

GEOPOLITICAL TENSIONS AND PEACEBUILDING EFFORTS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

Tesfaye Alemu Bekele

Department of Civics and Ethical Studies, Debre Birhan University, Debre Birhan, Ethiopia

Abstract: The term "Horn of Africa" has evolved from a geographical label to a complex concept that encompasses various socio-political, economic, and cultural dynamics of the region. Historically associated with the ancient "Land of Punt" or Terra Aromatica, the Horn of Africa covers a vast area in northeastern Africa, including Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Sudan, and South Sudan. Despite the historical and geographical connotations, there is no universally agreed-upon definition of the Horn of Africa. The region's boundaries are often described as extending from the Indian Ocean in the east to the borders of Chad in the west, and from Egypt in the north to Uganda and Kenya in the south. Initially, the concept of the Horn was primarily concerned with Somali-Ethiopian relations, but it has expanded to reflect broader issues such as security challenges, ethnic conflicts, and political instability that affect the entire region. The region's strategic importance due to its location on the Gulf of Aden has heightened international interest in understanding its security dynamics. This study delves into the key security challenges facing the Horn of Africa and proposes pragmatic peace-building strategies for addressing these issues. By exploring the historical context and current security concerns, this paper offers insights into the root causes of instability and presents theories for sustainable peace-building in the region.

Key words: Horn of Africa, Security Challenges, Peace-building, Regional Stability, Conflict

INTRODUCTION

The term 'Horn of Africa' was coined from a fleeting look at a map rather than any perception of inhabitants of that locality of north-east Africa (Woodward, 1996). Nevertheless, this nomenclature is commonly used to refer "the Old 'Land of Punt' or Terra Aromatica on the shores of the Gulf of Aden whence came the Frankincense and myrrh" (Gerald, 1954). There is no agreement on exactly what the nomenclature 'Horn of Africa' epitomizes. In fact, the most common and historically more proper connotation would be the area stretching from the boarder of the Indian Ocean in the East, the boarder of Chad in the West, and from the Egyptian boarders in the North, to the boarders of Uganda and Kenya in the South (Lencho, 2004; Clapham, 2017). Thus, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Sudan and South Sudan are commonly considered as part and parcel of the Horn of Africa. The concept of the 'Horn' has grown from an early concern about Somali's relation with Ethiopia, to take in all of the latter's problems, and then increasingly to include Sudan as well. The reason for this expansion lies primarily in the perception that there seems to be a history of common problems in the region (Woodward, 1996). History of common problems of the region are among others, intra-state and inter-state disputes over boarders; widespread and prolonged civil war threatening not only governments but the survival of states themselves; economic regression that appears to owe something at least to domestic policy failure; and environmental decay; in addition to the famines that seemed to grow in scale and regularity (Clapham, 2017; Woodward, 1996). Likewise, Amare (1996) also noted that the 'Horn' is highly characterized by pluralism in terms of ethnic and religious lines. In addition, lacks of national cohesiveness, underdevelopment, violence, civil war, liberation and secessionist struggle, coup d'état and insurrections are also the common features of the region (see also Clapham, 2017).

Accordingly, the region is broadly marked by political anarchism filled with repression, violence and human rights violation. That is why the region was labeled as 'Hobbesian World' (Amare, 1996).

In a nutshell, the 'Horn of Africa' was the most volatile and conflict-ridden region that encounters different forms of conflicts and internationalized threats to peace and security over the years. Correspondingly, the region is one of the major geostrategic regions in the world due to numerous factors. Among others, its geopolitical location along the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and Indian Ocean which is the most vital maritime trade routes connecting Asia, Africa, Middle-East and Europe. Thus, the region has been deeply affected by external influences for instance; it has provided the most striking incursion into Africa of the global rivalries of the Cold War. Consequently, external powers have been absorbed into the existing structure of the region, and have mainly contributed to conflicts (Clapham, 2017; Yirga, 2021). Nowadays, among others political instability, insecurity, civil war and violence, human rights violation, periodic starvation, famine and displacement of peoples are rampant problems of the region in general; and in Sudan, South-Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea in particular. Hence, it is vital to explore the causes and magnitude of such protracted problems on the one hand; and to provide pragmatic peace building strategy theories as a solution on the other. The study is intended answer the following research questions:

