

A Week in the Horn

24th January 2014

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News in brief

African Union

The 22nd AU Summit opened this week with the meeting of the Permanent Representative Committees and the AU gender summit (January 21-23). The meetings of the Executive Council and the Assembly will take place next week **(See article)**

A Ministerial Retreat for the Executive Council of the African Union is being held January 24-26, in Bahir Dar, capital of the Amhara Regional State. The theme of the Retreat is: "Defining Agenda 2063: Towards a peaceful, Integrated and Prosperous Africa." **(See article)**

The Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, Dr Nkozasana Dlamini Zuma, paid a one-day official visit to Juba, South Sudan on Monday (January 20), meeting President Salva Kiir, as well as the detainees.

Ethiopia

Prime Minister Hailemariam arrived for an official visit to Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, on Sunday (January 19). He held talks with Sheikh Mohamed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Vice-President and Prime Minister of the UAE, and Ruler of Dubai, and also attended the World Future Energy Summit held in Abu Dhabi on Monday. **(See article)**

The President of the Somali Regional State, Mr Abdi Mohamed Omar, visiting the UK, held discussions with more than 700 members of the Ethiopian Diaspora. He urged them to actively participate in Development Associations and contribute to the growth and development of the Regional State.

Foreign Minister Dr Tedros Adhanom met the UAE Foreign Minister Sheikh Abdulla Bin Zayed Al-Nahyan for talks in Abu Dhabi on Monday (January 20). **(See article)**

State Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Berhane Gebre-Christos, met and held talks with a Libyan parliamentary delegation led by the First Deputy Speaker of the General National Congress of Libya, Mr Ezeddin Al-Awamy on Friday (January 17).

Ambassador Minelik Alemu Getahun, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the UN at Geneva and Other International Organizations in Switzerland presented his letters of credence to President Traian Basescu of Romania on Wednesday last week (January 15).

An agreement was signed on Thursday last week (January 16) by Finance and Economic Development Minister, Sufian Ahmed, and the World Bank Ethiopia Country Director, Mr Guang Z. Chen, for a loan of US\$110 million to support the third phase of the Pastoral Community Development Project, which aims to improve access to community demand-driven social and economic services for pastoralists and agro-pastoralists.

Djibouti

Djibouti's cabinet on Tuesday (January 21) approved funding for several projects in the first phase of the **geothermal energy development** at Lake Assal, covering a drilling program, technical studies, a feasibility study for the construction of a power plant and project management. The overall budget, 5.4 billion francs, will be supplemented by funding from the French Development Agency and the OPEC Fund for Development.

Eritrea

President Omar Al-Bashir of Sudan paid a three-day working visit to Eritrea last week (January 16-18). The visit was described by Sudan Foreign Minister Karti as “a stepping stone to a new phase of bilateral relations”. Discussions covered cross-border trade, road links, the Sudan Eastern front, and the crisis in South Sudan.

Kenya

The Kenyan Parliamentary Joint Committee on Administration and National Security, and Defense and Foreign Affairs, tasked with looking into last year's terrorist attacks has called for officials in the Department of Immigration Services and other government offices to be held accountable for compromising national security by registering aliens who later turn out to be terrorists. The committee recommends the establishment of a Directorate of National Security to improve security collaboration.

Kenya's Interior Cabinet Secretary, Joseph ole Lenku, said over the weekend that extremism was a danger to many and there was a need for concerted efforts to contain it. He called on the leadership of the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (Supkem) to continue working closely with the Government in the fight against violent extremism.

Somalia

Somali MPs approved the new Prime Minister's cabinet in a vote on Tuesday (January 21) with 184 voting in favor out of the 233 MPs present, and 46 against with one abstention. **(See article)**

President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud welcomed the new Japanese Ambassador to Somalia who presented his credentials at the beginning of the week. The President said the visit represented the latest evidence of Somalia's return to the community of nations.

