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Table of Contents: Volume 10 Number 11 November 2016

ARTICLE

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Full Length Research Paper

Domestic sources of international action: Ethiopia and the global war on terrorism

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Using the concept of 'strategies of extraversion' as an analytical framework, this paper argues that governments in the developing world exploit Western concerns about security, especially US anti-terrorism policies, as a domestic policy instrument. The paper focuses on Ethiopia's 2006 military intervention in Somalia to argue that Ethiopia's active role in the fight against terrorism is centered on the regime's domestic concerns. By successfully positioning itself as a key Western ally in the turbulent Horn of Africa, the Ethiopian Government has redefined external perception especially in the wake of the highly contested election of May 2005. The regime has managed to delegitimize internal opposition under the pretense of fighting terrorism; at the same time it became impervious to criticism from Western countries of its human rights records and democratic credentials. On the basis of the case study, the paper contributes to the analysis of Western/US relations with developing governments in the context of GWOT, and more broadly to the debate on the trade-off between security and the promotion of democracy in the third world.

Key words: Ethiopia, horn of Africa, war on terror, 'extraversion', foreign aid.

INTRODUCTION

On the eve of Christmas Day 2006, roughly a month after Ethiopia officially declared war on the Islamic Court Union (ICU) and in a dramatic escalation of hostilities; Ethiopian Air Force jets bombed Mogadishu International Airport. Following that attack, Ethiopian troops crossed into Somalia with the goal of overthrowing the ICU which the Ethiopian government had designated as a terrorist organization supported by Eritrea. Within days, Ethiopian troops seized control of Mogadishu and instated the fledgling Transitional Federal Government (TFG), the interim government of Somalia recognized by the international community. However, what began as a limited incursion to eliminate the threat of terrorism and notwithstanding Ethiopia's claim of having no interest in a long-term presence on Somali soil, Ethiopian forces remained until 2009 and left only after peacekeepers from Uganda and Burundi took over under the aegis of African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), 2009.

However, this was not the first Ethiopian military intervention into Somalia since the collapse of central authority in 1991, nor would it be the last. From 1996 until 1999, Ethiopia sent troops into towns close to the

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Ethiopian border which had been used as operational bases by a group known as *al Ittihad al Isalmiyya*[1]. However, the 2006 invasion was markedly different from previous forays in the extent of military power that was used and its' strategic and ultimate objectives. First, unlike previous incursions which were shrouded in secrecy and revealed to the public *ex post facto*, the build-up lasted for months and involved an open declaration of war by the Federal Parliament. Second, while previous offensives had been limited to surgical attacks by a small group of Special Forces, this was a full-blown overt war involving unprecedented ground and air power. And third, whereas previous interventions took a modest aim of crippling the capacity of specific armed groups, in 2006 Ethiopia assumed the role of nation-building that ultimately proved unsuccessful.

In this article, it is argueed that the marked departure of the 2006 intervention from previous ones can be explained by changes in the national, regional and international political environment that required and enabled an overt attack. Within the national context, in the 2005 national election opposition parties made unprecedented gains that tested the dominance of the EPRDF. The main challenge originated from parties to the right of the political spectrum[2] which rejected the official results of the election citing fraud in the vote-counting process, refused to take their seats in parliament and called for a country-wide civil protest. A ruthless repression ensued in which around 200 people died and tens of thousands were imprisoned. Most of the opposition leaders were rounded up, accused of treason and given long prison terms. (Irinnews 2006; BBC 2007; Smith 2009) In the aftermath of the election the country remained deeply divided and the EPRDF ruled with a precarious mandate. Therefore, the specter of a long-standing threat of Somali irredentism and of radical Islam gave the EPRDF an opportunity to recoup some of the legitimacy it lost in the election and reclaim Ethiopian nationalism as a mobilizing strategy.

Regional factors refer specifically to 1998 to 2000 war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. As soon as conflict broke out in 1998 between the hitherto friendly governments, and especially after the 2000 Algiers Agreement brought direct conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia to an end, Somalia became a stage for proxy warfare. Eritrea never shied away from assisting Somali groups opposed to Ethiopia, such as the ICU and the TNG, a government that came out of a peace process in Djibouti in 2001. Eritrea hosted and supported movements engaged in armed struggle inside Ethiopia and sought sanctuary in stateless Somalia, mainly the ONLF and OLF. Ethiopia took measures to undermine the TNG by instigating and orchestrating another peace process in Kenya which established the TFG to replace the TNG in 2005. By coming to the TFG's rescue when the ICU threatened to attack Baidoa, the only town under the TFG's control on the eve of Ethiopia's intervention, the EPRDF intended to maintain a friendly regime in Mogadishu and deny a safe haven for insurgencies operating from across the border.

Globally, the single most important event that impacted the Horn of Africa is the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the subsequent GWOT. The central argument of this paper is the Ethiopian government uses Western concerns about security, especially US anti-terrorism policies, as a domestic policy instrument. Although genuine security concerns exist, Ethiopia's active participation in the fight against terrorism including involvement in Somalia is centered on the regime's domestic concerns. After the attacks of 2001, the Ethiopian government has successfully positioned itself as a key ally in the fight against global terrorism and a lynchpin in the stability of the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia's role in Somalia, particularly after the ascent of the ICU and later of al-Shabbab has defined the regime's perception by the international community. The regime has managed to delegitimize internal opposition under the pretense of fighting terrorism. At the same time it became impervious to criticism from Western countries of its human rights records and democratic credentials.

The remainder of this article proceeds from a general theoretical discussion to the specific case study.[3] The next part lays down the theoretical foundation for the rest of the paper. The theoretical spine is the 'strategies of extraversion' as developed by the French Africanist Jean Francois Bayart. Then follows a general exposition of the sources of external legitimacy for the current Ethiopian government after the EPRDF came to power in 1991. This part shows that the international community and donor countries' perception of the regime has shifted from political to economic and security imperatives. The next part narrows the discussion to security and the threat of terrorism in relations between Ethiopia and the US

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[1]Al-Ittihad is a Somali fundamentalist movement that sought to establish an Islamic state in Somalia by uniting all Somali-inhabited territories in the Horn of Africa including the Ogaden in Ethiopia. (Tadesse, 2002). It took advantage of the power vacuum in Somalia and took control of the Gedo region in 1991. The small town of Luuq in southwestern Somalia close to the border with Ethiopia became the seat of its administration where Islamic courts, Islamic education institutions, a police force, and health and welfare centers were established. However, *Al-Ittihad's* efforts to expand into the Northern regions of Somalia in the first half of the 1990's had been thwarted by the SNF and SSDF (in Somaliland and Puntland respectively) with the support of Ethiopia. (Le Sage, 2001)

[2]In the Ethiopian political context, whether a party is to the left or right of the ideological divide is often identified by its position on the questions of land and of national unity, also known as the question of nationalities. Parties to the right tend to favor the privatization of land and generally view the politicization of ethnic identity as a threat to national unity or Ethiopian nationalism. Thus they oppose the formation of political parties or arrangement of the federal administration on the basis of ethnic identity. The EPRDF preserved the land policy of the military regime and land remains under the control of the government. And as a coalition of ethnic-based parties, it not only allows but encourages political mobilization based on ethnic identity.

