

**EPRDF's Ethiopian Foreign Policy Evaluation, as to Red Sea's
Military Militarization**

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Abstract

This article was aimed to evaluate responsiveness capacity of Ethiopian foreign policy to political and militarization dynamics in Red Sea region from effectiveness and adequacy policy measurement criterions vantage point. This review employed both explanatory and argumentative synthesization of different sources in deductive manner to explore tangible facts ontologically and tested them with theoretical tenets and established facts. To assert this, logical framework of analysis was designed. This started with selecting prominent IR theoretical tenets of Hegemonic Stability Theory HST & Realism together with globalization dynamics followed by crystallizing and summarizing Ethiopian foreign policy objectives in two subsections of general Ethiopian Foreign Policy (EFP) objectives and specific objectives (Eretria, Somalia, Egypt and Arabian Peninsula). Subsequently, adequacy and effectiveness as policy evaluation criterion were selected to answer whether or not Ethiopian foreign policy has sufficient or adequate assumptions aligned with the intensity and type of problems we face in Red Sea and also effective enough to achieve its policy objectives in red sea. As a result of following this methodology, the study has found that foreign policy deficiency on responding effectiveness capacity or due to obsolete policy assumptions which were resulted from swift global and regional IR dynamics. Policy effectiveness and adequacy in a specific targeted countries such as Eritrea and Arabian peninsula EFP was not Effective and adequate. However, in a case of Somalia EFP was both effective and adequate. With regard to Egypt, EFP assumptions were adequate but not effective when it's compared EFP objectives. Thus, revision of foreign policy towards Eritrea and Egypt is recommended. Asides, having holistic policy which is directed on Red Sea as a hole is essential.

Key Words: EFP (Ethiopian Foreign Policy), HST, IR, Realism adequacy and effectiveness evaluation

Introduction

Ethiopia had no consolidated foreign policy document until Derg came to

power. However, the document was incompatible, inconsistent and latent with its objectives. According to (allafrica, 2018)

For the first time in the history of the country, a comprehensive and an all-embracing democratic policy and strategy were released in 2013. The document, entitled: 'The Foreign Affairs and National Policy and Strategy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

The policy is formulated in a way which gives high level of priority to fight poverty and promote speedy economic development, democracy and peace. The document also gives emphasis to domestic matters since they are conceived as a base for effective relationship with other countries and international institutions. Thus, the core idea of the policy is to curb susceptibility of foreign interference and to advance national pride through addressing internal affairs effectively and insuring sustainable and integrated economic development with our neighborhood countries.

This policy is based on three most important pillars which are Development and Building of Democratic System, National Pride and Prestige and Globalization. Among this basis, globalization under one world order is being contested dramatically due to appearance of melt-polar economic and political ideologies and growing nationalism in the western world. This foot marks in international relation are a manifestation of changes in political philosophy which are highlighted above as realism and hegemonic state theories. Thus, as a result of such prompt growth of intergovernmental relationship dynamics, Ethiopia's foreign policy and security strategy is positioned in a foggy spot.

The geopolitical position which we exist in is among many reasons which makes Ethiopia susceptible for instability. According to many literatures Red Sea corridor is getting high level and growing military attraction due to its strategic importance for trade. According to (GPF, 2018) 20 percent of global trade by volume passes through red sea. Therefore, evaluation of policy impact and relevance is necessary to address growing political and security concern.

Many literatures have revealed security concerns which Ethiopia may face as too high and versatile deployment of military installations by global and regional powers who entertain versatile interest and priorities in the region.

Specially; According to (allafrica, 2018) the highly militarization scenario being noticed in Eritrea and Red Sea area could cause unnecessary confrontation among countries in the region and eventually harms peace and stability of the Horn.

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to evaluate Ethiopia's foreign policy and national security document as to its relevance and effectiveness criterion of policy measurement. Besides, it also links global dynamics of ideological and theoretical tenets of international relation with respect to Ethiopian foreign policy and national security frame and its capacity to respond to changes in red sea.

