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DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF MILITARY SCIENCES

**MILITARY POWER AS FOREIGN POLICY INSTRUMENT: POST-
1991 ETHIOPIAN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS IN THE HORN
OF AFRICA**

Ph.D. DISSERTATION

THESIS BOOKLATE

BY

KALEAB TADESSE SIGATU

SUPERVISER

COLONEL BOLDIZSÁR GÁBOR (PhD.)

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1. Abstract in English

A foreign policy consists of two elements: national objectives to be achieved and the means for achieving them. Simultaneously, military power is the crucial machinery of government against internal and external security threats. The military apparatus is also vital in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and the state's functioning in the international system. This study analyzes the juncture of foreign policy and military power in the Ethiopian peace support operation in the Horn of Africa until 2019.

The Horn of Africa is a region, where security matters the most. The region is known for protracted civil wars, interstate wars, drought, terrorism, religious fundamentalism, state collapse, political tension, large-scale human displacement, piracy, cattle rustling, militarization, and environmental degradation. One of Ethiopia's key foreign policy objectives is its national security. And the means to achieve it through vigorous peace support operations carried out in Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Abyei are a manifestation to preserve its own and the region's peace and security.

The research design of this study is a mixed-method research approach that is both quantitative and qualitative. Primary and secondary data sources to address this research objective and justify the fact of conceptual issues investigated require a holistic data discussion. This study is descriptive research, based on the previous studies by Buzan and Waever and Stewart-Ingersoll and Frazier; showing in the regional security complex of Horn of Africa how Ethiopia is becoming influential in the region's security order due to its extensive peace support operations in the region.

The dissertation finds out that Ethiopia's approach to the Horn of Africa's regional security has been primarily influenced by minimizing its vulnerabilities and immediate national security threats. Its national role in peacekeeping emanates from this role and it has become the defining paradigm for its foreign policy engagement.

Moreover, Ethiopia is a crucial player in the Horn of Africa, and despite the recent internal conflict, its peace support operations have been crucial for maintaining stability in the region. Its role aided by its military's strength and active participation in regional peace and security operations; its capacity and willingness to combat terrorism; a Pan-Africanist legacy; and its effective utilization of multilateral platforms; will keep Ethiopia's regional hegemony and visibility.

2. Abstract in Hungarian

A külpolitika két elemből áll: az elérendő nemzeti célokból és azok elérésének eszközeiből. Ugyanakkor a katonai hatalom a kormányzat döntő mechanizmusa a belső és külső biztonsági fenyegetésekkel szemben. A katonai apparátus létfontosságú a külpolitika és az állam nemzetközi rendszerben való működésének megfogalmazásában és végrehajtásában is. Ez értekezés tanulmány elemzi a külpolitika és a katonai hatalom kapcsolatát az Afrika szarván található etiópai béketámogató műveletben 2019-ig.

Afrika szarvának régiójában a biztonság számít. A régió elhúzódó polgárháborúkról, államközi háborúkról, aszályról, terrorizmusról, vallási fundamentalizmusról, állam összeomlásáról, politikai feszültségről, nagymértékű emberi kitelepítésről, kalózkodásról, szarvasmarhák zúgásáról, militarizációjáról és a környezet pusztításáról ismert. Etiópia egyik legfontosabb külpolitikai célkitűzése a nemzetbiztonsága, és a Szomáliában, Szudánban, Dél-Szudánban és Abyei-ben végrehajtott erőteljes béketámogató műveletek révén történő elérésének eszközei saját és a régió békéjének és biztonságának megőrzése.

A disszertáció kutatási felépítése vegyes módszerű kutatási megközelítés, amely kvantitatív és kvalitatív egyaránt. Az elsődleges és a másodlagos adatforrások ennek a kutatási célnak a kezelésére és a vizsgált fogalmi kérdések tényének igazolására holisztikus adatmegbeszélést igényelnek. Ez a tanulmány leíró kutatás, amely Buzan és Waever, Stewart-Ingersoll és Frazier korábbi tanulmányain alapszik, és Afrika szarvának regionális biztonsági komplexumában bemutatja, hogy Etiópia miként válik befolyásosvá a régió biztonsági rendjében a kiterjedt békefenntartó műveletek miatt. vidék.

A disszertáció megállapítja, hogy Etiópia Afrika szarvának regionális biztonságához való hozzáállását elsősorban sebezhetőségének és azonnali nemzetbiztonsági fenyegetések minimalizálása befolyásolta. A békefenntartásban betöltött nemzeti szerepe származik, és ez a szerep a külpolitikai szerepvállalásának meghatározó paradigmájává vált.

Ezenkívül Etiópia kulcsfontosságú szereplő Afrika szarván, és a közelmúltbeli belső konfliktus ellenére békefenntartó műveletei kulcsfontosságúak voltak a régió stabilitásának fenntartása szempontjából. Szerepét katonai ereje és a regionális béke- és biztonsági műveletekben való aktív részvétel segíti; képessége és hajlandósága a terrorizmus elleni küzdelemben; pánafríkista örökség; és a multilaterális platformok hatékony felhasználása; meg fogja őrizni Etiópia regionális hegemóniáját és láthatóságát.

