions, i.e. the time and space aspects, of social relations.

Accordingly, no simple and straightforward definition can be offered, as it is differently utilized depending on varying contexts. In very crude sense, globalization can be defined as a concept that refers to a variety of complex economic, political, cultural, ideological, and environmental forces that are rapidly altering our experience of the world. Since its earliest appearance in the 1960s, globalization has been used in both academic and non-academic circles to imply a process, a condition, a system, a force, and an age. Given that these competing labels have very different meanings, their indiscriminate usage is often obscure and invites confusion.

The term “globalization,” came into popular usage in the second half of the 1980s in connection with the huge surge of foreign direct investment (FDI) by multinational corporations. This time, ‘globalization’ is understood as a comprehensive term used to describe and explain the emergence of a global society in which events in one part of the world quickly come to have significance for people in other parts of the world. It describes the growing linkages that connect individuals, communities, businesses, and governments around the world.

Throughout the 1990s, the components of the subject matter of ‘globalization’ came to include, but not confined to, the study of democratization, development, market deregulation, privatization, welfare reform, new security agendas (such as immigration and drugs), and the general retreat of all aspects of the state from policy intervention. Today, there are some common manifestations of globalization processes.

Globalization refers to a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant.

1.2 Phases of ‘Globalization’

When do you think globalization started?

The temporal dimension, i.e. the historical origins, of globalization is the subject of on-going contest. While many scholars situate the origins of globalization in the modern era (post 1990), others regard it as a phenomenon with a long history. The most extreme proponents of a deep historical origin for globalization argue that globalization has been in existence since the rise of trade links among ancient civilizations of the third millennium B.C.

Others have perceived an early form of globalization in an increasing articulation of commercial links among the ancient empires (like Roman Empire, China and others). Still others regard the Islamic Golden Age as important in this early stage of globalization, when long distance and explorers established a sustained interconnection of their economies. Besides, the advent of the Mongol Empire, thereby forming the so-called Pax-Mongolica in the 13th C had several other notable globalizing effects. It witnessed, inter alia, the creation of the first mode communication in a way of international postal service. These pre-modern phases of global or hemispheric exchange are sometimes known as archaic globalization.

Global integration continued, in the late 15th century, for instance with the discovery of the New World, i.e. America in 1492 by Christopher Columbus, during the era of Pax-Iberiana [of the two Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula -Portugal and Castile]. The Europeans began sending of the first exploratory voyages around the Horn of Africa, and the colonized

Americas affecting global events concerning ecology, agriculture, and culture in history. This phase is sometimes known as proto-globalization.

Globalization in its modern form was the development of the 19th century with the advent of 'industrialization'. Industrialization, among other things, allowed cheap production of household items using economies of scale, while rapid population growth created sustained demand for commodities. Globalization in this period was certainly shaped by nineteenth-century imperialism that coincided the era of Pax-Britannica. It was in this period that areas of sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific islands were incorporated into the world system. Meanwhile, the conquest of new parts of the globe, notably sub-Saharan Africa, by Europeans yielded valuable raw materials and natural resources for new industries.

The first phase of "modern globalization" began to break down at the beginning of the 20th century and ended in late 1920s and early 1930s, with the First World War. In the middle decades of the twentieth century, globalization was largely driven by the global expansion of multinational corporations based in the United States and Europe, and worldwide exchange of new developments in science, technology and products, with most significant inventions of this time having their origins in the Western world. Some have even criticized the financial forces of globalization as a factor in creating World War I that finally came to an end during the Great Depression in the.

The second phase of what came to be known as "modern globalization", since World War II, is largely the result of planning by politicians to break down borders hampering trade, to increase prosperity and interdependence thereby decreasing the chance of future war. Three key institutions, labeled by a renowned political economist, Robert Gilpin, the Unholy Trinity' helped shape the current era of globalization: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Throughout most of the last half of the twentieth century, the Cold War and its alliance structures provided the framework within which the world economy functioned. Hence, this period marked the hegemony of the USA, i.e. Pax-Americana. The United States and its major allies generally subordinated potential economic conflicts to the need to maintain political and security cooperation. Emphasis on security interests and alliance cohesion provided the political glue that held the world economy together and facilitated compromises of important national differences over economic issues.

The end of the Cold War and the growth of economic globalization coincided with a "new industrial revolution", or sometimes known as the ICT (Information and Communication

technology) revolution, based on the computer and the rise of the information or internet economy. Technological developments are transforming almost every aspect of economic, political, and social affairs as computing power provides an impetus to the world economy. Nevertheless, globalization is by no means solely manifested in economic and political integration of nations of the world. Let us briefly discuss the dimensions of globalization.

1.3 Dimensions of Globalization

Globalization is a multi-dimensional concept that makes its strict definition thorny. Every time one comes across the term, one has to look at the context in which it is being used. To begin, for instance, with a simple dichotomy: a political scientist would certainly utilize the term differently from the context in which, say, an economist or a geographer might deploy the term 'globalization'. With this in mind, eight major dimensions of globalization could be identified.

1. Economic globalization: this refers to the intensification and stretching of economic interrelations across the globe
2. Financial globalization- this implies the instantaneous world market in financial products and transactions in world cities across the globe continuously twenty-four hours a day via the privatization of government-owned banks and financial institutions. Remittances (money sent home by workers to their home countries) have become an important source of income for many countries.
3. Political globalization-. These processes raise an important set of political issues pertaining to the principle of state sovereignty, the growing impact of intergovernmental organizations, and the future prospects for regional and global governance; obviously responding to the evolution of political arrangements beyond the framework of the nation-state, and thus breaking new conceptual ground.
4. Technological globalization - this dimension of globalization describes the combination of computer and communication technologies and their satellite linkages that have created time-space matrix, the instantaneous transmission of information across the world.
5. Cultural globalization- refers to the intensification and expansion of cultural flows across the globe. The exploding network of cultural interconnections and interdependencies through symbolic construction, articulation, and dissemination of meaning of values in the forms of language, music, and images in the last decades suggests that cultural practices lie at the very heart of contemporary globalization. Items common to our everyday lives—such as the clothes we wear, the food we eat, and the cars we drive—are the products of globalization. Cultural globalization,

hence, refers to the consumption of 'global products across the world, often implying homogenizing effects as with 'cocacol-ization', ‘jeans-ization’ and McWorld.

6. Geographical globalization is about the reordering of space replacing the 'inter-national by trans-state practices in an increasing 'borderless', often viewed as a network of 'world cities'. This is clearly manifested in the insignificance of the physical space, i.e. distance, easing the trans-national mobility of people and other resources without any difficulty due to factors such as sophisticated communication facilities and reduction of all necessary costs. This view is tightened as the world seems to be abridged into what is now termed as the “global village”.
7. Sociological globalization is the new imagination that sees the emergence of a single 'world society", an interconnected social whole that transcends national societies. Humanity, many argue, is moving rapidly toward a politically borderless world. Hence, we must not forget that globalization also refers to people becoming increasingly conscious of growing manifestations of social interdependence and the enormous acceleration of social interactions.
8. Ecological Globalization is the concern that current social trends will outstrip the earth's capacity to survive as a living planet; it aspires to be a “green political globalization”. Effect of environmental degradation is shaping the global biosphere. Although at a significantly varying degrees, all countries’ economic activities are intensifying the real danger of severe pollution. The world’s ecological capacity is becoming insufficient to satisfy the ambitions and aspirations of the world population in a sustainable way. In the long-term, with the increasing demography of the world, these effects can lead to increased global conflict (of all against all) over dwindling resources where the worst possible scenario would be a Malthusian catastrophe.

These dimensions are interconnected in many complex ways and are themselves subject much academic debate and animosity.

1.4 Globalization, Transnational Economy and the Nation-states

Dear learner, what do you think are the implications of the phenomena of globalization on the international system dominated by nation states?

One of the dominant themes in the study of international political economy (IPE) is the persistent clash between the increasing interdependence of the international economy and the desire of individual states to maintain their economic independence and political autonomy. At the same time that states want the benefits of free trade, foreign investment, and the like, they also desire to protect their political autonomy, cultural values, and social structures. However, the logic of the market system is to expand geographically and to incorporate more and more aspects of a society within the price mechanism, thus making domestic matters subject to forces external to the society. In time, if unchecked, the integration of an economy

into the world economy, the intensifying pressures of foreign competition, and the necessity to be efficient in order to survive economically could undermine the independence of a society and force it to adopt new values and forms of social organization.

Globalization is an inert-play of several actors that tend to produce a meaningful impact. These actors are: nation-states, firms, international governmental organizations (IGOs), international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), a host of other associations and individuals.

A state is defined as an organized political community. Recognition of the state's claim to independence by other states, enables it to enter into international agreements, this is not only important for the establishment of its statehood, but equally important that a state can take part in the activity of nations. Because of this need for state to enter into international agreements, globalization seemed inevitable. The interdependence of nations and states created a global community. Equally, however, the artificial division of planetary social space into ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ spheres corresponds to people's collective identities based on the creation of common themes. People's belief in the superiority of their own nation has supplied the mental energy required for large-scale warfare – just as the enormous productive capacities of the modern state have provided the material means necessary to fight the ‘total wars’ of the last century.

Fear that economic globalization and the integration of national markets are destroying or could destroy the political, economic, and cultural autonomy of national societies has become widespread. The clash between the evolving economic and technical interdependence of national societies and the continuing compartmentalization of the world political system into sovereign independent states is one of the dominant motifs of contemporary writings on IPE. Whereas powerful market forces (trade, finance, and investment) jump political boundaries and integrate societies, governments frequently restrict and channel their economic activities to serve the interests of their own societies and of powerful groups within those societies. Whereas the logic of the market is to locate economic activities wherever they will be most efficient and profitable, the logic of the state is to capture and control the process of economic growth and capital accumulation in order to increase the power and economic welfare of the nation.

Part- IV politics in the Horn and Middle East

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

There is no one and the same definitions for politics. It is approached differently because it has loaded with different interpretations. For example, Henry Adams defined politics as a systematic organization of hatreds. It is a dirty word that conjures up images of trouble, disruption and even violence on the one hand, and deception, manipulation and lies on the other. Hence, based on Henry Adam‘s definition politics is considered as unsavory, bad and nasty. Smauel Johnson has also defined politics as nothing more than a means of rising in the world. It is an instrument to assume political power or something to be demanded. This definition stipulates that politics has both instrumental and end values. For example, it has instrumental value for politicians. Inversely, politics has an end in itself for political scientists and academics. Again, David Easton defined politics as an authoritative allocation of values. It is through politics rule of law can be ensured, justice can be institutionalized in every aspect and equality can be ascertained.

Furthermore, politics is the exercise of power, the science of government, the making of collective decisions and the allocation of scarce resources. It deals about how power is exercised, resources are allocated and decisions are made. This connotes that politics is the study of the ways in which countries are governed. Government and its functioning, political processes, institutions and behaviours are the concern of politics. It generally deals with the formal and informal issues of countries. In its broadest sense, politics is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live.

1.1 **Countries in the Horn of Africa and their Common and Specific Features**

Defining the Horn of Africa

The **Horn of Africa** (**HoA**), also known as the **Somali Peninsula**, is a large peninsula in East Africa that protrudes for hundreds of kilometers into the Arabian Sea, and lies along the southern side of the Gulf of Aden. It is the easternmost projection of the African continent.

Narrow Definition of HOA: It is located on the easternmost part of the African mainland; it is the fourth largest peninsula in the world. It is composed of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and Djibouti, whose cultures have been linked throughout their long history. It lies along the southern boundary of the Red Sea and extends hundreds of kilometers into the Guardafui Channel, Gulf of Aden, and Indian Ocean and shares a maritime border with the Arabian Peninsula of Western Asia. The Horn of Africa is defined member state of broadly to include the current states of IGAD (Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda).

The term ―Horn of Africa‖ is not only a geographical expression; it is **rather a geopolitical concept**. Its extent is therefore fluid and depends on the geopolitics of the region. By 2008,

the population of the ―Greater‖ Horn of Africa was more than 213 million. On average of 79% of the population of the region is engaged in agriculture and 21% in the industry (World Bank, 2009). It is a contemporary history of how politicians, generals and insurgents bargain over money and power, and use of war to achieve their goals.

The Defining

Common and Specific features of the Horn of Africa Some are convinced that the Horn of Africa is endowed with dynamic youthful and entrepreneurial population and an abundance of natural resources. Yet, for too many years, the people of this region have been suffering from hunger, conflicts, poverty and growing inequalities and instabilities. In spite of some sectoral and national endeavors, the Horn is one of the poorest regions in the world and characterized by commonly: Forced migration, inter- and intra-state conflicts, environmental degradation, disenfranchised communities, unstable livelihood, high population, recurrent climate shock, vulnerability to drought and hungry, conflicts over resources as well as steady humanitarian crisis are the major and complex features explaining the situation.

Though, all horn states relatively share social and cultural values developed from a centuries-old tradition of interrelationships, common religious practices and economic linkages. The region is characterized by long existing dispersed settlements of people. For example,

- Somalis have been scattered in Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia.
- Cunama- found in Ethiopia and Eritrea
- Afar-------exists in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea
- Nuer-------situated in Ethiopia and Sudan.

In religious aspects, Islam and Christianity are dominant in the region. For example,

- Ethiopia dominantly adopted Islam and Christianity
- Eritrea----Islam by lowlanders and Christianity by highlanders
- Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan—dominantly Islam
- South Sudan-----dominantly Christianity.

Moreover, the region is characterized by the prevalence of ancient civilization and place of anthropological sites. Besides, the horn of Africa is known by plethora of internally displaced persons. For instance, internally displaced persons in Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia and Uganda accounted 2.74 million in 2008, out of which 1.3 million people were displaced in Somalia. It is about 4 million people were internally displaced in Sudan alone in 2003, virtually Eritrea‘s entire population. War, famine and other humanitarian crisis are continuously threatened the horn.

The people in the region are predominantly dependent on agriculture, i.e, crop cultivation and cattle rearing. Trans-boundary Rivers like Nile, Tekeze, Wabi-Shebele and Genale are found. The prevalence of huge poverty, food crisis and human insecurity are the main features of the region. The region is identified as the most deprived and poorest in Africa characterized by low per capital income, low level of HDI, low life expectancy, bad governance, illiteracy, poor infrastructural development, high mortality rate and emigrants. The people are unable to ascertain basic human needs and affected by epidemic disease. Besides, the continuing devastation of the environment is progressing at an alarming rate. This makes the region prone to deadly droughts which hamper crop and livestock production. These droughts

resulted in food deficits each year, thus, making the Horn of Africa one of the most food insecure regions of the world.

Specific Features are:

1. **The colonial legacy**

Large parts of the Horn of Africa were colonized by Italy: Eritrea (1880–1941), the Italian Somaliland (1890–1960) and a brief occupation of Ethiopia (1936– 1941). Britain established in North Somalia (British Somaliland) and Sudan, and France in Djibouti (French Somaliland). The colonial legacy and its continuation bear strong effects on the peoples and nations of the Horn of Africa. The arbitrariness of borders erected by colonial powers and the co-existence of similar nationalities divided by these borders have intensified the problems and at times contributed to wars.
The national liberation wars within Ethiopia, war between Somalia from 1977 to 1978, and the recent war between Ethiopia and Eritrea from 1998-2000 are a few of the examples.

In **Sudan,** the South had faced complete neglect during British colonial administration. According to M. Khalil, the condition was only worsened after independence in 1956 ―thanks to the prejudice and short-sightedness of Northern politicians. Memories of past slavery and present injustice and marginalization have produced persistent feeling of resentment.

In Somalia, the divided memory of Somali-speaking people under British, Italian and French rule was further hurt when, ten years after independence, Siad Bare seized power by a *coup d'état* ―ushering two decades of misrule characterized by a sinister mix of clanism, nepotism and an ignorant understanding of scientific socialism.‖ What followed Bare's departure in 1990 was complete anarchy in most parts of Somalia. The once British ruled part of Somalia declared independence without securing international recognition.

Ethiopia"s historical legacies, the inclusion of the nations and peoples of the South was done by means of conquest, which was accompanied by marginalization, oppression and discrimination of these people. Subsequent resistance to the anachronistic/out of date polity led to the demolition of the autocratic system in 1974.

The system promoted predatory political culture of the few at the expense of economic, social and political marginalization of the majority. In most of these cases, states installed at independence pursued policies that were remotely based on the needs of the people. They focused on state building rather than catering for the needs of the people. Though they were largely non-democratic and unenlightened, they were supported by the logic of the Cold War. At one time or another, the major Cold War rivals, namely, the Soviet Russia and the USA, interchangeably supported tyrants and dictators in Somalia or Ethiopia. Ethiopia's history is largely marked by conflicts. The rest of the region also faces several concurrent problems.

2. **Regionalization of conflict**

The Horn of Africa is one of the most complex and conflicted regions of the world. Each of the countries of the Horn—Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Sudan— suffers from

protracted political strife, arising from local and national grievance, identity politics and regional inter-state rivalries. In almost all parts of the region, there are substantial segments of populations that are marginalized, excluded and discriminated against.

In Ethiopia, the problem of nations and nationalities is so critical that it is one of the reasons for the rise of national liberation front‘s including the Tigrean people liberation front (TPLF), the Eritrean people liberation front (EPLF), the Oromo liberation front (OLF), the Sidama liberation front (SLF), and the western Somali liberation front (WSLF). The multiplicity of these fronts tells any political analyst that there is a serious problem, or a grievance powerful enough to ignite the imagination of these societies, mobilizing and motivating them towards resistance.