Representatives of the Federal Government of Somalia and of the Government of Somaliland signed an agreement during their latest round of talks on Saturday (January 18) in Istanbul to guide their future discussions. **(See article)**

The Jubba Interim Administration's inaugural ceremony was held on Monday (January 20), in Kismayo. The administration will have an Executive Council, headed by a Leader, with two Deputies and 10 ministers. **(See article)**

Ethiopian troops in Somalia on Wednesday (January 22) were formally re-hatted as part of AMISOM as the Mission's sixth contingent, joining the forces provided by Burundi, Djibouti, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Uganda. **(See article)**

Somali Media Day was celebrated in Mogadishu on Wednesday (January 22). The event highlighted the plight of Somali media. Somalia is one of the most dangerous environments in the world for journalists; according to National Union of Somali Journalists, 2012 was the deadliest year on record with 18 Somali journalists killed.

The Somalia Investment Summit 2014 will take place in Dubai on April 6 and 7. Hosted by the Somalia Economic Forum, the theme will be 'Opening new possibilities' and it will focus on opportunities in oil and gas, finance and banking, telecommunications, infrastructure, agribusiness and the energy sector.

South Sudan

South Sudan's Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition finally signed an Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities late on Thursday (January 23), aimed at ending more than a month's fighting. Ambassador Seyoum Mesfin, chair of the IGAD mediation, said this was an important milestone in the IGAD-led mediation process that began on January 3. **(See article)**

The Council of the European Union chaired by Catherine Ashton, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, meeting on Monday (January 20) condemned the on-going hostilities in South Sudan, strongly supported the IGAD mediation and called a cessation to hostilities and the immediate release of all political leaders currently detained in Juba and for all parties to negotiate in good faith.

Sudan

President Omer Al-Bashir, opening the extraordinary meeting of the Arab League Economic and Social Council in Khartoum, on Monday (January 20) urged Arab states to invest in Sudan's infrastructure and enter into strategic partnerships with Sudan to secure Arab food supplies. The Council decided to call on Arab financial institutions and joint Arab companies to allocate 20% per cent of their capital to supporting agricultural investment in Sudan.

South Sudan: Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities and Release of Detainees

South Sudan's Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition finally signed a ceasefire agreement late on Thursday (January 23) aimed at ending more than a month's fighting. The parties agreed to cease all military actions aimed at each other within 24 hours and stop any other action that may undermine the peace process; commit to immediately cease all military operations and freeze their forces at the place they are in upon the coming into effect of the agreement, refrain from taking any actions that could lead to military confrontations including all movements of forces, ammunitions resupply, or any action that could be viewed as confrontational; ensure that all forces or armed groups under their influence, control or land command shall observe this agreement, disengage forces or armed groups under their control, redeploy and/or progressively withdraw forces, armed groups and allied forces invited by either side from the theater of operations in the country. According to the agreement, the lifting of the State of Emergency will be recommended by a Monitoring and Verification Mechanism.

The two parties agreed to cease hostile media and other propaganda campaigns including any action that may undermine the peace process, and to not to engage in any hostile propaganda, particularly those that fan ethnic hatred, through any form of media. In reference to the protection of civilians, the parties agreed to refrain from attacks on civilian populations and commit themselves to the protection of human rights, life and property as provided by various national, continental and international instruments; to refrain from any acts of rape, sexual abuse and torture; not to engage in any acts of violence against children, girls, women and the elderly and to

support the reunion of families; to cease acts of violence including summary executions, displacement of populations, all forms of torture, destruction of property, attacking civilian aircrafts, vehicles or river boats, recruitment of child soldiers or any other acts prohibited by applicable national, continental and international instruments.

The parties agreed to open humanitarian corridors and support all humanitarian assistance including the creation of conditions that could enhance urgent supply of aid to all displaced populations in line with the communiqué of the 23rd Extraordinary Session of the IGAD Assembly of Heads of State and Government of December 27, and the UN Security Council resolution 2132 of December 24. They also agreed to assist displaced persons and refugees who wish to return to their original areas of abode within the country, to commit the free movement of persons and goods within the areas affected by the conflict. The Cessation of the Hostilities Agreement obliges both sides to halt fighting within the next 24 hours and thereby allow access for humanitarian aid.

In order to make the agreement effective, the parties committed themselves to the immediate formation of a Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (MVM) under the aegis of IGAD. It was agreed that the IGAD Special Envoys in consultation with the parties should establish a Joint Technical Committee (JTC) responsible for setting up a Monitoring and Verification Team (MVT) and for drawing up the modalities for the implementation mechanism. The MVT will be responsible for monitoring the implementation of the agreement. Its membership will be determined by the JTC and it will be approved and be accountable to the IGAD Special Envoys. The MVT, with the consent of the parties, will be composed of representatives from IGAD Member States, the parties and partners, and drawn from a mix of civilians and individuals with a military background and it will collaborate with local communities, traditional and religious leaders, and women and youth representatives.