3. Formulation of the scientific problem

A research problem is a statement about an area of concern, an under-explored subject in the research area, or it can be a knowledge gap. In this regard, there are quite plenty of works of literature on most countries, security dynamics, participation, and a reason behind their participation in peace support operations; however, though Ethiopia is one of the top contributor in peacekeeping operations in the world for about a decade, there is lack of comprehensive research and limited literature are available. Similarly, there are adequate studies on the security matters in the Horn of Africa region, and still, Ethiopia's extensive peace support operation involvement is lacking.

Currently, there is Ethiopia's presence in peace support missions in the Horn of Africa, in the United Nations Mission in Darfur, (UNAMID) in Sudan, Darfur, United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), in South Sudan, United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), in Abyei, and African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in Somalia.

With all its internal security challenges, Ethiopia keeps its position of sending a large number of troops to be deployed through the African Union, United Nations, and unilaterally in the region. This is needs to be studied, and the how and why Ethiopia continues to play this role, and Ethiopian foreign policy interest regarding peacekeeping troop contribution must be answered.

4. Hypotheses

- * The study's central hypothesis is that the post-1991 Ethiopian government uses its military power capability or show of force and force presence through peacekeeping operations as its foreign policy instrument to deal with its security challenges in the neighbouring Horn of African states. In addition to this, the following are also the hypotheses of the study.
- * Ethiopia's security is tied up with its regional security complex of the Horn of Africa region, and the region's countries involvement in high display levels of security interdependence. It considers this when it formulates its foreign policy. This is manifested in its peace support operations which are focused on its next-door neighbouring states.
- * Ethiopia's approach to the Horn of Africa regional security has been primarily influenced by minimizing its vulnerabilities and immediate national security threats. Its national role in peacekeeping emanates from, and this role becomes the defining paradigm for its foreign policy engagement.

- * The Ethiopian government peacekeeping operations in the Horn of Africa were established by the Ethiopian hegemonic regional power and used as a tool of the foreign policy in the region.
- * Because of the states' nature in the Horn of Africa (mostly caused by their history of nation building) and the regional security complex of the Horn states, Ethiopia's multilateral (UN and AU) and unilateral interventions are justifiable for its security and stabilizing the region.

5. Research objectives

The research objectives of the dissertation are as follows:

- * To investigate the reasons for Ethiopia's participation in peacekeeping operations.
- * To analyse trends in Ethiopian peace support operations from 1952 until 2019.
- * To investigate the current Ethiopian peace support operations capabilities and limitations.
- * To examine the Ethiopia's foreign policy trends concerning its peacekeeping deployment.
- * To analyse the Horn of Africa's security complex and Ethiopia's security interest in the region vis-à-vis the nature of Ethiopia's peace operations.
- * To examine Ethiopia as a Regional Hegemon or Regional Power influence in the Horn of Africa in relation to its peace support operation in the region.
- * To analyse Ethiopia's Geopolitical Interest and Security Risk Responsiveness vis-à-vis its Peace Support Operation Deployment

6. Research Methods

The research design of this study is a mixed-method research approach that is both quantitative and qualitative. Primary and secondary data sources to address this research objective and justify the fact of conceptual issues for the investigated require a holistic data discussion.

The rationale for employing the qualitative method is that the qualitative research method aims to address questions concerned with developing an understanding of the meaning and experiences of humans' lives

and social worlds.¹ Qualitative research also explores attitudes, behavior, and experiences through interviews with key informants who know the issue under study.

This study is based on the previous studies by Barry Buzan². It further shows how in the regional security complex of Horn of Africa Ethiopia is becoming influential in the regional security order due to its extensive peace support operations in the Horn of Africa.

This study is descriptive research, which provides an accurate portrayal of characteristics of a particular individual, situation, or group. These studies are a means of discovering new meaning, describing what exists, determining the frequency with which something occurs, and categorizing information.³

Methodological Strategy (Level of Analysis)

Studies in the international political system like foreign policy or security studies have five most frequently used levels of analysis that can provide a framework: International Systems (which encompasses the entire globe), International Subsystems (International Organizations), Unites (states), Subunits (organized groups within units), and Individuals.⁴ This dissertation primarily focuses on the analysis of four of them: International Systems, particularly the UN, which operates at the system level and that authorize PKO across the world. International Subsystems like AU, IGAD are chief peace and security actors in the security of Africa and in the Horn of Africa sub-region. The unites for this dissertation of analysis are the states in the sub-region Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda; and finally, subunits of state bureaucracies like Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, National Armies and other armed groups or terrorist organizations are the main focus.

Sampling Design

The sampling method used in this study is stratified random sampling. This method is used when the population is stratified into several non-overlapping subpopulations or strata, and sample items are

¹ Creswell, J. W. and J. David Creswell. *Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 5th Edition. Sage Publications Inc, 2009. 189.

