

ERI-PLATFORM

Enlighten, Engage, Unite



ኤሪ-ፕላትፎርም

ኣብርሀ : ኣሳትፍ : ኣስምር

Horn of Africa Crisis and Prospects for Peace

Amb. Andebrhan Welde Giorgis

Minneapolis, Minnesota (USA)

6 December 2019

www.eri-platform.org

My presentation
will address:



1. Salient Features of the Horn of Africa



2. Present State of Play in the States of the Region



3. Potential Flashpoints in the Region



4. Eritrea-Ethiopia Relations: a Factor of Stability or Instability



5. Prospects for Regional Cooperation and Integration



1. Salient Features of the HoA

Estimated Populations (2019)*	
Djibouti	0.97 million
Eritrea	3.4 million
Ethiopia	112 million
Kenya	52.5 million
Somalia	15.4 million
South Sudan	11 million
Sudan	42.8 million
Uganda	44.2 million
Total	282.2 million

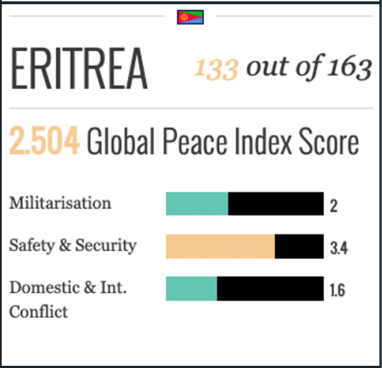
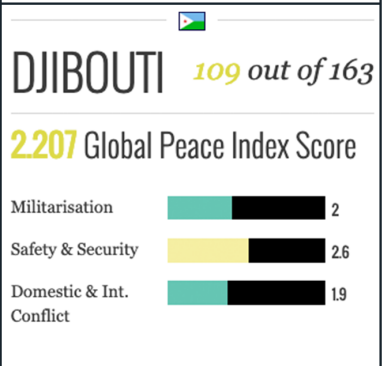
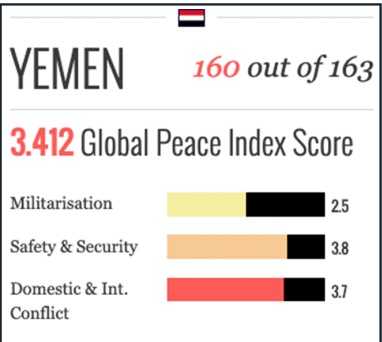
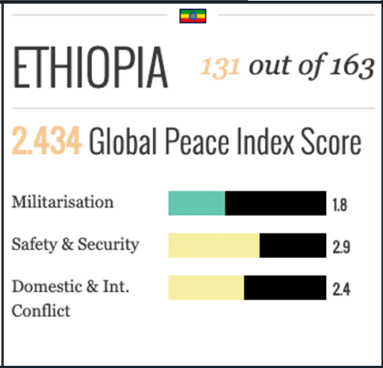
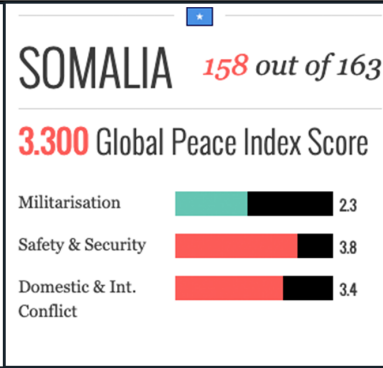
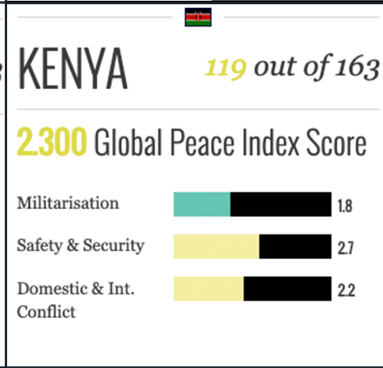
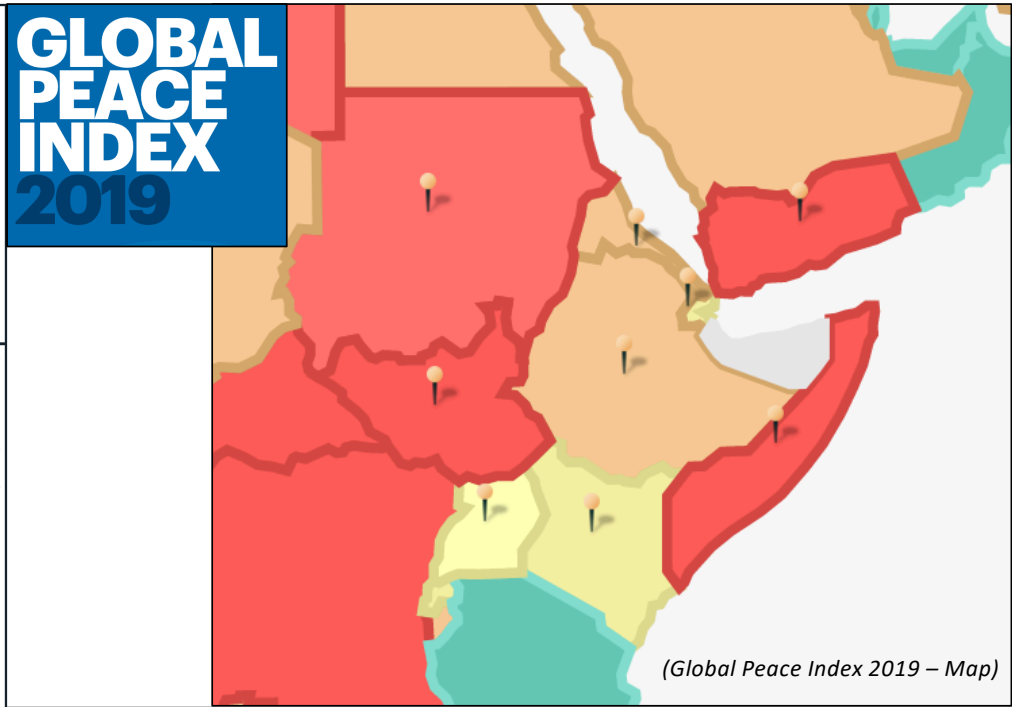
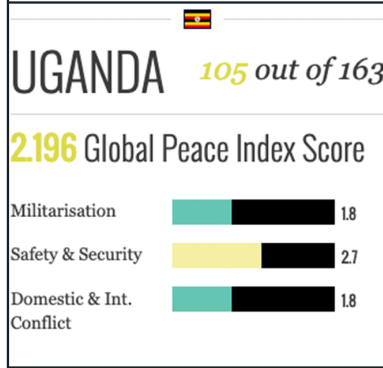
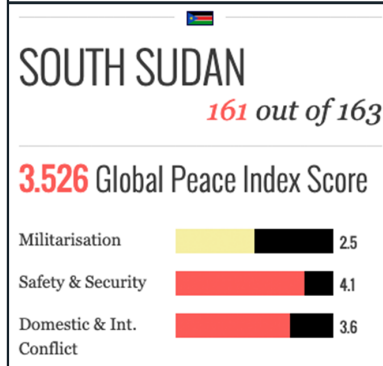
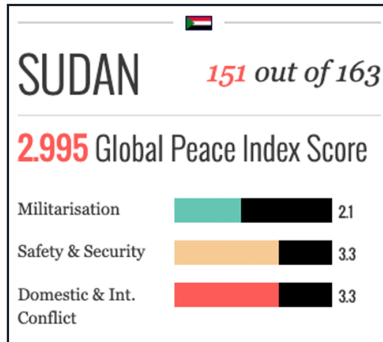
HoA Coastline is approx. 4800km long **