1. What are the key security challenges in the 'Horn' of African States?
2. What are the factors that provoked security challenges in each state of the 'Horn of Africa'?
3. How pragmatic theories of peace building strategies could be applied to cope up the existing security challenges of the 'Horn of Africa'?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In attaining the objective of the study, a documentary qualitative research method was employed. The study is both descriptive and explanatory in its form. In terms of scope, those states that are commonly referred to as parts of the 'Horn of Africa', i.e., Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and South-Sudan are covered within the study. On the other hand, a variety of reliable data sources such as books, journal articles, international legal documents, conference papers, reports, map and web-page sources are intensively used. The study was interpreted and analysed thematically through qualitative analysis techniques. Consequently, based on its findings, conclusions and empirical recommendations are forwarded.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The 'Horn of Africa': An Overview of Its Geostrategic Situation

The 'Horn of Africa' became one of the fierce expansionist competition sites since the second half of the 19th century. It had involved both domestic and foreign forces to occupy the area for achieving their objectives. Its strategic significance, being located adjacent to the Red Sea Coast, drew external competitors at different times (such as Egypt, France, Italy and Britain), to involve in the area (Leenco, 2004; Bahiru, 2006). Hence, the 'Horn' is an area of the world whose strategic location has thrust it into the international arena as a potential crisis zone. Overlying the Middle-East and the Indian Ocean, it borders the oil-rich states of Arabia, controls the Babel Mandeb Straits which in turn is one of the narrow routes of Israel's sustenance (Peter Schwab, 1978). Broadly, its vast territories surrounded by big water bodies, i.e., the Nile, the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean have all depict the region to outside influences (Woodward, 2006).

The 'Horn of Africa' in the Post-Cold War Period

In the post- Cold War period, many of Africa's long-lasting conflicts, including Eritrea's 30-year liberation war apparently came to an end. Somalia pierces a period of profound state collapse from which it has yet to come out.

Ethiopia and Eritrea involved to a more destructive & horrible war between 1998 -2000 (Sally, 2008). The end of the Cold War contributed to the fall of Siad Barre's and Mengistu regimes, in Somalia and Ethiopia, respectively. However, in both states, the situation did not allow the establishment of greater social stability. Rather, it brought another civil wars and new ethnic, religious and economic fragmentations, which resulted in the absence of democratization and legitimatization. As a result, the social, political, economic, and constitutional situation is not set and steady yet, and for these reasons, the 'Horn of Africa' can still be considered as a permanent emergency area (Valeria, 2003).

Major Security Problems in the 'Horn of Africa' The 'Horn of Africa' is a region historically characterized by horrifically high level of conflict, which has taken in the form of both guerilla warfare, and 'conventional' wars between states (Clapham, 2017). It is long considered as a breeding ground of ethnic conflict; and that is the reason why states of the 'Horn' are generally labeled as "technocratic states". i.e., states controlled by one or more ethnic groups (Markakis, 1994). Nowadays, each state of the 'Horn' is facing new socio-economic and political crisis and conflicts. The problems appear to be obstinate. Wherever improvement has been witnessed, it has become fragile as it is being seen in Ethiopia today. In general, the scope of violent conflict and security challenges in the 'Horn' is greater than from any other African region. It has been prevalent and persistent, characterized by both civil war and inter-state war (Sally, 2008; Clapham, 2017). Most of the conflicts are state-centered, manifested mainly through insurgencies and civil wars (Omeje, 2008). Likewise, Medhane (2004) also noted that the 'Horn' is one of the most fragile crisis regions in the world, and close observers have not wavered for proliferate ideas of what the key sources of conflict-identity fault-lines, resource, poverty, super power rivalry, porous borders, among others. All these factors are closely interconnected and pertinent to a contemporary issue of regionalized civil wars and inter-state rivalry in the 'Horn'. They all catch aspects of the wider conflict system in the region. Accordingly, almost in all instances, the conflicts in the 'Horn' are system-induced conflicts. Equally, Bahiru (2006) noted that the region is extremely characterized by a breeding ground of ethnic and inter-state conflict. Thus, the thorny issues are identity, more specifically the challenge of reconciling divergent and often contradictory forms of identity-ethnic versus territorial nationalism, irredentism versus territorial sovereignty, self-determination versus interdependence. Broadly, the region remains the most conflict-ridden areas of the continent (Patrick, 2013; Elsa, 2013). On the other hand, the peace-building effort in Africa is constrained by a number of challenges (Tony, 2010; Omeje, 2008). In the following sections of the study, an assessment of country case major security challenges is discussed briefly followed by peace building strategy theories for states of the region.

