

摘 要

自古以来，埃塞俄比亚和厄立特里亚人存在深厚的历史、种族和文化联系。1993 年厄立特里亚举行全民公决正式独立，但埃厄边界划分问题始终悬而不决，边境牧地划分、出海港使用权等问题频发引发双边冲突。双边关系长期低迷，1998 年爆发埃厄战争，战争造成大量人员伤亡和经济损失。2000 年停战后，两国保持了长达近 20 年的不战不和状态。20 年间两国边境地区经济发展停滞，生产力低下。

2018 年阿比·艾哈迈德·阿里当选埃塞俄比亚总理，其在 4 月发表就职演说时对厄立特里亚发出的和解信号，宣布将履行两国在 2000 年签署的停战协议，同时承认 2002 年的联合国裁决结果，主动从巴德梅等争议地区撤军。这些友好信号迅速得到厄立特里亚当局的积极回应。随后两国首脑迅速展开互访。2018 年 7 月，两国签署和平友好联合声明，承诺恢复外交关系，开启合作和伙伴关系新篇章。

总体而言，两国边境地区受益于埃塞俄比亚与厄立特里亚之间的和解。和解增进了和平与稳定，缓解了紧张局势，为两国经济增长与合作开辟了新的可能性。但两国和平前景也面临一些阻碍，特别是阿比政府承诺归还巴德梅等边境地区的行为遭到了埃塞国内政治反对力量的不满和破坏。

本文试图基于过去几十年埃厄两国敌对的历史对 2018 年两国关系和解进程进行评估。本文的研究目标是：梳理推动埃厄和解的内外部因素，总结埃厄和解对两国的影响，评估埃厄和解对于非洲之角国家区域一体化的作用。同时本文也关注了两国和解后可能面临的挑战和风险。

本篇论文共分为五章。第一章介绍了本研究的研究目的、研究问题、研究意义、研究方法、研究框架以及关键词汇。同时，本章梳理了有关埃塞俄比亚和厄立特里亚外交关系的历史资料，探究了这项研究的必要性和重要性。本文所采取的研究方法为历史研究法和深度访谈法。

第二章梳理了埃塞俄比亚和厄立特里亚两国和解的内外部驱动因素。本章由两部分组成。第一部分试图分析双方领导人为实现埃塞俄比亚和厄立特里亚之间的和解所开展的行动，另一部分试图总结并分析推动两国和解的因素。

第三章总结了埃厄和解对两国的影响。埃厄关系正常化为两国赢得了和平的外部环境。埃塞和解可以使得 2002 年联合国埃塞与厄特边界委员会的裁决真正落实，埃塞可以重获位于厄境内的出海口，推动经济发展；厄特则免于经济制裁，真正掌控巴德梅等争议区域。双方关系正常化有助于两国国内的长期稳定发展。

第四章阐述了埃厄和解对于非洲之角国家区域一体化的作用。在相互依存理论的框架内，区域统一是特定地理区域内的自治国家在政治、经济和社会层面建立更牢固关系的程序。这种区域一体化是出于这些国家的经济与安全相互依赖而产生的。各国可以通过组建区域共同体来整合资源并进行合作，以此实现共同目标，例如促进贸易、发展基础设施和保证安全等等。根据相互依存论，区域一体化可以通过各国间的相互合作促进地区和平与稳定，同时提升区域经济在全球经济中的竞争力。基于该理论，埃塞和比亚和厄立特里亚两国的冲突与敌对关系极大地阻碍了非洲国家一体化和地区权力的巩固，而两国之间的和解则会促进该地区团结和相互依存，进而实现互利共赢。

第五章进行了对前文进行了总结，同时关注了两国和解后埃塞俄比亚可能面临的挑战和风险并给出了相关建议。在两国政府大力发展经济的背景下，埃厄关系正常化已是两国共同需求。但两国关系和解后，埃塞俄比亚仍需要妥善处理临近两国边境地区人民的利益诉求，通过强化国内民族认同，维护埃塞国家经济在安全稳定的国内环境中稳健发展。厄立特里亚政府也应在一定程度上为埃塞俄比亚国家安全与稳定提供帮助。

关键词：埃塞俄比亚，厄立特里亚，和解，区域一体化与权力巩固

ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of time, the people of Ethiopia and Eritrea have had deep historical, ethnic, and cultural links, with the exception of the time when the former was an Italian colony. In 1993, Eritrea formally acknowledged its independence and maintained friendly ties with Ethiopia until 1998. However, a conflict broke out between the two nations in 1998, which cost many people their lives and damaged other resources. The border region continued to be unproductive during the nearly 20-year period of no war and no peace between the two nations.