[3] The research utilizes qualitative data gathered from secondary sources including print and electronic publications. A quantitative information is used in an effort to demonstrate the flow of bilateral aid from the US to Ethiopia. The author capitalizes on his extensive exposure to and expertise in the politics of the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia in particular.

Government. This part presents the central thesis of the article - that Ethiopia's geopolitical significance has reaped the regime extraversions in the form of financial aid and political and diplomatic support both domestically and regionally. The last part of the article is the conclusion.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: STRATEGIES OF EXTRAVERSION

The concept of 'strategies of extraversion' provides us with a framework to analyze the use of Western policies and concerns as instruments by government elites in Africa. In the period following the decolonization of African countries, modernization and dependency paradigms dominated the study of the political economy of Africa and its relations with the outside world. For modernization theory, Africa's backwardness, and of the developing world in general, can be attributed to the lack of contact with the outside world. By opening up to capital, technology and ideas from the developed West, modern values would eventually displace traditional way of life and stimulate economic transformation. In contrast, according to Dependency theory, forced integration into a global capitalist system through processes such as colonialism explains the underdevelopment of Africa and its dependence on Europe and the West. It was common to view the economies of countries of the global south as dependent on and responsive to changes and developments in the Capitalist core. Developing countries can attain genuine and autonomous development only by delinking from global capitalism.

A French Africanist, Jean Francois Bayart, has formulated an alternative perspective on African politics in his book *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (1993). His work, coming as it did after the great debates of the 1960s and 1970s, had the benefit of hindsight. He criticized modernization and dependency perspectives for what he called denying African 'historicity' (Bayart 2000:231) and for subscribing to the 'paradigm of the yoke' referring to, according to Bayart, implicit and explicit biases and premises that permeate the study of African politics and history. Specifically, he argues that the earlier perspectives view African societies, peoples and social groups not as subjects but as passive objects, who are always at the mercy of more powerful social forces, internal or external, that is the domination of the West over Africa, the domination of indigenous ruling classes over subordinate social groups and tradition over development or change. Bayart argues that dependency should not be viewed as structure but more in terms of an evolving process. He coins the term 'strategies of extraversion' to denote the links between Africa and the rest of the world. According to his view, these links were not always exploitative and characterized by external domination, but were fluid and complex. More specifically, the strategies of extraversion refer to a situation where relations with the

external world constitute a major resource in the process of political centralization and economic accumulation, in the period before, during and after colonialism. Resources of extraversion are therefore economic, diplomatic, military and cultural resources from the outside world that one has access to due to their position in the state apparatus.

Many scholars believe Africa's dependence on foreign aid constrains the policy options available to its leaders. Western governments often use foreign aid to impose their preferences on developing countries. The overwhelming dependence of African governments on foreign assistance entails the lack of the agency to pursue their own agenda. African leaders end up as pawns of the West, or, at the very least, "it is expected that African governments can be steered in the desired direction by offering them incentives. The dependency of weak African states therefore suggests *a priori* that Western actors wield a high degree of influence" (Tull, 2011:7; see also Peifer 2012). However, according to Bayart's formulation, African states are considerably autonomous in their relations with the West the extent of which is determined by factors such as geopolitical worth or endowment with strategic resources.

Vulnerability to external pressure also varies over time. In the context of a Cold War, African states generally could use the threat of shifting alliances from one superpower to the other or maintaining a measure of non-alignment (Clapham 1996:245) to curry the favors of the superpowers. The US had primarily been concerned with containing communism and authoritarianism was tolerated as long as the regime allied with the interests of the West. According to Clapham (1996:20) "The failure of African economies brought about the imposition of structural adjustment programmes, and the end of the Cold War revealed the vulnerability of African states to direct external intervention in their domestic political management". Even the imposition of economic liberalization and democratic reforms - two major developments in the political economy of Africa in the final two decades of the 20th century, had ostensibly been intended to constrain the elites of African governments but had unwittingly afforded elites another opportunity for gaining local and international support. "Structural adjustment programmes, designed by international financial institutions in an attempt to impose the discipline of the market on wayward African rulers, likewise often provided the rulers of states with increased resources through which to construct their patrimonial networks, which were not available to those who did not control states: The privatisation of state assets was especially useful in this respect" (Clapham 1996: 250).

This research explores whether the current war on terror presents governments an opportunity to exploit foreign support to their advantage in the same way the Cold War or democratization did. Reminiscent of the Communist threat, regimes can present themselves as committed allies in the war on terrorism with the expectation that

donors would be uncritical of the suppression of political opposition, harassment of journalists and civil society, corruption and embezzlement, and electoral frauds. Regimes thus gain both material benefits in the form of security sector support in the name of combating terrorism and, equally critical, political backing and international legitimacy. The regional focus of this article - the Horn of Africa - seemed to have lost some of its diplomatic positioning after the end of the Cold War. However, with the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism as an ideological nemesis and existential threat to western interests, the Horn of Africa's has regained its geo-strategic significance mainly due to its proximity to the Near East and the presence of stateless Somalia as a potential sanctuary for global jihadists.[4]

The second line of theoretical and policy debate with regards to the GWOT relates to the trade off between the promotion of democracy and maintenance of international security in US foreign policy. The enthusiasm for democracy in the immediate aftermath of the end of the Cold War has given way to a solemn recognition of its limitations as the USA is nowadays more concerned about stability than about liberal democracy. At the heart of the West's attention to the dangers terrorism poses is the fear and possibility of a trade-off between democracy and security. Although a deep analysis of the challenges of GWOT on the promotion of democracy is beyond the purview of this paper, a brief note on the subject is in order here. The end of the Cold War and concomitant collapse of Communism had somehow liberated the US Government from the ideological necessity of backing authoritarian regimes. Notwithstanding strong elements of pragmatism in its relations with countries of the Middle East or China, the Clinton administration placed high premium in linking aid to democratic performance. Authoritarian regimes were now seen as susceptible to external pressure for political and economic liberalization. What is more, IFI's incorporated democratic reforms and good governance inaddition to economic deregulation as part of their aid conditionality. External pressure coupled with internal crises spelled the end for regimes in Africa and paved the way for a wave of democratic reform.

When George W Bush assumed the Presidency in 2001, there was an initial shift in the US foreign policy orientation towards isolationism as the new Republican administration did not hold global democratic activism in high regard.

However, the 9/11 attacks (re)raised America's global commitments and the profile of the promotion of democracy in US foreign policy in particular. However, the relationship between these two foreign policy imperatives - fighting terrorism and promoting democracy - has been precarious and full of tension. On the one hand, for many in the US policy and academic circles, the rise in religious fundamentalism is attributable to the absence of democracy and economic opportunities. It follows that long-term policy to eradicate radical Islam should emphasize the value of promoting liberal democracy in tandem with policies to tackle poverty.

On the other hand, the imperative of fighting radical Islamist groups entails the US government has to pragmatically ally with authoritarian regimes in Asia, the Middle East and Africa many of which have cracked down on political dissent in the pretext of fighting terrorism. According to Michael Desch (quoted in Payne and Semhat 2005, p. 11), "the countries that have been among the US's closest allies in the global war on terrorism have been authoritarian regimes such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Uzbekistan and Pakistan." While "in many countries outside the direct ambit of the war on terrorism, the Bush administration is trying to bolster fledgling democratic governments and pressure nondemocratic leaders for change" (Carothers, 2003), in places such as the Horn of Africa, US policy is guided more by the pragmatic concern of security and stability than by the normatively appealing goal of liberal democracy.

