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Invited article

GEOPOLITICS, HISTORY, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND RE-CRAFTING TPLF SECESSION IN ETHIOPIA AND DESTABILIZATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA



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Abstract:

The word terrorism means the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear for bringing about political change. All terrorist acts involve violence or—equally important—the threat of violence. The form of violence takes place on the name of language, tribal group ethnicity and religion. TPLF is one of the examples in North East Africa and in Horn consistently believe in violence on the pretext of one or the other mentioned above. The history explains that the violence cannot be justify today on the name of EPRDF movement/Marxist dominance or CIA supported antiterrorist/Capitalist ideology connecting international links. Further, the violence with the international weapon system doesn't misnomer with international solidarity. The current crisis in Ethiopia ultimately is the geopolitical gluttony of lust for power, American pang of hunger of absolute control on oil and mineral resources on the name of terrorism and TPLF excitement of re-crafting ideology for the Tigre empire and future its secession as Tigre independent State. The ultimate loss to the Horn of Africa destabilization, which is fighting against all odds of natural calamity and weapon movement in this region.

Keywords: Ethnonationalism, Secession, Ideology, Cold War, Globalization & Horn

1.0 Introduction:

Historically, Ethiopia consists of Oromo (34.4%), Amhara (27.0%), Somali (6.2%), Tigray (6.1%), Sidama (4.0%), Gurage (2.5%), Welayta (2,3%) and Hadiya (1.7%) (Ethiopia Society, 2021: online) of the total population and speak mainly Geez, Tigriniya, Amharic, Gurage and Hereri. Tigrinya is majorly spoken in Eritrea, the neighbourhood country. Ethnonationalism consists of basic ingredient of the society that stirred the geopolitics of political ideology right from the beginning and is continued even today. This geopolitics features and patterns further shaped the historical societies. The history of geopolitics is a gorge straddled through ethnic bridge in Ethiopia. The

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geopolitics of international relations has changed time to time right from the Pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial period to post 1990 market liberalization and it has impacted Ethiopia the most in Greater Horn of Africa. Ethiopia plateau provides the increasing urban metropolis escarpment and ethnic segment has further formed a rigid pattern indicating dynamic geopolitical perspective of the country. The political economy of Ethiopia attracts dynamic geographical landscape in the post 1990s and indicated the geopolitical changes in the society. Ethiopian urbanization phenomena with the movement of people in search of more employment opportunities, better living conditions and capital flows changes national ideals and objectives on the one hand and increases the secessionist tendencies of 'going it alone' by developing new sovereignty. Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF) has been become the instrument of soviet ideologue during the cold war period till 1990s, shifted towards USA adventurism of AFRICOM with money and weapon power and ultimately fighting against the Ethiopian sovereignty killing hundreds of armed forces with the separate Tigre Highland. It is rightly pointed out that Washington's concern over China's growing influence in Sub-Saharan Africa ultimately established USA Command entitled AFRICOM of Air force and Navy. This command did not work against China and looked as antiterrorist missions or to protect their favorites government against internal rebellion. "Secessions have also occurred in the Horn of Africa. The Arabic-speaking, Muslim Eritreans are oriented toward trade and fishing, unlike the highland Christian Ethiopian farmers. The coastal territory, which had first been occupied by Italy in the 1880s, was administered as a separate colony until merged with Ethiopia when the Italians conquered that country in 1935–36. From the 1960s onward, the Eritreans fought for their freedom. In the late 1970s they forged an alliance with the Tigrinya-speaking Ethiopian rebels in a struggle to overthrow Ethiopia's Amharic-controlled Marxist regime. After three decades, and at the cost of 100,000 to 150,000 fatalities, the regime was overthrown, and shortly thereafter Eritrea was able to become an independent, secular republic. While Eritrea separated from Ethiopia peacefully in 1993, the two countries waged war under TPLF influence from 1998 to 2000 over a border dispute that was ultimately resolved through UN intervention. Nevertheless, tensions over that border have remained because Ethiopia refused to accept an adjusted line due to TPLF that included Badme in Eritrea. Eritrea opposed Ethiopia's 2006 intervention in Somalia, but the two parties came to a final agreement in 2009. Both Ethiopia and Eritrea are internally divided along religious lines, but the Amharic Ethiopian Orthodox Christians generally dominate Ethiopian politics, while Eritrea is Muslim led" (Saul Bernard Cohen, 2015: 420).

It is the time to remind the superpowers that cold war is dead. The global world needs liberal economy favoring democratic governments around the world. The post 1990 Africa shifted more towards elected democratic government and adopted limited liberal market economy. Horn of Africa is one of the regions following this globalization in their own terms. Does global economy prefer insurgency to promote their trade relations? If not, why leader of global world and its intelligentsia Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) fail to appreciate the peace processes and economic development in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Somalia. "It seems that USA being a super power is issuing summons and dictates to respect its determination whatever the way it is. It reminded the old Bay of Pigs story of cold war period. The unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the government of the Cuban premier Fidel Castro by USA forces known as Bay of Pigs in 1961. On April 17, 1961 about 1500 exiles, armed with US weapons, landed at the *Bahia de Cochinos*" (Bay of Pigs) on the south coast of Cuba. "TPLF forces have entirely crossed into Somalia to overthrow the government like Bay of Pigs in 2007. The Amharic language programme in German radio and other media highlighted that hundreds of troops and 70 trucks have crossed into Somali territory" (Suresh Kumar, 2006: 5). The USA administration had already set up camps in Djibouti and Eastern Ethiopia on the name of combating terrorism in the Horn of Africa region. USA willfully expand

its army camps in Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea under the banner of Anti-Terrorism and supported TPLF militancy in 2008. TPLF with the support of USA army interfered in de-stabilizing the governments in the Horn region, which helped them to repeat Bay of Pigs in this region and Somalia in particular and to strengthen its neo-colonial mercantile expansion in the globe.