In 2018, there was a big change in the Horn of Africa region that was widely praised as an important step for the region's security and peaceful coexistence. Decades of hostility between the two nations have resulted in terrible suffering and violations of human rights on both sides of the conflict.

The first strides towards reconciliation were made in June 2018, when the countries assigned a new Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed, declared that his nation would respect the conditions of a peace agreement struck with Eritrea in 2000. This included the demarcation of the two countries' boundary, which had been a major source of disagreement.

Twenty years later, the joint peace statement accord has been signed between the respective leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea in July, 2018 in Asmara. The leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea have had multiple high-level conferences and signed a number of agreements to advance collaboration and economic integration between the two nations. The two sides have also reopened their borders; enabling family reunions and the resumption of cross-border business transactions. There are several opinions, news and articles that communicate argument either in supporting or opposing the reconciliation

In general, the region has benefited from the reconciliation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. It has improved peace and stability, lowered tensions, and opened up new possibilities for economic growth and cooperation between the two nations. The complete execution of border demarcation and the resolution of unresolved conflict-related issues are two obstacles that still need to be overcome.

The study painted a detailed history of the perennial dispute and animosity between Ethiopia and Eritrea for over the past couple of decade and try to see motivation, Impact, Challenge and Risk of the rapprochement. In order to evaluate the rapprochement of Ethiopia and Eritrea, the study will seek to answer three research questions. What are the pushing factors and efforts made for the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea? What are the benefits of the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea to Horn of African countries? What are the challenge and risks of the re-establishment of the diplomatic relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea for the Horn of African countries as whole?

The study will try to see the social, economic and political benefit/impact of the rapprochement of the two nations for both countries as well as its contribution to regional integration and power consolidation for the Horn of African countries. Also it will focus on challenge and risks might happen ahead of the rapprochement of the two countries by focusing on the period from the coronation of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

In seeking to provide answers to these issues, the study's findings demonstrate that closer ties between Eritrea and Ethiopia significantly boosted bilateral ties, which in turn strengthened economic and political integration among the Horn of African countries. However, further diplomatic work has to be done to strengthen people-to-people relation between the two sisterly countries.

The research is divided into five chapters. The study's history, general and particular objectives, research questions, the significance of the study, research methods, literature review of the study, the theoretical frame work of the study's and organization of the study organization, are all covered in the first chapter. The report provides background information about Ethiopia and Eritrea's diplomatic relations, discusses the importance of the study, and details the methods utilized, which include questioning and interviews. Economic interdependency theory will be applied to analyze the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Chapter two investigates the internal and external driving or pushing factors that motivate rapprochement of Ethiopia and Eritrea and the effort made in both

countries leaders to bring the diplomatic resumption of the two nations. This chapter is composed of two sections. The first section try to analyze the efforts made from both sides to bring the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea and the other section try to look what are those pushing factors for rapprochement between two nations.

Chapter three discuss the impact of the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea to the Horn of African countries as a whole. In this chapter, the economic, social, peace and security impact will be discussed in detail particularly the significance of the diplomatic re-establishment of the two nations to the peace, security, economic and social benefits to the Horn of African countries. Peace and security situation of the region before the diplomatic re-engagement of the two nations also slightly highlighted.

The economic success and security of Horn of African countries depend on one another. States may combine their resources and cooperate to accomplish shared objectives, such as boosting trade, developing infrastructure, and boosting security, by forming a regional community. It is intended that by cooperating, nations can advance regional peace and stability while also growing stronger and more competitive in the global economy. So the relation of the two nations highly hampered the horn of African countries integration and power consolidation. The re-engagement between the two nation may promote the region to unite and interdependent on one another for mutual benefits.