² Buzan, Barry. *People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. 2nd Edition. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1991.

³ Kothari, *Research Methodology*... 37.

⁴ Buzan, Barry et al. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner Publisher Inc, 1998. 5-6.

selected from each stratum. When the items selected from each stratum are based on simple random sampling, the entire procedure, first stratification, and then simple random sampling are stratified random sampling.⁵ In this dissertation, the study population which are members of Ethiopian armed forces at Hurso Contingent Training School, were first stratified into two, those who were about to deploy and those who returned from deployment. Then it uses randomly selected population from each group. The total number surveyed were 420 men and women in uniform, 410 contingents, 210 pre-deployment, 200 post-deployments, and 10 Staff Officers.

Source of Data for the Dissertation

For this research, qualitative data are collected from secondary and primary sources. This dissertation gathers multiple forms of data through various means such as interviews, questionnaires, and document reviews rather than depending on a single data source. The primary data were collected using questionnaires and interviews. On the other hand, secondary data are one step removed from the actual event or experience and provide criticism or interpretation of a primary source.⁶ Secondary sources like books, published and unpublished materials, relevant academic literature, official reports, and research documents were used to complement, strengthen, and make the data collected from primary sources reliable. The research uses Chicago Manual of Style of referencing for citing secondary resources as in the tradition of the Journal of the Hungarian Defence Forces, Defence Review.

7. A concise descriptions by chapter

This dissertation took shape in eight chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, which covers the dissertation's background, statement of the problem, research objective, research question, the hypothesis, the variables of the dissertation, and the research methodology.

The second chapter deals with the conceptual and theoretical background. It discusses four concepts: first foreign policy and its objectives, instruments, and factors that affect foreign policy; second, military power and its purposes and ranges; third regional security complex which is the core theoretical framework; and fourth, regional hegemon or regional power theory. The third chapter is the continuation of the second chapter that deals with the peace support operations, which is the central conceptual

⁵ Kothari, *Research Methodology...* 16.

⁶ Babbie, Earl. *The Basics of Social Science Research*. New York: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008. 306.

framework of this dissertation. It also discusses the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and African Union's peace support operations.

The fourth chapter deals with Ethiopian foreign policy and military power. It describes the historical trend of foreign policy and military capability and goals. The fifth chapter covers the regional security complex of the Horn of Africa, where Ethiopia is playing a significant role. It describes the states of the region, trends of conflict, trends of peace support operations, and finally, it reviews Leenco Leta's peacekeeping concept⁷ in the region.

The sixth chapter is about the historical and contemporary peace support operation of Ethiopia. Mainly it divides and analyses the four generations of Ethiopian peacekeeping operations and describes the trends and capabilities of Ethiopian peacekeeping operations, including reimbursement.

The seventh chapter discusses the nexus of national security, foreign policy, military power, and Ethiopia's peace support operations. First, it outlines four geopolitical interests and security risks of Ethiopia: the neighboring Horn of Africa region, the general African countries, the Red Sea region, and the global arena. Then it describes the Ethiopian next-door peace support operation and its justification. Next, it gives four rationales of Ethiopian peace support operations. Lastly, it analyses the justification of Ethiopia as a regional hegemon in the region.

The eighth chapter, as a supplementary chapter for chapter seven, covers as 17 survey questions of 420 ENDF members' on their deployment to peacekeeping mission and outlook on Ethiopian peacekeeping deployment. The final ninth chapter is the conclusion and recommendation of the dissertation that includes the scientific results learnt. Postscript is also included at the end of the dissertation to consider important developments in Ethiopia that occurred after the completion of this dissertation.

8. The summary conclusions

- * Foreign policy and military power are the two most important functions of a state to pursue its national interest outside its national territory. Peacekeeping is where a state's foreign policy and its military capability adjoin. This means that any state's interest or decision to deploy its military or

⁷ Leenco Leta, in his book, (Leta, Leenco. *Peacekeeping as State Building: Current Challenges for the Horn of Africa*. London: The Red Sea Press. 2012. 11-12), argues peacekeeping operations in the Horn of Africa are used as state-building mechanisms, not only for solving existing conflicts but also 'engaged in either state deconstruction or reconstruction.'

police personnel to a UN or any other regional organization's mission is based on its foreign policy and national interest in addition to its military power capacity.