Spotlight on Theoretical Tenets of Global International Relations

Realism

Realism is an approach to the study and practice of international politics. It emphasizes the role of the nation-state and makes a broad assumption that all nation-states are motivated by national interests, or, at best, national interests disguised as moral concerns. Realism assumes power is a heart of achieving national interest in international relations. National power is defined as in its absolute meaning since it can be defined in terms of military, economic, political, diplomatic, or even cultural resources. But, for a realist, power is primarily a relative term, which looks power or dominance level with reference to another country.

This emphasis on relative, and not absolute power, derives from the realist conception of the international system which is, for the realist, an anarchical environment. All states have to rely upon their own resources to secure their interests, enforce whatever agreements they may have entered into with other states, or to maintain a desirable domestic and international order. There is no authority over the nation-state, nor, for the realist, should there be. (Ferraro, N.D.)

Base on realist tenets, global powers will keep striving to dominate, advance and sustain their respective country interest. Today's international relation is starting to deviate from uni-polarly streamed to multi-polarly streamed world order. Since, US and western global role in economic and political arena is contested by southern regional powers such as, Russia and china. This transitory power evolvment has put many countries policy direction

volatile. Similarly, recent developments in Red Sea can be considered as the manifestation of global ideological contest. As we look high military presence of US., China, Iran, Saudi-Arabia, France, UK and other regional powers like Qatar, Kuwait, Egypt, and a military state like Eritrea. Such growing dynamics doesn't allow any foreign policy stable, less dynamic or overlook as it's advised by realist tenets. Thus, foreign policy effectiveness and relevance to the context have to be evaluated.

Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST)

HST indicates that the international system is more likely to remain stable when a single nation- state is the dominant world power, or hegemony. (Goldstein, 2005). This theory argues that when there is an absence of hegemonic state stability of international economic and political relations would be endangered.

According to Neoliberals, the hegemony wishes to maintain its dominant position without paying enforcement costs, so it creates a system in which it can credibly limit the returns to power (loser doesn't lose all) and credibly commit to neither dominate nor abandon them. This is done through institutions, which are sticky, (hard to change, more convenient to continue using than to revamp.) These institutions favor the hegemony but provide protection and a stable world order for the rest of the world. The more open this world-order, the less likely that there will be a challenger (Ikenberry, 1999).

However, there are many arguments against positive notations highlighted above, according to (Ferraro, N.D.) The hegemonic system can't sustain since the system is a collective good which means that it is plagued by a "free rider" syndrome. Thus, the hegemony must induce or coerce other states to support the system. The US system tries to produce democracy and capitalism thus it champions human rights and free trade. Other nations will try to enjoy the benefits of these institutions but will try to avoid paying the costs of producing them. Thus, the US must remain committed to free trade even if its major trading partners erect barriers to trade. The US can erect its own barriers, but then the system will collapse.

¹Hegemony is the political, economic, or military predominance or control of one state over others the Dominant state is known as the hegemony.

The other argument against sustainability of hegemonic state is, “Over time, there is an uneven growth of power within the system as new technologies and methods are developed. An unstable system will result if economic, technological, and other changes erode the international hierarchy and undermine the position of the dominant state. Pretenders to hegemonic control will emerge if the benefits of the system are viewed as unacceptably unfair.” (Ferraro, N.D.)

Global Political Economy Dynamics

As highlighted in theoretical tenets, the global political economy hegemony is in transition. Since pro liberal global institutions which govern international political and economic relations are contested by other growing regional powers such as china and Russia. Besides, spiral faller on prior political and military interventions had declined their credibility of leading the liberal world order. As an example, US military intervention in Iraq, Libya and Britain wood institutions (IMF and World Bank’s) economic intervention such as SAP in Ghana and many west and central African countries downgraded their credibility. On contrary, the western world like US and EU are getting relaxed on managing international maters due to growing nationalism and citizen’s demand for higher priority in internal economic matters.

Regarding to Global Hegemonisation tools of a liberal world order, such as, WTO, IMF, WBG and UN system are being pushed to make fundamental reform. According to (Guardian, 2017) in recent years, many African leaders have adopted a strategy calling for a collective withdrawal from the international criminal court (ICC). In 2017 only, South Africa, Burundi and the Gambia all announced a plan to leave the court, leading to concerns that other states would follow.