SHIFTING SOURCES OF EXTERNAL LEGITIMACY IN ETHIOPIA'S SECOND REPUBLIC

From the time the EPRDF took control of state power in 1991, Western nations have by and large applauded Ethiopia's gain in the fight against poverty, the positive role it plays in regional security and some degree of success in political and economic liberalization. The late Prime Minster of Ethiopia Meles Zenawi was hailed as one of Africa's new breed of progressive leaders together with Musevini of Uganda, Afewerki of Eritrea and Kagame of Rwanda. Such characterization of the regime and its leadership, which is called in the study the sources of international legitimacy, has had political, economic and military-security dimensions, and the significance conferred on these dimensions has varied from one moment to the next.

Politically, the international community has appreciated the stabilization of a country that teetered on the brink of collapse *a la* neighboring Somalia when the EPRDF came to power in 1991. In a move unprecedented in the political history of the nation, the EPRDF invited all political groups - armed and unarmed - for a national conference. The conference ratified a transitional charter and created a transitional government that oversaw the process of writing a new constitution, and eventually transferred power for a permanent government in 1995.

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[4] In addition to radical Islam, the emergence of alternative sources of finance such as China and India is often cited as an opportunity for illiberal regimes to leverage the West's proclivity to attach development aid to democratic reforms. According to Jones et al (2013, pp- 18-19) "Africa's illiberal state builders have enthusiastically welcomed rising powers like China to the continent and have developed a similarly complex engagement with them that encompasses pragmatic cooperation, rhetorical convergence and determined autonomy…The growing influence of rising powers enables Africa's illiberal state-builders to engage with alternative investors, aid donors and trade partners, increasing their leverage in negotiations and reducing pressures to conform to the liberal agenda".

The constitution instituted a Federal system with significant devolution of power to local and regional levels of administration. It also contains a shopping list of civil and political rights, and opens up the political space for opposition groups, a budding free press, and civil society. No fewer than five national elections, however flawed, have so far been held in which parties of various political persuasions have been able to take part.

However, notwithstanding the overall progress, any hopes for the consolidation of democracy eventually gave way to pessimism. Donors and rights groups constantly accuse the government of failing to observe rights enshrined in the very constitution it ratified. Notable groups that had the wherewithal to challenge the EPRDF - such as OLF, ONLF, and AAPO have been systematically driven out of the political process. Successive elections for federal and regional parliaments have given overwhelming majority of seats to the EPRDF and its affiliates. As mentioned previously, the 2005 election, arguably the most open and competitive of all elections in post-91 Ethiopia, laid bare the Front's reluctance to give up power through the ballot, the acid test of a successful democratic transition, or even tolerate a modicum of loyal opposition (Abbink, 2005). The 2015 election, the most recent one, completed the circle when the EPRDF and its affiliates won all the parliament seats at the national and state levels. As a result, Western governments find it untenable to confer legitimacy based on the regime's democratic credentials.

In the absence of democratic justifications, modest gains in the battle against poverty have provided an alternative source of legitimation, effectively replacing the notion of responsive government by responsible government. Particularly after 2005, cognizant of its shaky political mandate, the regime has engaged in an extensive public relations scheme to cast itself as a developmental state committed to rapid and inclusive economic growth. Ethiopia is one of the major recipients of foreign aid which amounts to over 3.5 billion a year, the highest in SSA and second only to Egypt in the whole of Africa (OECD, 2016). Not only has the government been able to put aid money into good effect, its discourse of poverty reduction resonates with the policy priorities of foreign governments and financial institutions such as the World Bank. Donors believe Ethiopia to be making progress towards meeting most of the MDG's including ensuring universal primary education and reducing infant and maternal mortality rates.

However, the West's approval of the Ethiopia's economic development it is not without controversy. Suspicious party-led businesses pervade the private sector whose growth remains anemic; and the government still controls a large share of the national economy. The government has so far resisted calls to privatize land, liberalize the telecommunications sectors and open the financial sector to foreign investment. It has rejected these demands calling them plots by neo-liberal agenda, and the developmentalist ideology of the regime allows for a broader role to the state than to the private sector particularly through the expansion of public investment in large scale infrastructure. The statist orientation of Ethiopia's economic policy has been a point of friction between Addis and Western governments and the IFI's. On top of that, international NGO's have also stressed the implications of large-scale construction projects on the environment and indigenous people (Human Rights Watch, 2010)

In terms of military-security concerns, the regime has presented itself as a reliable ally in the fight against international terrorism, a role that became even more crucial after 9/11. Ethiopia's battle-tested army, one of the largest in Sub Saharan Africa, is viewed by the West as capable of ensuring stability of the country and the region. Ethiopia remains a relatively stable country in a highly turbulent region and, with the threat of radical Islam in Somalia and Sudan, the regime has sold itself as a bulwark against terrorism. Moreover, Ethiopia's enthusiastic contribution to peacekeeping missions in Rwanda, Liberia, Darfur, Abiyei and Somalia underlines the country's regional role. Therefore, with questions on the records of the regime over political and economic liberalization, military-security has become a solid basis of international legitimacy.

THE THREAT OF RADICAL ISLAM AS A FACTOR IN US-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS

Ethiopia's large Muslim population - 34% according to the 2007 census - and the West's fear of its potential radicalization appears to be another factor that has augmented EPRDF's bargaining power. From the point of view of the US, "Ethiopia's approximately 30 million Muslims tie it with Morocco for the eleventh most populous Muslim nation in the world and that means Ethiopia has more Muslims than Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Iraq, or Afghanistan" (Dereje Quoting USIP, 2011:794)

Ethiopia in particular and the Horn of Africa in general came under US anti-terrorism radar well before the September 2001 attacks. The first major regional challenge emanated from Sudan. An authoritarian Islamist regime had taken power in Khartoum in 1989 where, although political power seemingly lay under the military with Omar Al Bashir at the helm, the ideological backing originated from the NIF and its leader Dr. Hassan al Turabi. (Woodward, 2006:38-40; de Waal, 2004). After his offer to drive out Iraq from Kuwaiti using his Arab, Afghan mujahedeen was rejected by the Saudi government, Osama bin Laden was the 'guest' of the Islamic regime of Sudan from 1991 until he relocated to Afghanistan in 1996 where the Taliban seized power (ibid: 48) From his base in Afghanistan, Bin Laden masterminded the bombings of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salam in 1998. In retaliation the US launched a missile attack on a

Sudanese factory that allegedly produced chemicals that could be used in terror attacks (Gellmar and Priest, 1998)

Sudan's support for the EPRDF and EPLF had been critical during the days of the protracted armed struggle, without which defeating the military regime would have been difficult. But once the two fronts took the mantle of governing their states, al Turabi's plan to spread his version of Islam in the Horn of Africa put them on a collision course. Regardless, the first few years of regional relations remained cordial and peaceful to the extent that Ethiopia ceased giving refuge to the SPLM that had hitherto been actively supported by Ethiopia. However, Sudan soon fell out of favor with Eritrea due to its support for the EIJ which waged an unsuccessful armed struggle against the regime in Asmara. The relations with Sudan and Eritrea deteriorated and eventually Asmara terminated diplomatic relations in 1994 and began overtly hosting Sudanese opposition groups (Ibid.; Lefebvre, 1995).