The history of geopolitics as far as international relations is concerned in this region, "In the Horn of Africa, the long-running rebellion of the Eritreans against Amharic Ethiopian rule spanned the regimes of both Emperor Haile Selassie and Mengistu Haile Mariam, who overthrew Selassie in 1974. In the 1980s the Eritreans joined forces with Ethiopian rebels from the province of Tigre, and together they eventually overthrew the Soviet-supported Marxist government of Mengistu, spelling the end of centuries of Amharic domination. 'In 1993 the new Ethiopian government, now controlled by the leader of the former rebels, Meles Zenawi, agreed to the independence of Eritrea. Inasmuch as the separation left Ethiopia landlocked, the Eritreans granted it a free port at Asab, which is connected to Ethiopia by highway. It appeared that peace had finally come. However, the former allies soon stumbled into war with each other over parts of the 625-mile boundary that had never been delineated" (Prahla K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 27). The focus of the fighting was possession of the Badme (Yirga) Triangle.

Eritrea faced the politics of cold war and Ethiopia never fought any anti-imperialist or anti-feudalist struggle in the country and enjoyed the monetarily and armed support of USSR by saying Eritrean movement a counter-revolutionary feudalists or pro-imperialist. Today, it is interested to understand the nature of state in Ethiopia. It bargained with USSR till 1990s and once the balance of power shifted to uni-polar world i.e. USA, the Ethiopian government and TPLF is turned their side. Ethiopia and USA alliance destabilized Horn of Africa and destroyed Somalia on the one hand and disrespect in international decision by refuting Algiers Agreement on Ethiopia Eritrean Boundary Commission. The liberation movement is the glorious past history of Eritrea. Ethiopia made a foiled attempt of invading Eritrea's glorious past in 1998. Nearly 20,000 Eritrean armed forces sacrificed their lives to uphold their tradition. The Eritrean political nationalism re-vitalized because of Ethiopian invasion is observed by analyzing the nature of Eritrean society. "The fact that the 10th anniversary of the nation's independence was observed in the wake of the decisive victory scored by the Eritrean people over the invading forces of the TPLF dominated administration in Ethiopia added special dimension to the great event" (Eritrea Profile, Vol. 8, No.12, 26 May 2001). With large numbers of battle-hardened troops on both sides, what started as minor skirmishes in 1998 developed into full-scale war. A cease-fire brokered by the OAU in the summer of 1999 was broken a year later, when the Ethiopians pushed into Eritrea with TPLF support, displacing upward of a million Eritreans. A second cease-fire was signed in September 2000, with both sides agreeing to return to the line that existed before the initial Eritrean invasion. A small UN peacekeeping force was deployed within a sixteen-mile buffer zone along this line, and both countries have agreed to the demarcation of the border by the United Nations. "An Independent Boundary Commission completed the demarcation in April 2002, awarding the disputed town of Badme to Eritrea. While Addis Ababa initially rejected this decision, it has since accepted outside mediation, which confirmed the placement of the boundary. The cost of the conflict between these former allies has been one hundred thousand soldiers killed, widespread devastation of the landscape, and massive displacement of Eritrean refugees. The economic development of two of the world's poorest countries has been pushed backward even further. As a result of the conflict and despite the peace accord, landlocked Ethiopia has shifted from using the Eritrean port of Asab as its main outlet for trade to using Djibouti and Berbera" (Saul Bernard Cohen, 2015: 431). Along with it, USA used ethnic card through TPLF in the northern Somalia establishing military base and TPLF militant under the cover of CIA has become an open secret and mockery of international law. It is further analyzed, "The USA is funding a coalition of Somali

warlords to destabilize this region. The funding is fueling the civil war and US official refused to comment directly. Reports that US was operating in Somalia for some time” (BBC, 2006: 25). This is the reality of history of international relations in this region.