The situation in **Sudan** resembles that of Ethiopia. The conflict in Sudan is cast in terms of ethnicity, culture and religion. The **Southern Sudanese** struggle for autonomy and the reconstruction of state has taken nearly two decades with devastating impacts on people and forgone economic progress. As the result of the lack of appropriate legitimacy, states depend on coercion and repression, which in effect leads to rebellion and more repression. Oppression and repression cause reactions and resistance, which in turn take either peaceful or violent forms. When peaceful mechanisms of redress are frustrated, dissent takes violent forms. This invites more violence while states seek to criminalize dissent rather than seeking political solutions or addressing the real problems. As the result, violent confrontations became the dominant modes of existence in Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan.

The expansion of conflict has multifarious implications. *Intra-state conflict develops into inter-state conflict.* It expands to regional levels and even beyond attracting the intervention of international forces . It is increasingly clear that the Horn of Africa is a region in which conflicts are linked and feed off one another. For example, one aspect of the conflict in Somalia is the proxy war being fought there between neighboring rival countries Ethiopia and Eritrea. This has often made the usage of terms like ―civil war‖ or ―border war‖ questionable to describe conflict in the Horn of Africa.

3. Socio economic conditions

The Horn of Africa is among the poorest regions in the world. The GNP per capita income is about $100.00 per annum. According to the 2005 UN Development Index (HDI): out of 177 countries the horn countries stand at the bottom of the list: Djibouti 150th, Eritrea 161st, and Ethiopia 170th, Somalia (Data not available). The people of the HOA suffer from the plight of diseases such as malaria, TB, and HIV/Aids from which hundreds of thousands die every year. The devastation of the environment is progressing at an alarming rate. Life expectancy in the Horn of Africa is 40 years. Governance in the HOA is characterized by lack of democracy and abuse of individual and human rights.

Moreover, the region is regularly stricken by natural catastrophes, such as droughts or floods that hit rural areas particularly hard. As a result, the region has some of the world's highest levels of malnutrition. Consequently, the region is continuously threatened with a major humanitarian crisis. Between 1982 and 1992, about two million people died in the Horn of Africa due to this combination of war and famine.

Strategic Importance of the Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa is one of the most important and strategic areas of Africa and the global economy. It is a bridge between Africa and the Middle East, as well as a gateway to the oilfields of the Persian Gulf.

For 150 years, the Horn has also been a theater for strategic power struggles—the British Empire‘s demand to control the Red Sea, Egypt‘s attempt to control the Nile Waters, the Cold War confrontation in which each of the principal countries of the Horn switched sides at crucial junctures, and most recently the U.S. Administration‘s ―Global War on Terror.‖ The Horn is also a region that has been at an historical crossroads. Traders have travelled through the region, north to south and west to east.

1.2 An Overview and Historical Background of Horn of Africa- Pre and Post-Colonial Brief History

1.2.1 Pre- Colonialism Period

Pre-colonial Africa was as varied as the continent itself. Different circumstances produced different societies with different traditions, customs and politics, and these societies rose, fell and adapted as the centuries passed. Despite this variety, it is possible to divide political organisation amongst these communities into two broad categories: states and stateless societies.

Low population densities, and the production of relatively small economic surpluses, hindered the formation of states in many parts of pre-colonial Africa. This was particularly the case in central and southern regions of the continent. These stateless societies, however, did not lack political organisation. Westerners, steeped as they are in state traditions, often regard the lack of state institutions as a sign of backwardness. This simply was not the case. The political systems that these stateless societies developed were well adapted to the environment they served. Considerable evidence of sophisticated forms of representation, justice and accountability among these communities has been unearthed. In many cases, confederations of villages provided security and a community for many thousands of Africans. Several of these larger stateless societies developed institutions and hierarchies that evolved, over time, into states. This occurred most commonly, though certainly not exclusively, in West Africa. The stimulus for state formation was often the production of an economic surplus. This wealth enabled communities to sustain leadership groups, as well as administrative structures to support these governors. The states of Ghana and Mali, for example, were built on the profits from trans-Saharan trade. Further east, it was agricultural surpluses, from the fertile lands of the Nile River and the central Great Lakes, which helped establish ancient Egypt and the kingdom of Buganda. Elsewhere, the empires of Ashanti and Benin were founded on mining and metalwork skills. States could also be built around monarchical authority, religious affiliation or, in the case of the Zulu nation, military prowess.

Along the east coast of Africa an Indian Ocean trade conducted by Bantu-speaking peoples existed about 2000 years ago; and it received a great impetus from the Arabs after the rise of Islam in the 7th century. The Bantu-speaking Africans were called Swahili by the visiting Arabs; and the name remained attached to them and to their descendants of mixed Bantu-Arab stock, and to their language - now the common language of East Africa.

In the 9th-10th centuries the Swahili adopted Islam; and, as the Moslem power and influence spread to all the lands bordering the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, so a string of trading city states arose on the east coast of Africa, from Somalia in the north to Mozambique in the south.

By the 13th century these cities were entering a golden age of prosperity, which lasted throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. Ships from all over the eastern world - India, Malaysia, Indonesia, and as far as China, were welcomed in their harbours, bringing silk and cotton cloth, pottery, porcelain and beads in exchange for gold and ivory. Among the most important and powerful of these ports were Mogadishu (in Somalia), Malindi and Mombasa (in Kenya), Zanzibar and Kilwa (in Tanzania). The most famous and imposing was Kilwa, situated on a small island. Kilwa became the main centre of the East African gold and ivory trade. A finely built city was presided over by the King of Kilwa in his luxurious cliff-top palace. From the wealth derived from control of the gold trade the King minted a currency of his own.

In the 16th century, in the north-east the Somalis spread southwards beyond Mogadishu, and transferred their capital to Harar (now in Ethiopia). In the 17th century they-and the Ethiopians were harassed by the Gallas, another Hamitic people with an infusion of Negro blood, who inhabit northern Kenya and some of south eastern Ethiopia. Though driven by the Somalia from Somalia, the Gallas so weakened the Kingdom of Adel that it broke up into a number of small states, Zeila becoming a dependency of Yemen.

Apart from all these African kingdoms there were many peoples in Africa who had not reached this stage of political organisation, or saw no necessity for it. Among these, in East Africa, were the Kikuyu of the Kenya highlands and the Luo of Kenya and Uganda, and the nomadic Masai of Kenya and Tanganyika. The Hamitic Somalis are thought to have come from Yemen in southern Arabia in perhaps the 8th century A.D. They settled in the Zeila area, on the Gulf of Aden, and their history was greatly influenced by neighbouring Ethiopia. By the 13th century they had formed a number of Moslem kingdoms, of which the strongest was the Kingdom of Adel. In the following two centuries there were many wars between the Somali states and Ethiopia, resulting in most of them, but not Adel, becoming vassals of the Ethiopians.

In 1497-98 the Portuguese Vasco da Gama sailed round the south of Africa and on to India, calling at the East African ports Malindi and Mombasa on the way. When da Gama returned to Portugal he described the great wealth of the Swahili cities; and subsequently the Kings of Portugal sent fleets to capture and loot these cities. The Swahili trading community was largely ruined, and some of the cities were abandoned. But some survived, as did the Swahili culture; and at the end of the 17th century the Portuguese were expelled from the East African ports north of Mozambique by Arabs from Oman in south eastern Arabia.

In the 19th century, while the Atlantic slave trade was dwindling, another slave trade grew up in East Africa. The Arabs who ruled in Zanzibar and other places on the east coast, raided far into the interior for slaves, in partnership with the Swahili traders. Some were sold to Arabian dealers, some to the French for work in the Indian Ocean islands, some even to North America. However, by the 1880s this trade, like the Atlantic trade, had ceased.

The Swahili area of the East African coast (Kenya and Tanganyika) was controlled by the Arabs from Oman. In 1832 the Sultan of Oman transferred his court to Zanzibar; and the Sultans of Zanzibar extended their influence along the coast from Mogadishu to the Portuguese-controlled territory of Mozambique. Inland were the kingdoms of Buganda, Rwanda and Burundi, and the Kikuyu, Masai and Luo tribes. Buganda was one of the most advanced kingdoms in East Africa. The people lived a peaceful and orderly existence in spacious dwellings - which, in the absence of suitable stone or clay, were constructed of grass and reeds.

Like the whole parts of Africa, modern states of the horn of Africa are created by colonialism except Ethiopia. The main colonial powers involved in the Horn were Italy and England. France weighed in as a colonial power with a few possessions (the small French Somalia, the current Republic of Djibouti), but also because it competed with Italy and England for influence in the region.

The Large part of the region was colonized by Italy: Eritrea, Italian Somali Land and brief occupation of Ethiopia for short period of years (from 1936-1941). Britain colonized British Somali land (the present day northern parts of Somalia) and Sudan as an Aglo-Egptian Condominium Rule. The remaining is Djibouti, the smallest portion of the Horn Region Colonized by France named as French Somali Land.

1.2.2 Post-Colonialism period

The Postcolonial Realities and Challenges in the Horn

Formal European colonialism lasted in most of the Horn of Africa for less than a hundred years. In the long history of a people and a region, this is a brief span. However, this is not to say that it had no impact and significance. Thus, in this chapter two important sets of questions will be addressed. First, what legacies has colonialism left or what impact did it make on the region? Second, what is the significance of colonialism for the Horn of Africa? what is the place of the colonial era within the wider context of the Horn of African history?

Colonialism is crucial to point out from the outset that changes in European economic conditions in the later half of the 1880's contributed to empire building and colonial

expansion largely in order to safeguard overseas sources of raw material and cheap labour, and establish safe and profitable havens for the export of European goods and capital. Colonialism as the Oxford English Dictionary describes is 'a settlement in a new country: ...

―body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendents and successors, as along as the connection with the parent state is kept up". This definition remarkably avoids any reference to people other than the colonizers and of any implication of encounter between peoples. In reality, however, the process of forming a community in a new land necessarily meant un forming or re-forming the existing communities. The reforming process involved a wide range of practices including trade, plunder, negotiation, warfare, genocide,, enslavement and rebellions. Therefore, colonialism can best be defined as the conquest and control of a certain community by other people, with their land and good.

The Scramble for Africa and the Creation of Colonial Entities in the Horn of Africa

The metaphor 'scramble for Africa' suggests that rapid and confused activity and, a rush forward, a sort of treasure hunt. The opening up of Africa in the nineteenth century was done with haste as European explorers, missionaries, and military men brought European politics, culture, and confusion to a hitherto largely unrecognized. ―The Dark Continent‖, it would appear, was suddenly suffused with light suddenly suffused with light. Whether 'scramble' can be a good description of what happened in Africa between 1880s and 1914, the partition was actually the most important political development of the European colonial phase of African history. It was a development which had wider significance in suggesting the future lines of African political and social patterns. What triggered this dramatic phase? The *'unprecedented and unrelated combination of events: France's invasion of Tunisia (1881), British occupation of Egypt (1882), Belgium's King Leopold's offensive in the Congo (early*

1880s); and Germany's sudden taking of Cameroon,, Southwest Africa, Tanganyika, and Togoland (1884-1885)' triggered the scramble.
The cumulative result of these developments was heightened tension and a surge of reactive and preemptive colonization. Moreover, between November 1884 and February 1885 a conference was held in Berlin to address the problem raised by this initial round of occupying territories.

The Conference was attended by delegations of fourteen countries including the United States. This Conference 'set the ground rules for European colonization by establishing the doctrine of **effective occupation: to** *receive international recognition of a claim to a territory, effective occupation had to be demonstrated*. With this doctrine delegates hoped to end the indiscriminate practice of simply asserting a 'degree of influence' over a large interior space by establishing toehold in adjoining coastal strip. However, the real partition of Africa did not result from the Conference but from a series of bilateral agreements between 1884 and 1890, and an incremental occupation of the different parts of the continent.

In this process of the scramble for Africa the Horn of Africa was partitioned among Britain, Italy and France. The British occupied Sudan and part of Somalia; Italy occupied part of Ethiopia and created Eritrea as a colonial entity, and it also occupied part of Somalia; and France occupied Djibouti. As a result, the Horn of Africa was divided into five colonial territories (***Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Eritrea and French, Italian and British Somaliland),***

and independent Ethiopia (except for five years of Italian occupation). At the end of the partition the political map of the region was completely changed.

With the background of mental enslavement, orchestrated ethnic divisions, invented ethnicities and nations, and cultivated loyalty to colonial masters, colonies in the zone became states and plunged into prolonged disputes. Since the agitation for independence had aimed at removing white political rule in specific territories, it did not challenge the colonial structures that were inherently divisive. This inherent conflict between the remnants of colonial attitudes and the desire to cut clean from the colonial past constitutes an aspect of post-coloniality. It is a struggle on the cultural and political _what‘ that should be acceptable from the two _pasts‘ in the light of the present. The end result is a borrowing from both the pre-colonial and colonial past in order to shape new African futures. And this has been the problem, one of postcolonial identities designed to fit colonial structures.

Nowhere was this attempted fusing of the pre-colonial and the colonial past more pronounced than the discussions at the founding of the Organization of African Unity, the OAU, where delegates debated how much of colonial legacies they should accept. One group was aggressive as it adopted the concept of elasticity of new states and argued that colonial territorial boundaries needed dismantling because few Africans, if any, had participated in determining those boundaries. Such states had irredentist desires on their neighbours and they included Morocco, targeting Western Sahara and parts of Algeria. It also strangely included both Ethiopia and Somalia that were targeting each other. Ethiopia‘s intentions for Somalia were conveyed quietly but Somalia was loud in its desire to absorb all outlying ethnic Somali-occupied territories beyond the official Somali borders, namely, French Somaliland, the Ogaden in Ethiopia, and north-eastern Kenya.

The zone has not known much internal peace partly because of two reasons:

 First, the idea of state failed to converge with the idea of nation in many of the countries. Given that acceptance of the fact of any state is crucial to the survival of the state (Goldsmith and Posner 2005:4), the new states tended to remain fragile which made it difficult for them to protect people or adapt to new international realities that affected internal political and economic well-being.

 Second is the influence of external players who, in colonial and postcolonial times, considered countries in the zone to be in their strategic interests, which presumably gave them a right to determine what should happen. In part, this is because the zone is hemmed in by a triangle of three large bodies of water that are considered crucial to the survival or wellbeing of other countries and regions.

The bodies of water are the long River Nile in the west that is considered strategic to Egypt, the Red Sea in the north that is important to the oil-producing Arabian Peninsula, and the Indian Ocean in the east that is part of a shipping route from Asia to Africa and to the Western Hemisphere. By being considered _strategic‘ to the interests of others, the people of the zone found themselves having to respond to those interests that in turn influenced their identity and orientation. There are three assets that seemingly attract external attention and make it difficult for countries of the zone to control their environment and resources. These are the Nile, oil and minerals, and land.

Cold war and post-Cold war period

During the Cold War, the Horn of Africa was constantly affected by unexpected and sudden conflicts, tense ideological confrontations, territorial disputes, cross-border destabilisation and continued militarisation. Accordingly, prominent authors called the Horn of Africa either a crisis zone or a mere battleground between the United States and the Soviet Union. The two superpowers were not only deeply involved in the regional states‘ political and security affairs, but also consistently encouraged the escalation of a regional arms race in the Horn of Africa.

Accordingly, there were four major inter-state wars and at least three violent Conflicts in the post-independence era of the Horn African region. These major wars are primarily fought over border and territorial dispute. For instance, the Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia, Ethio-Eritrean war from (1960s-1991) are border related conflict caused by arbitrary colonial state boundary making along with other factors.

Among the Horn regions inter-state wars, the three fought between Ethiopia and Somalia. Accordingly, the first war started in 1961, escalated in 1964 and lingered until 1967 as low intensity conflict which resulted because of Somalia‘s claim of the Somali-inhabited Ogaden region of Ethiopia (see also Belete, 2012: ch-2). The Second war of the two countries was the Ogaden war between 1977-1978. In the Ogaden war there were also direct involvements of external powers particularly the Soviet Union and Cuban in support of Ethiopia (see also Gebru, 2009). The third war between the two countries occurred between 2006 and 2009. The Islamic Court Union (ICU) ascendancy after a long year collapse of Somalia beginning from 1991, has been seen by Ethiopia as threat for its security and territorial integrity. Thus, Ethiopia directly involved in Somalia civil from in support of Transitional Federal Government (TFG) against the Islamic Court Union (ICU) from November 2006 up to January 2009. The fourth inter-state war and the other largest in terms of causality figure and most resent both in the continent border war in the Horn region was the 1998-2000 Ethio-Eritrean war.

Cold War Super Power Rivalries in the Horn

The _political divisions‘ imposed during this colonial period were partially obliterated when on 1 July 1960, the former Italian and British Somaliland‘s united to form the Somali Republic and to constitute themselves into the core of a Somali state which aspired to unite French-controlled Djibouti (about half Somali), the NFD of Kenya (overwhelmingly Somali) and the Ogaden region of Ethiopia (almost exclusively Somali) to the new Republic.