- * Ethiopian foreign policy, mainly since the formation of its modern government structure, has been oriented towards supporting the notion of international organizations, collective security, and peacekeeping operation and supporting those who are in tyranny. This is manifested throughout its history of being the first African nation to be the founding member of the League of Nations and also one of the founding members of the United Nations. It was also the only African nation to send its troops to South Korea when it faced invasion from the North in 1950. Ethiopia also supported anti-colonial and antiapartheid liberation movements in other African states and in South Africa. These military and foreign policy traditions have continued until today.
- * The Horn of Africa region, which is composed of nine states that are members of the regional bloc, IGAD, can be considered as the regional complex that reflects an interlinked regional security complex. The most common security dynamics in the region are: spillovers of domestic conflicts, mainly refugee flows, expulsions of foreigners, and civil wars and intervention by neighbours in domestic turbulence. Also, the region is known for the high presence of UN and AU military support operations. There is currently a presence of peace support missions in Darfur, Sudan; Abyei Sudan–South Sudan border. In the past, there were missions in Somalia, in the Ethiopia-Eritrea border, in the Uganda–Rwanda border, and in Sudan. From the first UN mission in the region in 1992 until 2019, there were 21 multinational peace support operations by AU, EU, IGAD, NATO and UN.
- * Besides all these peace support missions in the region, the Horn of Africa has become one of the world's most militarized regions. Currently, there are fifteen states with operational military bases, one under construction and two with possible existing military facilities, in Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, and Somaliland. Furthermore, there is a high military naval presence in the nearby waters of the Red Sea, Gulf of Eden, and Strait of Bab al-Mandab.
- * The dissertation classified Ethiopian peacekeeping generation based in particular the sending regime's motive, the nature of the armed forces, and the focus area of deployment. Three types of Ethiopian governments were identified; first, the Imperial regime of Emperor Haile Selassie I from 1930-1974, second, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia led by President Meles Zenawi from 1991-1995, and third, the government of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia from 1996 up to now, led by PM Meles Zenawi (1996-2012) PM HaileMariam Desalegn (2012-2018) and PM Abiy Ahmed (2018-). Ethiopia did not deploy peacekeeping troops at the time of the military government of Colonel Mengistu HaileMariam from 1974-1991. Based on these three criteria, Ethiopian peacekeeping is divided into four generations of operations.

- * The first generation of peacekeeping is the Imperial Army (1950 - 1967) which is based on the conviction to the collective security of Emperor Haile Selassie I. The second generation is the EPRDF's Rebel Army sent to Rwanda by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia. This is characterized as Rebels Solidarity (1994 – 1995) because both the governments of Ethiopia and Rwanda at the time were rebel armies. The third generation of peacekeeping is after the formation of the national army, ENDF Engagement in 'African Solution for African Problems' (2003 - 2010), where Ethiopia gave focus for peacekeeping deployment in Africa. The fourth-generation peacekeeping is when the Ethiopia army become the Peacekeeper Army (Since 2011) after the MoD of Ethiopia institutionalize peacekeeping as one of its departments and establish a peace support training centre.
- * Participation in peacekeeping operations in the Ethiopian context can be considered as a vehicle for its national security strategy. Besides, Ethiopia used its peacekeeping deployment as political influence in the region and economic gain for its troops. In addition to this, the historical tradition and conviction to collective security is among Ethiopia's rationales where it took peacekeeping as its "national mandate" to protect civilians. Moreover, Ethiopia commands a clear hegemonic power status in the Horn of Africa; due to its being the most populous state in the region, strongest armed forces with the fastest-growing economies.
- * Because of Ethiopian independence and the history of freedom from colonialism, there is special collective behavior in its foreign policy and military orientation. The Adowa victory against the Italian colonial invasion is seen as the embodiment of African militancy and heroism. In addition to the Ethiopian military victory against the colonial power. Its red, yellow (gold), and green colored flag symbolizes freedom and Pan-Africanism. It inspired the flags of other African nations and other Black movements in the Americas.
- * Ethiopia is deploying thousands of its troops in all current AU and UN peacekeeping missions: UNAMID in Sudan, Darfur, UNMISS, in South Sudan (UNISFA), in Abyei, and AMISOM in Somalia. Since 2015 – 2019, Ethiopia has been the top overall troop contributor to UN peacekeeping missions. Adding its AU peacekeeping and its unilateral involvement in Somalia, it is the second country in the world next to the US with foreign deployed troops. UNISFA is a unique type of peacekeeping operation since the beginning of UN peacekeeping in 1948 because 100% of the contingent troops are from Ethiopia
- * The history of Ethiopia's involvement in peacekeeping operations shows that its interest extends well beyond the regional and the African continent. However, the current peacekeeping trends focused primarily on immediate neighbors.