The fourth chapter is intended to see what of the challenge and the risks of the rapprochement process for the Horn of African countries particularly for Ethiopia and Eritrea. In this chapter economic, social and political impact, challenge and risk of the rapprochement of the two countries will be seen in detail. The fifth chapter put conclusion and recommendation.

KEY WORDS: *Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rapprochement, Regional Integration and Power Consolidation*

List of Acronyms

- ▶ EPRDF- Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
- ▶ HOAC-Horn of African Countries
- ▶ HOA-Horn of Africa
- ▶ TPLF-Tigray People Liberation front
- ▶ UN-United Nations
- ▶ IGAD-Intergovernmental Authority on Development
- ▶ EPLF-Eritrea People Liberation Front
- ▶ RO-Regional Organization
- ▶ EAC-East African Community
- ▶ EASF-East African Stand by Force
- ▶ SADC-Southern Africa Development Community
- ▶ COMESA-The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
- ▶ AU-Africa Union
- ▶ EU-European Union
- ▶ EPRDF- Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

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Chapter 1-Introduction

1.1 Background

Eritrea and Ethiopia were historically a part of the Abyssinian Empire prior to the arrival of European colonization in Africa, which divided the continent into various nation-states¹. In contrast to the rest of Ethiopia region, modern-day Eritrea was founded by the Italians in the late 19th century and created borders with Ethiopia, Sudan, Djibouti and Somaliland². When the Italians were defeated in World War II, Britain took over as the protectorate over Eritrea. The British colonial administration worked to further promote the development of a new political culture in Eritrea, with Tigrinya replacing Amharic as the official language.

The United Nations was forced to take part in the country's federation with Ethiopia as a result of the fierce political conflict over Eritrea's future after the British colonial authority left office (Reid, 2011). Nevertheless, Ethiopia continued to assert its authority over Eritrea. The UN passed resolution 390 (V) in 1950 to unite Eritrea and Ethiopia, but Ethiopia kept to control Eritrea in 1952, which led Eritrea to a 30-year military conflict for independence.

After the fall of Derg Regime in Ethiopia the Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF), thinly veiled with multi-ethnic mask started to rule the countries. Since the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea started, the TPLF has been a good partner of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). In 1988, the two parties reached a covert agreement whereby the TPLF would take over Addis-Ababa after the Mengistu regime was overthrown and accept an independence vote for Eritrea in 1993.

After the TPLF expanded into the multiethnic EPRDF alliance in 1989, the friendship was continued. In 1993 The Eritrean referendum was took place, and the newly installed Ethiopian government swiftly acknowledged Eritrea's independence.

¹ Ylonen, Annica. "Ethiopia-Eritrean Issues." In *The Palgrave Handbook of African Politics, Governance and Development*, edited by Toyin Falola and Nicholas Kanu, 87-90. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

² Reid, Richard. "Eritrea-Ethiopia Conflict." In *Encyclopedia of Global Studies*, edited by Helmut K. Anheier and Mark Juergensmeyer, 420-422. Sage Publications, 2011.

Following the independence of Eritrea and the overthrow of Ethiopia's communist government, the two governments open a new chapter in their relationship. While guerilla comrades who are now in power in Asmara and Addis-Ababa got along well from that point on. Good relationships were kept in the commercial, diplomatic, and personal spheres.

When they signed the Friendship and Cooperation Agreement in 1993, they agreed to keep the unfettered trade in products and services, unlimited access to Eritrea's sea transport and use of the Ethiopian currency as their unit of exchange¹. A disputed security and mutual defense agreement that promised to help one another militarily in the case of an attack and to consult on matters of foreign policy finally strengthened this arrangement².

In short period of relation without apparent reason the northern part of Ethiopia known as Badme and the surrounding territory were invaded by Eritrean armed forces on May 12, 1998, with the assistance of tanks and artillery. Fighting started and quickly got worse. On three fronts, artillery and tank fire were exchanged. The war was quite widespread and very damaging. Thousands of lives were lost, the economy collapsed, domestic matters became problematic, an extraordinary military mobilization occurred, and residents were displaced and deported³.