With regards to Ethiopia, Sudan's Islamist leaders tried to broaden their influence by approaching already existing political groups such as the OLF. Relations with Ethiopia did not deteriorate as dramatically as with Eritrea. The EPRDF pursued an approach that involved purging government officials who were believed to have close links with Khartoum such as the Presidents of the regional states of Benishangul-Gumuz and Oromiyya, both of which border Sudan (Markakis, 2011). Relations between the two countries reached a crisis point with the assassination attempt on then Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in 1995 during the annual OAU meeting in Addis Ababa. The group allegedly behind the attempt had close ties to the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt and was supported by Sudan. The incident proved to be a source of embarrassment for the Ethiopian government which suspended diplomatic relations with Sudan and demanded the immediate handover of the perpetrators. Sudan denied any involvement in the assassination attempt and rejected Ethiopia's demands. The Ethiopian government renewed its support to the SPLM. In tandem with the USA, Ethiopia successfully pushed for UN sanctions in a concerted effort to isolate the Sudanese regime. (Ronen, 2002; United Nations, 1996). The US also commenced a U.S.-backed African Rapid Deployment Force project in 1996 and provided 'non-lethal military aid' in the amount of USD 20 million to the frontline states of Uganda, Eritrea and Ethiopia to contain Sudan (Ottaway, 1996).

The second front in the challenge of radical Islam to Ethiopia originated from Somalia. In this case, Ethiopia response was more decisive and far-reaching than in the case of Sudan. Unlike Sudan, the absence of a central government in Somalia entailed that Ethiopia was unable to negotiate with or exert pressure on any single political entity. Rebel groups opposed to the Ethiopian regime exploited the political vacuum in Somalia as a safe haven to stage attacks inside Ethiopia. On the flip side, the absence of a central government facilitated direct intervention in the internal affairs of Somalia with impunity.

The first interventions came against *al-Ittihad* which operated both in Ethiopia and Somalia. The group was accused of bombing two high-end hotels in Addis Ababa and for the attempt to assassinate the Transport and Communications Minister Abdulmajid Hussein, an ethnic Somali and a key figure in relations between local Somali population and the central government. As mentioned earlier, from 1996 until 1999 Ethiopia has sent troops to attack and dislodge *al-Ittihad* in retaliation which all but eliminated the group as a threat to Ethiopia's security (Le Sage, 2001; Tadesse, 2002)

Another reason Ethiopia is sensitive to developments in Somalia is the latter's long-standing, irredentist claim to the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian-Somali region, home to a restive Somali population, covers a large swath of land in the East and south-east of the country which accounts for roughly a quarter of Ethiopia's geographical size. And the threat of secession of the region posed a threat to the territorial integrity of Ethiopia. The spread of radical Islam was by itself a momentous challenge to Ethiopia where Muslims make up about 40% of the total population. But the threat of the Somalia imperiled the territorial integrity of the state, a core national interest. What is more, the ONLF has been engaged in low-intensity insurgency since 1994, and the region straddles with the Oromiyya region of Ethiopia where the OLF maintains some military presence.

Whereas Ethiopia has been a close ally of the US since the EPRDF took power in 1991, a turning point came during the 9-11 terrorist attacks which Zenawi regarded as a golden opportunity to curry the favor of Western donors in general and the USA in particular. Ethiopia branded itself as an 'anchor state' in an otherwise turbulent region and a strategic ally to the West. Ethiopia joined the coalition of the willing in the US invasion of Iraq in 2003. The EPRDF's successful positioning to gain a new strategic importance in the GWOT was epitomized by the surge in counter-terrorism activities in region including the Djibouti-based Combined Joint Task Force - Horn of Africa (CJTF-HoA) as part of US Africa Command. Ethiopia is also one of the US' 'black sites' using the country as a base to secretly interrogate undeclared prisoners of GWOT. Moreover, until 2015, the US military maintained a drone base in Ethiopia to target al Qaeda operations in Somalia and Yemen (Whitlock, 2016)

Another decisive moment came when the ICU took control of Mogadishu in 2006. Initially the USA avoided Ethiopia and tried to unite and mobilize the various warlords which controlled Mogadishu. That approach backfired as all of the warlords were decisively defeated by the ICU and driven out of the capital. The ICU had been expanding its support base by providing humanitarian and judicial services. By the time it drove out the warlords despised by the local population, it was perceived by many in Mogadishu a source of stability. The local business community who were tired of unending extortions by a number of warlords welcomed the law and order the ICU brought. The ICU brought the semblance of security and stability in Mogadishu, and political Islam provided a   new

ideological base for the state authority in Somalia, after the failure of Somali nationalism and socialism attempted by Siad Barre's regime before 1991 (Barnes and Hassan, 2007; Ahmad, 2009)

The stabilization of Mogadishu under the tutelage of the ICU, regardless of its military capability, was an ominous development for Ethiopia. Having a radical Islamist regime straddling the restive region of Ogaden posed serious security threats. Coming as it did in the wake of the contested elections of 2005, the Ethiopian government was apprehensive about the possibility of widening armed opposition especially in the Ogaden. Ethiopia regarded the ICU to have been infiltrated by *al-Ittihaad*, and a potential entry point to the region for global jihadist movements such as al-Qaeda. Some members of the top echelon of the ICU also had close connection with *al-Ittihad* and the Chairman of the influential Shura (Council) of the Sharia Courts, Sheik Hassan Dahir Aweys, had been an *al Itiihad* military Commander. Moreover, the ICU took a series of ill-considered steps to provoke Ethiopia including acceptance of arms and advisers from Ethiopia's main rival, Eritrea; declaring jihad against Ethiopia as a reaction to the presence of Ethiopian troops inside Somali territory (Asharq al Awsat, 2006); support for armed Ethiopia insurgencies the OLF and ONLF; and reviving the age-old irredentist claims on Somali-inhabited portions of Eastern Ethiopia. The USA on its part believed that individuals suspected of having links with al Qaeda, and who allegedly played a part in the bombing of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, were among the leadership of the ICU. Both governments were concerned that a Taliban-like regime would emerge with possible implications on Ethiopia and the wider East Africa (Menkahus, 2006/2007; Samatar, 2007).

Ethiopia's parliament declared that the ICU pose a 'clear and present danger' to Ethiopia and gave the Government the authority to use all necessary measures including the use of military force to defend the TFG and Ethiopia's sovereignty (Sudan Tribune, 2006). As the ICU militia closed in on Baidoa - the seat of the TFG - small-scale skirmishes took place with TFG and Ethiopian forces, already present in the region to defend the TFG. Last ditch attempts by Sudan to mediate the ICU and TFG bore no fruit. Within two weeks of the passing of UNSC resolution 1725 to lift UN arms sanctions on Somalia and allow for the deployment of an IGAD-led peacekeeping force to strengthen the TFG, Ethiopia invaded Somalia with an estimated force of between 8 and 12,000 well-equipped troops with artillery and air support (Crisis Group, 2007; United Nations 2006). It took less than two weeks for the Ethiopian forces to chase the ICU militias out of Mogadishu and install the internationally recognized TFG in Mogadishu.