On the status of the detainees, both parties recognized the role the detainees can play in the on-going dialogue of South Sudan and firmly committed to undertake every effort to expedite the release of the detainees. The parties agreed to remain fully committed to the outcome of the peace process and welcomed the spirit of an all-inclusive dialogue to resolve the issues connected with the current crisis in the country. They also agreed to establish an all-inclusive National Reconciliation Process in which the detainees and other political actors, civil society organizations, traditional and religious leaders would play a significant role.

Ethiopia's Foreign Minister and Chair of the IGAD Executive Council, Dr Tedros, expressed his sincere appreciation for the efforts exerted by all parties in reaching this stage. He said this was a historic ceremony for all IGAD member states as "we are here to witness the signing of a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement and the Agreement on the Question of Detainees." Dr Tedros congratulated the government of the Republic of South Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition for their commitment to the process, for putting their trust in the IGAD leadership; and thanked the IGAD member states, the African Union, and the International community for their support. He noted that "It is time now for the parties to demonstrate their commitment to the peace process and to a nationwide healing process and building of trust and confidence in their people, who are paying a heavy price in this deadly conflict." He added that IGAD was committed to the immediate launching of the Verification and Monitoring Mechanism.

The Chairperson of the Special Envoys of IGAD to South Sudan, Ambassador Seyoum Mesfin, said the signing of the agreements marks an important milestone in the IGAD-led mediation process, that began on the January 3 with the opening of talks in Addis Ababa, in pursuit of a peaceful political solution to the crisis that has gripped the Republic of South Sudan since mid-December last year. "Failure to permanently nip this crisis in the bud could mean a failure of leadership not just for South Sudan, but also for the region and internationally, and all must act to stop this unfolding tragedy," he said.

The leaders of the two negotiating teams expressed their thanks for the role played by the Ethiopian government, and particularly by Prime Minister Hailemariam, as well as the IGAD member states and all other partners. Nihal Deng Nihal, chief negotiator of the Government of South Sudan said the agreement "was important as the major bone of contention which was the release of the 11 detainees was peacefully resolved";

while Taban Deng, chief negotiator of the SPLM in Opposition said "this is what we have been waiting for; my country cannot afford to go on like this for one more day."

The signing of the agreement was welcomed by US President Obama who said South Sudan's leaders now need to "work to fully and immediately implement the agreement and start an inclusive political dialogue to resolve the underlying causes of the conflict." He added that the "the full participation of political detainees currently being held by the Government of South Sudan will be critical to those discussions." President Obama praised the constructive role played by the IGAD Authority and its partners in the region. UN Secretary-General Ban ki-Moon also welcomed the agreement calling on all parties to immediately implement it. He also reiterated his call for all parties to ensure freedom of movement of UNMISS, humanitarian workers and human rights monitors.

Earlier, the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, Dr Dlamini Zuma, travelled to Juba (January 20) and met with President Salva Kiir Mayardit, as well as with the detainees. According to the African Union, the Chairperson insisted on the urgency for both parties to sign an agreement on the cessation of hostilities, in order to bring an end to the senseless killings taking place in South Sudan and end the humanitarian tragedy unfolding in the country. Addressing the issue of accountability, the Chairperson explained the decision of the AU Peace and Security Council meeting in Banjul, The Gambia, on December 30, at the level of Heads of State and Government, requesting her to establish a Commission of Inquiry into the recent events in South Sudan. The Chairperson stressed that the objectives of the Commission of Inquiry will be to address the plight of the victims of human rights violations and assist the Government and people of South Sudan to identify the factors that are needed to strengthen the country's institutions, while providing reconciliation and healing opportunities to ensure sustainable peace.