Djibouti: This country is principally a combination of two ethnic groups, i.e. the Afars and the SomaliIssas. There have been military actions by the Afar FRUD faction until the early 2000's. Nevertheless, there is naturally a threat of being involved in regional struggles (Anders, 2004). In fact, compared to the other states, Djibouti appears to live in relative peace and harmony (Bahiru, 2006). However, it is a volatile state. The comparative peace and stability of this small country has been endangered by the actions of two Afar movements opposed to the Issadominated ruling party, the Rassemblement Populaire pour Progress (RPP). A fierce Intra-Issa struggle for the succession further complicates matters (Amare, 1996). The country experienced occasional incidents of ethnic-based rebel groups. It also faces a threat from terrorism. In fact, the main trigger for oppositions remains socio-economic issues, although alleged political oppression and refuge issues (Crisis 24 Horizon; Djibouti Country Report, 2022). In addition; this state is virtually dependent on French support and other foreign state influences (Redie, 2004).

Eritrea: Though it became independent after thirty years of struggle, it has faced a multiplicity of problems (Amare, 1996; Zemenfese, 2004). It is a volatile, conflict-prone region posed specific challenges to its neighboring states at different times (Magnolia, 2013). Though resolved through political and diplomatic negotiations with rigorous peace building efforts of both Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed of Ethiopia and President Isayas Afewerki of Eritrea, thorny relations with Ethiopia constitute perhaps the most intractability in the region (Bahiru, 2006). In addition, overwhelmed democratic institutions and isolation from the regional and international arena for long period of years was also the common feature of the government since 1993. The government has taken a path from democracy to dictatorship since there is a high degree of neo-patrimonial tendencies (Belachew, 2010). Moreover, it has become a constant subverting force in the region, hosting various armed opposition groups at different times (Centre for Policy Research and Dialogue and Inter-Africa Group, 2007).

Ethiopia: For long periods, Ethiopia was acting as a strong state for the maintenance of peace and stability not only in the region but also for the continent. Nevertheless, Ethiopia is a conflict prone country yet without reliable stable political system. Following the adoption of ethnic-based federalism in 1991, Ethiopia has been experiencing inter-ethnic violence as a result of politicization of ethnic identities (Semir, 2019; Abbink, 2011; Aalen, 2006). The motives behind adopting ethnic-federalism were for the assumption that it will serve as a means to mitigate ethnic tensions and conflicts by addressing the historical 'national questions' and other injustices (Abbink, 2011). However, such motives are constrained by ethnic politicization and narrow nationalism mainly because of the intertwined nature of ethnic groups and territory; and the existence of high affinity of ethnicity as an instrumental vehicle for group mobilization to maintain self-determination right & access to state's financial resources. Thus, conflicts over issues of identity, boundary, and resources are pervasive since 1991 (Abbink, 2011; Aalen, 2006). Thus, ethnic conflicts are mushroomed throughout the country and reached at peak of its highest level. Since the heightened stages of popular protest in 2017, both inter-regional/ethnic conflicts and government against resistance groups are here and there (Semir, 2019).

Consequently, the mid-2018, a kind of 'political liberalization' reform was introduced after the coming into power of Prime-Minister Abiy Ahmed. The new prime minister has promised some basic initiatives and reforms; among others the vision to create a strong multinational state by avoiding political practices of hatred, suppression, coercion and violation of human & democratic rights through his personal political perspective known as '*Mademer*' ('togetherness) in which the term embraces an idea of mutual love, respect, unity & tolerance'. In fact, some progressive measures were witnessed at the initial stage of the political liberalization process. The leadership of the new prime-minister has also achieved some diplomatic relations with Eritrea by avoiding the age old 'no war -no peace' situations of the two countries. That is why, Prime Minister Abiy's peace building effort between Ethiopia and Eritrea enabled him to win the World's 2019 Nobel Peace Prize.

Nevertheless, even after the mid-2018 periods, the state building processes of the country are adversely constrained by narrow nationalists who are seriously eroding the peace and security conditions of the state. Consequently, the political system is getting worse and worse since internally in every aspect of the citizen's life, ethnicity is placed above democracy and politics of ethnicity and wrong historical narratives are mainly internalized by political elites and ethnic entrepreneurs. Thus, ethnic-based violence, population displacement, maladministration, neo-patrimonial practices, coercion, ethnic tensions and mistrust are becoming the common features of the country. The consequences of such conflicts were very terrible and devastated (Hagmann & Abdi, 2020; OCHA, 2021; Semir, 2019). The civil war with Tigray had also brought far reaching consequences leading to several deaths, property destructions, displacement, starvation and socio-economic and psychological crisis

particularly in the conflict affected areas of Tigray, Amhara and Afar regions. The failure to provide immediate responses to identity and boundary questions was/is also the precarious peace and security challenges of the country.