EXTRAVERSION I: ECONOMIC GAINS

From the foregoing discussion, it could plausibly be argued that Ethiopia's invasion of Somalia in 2006 signified a convergence of the interests and threats of Ethiopia and the USA. Nevertheless, it provided an opportunity for the Ethiopian regime to regain its tarnished image and shaky international confidence and legitimacy following the 2005 disputed elections. As stipulated above, relations with developed nations generally afford the political class of the developing world to access resources. On this basis, Table 1 and Figure 1 presents trends in US Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Ethiopia for a twenty-year period from 1995 up to 2014 in an attempt to shed light on whether the flow of US aid to Ethiopia changed in line with the regime's alignment with the anti-terrorism policies of the US.

The United States is the largest source of bilateral aid to Ethiopia accounting roughly for almost a third of total aid (Dereje, 2011; OECD, 2016). From Table 1, it can be seen that total US aid remains around the same for the first five years from 1995 until 2000. The first modest increases came in 2000 and 2001 immediately after the end the Eritrean-Ethiopian war when donors practiced "negative peace conditionality" by using aid for the of purpose of influencing the two countries as incentive for, and reward to, ending the war. Apart from that, two specific periods are significant when it comes to shifts in the size of aid. First, in 2003 there is a dramatic six-fold increase in the amount of aid compared to 2002, after which there are moderate decreases and stabilizes once again. The second point is in 2008 when US aid to Ethiopia hits the one billion mark, double the amount of the preceding year.

The overall increasing level of aid is a definite indicator of the growing value of the relationship between the two countries. But the main question is what explains these sudden surges. One explanation for the 2003 increase could be The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief initiated by President George W. Bush in 2003. Ethiopia is one of the 15 resource-limited countries with high HIV/AIDS prevalence rates that were designated to receive the majority of the funding. However, the share of the Aids Fund as percentage of total aid remains low hovering around 7 percent since the Fund started in 2004 (USAID, 2016). Besides, even the AIDS relief has been tied to security concerns, as one of its justifications by the Bush Administration has been the view that the spread of AIDS posed serious challenges to the security of big countries such as Nigeria and Ethiopia. At about 54%, the biggest chunk of economic aid is accounted for by food aid which in part is a sad commentary to the state of the country's agriculture and a testament to the perennial humanitarian crisis. However, even the high amount of food aid could somehow be tied to peace and security. The main type of food aid, Title II Food Aid, indicatively called Food for Peace, is informed by the belief that poverty in general and hunger in particular breeds violence, that poor people are easily swayed by radical ideas, and that food aid is an indirect and long-term means of prevent radicalism.

A salient feature of US aid to Ethiopia is the insignificant

Table 1. US Aid to Ethiopia (in USD '000).

Year	Economic	Military	Total	Military as share of Total
1995	119.3	3.7	122.9	2.94
1996	104.7	4.9	109.7	4.51
1997	82.8	1.3	84.1	1.56
1998	118.5	1.3	119.8	1.07
1999	147.0	3.4	150.4	2.27
2000	277.4	1.5	277.6	0.05
2001	211.8	0	211.8	0.00
2002	175.9	3.3	179.1	1.81
2003	721.6	4.5	726.1	0.62
2004	433.0	3.0	436.1	0.69
2005	680.2	7.6	687.8	1.11
2006	324.5	2.6	327.0	0.79
2007	479.4	2.4	481.7	0.49
2008	1,011.4	1.4	1,012.8	0.14
2009	966.2	1.5	967.7	0.15
2010	988.2	3.4	988.5	0.03
2011	655.2	0.7	689.3	0.16
2012	748.2	5.6	753.9	0.75
2013	686.2	1.4	687.6	0.20
2014	736.6	5.6	742.2	0.76

Sources: Author computation from USAID (2016).

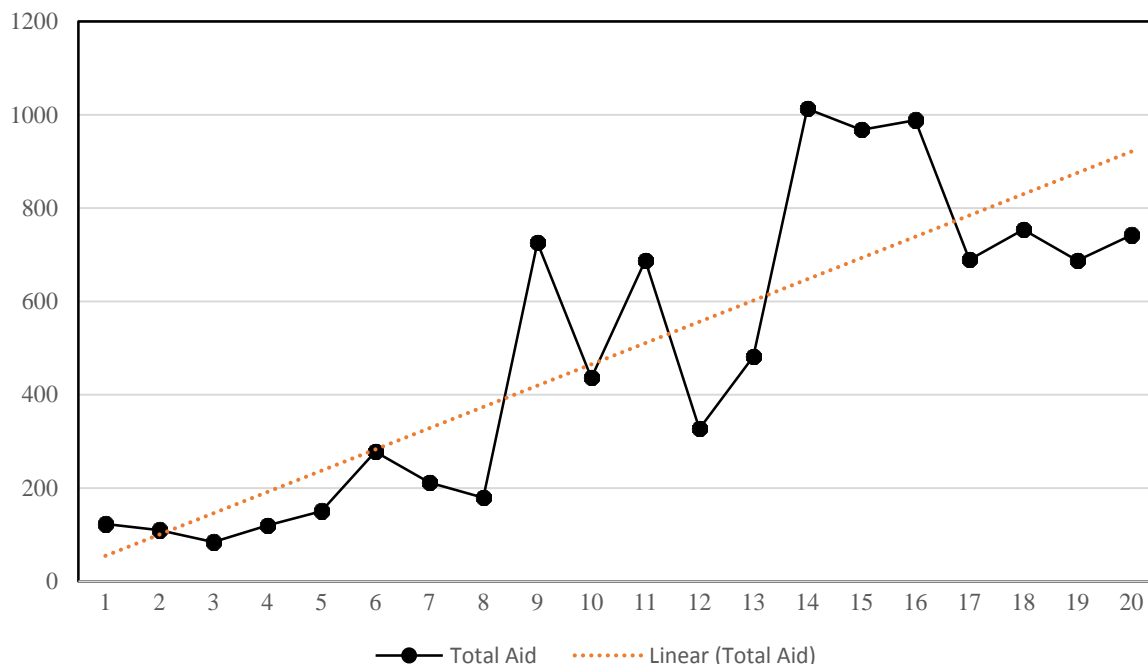**Figure 1.** Total US aid to Ethiopia.

contribution by the military aid. US military aid to Ethiopia is insignificant compared to other forms of aid or the military aid the USA provides to countries like Egypt or even Djibouti for that matter. However, this does not imply that Ethiopia's place in the security of the Horn of Africa is any less critical. A plausible reason is most   of   Ethiopian

army and air force arsenal is inherited from the military regime and comes from Russia. Ethiopia relies on Russia and countries of the former eastern bloc for training, spare parts, maintenance and so on. Contributions by the US to the Ethiopian military comes in the form of less tangible means such as exchanges and training, logistics, intelligence sharing, military bases and support for peacekeeping operations. It is hard to argue that Ethiopia's value to the USA lies in the economic ties between the two countries which is insignificant. As a destination of Ethiopian imports and exports, the US is not as critical as Japan, Western Europe, and China. There is no major US foreign investment to speak of in Ethiopia as the country does not possess readily exploitable natural resource, mainly oil, which often attracts the interest of US companies. Therefore, the plausible explanation for such high level of aid is strategic poison in the Horn of Africa, and Ethiopia within it, accentuated by the threat of international terrorism. It can safely be concluded that Western geopolitical interests in the Horn of Africa in general has been a major factor in consolidating and scaling up international development assistance to Ethiopia.