As the fundamental issue underlined in the crisis is a political problem within the ruling party, the Chairperson said, it requires a political rather than a military solution. Hence, the two parties in the conflict must agree on the urgency of an immediate and unconditional signing of a cessation of hostilities agreement to stop the killing and the suffering of the people of South Sudan. In this regard, the AU said "the detainees reiterated their position that their release should not be used as a pre-condition for the conclusion of the cessation of hostilities agreement, emphasizing that no condition could morally justify the continued senseless killing of fellow South Sudanese people." Both parties also agreed on the need to address the issue of accountability and said they supported the establishment of the Commission of Inquiry as described and undertook to collaborate with it. They welcomed the Chairperson's visit and encouraged the AU to continue to work closely with IGAD with a view to finding a lasting solution to the ongoing crisis in South Sudan and its underlying causes.

Prime Minister Hailemariam visits the United Arab Emirates

This week, an Ethiopian delegation, led by Prime Minister Hailemariam, paid a three-day official visit to the United Arab Emirates (January 19 to 21). The Ethiopian delegation also attended the 17th World Future Energy Summit, held in Abu Dhabi. The delegation included Dr Tedros Adhanom, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Ato Sufian Ahmed, Minister for Finance and Economic Development; Ato Alemayehu Tegenu, Minister for Water, Irrigation and Energy and other senior government officials.

The Ethiopian delegation was received by senior UAE government officials on arrival in Abu Dhabi, and Prime Minister Hailemariam held talks with Sheikh Mohamed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Vice-President and Prime Minister of the UAE and Ruler of Dubai, on further strengthening of bilateral relations. Prime Minister Hailemariam noted that the previous decade had been characterized by a steady growth of bilateral relations between Ethiopia and the UAE. Equally, he said there was huge potential for the two countries to further increase cooperation in areas of investment, trade, and tourism. Prime Minister Hailemariam also briefed his UAE counterpart and other senior government officials on Ethiopia's green growth strategy which has benefitted not only Ethiopia but also the entire region, and expressed his readiness to share Ethiopia's experience in promoting green economy at the World Future Energy Summit which was being held in Abu Dhabi. The UAE Prime Minister emphasized his country's strong desire to cooperate with Ethiopia in various areas, including air transport, investment protection and avoidance of double taxation. Prime Minister

Hailemariam noted that agreements would be reached in these areas when the Joint Ministerial Commission of the two countries was held in the near future.

During his official visit Prime Minister Hailemariam also met and held discussions with the Managing Director of Abu Dhabi Investment Authority, Sheikh Hamed Bin Zayed Al Nahyan and members of Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce, some of whom already invest in Ethiopia while others expressed a strong interest in engaging in different sectors. The Prime Minister explained Ethiopia's investment atmosphere and the priority areas which might attract foreign investors and called on investors from Abu Dhabi to engage in those areas. The members of the Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce welcomed the explanations of Ethiopia's investment regime and its investment policies, and welcomed the possibility of expediting opportunities for investment. In other discussions with the Abu Dhabi Fund, the Fund expressed interest in financing various infrastructural projects in Ethiopia, including the logistics, water and sanitation, and railway sectors.

Apart from the bilateral meetings, the Prime Minister and his delegation attended the **World Future Energy Forum Summit**. During panel discussions at the meeting, Ethiopia was recognized as a country that is encouraging the use of renewable energy resources and registering fast economic growth. Prime Minister Hailemariam briefed participants on Ethiopia's experience in implementing its green growth strategy and in its development of hydropower, wind and geo-thermal resources.

The Prime Minister also held discussions with representatives of the Ethiopian community residing in UAE. He explained the impressive economic growth Ethiopia is continuing to register and the achievements in the fight against poverty. The Prime Minister and the representatives of the community exchanged views on how to boost the involvement of Ethiopian Diaspora in socio-economic activities in Ethiopia. The community representatives thanked the Prime Minister for his explanations and welcomed the progress in construction of the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, reiterating their readiness to continue to support its construction.

During the visit, Foreign Minister Dr Tedros held separate talks with UAE Foreign Minister, Sheikh Abdulla Bin Zayed Al-Nahyan. Their discussions focused on ways of strengthening ties in various areas. Dr Tedros emphasized that Ethiopia would like to increase cooperation in various areas. He also briefed the UAE Foreign Minister on Ethiopia's efforts in using renewable energy sources. Sheikh Bin Zayed Al-Nahyan noted that Ethiopia has a huge potential in renewable energy and the UAE would like to cooperate in developing this. He said **the UAE was interested in establishing a strong partnership with Africa in the energy sector**, and requested Ethiopia's support in implementing this. The two Foreign Ministers also exchanged ideas on holding the Joint Ministerial Meeting in the near future.