Post-Cold War period

Yet, in the Post-Cold War period and beyond the dramatic redrawing of its political map, the Horn of Africa still hosts the deadliest cluster of conflicts globally: South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea-Ethiopia, Darfur and Ogaden. Eight times as many people have died in the region‘s recent conflicts as have perished in the more publicized Balkan conflicts. Since the Second World War, no other regional zone of conflicts has produced a greater concentration of deaths and destruction than the Horn of Africa, despite abundant diplomatic initiatives and peace processes. Hence, in terms of sheer human life and the highest rate of population displacement in the world, more is at stake in resolving the deeply inter-linked conflicts in the Horn of Africa than anywhere else in the world.

Above all, conflicts divert resources and governments‘ attention from bringing about sustainable development, rehabilitating vital infrastructure and effectively fighting drought. Conflicts have seriously undermined the regional states‘ efforts to ensure long-term stability and prosperity for millions of people who are at risk from rising food and energy prices and who are fighting over water, grazing, firewood and other scarce natural resources. Conflicts have resulted in the massive displacement sometimes of whole populations, leaving millions homeless. The social fabric and coping mechanisms of entire societies are affected and the return to normal community life can take years, if not decades, following the destruction of social institutions and ways of life.

All this is compounded by interference from external powers, solidifying the current divisions of the Horn of Africa. The efforts by China, which doubtlessly makes major investments in the region‘s infrastructure and economic development, to secure supplies of natural resources, the desire of Egypt and Israel to maintain their influence in the region and United States counter-terrorism policies influence politics and security in the Horn of Africa. The US‘ counterterrorism policy has recently been particularly significant, deepening political fissures in the region between states aligned with US counter-terrorism initiatives and those at odds with US policy, particularly those believed to support al-Qaeda affiliated groups. Somalia is at the epicenter of this dynamic, as it has become the focus of the US counter-terrorism policy in the region as well as a proxy battleground between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

1.3. Politics in post-independence era

The Horn of Africa is one of the most complex and conflicted regions of the world. Each of the countries of the Horn—Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Sudan—suffers from protracted political strife, arising from local and national grievance, identity politics and regional inter-state rivalries. **For 150 years,** the Horn has also been a theater for strategic power struggles —the British Empire‘s demand to control the Red Sea, Egypt‘s attempt to control the Nile Waters, the Cold War confrontation in which each of the principal countries of the Horn switched sides at crucial junctures, and most recently the U.S. Administration‘s ―Global War on Terror.‖

The Horn of Africa has always been of strategic importance because of its **geographical settings.** It has captured the attention of various states which started intervening in the politics of the region. It is this influence – external to the Horn – which has in part created a favorable condition for conflict to be the most important feature of the region. These factors include:

Due the colonial project of **imperialism**, the natural process of nation building had been completely interrupted. Just like the artificial nature of boundaries imposed on the region, the importation of state structure in the process of state formation was equally superficial.

The colonial legacy and its continuation bear strong effects on the peoples and nations of the Horn of Africa. The arbitrariness of borders erected by colonial powers and the co-existence of similar nationalities divided by these borders have intensified the problems and at times contributed to wars. The liberation wars within Ethiopia, war between Somalia from 1997 to 1978, and the recent war between Ethiopia and Eritrea from 1998-2000 are a few of the examples.

It is believed that **Islamic fundamentalism** took advantage of the political vacuum created by the Horn countries' preoccupation with profound internal questions. From its base in Sudan, *'Islamic fundamentalism'* is perceived by many to be on the way of penetration in southern Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia. What has caused this belief is the conversion of Sudan to an Islamic state. Especially after the bombing of the US Embassy in Kenya and Tanzania in 1999, and most importantly, the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States, the issue of *'Islamic fundamentalism'* is being highly associated with 'terrorism'.

On the other hand, regional powers have continued their involvement in the politics of the Horn of Africa. Old actors in the region, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, seem to be wanting more than the unrestricted use of the Nile and the protection of the Red Sea. As the most populous and richest states in the Middle East, Egypt and Saudi Arabia respectively seek to emerge as regional powers in order to influence not only the politics of the Middle East but also that of the Horn of Africa. For them, the retreat of the superpowers has created a conducive environment for their increased presence in the region.

There are also new actors that seek to influence the politics of the region. Iran is one such actor and Libya another, though to a lesser extent. After the 1990-1991 Gulf Crisis, Iran has strengthened its ties with the Sudan to the extent that many believe it has exported its Islamic fundamentalism to Sudan.

The roots of conflicts in the horn of Africa

All the conflicts have significant regional repercussions, as instability in one state generates spillover and demonstration effects in neighboring states. **Four broad-correlative themes central to the whole discussion of conflicts in the Horn of Africa.**

First, Conflicts in the Horn are in almost every instance locally generated. Whatever upheavals occurred in the inter-state system, the critical elements remained to be the changing perceptions of indigenous interests.

Second, traditional conflict analysis, relying almost entirely on ethnic, religious and cultural dichotomies, has been unable to explain the origin and spread of conflicts in the Horn. Thus it has failed to provide useful advice in the most important area of conflict research, namely conflict resolution.

Third, at the heart of the conflicts in the Horn lies the nature of the state and various interest groups, the politics of alienation, and mismanagement of natural resources. It perpetuates violence and misery; ultimately eroding the legitimacy of state actors. The present governments in the Horn are in serious difficulties. They have failed to develop either a viable political formula or a viable economic formula for governing their respective countries, and secure broader acceptance from their people. The major fault-line is the state's failure to protect the collective interest of its citizen.

Fourth, the continuing identification with narrow security (as opposed to human security) interests of the state and a steady pursuit of limited set of aims fused in to the militarized mentality and selfish behavior characteristic of some governments will continue to stand in

the way of defining a clear commonality of interest among the states in the Horn and the emergence of a common security doctrine for the sub-region.

1.4. Geopolitical significance of the Horn

The Horn of Africa: a Geopolitical Perspective

According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, geopolitics is ―the analysis of the geographic influences on power relationships in international relations‖, whereas the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines geopolitics as ―the study of the effect of a country‗s position, population, etc on its politics.

The term ‗geopolitics‘ was formalized by the Swedish constitutional lawyer Rudolf Kjellén (1864–1922) and systematically developed and raised to a doctrine of international relations by Karl Haushofer(1869–1946) during the period of Europe‘s intensifying interstate rivalries after the turn of the 19th century. It had the objective of emphasizing the primary determination of the political by space. Since the 1970s, it is refers to ‗power struggles over territories for the purpose of political control over space‘ (Lacoste1993). Notable geopolitical theorist Haushofer, on the other hand, defined geopolitics as an ambitious science a doctrine on the spatial determinism of all political processes, based on the broad foundations of geography, especially of political geography. Cross-nationally, the concept entails three core elements: a bio-organic notion of the state, a social-Darwinist view of inter-
state relations defined as a struggle for Lebensraum [living space], and the deduction of the political from spatio-natural determinants.

Geopolitics is about the interaction among states and empires in a particular geographical setting. The geography of a state—its position in a geographical region and in the world as a whole—presents opportunities to, and imposes limitations on, the state. For that reason, geography also conditions the perspectives of a state‗s leaders or rulers and, thereby, affects their decision-making in matters of foreign policy and influenced the geopolitical orientation of countries in the direction of either land power or sea power.

At its most fundamental level, international politics is about the struggle for space and power. Throughout history, nations and empires have sought to expand their territory and their influence over other countries and peoples. In international politics, challenges have frequently taken the form of rising powers that upset or threaten to upset the existing balance of power. After the Napoleonic Wars, the diplomacy of the Congress of Vienna resulted in what Henry Kissinger called ―a world restored‖—an international structure or system that lasted until the First World War. The challenge to the ―structure of peace‖ established by the Congress of Vienna emerged in 1871 with the rise of Germany to a dominant position in the centre of Europe. Today, the international system created by the end of the Cold War is being challenged by the rise of China in the East Asia-Pacific Rim region.

The United States, meanwhile, has emerged as the geopolitical successor to the British Empire. In the nineteenth century, Britain used its insular geographical position and command of the seas to support the European balance of power erected at the Congress of Vienna. Today, the United States uses its insular geographical position and command of the sea, air and space to support the Eurasian balance of power in the wake of the Cold War.

The Horn of African region has different geographical variables that determine the political behavior of the state and shape its foreign policy towards the other state in the region and outside the region. These include;

- ***Trans-boundary Rivers***: It includes

I. *The Ganale-Dawa River System: Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia,* II. *The Wabe-Shabele River System: Ethiopia and Somalia.*

III.*The Omo-Gibe River System: Ethiopia and Kenya.*

IV. The Nile Basin Shared among 11 countries: Ethiopia, Burundi, DRC, Egypt, Eritrea, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda

2. ***Abundant Natural Resources*** like Oil, Gold, and others

The Red Sea Factor: it is shared by eight littoral states of which the three states are from the Horn of Africa region. These are Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Israel, Jordan, Saudi-Arabia, Yemen.

The Red Sea is an important strategic area because (a) it is a route to many international trades, (b) it links Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean, (c) it links Africa, Europe and Asia, (d) it is a major route to petroleum tankers going to the Mediterranean, (e) it is close to petroleum producing countries of the Middle East, and (f) it serves as a crucial strategic place to maintain balance of power among super-powers.

According to Mesfin Woldemariam (1999), the strategic location of the Horn of Africa in relation to the Red Sea- Gulf of Aden-Indian Ocean invites various forms of external intervention from four directions. They are:

- The Arabs as a whole as a regional financial power desire to exert dominant influence

- The West, especially the USA, has three interests in the region: stability and security of petroleum producing countries of the Middle East, the security of Tankers Route and the protection of Israel state.

- Israel- because of its intractable problem with the Arabs-has strategic interests in the red Sea and the Horn of Africa. As a result, Arab-Israel conflict stretches to the Horn region.

- Inter-Arab conflicts also spill over in to the Horn of Africa when different Arab countries attempt to outflank each other by establishing special ties with some countries in the Horn.

The shift to geopolitics in the Horn

The increased engagement in the Horn of Africa by external security actors, both to pursue local and international security agendas, is driving structural changes in the nature of Horn regional security. International efforts to combat non-traditional security threats and civil wars in the region have led to an external militarization of the Horn, with new military bases and facilities, as well as naval and air forces deployed to the region. Military interests in the Horn have also become closely intertwined with commercial interests, notably ports and logistics infrastructure, leading to increased international competition along the coasts of the Red Sea and East Africa.

As a result, the Horn littoral has become a key interface between external security actors and the Horn countries. This is shifting the regional agenda beyond a traditional

continental focus to having to take account of maritime security issues too. With increased interest in maritime trade, the build-up of naval forces to combat maritime crime, and military

forces in the Horn being linked to security competition in the Middle East, the Gulf and the Indo-Pacific region, the issue of access to the Red Sea is becoming a strategic one for a wide variety of countries.

1.5. The interest and roles of external actors: USA, USSR, Europe,

China

Contemporary external security dynamics of the Horn

In the decade following the end of the cold war, the role of external security actors in the Horn was largely focused on supporting internationally mandated peace operations and the establishment of peace and security. This involved financing, technical assistance, capacity building and diplomacy that supported the engagement of international and regional multilateral operations. This security paradigm continues today, notably in South Sudan and Somalia, but it no longer constitutes the main mechanism for external security actors in the region. The onset of the **_global war on terrorism‟** in 2001 and the international focus on **piracy and maritime crime from** 2008 onwards led to the direct re-engagement of external security forces in the region, particularly the USA.

From 2008, the international community became involved in countering the rise of **piracy in the Horn,** led by the USA and its allies, including through NATO and EU operations, and within the framework of the Combined Maritime Forces. Counter-piracy operations also served as the basis for the deployment of other navies to the Horn, notably from Asia. Although piracy incidents have declined substantially, foreign navies have continued to deploy to the region.

1.5.1 USA, the horn region and strategic access

The United States has broad security, economic, and political interests at stake in Africa, although it has had only sporadic success in pursuing them. On the security front, the United States works with African partners to constrain and defeat violent extremist organizations across the continent, from al-Shabab in the Horn of Africa to Boko Haram in Nigeria to affiliates of the self-proclaimed Islamic State and al-Qaeda throughout the Sahel. Despite the Trump administration‘s talk of a drawdown in military personnel, which provoked strong congressional opposition, the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) still has between six and seven thousand military personnel on the ground in Africa. The United States has only one permanent military base on the continent, Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti (a hub for U.S. military activities in Yemen as well as on the African continent), but has many smaller outposts throughout Africa of varying degrees of permanence, from Manda Bay in Kenya to Agadez in Niger. Indeed, since the United States established its Africa Command (AFRICOM) in 2007, critics of U.S. policy have decried the increasing militarization of U.S. Africa policy, noting the proliferation of counterterrorism (activities to combat terrorism or prevent terrorism) efforts and the fact that the DOD‘s resources often dwarf those available to other elements of government.

In December 2018, the administration of US President Donald J. Trump announced a new strategy for Africa that focuses on great power competition with China and Russia, alongside advancing US economic interests and countering violent extremist organizations. However, while the USA remains committed to combatting violent extremist organizations, it has signaled that it will reduce its military forces committed to counterterrorism in Africa.

The 2019 AFRICOM posture statement echoed US concerns about China‘s economic and security approach to Africa, noting that _China has most successfully employed this model in

Djibouti, holding 80 percent of the Government of Djibouti‘s debt, where access through the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait, the Red Sea, and the Suez Canal remains a US strategic imperative‘.

Renewed US military engagement in the Horn of Africa

During the first decade of the 21st century the Horn of Africa‘s security agenda began to evolve, because **the issues of counterterrorism and counter piracy** emerged as priorities for external security actors. Crucially, the USA renewed its direct security engagement in the region, together with its major allies, through bilateral and US-led multilateral frameworks. Subsequently, the Horn of Africa has become a key theatre for US counterterrorism operations, notably in Somalia (where recent years have seen a build-up of military forces), and a base for operations across Africa and the Middle East. The USA has also taken the lead in countering piracy and maritime crime in the Horn. The build-up of US forces has been supported by military deployments from allied states, as well as missions from other countries.

But not all U.S. security activity on the continent is focused on countering terrorist threats. In pursuit of stability, the United States has long been the world‘s most generous contributor to United Nations peacekeeping operations, the majority of which are deployed on the African continent. For decades, the United States has worked to train, equip, and exercise with African militaries in an effort to boost professionalism and capacity and develop lasting relationships. The 2000 African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)— which provided African goods access to U.S. markets—led to some gains in trade volume initially, but since those improvements plateaued, concrete progress has come in fits and

starts at best. Due in part to changes in energy markets and a slowdown in African growth, U.S. trade with and investment in Africa have declined significantly over the past decade, now accounting for less than 1.5 percent of U.S. global trade and less than 1 percent of U.S. foreign direct investment.

Counterterrorism

In 1998, violent Islamist groups targeted the US diplomatic presence in East Africa, carrying out near simultaneous attacks on the embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, which left over 200 people dead. The USA responded militarily with cruise missile attacks in Sudan and Afghanistan, but maintained the post-Somalia intervention policy of keeping US troops away from direct military intervention.

In October 2000, the USS Cole was attacked by al-Qaeda in the port of Aden, leading to the deaths of 17 people. There was no military response from the USA to the bombing.17 The terrorist attacks on the USA of 11 September 2001 led to an immediate shift in US regional security policy, as the USA re-engaged its military directly in the Horn of Africa as part of the _global war on terrorism‘. Operation Enduring Freedom-Horn of Africa (OEF-HOA) was launched in October 2002 as a military mission to counter violent Islamist groups and piracy in the region.

Alongside the USA‘s bilateral security actions, other countries have also supported efforts to counter Islamist groups in Somalia. For example, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and European countries have deployed military officials to Somalia to conduct training for the Somali armed forces.

Turkey opened a military training base in Mogadishu in 2017 and the UAE maintained a military training centre in the Somali capital until 2018, when a dispute with the Somali authorities led to its closure. The UK has operated a bilateral Security Training Centre in

Somalia since January 2017, which provides training for the SNA and the UN-mandated AMISOM.

Since 2010, the EU has supported a military training mission (the EU Training Mission, EUTM) to provide training to the SNA. Qatar has provided the SNA with armoured vehicles. The USA, the EU and other members of the international community have also made significant efforts to fund and support AMISOM, the rebuilding of the SNA, and countering the violent Islamist group al-Shabab.

Counter-piracy operations

In 2002, a US-led multilateral naval task force based in Bahrain, Combined Task Force 150 (CTF 150), was established to monitor, interdict, board and inspect suspect shipping as part of the _global war on terrorism‘, including around the Horn of Africa. By the end of the decade, increased piracy attacks off Somalia were causing concern and broader international operations were launched in the region. As a result, counter-piracy became a multilateral issue.

In order to support counter-piracy missions, Italy, Germany and Spain established military operations in the region, joining France that has operated from Djibouti since the late 1970s and the UK with its personnel at Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti. Other navies from outside the Horn, such as China, Japan, South Korea, Russia, Iran and Australia, have regularly deployed naval forces to the Gulf of Aden on counter-piracy operations.

The United States aims to develop partners that can share in advancing its preferred global norms and in addressing the burden of global threats, from pandemic disease to climate change to illicit trafficking in people, arms, narcotics, and wildlife. That means both enhancing African capacity and strengthening African support for the United States‘ global agenda. The United States has long assumed a certain degree of African support for the rules-based international architecture that has governed international relations since the end of World War II, and it has sought African support within that framework for policy priorities from nuclear nonproliferation to human rights protections. The United States provides funding to strengthen democratic governance and the rule of law throughout the continent, supporting everything from independent media training to anti–money laundering units in African finance ministries. In some instances, when African visions on global norms are not aligned with those of the United States, Washington has sought to apply pressure to African states, using targeted sanctions on both individuals and entities.