The people of Ethiopia strongly believe in democratic system and did not appreciate TPLF role and its activities in the Tigray region. Ethiopian people boycotted TPLF activities and it is one of the reasons for TPLF to shift their army base to Tigre region. “Ethiopian feels that this ethnic division through TPLF will lead to fragmentation and rise of sub-national politics in the country, which will leave behind the economic development agenda of the country on the one side and build a continuous tension with the peaceful neighbor like Sudan, Eritrea, Kenya and Somalia on the other side. The migration from the country and taking asylum shows their real political and democratic protest against the government” (Prahlad K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 21). Similarly, Kenyan government is facing the more or less the same ethnic tensions created by TPLF particularly in the northern part of Kenya. TPLF disturbed this part through continuous firing and created unrest conditions. There is a need to strengthen people to people contact in the Horn of Africa and reinforce the ongoing peace process and government stability in different countries in the Horn. There is a need to build Ethiopia-Eritrea-Sudan-Kenya-Somalia relations for the peaceful co-existence that will surely strengthen Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the Horn of Africa for political, economic and social unity and development. The unity in diversity will help them to throw TPLF in the Red Sea. It is the right time to share each other problems and initiate a dialogue to strengthen their development activities through mutual relations. Geopolitically, IGAD and African Union (AU) have to provide an environment for the creation of a stable, unified and secure this region. Today, Horn of Africa should adopt this concept and build infrastructure, education, employment, health, scientific agriculture, industrialization, mutual trade relations through road and sea, which will usher sustainable development.

2.0 Crafted and Re-Crafting of Ideology:

TPLF formed on 18 February 1975 in Dedebit town of Northeast Tigre province of Ethiopia with the objective of implementing Soviet Marxist ideology and overthrow the present ruler Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) and TPLF coalition overthrew the emperor’s rule and established new government in Ethiopia. Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in coalition with TPLF has ruled the country in the last four decades since 1975. The organizational and ideological differences to understand the nature of society produced division within the ELF, culminating in the late 1970s with the emergence of the Eritrean people’s Liberation Front (EPLF). EPLF believed in Unity in Diversity and concretized Eritrean nationalism and challenged the Ethiopian government. “The EPLF created a forum of struggle in which all Eritrean who opposed colonial rule, and were desirous of independence, could participate regardless of their religion, language, ethnicity, class and gender. It enhanced Eritrean nationalism, and prepared the ground for national unity, overriding all divisive and narrow-minded attitudes. It taught and practiced equality of all citizens. In all its policies and actions, the EPLF cultivated nationalism and unity of the people of Eritrea” (NCE, 1994: 7). Following the Ethiopian revolution of 1974, its new regime continued attempts to defeat the EPLF militarily. Nevertheless, Ethiopian forces controlled only the main urban centers, and from 1980 the EPLF increasingly gained upper hand and finally liberated the whole Eritrean soil in May 1991, and established provisional government. The referendum in April 1993 provided a virtually unanimous vote in favor of independence and showed political nationalism intact to the world. On May 28, 1993, the United Nations formally admitted Eritrea to its membership.

Today, it is realized that “various ideological claims permeated the consolidation of power by the TPLF, which now seems to be questioned by the new leadership in the EPRDF. This article locates

the critical junctures in the history of the party and analyses how those junctures relate to power concentration rather than to ideological shifts as purported by the party. It argues that the circumstances surrounding the 'shifts' in ideologies by the TPLF show that ideologies were used to consolidate power within the party and later impose domination at the state level. A thorough investigation of the ideological history of the TPLF is crucial as Ethiopia seems to be standing at a critical ideological crossroad. Through a deep hermeneutic interpretation, the article concludes that leftist ideological threads such as a focus on vanguard rule, party-directed economy, and Stalinist understandings of ethnicity run throughout the ideological shifts of the TPLF. Today, the market economy dominates the government policies and the shift of ideology as per the country's need is clearly seen" (Tefera Negash, 2019: 463). On the name of ideology, the TPLF leadership consolidated political power and dominance in the society and did not fulfill the basic amenities of the people and more over minimum requirement of Bread, Dress and Shelter. The elitism in TPLF has failed to justify their ideology and people's acceptance to market economy having the minimum requirement along with the provision of good education, health, employment opportunities and social security and their participation in decision-making at all level of governance. As a result, Ethiopia national election conducted in April 2018 and people had chosen Mr. Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister having Oromo ethnic groups and ousted the TPLF or Tigre leadership from power. This government market led reforms for economic development further marginalized TPLF orientation towards society. But the political struggle was seen in 2020 and "in September 2020, following multiple delays in parliamentary elections and the extension of Abiy's term, the Tigray State Council defied the federal government and held regional elections, in which TPLF candidates won a majority of seats and it held in the absence of Election Commission of Ethiopia. TPLF threatened federal government that any intervention to election result would be considered a 'declaration of war" (Center for Preventive Action, 2022: online) and it is a threat of destabilizing this region geopolitically.

It is noticed that "Why is Ethiopia at War with Itself? - - Sixteen months after Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed began a military campaign in the Tigray region, fighting has slowed but Ethiopians are bitterly divided and their country is wracking by sufferings. A yea of conflict in Ethiopia, Africa's second most populous country and a linchpin of regional security, has left thousands of dead, forced more than two million people from their homes and pushed parts of the country into famine like conditions. Eritrea is fighting to oust the TPLF from its stronghold in the northern region of Tigray and the tide of civil war has fluctuated wildly" (New York Times, 2021). The geopolitical threat of Tigre secession persuaded the Eritrean government and joined Ethiopian Prime Minister in 2021. It is equally important that TPLF and Eritrea had a history of hostility and geopolitical Tigre region is the direct threat to border of Eritrea and Badme in particular. The history recalls us that despite all international pressure on EPLF and then elected government of Eritrea after independence, Eritrean troops fought bravely in securing their border at that time and even today.