Ethiopia and the UAE established diplomatic relations in 1963 and Ethiopia opened consular offices in Dubai in August 2004. Bilateral relations have shown steady growth. The UAE opened its embassy in Addis Ababa in June 2010 while Ethiopia opened its Embassy in Abu Dhabi last year. There have been a number of high-level visits including a visit to Ethiopia by Sheikh Bin Zayed Al-Nahyan, UAE's Foreign Minister in March 2013, and by the Prince of Ras Al Khaimah, Sheikh Faisal Bin Qasir Al-Qassimi in November 2013. Ethiopia's main exports to UAE include live animals and goat meat, oil seeds and pulses, coffee, flowers and vegetables. Imports from UAE are petroleum oils, lubricants and grease, vehicles, electronics, woven fabrics, fertilizers, machinery and other consumer goods.

Foreign Minister Dr Tedros visits Burkina Faso after his visit to Ghana last week

In keeping with Ethiopia's commitment to strengthening relations with the rest of Africa and with the objective of identifying areas of cooperation and fostering strategic partnerships with other African countries, a government delegation led by Foreign Minister, Dr Tedros Adhanom visited Ghana and Burkina Faso last week, January 12-17.

In Ghana, as we noted last week, Dr Tedros exchanged views with Ghana's Foreign Minister Mrs Hanna Tetteh on ways to strengthen the longstanding bilateral relations between the two countries and on Monday last week (January 13) signed a General Cooperation Agreement covering a wide range of political, economic and social

issues including foreign policy, trade, investment, agriculture, science and technology. Dr Tedros also met with Ghana's President John Dramani Mahama, and visited the Akosombo Hydroelectric Plant, which now generates 1,020 megawatts from its 8,500 sq. reservoir, as well as the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park, the tomb of former President John Atta Mills, the W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial Center and the Nougouchi Medical Center.

After his visit to Ghana, Dr Tedros and his delegation proceeded to Burkina Faso. Diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Burkina Faso (then Upper Volta) were established soon after the latter's independence in 1960. On arrival in the capital, Ouagadougou, Dr Tedros was welcomed by Foreign Minister Gibril Bassole. The two ministers held discussions on bilateral issues, focusing on areas of cooperation that the two countries identified as mutually beneficial. These included the agriculture sector in which farmers of both states are engaged in water harvesting activities in order to withstand the adverse effects of erratic weather patterns on agricultural production. Learning from each other's experiences in generation of clean and green energy from renewable resources and sharing best practices in handicraft production were also identified as mutually advantageous areas of cooperation.

The two ministers also agreed that it was important to continue efforts to promote peace and stability and engage in conflict resolution in their respective regions. They underlined the need to foster regional integration and intra-African trade. Dr Tedros and Mr Bassole subsequently signed a General Cooperation Agreement to strengthen bilateral relations. This is intended to serve as a basis for setting up a Joint Ministerial Commission and other specific agreements covering various areas of cooperation to be signed in the future.

Dr Tedros also met and held talks with Burkina Faso's President Blaise Compaore and, on behalf of Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, he congratulated President Compaore for the role Burkina Faso had played in diffusing the crisis in Mali. President Compaore expressed his gratitude to Prime Minister Hailemariam for sending the delegation to Burkina Faso, describing this as a clear indication of Ethiopia's sincere desire to forge strong relations with the country. The President said the General Cooperation Agreement would open a new chapter in their bilateral relations. He underlined the need for Burkina Faso and Ethiopia to cooperate to ensure peace and security in Africa. He spoke in detail about the development efforts taking place in various sectors in Burkina Faso. He said that since the two countries were pursuing similar development agendas, he welcomed the proposed cooperation and the sharing of best practices particularly in the areas of renewable energy, agriculture and handicraft sectors.

During his visit, Dr Tedros and his delegation also met with members of the business community at the Burkina Chamber of Commerce. The meeting was addressed by Foreign Minister Dr Tedros and the President of the Chamber, Mrs Alizeta Oudrago. A presentation on investment opportunities in Ethiopia was given by a representative of the Ethiopian Investment Agency; in the question and answer session that followed participants were given the opportunity to acquire a clear understanding of Ethiopia's business environment.