Because of these complicated and yet unresolved violent conflicts, the country is now entangled by extreme humanitarian crisis, displacement of millions of civilian. Interestingly, Ethiopia has been a country with the lowest number of IDPs in the pre-2017 periods. However, this is reversed when the country produces over 3 million of IDPs in crisis because of conflict, making one of the world's top IDPs hosting state since 2018 (see also Semir, 2019). In the backdrops of all these complicated current contexts of the country, the endeavor to deal with the conflict at least to put drop of efforts is very timely for the ultimate purpose of reversing peace and stability in the country.

On the other hand, Ethiopia's military intervention to attack the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) in Somalia since 24th December 2006 had brought about another potential security risk of this state since then (Elsa, 2013). Furthermore, the 'no peace no war' situation between Ethiopia and Egypt over Nile River is also another security dilemma in the region. Though Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan are still in the process of negotiation regarding the fair utilization of the Nile; Egypt is not as such optimistic for the construction of the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) fearing that its benefit will get affected by the construction of the dam. As a result, until recently Egypt remained reluctant to settle the issue peacefully through round-table discussions as Ethiopia continuously triggers.

Somalia: It has been a state of political vacuum and a failed state since 1991 to the recent years. Towards the end of 2004, the Transitional Federal Government was established but remained fragile for most parts of its latter periods. There is no functioning democracy and the human rights situation is atrocious (Belachew, 2010; Anders, 2004). Recently, there seems to be little hope for an early settlement of conflict and the resurrection of the Somali state from the ashes of civil war. It has shaken off all aspects to find a political settlement and is once again in a state of turmoil that terrorizes the security of its neighbors (The Centre for Policy Research and Dialogue and Inter-Africa Group, 2007). In this state, because of its terrible, violence and political instability and insecurity, the UN had imposed an armed embargo just for more than a decade and such firearms ban is released and abandoned by the UN decision very recently at the end of November 2023. In brief, as far as the principal security challenges of Somalia is concerned, "warlordism, the question of Somaliland, political Islam, and the occupation and hegemonic control of land and resources in the deep South of the country have been the main obstacles of peace and reconciliation since the collapse of government in 1991" (The Centre for Policy Research and Dialogue and Inter-Africa Group, 2007). The intermittent terrorist attacks of *Al' Sha-bab* is also the other protracted, pervasive and critical security problem of the state.

South Sudan: The current security problem in this newly emerging state reflects fundamental tensions and mistrust among South Sudanese leaders and ethnic groups that trace back to Sudan's north-south civil war. The Sudan's government financial backing for the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) splinter groups to attack the state & the persuasions of some smaller militia groups in operation are some of the problems (Laurene, 2014). The current security problem in South Sudan is so complicated and related to power struggle among ethno-identity lines particularly after President Kiir's July 2013 announcement of a major cabinet reshuffle, in which Vice-President Machar and several other key officials were removed from office, formalized a major fissure in the ruling party.

Even after the reconciliations made with the mediation role of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the western powers particularly the US, sustainable peace, security and development is not yet achieved and hence, both parties were engaged in a blatant conflicts and violence intermittently. In fact, recently positive peace processes are being witnessed in between the two blatant groups. Both groups are now agreed to solve their problems through reconciliation. In spite of such recent developments however, numerous socio-economic & political challenges are witnessed in this state. The state & its communities were devastated by protracted civil-wars. As a result, the socio-economic livelihood of the citizens was significantly deteriorated and a significant number of the communities were migrated to the neighboring states as a refuge. Thus, the political instability of the state had created serious anarchism, economic and social instability, poverty and hunger in a greater magnitude.