3.0 Geopolitical International Relations:

Abraham Lincoln popular saying is always remembered and respected that "Democracy is the rule of people, by the people and for the people". The Common people of America valued Lincoln viewpoint and gave verdict against Trump anti-people policies during the last September 2021 elections and his Republican Party lost majority in House of Representatives. The American people rejected an open-ended obligation to a war without end. What is the USA ulterior motive to keep Real Terrorism and Proxy War in different parts of world? The people of this world need to know the real cause of it. The US weapon manufacture industries and oil industries are the major source of income in the US economy. Both these industries crave President Joe Biden to condemn terrorism verbally on the one side and support terrorism through CIA to run their business on the other side. This is only political economy of these manufacturers to run their industries and ready

to destroy any country or region like Horn of Africa, Iraq or Afghanistan. The weapon industrialists and heroes of War against terrorism used the stockpiles of armaments of cold war period costing billions of dollars (Using the stockpiles is the real business for US industrialist). President Isaias Afwerki observes, "The few individuals are using the US power to get what they want. Their methods may vary in kind but the result is always the same, world domination and exploitation. If you have set out to dominate and exploit, then first you would have to control the major resource centers of the world. Oil rich places for instance, should be under your control. And there should be no one to challenge your military strength and military hardware technology" (Eritrea Profile, 6th January 2007). Not only that, the US political economy keeps the interest of Oil and Natural Gas industrialists like Conoco, Phillips, Amoco and Chevron. Now Conoco and Amoco are known as BP (Times, January 1993). These US oil companies are extracting raw oil and gas from Iraq and Somalia region and S&T research team is working in Afghanistan in search of oil. Today, US domestic as well as foreign policy failed to maintain minimum political co-ordination in Horn of Africa particularly with Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya and Djibouti except Ethiopia. This failure in US foreign policy in Horn forced him to kneel down in front of Ethiopia and adopt suppressive policies. The US slogan War against Terrorism put a serious question against its intention and the slogan is ultimately turned into Stop USA Real Terrorism and Proxy War.

"To call it a War against Terrorism, however, is simply more propaganda, unless the War really does target terrorism. Great power use and the threat of the use of force is normally described as coercive diplomacy and not as a form of terrorism, though it commonly involves the threat and often the use of violence for what would be described as terroristic purposes were it not great powers who were pursuing the very same tactics, in accord with the literal meaning of the term" (Interview Noam Chomsky, 2006:16). Despite all, the Joint Venture of US and Ethiopian TPLF are forcing Somalia to involve into a proxy civil war. There is no issue against Somalia but to create TPLF as surrogate to the transitional government of Baidoa is the hidden agenda of US broader politics as it did in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Security Council resolution stated that the African Union will have to protect the transitional legitimate government (of Baidoa) and covers all the hidden agenda of US, which will excuse the joint venture entire misdeed against the people of Somalia. President Isaias rightly mentioned, "Since Somalia is already divided — the TPLF had all the encouragement they needed" (Eritrea Profile, 3rd January 2007 and Prahlad K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 32). Moreover, the control of transitional government of Baidoa to Mogadishu with the help of Ethiopian army cum TPLF motivated the Deputy Prime Minister of this transitional government and he offered (on 2nd January 2007) the common Passport and currency between Ethiopia and Somalia. The author replied during his BBC interview, "It looks a pleasant dream that is not fulfilled till today either by Organization of African Unity or African Union. But it clearly reflects the US dollar diplomacy to woo this government. This war leads Somalia for another civil war, which favors the neocolonial forces to exploit its oil and mineral resources" (Interview of Suresh Kumar, 2007 and Prahlad K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 47). The ICU spokesperson put forwarded a Peace proposal to transition government of Somalia from Yemen and it is a good proposal and should be welcomed (observed during my interview on 8th January 2007). "But the air attack of US army on January 9, 2007 to the surrounding areas of Mogadishu demonstrated its real intention to move towards neo-colonialism" (Interview on 8th January 2007 with BBC world Service).

Similarly, the geopolitically international relations of erst while Soviet Russia with Ethiopia on the name of ideology developed destabilization in the region. The history of cold war refreshes past incidents into new form today and de-mystifies the slogan of war against terrorism. "One of the jihadists who come from Saudi Arabia was Osama bin Laden, a millionaire He came to