EXTRAVERSION II: DOMESTIC POLITICAL GAINS

An interesting aspect of the rise in US aid to Ethiopia is that it is positively correlated with the region's geostrategic importance and inversely correlated with the regime's democratic credentials. The Freedom House annual rating of political and civic freedom relegated Ethiopia to 'Not Free' status in 2010 (a status still maintained) after being 'Partly Free' for the previous fifteen years[5] (Freedom House, 2016; Tronvoll 2011). Likewise, according to the Polity IV Score, Ethiopia's score decreased from 1 (that has continued starting from 1992) to -3 in 2005 (Systemic Peace, 2016). It is patently clear that the rise in aid is not an appreciation of the regimes democratic performances or human rights records. In fact, aid has methodically been used by the regime for its own political ends.

There are several ways foreign support can translate into political gains. First, unlike Bayart's original conceptualization of extraversion as direct financial gains to the political elite, foreign aid could indirectly legitimize ruling regimes. In so far as aid ultimately reaches the target population, it should not be considered as a source of direct economic gains by the political elite, but a means of regime recognition both by donors and the local

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[5]On a scale of 1 to 7 (1 being the most democratic and 7 the least), the Freedom House assigned Ethiopia a 5 until 2010, when it became a 6, and, as an indication of further deterioration, a 6.5 in 2015. Countries are assigned one of three statuses - free, partly-free and not-free - depending on their score. Unlike the Freedom House, a 'Polity Score' is determined which ranges from -10 to +10, with -10 to -6 corresponding to 'autocracies', -5 to 5 corresponding to 'anocracies', and 6 to 10 to 'democracies'. The higher the score, the more democratic a country. Although the Ethiopian has remained an anocracy, the score has decline in recent years getting closer to autocratcy.

populace. In this regard, the Ethiopian government has generally been commended for ensuring foreign aid translated into tangible local benefits. However, having said that, the fact that aid distribution is mostly controlled by the government means the ruling party can use it for political purposes. Opposition parties constantly allege that their members and supporters have been denied access to aid as a result of their political views. In a report issued in 2010, Human Rights Watch alleged that "[L]ed by the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the government has used donor-supported programs, salaries, and training opportunities as political weapons to control the population, punish dissent, and undermine political opponents - both real and perceived. Local officials deny these people access to seeds and fertilizer, agricultural land, credit, food aid, and other resources for development". In the words of Dereje (2011), "Adapting to and making itself relevant to such a global discourse, the EPRDF has managed to extract tremendous economic resources as well as much needed political recognition from the West at a time when human rights organizations criticized Ethiopia's poor human rights record and the repression of the opposition since the contested May 2005 elections".

Second, as discussed on the part on the democracy-terrorism dilemma, strategic partnership with the West can be used to avoid close scrutiny of democratic and human rights credentials or lack thereof. Following the contested election of May 2005, donors initially took tentative measures to use the flow of aid to pressurize the regime to release leaders of the opposition parties, set up an autonomous body to investigate election related violence, and refrain from using excessive measures in its handling of opposition. The use of limited measures could be seen as an attempt to strictly tie political reform to development aid according to Dereje (2011:797):

The genesis of the PBS in 2006, one of the major multi-donors development programs in Ethiopia, is a case in point. The donors' shift from direct budget support to a block grant is an illustration of how donors manage ambivalences in their aid relationship with the EPRDF and Ethiopia at large. Donors continued development aid and humanitarian assistance after 2005 while minimizing the capture of aid by the EPRDF through tightly tagged development projects. In fact, the very name "protection" in the PBS signals donors' decline of confidence in EPRDF's democratic credibility. In the course of time, however, donors watered down their conditionality.

On a bilateral level, the US Congress introduced two legislations in a bid to hold the Ethiopian regime accountable for its actions. HR 5680 sponsored by Rep. Christopher Smith (D-New Jersey) in June 2006, roughly a year after the controversial 2005 elections called for, among other things, the suspension of "joint security activities until a certification is made that Ethiopia is observing international human rights standards and enforcing the principle of the rule of law". However, HR5680 was never brought for a roll call by the House   of

Representatives.[6] A second bill, HR 2003 introduced by Rep. Donald Payne (D- New Jersey) was even more forceful in its call for tougher measures including denial of "U.S. entry of any Ethiopian official involved in giving orders to use lethal force against peaceful demonstrators or accused of gross human rights violations".[7] HR2003 was passed by the House of Representatives in 2007 but was never brought for debate by the Senate by Senate Speaker Sen. Jim Inhoffe. (Metaferia 2009: 109) Inhoffe invoked Ethiopia's valuable role in the fight against terror for his reluctance to support the bill. He argued: Though this legislation states that its purpose is to 'encourage and facilitate the consolidation of peace and security' in Ethiopia, in reality it focuses only on shortcomings while blatantly ignoring the unprecedented progress the country has made…Ethiopia…continue to be a close friend of the United States and a strong ally in the War on Terror in the Horn of Africa…The language contained in H.R. 2003 enflames tensions already present in the Horn of Africa, threatening regional stability and long term U.S. national security. The growing instability in Somalia and the Ogaden region, combined with the unresolved border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea in the north, has created major challenges for Ethiopia…Ethiopia continues to be the central bulwark in the fight to deter the growth and disrupt the influence of Islamic extremists in the region. Our country's strong support of Ethiopia during this significant time is imperative - it builds stability and encourages democracy and human rights (Inhofe, 2007)

The lack of support from some quarters of the legislative was echoed by the executive. When asked to say something about HR2003, The then secretary of state Susan Rice concisely affirmed "The [Bush] administration does not support this particular bill" (Rice, 2007). Two former US Ambassadors to Ethiopia, Vicki Huddleston and Tibor Nage, weighed in an opinion piece on the New York times (2007): The bill "threatens to cut of technical assistance to Ethiopia, one of our closest allies…By singling out Ethiopia for public embarrassment, the bill puts Congress unwittingly on the side of Islamic jihadists and insurgents". President Obama has reiterated US policy imperative vis-à-vis Ethiopia in two occasions:

"We have seen enormous progress in a country that once had great difficulty feeding itself. It's now…leading the pack in terms of agricultural production in the region, but will soon be an exporter…we discussed how critical it is for us to improve our effectiveness when it comes to peacekeeping and conflict resolution. And it turns out that Ethiopia may be one of the best in the world, one of the largest contributors of peacekeeping; one of the most effective fighting forces when it comes to

being placed in some very difficult situations and helping to resolve conflicts…So Ethiopia has been not only a leader economically in the continent, but also when it comes to security and trying to resolve some of the longstanding conflicts there. We are very appreciative of those efforts, and we look forward to partnering with them (Obama, 2014)".

The issue of democracy and governance was raised at the end of his remarks almost as afterthought.