On the contrary, the southern hemisphere is becoming more coordinated to advance against the western economic and political world order. However, different critics argue that they can’t keep hitting the road against the west due to deeply divided interest in the global and political arena. On contrary others reject such argument, according to (Desai, 2013) the BRICS countries do have a mortar that binds them: their common experience, and rejection, of the neoliberal development model of the past several decades and the western-dominated IMF and the World Bank that still advocate it. Their

rapid development over the previous couple of decades was despite, not because of, this. Countries whose governments were able and willing to resist this model developed faster. All BRICS countries have become more conscious of this since the onset of the current financial and economic crisis, though individual countries' rhetoric and policies differ in the degree of their criticism of neoliberal policies.

Global Political Economy Dynamics and Its Impact on Globalization

As enumerated above, ideological fight against the liberal world order has erupted against after the end of cold war. During the past ten years the momentum is getting high due to internal and external factors. As supported by HST the hegemonic state would lose its internal capacity of sustainable dominance since a cost of maintaining global order would result economic and political inefficiency internally. On the contrary, growing frustration of free riders in the system which arises due to excessive abuse of hegemonic state would push the hegemonic state to lose its sustain dominance.

Recent decade's globalization is under attack due to decreasing economic and political capacity of US to keep the liberal world order. The current US administration has announced to decrease its involvement in international matters. According to Trump speech in the First 2016 Presidential Debate at Hofstra University the 28 countries of NATO, many of them aren't paying their fair share. We're defending them, and they should at least be paying us what they're supposed to be paying by treaty and contract. NATO could be obsolete, because they do not focus on terror. We pay approximately 73 percent of the cost of NATO. It's a lot of money to protect other people. (CNN, 2016). He also adds "US cannot afford to be world's police; let NATO allies pay"

With regard to global economic issues, trump announced to pull back us from tripartite trade agreements like NAFTA. Besides, his administration has taken a clear protectionist stand which depicts the hegemonic stand on globalization. Conferring to (Washington Post, 2018) President Donald Trump said Tuesday that he would proceed with tariffs on \$50 billion in Chinese imports and introduce new limits on Chinese investment in U.S. high-tech industries as part of a broad campaign to crack down on Chinese acquisition of U.S. technology.

Thus, globalization in the last decade is not as it was in the last two decades. As we see developments, the previous institutions of hegemonic state are not able to function as it was before; due to lack of political and economic capacity by hegemonic state and growing contest by the so called “free rides”. Therefore, this foggy situation has to be considered as a pushing factor which enforces us to revisit our foreign policy to comply with the current form of globalization.

Current Developments in Red Sea

Red Sea is one of the most crucial trade routes. Besides, it's the shortest channel which links Indian Ocean and Mediterranean Sea through Suez Canal. This strategic route has been very attractive military destination due to its geo political position. However, in recent years this water body is suffocated by global and regional powers. According to (CAFIERO, 2018) The five permanent members of the UN Security Council—China, France, Russia, United States, and the United Kingdom—all have bases (or plans for bases) in Djibouti or Sudan. Other Western powers such as Italy and Spain do too. Regional actors, chiefly Turkey and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), have obtained geostrategic footholds in, and economic agreements with, these African countries to further cement ties. Egypt, Israel, Iran, and Saudi Arabia are also military players in the Red Sea and Horn of Africa

Source: <https://www.mereja.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=158459>

Some scholars argue that such huge military presence of global and regional enemy would pose eminent threat to national security which could result in undesired outcomes to Ethiopia. Specially, countries like Eritrea and Egypt which have long tradition role of destabilizing Ethiopia makes the country more susceptible to chaos. According to East African Political and Security Analyst Kahsay “the Eritrean government would tap the situation to destabilize the Horn region through providing financial support and technical training for terrorist and anti-peace elements. He also added that countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran and Egypt have already opened their military camps in an Eritrean soil. “What is more worrisome is not establishment of military camps in Red Sea area. Rather the Eritrean regime could gain finance which could be invested in evil acts.” The war in Yemen has also added fuel to the fire as Saudi and Iran have said to be engaging in proxy war to control the vital geopolitical advantage, within which, Eritrean government had taken