Afghanistan in the early 1980s when he was in the mid-twenties. He fought for a while as a guerilla fighter against USSR troops— and Mikhail Gorbachev decided to pull out Soviet troops from Afghanistan” (Overthrow, 2006: 89-91). It is open secret today that Osama is genuine product of US during the cold war period against USSR. Despite all the developments (end of cold war), US continued to maintain cordial relations with Osama and Taliban and continued armament supply to them via Pakistan. President Isaias pointed out, “After the Cold War, due to some parties in the US, non-conceivable aspirations and inclinations began to surface. The reason may be due to expiration of Cold War or the amalgamation of the polarized competition that used to be antagonistic” (Eritrea Profile, 3rd January 2007). The neo-colonial expansion of weapon manufacturing sector is a clear reason to support Osama and Taliban till September 9/11. “An American oil company, Unocal, wanted to build a \$2 billion pipeline to carry natural gas from Turkmenistan to Pakistan and perhaps on to India through Afghanistan” (Overthrow: 273). The collapse of Afghanistan right from 1980 to 2006 is the result of US sponsorship to Taliban and the paradox here is that US army now fighting against its own Stringer Missiles or Taliban militia. Similarly, the Iraq-Iran war prepared Saddam Hussein against USSR and today on the name of Terrorism and chemical/biological weapon, the sponsored destroyed Iraq but failed to find its own weapon of mass destruction in Iraq and gave death sentence to his ally is another example of USA paradox. Real Terrorism in Horn of Africa. The militant organization of TPLF had worked under the direction of Ethiopia Prime Minister Mr. Meles Zenawi sponsored by USA is the open secret in Horn of Africa. President Isaias said, “From a global point of view, in this 21st century a number of dangerous inclinations have been evolving in the US administrations” (Eritrea Profile, 3rd January 2007). There is need to cure the parochial ethnonationalism and work out international relations keeping their geopolitical interests secure.

4.0 Secession and Parochial Interests of TPLF:

The decision of Ethiopia Eritrea Boundary Commission (EEBC) is not respected by the government and wants to continue its position on the one side and continue armed and financial support to TPLF to keep tension on Eritrea border on the other side. The neo-colonial expansion of US understood its need in Horn and found Ethiopia as a scapegoat to fulfill his expansion in this region. The three major oil companies of USA are working in Somalia and cannot continue their free exploration of natural gas and oil with the change of government in Mogadishu (Islamic Court Union). USA found the TPLF as an opportunity to save its oil companies interests. The Super Power US bow down in front of Ethiopia to serve its neo-colonial interest of oil in this region and maintain de-stabilization through TPLF. Moreover, US declared Transitional National Government (TNG) in Jowhar and Baidoa as real government and provided armed security through TPLF and declared ICU as Extremist/ Jihadist. Both US and Ethiopia posed as YES MAN to each other and serving their anti-people interests. Historically, US never maintain his friendly gesture (Like late Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Osama in Afghanistan) with anyone in past and even today and never compromise with its neo-colonial agenda.

Being a part of Horn, Ethiopia needs to remember US history all the time and choose the right perspective. Ethiopia government should approach the people and conduct national election under the supervision of international observers and respect the people’s decision for the better future of the country. TPLF should stop acting like Bay of Pigs immediately and the future elected government in Ethiopia after national election need to curtail its relations with this terrorist organization and give the terrorists a chance to adopt civil life. Ethiopia supported earlier Baidoa government and declared Islamic Court Union (ICU) as Taliban government in Somalia to get money and muscle power from US. US does not want direct intervention in Somalia because of its defeat in 1995. TPLF is the right choice for CIA and provide armaments to it to intact position in Baidoa on the one side and TPLF as Bay of Pigs against ICU on the other hand. The US special

Africa correspondent Charlene Haunter Gault expressed that the Islamists who are trying to impose Islamic rule in the country against the elected government, the possibility now of a war that will engulf the entire Horn of Africa which includes Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea that possibility looms very large" — (National Public Radio, 2006). This is clear and direct threat of US to Kenya, Somalia and Eritrea. The TPLF interventions in the northern parts of Kenya is facing the more or less the same ethnic tensions on the border, the presence of 6000-8000 TPLF and Ethiopian army troops in Somalia and continuous interventions on Eritrean border is the result of US real terrorism and proxy war. When BBC reported on 25 September 2006 that "Somalia's interim Prime Minister (Ali Mohamed Ghedi) has asked for international help against the Al-Qaeda and terrorist expansion in the country" — is responded back by saying that "there is no significant difference in religiosity between moderates and radicals Muslims" (Foreign Policy Issue, USA, November 2006). On the name of ethnicity, US through TPLF wants to prevent the continued expansion of ICU in Somalia by sidelining the majority people's sentiments is the real terrorism. Along with it, the US propagandas against Eritrea shipping arms into Somalia is another excuse to support TPLF activities on Eritrean border. The Somali justified and defend 19 their territory in 1995 and oust US armed forces from their Somalia land and the same will be repeated in case of Ethiopian army presence in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia. This time a common American showed their resentment against President Bush and his foreign policy of Real Terrorism in the recent elections and given the opportunity to Ethiopian people, the resentment and anger will come out against TPLF.

It is time to recall the historical judgment of Ethiopia Eritrea Boundary Commission (EEBC) in April 2002 under the Section 7 of the UNO Charter. Eritrea respects this decision and still waiting for implementation of EEBC decision. "But Ethiopia being a signatory to EEBC did not pay respect to international law and started TPLF proxy war against Eritrea continued till today. But Eritrea being a supporter of rule of law always emphasizes on the implementation of EEBC judgment. The 14th October 2006 Peace Accord is signed in Asmara with the brotherhood gesture of Eritrea that solved more than a decade problem in East Sudan. Is it a support to terrorism?" (Prahlad K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 67).