- * Ethiopia currently contributes the most personnel to UN peacekeeping missions with Protection of Civilian (POC) mandates. Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Bangladesh are the top three contributors of uniformed personnel to UN peacekeeping operations with the protection of civilians mandates as of April 2019, which is based on the Kigali Principles.
- * A foreign policy consists of two elements: national objectives to be achieved and the means for achieving them, while military power is the key machinery of government against internal and external security threats. The Military apparatus is also vital in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and in the functioning of the state in the international system. The same is true for Ethiopian foreign policy and military power in the Ethiopian peace support operation in the Horn of Africa until 2019.
- * Scholars argue, being a peacekeeper in next-door neighbours can be influenced more heavily by security, political, and potentially normative considerations than that of more distant states. Ethiopian main peacekeeping focus on its next-door neighbours beside the advantage of the familiarity of the next-door neighbour conflict and cultural similarity and geographical proximity, has the advantage of lower cost and responding in a short time span when a conflict breaks out. Ethiopia's geopolitical location in the Horn of Africa makes it vulnerable because of civil wars, failed states and the risk of spillover conflicts and refugees. Thus, in order to protect its national interest, Ethiopia needs to keep the peace of its neighbours for its own interest.
- * The dissertation identified four levels of Ethiopian geopolitical interest and security risk responsiveness vis-à-vis peace support operation deployment. The first and immediate geopolitical interest and security risk for Ethiopia are its neighbouring countries or the IGAD region; secondly, African Countries, which is AU and Ethiopia's Pan-Africa commitment; thirdly, the Red Sea Region, which is a vital trade route and the nearest access to the sea for Ethiopia; and fourth, the Global focus, which is a commitment to collective international security and national prestige.
- * The dissertation identified that Ethiopia's approach to the Horn of Africa regional security has been primarily influenced by minimizing its vulnerabilities and its immediate national security threats where its national role in peacekeeping emanates from, and this role has become the defining paradigm for its foreign policy engagement.
- * Ethiopia is a key player in the Horn of Africa, and despite the recent internal conflict, its peace support operations have been crucial for maintaining stability in the region. Its role is aided by its military's strength and active participation in regional peace and security operations; its capacity and

willingness to combat terrorism; a Pan-Africanist legacy; and its effective utilization of multilateral platforms. These will keep its regional hegemony and visibility.

- * Many peace operations in the Horn of Africa show how complex the composition of the human terrain is (language, ethnicity, religion) and how complex the roots of conflicts are (history, traditions, beliefs and beliefs, behaviour, individual and group consciousness and memory, development, wars, occupation, colonisation, interests, values). These many conflicts require a lot of effort and Ethiopia is at the forefront of this. Ethiopia acts for security on an individual, regional, and global level based on its historical (independence), value (the only country that was not a colony), interest (living space, security, stability, development), and size (largest in the region).
- * Based on the result from the qualitative survey nearly 75% of troops Ethiopia deployed to peacekeeping missions are non-commissioned officers and junior officers. This confirm ENDF's focus on deploying a significant number of contingents with the rank of Junior Officers and less. It is know that staff officers, military experts, Liaison officers, military observers and military advisers are all senior officers or General officers.
- * Based on the result from the qualitative survey, from the total of 210 returnees from peacekeeping missions, the first choice to go back again is to Abyei, 33%; the second choice is South Sudan, 27%; the third choice is Darfur 17%, of the ENDF officers. 11% of the officers are willing to be deployed anywhere and the rest of them are willing to be deployed in Mali, DRC and outside Africa. The main reason the peacekeeping mission in Abyei is the first choice for most respondents, which is also likely for most Ethiopian troops is the presence of exclusive Ethiopian contingent deployment in Abyei. Because all the contingents are Ethiopians, the troops from Ethiopians to feel at home. In addition to that all Force Commanders are Ethiopians from the beginning of the mission. On the other hand, AMISOM in Somalia is a peace enforcement or warfighting mission, and because it is an African Union mission, it has less reimbursement than the United Nations mission in Abyei.
- * Based on the result from the qualitative survey, the two most common answers to why Ethiopia deploy peacekeeping troops are: because the mission will indirectly protect Ethiopia from terrorists in neighbouring states and prevent conflicts from spillover to Ethiopia, 55% and help people conflict areas 30%. This survey result also support the hypothesis and document analyses on the rationales for Ethiopian peacekeeping operations. The foremost reason be for its own national security; that is halting a threat from the Somalian terrorist group Al-Shabaab and conflict spill over from South Sudan and Sudan. In relation with this, an important observation is, from the survey's total participants, more than half of the officers (60%) assert their personal motivation for peacekeeping

deployment is to help peoples of neighbouring countries in conflict; 30% said because it is one of their military duty, and 10% motivated by more payment of peacekeeping deployment.