The visits to both Ghana and Burkina Faso were highly successful and the General Cooperation Agreements signed with both countries is now expected to pave the way for the establishment of Joint Ministerial Councils as soon as possible. These in turn will allow concrete action to be taken to elevate bilateral relations to a higher level. Both Ghana and Burkina Faso showed genuine interest in developing bilateral relations. It is also clear there are opportunities to develop trade links and opportunities for exports which can now be facilitated by air transport links. Business people and chambers of commerce should be encouraged to undertake market research and visit the international fairs that take place in Accra and Ouagadougou. Opportunities include possible development of exports of shoes and other leather products as well as other items.

AU agenda 2063: the focus of the African Union's First Ministerial Retreat

Africa has embarked on the preparation of a fifty-year plan for accelerated socio-economic development and integration, taking into account recent progress in technological transformation and other developments. In the 50th Anniversary Solemn Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of the African Union assembled to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the OAU/AU, Africa's political leadership, while acknowledging past successes and challenges, committed themselves to long-term national and continental development and technological

transformation through a strategic planning and implementation process. They pledged their commitment to make progress in eight key areas: African identity and renaissance, the struggle against colonialism and the right to self-determination of people still under colonial rule, integration agenda, agenda for social and economic development, agenda for peace and security, democratic governance, determining Africa's destiny, and Africa's place in the world.

The objective of this fifty-year plan dubbed "African Union Agenda 2063: A Shared Strategic Framework for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development" is to chart Africa's growth trajectory for the next 50 years benefitting from lessons learnt in the past, by clearly delineating the roles of each stakeholder including the Regional Economic Communities, Member States, Civil Society and the private sector. The Heads of State and Government of the African Union further pledged to integrate these ideals and goals in national development plans and in the development of the Continental Agenda 2063, through a people-driven process for the realization of the vision of the AU for an integrated, people-centered, prosperous Africa, at peace with itself.

The formulation of the Agenda is being organized by the African Union Commission under the leadership of its Chairperson, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, working closely with the New Partnership for Africa's Development Agency (NEPAD) and supported by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and the African Development Bank. The African Union Agenda 2063 will build on previous continent-wide, long-term development and regional integration frameworks, such as the Lagos Plan of Action, the Abuja Treaty and NEPAD, in order to address new challenges faced by the continent, in the short, medium and long-term.

Following the endorsement of the Ethiopian government's proposal to host a Ministerial retreat by the 23rd Ordinary Session of the Executive Council of the African Union, the Ministerial retreat of the Executive Council of the African Union is being held January 24-26, in Bahir Dar, capital of the Amhara Regional State. "**Defining Agenda 2063: Towards a peaceful, Integrated and Prosperous Africa**" is the theme that will be at the center of discussions during the meeting.

The objective of this first Ministerial Retreat in the history of the AU is to thoroughly deliberate on the framework document for Agenda 2063 and provide inputs to further enrich it before its adoption at the 23rd ordinary session of the Assembly in June this year. It is expected that a series of interactive sessions will be held during the Retreat, organized along the five major themes addressed in the framework document. These are: a retrospective overview of the past 50 years; an observation of ways and means of ensuring durable peace and stability on the continent; an examination of Agenda 2063 and the key drivers of change; an analysis of old and new challenges and threats; and an assessment of some of the factors that are critical in the collective endeavor to achieve the continental vision.

At the end of the Retreat, the Ministers are expected to be able to give clear direction and guidelines on the key areas of the African Union Agenda 2063 for subsequent elaboration and to reflect on constructive linkages between the Organization's Strategic Plan and Agenda 2063, as well as to create synergy among all major stakeholders, actors and development partners. Overall, the Retreat is expected to contribute to the development of a Framework Document for consideration by AU Policy organs in January 2014 and to the final Agenda 2063 for adoption in June 2014.

.....the AU Summit and ten years of focus on agriculture

The 22nd African Union Summit began on Tuesday (January 21) in Addis Ababa with the 27th ordinary session of the AU's Permanent Representative's Committee, chaired by Ethiopia's Ambassador Konjit Sinigiorgis. It will conclude on Friday (January 31) with the end of the two-day Assembly of the Heads of State and Government. The theme of this Summit, "**Agriculture and Food Security**", was chosen in order to mark the 10th anniversary of the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) which was adopted by the Heads of State and Government Summit in July 2003.