Sudan: For long periods, Sudan is cut off internationally, and was included in the list of recluse states by the US for sponsoring and exporting terrorism during the period of Oumar Hassen Al'Bashir. Sudan is also at odds with almost all its neighbors. Several of them have accused Khartoum of training, financing and arming groups to subvert them. There were times in which Eritrea and Uganda have broken diplomatic relations. The Sudanese government stands accused of gross human rights violations, and the United Nations has passed a resolution (2 March 1995) to allow monitoring of abuses even from outside the country. One report concludes the Sudan has been 'the object of worse (UN) resolutions than South Africa and Israel (Amare, 1996). In addition, peace in this state is also constrained by the strong interest from international companies for oil exploitation (Anders, 2004). Moreover, the unresolved boundary demarcation including resource matters like oil and mistrust with the South Sudan government is another chaos which attracts regional and international actors in the region. The spectacular rise of high living coast accompanied by corruption and maladministration lead to the outbreak of mass uprising in Sudan which results the down fall of President Oumar Hassen Al- Bashir. Consequently, there has been intense political instability in Sudan which also witnessed socio- economic depression that led to the changes of leadership in a subsequent period of time. Even today, the civil war between Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces-General Abddel Fattah al'-Bruhan and Commander-in Chief of the Special Forces General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, brought Sudan and its citizens to its worst situations. Thus, absence of peace and political stability, civil war, violence, loss of human life, property destructions, displacement of peoples, famine and starvation are common problems in today's Sudan.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION Pragmatic Peace Building Strategy Theories for Remedies

Designing security strategies in the context of Africa in general is relatively complicated. In this regard Omeje (2010) noted the degree of such complication by stating that "it suffices to say that as far as Africa is concerned, the conceptual and paradigmatic aspect of security is still as problematic as the empiric methodological aspect". No settlement has seemingly happened because the questions about who sets the security agenda in various issue areas, and whose interests impregnate dominant security discourses and policies, are at the heart of most conflicts that threaten the fabric of different African states. Thus, numerous African stakeholders and social classes, tend to have different ideas and constructions about and strategies for security. This represents a fundamental conflict of securities.

Generally, the concept of security is a highly contested much about on whose security is most overriding and the way how to afford such security. However, taking in to account such debates, the study attempts to forward some fundamental and indispensable peace building strategy theories for those challenges facing states of the 'Horn of Africa'. Nevertheless, the writer asserts that there is no 'one fit for-all' best panacea model to alleviate all the

problems facing those states of the 'Horn' since their problem is very intricate and multifaceted. Therefore, it is better to adopt and embrace a multiple of security strategies through prioritizing their respective problems.

The Neo-Realist Security Approach

According to this theory, the state is the primary emphasized object of security. Hence, security is conceived by most proponents in terms of the management and control of expected risks and threats to the state (Omeje, 2010). In this regard, since Somalia is now evolved from a failed state, Djibouti is also approaching towards a volatile state and South Sudan is an emergent and young State, and Ethiopia, which probably might face terrorist attacks from ethnic and religious extremists, it is vital to give due emphasis towards the Neo-Realist Security theory. Thus, all states of the Horn to a limited extent need to safeguard and secure their respective state's security as a prioritized agenda. In fact, there is major incongruity associated with the "realist state-centric conception of security", particularly when put in to effect on the context of the African continent in general and the 'Horn of Africa' in particular. This is because of the fact that, in Africa in general, security is principally conceived as the security of the state and its political hegemony. Hence, the political regime installs enormous state's budget to sustain the security device as a means of safeguarding and sustaining their power. Moreover, such securitization wears down both the democratic space to voice minority demands, and the likelihood those demands will be accepted (Kymilica, 2006). The defense budget of Eritrea is for example, excessively high, and as a result, vital segment of the economy that impacts the lives of citizens are often degraded. For instance, "for countries like Eritrea, Sudan, Ethiopia, high defense spending was a recipe for war making, either at home or across the national frontier" (Omeje, 2010). Corruption is also another deep-rooted challenge in the majority of the states, and as a result, most of the people are impoverished.

The Critical Security Studies or Emancipation of Security Approach On the basis of this theory, security is preeminently envisaged by human emancipation. Human emancipation is defined as freeing people as individuals and groups, from social, physical, economic, political and other constraints that stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do (Omeje, 2010). Most importantly, this theory emphasizes for addressing the needs and demands of the most vulnerable populations such as in areas of poverty alleviation, environmental protection, treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS, and human rights protection and of equitable and balanced progressive development. Aptly, the theory is always in favor of the unprivileged and powerless groups. This theory is very fundamental for all States of the Horn of Africa since the most serious and deep-rooted security challenges of these States are problems related to poverty, hunger, prevalence of HIV/AIDS, and severe environmental degradation (See also Redie, 2004). In addition, violation of the fundamental human and democratic rights is another rampant security challenge of the sub-region. In this regard, Anders (2004), also noted that "when discussing this part of Africa, we find two obvious features, i.e. a continuous explosive political situation and a wide spread deprivation for the majority populations".