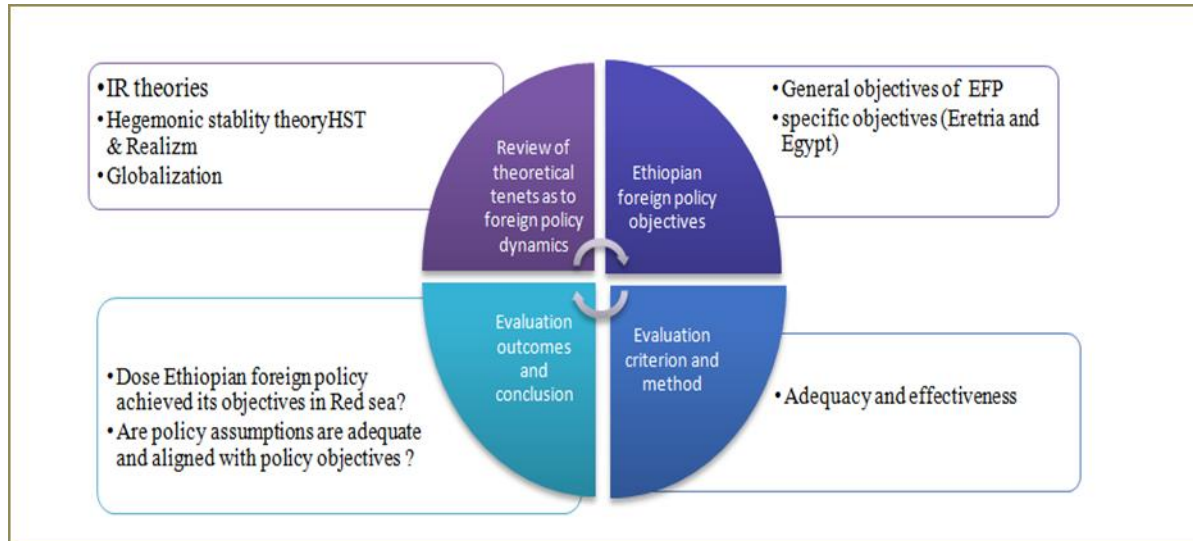
side in order to gain leftovers (allafrica,2018) Thus, huge military installations and strong historical enemies like Egypt are eminent traits to Ethiopia. Besides, unpredictable behavioral pattern and provocative nature of Eritrean government is one of the reasons which push as to revisit foreign policy in red-sea.



Ethiopian Foreign Policy on Red-sea

Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Red Sea is not directed as a region rather it points at country level. Thus, the policy frame doesn't have holistic look of Red Sea as whole region. However, it has directed its policy towards countries in Middle East and horn of Africa. According to Ethiopian foreign policy, "The relations we have with a given country or group of countries is based on the protection of national interests and security, and as such, is linked to our democratization and development goals... With our eyes firmly on fundamental national interests, we need to draft a policy on the basis of a sober analysis of the value and role of these countries vis-a-vis our own interests" (MOFA, 2002).