9. The new scientific result(s)

1. The post-1991 Ethiopian government has been using its military power capability or show of force and force presence through peacekeeping operations. One of the major features of Ethiopian peacekeeping is its disposition to deploy its troops for protection of civilians (POC) missions and focusing on peacekeeping deployment in its next-door neighbours.
2. I identified four-generation peace operations, thus providing an opportunity to define a clear framework in the study of Ethiopia's peacekeeping history and its rationales. The first generation of peacekeeping is the Imperial Army (1950 – 1967) deployment in two missions: in the US-led United Nations Command in Korea and in United Nations Operation in the Congo. The second generation is the EPRDF's Rebel Army sent to Rwanda by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, characterized as Rebels Solidarity (1994 – 1995). The third generation of peacekeeping is after the formation of the national army, ENDF engagement in 'African Solution for African Problems' (2003 – 2010). The fourth-generation peacekeeping is when the Ethiopia army become the Peacekeeper Army Since 2011.
3. I created the concept of peace operation strategy analysis based on the four levels of Ethiopian geopolitical interest and security risk responsiveness vis-à-vis peace support operation deployment. The first and immediate geopolitical interest and national security risks are its neighbouring countries or the IGAD region; secondly, African Countries, which form AU and Ethiopia's Pan-Africa commitment, thirdly, the Red Sea Region, which is a vital trade root and the nearest access to the sea for Ethiopia, and is a significant waterway for international trade and including the most crucial state in the area, Yemen, forth, the Global focus, which is a commitment to collective international security and national prestige.
4. Based on the theory of Buzan, I defined the Horn of Africa as a security complex. The Horn of Africa displays many of the features of a Regional Security Complex based on its security dynamics and high levels of security interdependence. Security dynamics in the region are spillovers of domestic dynamics, refugee flows due to the common conflicts trends in the region: intrastate conflicts/ethnic conflict, interstate conflicts, religious fundamentalism, and violence, change in living space,

supporting neighbouring state rebels or neighbours in domestic turbulence which affect all states of the Horn of Africa.

10. The recommendations

- * Though Ethiopia has a long and wide peacekeeping experience deploying thousands of military and police personnel throughout its history, there is no white paper or strategic policy on peace support operation acquired from its experience – which can be useful for regional and international organizations for their peace support operation. Thus, it is recommended the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs work on this. Developing such a strategy will support the diplomats and military officers in their operational and tactical levels towards achieving the desired goal.
- * Based on the analysis of this dissertation, Ethiopian geopolitical interest, and security risk responsiveness vis-à-vis peace support operation deployment, Ethiopia should be involved more in Yemen and focus on the security issues in Yemen, which is a part of the Horn more often than acknowledged by policymakers. It has also a strong historical, cultural, and strategic relations with the states of the region. Furthermore, Ethiopia should increase its involvement and influence on the Red Sea according to its own fundamental security requirement.
- * It is unlikely that Ethiopia will abandon its long-held foreign policy and military tradition of peacekeeping. It is also the recommendation of this dissertation that Ethiopia remains in its involvement in the peacekeeping operations. And to keep its influence, it will need to increase its capability and, especially, its leadership role in the UN peacekeeping operations and offer effective designs about peacekeeping and peace enforcement and peacebuilding in its region and beyond.
- * Ethiopia needs to develop its military, police, and civilian capability for supplying UN peace support operation demands. For example, the UN listed its nine critical shortages: in mobility - strategic airlift, utility and tactical helicopters, infantry with high mobility vehicles; enablers- engineers, logistics and transportation units; information-Gathering-observation/surveillance, including high resolution; night operations capability; data management and analysis; formed police units - specialized in public order management, including crowd control; specialized police - including trainers, organizational reform experts, and investigators; civilian specialists - including in security sector reform, judicial and prisons management; strategic planners - military, police, and civilian;

female military, police and senior Civilian personnel; and Francophone staff officers and police - for four French language missions.⁸

- * Compared with Ethiopia, the latecomer, Rwanda has a strong record of active engagement with peace operations strategy, doctrine, and practice. For example, it contributes ‘the Kigali protocol,’ and this dissertation recommends that Ethiopia follow the same trend beyond mere contribution of personnel.
- * The focus areas of this dissertation, the Horn of Africa security complex, and Ethiopia’s peace support operation in the region which is related to the root causes of conflict, complex human train, and protection of national interest and values can give a lesson to Hungarian Defence Forces and NATO. The dissertation contributes to the AU/UN and other unilateral and multilateral actors response to African crisis management. When conflict arise in a given state it is important to work together with the relevant regional states to enhance peacekeeping capabilities and to get the advantage of both military capability, geographical proximity, and familiarity of the complexities of conflicts that have a regional implication.

11. Postscript

The dissertation’s the preliminary defence was conducted on June 2021 and the edited final dissertation was finished on September 2021. However, today in 2022 the peace and security situation in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa is extremely fluid and has been changing from day to day. Though the major hypothesis and security dynamics in the region discussed in this dissertation is still feasible, it is worthy to discuss briefly core changes.

Since January 2020, there has been a political, diplomatic and security shakeups that have occurred in Ethiopia after this dissertation was completed. Two major points are briefly discussed below which are directly related with the dissertation’s study area.

* **Ethiopian Internal Security Crunches**

An act of treason took place on 4th November 2020 when TPLF⁹ attacked the Northern Command of the ENDF, TPLF claiming it was a preemptive attack against the federal forces, as the federal government

⁸ UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, *A New Partnership Agenda: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping*. New York: United Nations, July 2009. 27.

⁹ As discussed in chapter 5 TPLF is a political party which controlled power in 1991 by forming a coalition of parties under the umbrella of ethnic coalition EPRDF. In December 2019 when EPRDF transformed itself in to countrywide party bringing together nine ethnic parties in to a single party, Prosperity Party, TPLF refused to join the merger. When Ethiopian

was planning an attack on the TPLF leadership in Tigray, the northern state of Ethiopia, which is a strong hold of the party. The attack was orchestrated by retired and functioning ENDF high level military officers who were loyal to TPLF both in Addis Ababa and Tigray and the political leadership of TPLF.