Hence, the researcher asserted that political elites of all states of the 'Horn' must show their real commitment in alleviating the existing individual and group security challenges facing at home. For instance, in the case of Eritrea the civil and political rights of citizens must be respected by the government and should alleviate poverty and hunger of its citizens. In the case of Ethiopia, the liberal perspectives on human rights should be given much emphasis so as to stop the disfranchisement of the various ethnically & linguistically dispersed communities living within the various ethnically defined territories. The existing ethnic-based administrative boundary daunted peoples' mutual coexistence and freedom of movement across regions and become a barrier for investment and development. Above all, most of the regional states have failed to give adequate legal protection to the right of

citizens and minorities outside their ethnic groups. As a result, citizens and their property are targets of attacks and displacement. This situation is significantly affecting the overall development endeavors of the country. Accordingly, remaking the federal administrative structure or introducing a policy that aims to protect the liberal rights of citizens is essential through conducting rigorous public discussions. Likewise, political elites of South-Sudan, Somalia, Sudan and Djibouti should trust each other and must turn their face towards development endeavors that benefits their unprivileged citizens.

The Copenhagen School of Societal Securitization Approach Advocators of this school emphasizes for securing politically significant ethno-national and religious identities' (Omeje, 2010). Therefore, according to this school of thought security is all about how and why certain developments or issues are factored into the security agenda and why other issues are non- captured, sidetracked, abandoned, relegated, or simply de-securitized. In general, according to this perspective, peace is conditioned by inter-state relations, domestic politics and securitization.

Hence, states of the 'Horn of Africa', which are in problem with their respective "Ethno-nationalist" groups claiming self-autonomy or power sharing at the centre, must be 'dis-factored' or 'de-securitized' through continuing democratization and negotiation process. This is a typical mitigating strategy for the current problem in South Sudan (between Kirr's group and other factions), Ethiopia (with all armed groups found in the country); Djibouti (with the Issa's & Afar's), even Eritrea and Sudan (with their splinter faction groups). Likewise, Sudan & South Sudan needs to settle their unresolved boarder and resource issues peacefully. Ethiopia and Eritrea should enhance multilateral peace and must avoid mistrust and fear of war along their boarders. Moreover, in all states of the 'Horn', the disfranchised diverse ethnic, linguistic and religious identity groups found within each state must be recognized. Furthermore, the current symptoms of 'securitization' over Nile River between Ethiopia and Egypt should be 'discretized' via continuing diplomatic negotiation and consensus on the basis of Ethiopia's assertion of 'using the Nile River fairly and proportionally by all concerned states. Furthermore, one common problem being witnessed across all states of the 'Horn' is the tendency of neo patrimonial practice. Therefore, they have to refrain from this tendency and should run their citizens only through formal rules and constitutions rather than operating along patron-client networks.

Security in the Third World Context: A Subaltern Realist Security Approach

The founder of this theory Ayoob (1997) emphasizes the external and domestic dimensions of security. While external security is more concerned with external threats to the state, domestic security is particularly concerned about intra-state conflicts. According to this theory, the domestic dimension of security is far more important than the external one. This is because; giving priority to the domestic dimension of security will not only help Third World states in their search for effective statehood, but also to resist domination by the powerful industrialized and developed states (Ayoob, 1997; Omeje, 2010). Accordingly, since most states of thee 'Horn' are still in problem with domestic chaos like intra-state conflicts (such as in Sudan, Ethiopia and SouthSudan); economic failure, good governance problems, poverty, famine and starvation (such as in Sudan, South-Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea); infrastructure, financial and institutional scarce, environmental decay and foreign threats which is common for almost all states of the 'Horn of Africa', they should effectively should utilize the essence of a subaltern realist security approach. Henceforth, all States of the 'Horn' need to prioritize in solving their domestic problems and should concern more about their own state building projects. In this regard, although the civil war in the northern part of Ethiopia was recently ended following the Pretoria Peace Agreement; another civil war was continued in Amhara and Oromia regions. Thus, the government of Ethiopia needs to solve the

versatile domestic problems through rigorous dialogue and political negotiations. It should also fully engage in immediate rehabilitation tasks particularly in the war affected areas of Tigray, Amhara and Afar regions. Likewise, the government is expected to provide genuine responses and sustainable solutions to peoples repeated claims over boundary, identity and self-determination issues through peaceful means. In general, Ethiopia must resolve its domestic socioeconomic and political crisis including the progressively increasing high living costs, maladministration and corruption since it has a potential impact for external security threats. Likewise, Sudan, South-Sudan and Somalia must resolve their domestic security problems by ending civil-war with their respective rival armed factional groups through political negotiations and peace dialogues.