Analytical frame work



Result and Discussion

Evaluation Criteria	Policy Intention and Objectives	Policy Results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Effectiveness •Adequacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •General policy objective <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •to ensure international conditions that are conducive to achieving our development and democratic objectives •at least reducing external security threats •specific policy intentions objectives •Horn of Africa, The Horn countries can neither be obstacles for our utilization of war resources nor can they assist us to do so. •Eritrea <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In view of the fact that Eritrea has very little influence on our major tasks, we should not lose sight of our objective of development and democratization because of Eritrea. •We would not benefit from embarking on a conflict, if our democracy and development are not facing real threat. •Somalia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The disintegration of Somalia has in itself brought ever-growing danger. Terrorists and extremists Anti-peace elements are using the country as a base and place of transit in order to threaten Ethiopia's peace. •To insure peace and stability in Somalia through, participating in regional peace keeping cooperation and advancing military intervention when there is eminent threat. •Egypt <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •A policy would remind “Egypt that engaging Ethiopia in different disputes and ensuring that it is mired in poverty would not work, Egypt needs to realize that the option of force and intimidation will not yield fruit.” •To fully implement the agreement recently reached between Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt which enable us to build a climate of trust among the countries. •Arabian Peninsula <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Some countries show hesitation in forging any kind of meaningful relationship with Ethiopia, mainly owing to the influence Egypt has over them. Influenced by Islamic extremism and doubtful of religious equality in Ethiopia, some states have problems in understanding Ethiopia. •campaign to correct the distorted image the governments and peoples of the region have about Ethiopia •have adequate knowledge about these states •cooperate with global powers insure peace and stability in the peninsula 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on effectiveness and efficiency criteria, Ethiopian foreign policy has obtained the following achievements. • In general, the policy had obtained the following outcomes. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. relative peace and stability over the years 2. economic integration and cooperation with neighborhood countries 3. active peace keeping participation in Somalia and South Sudan 4) active diplomatic role in conflict resolution of region through IGAD (Sudan) •Country specific country results •Eritrea <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Eritrea has posed eminent and growing treat on Ethiopia’s development and democratization agenda as to the growing importance of Eritrea in red sea. Thus, Ethiopia’s policy on Eritrea is becoming less effective. Besides, it’s not also adequate. Since, the situation in Red Sea has changed prior policy assumptions. •Somalia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Ethiopia’s foreign policy on Somalia is still effective and adequate since an assumption hasn’t been changed and Ethiopia’s policy intervention had curved growing security challenge which was posed by Al-Shabab. •Egypt the agreement which is reached by between Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt is not implemented. Thus, Egypt is remained eminent security treat Ethiopia. However, the policy assumptions are Adequate and aligned with Policy objective. •Arabian Peninsula <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Meaningful economic and political r/n has not established. •distorted image is not corrected •Ethiopian government has reviled independent position in Middle East security issues. •Thus, Ethiopians policy on Arabian Peninsula is not effective and adequate.

Discussion

As to global ideological contest between Realist and Hegemonic HST theories in international relations, countries relationship is posed in foggy conditions. As a manifestation, many international hegemonic institutions such as UN Security council, ICC, WTO and others are being contested by many nations. Asides, other regional powers, such as BRICS are establishing new international relations platform. Above all many countries are getting a better power to denounce international agreements.

As a result of fading global IR institutions, many countries are running to protect and advance their country specific interests in red sea. This includes occupation of different ports and installation of advance military Equipment. Among many actors in the region Eritrean regime is playing direct and distractive role against Ethiopia. Other threats, which emanates from clashes between global powers in the Red Sea is also a significant danger to Ethiopia's security.

Ethiopia's foreign policy has been effective and adequate in the past. However, a dynamic in the Red Sea has changed the policy assumptions which would directly and adversely affect future policy effectiveness. Some of the reasons are the evolvement of globalization which our foreign policy is based on.

Based on this evaluation and the effectiveness and adequacy criteria, Ethiopian Foreign Policy has registered the following achievements in the past:

- Relative peace and stability over the years,
- Economic integration and cooperation with neighborhood countries,
- Active peace keeping participation in Somalia and south Sudan,
- Active diplomatic role in resolving conflicts in region through IGAD,

However, to keep and advance prior foreign policy achievements; the government needs to revisit and twist policy directions to fit to new and growing developments in the Red Sea. As per this evaluation, Ethiopia's policy on Eritrea has not been effective. Since, Eritrea is posed eminent security threat to Ethiopia's development and democratization agenda due to the ever-growing importance of Eritrea geo-political position for international geo-political demand. Thus, our policy direction to one of key player in Red Sea military and political developments is not effective. Besides, our foreign policy lacks adequacy since policy assumptions are obsolete enough to fit to current Red Sea developments.

Regarding to Egypt, the policy is less effective when it's compared to policy objectives. However, alignment of policy assumptions and objectives made policy strong in terms of adequacy. On contrary with regarding to Somalia, Ethiopia's foreign policy is still effective and adequate since assumptions hasn't been changed in the current situation and Ethiopia's policy intervention had proven its effectiveness by curbing growing security challenge which was posed by Al-Shabab. But Ethiopian Foreign policy evaluation result as to Arabian Peninsula depicted that drawbacks in terms of effective and adequacy policy evaluation criteria.

Conclusion

This policy evaluation which is based on effectiveness and adequacy criteria has depicted foreign policy deficiency on responding capacity towards Red Sea developments. As indicated in previous sections, Foreign policy in ability to cop up with dynamic level and nature of globalization is considered as a hurdle to address current situations in Red Sea. Thus, revision of foreign policy towards Eritrea, Egypt and Arabian Peninsula is essential.

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