Let us now focus on two last points that needed to be made. Obviously we have been talking a lot about terrorism and the focus has been on ISIL, but in Somalia, we have seen al-Shabaab, an affiliate of al Qaeda, wreak havoc throughout that country. That is an area where the cooperation and leadership on the part of Ethiopia is making a difference as we speak. And we want to thank them for that. So our counterterrorism cooperation and the partnerships that we have formed with countries like Ethiopia are going to be critical to our overall efforts to defeat terrorism. And also, the Prime Minister and the government is going to be organizing elections in Ethiopia this year…And so we will have an opportunity to talk about civil society and governance and how we can make sure that Ethiopia's progress and example can extend to civil society as well, and making sure that throughout the continent of Africa we continue to widen and broaden our efforts at democracy, all of which is not just good for politics but ends up being good for economics as well, as we discussed at the Africa Summit (Ibid).

It was a position he reiterated in a state visit to Ethiopia in July 2015, which, coming as it did in the immediate wake of the controversial election in which the ruling group claimed 100% victory, was perceived an endorsement of the election results. His remark that "we are opposed to any group that is promoting the violent overthrow of a government, including the government of Ethiopia, that has been democratically elected" (Ibid.) was seen as an endorsement of the controversial election.

First, we are going to continue working together to advance Ethiopia's economic progress. Ethiopia has one of the fastest-growing economies in the world and one of the largest economies in Africa… Second, we are stepping up our cooperation on development, where Ethiopia has proven itself a global leader… Third, our security cooperation is pushing back against violent extremism…And finally, it is noted that everything mentioned including, sustained and inclusive growth, development, security gains, also depends on good governance (Obama, 2015).

Although the US has refrained from openly supported the ruling party and indeed had repeatedly criticized its human rights records, there has not been a sustained

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[6] H.R. 5680 "Ethiopia Freedom, Democracy, and Human Rights Advancement Act of 2006" available at https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/hr5680
[7] H.R. 2003 "Ethiopia Democracy and Accountability Act of 2007" available at https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/110/hr2003

consistent effort to pressurize the regime nor to use aid as means to influence the regime. What predominate are half-hearted condemnations of the shrinking political space, demands for the release of jailed members of the opposition or journalists, or their fair treatment according to the *laws of the land*, and annual Human Rights report by the State department often showing the poor state human rights in Ethiopia including arbitrary killings; allegations of torture, beating, abuse, and mistreatment of prisoners; threat to freedom of speech and association, abuse of state authority with impunity and so on. However, such largely symbolic gestures are often for the sake of public consumption, and they are seldom followed by specific measures. The US Government is wary of alienating a regime so central to its security interests in a volatile region. In contrast, commendations of Ethiopia's effort at economic growth and poverty reduction, and more significantly as a bulwark to the threat of terrorism and regional instability. When it comes to Washington's relations with its allies in the developing world, security trumps democracy and human rights.

EXTRAVERSION III: EXTERNAL DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT

US political and economic support to the regime in Ethiopia has been a major expression of political extraversion. A second and equally important extraversion is the diplomatic support the US provided in Ethiopia's dispute with neighboring Eritrea. The Eritrean war of secession at the time the northernmost province of Ethiopia - that started in 1960 and dragged on for almost 30 years claimed the lives of large number of people and drained the resources of the Ethiopian state. The two liberation movements - EPLF and TPLF - had been very close partners during the long and bitter armed struggle against the Ethiopian military regime. However, relations between the two liberation movements have occasionally been tense and hostile owing to differences on ideology and military strategy, border demarcation as well as on issues of administrative system between the two liberation movements both before and after they came to power (Plaut, 2001; Gilkes and Plaut, 1999; Tekeste and Tronvoll, 2000, 1996, 1997; Reid, 2005).

In May 1998, Eritrean forces moved into the small village of Badme and its environs which at the time was under Ethiopian administration. Eritrea refused Ethiopia's demand for the immediate withdrawal of its troops (Abbink, 1998). What began as small-scale border skirmishes escalated into a full-blown conventional war that lasted for two years and claimed the lives of an estimated 100,000 people and displaced over one million people (Gray, 2006). The war ended with the military victory of Ethiopia which recaptured all territories occupied by Eritrea in 2000. Ethiopia and Eritrea signed a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement under the auspices of the OAU followed by an

internationally brokered peace accord in Algiers in December 2000. (Canada, 2000). The two parties agreed to submit their disputes a neutral, five-member Boundary Commission (EEBC) established with a mandate to delimit and demarcate the boundary based on pertinent colonial treaties between Italy and Ethiopia (1900, 1902, 1908), applicable international law and the 1964 OAU decision to keep colonial boundaries unchanged. It was agreed that the decisions of both commissions would be final and binding.

The Border Commission passed its decision in April 2002 awarding Badme - the symbolic flashpoint for the entire war - to Eritrea. The decision looked to support the claims by the Eritrean government that it had gone to war in defense of its territory and Ethiopia had been the aggressor. For the Ethiopian government however, losing the symbolic territory to which its troops paid with their lives and which it regained through costly military victory proved difficult to accept. The fact that Badme had been administered as part of Tigray, the home region of the TPLF, further complicated the Ethiopian regimes' position (Crisis Group, 2006). Therefore, the Ethiopia government rejected the EEBC decision and appealed for review, although the treaty clearly specified the Commission's decision shall be final and binding and that each party shall comply with the border as determined.

Both countries subsequently took actions that impeded the activities of the entities established as part of the peace deal they signed. Ethiopia suspended its financial contribution to the Commission and refused to provide assistance for the Commissions demarcation efforts leading to the suspension of Commission's work and ultimately its dissolution in November 2007 (Crisis Group, 2005). The Eritrean government on its part took steps to impede the operations of UNMEE in frustration at what it considered as the UN's failure to put pressure on Ethiopia to comply with the decision. Eritrea first banned UNMEE helicopter flights, compelling the force to consolidate its observation posts and reducing its capacity to monitor the TSZ its mine clearance activities. This was followed by a decision to expel UNMEE personnel from eighteen North American and European countries (Lacey, 2005) and a complete stoppage of fuel deliveries. Finally, the UN Security Council terminated the peacekeeping mission in July and UNMEE forces withdrew the TSZ.

Therefore, both countries stood in violation of international law and treaties they entered into willingly. Many observers attribute more responsibility to Ethiopia's refusal to accept the EEBC's decision. In the first years after the Commission made its decision, the international community's pressure for a speedy acceptance and implementation was directed on Ethiopia, even from close allies such as the US and UK.[1] Pratt opines, "primary responsibility for the current state of affairs must lie with the Ethiopian government [and] the fact remains that it has clearly gone against its commitment to accept the [border commission]'s decision as final and binding and to   allow

the commission to demarcate the boundary identified in its delimitation decision". John Bolton, the US Ambassador to the UN at the time concurs: "Ethiopia was dissatisfied with the outcome [of the EEBC's decision] and simply refused to allow the EEBC demarcation work to proceed…Neither the Ethiopian nor the Eritrean Government will win any popularity contest, and I certainly had no favorite, but it seemed to me Eritrea had a point: Ethiopia had signed on a mechanism to solve the dispute in 2000 and was now welching on the deal" (2007:344).