Despite all of this activity, the Biden administration is inheriting narratives about the United States in Africa that focus on waning commitment, a jealous obsession with China, and unforced errors, such as Trump‘s widely reported disparaging characterizations of African states, travel bans, and proposed regulations barring Africans, including students accepted into U.S. universities, from the United States. Year after year, the Trump administration‘s budget requests proposed massive cuts to foreign assistance, both bilateral and through the United Nations and other multilateral agencies, that would likely affect Africa more than any other region. Only bipartisan congressional support for U.S. policies with respect to health, democracy promotion, and security assistance in Africa saved these signature commitments from the chopping block. The Trump administration declined to follow up on the 2014 U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit, the first event of its kind. Meanwhile, confused diplomacy in Ethiopia and Sudan sidelined support for those historic transitions in favor of U.S. desires to bolster support for Egypt and Israel. The U.S. position on Western

sahara, an important issue to many African states, was haphazardly linked to last-minute Middle East diplomacy. And attacks on the International Criminal Court, which thus far has primarily dealt with African cases, muddled U.S. messaging on support for accountability

and human rights. The Biden administration will benefit to some degree from representing a change from the policies of the past four years. But it will have a challenge on its hands in affirming the United States‘ commitment to partnerships in Africa and to African democracy while coping with a major economic crisis, and it will have to rely on deft diplomacy rather than substantial new spending.

1.5.2. China

China, the Horn and the String of Pearls strategy China‘s counter-piracy mission was initially viewed as a discrete military operation. The growing regional presence of the PLAN, notably the opening and expansion of the military base in Djibouti and Chinese involvement in the Doraleh commercial port, suggests a wider strategy by China today. This involves extending security capabilities and economic interests along key SLOCs in the Indo-Pacific region.

The construction of the Djibouti military base is therefore part of a broader Chinese regional project to establish mixed commercial-military ports across the Indian Ocean region—the so-called String of Pearls.Within this project, the Chinese-built port facilities at Pakistan, together with the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), provide a key link from western China to Djibouti and to other Chinese-controlled ports in the Indian Ocean, notably in Sri Lanka. Several reports indicate that China is planning to develop Gwadar as a mixed military-commercial facility.

The development of Gwadar is being undertaken within the context of a broadening Sino-Pakistan security partnership. This involves the sale and leasing of advanced naval ships, submarines and fighter jets capable of projecting maritime power at key Gulf and Red Sea choke points, and access to the Beidou military satellite system.

Chinese submarine deployments, in particular, signal the country‘s ambitions, undercutting India‘s claim to be a regional net security provider. China deployed its first submarine mission to the Indian Ocean in 2013. Indian military sources suggest that since then it has conducted two deployments annually, alternating between conventional and nuclear submarines.

The US Department of Defense predicts that the PLAN will have up to 351 vessels by 2020, providing the capability to sustain maritime operations across the deep-water areas of open oceans (blue-water capability). With more ships to follow, a further strengthening of the

chinese military in the Indian Ocean region seems likely. This assessment is compounded by estimates from Chinese experts that by 2030 the enlarged PLAN will have 5 or 6 aircraft carriers, possibly including nuclear-powered ships, some of which would be likely to undertake deployments in the Indian Ocean.

1.5.3 EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union (EU) and many of its member states, notably Belgium, France, and Portugal, have long and complex histories in Africa and retain significant cultural and economic ties there. In certain African countries, sizeable European expatriate populations inform policy decisions, particularly regarding fundamental issues of stability. Europe often touts the fact that when European countries are taken as a bloc, the EU is Africa‘s main trade partner. In recent years, the EU has sought to elevate the profile of its Africa partnerships, both in response to increasing political sensitivity to migration from Africa among member states and as part of a strategy to protect Europe‘s interests in a time of geopolitical change and the possibility of a future defined by increased U.S.-China competition. In 2020, the EU proposed a new Africa strategy with five primary focus areas: a ―green transition‖ and

energy access; digital transformation; sustainable growth and jobs; peace, security, and governance; and migration and mobility. Though COVID-19 has forced the postponement of the EU-Africa summit originally planned for October 2020, a version of this strategy is likely to be approved at a rescheduled summit.

1.5.4 Russia in the Horn

Russia maintains a regular but non-permanent naval presence in the Horn of Africa. In 2008, it committed a frigate to counter-piracy operations in the region but chose to operate independently of the international counter piracy missions. Sudan has emerged as a key Russian ally in the Horn region and is at the centre of a web of commercial, security and geopolitical interests that extends into other African countries.

In June 2018, the Russian Ambassador to Sudan indicated that discussions were ongoing regarding the possible establishment of a logistics centre to support the Russian Navy operating in the region. The Russian Prime Minister approved a draft agreement between Russia and Sudan in December 2018 to simplify naval port visits. Sudanese politicians have also spoken publicly about Sudan‘s support for the creation of a Russian Red Sea military base in the country.

It is likely that Russia is looking at additional port and logistics access in the region.141 In August 2018, for example, Russia confirmed its intention to establish a naval logistics centre at an Eritrean port.

Unlike the other European military powers France and the UK, Russia is not planning to project substantial naval force into the Indian Ocean through the Red Sea. Nevertheless, it aims to ensure that it can move its military into the region as part of ambitions to enhance its presence in key Horn countries, and to monitor the build-up of military force underway more broadly in the Indian Ocean, which is seen as a region of emerging great power competition.

CHAPTER TWO

POST – COLD WAR POLITICS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

2.1. Regional and Sub-regional organization in Horn

politics

_The most dangerous corner of Africa is its North-Eastern Horn where instability reigns and terrorism thrives on the antagonism of its governments.‘ *Africa Confidential, 9 September 2009*

Africa‘s first continental organisation was the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), established on the 25th of May 1963 by 32 African countries in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The OAU had two essential aims: namely to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states and to eradicate all forms of colonialism from the continent. Even though the OAU failed to resolve Africa‘s social, economic, and political problems, it did play a pivotal role in the decolonisation process of the African states. It did not succeed in preventing conflicts or wars in Africa during its 39 year history, and could not develop an effective security policy towards Africa. However, it contributed to the emergence of the notion of unity and solidarity among the African nations. Established on the 9th of July 2002, in Durban, South Africa, as a successor to the OAU, the African Union (AU) was intergovernmental and the most important regional organisation on the continent, comprising 53 African states.

Whereas the OAU objectives were too narrow, the AU objectives were more comprehensive, in particular to: (1) achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa; (2) accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent; (3) promote peace, security, and stability on the continent and

 promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance (Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union). Since 1960, more than 20 civil wars have broken out in Africa, and most African states have been involved in conflicts or wars, with consequent damage to social, economic, and political infrastructures, and an estimated 14 million deaths. While preserving peace and security has been the most fundamental objective of the Constitutive Act of the AU, decolonising the African states became the most ambitious aim of the OAU Charter. During the OAU\AU Summit in Durban in 2002, the African leaders underlined that social, economic and political developments were prerequisites for sustaining peace and security, encapsulated by Mbeki‘s pronouncement that _there can be no sustainable development without peace, without security and without stability‘. It is essential to underline that the beginning of the twenty-first century has brought both historical opportunities and challenges to the world. In

particular, it was of significance to Africa in terms of the emergence of a new political climate, with three important strategic institutions being founded, namely the AU, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The idea that social, economic, and political challenges have caused conflicts and wars spread over the continent and became a common view among the African leaders in the new century. In this spirit, NEPAD was built at the 37th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments of the OAU in Lusaka, Zambia, in July 2001, as a socioeconomic programme of the AU. The fundamental aims of NEPAD were ―to eradicate poverty; place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development; halt the marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation process; accelerate the empowerment of women; and fully integrate Africa into the global economy‖.

The second body, the APRM, was created within NEPAD at the sixth Summit of the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) of NEPAD in Abuja, Nigeria in 2003. The main aim of the APRM was to help African governments improve their government system. The members of the AU can voluntarily become members of the APRM, which has 29 members. Whereas the new regional organisation of Africa addresses Africa‘s social, economic, and political problems, it also makes efforts to reinforce its security policy. In doing so, the AU adopted ―Protocol Relating to the Establishment of Peace and Security Council of the African Union‖ at the 1st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union, in Durban, South Africa on the 9th of July 2002.

Regionalism has become one of the most discussed themes of international relations since the end of the Cold War, including the within those relations of specific regional organizations. There are 4 different regional organizations in the Horn who playing their own part in one way or another either by including all member states or some of them.

1. Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

The Inter- governmental Authority for Draught and Desertification/IGADD/ which was established in 1986.

After the end of the cold war, however, the **economy-led approach** to integration in many parts of Africa has been slightly displaced by a **political rational** i.e the issue of regional security. Similarly **IGADD was revitalized in 1996 as**

IGAD so as to broaden its mandate to **conflict management, prevention and resolution**.

The IGAD and Regional Relations in the Horn of Africa

In the Horn that process was first centred on the emergence of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). Its initial formation in 1986 owed much to the international community and especially the response to the famine that swept across the region in the earlier years of that decade.

At the time the region‘s international relations were largely divided by the Cold War, with Ethiopia firmly in the grip of a Marxist- Leninist regime closely supported by the USSR, while neighbouring Sudan and Somalia were backed by the United States. (This was an exact reversal of a period in the previous decade.)

The Cold War division meant that any attempt at a regional organization should be as _non-political‘ as possible and, in theory, IGADD‘s founding approach, based on environmental and other measures to address drought and its consequences, appeared to adhere to that.

Thus it was that in spite of different alignments with competing superpowers Ethiopia was able to join the new organization along with the then clear Western allies Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, Uganda and Kenya, brought together in part at least by the allure of foreign development aid.

However, in practice little was achieved, for although IGADD came up with a number of project proposals, the international donors generally found them less than convincing and IGADD appeared in danger of withering on the vine in its remote _neutral‘ headquarters in Djibouti.

Originally, IGAAD was conceived by six draught prone founding member states, in which its formal *cause belly was to* combat the effects of draught and desertification. This clearly shows the centrality of **environmental problems in the Horn of African region.**

A two day head of states summit held in Djibouti from 25-26 November 1996 marked the official launch of the revitalized IGAD; hence it became the Inter-governmental Authority for Development. The _new‘ IGAD, covering Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and independent Eritrea, reiterated the commitment of the member states to the key priority areas of food security and environmental protection, infrastructural development, and conflict prevention and humanitarian affairs. A Consultative Group in the name of IGAD Partners Forum /IPF/ was formed to support and finance IGAD projects on the priority areas, mainly infrastructural development (Horn ofAfrican Review, 1996:3).

IGAD member states noted concern that poor infrastructure is hampering progress in the sub-region and constantly called on partners (the IPF) to fulfill their commitment by financing projects related to the expansion of road transport and telecommunication networking among IGAD countries. Prefeasibility studies of **four cross-border road projects** were prepared ready for funding, among which some of them were financed by the **European Union.**

The road projects were **the Isiolo-Moyale** road linking Nairobi and Addis Ababa; **the Dobi-Galafi-Yoboki** -a triangle connecting Djibouti-Assab and Addis Ababa; **Ali-Sabieh-Dire Dawa** road which connects Addis Ababa with Djibouti and **Gondar-Humera-Barentu-Gedarif road**, covering several sections which would connect Ethiopia, Sudan and Eritrea (IGAD Report, 1998:3).

Increasingly, however, the pervasiveness of conflict in Somalia, Sudan and ultimately the Ethio-Eritrean war and its spillover effects **dwarfed the organization.** Today, Ethiopia is chair of IGAD and #Italy is Chair of IGAD Partners Forum.

IGAD"S PAST HANDLING OF PEACE AND

SECURITY ISSUES

The cases of the Sudanese and Somali peace processes

When the leaders of the IGAD region decided to involve the organisation in the process of **mediation**, first in Sudan and then Somalia, they didn't do so under IGAD's peace and security strategy any established framework. They just realised that IGAD as an organisation could be utilised as a forum to discuss the conflicts occurring in these member states. Their concern was how peace could be realised in these states. As a result, when IGAD became involved in the Sudanese and Somali peace processes, **firstly,** its involvement was ad hoc, and, **secondly,** emphasis was placed on political mediation, which resulted in the signing of the CPA for Sudan and the establishment of a transitional government for Somalia.

THE DRAFT IGAD PEACE AND SECURITY STRATEGY (IPSS) PLAN

The IPSS Plan defines the road map and approaches that IGAD and its member states intend to adopt for the period 2010–2014. It is borne out of the belief that peace and security are prerequisites for the countries and citizens of the IGAD region to achieve their potential. The need for an **IPSS is anchored in the founding agreement of IGAD**, which states that the organisation's objectives include, inter alia, the _promotion of peace and stability in the sub-region and creating mechanisms within the sub-region for the prevention, management and resolution of inter-and intra-state conflicts through dialogue'.

As early as 2001, the IGAD secretariat had commissioned a study, _Conflict prevention, management and resolution: Capacity assessment study in the IGAD sub-region', carried out by **Leeds University**. A key recommendation of the study was **the elaboration of a conflict-prevention, management and resolution (CPMR) strategy.** In fact, as a

result of the study, IGAD established its **Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) programme** in 2003. The IPSS Plan is based on the primary responsibility of governments to provide peace and security for their citizens.

Its aim is to enable the IGAD secretariat to fulfill the responsibilities entrusted to it by the African Union (AU), and thus is based upon the principles enunciated in, inter alia, the Constitutive Act of the AU; the IGAD Charter; the Protocol on the Establishment of the AU Peace and Security Council; the Solemn Declaration on a Common African Security and Defence Policy; the African Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact; and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. **The broad aim of the strategy is to enable IGAD** member states, the IGAD secretariat and citizens of the IGAD countries to actively contribute to developing and maintaining a robust peace and security order throughout north-east Africa. Therefore, the strategy will contribute to the promotion of democracy, good governance, economic development and the social and economic integration of the IGAD sub-region and the African continent.

2. Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

Another tade bloc in Africa is the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, commonly referred to by its acronym; **COMESA.** Formed in 1994, COMESA is made up of

19 member countries, drawn from the central, eastern, and northeastern part of the continent, with a combined GDP of $1.001 billion.

Kenya, Ethiopia, Libya, Sudan, Madagascar, Zambia, Eritrea, Seychelles, Djibouti, Malawi, Uganda, Rwanda, Swaziland, Mauritius, Egypt, Liberia, Zimbabwe, DRC, and Burundi are the countries under the trade bloc. English, Portuguese, and French are recognized as the three official languages. The judicial arm of the trade bloc is known as the COMESA court which has jurisdiction over disputes between member states. This institution was established in **5 November 1993.**

3. East African Community

The East African Community is another important trade bloc in Africa. The member states in the regional block are all from the eastern part of the continent and include Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, South Sudan, and Burundi. Headquartered in Arusha, Tanzania, the trade bloc covers a total area of 0.952 million square miles and is home to over 168 million people. East African Community has a cumulative GDP of $0.232 billion. The East African Community is among the most integrated of all trade blocs in Africa, as it has a free trade area and while there are presently six currencies recognized in the EAC, there are plans to establish a common currency to be universally used in all member states. The regional bloc was established in 1967, Obut internal wrangles led to its collapse in 1977, before it was later revived in 2000. It was established in 1999.

4. Community Of Sahel-Saharan States

The Community of Sahel-Saharan States is one of Africa‘s largest economic organizations, as it is made up of 29 member countries, the highest of Africa‘s trade blocs. These member countries are drawn from the Sahel-Sahara region of the continent, spreading from Senegal in the west to Somalia in the east. The regional trade bloc was established in 1998 as a result of a summit of governmental leaders organized in Tripoli. The regional economic bloc currently has its headquarters housed in Tripoli, Libya. In line with economic integration among the countries, the organization has plans to construct a railway connecting the member nations. The trade organization has four official working languages, the highest in Africa.Member states are Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Comores, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Chad, Togo, Tunisia and estableshed in 1998.

2.2 Reciprocity/tit-for-tat/ Policies of the sub region

Tit for tat is an English saying **meaning "equivalent retaliation".** It developed from "tip for tap", first recorded in 1558. It is also a highly effective strategy in game theory. An agent using this strategy will first cooperate, and then subsequently replicate an opponent's previous action. If the opponent previously was cooperative, the agent is cooperative. If not, the agent also not cooperative. ***Reciprocity Is a Tool, Not a Strategy***
in achieving of foreign policy objectives! Tit-for-tat tactics are sometimes necessary but rarely effective.

International experience on Reciprocity/tit-for-tat/

Since the outset of the U.S.-China trade war, critics have castigated the administration of U.S. President Donald Trump for its capricious approach to relations with Beijing. They have found fault in particular with Trump‘s flip-flopping on sanctioning ZTE, banning U.S.

companies from selling to Huawei and then reversing course, and refusing to censure China for its abuses in Xinjiang and Hong Kong in order to preserve trade negotiations.