5.0 Regional cum International Relations:

Eritrea took the initiative of Free Trade Zone in COMESA region and President Isaias Afwerki, who traveled from Asmara to Mulhai, a town of Djibouti by road and covered 1000 KM to attend 11th COMESA summit and came back after COMESA Summit by sea, reached at Assab Port on 17th and arrived in Massawa on 18th November traveling by road. "Is it fishy for the US and its ally Ethiopia or imagine some argument to support terrorism?" (Prahlad K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 67) Eritrea offered to solve Darfur Crisis and with the consent of Sudanese government is working to persuade one of the groups called Jebhat Al- Khalas for mutual discussion. This brotherly attitude shows any sign of supporting terrorism. If no, why US cried and alleged Eritrea supporting terrorism unnecessarily and singing a chorus song with Ethiopia. This was the part of US foreign policy to malign the image of Eritrean Brotherhood and stop increasing Eritrean legitimacy on the one side and used TPLF without restriction either in Somalia, Kenya and Eritrea to cater the needs of Real Terrorism on the other side. Mr. Teshale Aberra, judge from Ethiopia remarked, "The US has been muted in its criticism, partly because it sees Mr. Meles as an ally in its War on Terrorism and a counter-weight to the unrest in Somalia" (The Guardian, 7th November 2006). One may ask question that who is creating Real Terrorism? Let's compare the political activities of Horn region pointedly that will decide Who is Who?

The internal political conditions in Ethiopia as reflected by international press and media are that "Between 15,000 and 20,000 people have been killed in the Oromia region. About 80,000 people

were arrested in the subsequent round up. The prisons overflowing, those arrested had been held in the military and police academies and torture was common place. There is a massive killing all over. There is a systematic massacre" (The Guardian, 9 November 2006). Along with civilian torture, the high army officials along with thousand soldiers fled from Ethiopia and took political asylum in Horn of Africa against the atrocities of TPLF. It is well known that TPLF occupied the border area of Somalia in Baidoa and tried to capture Mogadishu, capital of Somalia. "The National Government of Sudan is working tirelessly to implement the Peace Accord 2005 (North and South Sudan) and Peace Accord 2006 (east Sudan and National 21 government). It is the direct approach to establish peace in the region as part of internal political development process. The Eritrean government is working to achieve the target of Self-reliant Economy as part of internal political development. Along with it, the government supports the idea of Peace and Prosperity in the Horn and adopted the method of indigenous problem and indigenous solution for Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and other countries. The Government provides its Good Offices and acting as mediator to solve the problems of neighboring countries in Horn" (Prahlad K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 69).

Djibouti, one of the smallest countries of Horn, successfully conducted 11th COMESA Summit on 15-16 November 2006 and gave the idea of Peace, Security and Free Trade Zone in the region. Kenya always supported peaceful activities and strengthening its ties with neighborhood countries. President Omar Hassan Al Bashir of the Republic of Sudan reaffirmed on this historical occasion (Peace Agreement 2006) and said, "This is the last step in the journey of Peace since Naivasha and Abuja agreements and the process of Peace is completed in Asmara. This is the new fingerprint in the history of our continent, which witnesses the good news about renaissance, civilization and appraisal of Africa. The civil war caused too much destruction and we lost every dear soul to achieve peace" (Personal Invitation, 2006). Today, Somalia is not isolated from Africa land and mutual discussion and consensus will bring peace in Somali land and never through war. These are the political developments of individual countries in the Horn region. More or less, all the countries are suffering either from Ethiopian TPLF militancy or the pseudo-political propaganda of Ethiopia and US as mentioned above. All the Horn countries (Except Ethiopia) condemned militant activities and keep a vigil eye on international terrorism. But the super power of the world himself supports terrorism in the last four decades and produced Osama and Taliban in Afghanistan, Hizbul Mujahedeen and Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) in Pakistan and Liberation Tamil Tiger Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka. The geo-strategic position of Horn particularly Somalia coastline ranges from Kenya to Djibouti connects Sea lanes of the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, key corridors between the Middle East and Africa. The changed political situation (under ICU) challenged for four US oil companies to extract oil free of cost. As a result, US administration intervened either through TPLF (Bay of Pigs) or as UN Peace keepers. Osama is crying on US activities because US sole purpose is to safeguard their oil and weapon industrialist's interests at any cost on the one hand and on the name of Osama terrorism fighting against Somalia and different parts of world on the other hand. People will decide that Who is the Real Terrorist today? The US-Ethiopia-TPLF joint venture has its own interests in the Horn. According to credible Ethiopian opposition sources, the Woyane regime or certain individuals within its leadership sold a vast quantity of arms to some Somali warlords when the Bin Laden group was relatively active in the region during the early 90's. Now, the same are being demonized as "elements with terrorist links" (Eritrea Profile, 23rd August 2006). The only hidden agenda of Ethiopia is looking forward to Assab Sea Port through Somalia to break its land-locked position and serving its master (USA) economic and defence dictates. Ethiopia and Eritrea people wish to implement EEBC judgment, which will help them to re-build their political, social, economic and cultural interests and ties. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Asmara reaffirmed on December 23 22, 2006, "The provisions of the