However, it is the Eritrean actions that generated widespread international condemnation. Fifteen years after the EEBC passed its judgment, the status quo remains intact as Ethiopia occupies territory that have been awarded to Eritrea. "Eritrea is today almost hermetically sealed from the outside world. It is in a permanent state of emergency, with its youth almost entirely conscripted into the trenches, the free press has been stifled, the opposition, even within the ruling party, has been crushed, and assistance from the West and the UN is spurned" (Healy, 2008). The core question therefore is how Ethiopia managed to defy the decisions of an international body formed in its own volition within the context of a legal predicament where there seems to be no room to maneuver.

In line with the central contention of this article, a possible explanation to Eritrea's isolation by the international community is Ethiopia's greater weight in the region as reflecting its larger size and population, its status among other countries in Africa, and its standing with the US in the GWoT. In other words, Ethiopia has successfully used these advantages to win an indefinite suspension of the Commission's ruling. Healy (2008) argues that "Ethiopia is helped by the fact that it is a more open political system than Eritrea: It has elections, however flawed; it has an independent press, even if this is curtailed and journalists are locked up; and an administrative system to accommodate ethnic diversity." By 2006, escalating conflict in Somalia and the Ogaden, the post-electoral crisis in Ethiopia, Washington's increasing counter-terrorism interests in the region and concerns in Sudan with Darfur led to increased reliance on Ethiopian support for its policies and, as a consequence, a disinclination to press for implementation of the EEBC decision. Ethiopia's refusal to hand over the controversial village of Badme, counter to the findings of the Boundary Commission, has come about as a result of 'unwarranted' political and diplomatic support provided by the US Government and the international community (Lyons 2009).

It is instructive that the US changed its position on the priories of the implementation of the decisions of the EEBC around the ICU's ascendancy and right before Ethiopia's military intervention in Somalia. Bolton (2007:345) states, in early January 2006…[Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Jendayi] Frazer decided to make a major effort to push Eritrea and Ethiopia to demarcate the border…Fore reasons I never understood,

however, Frazer reversed course, and asked in early February to reopen the 2002 EEBC decision, which she had concluded was wrong, and award a major piece of disputed territory to Ethiopia (2007:347).

Following the dissolution of the EEBC and end of UNMEE, Ethiopia has successfully isolated Eritrea in regional and international forums with the acquiescence of measured against parties who continue to pose obstacles to peace and stability in Somalia through the provision of assistance to the extremists, in an apparent reference to Eritrea. (IGAD, 2009). The AU also took the unprecedented step of demanding targeted sanctions on Eritrea for alleged support of terrorist groups in Somalia and its destabilizing role in the region in general. (AU, 2009). Consequently, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1907 in December of the same year placing an arms embargo on Eritrea, imposes travel bans on and freezes the assets of some of the country's top political and military officials. In 2011, after Ethiopia gave the UN Sanctions Group evidence Eritrean agents planned to bomb the AU summit in Addis Ababa, more sanctions were added. US support for sanctions against Asmara was affirmed by the US Ambassador to the UN, Susan Rice.

The United States is very, very concerned about Eritrea's behavior in the region. Its support for Al-Shabaab, its support to destabilize its neighbors is documented quite thoroughly and persuasively in the report of the special panel. We heard during the session last month from virtually all of Eritrea's neighbors that they face a pattern of destabilization that is quite troubling and quite disturbing. Moreover, we are profoundly troubled and we have clearly condemned the support that Eritrea lent to the terrorist attack that was planned for to coincide with the African Union summit last January in Addis Ababa. We think that is an absolutely abhorrent development, and we think it merits the full attention of the Council. Yes, the United States is very much interested in additional pressure and sanctions being applied on Eritrea. This is something that we will continue to discuss and debate in the Security Council. But from the U.S. point of view, we think that that is timely (Rice, 2009).

CONCLUSION

The previous parts discussed how the relationship between the EPRDF and the USA has been impacted by the GWOT. The Ethiopian government played on American (Western) fears of the spread of radical Islam in a volatile region to extract more support and thwart various pressures for openness. Despite a gradual descent in to a *de facto* one party authoritarianism, Ethiopia continues to receive more foreign assistance from the US than any country in Sub Saharan Africa. Even after the controversial elections in 2005 and the ruling front stead consolidation of

its authoritarian grip, the US Government has reacted only halfheartedly, publicly repeating tepid calls for democracy but exerting no real pressure. The need for military bases and other forms of security cooperation in the Horn of Africa has moved Washington much closer to the authoritarian regime in Ethiopia. EPRDF also closely cooperates with the US in intelligence gathering on Al-Qaeda cells and other radical organizations in the region. Therefore, Ethiopia's role as a pivot state in an unstable region and the increase in development aid are thus clearly interlocked. However, this does not necessarily mean Ethiopia's role in Somalia in particular or against the spread of radicalism in the region groups is solely driven by the imperative of international acceptance. The spread of radicalism in general or the irredentist pressures from Somalia are part of Ethiopia's core national interest. By the same token, the flow economic assistance and political support from the donor governments is not dependent only on Ethiopia's security and stability role. Factors such as effective utilization of aid, the preponderance of the ruling party and associated weakness of the opposition, Ethiopia's demographic size the extent of the need for foreign assistance all influence the size of foreign aid. It is not uncommon for policies and actions to have more than one objective. The article has showed the uneasy balance between security and democratization and how the fight against radicalism gives regimes more latitude in their interaction with the West which would otherwise have not been present. Harking back to our discussion of the strategies of extraversion in the theoretical section, the paper reveals that, first, developing states have more latitude in their relations with the West. Second, this latitude can change from time to time and from state to state, highlighted by the rise of radical Islam and the increased importance of Ethiopia as a security partner of the US in the Horn of Africa. Third, the GWOT affords to governments with another opportunity to improve their global standing and gain recognition, a source of international legitimacy, which in turn, through the flow of aid, translates into internal legitimacy. Instead of unidirectional relations of dependency, the case demonstrates a 'reverse dependency' so to speak, whereby the USA relies on its amity with Ethiopia to maintain regional stability and ensure ungoverned spaces do not become a safe haven for radical groups. And fourth, broadening the definition of extraversion to include political support in addition to financial/economic resources helps understand the use of donor support a source of legitimation by political elites.

Abbreviations: AAPO, All Amhara People's Organization; **AMISOM,** African Union Mission in Somalia; **AU,** African Union; **AU-PSC,** African Union Peace and Seciurty Council; **CJTF-HoA,** Combined Joint Task Forces – Horn of Africa; **EPLF,** Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front; **EPRDF,** Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front; **EIJ,** Eritrean Islamic Jihad; **EEBC,** Eritrea Ethiopia Boundary Commission; **FDRE,** Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; **GWOT,** Global War on Terror; **ICU,** Islamic Courts Union (of Somalia); **IGAD,** Inter-Governmental Authority on Development; **IFIs,** International Financial Institutions; **OAU,** Organization of African Unity; **OECD,** Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; **OLF,** Oromo Liberation Front; **ONLF,** Ogaden National Liberation Front; **PBS,** Protection of Basic Services; **SNF,** Somali National Front; **SSDF,** Somali Salvation Democratic Front; **TFG,** Transitional Federal Government (of Somalia); **TNG,** Transitional National Government (of Somalia); **TPLF,** Tigrayan Peoples' Liberation Front; **TSZ,** Temporary Security Zone; **UNMEE,** United Nations Mission in Eritrea and Ethiopia; **WSLF,** Western Somalia Liberation Front;

Conflict of Interests

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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