Recently, however, Trump‘s China doctrine has attracted praise for its ―realism.‖ In a recent *Foreign Policy* article, the Hoover Institution‘s Michael Auslin argued that the Trump administration‘s disorganized and seemingly contradictory approach to China is actually ―a fairly measured realist policy‖ that is ―based on reciprocity.‖ While Auslin acknowledged that, for the most part, reciprocity—loosely defined as ―a measured balance toward Beijing‘s actions‖ to create a ―level playing field‖—has yet to be fully road-tested, he nevertheless hails it as ―a prudent attempt to make policy fit real conditions.‖

 The IGAD Peace and Security Strategy-IPSS Plan as Reciprocity policy

The IPSS Plan process began in 2004 when the IGAD heads of state and government **tasked** the secretariat with **developing a comprehensive peace and security strategy.** This was against the background of IGAD‘s success in mediating the Somali and Sudanese peace processes.

In March 2005, the IGAD secretariat convened a launching conference of the process in Khartoum, Sudan. A follow-up workshop was convened in Mombasa, Kenya, in July 2007, which was attended by representatives of civil society, government representatives and eminent personalities.

At this workshop thematic areas were identified to constitute the issues to be covered by the IPSS Plan. The identified themes included border demarcations of IGAD member states and their implications; cross-border economic cooperation in the IGAD region; access to the sea for landlocked countries in the region; trans-boundary water-resources management; and cross-border cooperation and **counter-terrorism.**

Identified strategic issues/areas

The IPSS Plan identifies four core strategic priority areas whose implementation would achieve the overall goal of the strategy – to achieve sustainable peace and security for the attainment of economic integration and development in the IGAD region. **The first identified core priority area** is strengthening and streamlining the conflict-prevention, management and resolution (CPMR) programme. **The second priority area** for the IPSS Plan is **strengthening preventive (i.e. Track 2) diplomacy.**

First used by Joseph Montville in 1981 in his search for a term that encompassed the unofficial efforts made outside governments that brought about diplomatic resolution of conflicts, the term **Track 2 – or „citizen diplomacy‟** – refers to ‗private citizens discussing issues that are generally reserved for official (state) negotiations‘. **The third identified priority** area is cooperation to address the emerging common peace and security threats, including terrorism, piracy, organised crime and security-sector reform.

 Terrorism versus Counter Terrorism in East Africa and the Horn as Reciprocity

The United States has properly identified East Africa and the Horn as the region in Sub-Saharan Africa most threatened by indigenous and international terrorism. This part of the continent also stands out for the number of internal and regional conflicts that it has experienced in recent decades.

Nature of the Threat of Terrorism

There are three kinds of terrorism in East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) and the Horn (Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia). There are acts perpetrated by organizations based outside the region, those by an organization within the region but aimed at a neighboring country and those instigated by an internal insurgent group against authority in a single country. An example of terrorism emanating from outside the region was the assassination by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September in 1973 of the American Ambassador and Deputy Chief of Mission and a Belgian diplomat in Khartoum.The attempted assassination in 1995 of Egyptian President Mubarak in Addis Ababa by the Egyptian terrorist group Gama'at al-Islamiyya also falls in this category.

Other examples include the bombing by al-Qaeda in 1998 of the American embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya, and the simultaneous al-Qaeda attacks at Mombasa, Kenya, in 2002 against an Israeli airliner and bombing of a hotel popular with Israeli tourists. These are classic examples of international terrorism. The primary goal is not to injure the country where the terrorist attack takes place; rather it is designed to harm a third party such as the United States, Egypt or Israel.

Terrorism conducted by organizations in the region against neighboring countries includes a series of attacks by Somalia-based al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI) against civilian targets in Ethiopia in the 1990s. The Sudan-based Eritrean Islamic Jihad (EIJ) has conducted attacks

inside Eritrea that have killed civilians although the intended targets may have been military. The third category includes indigenous organizations such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and Allied Democratic Front (ADF) in Uganda and the militant wing of the Ogadeni National Liberation Front (ONLF) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in Ethiopia that have used terrorist attacks in Uganda and Ethiopia respectively. The LRA has occasionally operated out of southern Sudan and the ADF out of the eastern Congo while the OLF at various times has had support from Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan. Both of these kinds of terrorism are intended to embarrass, harm or even overturn an established government in the region. They generally are not aimed at a third party.

There are underlying conditions in East Africa and the Horn that contribute directly to conflict and the use of terrorist tactics. Poverty and social injustice are widespread. Borders are porous even by African standards. Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia and Eritrea have long and poorly patrolled coasts on the Red Sea or Indian Ocean. Weapons are readily available throughout the region, but especially in Somalia. All of the countries have a severe shortage of financial resources and trained personnel to counter the activities of terrorist elements. Corruption is endemic in the region and a particularly serious problem in several countries. Transparency International surveyed 102 countries in 2002 for its annual Corruption Perceptions Index. Kenya tied Indonesia for position 96 on the list while Uganda shared 93 with Moldova. Tanzania vied with several nations for position 71 and Ethiopia shared position 59 with several nations. There were not sufficient data to rank the other countries in the region. (1) Countries facing serious corruption combined with low pay for security personnel leave officials wide open to the temptation of accepting money from terrorists in return for support.

Identified strategic issues/areas

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The U.S. Response on Terrorism/Counterterrorism

The U.S. has identified East Africa and the Horn as the priority region in Africa for **counter-terrorism cooperation** because of its past history of terrorist acts. It has created of fund of nearly $100 million to increase the capacity of the countries in the region to combat terrorism. The key countries in this effort are Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti.

***2*.3 Disintegrations of dictatorial regimes**

In political science dictatorship refers to an authoritarian form of government largely dominated by a single individual and unrestrained by law or other checks.1 In contemporary politics this definition would hardly fit any African country. Dictatorship is a type of government that is being led by a single person or party who decides and holds all political power of a nation. Some examples of dictators are Hitler from Germany, Mao Zedong in China, and Benito Mussolini in Italy.

Many African rulers do maintain some regard for the law in the wake of a growing trend for both national and international politics to submit to judicial proceedings. The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s caused ―The Marxist-Leninist regime in Ethiopia collapsed. Somalia imploded into protracted civil war. Eritrea gained independence. And Sudan experienced an Islamic Revolution.‖ Military-led regimes last less long than civilian, but personalization increases their durability while it reduces longevity in party-led regimes. Leadership changes can lead to regime collapse. The death of a dictator who has concentrated great power in his hands is especially likely to cause regime crisis. Personalization also affects the likelihood of a peaceful, negotiated transition, once survival appears unlikely. Dictatorships with more collegial decision making tend to negotiate their extrication from power, but personalized dictatorships often fight to the bitter end**. bJunta-led dictatorships** usually negotiate peaceful transitions to democracy. Collegial civilian-led dictatorships less often exit peacefully than junta-led regimes, but more often than personalized regimes, whether civilian or military.

Djibouti

But Djiboutian democracy is deeply flawed.

The national parliament has not a single opposition legislator. The only national broadcaster, Radio-Television Djibouti, is the mouthpiece of the ruling party, slavishly reporting on the president's visits and appointments. There are almost no independent civil society organizations, and, with almost all possible employment controlled by the state, criticism of the regime is a bad career move.

In this environment, since 1999 to his power electoral campaign was little more than an exercise in hero worship of the incumbent president, **Ismail Omar Guelleh.** Djibouti is one of four countries in Africa that have experienced instances of immediate successions from one family member to another.

Political Assessment

Throughout his presidency, Guelleh has worked to install members of his family in important political and economic positions. A central role is occupied by his wife, Kadra Mahamoud Haid, who acts as the de facto vice-president, and his two daughters: Haibado, functioning as an important advisor to Guelleh, and Fatouma-Awo, heavily involved in the country‘s business activities. His son in law, Djama Elmi Okieh, is the Minister of Health.

One of the President‘s half-brothers, Saad Omar Guelleh, is the General Manager of the economically paramount Port of Djibouti, while first cousin Djama Ali Guelleh has been the Director General of state-owned utilities company Electricité de Djibouti (EDD) since 1986, more than a decade before Guelleh came to power.

Owing to this intricate blurring of state functions and the ruling clan, Guelleh has been able to exercise strict control over the country‘s political, economic and judiciary affairs, aided by his strong grip on the police, military and other security forces. This has guaranteed that "the Guelleh clan‘s domination of all public affairs prevailed.

Sudan

Since coming to power in 1989, he had spent the better part of three decades crafting a personalist autocracy that tied the fortunes of different political actors—particularly the various branches of the security apparatus —to his continued rule

South Sudan society had fought for an autonomous model of governance since Sudan‘s birth in 1956. In 2011, the South overwhelmingly voted for secession and formed Africa‘s newest nation, the Republic of South Sudan.

Sudan coup and future

The military should restore the transition government and allow free election. The move by Sudan‘s military to dissolve the Sovereignty Council where it shared power with civilian leaders has thrown the African country‘s fragile transition from dictatorship to democracy into chaos. Almost three years ago, tens of thousands of **Sudanese rose against the regime of Omar al-Bashir in what they call a “revolution”** that eventually led to the dictator‘s fall

in April 2019.

Ever since, the military and leaders of the civilian movement came together to form a

transitional government. **In their agreement, the acting Prime Minister would run the day-to-day affairs** while the military chief would remain the leader of the Sovereignty Council for two years. **Lt. Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, the military chief**, was scheduled to hand over the leadership of the transitional government to the civilian leadership in a few weeks. Instead, he disbanded the government, proclaimed himself the new leader, declared a state of emergency and imprisoned the civilian leaders, including **Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok**.

Tensions were brewing in recent weeks. Pro-military mobs had been carrying out protests demanding the government‘s removal amid soaring prices of essentials.

Port Sudan, the country‟s largest port, on the Red Sea (**UPSC-Prelims**), had been blockaded by a tribal group, with help from the military, which worsened the economic

situation, including acute shortages of food, currency and fuel.The civilian leadership had accused the military of exploiting the economic crisis.

After Bashir era!!

The overthrow of the Bashir regime and the promised democratic transition were the best hopes for Sudan to end its international isolation. Last year, the U.S. removed the country, which hosted Osama bin Laden in the 1990s, from the list of state sponsors of terrorism and announced financial aid. Earlier this year, the IMF had reached a $50 billion debt-relief agreement with the transitional government. The civilian leaders had promised that they would **send Bashir to The Hague to prosecute him over allegations of war crimes**, crimes against humanity and genocide. The country was also gearing up to organise its first free and fair elections in decades. But the power-hungry generals appear to be more concerned about protecting their interests, which they feared would be at risk had a democratic government taken full control of the country. After all, Sudan‘s military cannot absolve itself from whatever allegations Bashir is facing.

But this time, it faces a stiff challenge from the public. The protesters who brought down Bashir are back on the streets fighting the security personnel. A violent showdown is most likely. Gen. Burhan should desist from more violence. The military should release all the arrested leaders, restore the transition government and let free elections decide the future of the country.

Following the collapse of the monarchy under Emperor Haile Selassie, a military junta called ―Dergue‖ took power in 1974. Under its chairman, Mengistu Haile Mariam, it proclaimed Marxism-Leninism to be the state ideology. More than 100,000 ―class enemies‖ and opponents of the new socialist order were imprisoned, tortured or executed.
The regime is also regarded as partially responsible for a severe famine that cost more than a half million lives between 1984 and 1985. In 1987 Mengistu proclaimed the People‘s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia – a one-party state modeled after the Soviet Union. After many years of civil war, in 1991 the Dergue regime was overthrown by the Ethiopian People‘s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). However, the OLF left the new transitional government after one year. In 1995, the EPRDF established Ethiopia as a federal republic, but it continued to govern by authoritarian rule. The People‘s Liberation Front of Tigray became the dominant power.

In **1991 following a revolution in Ethiopia, Eritrea gained its independence** . However, the borders between Ethiopia and Eritrea had never been clearly marked. Following arguments and skirmishes, Eritrea invaded the area of Ethiopia it viewed as its own. Trench warfare—and the deaths of many soldiers and civilians—has continued since then.T

T**he Return of Dictatorship in the Horn of Africa**

The Horn of Africa is experiencing a rise of authoritarian rule which is pushing back democracy. Leaders are exploiting the COVID-19 pandemic and its impact on the political and socio-economic dimensions to impose their dictatorial reign.

From Ethiopia, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed‘s postponement of elections that were scheduled to take place in August 2020, triggered the ongoing conflict in the Tigray region. Similarly, Somalia is currently in a political crisis following the failure of President Mohamed Abdullahi (Farmajo‘s) government to hold the presidential elections which were slated for February 2021. Shrinking democracy is also being experienced in countries under political transitions such as Sudan and South Sudan.

Electoralism, described as half-way transition from authoritarian rule toward democratic rule has taken hold as demonstrated in recent polls in Uganda and the upcoming elections in Djibouti. While **Eritrea** has remained under the one-man rule for decades, President Isaias ***Length of rule:*** 18 years. Afewerki became the country's first and only president in 1993 after helping achieve Eritrean independence from Ethiopia two years earlier. Countries like Kenya have stayed the course on democratic processes though recently experiencing uncertainty on the country‘s state of democracy.

This return of dictatorship is undermining democratic gains and blocking prospects of democracy across the region. Further, the resolve by leaders to retain power by all means has led to internal conflicts as reflected in Ethiopia‘s Tigray region and the tensions between the Federal Government of Somalia and Federal Member States. There is also an escalation on the humanitarian crisis particularly among the refugee population. This situation negatively impact on the political systems and create an environment that sabotages efforts to advance democratic processes.

2.4. The Secession of Eritrea and South Sudan

Over the last two hundred years or so some 70 de jure and de facto states have been created through secession. State partitioning has, on several occasions, been applied as a solution to intractable conflicts in the Horn of Africa. It has also consistently generated enduring inter-state rivalries, chronic state fragility and reproduced the same ethnic inequalities that led to partitioning in the first place. Following Eritrea independence from Ethiopia independence in 1993, South Sudan is the only case of successful secession in post-colonial Africa. Both States of Eritrea and South Sudan , gained sovereignty with the consent of their former _motherland‘, though after a long and violent struggle. South Sudan began its descent into chaos less than three years after becoming an independent state. On December 15, 2013, fighting broke out in the capital city of Juba between soldiers loyal to President Salva Kiir on the one hand and former Vice President Riek Machar on the other. The conflict quickly spread across the country to various regional towns and has now displaced approximately 800,000 people and claimed more than ten thousand lives. The current crisis came however as no surprise, as the cracks within both society and state had begun to manifest themselves long before independence.

CHAPTER THREE

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

3.1. A Brief Survey of the Middle East and its Member States

The Middle East is a geographical and cultural region located primarily in western Asia, but also in parts of northern Africa and southeastern Europe. The western border of the Middle East is defined by the Mediterranean Sea, where Israel, Lebanon, and Syria rest opposite from Greece and Italy in Europe. **Egyp**t in Africa also borders the Mediterranean and is sometimes considered as part of the Middle East, while Turkey and Cyprus literally connect Europe to Asia and oscillate between being called European and Middle Eastern.

Middle East includes 18 countries. These are Bahrain, Cyprus, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

Situated between Africa, Asia, and Europe, the Middle East has been a crossroads for traders, travelers, and empire builders for thousands of years. It is a melting pot of ethic back grounds. Major ethnic groups in the Middle East today include Arabs, Iranians, Turks, Jews (Israelis), Kurds, and Caucasians. Most of the countries in this region are multi ethnic. But

even as diversity enhances the cultural richness of society, it unfortunately may lead to political conflict

There are also several unrecognized or partially recognized states within the Middle East. **Palestine,** which is made up of the Gaza Strip and West Bank regions in and around Israel, declared its independence in 1988 and is currently recognized as independent by 134 countries, though it is not an official member of the United Nations and is not considered to be its own countries by every G-8 nation except Russia.

Geography of the Middle East

The majority of the Middle East region is characterized by a warm desert climate. Weather in this climate is very high during the summer and can reach dangerous levels, with parts of Iraq and Iran having recorded feel-like temperatures of over 160 degrees Fahrenheit (71 degrees Celsius). Average temperatures during the summer usually rest at around 120 degrees Fahrenheit (49 degrees Celsius), while the winters are somewhat milder. This climate also has very little rainfall, resulting in large desert regions. Areas of the Middle East surrounding the Mediterranean, such as Israel and Lebanon, instead boast a warm Mediterranean climate similar to parts of Greece and Italy, while Turkey‘s territory stretches over a variety of arid and continental climate. The northern regions of the Middle East in

Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia are closer to a steppe climate, with colder winters but still very little precipitation.

As a result of its **arid climate**, the Middle East is home to several of the world‘s largest deserts. **The Syrian Desert,** which also stretches into Jordan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, combines both traditional desert and steppe geography, while **the Arabian Desert** around Yemen, Oman, Jordan, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf contains more of the rolling sand dunes which often characterize desert imagery. Indeed, the Rub ̲al-Khali, or Empty Quarter, at the center of the Arabian Desert is the largest sand-only desert on the planet and receives as little as 1.2 inches (30 millimeters) of rainfall per year. **The Sahara Desert,** which stretches across northern Africa and which is perhaps the best-known desert in the world, reaches into the Middle East by way of Egypt.