Algiers Agreement are indeed explicit, unequivocal and crystal in this regard. Enforcement of the final and binding ruling of the Boundary Commission decision lies squarely and solely on the Security Council in accordance with Article 14 of the Agreement. This is in addition to the statutory authority of the Security Council on the maintenance of regional peace and stability” (Eritrea Profile, 23rd December 2006). But this joint venture spreading Real Terrorism in Horn and wants to keep their interests intact. US cried for Darfur is not for the common people but only for the oil interests. That’s why, US is trying its best either to enter into this part of Sudan or on the name of it put pressure on Sudan not to support ICU in Somalia. Everyone condemns terrorism but one has to ask what they mean. Perhaps the most apt description was given by the wonderful and courageous Indian writer and activist Arundhati Roy, referring to Operation Infinite Justice proclaimed by the Bush administration: “Witness the infinite justice of the new century. Civilians starving to death while they’re waiting to be killed (The Guardian, 29 September, 2005). Overall, one may observe that Osama will never be traceable on the earth by US and its allies otherwise the Woyane policies will become redundant on the one hand and Woyane dreams to capture Horn of Africa and other oil rich countries through terror will shatter on the other hand. Ms. Pelosi has published a manifesto for the Democrats and promise to stamp out corruption – and end subsidies for large oil companies” (Eritrea Profile, 6th January 2007). It is the time for the people belonging to Horn to recognize the real Terrorist and put into Fax Paus and work for peace, solidarity and prosperity in this region.

6.0 International Relations and TPLF:

The USA and Tigre People Liberation Front (TPLF) of Woyane failed to challenge the people’s power in Somalia and starting retreat safely under the cover of US Marine Commandos from Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia. One needs to know the reality behind this attack. The ICU was on the way to establish peace and stability through persuasion (With other groups) in the country. The ICU opened air and sea routes for the people to people contact, revival of economic set up and enhancing friendly ties with neighborhood countries. The changing domestic and international environment in Somalia is one of the biggest shocks to Ethiopian Woyane adventurous policies. Along with it, “the peace and stability are direct threat to US oil and weapon industries as the ICU will put a check on exploration of oil free of cost from its sea coast and arms weapon smuggling” (Prahlad K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 27). One of the objectives of the US and Ethiopia is to destabilize Somalia and deny the country a comprehensive peace by perpetrating civil war so as to fragment it further. “Recently, peace has dawned in Mogadishu and it is witnessed even by the UNO” (Alahram, Daily Newspaper, Egypt, January 10, 2007). Historically, Ethiopian expansionist policies in this region are known right from the beginning of cold war period. “The Ethiopia-Somalia three wars right from 1964 proved Ethiopian expansionism on the one hand and resulted into animosity between the two countries on the other hand. Despite this animosity, TPLF tried to show its muscle power in Somalia having millions of Dollar-swimming pools working in this background and imposed puppet government of Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf against Somali people. The US being an aide to Ethiopia channeled their strategy and creating problem in Eritrea, Somalia and the rest of the region. Mr. Meles Zenawi government of Ethiopia is trying to implement its brutal design on the name of Implementation of Democracy and Peace Process in Somalia. USA being an ally always forgets the result of free and fair election 2005 in Ethiopia, which went against Mr. Meles Zenawi (Prahlad K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014:77). Mr. Meles ignored the majority people’s opinion and is running a minority government with the support of Woyane and this brutal design is known as Implementation of Democracy. Moreover, the recent election in USA held in October 2006 proved that 67.34% of people of America have rejected Bush foreign policy. President Isaias remarked, “Therefore, if democracy has a meaning, and if the voice of the majority is to be taken seriously, Bush should have resigned by now- - - must be an example to others by