The Environmental Security Approach

Since all states of the 'Horn' are also characterized by deep-rooted environmental degradation, they need to give due emphasis in the rehabilitation of their environment, not necessarily for the aim of the neo-liberal economic perspectives. In this regard, Ethiopia under the leadership of Prime Minister Abiy had installed a new environmental protection under his initiative called 'the Green Legacy'. In this project for the last four years, billions of plant seedlings were planted and the endeavour is still continued that may be taken as a role model for all developing states of the world in general. In a nutshell, all states of the 'Horn' need to avoid their feeling of mistrust to each other and endorse mutual cooperative schemes. In this regard, other than the above modern approach of peace, the traditional method of conflict resolutions are also vital strategies like "Elite Co-optation", especially defending themselves from terrorism, and other potential state-centred challenges (Omeje, 2008).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

As already discussed in the study, the security challenges of the 'Horn of Africa' are immense and multifaceted. The region was a hub for conflicts, civil wars and violence. Among others, the issue of insecurity, deprivation and post-conflict pacification should be addressed at various levels. Therefore, it is vital to give much attention by all stake holders to bring out the region from the complex set of multifaceted peace and security problems which involve endemic conflicts, wars, violence, socioeconomic disasters and so on. Although forwarding theoretical assumptions of peace strategies may not an easy task compared with discussing particular challenges, the writer wants to forward the following brief recommendations.

First and foremost, in terms of priority all states of the region must give due emphasis for 'human emancipation' which is the focus of the critical security studies. Thus, they are expected to address the needs and demands of the most vulnerable populations such as in areas of poverty reduction, environmental protection, human rights protection, prevention and treatment of HIV AIDS, and equitable and balance economic development. Accordingly, all states of the region should focus to emancipate all the victims through 'pro-poor' and other social-justice approaches. Secondly, almost all state of the region must properly utilize the strategy of a Subaltern Realist Security approach. This is because; all states of the region are endowed with versatile domestic security problems that would potentially pave a way for external security threats. Thirdly, countries such as Ethiopia, Sudan and South-Sudan, even Somalia and Djibouti should utilize the Copenhagen School of Societal Securitization theory since peace is conditioned by inter-state relations, domestic politics and securitization. Last but not least, all states of the region should follow the foot-steep' endeavor of Ethiopia so as to realize the environmental security approach as a means for the rehabilitation of their environmental degradation and decays. In sum, political elites of each state of the 'Horn' should attempt to solve their internal & external problems using a combination of multi-security strategies so far discussed in the study. Consequently, they have to create a strong commitment,

mutual trust and cooperation not only among and between elites of states of the 'Horn', but also with the whole continent as well as globally. In this regard, civil society associations and regional organizations like Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and African Union (AU) could exert their maximum potential in the process of pacifying the region.

REFERENCES

- Aalen, Lovise (2006). 'Ethnic Federalism and Self-determination for Nationalities in a Semi Authoritarian State: The Case of Ethiopia'. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 13(13), 243-261.
- Amare Tekle (1996). 'International Relations in the Horn of Africa (1991-1996)'. *Review of African Political Economy*, 23(70), 499-509.
- Anders Narman (2004). 'The Greater Horn of Africa: Conflicts and the Civil Society', 81-105; In Count Pietersen and *et al.* (eds.), Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre Report 3: Horn of Africa. Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre Board: Lund Sweden.
- Ayob, M. (1997). 'Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective'. In K. Krause & M.C. Williams (Eds.), *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*. London: UCL Press.
- Bahiru Zewdie (2006). 'Embattled Identity in North East Africa: A Comparative Essay' In Heinrich Böll Foundation (ed.), *In Quest for Peace in the IGAD Region: The Role of Intellectuals and Scholars*. Nairobi: Kenya.
- Belachew Gebrewold (2010). 'Democracy and Democratization in Africa' PP. 148-170, In Francis, David (ed.) *Peace and Conflict in Africa*. Zed Books Ltd: London/New York.
- Centre for Policy Research and Dialogue & Inter- Africa Group (2007). Conference on the Current Peace and Security Challenges in the Horn of Africa. *CPRD and IAG: Addis Ababa*.
- Crisis 24 Horizon (2022). Djibouti's Country Report'. <https://crisis24.garda.com>.
- Clapham Christopher (2017). *The Horn of Africa: State Formation and Decay*. Oxford University Press.
- Elsa G. Aime (2013). 'The Security issues Behind the Ethiopian Intervention in Somalia (2006-2009)', PP.32-47; In Alexandra Magnolia (ed.), *State and Societal Challenges in the Horn of Africa: Conflict and Process of State Formation, Reconfiguration and Disintegration*. Center of African Studies: Lisbon.
- Hagmann, T., & Abdi, M. (2020, March). *Interethnic violence in Ethiopia's Somali Regional State, 2017-2018*. London School of Economics and Political Science(LSE), Conflict Research Program; Research Memo.
- International Crisis Group (2009). '*Ethiopia: Ethnic Federalism and Its Discontent*'. Crisis Group Africa Report N°153.
- John Abbink (2011). 'Ethnic-Based Federalism and Ethnicity in Ethiopia: Reassessing the Experiment after 20 Years'. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 5 (4), 596-618.