Despite the proliferation of deserts within the region, the Middle East also has several **seas, gulfs, and rivers.** It shares the Mediterranean Sea with Africa and Europe and the Black and Caspian Seas with Eastern Europe. The famous **Suez Canal and Gulf of Suez** run between Egypt‘s African territory and its Sinai region bordering Israel in Asia, while the equally renowned Nile River flows from the Mediterranean Sea through Egypt and well into the African continent. **The Dead Sea** borders Israel to the West and Jordan to the East and is among the saltiest lakes in the world and is also lowest point on the Earth‘s land surface, while **the Red Sea** is shared by both the Western Middle East and parts of Eastern Africa. The massive **Tigris and Euphrates rivers** begin in the mountains of eastern Turkey, flowing through Syria and Iraq out into the Persian Gulf. The Persian Gulf, along with the Gulfs of Arden and Oman, connect the central and southern regions of the Middle East to the Arabian Sea and ultimately the Indian Ocean.

History of the Middle East

The Middle East is often referred to as **the “Cradle of Civilization,”** and a brief look at the region‘s history clearly explains why this is true. This part of the world, and particularly the Mesopotamia region around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, is home to many of humanity‘s earliest accomplishments. Neolithic humans here made their first transitions from nomadic to

agricultural lifestyles by inventing the wheel, basic agriculture, and the beginnings of the written word roughly 12,000 years ago.

Ancient Sumer was the first civilization on Earth, and produced the oldest known piece of literature, the Epic of Gilgamesh, which is now over 4000 years old. This region was also home to the ancient Akkadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian empires, while farther West the Middle East region saw the unification and rise of Ancient Egypt. Several Persian empires originating in modern Iran also rose to dominance in the Middle East, while the Romans and their successor state in the East, the Byzantine Empire, eventually controlled the region from the Mediterranean coasts up to the Euphrates River.

The Middle East is also the origin point for many of the religions and belief systems which help define modern civilizations today. The region was home to the ancient Kingdom of Israel and thus fostered the Jewish religion. Jesus is believed to have been born in Nazareth, which is located in what is now the northern region of Israel, and indeed early Christianity traces its origins back to the Middle East. The region is also the birthplace of Islam, as the Prophet Muhammad was born in Mecca (now the capital of Saudi Arabia) in around AD 570. Several other belief systems also trace their origins to the Middle East, such as the pantheon of Ancient Egyptian gods, the deities of Ancient Sumer, and the Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism of Ancient and Classical Persia.

Following the establishment of Islam, much of the Middle East came under control of Arab dynasties, followed by a series of Turkic peoples. The first of these was the Seljuks, followed by the influx of Mongol invasions during the 13th century, and finally by the Ottomans, who established an empire based in Constantinople (now Istanbul) in the middle of the 15th century. The Ottoman Empire controlled much of the Middle East for several centuries, though there were competing powers such as the Persian Safavids and the growing colonial powers Britain, France, and Russia.

The Ottoman Empire was dismantled during the course of World War I, resulting in a vacuum of power in the Middle East in which the British and French occupied further stretches of territory up until the end of World War II, where after a series of conflicts both European powers began to retreat from the region. The 20th century saw the formation of several new nations within the Middle East, such as Saudi Arabia, Iran (which had been previously known as Persia), Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Israel. The region also saw a series of major conflicts during this century, such as the Arab-Israeli War, the Iran-Iraq War, and the Gulf War. The Middle East‘s recent history during the 21st century has also been marred with violence.

law.

Demographics of the Middle East

Stretching the definition of the Middle East to include its widest borders as per the parameters outlined earlier, the population of the region rests at around 690 million people. The most populous countries in the Middle East include Pakistan (~193 million), Egypt (~90.6 million), Iran (~79 million), and Turkey (~78.7 million), while the least populated countries are Cyprus (~1.1 million), Bahrain (~1.4 million), Qatar (~2.4 million), and Armenia (~3 million).

Despite the historical rise and prominence of Islam in the Middle East, the many belief systems which originated in the region allow it to maintain a highly diverse religious makeup today. Indeed, out of the entire global Muslim population only roughly 20% live within the Middle East. This being said, Islam is still dominant and is the official state religion in most

countries of the region. Over 90% of people in Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Tajikistan, Turkey, Uzbekistan, and Yemen adhere to Islam, while Muslims make up between 50-89% of the population in Bahrain, Lebanon, Qater, Syria, Turkmenistan, and the United Arab Emirates.

Most people in the region are Arabs, and most Arabs are Muslims. Both Islamic culture and Arabic, the language of the Arabs, have had a significant impact on the region. Although the area is primarily Islamic, Islam itself can be broken down into 2 sects: Sunnis and Shi'ites.

3.2. The Significance of the Middle East

The **political and psychological significance of the Middle East is a major part of its strategic importance**. It is a symbolic and emotional area; here are centered the shrines of three of the world's great religions, **Christianity, Judaism and Islam.** It is the slow-motion collapse of the Middle Eastern oil. The Middle East is also known as the ―crossroads of the world‖ because of its location in the center of three continents – Asia, Africa, and Europe. The question, however, is how durable it is. This breaks down into two divisions: U.S. – Middle East relations being crucial to American national security, and U.S. – Middle East relations being contingent on Arab-Israeli relations and American policies.

The Middle East, then, has been quite important, geopolitically, due to the resources, and oil in particular. Israel is a big issue even in Italy (where stereotype on Zionism is very

common), often out of proportion, so one must be very objective but not necessarily ending as ―politically correct‖. With a total area of nearly 3,500,000 square miles (9,000,000 square kilometers), it is only slightly smaller than the United States. The Middle East occupied an important strategic position between Central Asia, Europe, and North Africa.

Geo- Strategic means importance of a country or a region as by virtue of its geographical location. Throughout its history the Middle East has been a major center of world affairs; a strategically, … Geopolitical Importance: Gwadar port has great strategic value, enhancing Pakistan's importance in the whole region.

The Middle East, once again, represents one of the world's most natural, strategic locations for concentration of trade and production. Due to the importance of the region primarily due to the natural resources, geopolitical interests have seen immense power-play at work affecting local populations. Water is scarce in the region, with countries often competing over access to the rivers and seas. Outcome: End of Ottoman Empire. Geo means "the Earth" strategy means "planning, tactics and policy" and significance means "importance. Geo political is defined as, stressing the influence of geographic factors on the state power, international conduct and advantages it derives from its location.

Israel is small country in the Middle East, about the size of New Jersey, located on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea and bordered by Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Throughout the world, politics in the Middle East is one of the most Confused, Chaotic and (often) violent in nature.

Factors that influence the contemporary Middle East

- Colonial Legacy
- The evolving international context
- Level of economic development
- Political institutions and ideology

Colonial Legacy: The impact of European Imperialism

Imperialism means the establishment of political and economic control by one state or empire over a foreign territory**. It is therefore that the effects of decision made in colonial era are still felt in the Middle East politics.** European powers were well aware of the geographical extent and the resources of Middle East way before they colonized. **But unlike other regions they couldn‟t colonize it due to the military power of the Ottoman Empire.** It was only after the weakening of the Ottoman Empire that these powers began to assert their influence in the region of Middle East. But these influences did not occurred over a large contiguous territory unlike other regions.

In most of the Middle East region, Colonial interest of Britain & France colonial competed dispute in Sudan But at other times, Britain and France agreed on sweeping division of authority. Sykes-Picat Agreement 1916 that divided former Ottoman district into modern day Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Israel, and the Palestine territory. Algeria and Tunisia were made an administrative part of France. Gulf region was considered a peripheral by most European powers and allowed Abdul Aziz ibn Saud to assemble an independent state on the Arabian Peninsula. Italy exercised influence in Libya. Russia exercised influence in Iran. Thus, diverse colonial interaction in Middle East led to a widely different political circumstance.

(b) **After decolonization, Middle East was dominated by three major conflicts.**

- Cold War
- Arab- Israeli disputes
- Long term war against Iraq

3.4. Peculiar Issues: Oil, Culture, Geopolitics and Religion

1. Oil

That is what the modern Middle Eastern geopolitics has usually been about. Given the vast energy resources that form the backbone of western economies, influence and involvement in the Middle East has been of paramount importance for the former and current imperial and super powers, including France, Britain, USA and the former Soviet Union. Prior to the discovery of oil, the region had been a hotbed for religious conflict and wars over other rich resources and land. The declining Ottoman Empire paved way for the rising European imperial and colonial powers interested in securing various territories and controlling access to Asia. In more recent times, interest in the region has been due to the energy resources there.

To maintain superiority, control and influence over the region, the West has placed corrupt Arab leaders into positions of power and supported the overthrow of those that are not seen as favorable. This has also served to keep their populations at bay, in return for militarization, power and personal wealth of the elite. Sometimes this has been done in the name of fighting communism. The common theme underlying it though has been the struggle to control access to important resources such as oil. One of the key issues facing the Mid-East countries is the lower oil prices in commodity markets worldwide. Oil producing countries around the world have formed a group called **the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).** It currently has thirteen members including countries outside the Mid-East.

In the 2010s there has been great dissension/disagreement among the members in setting the oil production goals. Saudi Arabia refused to lower production (which would drive up commodity pricing), causing great controversy among the members. Poorer OPEC countries like Venezuela and Nigeria want to see prices rise to better support their economies. Though

the Middle East accounts for just 4 percent of global GDP, the region carries an outsize importance in the world economy given its abundance of two natural resources: **oil and natural gas**. These resources power cars, supply electricity to cities, and fuel freighters that ship goods around the world.

The Middle East controls so much of the world‘s energy supply that when oil and gas prices rise in the Middle East, prices around the world rise as well. Much of this oil around 20 percent of the world‘s total supply passes through a narrow body of water known as the Strait of Hormuz, which separates Iran from the Gulf countries. So strategic is this strait that experts refer to it as the jugular of the global economy.

Recently, however, competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran has escalated into a series of Iran-sponsored attacks on tankers and Saudi oil installations around the strait, prompting global oil price fluctuations and concerns over the potential for broader regional conflict. The United States has strongly supported its partner, Saudi Arabia, by leveling sanctions, cyberattacks, and direct military action against Iran.

2. Religion in Middle East

Religious differences play a big part in the contemporary issues of the Middle East. There has been a lingering religious and political divide between Sunni and Shia Muslims for hundreds of years. Sunni Muslims believe there was no direct successor while Shia Muslims believe there was. Today, roughly about 85% of Muslims are Sunni and about 15% are Shia.

The Middle East assumed as the origin for various religion types. Like chiristianity, judissim, islam etc…

Christianity and Judaism are major religions practiced in Southwest Asia. Most people there are Muslims. This means that they practice the religion of Islam. Ninety percent of people in the region are Muslims.

Christianity

First adherents were Jews Scriptures chiefly first century CE, relate to Hebrew Scriptures

spread slowly, north and west, under Pax Romana militant and rapid growth after Empire adopts Christianity Clashes with Islam

Spain, Palestine, etc. Church/state contests secular outcome World-wide spread under European colonialism rarely militant, but state-protected

Judaism

Judaism is **an Abrahamic, monotheistic, and ethnic religion comprising** the **collective religious, cultural, and legal tradition and civilization of the Jewish people.**Judaism began about 4000 years ago with the Hebrew people in the Middle East. Abraham, a Hebrew man, is considered the father of the **Jewish**faith because he promoted the central idea of the **Jewish**faith: that there is one God. At the time many people in the Middle East worshipped many gods. Jewish people differ in their religious beliefs, though most practice some form of Judaism. For example, some Jews believe that Jewish people who convert to another religion should not be considered Jewish any more. The ―Law of Return‖ in Israel says that a Jew from any other country can automatically have citizenship in Israel. Sometimes Jews who no longer practice Judaism have been denied the Law of Return.

Islam

Roots in Judaism and Christianity, with Arab cultural imprint Scriptures from single source, in Arabic. Militant spread, post Hegira (after 622). **Sunni-Shia split, mid- 7th century** Theocracies religion and the state are one Rapid spread into Byzantine and Persian worlds period of cultural ascendancy Long period of relative stagnation militants now leading renewal struggle

R**eligion as a Geopolitical Factor in Today's World Final Thought** Is it a Clash of Civilizations Militant Islam vs. a

Secular West? (The Islamist View) Is it A Struggle for the Mind of Islam? (Probably Hopefully)

3**. Geopolitics**

For centuries, the Middle East has served as the crossroads of empires, given its geostrategic location between Europe, Asia and Africa. In the twentieth century, the discovery of oil there fueled modern-day rivalries between foreign powers looking to exploit the resource. World War I established **British and French** dominance in the region, while the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union fueled arms races and conflicts across the Middle East. Following British and French withdrawals and the Soviet Union‘s collapse, the United States became the dominant foreign superpower active in the region. But the disastrous occupation of Iraq, the faltering of Israeli-Palestinian peace efforts, and the dramatic rise in American oil and gas production have reduced the United States‘ commitment to the region, creating a vacuum filled by countries like China, Russia, and Turkey.

Likewise, **regional powers namely Iran and Saudi Arabia** back rival governments and armed groups in their escalating competition for regional dominance, inflaming the Middle East‘s already-fragile political situation.

Arab Spring

One of the major social issues happening in the Mid-East is the rise of '**Arab Spring**' demonstrations throughout the region, forcing the change of governments such as Libya and Egypt. In Egypt, the regime of President Hosni Mubarak ended when demonstrators took to the streets of the capital Cairo in January 2011.

In Libya, the long-time ruler Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's regime of 42 years ended when demonstrators marched in the capital of Tripoli and another large city, Benghazi, in August 2011. During that period, Gaddafi was killed by local demonstrators.

Syria Becomes Battlefield for International Proxy War

Countries outside the Middle East have intervened in the region‘s affairs repeatedly, often to advance competing economic, political, and other strategic interests. These interventions frequently turn domestic conflicts into far larger and deadlier wars. **Syria is a prime example.** In 2011, Syrians protested the oppressive rule of president Bashar al-Assad. The government responded with violence, plunging the country into civil war. But the conflict didn‘t stay local. Countries around the world poured money, weapons, and fighters into Syria in support of their various agendas. Russia and Iran defended the Assad government, their longtime partner. The United States and Europe backed opposition factions in a bid to depose

Assad . Gulf countries like Saudi Arabia and Qatar supported opposing Islamist groups. Israel launched air strikes and Turkey rolled in its tanks, both to counter perceived domestic threats. Meanwhile, Syrians suffered as their once peaceful, local protests devolved into an international proxy war.

The Islamic State: Defeated but Not Eliminated

At its peak, the Islamic State, also known as **ISIS**, controlled territory in Iraq and Syria larger than the size of Great Britain, with a population greater than Sweden‘s. It took an international military coalition of more than seventy countries to uproot the extremist group from the cities it held. But the campaign came at great cost, destroying entire cities and killing thousands of civilians. In the battle for **Raqqa,** Syria, the Islamic State‘s de facto capital, the United States launched more artillery shells than anywhere since the Vietnam War. Though the Islamic State no longer holds territory in Iraq and Syria, it continues to pose a global threat.

Meanwhile, new Islamic State chapters continue to inspire, coordinate, and carry out attacks in Afghanistan, Libya, Sri Lanka, West Africa, and elsewhere around the world.

3.5. Foreign interest and influence Interests of Super powers in the Middle East

The Middle East is the most militarized region in the world and most arms sales head there. A suppressed people that sees US influence as a major root cause of the current problems in the Middle East has led to a rise in Islamic militancy, acts of terrorism and anti-west sentiment, anti-US in particular.

The Middle East has remained an arena of strategic competition during the 19th and 20th centuries between Western European imperialist powers and Czarist Russia. Even before the dismemberment the Ottoman Empire in 1919, Britain, the most important colonial power, had strategic goals in the region and opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 provided it with an opportunity to be the dominant commercial power in the world (Alam, 2016).

The Middle East, a volatile region, has been facing immense challenges. The regional states‘ mutual distrust and suspicions about each other perpetuate instability in the region. While the strategic location and the energy richness of the region has been a contributing factor to attract outside powers to expand their influence in the region, regional rivalries have been harnessed by the outside powers by directly supporting the states and their proxies. In this regard, the Syrian case is the best example to illustrate the involvement of regional as well as extra-regional states and the drastic consequences of such involvement for regional peace and stability.

3.5.1. United States‟ interests in the Middle East

The sole objective of the US has been to maintain its predominance in the region and to achieve this end, US is ready to employ all elements of national power. This objective was clearly enunciated in the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957 and in the Carter Doctrine of 1980. The Eisenhower Doctrine pronounced US commitment to the security and stability of the Middle East by employing peaceful means – economic and military aid as well as through the use of force, while the Carter Doctrine stated that _any attempt by an outside power to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be considered as an attack against vital interests of the

US and will be deterred by any means necessary including military means (Miller, 2014) Similarly, US governments from time to time have expressed their interests in the Middle

East as core interests. Ensuring the protection and free flow of oil has been the most constant, and the most important, US interest in the Middle East.

Since the 1970s, America‘s strategic interest in the region has been not only securing easy access for itself but also ensuring an open and secure market for its allies in East Asia and Europe. Middle Eastern countries, especially the states of the Persian Gulf, are key oil producers and exporters. Europe, China, and Japan all depend on imported oil to meet their energy needs.

To prevent the spread of nuclear weapons has been another key interest of the US in the Middle East. This policy intends to prevent any hostile state from gaining enough power to threaten US interests regarding oil security or the security of Israel.

The United States maintains extensive security cooperation with Israel. Washington helps Israel preserve its ―Qualitative Military Edge‖, with legislation ensuring Israel‘s superiority over ―any conventional military threat from any individual state or possible coalition of states or from non state actors.