This forced the federal government to launch a 'law enforcement operation' against the military officers who deserted from ENDF and the Special Forces of the TPLF government in Tigray who openly wage war on the federal government. The military operation led to the death of the top TPLF leader and the former foreign minister of Ethiopia Seyoum Mesfin and other senior leaders, and imprisonment of other deserted military officers and political leaders of TPLF. This crisis also affected Ethiopia's peacekeeping operations and ENDF's reputation, as members of a contingent of Ethiopian peacekeepers in South Sudan, who are originally from TPLF controlled Tigray region, refused to return to Ethiopia, remaining to look for an asylum. Moreover, recently France suspends military cooperation with Ethiopia over Tigray conflict.

*** Diplomatic Crisis between Ethiopia and Sudan**

The relationship between Ethiopia and Sudan started to deteriorate when Sudan openly opposed the filling on GERD, which it initially more or less supported. It seems Sudan is caught between the competing interests of Egypt and Ethiopia. However, recently after the Ethiopian crises in the north begun and after Ethiopia announced the second filling of the dam, Sudan unambiguously took the side of Egypt and it started to confront Ethiopia diplomatically and militarily. Sudan's claim over the ownership of Benishangul-Gumuz regional state in western Ethiopia bordering Sudan, where GERD is located, was strongly condemned by Ethiopia. Furthermore, the crises escalated when Ethiopia accused Sudan's armed forces of crossing 40 kilometers into its fertile border lands in its Amhara region in the north, and occupying the land, taking the advantage of Ethiopia's forces being preoccupied with the Tigray conflict and leaving the border area. Sudan denies the claim that its army had been redeployed in the border, and did not go beyond the Sudanese territory.

These crises strongly affected Ethiopian peacekeeping operations and ENDF reputation, as Sudanese government demanded the withdrawal of Ethiopian Peacekeeping troops from Abyei region. In April 2021, Sudan's foreign minister Mariam al-Mahdi avowed that because of Ethiopia's 'unacceptable

general election was postponed to 2021 due to COVID 19 by the decision of FDRE's House of Federation, TPLF refused the decision and piloted its own election in Tigray, where it won almost all the seats of the regional parliament. This led to a fierce verbal conflict with the Federal government ultimately led to the horrendous act of November 4.

intransigence' in the talks over the GERD and its decision to proceed with the second phase of the filling of its dam; and since the Ethiopian troops are massing on the eastern borders of Sudan, it is not conceivable for Ethiopian forces deployed in the strategic depth of Sudan.¹⁰

12. THE PUBLICATION LIST OF THE AUTHOR OF THE DISSERTATION ON THE TOPIC.

Book Chapter

1. **'Ethiopian Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations since 1991'** In Janos Besenyo and Viktor Marsai. (Eds.) *The Dynamics of Conflicts in Africa in the Early 21st Century*. Budapest, 2018. 201-224. <https://akfi-dl.uni-nke.hu/pdf/webPDFDynamicsofConflictsinAfrica.pdf>

Monograph

2. **'Rural Security-Lesson Learnt Form Horn of Africa–Ethiopia: Conflicts Caused by Changed Living Space.'** December 2018. Budapest. Accepted for publication by the project titled "Rural Security" under the commission of the National University of Public Service under the priority project KÖFOP-2.1.2-VEKOP-15- 2016-00001 titled „Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance” in the Ludovika Workshop led by Professor Dr. Tivadar Szilagyi.

Conference Proceeding

3. **'Asymmetric Warfare against the Islamic Militant Group Al-Shabaab in Somalia–The Ethiopian Experience.'** In Almos Peter Kiss (Ed.) *Asymmetric Warfare: Conflict of the Past, the Present, and the Future*. Conference Proceeding. Hungarian Defence Forces General Staff Scientific Research Centre, in cooperation with the National University of Public Service. Budapest, 9-10 November 2016. 235 – 247. <http://hvktkh.hm.gov.hu/kiadvanyok/dokumentumok/asymmetricwar.pdf>

¹⁰ Arab News. "Sudan demands expulsion of Ethiopians from Abyei UN peacekeeping forces" 07 April 2021. <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1838971/middle-east>. Accessed on 20 June 2021.