- Lauren Blanchard (2014). 'The Crisis in South Sudan'. *'Congressional Research Service'. CRS Report.*
- Leenco Leta (2004). *The Horn of Africa as Common Homeland: The State and Self-Determination in the Era of Heightened Globalization.* Wilfrid Laurier University Press: Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
- Markakis, John (1994). 'Group Conflict and Human Rights in the Horn of Africa'. *A Journal of Opinion*, 22 (2), 5-8.
- Medhane Tadesse (2004). *Turning Conflicts to Cooperation: Towards an Energy Led-Integration in the Horn of Africa.* -Ebert-Stiftung: Addis Ababa Office.
- OCHA. (29 January 2021). *ETHIOPIA: Metekel Zone, Benishangul Gumuz Region Flash Update No. 2.* United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.
- Omeje Kenneth (2008). 'Understanding Conflict Resolution in Africa' PP. 68-91; In David Francis (ed.), *Peace and Conflict in Africa.* Zed Books Ltd: London/New York.
- Omeje Kenneth (2010). 'Whose Security? The Global Security Debate and the African Paradox' PP. 1-28; In Jamila Abubakar and et al. (eds.), *Conflict of Securities: Reflections on State and Security in Africa.* Adonis and Abbey Publishers Ltd.
- Patrick Ferras (2013). 'Security Stakes and Challenges in the Horn of Africa', In Alexandra Magnolia (ed.), *State and Societal Challenges in the Horn of Africa: Conflict and Process of State Formation, Reconfiguration and Disintegration.* Center of African Studies: Lisbon.
- Peter Schwab (1978). 'Cold War on the Horn of Africa'. *African Affairs*, 77 (306), 6-20. Reece, Gerald (1954). 'The Horn of Africa'. *International Affairs*, 30(4). 440-463. Redie Bereketeab (2004). 'Building Peace in the Horn of Africa' PP.63-77; In Nicklas Svenson and Abdillahi Jama (eds.), *Somalia International Rehabilitation Center Reports' 3: Horn of Africa.* Lund, Sweden.
- Sally Healy (2008). *Lost Opportunities in the Horn of Africa: How Conflicts Connect and Peace Agreements Unravel.* Royal Institute of international Affairs: Chatham House.
- Semir Yesuf (2019). *What Is Driving Ethiopia's Ethnic Conflicts?* East African Report: Institute for Security Studies.
- Valeria Piergigli (2003). 'The Constitutional Transitions in the Horn of Africa: Problematic Balancing among Traditional, Religious, and Liberal Values'. *Northeast African Studies, New Series*, 10 (3), 249-273.

- Will Kymilica (2006). 'Emerging Western Models of Multinational Federalism: Are They Relevant in Africa'; In David Turton, (ed.), *Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative perspective*. East African Studies. Addis Ababa University Press.
- Woodward Peter (1996). *The Horn of Africa: State, Politics and International Relations*. Tauris Academic Studies: I.B. Tauris Academic Publishers: London, New York.
- Woodward Peter (2006). *US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa*. Ashgate Publishing Limited: England.
- Yirga Abebe (2021). 'Contemporary Geopolitical Dynamics in the Horn of Africa: Challenges and Prospects for Ethiopia'. *International Relations and Diplomacy*, 9 (9), 361-371.
- Zemenfese Tsighe (2004). 'Eritrea and Ethiopia after the Algiers Agreement' PP.175-186; In Nicklas Svenson and Abdillahi Jama (eds.), *Somalia International Rehabilitation Center Reports' 3: Horn of Africa*. Lund, Sweden.