exercising the said virtues” (Eritrea Profile, 20 January 2007). Even then, USA as producer of this brutal design is believing arbitrarily to establish Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf under its neocolonial policies of Implementation of Dollar Democracy. Similarly, Iraq and Afghanistan are carrying this brutal type of democracy under the shelter of US armaments on the name of war against terrorism. These are the models of dollar democracy is seen in Ethiopia, Iraq, Afghanistan and trying to establish in Somalia. The Ethiopian government tried to implement the same brutal design through transitional government in Somalia. The producer (USA) of this design failed to establish this evil through bombardments and air-attacks in Somalia. The producer named this brutal design as Introduction of Democracy. It (Suresh Kumar, 2006: 7) already explained the nature of TPLF and its interference in this region but the US dollar democracy adamant to hear about its cruel face and attacked through TPLF, the mercenary clique of Mr. Meles in Somalia. Reasons of Failure of Dollar Democracy in Somalia. The USA introduces this brutal design of democratic governance, peace process and clubbed it with War against Terrorism in different parts of world is severely criticized in all democratic forums, institutions and society. Everybody knows that “It is open secret today that Osama is genuine product of US during the cold war period – and US army now fighting against its own Stringer Missiles or Taliban Militia” (Eritrea Profile, 10 January 2007). This is failure of US Dollar democracy in the world and as a result US changes its definition on democratic ideas and its implementation depending upon the country to country. US is not worried about Ethiopian people’s human rights and genocide but can go to any extent in Iraq on the name of democracy. The Somali understands US vandalism since 1992 (US army retreated from Somalia) and reacting sharply against expansionist policies having label of US Introduction of Democracy. “Is it fair to see Somalia being invaded by neighboring country? Was international intervention necessary? What is the nature and goal of this operation? All these actions can’t solve anything. The stand of Eritrea and Egypt is similar here” (Alahram, 2007). Can US\$ and its weapon industries stand against the Somali unity with the collaboration of Woyane (having TPLF) regime? US Bay of Pigs (CIA) failed in Cuba in 1961. Can US\$ control any part of world against the people’s sentiment successfully on the name of this brutal democracy and war against terrorism? “Can US bullet cum dollar proof shield protected TPLF militants in Somalia (having million \$ sponsorship to TPLF and Mr. Abdullahi)? Does US \$ has Magic Stick (like fairy-tale comic books) that declare any human being a Super-Man (Mr. Abdullahi) and imposed as Prime Minister in Somalia)? Does US \$ propagates the anti-people democracy in Africa? The Ethiopian government acts as puppet under the hands of Woyane and the same formulation is going to push in Somalia (through Mr. Abdullahi). This democratic set-up suits the US imperialistic design and Ethiopia, Iraq, Afghanistan and efforts for Somalia are vigilant examples of this design. Is it the meaning of real democracy - - -Really- - -? Do the manufacturers of US \$ (Weapon and oil industries) provide any bread on humanitarian ground rather than bullets in any parts of world? (Nobody seen this till today). US \$ democracy needs to remember what Lincoln foundation says about democracy: Democracy of the people, by the people and for the people. And never Democracy off the people, by the people and forgets the people. Somali community posed two options: either of Woyane bullet and \$ or indigenous bread and they chose second option keeping their future in mind” (Prahald K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 59). That’s why, TPLF failed to face the people sentiment in Somalia and cannot sustain against Somali protest and guerilla tactics.

7.0 Suggestion and Conclusion:

The turmoil being created the Horn of Africa, especially Somalia by the US administration through its mercenary agent, the TPLF regime, would incur dangerous consequences (Eritrea Profile, No. 89, 13 January 2007 and Prahald K Bairwa & Suresh Kumar, 2014: 43). TPLF destroyed the major part in this region on the name of democracy and development in this region.

The Somali people belonging to Northern Frontier Districts, British Somaliland, French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland and Ogden Somaliland are fighting unitedly against the expansion of TPLF. One needs to remember that Ethiopia unity is unique in the history of Africa. Ethiopia is one of the rarest countries in Africa having common clan, language, religion and culture. The Ethiopian unity and uniqueness will bring Peace, Solidarity and Prosperity among the people. One may suggest bringing peace through negotiation and initiating the process of People's Democracy and kicking out brutal design on the name of democracy and development.

The common people in Ethiopia are in need to stand unitedly against the expansionist policies and propagate division among people on the name of different ethnic, culture, language and religion. The indigenous solution to indigenous problems will trench political, social progress and sustainable development in this region. The common man of Ethiopia already invalidates and rejects TPLF mercenaries' clique as part of national and international policies. The failure attempt of TPLF in collaboration of dollar democracy urgently needs an approval or disapproval of Ethiopian people, which will initiate through the process of national election. This process will strengthen human rights in general and people rights in particular in Ethiopia.

The Horn of Africa occupies its geo-strategic position on globe. There is a need to build its geopolitics existence to cater the people day to day requirements in this region. The three regional organizations like Inter Governmental Authority Development (IGAD), East Africa Community (EAC) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) need to work for Bread, Cloth and Shelter and build infrastructure, education, employment, health, mutual trade relations through road and railway network for the people. It will accelerate the process of regional integration, people to people contact and develop natural and human resources for the mutual benefit in Horn of Africa, ultimately a move towards free trade zone. It is always remembered that one cannot achieve economic objective when there is no peace, which destroys the productive capacity in the region. Prior to it, the maintenance of Peace and Security is a critical ingredient for overall human and manufacture development in this region. This will put a check on all mercenaries' activities on the name of dollar democracy on the one hand and build no tolerance zone against TPLF secession policies on the other hand in Horn of Africa.

To conclude, people's choice for the government will stop hostile environment of TPLF on the one hand and strengthen non-interference, regional peace in Horn on the other hand. The democratic governance has the principal ideologies of ruling and opposition political parties and that does not mean hatred.

Chapter two refers to Fundamental Principles of the Constitution and Article 9 highlights Supremacy of the Constitution says,

- "All sovereign power resides in the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia".
- "This Constitution is an expression of their sovereignty".
- "Their sovereignty shall be expressed through their representatives elected in accordance with this constitution and through their direct democratic participation" (The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1995: 2).

There is a need to respect the land of law that will only help people's development. The implementation of the constitution will usher a new path of socio-economic and political development for the Ethiopia community in general and peaceful Horn of Africa will strengthen mutual trade cooperation in particular. The increasing complex geopolitical world under the influence of market economy will isolate any kind of terror activities as it is in Afghanistan now and regional powers will develop a balance in the face of dynamic political, social and economic changes. Ethiopia first among equals in the Horn should work with wisdom, determinism to

eradicate secessionist tendencies of TPLF and constitutional consistency along with rule of law and inherent in exercise of power.

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