- Somalia 3,333 km
- Eritrea 1,151 km (of Red Sea coastline)
- Djibouti 314 km



* Source: United Nations Population Division. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. World Population Prospects 2019

** Sources: UN Environment Programme and CIA World Factbook



2. Present State of Play in the States of the Region

2.1 Horn of Africa (Proper): *Weak and Fragile States*

Eritrea

- Political, economic and societal paralysis
- Precarious peace with Ethiopia
- Regional and international isolation, despite the formal lifting of sanctions

Ethiopia

- Unstable domestic situation and inter-ethnic strife
- Weak Federal Government lacking authority over its entire national territory
- Unfinished peace with Eritrea & tensions with Egypt over Nile waters (GRD)

Somalia

- Weak Federal Government lacking authority over its entire national territory
- Regional military presence and rivalry for hegemony: risk of fragmentation

Djibouti

- Precarious internal situation
- Military & naval base of major world powers

2. Present State of Play in the States of the Region

2.2 Greater Horn of Africa

Kenya – Relatively stable and prosperous: regional economic powerhouse

South Sudan – Wracked by civil war and internecine conflict
– 2018 Revitalised Agreement unravelling

The Sudan – Heroic popular struggle produced a new Transitional Government
– Hopeful prospects, serious challenges to building democratic governance

Uganda – Relatively stable and prosperous
– Precarious internal situation in the run-up to 2021 elections

2.3 Institutions

Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

- Weak and ineffective as a forum of regional cooperation and integration
- Vulnerable to instrumentalisation by bigger member states

African Union – Essentially a talk shop: poor track record defending/advancing African interests