 Since the 9/11 attacks, the United States has prioritized counter-terrorism in its policy towards the Middle East. Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen rank high regarding bilateral counter-terrorism cooperation. US military commitments and its security guarantees have been the cornerstone of the Middle East security architecture. The US security umbrella has allowed Gulf monarchies to stand up against their powerful regional rivals – Iraq and Iran.

3.5.2 Russian interests in the Middle East

In the post-Cold War era, Russian engagement with the Middle East states can primarily be seen through the prism of countering secessionist movements in the North Caucasus as Moscow had been accusing Gulf entities of funding the separatists and extremists in Russia. Russia‘s opposition to the Iraq war and its anti-Western rhetoric helped it to improve its relations with the Muslim states. Economic relations remain focused on three areas: arms sales, energy, and investment. The region is the second largest arms export market for Russia after the Asia Pacific. Despite having political differences on issues of Iran, Syria and Palestine, Russia has established strong economic relations with Israel, with bilateral trade reaching $3 billion in 2009.

Apart from Russia‘s economic relations with the Middle Eastern states, the Arab uprisings in 2011 provided Russia with an opportunity to expand its strategic influence in the region.

Initially, Russia remained neutral regarding developments taking place in Tunisia and Egypt as part of the Arab Spring because these two countries were not of much relevance to Russia. Developments in Libya and the subsequent Western military intervention for regime change alarmed Russia, which abstained from Resolution 1973, authorizing NATO‘s airstrikes against the Qaddafi regime and sanctioning military support for opposition forces to topple the Qaddafi government. While opposing Western interventions, the Russian stance on the Syrian conflict seems highly uncompromising. The Syrian conflict has become a litmus test for confronting the concept of humanitarian intervention, as in 2008 the Russian intervention in Georgia was to set redlines against NATO enlargement (Zurn, 2016).C

3.5.3 C**hina‟s interests in the Middle East**

China‘s primary interest in the Middle East has been continued access to energy resources. China has surpassed the US as the largest importer of Gulf energy resources. Since 1995, the Middle East has been China‘s number one source of imported petroleum (Ross, 2016).

According to 2012 statistics, Saudi Arabia was the number one source of petroleum while Iran was the fourth most important supplier of imported Chinese oil. As regards China‘s energy relations with Iran, despite expressing public opposition to sanctions, China has complied with the UN and the US sanctions against Iran.

It was suggested that in ‗China‘s far west, Washington does not have a network of alliances to block Beijing from breaking out, thus China has greater opportunities to enhance its geopolitical and economic influence in Central Asia, the Middle East and beyond (Haynes, 2014). After much deliberation in 2013, the Chinese leadership declared the launching of two initiatives – the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Maritime Silk Road, adopting the name of the ancient trade route between China and the West through Central Asia and the Middle East. To pursue these initiatives, China has been constructing and financing ports in Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Turkey in the Mediterranean region as well as in Eritrea and Djibouti on the Red Sea.

Another of China‘s interests in the Middle East has been preserving internal security at home and around its periphery. China considers the Middle East as a strategic extension of China‘s periphery; as the issues unfolding in the Middle East will have a direct influence on China‘s internal security and stability. These concerns make China a very cautious player in Middle East affairs.

3.6. **The revival of Islamic Movements and Terrorism**

In the course of nineteenth and twentieth century, the **“Muslim Realm”,** started to lose the political independence, cultural identity, due to the invasions of Christians that came from Europe. These phenomena came due to the fact that Europeans had tremendously improved economical and technological capacities. The ―Muslim Realm‖ was somehow subordinated by the Christians and this was a perceived as a violation of their aspirations.

However one of the most effective and useful means to counter the western invasion was the so-called ***“Islamic Modernization”.*** Islamic Fundamentalism, which is commonly portrayed as the political Islam, is only an integral part of a broad scope of contemporary practices, ideas, and Islamic rhetoric and a devotion of Islamic populations to Islam. Revival is widely perceived and conceptualized as a non-extremist and comprehensive perspective that originates from the region of Middle East.

The remarkable scholar **John.L.Esposito** has pointed out some of the underlying indicators of Islamic Revival according to his point of view;

There are many indicators that may have fostered the Revival such as; a strict obedience of religious rules, (a regular attendance of mosques, prayers, and fasting), a widespread launching of religious publications, a promotion of Islamic values, a revival of Sufism as a revival of mysticism. In addition to this, there has been witnessed a growth of governments, organizations, laws, banks, services of social well-being and Islamic-oriented social institutions. Moreover the vast majority of rulers and governments, including secular states such as Turkey, Tunisia are becoming aware of the potential that derives from Islam, and seriously concerned about the Islamic cases.

A notable Islamic scholar **Ali.E.Hillal Desouki,** considers all this as a struggle for re-establishing the Islamic Right instead of the western right. This can be merely noticed by a vast and wide spread of Islamic education in the school system and in the consistent attempts of Islamic states to cooperate between each other and promote their values in international level.

The existence Islamic state of Iraq is the best example to draw parallels that witness the gap between European Christianity and Islam. Contrary to Christian countries that have undertaken reforms culminating in the division of state from church, nothing like this is witnessed in the Arab world.

The lack of reformism has given birth to radicalism. As the remarkable scholar Robin Right argues, radical Islam is in its substance a political agenda that aims to attain its goals through violence, and they follow the example of Iran. However the vast majority of Muslim government‘s make the difference between the true Islam and radicalism. In this context, it‘s worth emphasizing that the secular state continuously had to cope with permanent struggles to survive and fight against movements that aimed to come to power with the platform of ―Islamic Revival‖.

Causes that led to the birth of terrorist organizations in the Middle East

Undoubtedly, most of the terrorist activity has its roots in the region of Middle East. According to the renowned scholar of International Relations **Karen Mingst**, **Causes that led to the birth of terrorist organizations in the Middle East** happened as a result of three main factors;

In the claim of Palestinians for self-determination, and their inner conflicts about the strategy. In the enmity between different Islamic groups against the western powers. In the revival of Islamic fundamentalism

The birth of ISIS has happened due to three main reasons.

Firstly, it is a proto-state, which means that it is a political entity which does not represent a fully institutionalized sovereign state, and its borders are not determined. Secondly, United States and Europe intervened in Iraq only when ISIS had occupied Mosul. Thirdly, it would be better if it was named the ―State of Mind‖, owing to the fact that it utilizes anger, disappointment, the idealization of youth, ardent enthusiasm towards religion and loss of hope at young generations for a better future.

CHAPTER FOUR

MAJOR ISSUES AND GEOPOLITICAL DIMENSION OF THE

HORN AND THE MIDDLE EAST 4.1 Conflict and cooperation in the Middle East

The Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Overview Political Cause of conflict

The Arab-Israeli conflict today isn‘t about borders and never was. It‘s about a struggle for existence. The origins of the conflict indeed lay in the post–World War I happenings in the region, but beyond that, the commonly understood history of this conflict is riddled with myths and misconceptions.

The roots of the Arab-Israeli conflict lie in the 1917–1920 period. Such conflict was unavoidable. The Jewish people had a hereditary presence in Palestine going back more than three thousand years. There had always been significant numbers of Jews there, especially in Jerusalem. But after the British government committed itself to the Jewish national home policy, Palestinian Arab opposition to the returning Jewish community was unrelenting.

During those fateful years, officers and administrators at the highest level of the British bureaucracy gave encouragement, protection, and promotion to the most murderous and extreme anti-Jewish Palestinian leaders. Not surprisingly, their favorites turned out to be equally vicious enemies of the British as well.

The **Arab–Israeli conflict** is an ongoing inter-communal phenomenon involving political tension, military conflicts, and other disputes between Arab countries and Israel, which escalated during the 20th century, but had mostly faded out by the early 21st century. The roots of the Arab–Israeli conflict have been attributed to the support by Arab League member countries for the Palestinians, a fellow League member, in the ongoing Israeli–Palestinian conflict; this in turn has been attributed to the simultaneous rise of Zionism and Arab nationalism towards the end of the 19th century, though the two national movements had not clashed until the 1920s.

Religious aspects of the conflict

The Arab–Israeli conflict has a religious aspect. The beliefs of the various sides and their ideas and views of the chosen people in their policies with regard to the "Promised Land" and the "Chosen City" of Jerusalem. The Land of Canaan or *Eretz Yisrael* (Land of Israel) was, according to the Hebrew Bible, promised by God to the Children of Israel. This is also mentioned in the Qur'an. Muslims also claim rights to that land in accordance with the Quran. Contrary to the Jewish claim that this land was promised only to the descendants of Abraham's grandson Jacob (*Yisrael*), they argue that the Land of Canaan was promised to what they consider the elder son of Abraham, Ishmael, from whom Arabs claim descent.

Additionally, Muslims also revere many sites also holy for Biblical Israelites, such as the Cave of the Patriarchs and the Temple Mount.

In the past 1,400 years, Muslims have constructed Islamic landmarks on these ancient Israelite sites, such as the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount, the holiest site in Judaism. This has brought the two groups into conflict over the rightful possession of Jerusalem. Muslim teaching is that Muhammad passed through Jerusalem on his first journey to heaven. Hamas, which governs the Gaza Strip, claims that all of the land of Palestine (the current Israeli and Palestinian territories) is an Islamic *waqf* that must be governed by Muslims.

A**rab-Israeli wars**

Series of military conflicts fought between various Arab countries and Israel (1948–49, 1956, 1967, 1969–70, 1973, and 1982).

The first war (1948–49) began when Israel declared itself an independent state following the United Nations‘ partition of Palestine. Protesting this move, five Arab countries— Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria—attacked Israel. The conflict ended with Israel gaining considerable territory.

The 1956 Suez Crisis began after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. A French, British, and Israeli coalition attacked Egypt and occupied the canal zone but soon withdrew under international pressure.

In the Six-Day War of 1967,Israel attacked Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The war ended with the Israel occupying substantial amounts of Arab territory.

An undeclared war of attrition (1969–70) was fought between Egypt and Israel along the Suez Canal and ended with the help of international diplomacy.

Egypt and Syria attacked Israel in 1973 **(the Yom Kippur War),** but, despite early Arab success, the conflict ended inconclusively. In 1979 Egypt made peace with Israel.

In 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon in order to expel Palestinian guerrillas based there. Israel withdrew from most of Lebanon by 1985 but maintained a narrow buffer zone inside that country until 2000.

Effects of Arab Israeli war

Egypt managed to take over the Gaza strip in the conflict of 1948. Additionally, Jordan took over East Jerusalem and the West Bank. What's more, Israel took over more than 1/3 of land recommended by the UN and less than half the land was left for Palestine.

In 1967, Israel also gained the West Bank, Sinai, Golan Heights, Gaza strip and all of Jerusalem. Arab states on the other hand did not want to strike any peace agreement with Israel therefore, worsening the situation.

In 1979, Egypt signed a peace pact with Israel. This was an effect of Arab Israeli conflict of 1973. Egypt was the first country to recognize Israel. It was also able to regain the Sinai Peninsula.

Israel and Lebanon also signed a peace agreement. As a result, Israel withdrew its troops from Lebanon.

Environmental pollution also occurred because of the conflict. US military were highly present in Kuwait where they had set up a base. While they destroyed Kuwaiti land, burns from the fight polluted the environment. In addition, Gulf War syndrome from the exposure of toxic chemicals enraged Palestinians across the globe.

Arab-Israel peace process

Arab–Israeli peace projects are projects to promote peace and understanding between the Arab League and Israel in different spheres. These are part of a broader attempt at a peace process between Palestinians and Israelis. Sponsors of such projects can be found both in Israel and Palestine.

Joint economic efforts and businesses

Israeli–Palestinian economic peace efforts are efforts to promote joint economic projects and efforts between Israelis and Palestinians as a pathway to reach peace between the two groups. They are based partially on official efforts and projects by the governments of Israel and the Palestinian Authority, and partially on private efforts by individual companies and business people who seek to promote various ventures which promote economic unity and collaboration between the two sides.

Joint industrial parks

One major idea is the creation of industrial parks where Israelis and Palestinians can work together. In 2011, according to Naftali Bennett, there were about 50 factories in the West Bank industrial region where Jews and Palestinians were working together

4.2 Water politics: the issue of Nile

The Horn of African countries have already joined to the list of countries that are facing water scarcity. Region's available water resources exist in rivers shared by neighboring countries. Two issues that are increasingly affecting domestic policy options are **population growth and food security**. These will in turn affect the available water in the shared rivers.

For instance The Juba and Shabelle rivers in the Horn of Africa are shared by Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, But the Riparian countries have never discussed cooperation over these rivers. Ethiopia on its part decided to base its energy production on significantly hydropower, requiring large dam buildings on Ethiopia‘s major rivers. The effect of these policies will be that they will increase the fears that Somalia has in these shared rivers, as Ethiopia can theoretically divert and control the water resources in the Jubba and Shabelle rivers. Ecological claims on the water resources are more difficult to validate than those for other uses. They will however be affected by the reduction of rivers‘ water flows.

In view of internationally accepted **water principles, Ethiopia‟s arguments** are mainly based on the *principle of reasonable and equitable utilization.*

The Nile basin

States including Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Tanzania have shared long-term tension over their primary **water source – the Nile River.** Although the Nile runs through ten nations, Egypt has historically dictated water allocations

In the 1929 Nile Treaty between Britain and its Egyptian colony, any upstream

nations were forbidden from reducing the water volume flowing into Egypt and northern Sudan. The treaty states that ―[*w]ithout the consent of the Egyptian government, no irrigation or hydroelectric works can be established on the*

tributaries of the Nile or their lakes, if such works can cause a drop in water level harmful to Egypt”

The annual estimated discharge of the Nile River is 84 billion cubic meters, and this treaty allots **Egypt 55 billion cubic** meters and **Sudan 19 billion cubic meters** of water, while accounting for about 10 Billion cubic meters in evaporative

losses The actual discharge of the Nile can vary considerably, and in many cases is much less than 84 billion cubic meters.

In addition, based on the given figures, the treaty does not allot any water to the other Nile Basin states, and it forbids these states from pursuing any water projects without permission from Cairo. The construction of the Aswan High Dam and the Lake Nasser Reservoir in 1971 was another unilateral pursuit on behalf of the Egyptians to maintain control of the Nile waters. The dam not only offers Egyptians a source of hydroelectric power to help sustain their growing population, but also gives auxiliary water storage, which provides water security for drought periods.

Positive Developments on Nile River

Water Ministers from the Nile Basin countries met in Addis Ababa, in May 1999 for talks focusing on sharing Nile waters, on ways to exploit the underutilized Nile tributaries, on the estimated 40 percent rainfall in the region that is currently not exploited, and on more cooperation in joint water projects.

As a result, the Nile basin countries--Burundi, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda have agreed to unite in common pursuit of sustainable development and management of the Nile. To that end, they have established a Nile Basin Initiative Secretariat at Entebbe, Uganda. The secretariat will be the nucleus for planning and coordination of activities. It serves both the Technical Advisory Committee and the Nile Council of Ministers. The chairmanship of the council is rotated annually. Since the development of the Nile waters will require substantial external funding, member states have called upon the international community to provide support. As a result, donors include the World Bank, UNDP, CIDA, FOA, Italy, Netherlands, Britain, Germany, Norway, and Sweden. Egypt, Ethiopia and the Sudan have also agreed to design a project that will enable them to jointly utilize the Tekezie, Baro, Akobo, and Nile rivers effectively and equitably. They have already approved an accord for the equitable use of the waters of the rivers for irrigation and electric power projects and backed the principles of integrated sustainable development. Feasibility studies are also planned for joint projects.

In the view of the Ethiopian Government, the several ambitious Egyptian agricultural projects begun within the last few years are part of an Egyptian attempt to secure even more water in disregard of the needs of other countries. Egypt is doing this in violation of the obligation to keep the Nile within its natural basin and is trying to create the conditions in which it becomes the sole beneficiary of the Nile. Ethiopia has been consistent in opposition to this policy position. At the UN Conference at Mar Del Plata in 1977, for example, it asserted its rights to the waters of the Blue Nile, and in June 1980, at the OAU Economic conference in Lagos, Nigeria, Ethiopia charged Egypt with planning to divert the Nile waters to the Sinai illegally. Ethiopia claimed that Egypt's policy of hostility was also visible in its attempt to convert the Red Sea into an Arab Lake, adding that Egypt's unfriendly acts were also manifested in other areas as well. According to the constitution of the Arab League: "The League of Arab States is a voluntary association of sovereign Arab States designed to strengthen the close ties linking them and to coordinate their policies and activities and direct them towards the common good of all the Arab countries." The people of Somalia and Djibouti do not consider themselves to be Arabs, and no anthropologist has argued otherwise. Given this fact, it would be reasonable to ask: Why did Egypt sponsor their membership in

the Arab League? Could it be religious solidarity? Granted that the majority of the people in the two countries are Muslim, religious solidarity alone would not appear to be a sufficient justification for membership. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey, for example, are all Muslim states, but none of them are members of the Arab League.

4.3. Displacement and Refugee Problem

The Horn of Africa (HOA) covers Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda. Despite its rich endowment in human, social, and natural capital, the region is plagued by a complex history of weak governance, insecurity, increasing environmental degradation, entrenched poverty, and a range of persistent development challenges. Conflict remains endemic in the region. The complex cultural, social, and political nature of these conflicts is compounded by demographic shifts due both to population growth and the movement of people, as well as imbalanced service provision, inaccessibility, the growing threat of pandemic diseases, increasing conflicts over scarce natural resources, and harsh climatic conditions including frequent droughts and floods.