Articles

4. **‘No Peace No War: Ethiopian-Eritrean Conflict.’** *Academic and Applied Research in Military and Public Management Science (AARMS)*. Volume 18, Issue 1, 2019. 79 – 91.
<https://folyoiratok.uni-nke.hu/document/nkeszolgaltato-uni-nke-hu/AARMS201901.pdf>
5. **‘Conflict over the Nile: The GERD Project and its Implication in the security of the Horn of Africa.’** 2019. Budapest. Accepted for publication by project “Africa in the globalized world” Ludovika Research Group, supported by the National University of Public Service under the priority project KÖFOP-2.1.2-VEKOP-15-2016-00001 entitled „Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance” Led by Dr. Viktor Marsai.
6. **‘The Role of regional actors in the South Sudan Conflict.’ (Crisis Management in South Sudan)** Accepted for publication by project “Africa in the globalized world” Ludovika Research Group, supported by the National University of Public Service under the priority project KÖFOP-2.1.2- VEKOP-15-2016-00001 entitled,, Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance” Led by Dr. Viktor Marsai.
7. **‘UNISFA: Conflict over Abyei and the Exclusive Ethiopian Peacekeeping Mission.’** 2019. Budapest. Accepted for publication by the project titled “Rural Security” under the commission of the National University of Public Service under the priority project KÖFOP-2.1.2- VEKOP-15- 2016-00001 titled „Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance” in the Ludovika Workshop led by Professor Dr. Tivadar Szilagyi
8. **‘Conflict among Border Communities the Case between Ethiopia and Kenya and Ethiopia and South Sudan.’** 2019. Budapest. Accepted for publication by the project titled “Rural Security” under the commission of the National University of Public Service under the priority project KÖFOP-2.1.2-VEKOP- 15- 2016-00001 titled „Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance” in the Ludovika Workshop led by Professor Dr. Tivadar Szilagyi

Book

9. **‘Constitution in Ethiopia form Kibire Negest to EPRDF’** ሕገ መንግሥት በኢትዮጵያ፡ ክፍት ሕገ መንግሥት እስከ ኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ [Bilingual Book - Amharic and English] Mega Publishing & Distribution Pvt. Ltd. Co., Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2019. \

LIST OF SCIENTIFIC LECTURES BY THE RESEARCHER

1. **„Asymmetric Warfare with the Islamic Militant Group Al-Shabaab in Somalia: The Ethiopian Experience”** In “International Conference by The Science Department of the Hungarian Defence Force General Staff, in cooperation with NUPS.” Stefania Palace, Budapest, 9-10 November 2016
2. **„The Role of Ethiopia in the Regional Security Complex of the Horn of Africa”** In „The Dynamics of African Conflicts in the Early 21st Century – Two Steps Further, one Step Back?” Ludovika Campus, Budapest, October 5, 2017
3. **„Regional Influences and Somali Security: Ethiopia’s Role in Somalia”** In „Secured without Security? The political economy of peace enforcement of the Federal Government of Somalia Achievements and constraints between regional influences and domestic struggles.” Rome, Italy, September 26th, 2017
4. **„Military Power as Foreign Policy Instrument: Ethiopian Peacekeeping Role in the Horn of Africa”** In „20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (ICES20), ‘Regional and Global Ethiopia: Interconnections and Identities’” Mekele University, Mekele, Ethiopia 1-5 October 2018
5. **„Constitutions in Ethiopian History: Reflection on Important Historical Landmarks”** In „20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (ICES20), ‘Regional and Global Ethiopia: Interconnections and Identities’” Mekele University, Mekele, Ethiopia 1-5 October 2018
6. **„Conflict over the Nile – The Involvement of China and the United States”** In “The Jagiellonian Conference on Security in Asia, Africa, and Europe: The Impact of Rivalry between China, Russia, and United States on Security Dynamics in Asia, Maghreb, and Europe. Krakov, Poland, 22–23 November 2018
7. **„Peacekeeping the Horn: AU and UN Peacekeeping Missions in the Horn of Africa.”** In „War Studies University: International Expert Seminar on the Horn of Africa” Warsaw, Poland, 4th December 2018
8. **„Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: threats and Ethiopian responses”** International Conference Organized by www.migraciokutato.hu „Terrorism 3.0 — Current Security Challenges and Prospects.” Budapest, Hungary, 5-6 December 2019

9. **„Building a National Army in Multi-Ethnic States: The Case of Ethiopia.”** In “VIVA AFRICA 2019, 11th International Conference on African Studies. „Multiple Entanglements in African Politics” November 28–29, 2019 / Olomouc / Czech Republic.
10. **„Ethiopia in Transition: The Case of the Security Sector.”** In “30 Years of Freedom - Farewell to Communism in Hungary Local and Global Lessons,”. Organized by the Embassy of Hungary to Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Civil Service University (Addis Ababa, ETH), the National University of Public Service (Budapest, HU), and the University of Pecs (Pecs, HU). 25 October 2019

13. The professional-scientific biography of the doctoral candidate.

Kaleab T. Sigatu holds a B.A. in Political Science and International Relations and an MA in International Relations, both from Addis Ababa University. Currently he is a Ph.D. student in the field of Military Science from the Doctoral School of Military Sciences, University of Public Service. His research interests are peace support operations, foreign policy, military doctrine, defence policies, and peace and security issues in the Horn of Africa. Currently, he is a researcher at the Ethiopian Defence War College. Prior to his role at War College, he was a lecturer at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Ambo University.