3. Potential Flashpoints in the Region

- **Horn of Africa**
 - Weak, fragile and impoverished states with a history of wars & conflict, large population displacements and irregular migration
- **Eritrea-Ethiopia Rapprochement**
 - Underlying issues of conflict remain unresolved
 - Settlement of boundary question still pending
 - Ethiopian army and settlements on sovereign Eritrean territory
 - No Institutionalisation of state-to-state relations: customs, immigration, trade, etc.
- **Horn of Africa Conflict Matrix**
 - Interstate conflicts: Eritrea-Ethiopia, Eritrea-Djibouti
 - Intrastate conflicts: inter-ethnic territorial and boundary disputes



3. Potential Flashpoints in the Region

- Arabian Peninsula spill-over effects: Shia-Sunni divide, Saudi-Iran rivalry, Yemen War
- Major Power Projections: Proliferation of military & naval bases on both sides of Red Sea
- China: (1) growing presence in HoA, (b) Sino-American Rivalry, (c) *Belt and Road Initiative*
- Large & growing youth population, mass youth unemployment
- Environmental degradation:
 - (a) Climate change: irregular rain patterns, drought, pests affecting food and water security
 - (b) Pollution: air, water, land resources;
 - (c) Unsustainable exploitation of natural resources
- Competition for water and grazing lands
 - Regional: Upper vs. Lower Riparian States for Nile waters
 - Neighbouring nomadic communities
- Interstate and intrastate conflicts
- Destabilising impact of large population movements/displacements



4. Reconciled Eritrea-Ethiopia Relations: A Factor of Stability

Essential conditions for durable peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia

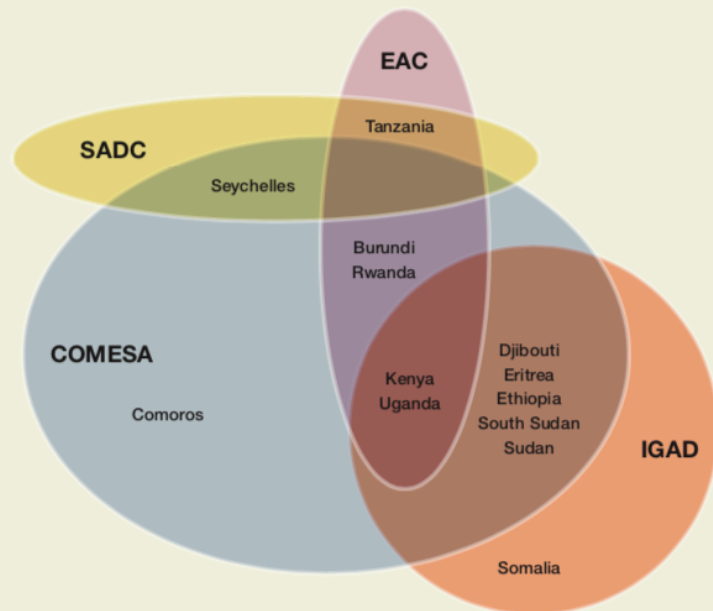
1. A viable resolution of the boundary issue in line with the African policy and practice
2. Reciprocal respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity
3. Institutionalised, rules-based *State-to-State* relations
4. Stable, inclusive democratic governance in both States
5. Possible areas of cooperation include trade, security, environment, tourism
6. Stable democratic Ethiopia & Eritrea: a factor for regional cooperation & Integration



5. Prospects for Regional Cooperation & Integration

- Normalisation of bilateral and multilateral relations among countries in the HoA crucial for:
 - *peace, security, stability and development.*
- Foundation for co-prosperity based on closer political cooperation and economic integration.
 - Large markets (HoA and the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA))
 - Economies of scale, specialisation based on comparative advantage

FIGURE 3 Overlapping membership in regional economic communities in East Africa



Source: East Africa Economic Outlook team.

TABLE 9 Intraregional trade in East Africa, 2012–17 (% of total exports)