After the crisis started mediation efforts to put an end to it between Ethiopia and Eritrea started. Friends from both countries hastened to their respective capitals as soon as possible to mediate a peaceful resolution. The first successful attempt at mediation was made by the governments of the United States and Rwanda. The US and Rwandan delegations jointly produced a four-point peace proposal, but only Ethiopia accepted it⁴.

¹ Zahorik, John. "Ethiopia and Eritrea: An Enduring Rivalry." *Journal of International Affairs* 70, no. 1 (2017): 61-80.

² Kidist Mulugeta (2011), "The Ethiopian-Eritrean War of 1998–2000: An analysis of its causes, course, impacts and prospects" in *Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa*, ed. Roba Sharamo and Berouk Mesfin, Relief Web report, Institute for Security Studies, 2011. Pp.31-37.

³ Kalewongel Minale, "Ethiopia and Eritrea: The Quest for Peace and Normalizations". a master's thesis has yet to be published., University of Tromsø, Norway. 2008. pp.31-67.

⁴ Cliffe, Lionel. "Ethiopia and Eritrea: The Struggle for Unity and Democracy Revisited." *Review of African Political Economy* 31, no. 101 (2004): 309-23.

The case was forwarded to the UN General Assembly after the four point commission was unable to come up with a comprehensive, satisfactory answer for the liquidation of Eritrea. Five officials from Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan, South Africa, and Burma were given the task by the UN to assess the needs and priorities of the Eritrean peoples. Unanimity was still not possible after a thorough analysis, so the UN was given three choices. While Burma and South Africa called for a federation, Guatemala and Pakistan recommended securing independence. Only Norway advocated for union.

The conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea has endured for more than 20 years, despite the efforts of the AU to promote peace and the accord struck in December 2000 in Algiers. On the other hand, Somalia also suffered as a result of Ethiopia and Eritrea's rivalry to support opposing warlord factions in Mogadishu. This may also be interpreted as a sign that the local sense of safety and peace has been compromised.

The Horn of Africa rivals Ethiopia and Eritrea broke through the iron curtain that had separated them for more than two decades and shocked both allies and enemies by reorganizing their bilateral relations. As a result, efforts in the Horn of Africa to integrate and cooperate have picked up steam. Initiatives for regional integration have been expanded and intensified by the participating countries of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia.

In the diplomatic history of Africa, the warming of relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea following the election of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is remembered as the most notable turning point of bilateralism and the best launching pad for integration in Africa in the twenty-first century. These astounding diplomatic actions between Ethiopia and Eritrea address numerous social, economic, and political issues while also creating the conditions necessary to achieve the goals stated in the last three areas. Despite these high hopes, the bilateral relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea may be susceptible to internal or external dynamic forces of inertia¹. As a

¹ Zewdie, Bahru. *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*. 2nd ed. Eastern African Studies. Oxford: James Currey; Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002, 183.

result of the resumption of their diplomatic relation, peace could be established, and both nations' and the region's conditions started to improve in different aspects.

Ethiopia and Eritrea are starting to patch things up after more than 20 years of impasse.

This study provided an overview of the implication of recent rapprochement of Ethiopia and Eritrea from the perspective of its contribution to peace and security in Horn of Africa. In addition, it will propose a conceptual framework to analysis of rapprochement embarked between the two countries. Likewise, it will aim enquiry to set out mechanisms to sustain and push forward this bilateral relation towards economic and regional integration and cooperation for peace and security.

In addition, the study provided analysis about role of social, economic and political turbulences and developments, emanates from within and/or outside, with capacity to either tranquilize or smoothen the diplomatic state of affairs in the region. It also articulates the possible way forward to sustain and expand the resumption of diplomatic relation between Eritrea and Ethiopia. At the end, the study ends by setting the recommendation on how the rapprochement keeps its momentum and how the rapprochement is helpful for both country and for the wider political landscape of the nations those found to the African Horn of region.

1.2 .Objectives of the Study

General Objectives

The study is proposed to examine the motivation, benefit, challenge and risk of the rapprochement of Ethiopia and Eritrea bilateral relation for both countries as well as for the Horn of African countries as a whole.

Specific Objective

The study's very clear aims are;

- To provide information about how of the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea works for regional integration to the Horn of African countries.
- To discuss and explore economic, social, security benefits and challenge of the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea and the factors that results the re-

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