Much of the increase has been due to South Sudanese refugees fleeing conflict that first broke out in South Sudan in late 2013, and again in mid-2016. There was also a major increase of refugees from Somalia, following famine in the country in 2011 as well as protracted conflict and recurrent climate shocks, though there has been a decrease towards the end of the decade as some Somali refugees have returned home. Steady growth in the refugee population from Eritrea has also contributed to the increase. Another major cause of international displacement into the region was the post-election violence in Burundi in April 2015 and protracted conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Smaller numbers of refugees and asylum seekers have also arrived in the region since the outbreak of conflict in Syria (since 2011, with biggest increase in this region recorded in 2018) and Yemen (since 2015).

4.4. Drought and Desertification

The Horn of Africa is currently facing a severe food security crisis that threatens the lives and livelihoods of over 12 million people. The crisis is the result of a combination of poor, erratic and failed rains over two rainy seasons, a marked increase in the price of food stuffs, and continued conflicts that have forced millions of people in the region to flee their homes. In five regions of southern Somalia – southern Bakool, Lower Shabelle and, since 3 August in the agropastoral areas of Balcad and Cadale districts of Middle Shabelle, the Afgoye corridor IDP settlement, and the Mogadishu IDP community – famine conditions now exist, forcing increasing numbers of people to seek assistance in Mogadishu and in neighbouring countries. Agriculture is a core survival strategy in the Horn of Africa and serves as the main source of food and income for an estimated 80 percent of the region‘s population. This crisis requires strategies that simultaneously focus on saving lives and livelihoods, while building longer-term resilience. Providing support through agriculture and livestock not only provides essential food, but an income for families. In other parts of the region, conflicts and rising food prices have contributed to worrying food security situation, such as in the Sudan and
newly independent South Sudan. At the same time, two poor rainfall seasons have placed the food security and livelihoods of pastoralists in northern Uganda at risk.

4.5. The Recent developments and future prospects of the Horn countries

1. Eritrea

Eritrea shares its borders with Ethiopia, Djibouti and Sudan, with a very long port access to the Red Sea. Formerly the country was an Italian colony. The country was ruled by the Italians from 1889 until 1941 when the Italians were defeated by the British. The British soon established a military administration that lasted until 1952 when Eritrea was then federated with Ethiopia (under UN mandate). The country gained its formal independence in a referendum in 1993 although it was militarily liberated in 19912. The current government, often criticized as being an authoritarian regime, has been led by President Isaias Afwerki since 1991. He was also the cofounder of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which was established in the early 1970s. Though the Eritrean government has been under scrutiny for its excessive malpractice of governance, leading to the current level of political crisis in the country, its claims to have achieved marvellous progress in the expansion of
social services, such as the provision of health, education and other services. For example, in the area of healthcare, the government says that there has been considerable decline in infant mortality rates. The gaining of Eritrean independence from Ethiopia, through the efforts of the EPLF, is a focal point in Eritrean history and Eritrean identity.
A border dispute with Ethiopia erupted in 1998, mainly in and around the town of Badme, ending June 2000 with a peace deal negotiated by the United Nations (UN). This conflict left Eritrea in great need of foreign aid, primarily for food as the country is unable to grow enough taff to feed its' people, consequently stunting economic growth.7 The lack of taff as a staple food is only a fraction of the problem the country currently faces. The government's stubborn policy of ―self-reliance‖, without democratic political infrastructure, resulted in chronic food shortages and the sky rocketing prices of foodstuffs across the country.

Eritrea's domestic political environment is repressive while its regional role has quite often been referred by many international organizations as very destabilizing. The UN has already imposed ―targeted sanctions‖ twice against the regime in Eritrea, but has not yet brought about any major impact on the regime. In February 2002, Eritrea's National Assembly officially forbade the creation of any other political party in the near future in order to maintain the hegemony of the ruling party. The current Eritrean government has also heavily censored media, including radio and television. President Isaias Afwerki continues to use the border issues with Ethiopia to legitimize his stay in power by ―iron-fist‖, forcing the adult population to serve for extended periods in the national army and those who neglect to do their civic duty are punished by fines or imprisonment. The government tries to maintain economic autarky, by restricting foreign investment and free enterprise and has refused to accept foreign aid. In 2009, the UN placed sanctions on the country, forbidding the import and export of arms due to accusations that the government was providing financial and armed assistance to al-Qaeda via al-Shabab, a Somali Islamist group. To date, these allegations have been denied by the Eritrean government.

According to Human Rights Watch, the Eritrean government has been accused of serious human rights violations, including restriction of movement of its citizens. Eritreans who attempt to flee the country without the appropriate documentation run the risk of being tortured, imprisoned or shot at the border. Those over the age of 50 find it nearly impossible to procure exit visas. The imposition of these laws, with deadly consequences, has resulted in Eritreans leaving the country seeking refuge in neighbouring countries including Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya and Uganda.

2. Ethiopia

Ethiopia, the second largest country in the Horn of Africa, shares borders with Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan, South Sudan and Kenya. Ethiopia is one of the oldest African countries that maintained independence during the colonial era, despite a momentary Italian occupation during the Second World War. Though one of the poorest nations in Africa, it has been recognized for having a

rapidly growing economy. From 1930-1974 the country was ruled by an Imperial regime led by Emperor Haile Selassie I, followed by the Derg regime, a dictatorship led by Mengistu Hailemariam (1974-1991). The Derg regime was then overthrown by the Ethiopian People‘s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a rebel group, led by Meles Zenawi. Zenawi ruled the country from 1991 until August 2012 when he unexpectedly passed away. Zenawi‘s passing left the Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn as his successor. Ethiopia has had ongoing border disputes with neighbouring Eritrea since 1998, as well as long standing ethnic and territorial conflicts with Islamic forces from Somalia since the colonial times. The government has been accused of undemocratic behaviour as there has only been one leading party since the early 1990s. Ethiopia has had formal elections in 1995, 2001, 2005, 2010, and 2015 which resulted in maintaining its one party system. Government oppression of civil liberties such as forbidding certain ethnic political parties from running for election as well as the use of violence directed towards protestors has drawn international attention from Human Rights Watch and World Bank.

Ethnic conflicts are also occurring in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, where the majority of the population is ethnically Somali. The inhabitants of the region, led by the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), have been struggling for autonomy. The ONLF is comprised of Ogaden clansmen and an estimated eight thousand fighters that are armed by Eritrean allies. Somali-Ethiopians have reported feelings of marginalization and exclusion from national institutions. There have been reports of human rights violations against these people such as torture, sexual abuse and unlawful imprisonment as a result of counterinsurgent methods in response to the ongoing issues in the region.

More recently, Ethiopia is experiencing an active violent protest from the country‘s two largest ethnic groups, the Oromos, since 2015 and later joined by the Amharas, which both ethnic groups applaud political marginalization as a primary reason.

3. Somalia

Somalia, bordered by Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, has been ravaged by civil unrest and government instability with constant Islamist insurgents for over the last twenty years. The country of Somalia was comprised of two territories, a former British Somaliland in the north and Italian Somalia in the south. The Somali Republic was created in 1960 when the two territories merged. In 1969, General Siad Barre became president of Somalia and was in power until 1991 when he was ousted through civil rebellion from opposing northern and southern clans. However, after the fall of Barre, the clans were unable to come to an agreement for the formation of a central government. This left Somalia in a chaotic and anarchic state of affairs. From 1991 until September 2012, when the parliament chose Hassan Sheikh Mohammed as president and in turn appointed Abdi Farah Shirdon Saaid as prime minister, Somalia was without a formal government, or with weak and dysfunctional ―transitional governments‖ which are unable to govern the country in its entirety.

Somalia has had issues with Islamist fundamentalism over the years, primarily violence led by the group called al-Shabab. Broadly, one of the objectives of this group is for a highly centralized Islamic state. In 2006, al-Shabab declared allegiance to the globally known terrorist group al-Qaeda raising more international concern. According to reports of Human Rights Watch, al-Shabab has been targeting Somali schools for the recruitment of underage boys to serve as child soldiers, as well as underage girls for domestic work and forced marriage to al-Shabab fighters. Recently, al-Shabab has targeted the capital city Mogadishu with indiscriminate attacks on civilians and foreign aid workers as a statement of opposition against the Islamic law – Shiria. Since 2009, alongside Eritrea, the UN strengthened sanctions due to concerns of al-Qaeda‘s link to al-Shabab.

Somalia has had a cataclysmic history traced back to the union of the two Somalian territories in 1960. The northern Somalians, known as Somalilanders, felt underrepresented in the government and believed there to be a bias in favor of their southern Somalian neighbours. In addition to this, a military coup leading Siad Barre into power in 1969 further drove a stake into the heart of peace throughout Somalia. Barre worsened the political atmosphere in Somalia by suspending Somalia‘s ―constitution and banned all forms of political and professional association‖. Barre‘s socialist views greatly exacerbated the drought in the mid-seventies, by an inability to allocate resources and implement appropriate resources for citizens, leading to widespread famine. The Ogaden war--resulting in an influx of refugees in northern Somalia--created native residents to feel more frustrated with their standard of living. The government was later found to be recruiting these refugees into the army, creating more tension throughout Somalia.

The Republic of Somaliland, found in the northwest region of Somalia, though not recognized by the international community, is self-identified by Somalilanders as a sovereign state. After gaining independence in 1960 an agreement was made to form a union between the north and south, however following the military coup led by Barre, despite the recent convergence, many Somalilanders claim circumstances of mistreatment evidenced by violent attacks on civilians in the northern capital, Hargeisa. These events were the defining origins of the Somali civil war, with the resistance group called Somali National Movement (SNM) comprised of members of the northern region clan, Issaq, against government security forces. Finally, in 1991, this civil conflict resulted in Barre being overthrown, with Somaliland renouncing its union with the south. A referendum was later held in 2001, again showing the populations favor to remain separate from the south.

On May 5, 1998, the Garowe Declaration, named after the capital of state, declared Puntland an autonomous region. Puntland, unlike Somaliland, sought to achieve, not independence, but the formation of an autonomous regional state. However, they failed to produce an interim government, leaving the territory in the hands of clansmen leaders.

Somali women and girls have reported numerous accounts of sexual assault during violent conflict throughout the region. Somali police have been accused of treating victims of sexual assault without empathy, even slandering their character. There have been reports of instances where individuals who have tried to intervene in these acts of brutality have been imprisoned for other crimes including insulting a government body. The frustrating process of turmoil in Somalia, along with al-Shabab‘s acts of violence continues to result in widespread contempt for intervention, and failure of the international community to help the Somali‘s attain a sustainable solution.

4. Djibouti

Djibouti, the smallest of the countries in the Horn of Africa, borders Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. Djibouti‘s president, Ismail Omar Guelleh, and appointed Prime Minister, Abdoulkader Kamil Mohamed, together have kept a relatively stable political atmosphere since being elected in 1994. Similar to its neighbour Eritrea, after gaining independence in June 1977, Djibouti had a one party government, called the People‘s Rally for Progress (PRP). Djibouti‘s National Assembly is comprised of the ethnicities found in the country including the Issa (of Somali origin), the Afar (also of Ethiopian and Eritrean origin), as well as other minor Somali tribes.

In 1977, President Hassan Gouled Aptidon, ethnically a member of the Issa tribe, was elected, consequently without allowing for the proper representation of the Afar, because of Djibouti‘s one party system. Due to the Afar‘s political repression, civil conflict broke out and it was not until the 1990‘s that Aptidon allowed for a limited multi-party system under pressure from the international community – notably France. However, even with this change, an Afar dominated political group called the Front for the Restoration for Unity and Democracy (FRUD), is still excluded from

participating. This reign of a single party authoritarian government came to an end in 1994 with a power sharing deal between the Issa (PRP) and the Afar (FRUD).

Djibouti provides main port access for Ethiopian trade, but also acts as, ―a hub for international naval forces combating piracy in one of the world‘s busiest shipping routes stretching from the Gulf of Aden to the Indian Ocean‖. This is due to not only Djibouti‘s proximity to shipping channels, but also because of the political stability in the region and peaceful relationships with international neighbours – except with Eritrea. Due to the current state of peace in Djibouti, it has become a place of refugees for many displaced people within the region. Djibouti has become a place where many from the Horn of Africa seek asylum from their less favourable homes.

5. Sudan

Sudan, located in the far west of the Horn is bordered by Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Chad, Libya and the Central African Republic, with port access to the Red Sea.

Sudan, including the province of Darfur, has had a complicated and violent history which continues to present day. Sudan is home to different ethnic tribes, many of whom refer to themselves as of Arab descent (39%), African origin (30%), Beja (12%), Nubian (15%) and other (4%). The predominant religion in Sudan is Islam, followed by Christianity and some that follow traditional African beliefs. Prior to gaining independence in 1956, Sudan had historical ties with Egypt and through that with Britain, due to the colonial history of the region. Beginning in 1820, Muhammad Ali, the pasha of Egypt, ordered armed forces to occupy Sudan – this was successful until 1885 during which Sudan accomplished self-rule through an Islamic movement called Mahdiya (a form of jihad). Thirteen years later in 1898, with combined efforts from both British and Egyptian forces, Egypt regained power over Sudan. In 1956, joint Egypt-British rule ended, freeing Sudan of centuries of colonial rule. According to the UNHCR, as of January 2013 there are 2.3 million internally displaced persons, 140 000 refugees and 7000 asylum seekers located in Sudan.

The current president of Sudan, Omar Hassan al-Bashir, alongside Hassan al-Turabi who dominated the National Islamic Front (NIF) for many years before he finally fell out of favor, assumed power in 1989 through a military coup. Though elections have occurred since his initial power inauguration, their legitimacy has been severely questioned. The Sudanese government has been accused for being highly oppressive and is known to disregard human rights with the ill-treatment, torture and arbitrary arrest of civilians. Non-profit organizations promoting democracy have been forced to leave Sudan; and the local media has been severely censored as well. There are currently warrants out for al-Bashir‘s arrest, placed by the International Criminal Court in The Hague on counts of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity in Darfur.

Sudan is rich in mining opportunities and oil reserves, many of which were lost to South Sudan in the 2011 secession. However, the country‘s internal conflict has caused a shutting down of oil export and a loss of international trading partners. Instability within the country as well as tensions with South Sudan and the abuses within Darfur have made it difficult for Sudan to reap the benefits of such an economic advantage.

Darfur, a province in western Sudan, has been an area of violent civil conflict between rebel groups, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), against the Khartoum supported Janjaweed51 since 2003. Prior to the formation of South Sudan, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, signed by the North and South, insured a ceasefire. Yet, it did not address the issues of Darfur. In 2003, following attacks on Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, the government armed the Janjaweed, who are accused of ethnic cleansing in Darfur. The Janjaweed are

comprised of Darfur‘s camel-herding Arab tribes and, as of more recently, refugees from Chad, both of whom have their own personal agenda for Darfur.

6. South Sudan

South Sudan shares borders with Ethiopia, Sudan, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda and Kenya. South Sudan, the newest country in Africa and the world, gained independence on July 9, 2011. The capital of South Sudan is Juba and the current president is Salva Kir Mayardit. The country is comprised of three main Nilotic ethnic groups, which include the Dinka, Nuer and Shuluk tribes.

In 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed between the Northern and Southern leaders. Shortly after a referendum was held, South Sudan became a sovereign state.

Kenya

Kenya is a country of roughly 46 million people with its gross domestic product estimated to be $70 billion a year. It mainly produces agricultural products such as vegetables, fruits, tea and coffee, as well as some minerals. Kenya‘s strategic position derives in part from its abutting the Horn of Africa to the north, off the coast of which is one of the world‘s most important trade routes, linking the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea and thence the Mediterranean and Europe through the Suez Canal. On land, Kenya is a player in Somalia, which has been wracked by decades of internal instability and is still under threat by the al-Shabab terrorist group, despite successful presidential elections and steps back toward normality.In 2012-2013 Kenya partnered with the Somali government in operations against al-shebab.

8. Uganda

Uganda has been transformed from a country tormented by a troubled past to one praised for its promise, with impressive economic growth. Since its independence from Britain in 1962, Uganda has endured a military coup followed by the dictatorship of **Idi Amin** (uprooted by invasion from Tanzania in 1979), disputed elections in 1980, and a deadly five-year bush war that brought **Yoweri Museveni** and the National Resistance Movement(NRM) to power in 1986. Uganda also had to contend with a brutal 20-year insurgency in the North, led by the lord‘s Resistance Army(lRA). Donors, or _development partners‘, have played an important role in post-1986 politics in Uganda. On taking power, the Museveni Government implemented many donor-pleasing economic and political reforms, including IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes.

Impressed, western donors rewarded Uganda with loans and grants and, until a few years ago, funded more than half of the country‘s budget. However, as the country‘s economy has grown, tax revenues have increased and Uganda‘s reliance on donors has fallen. Such developments have coincided with a more robust stance from the Museveni Government towards donors, although geo-political strategic relations with the west appear healthy, given Uganda‘s deployment of troops to Somalia under the donor-funded African Union Mission and cooperation with US troops who entered Uganda in2011 to support the hunt for lRA rebels.