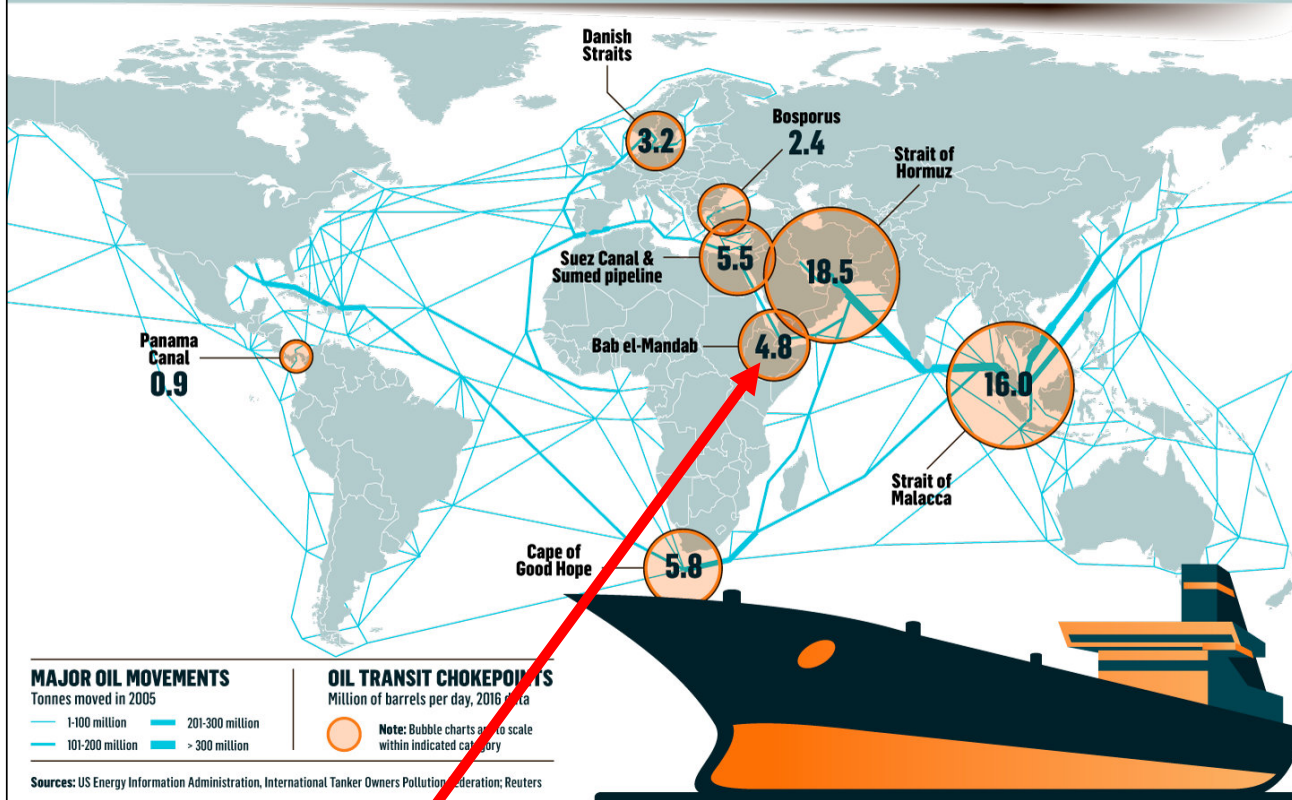
Country	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Burundi	8.9	8.3	9.5	10.2	9.8	6.6
Comoros	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
Djibouti	39.3	34.9	38.1	38.3	39.4	38.8
Eritrea	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.0	0.7
Ethiopia	16.1	25.6	21.9	21.2	20.7	21.0
Kenya	33.9	25.8	27.1	28.6	29.9	25.1
Rwanda	36.8	41.3	29.3	13.8	15.2	14.3
Seychelles	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0
Somalia	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.6
Sudan	2.6	2.2	2.3	1.7	2.0	1.9
Tunisia	9.7	7.9	10.1	15.8	10.6	9.8
Uganda	41.0	42.2	45.9	47.4	37.1	40.2
East Africa	18.9	16.5	18.2	20.4	18.7	17.3
Africa	13.5	14.5	15.5	17.8	17.6	16.6

Note: South Sudan had no exports to East African countries, but its imports from other East African countries are included as intraregional trade in those countries' totals.

Source: UNCTADstat (<https://unctadstat.unctad.org>).

OIL TRANSIT CHOKEPOINTS

About half of the world's oil production is moved by tankers on fixed maritime routes. The blockage of a chokepoint, even temporarily, can lead to substantial increases in total energy costs. Oil transit chokepoints are therefore a critical part of global energy security.



4.8 million barrels per day of oil pass through the Bab el-Mandab strait

*Source: US Energy Information Administration, International Tanker Owners Pollution Federation; Reuters



The HoA and the Arabian Peninsula straddle one of the busiest maritime trading routes in the world.

Opportunity to create a lucrative market of maritime trade, service hubs and strategic access ports.



5. Prospects... (continued)

Tourism: unique biodiversity, history & culture, pristine maritime & terrestrial environments.

Opportunity: An untapped potential for eco- and sustainable tourism



Security: Proliferation of military bases on both sides of the Red Sea Basin.

Opportunity: Financial gain, infrastructure development

Risk: Dependency, getting drawn in to regional or international conflicts

ERI-PLATFORM
Enlighten, Engage, Unite



ኤሪ-ፕላትፎርም
ኣብርሀ : ኣሳትፍ : ኣስምር

The States and peoples of the HoA have more that brings them together than sets them apart.

Peace, stability, security, and cooperation are regionally indivisible and vital for economic development & prosperity

Thank You!

www.eri-platform.org