Agriculture is the primary economic sector of many African countries, generating more employment opportunities and export earnings than other sectors. It is estimated that more than 65% of Africans derive

their livelihood from agriculture, both in employment and in food production. It is the single most important sector in the continent's macro-economic portfolio, with a conservative estimate of close to a 40% contribution to GDP and providing more than half of the continent's export revenue. The vulnerability to seasonal fluctuations in food production and the all-too-frequent incidents of food insecurity, therefore, make a continent-wide policy focus on agricultural development an economic and social imperative.

This much needed policy focus was demonstrated when African leaders endorsed the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) at the AU's second ordinary session in Maputo, Mozambique. The Assembly that endorsed CAADP noted that 30% of Africans were "chronically and severely undernourished" and that the continent was then "a net importer of food and the largest recipient of food aid". In order to change that grim reality the Maputo Assembly declared that Africa needed to use "its full potential to increase its food and agriculture production so as to guarantee sustainable food security and ensure economic prosperity for its people". It agreed to urgently implement the CAADP and adopt effective policies that would encourage the sector's development domestically across the continent.

As its name signifies, CAADP aims for a rapid and comprehensive development of Africa's agricultural sector with the stated goal of enabling African countries to attain a "higher path of economic growth through agriculture-led development, which eliminates hunger, reduces poverty and food insecurity, and enables expansion of exports". In order to achieve these goals, African governments agreed to devote at least 10% of their national budgets to agricultural development and the CAADP set 6% as a minimum threshold for an annual agricultural productivity growth rate.

The Program focuses on four critical strategic areas that it identified as high impact and structurally valuable. The first of these pillars, as they are referred to, is to extend the area under sustainable land management and reliable water control systems. That will go a long way in terms of efficient utilization of the vast and so far unutilized or underutilized arable land on the continent.

The second pillar of the CAADP is improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for market access. Considering the fact that the most severe impediments to Africa's competitiveness in primary products are to be found in physical and structural shortcomings, investment in these areas is most essential. Africa's infrastructure, primarily in transport and logistics, were put in place during the colonial era with the sole aim of shipping raw materials out of the continent. The absence of infrastructure relevant to domestically vibrant economies divorced from a primary feeder role has indeed held Africa's agriculture back for decades. Improvements in both the physical and systemic infrastructure will certainly boost the continent's productivity.

The third pillar of engagement for the CAADP revolves around ensuring food security by increasing food supplies, reducing hunger, and improving the response to food emergency crises. The fourth pillar focuses on improving agriculture research, technology dissemination and its adoption. This will provide the much needed scientific support to the sector through innovative solutions that boost productivity.

Taken in tandem with the domestic focus on agriculture by member countries, the AU's initiative of agricultural development has effectively revitalized the continent's agricultural sector and attracted huge foreign investment. Some African countries, including notably Ethiopia, have made agriculture development the centerpiece of their development agenda and their agricultural productivity growth rate has been instrumental in sustaining the overall economic growth of the past decade.

Ethiopia's impressive economic performance over the past eleven years has been well publicized internationally. What has been less emphasized is the fact that the double digit growth rate (averaging 10.6% for the past ten years, according to the World Bank) has been made possible through intensive and extensive investment in agriculture. By earmarking an average of 15% of the national budget to agriculture and achieving close to 10% growth rates in the sector, Ethiopia has been one of the handful of countries that have met the 6% productivity growth rate and the 10% budget allocation targets set by the AU Summit in Maputo back in 2003. An additional fact is that this has enabled Ethiopia's economic growth to have a real impact on the most vulnerable members of the society, often farmers.

In a continent where it is the most important economic sector both as a source of people's livelihood and as the source of the largest contributions to GDP, the historical neglect of policy makers towards agriculture have resulted in devastating humanitarian crises. The meager overall level of investment in the sector from both public expenditure and private finance has proved disastrous for Africa's economic prospects and its human capital development. A rejuvenated agricultural sector is not only necessary to increase income levels for the majority of people who live off the sector but also ensure food security through increased food supply and lower costs.

To mark the tenth year anniversary of the CAADP, the 22nd Ordinary Session of the Heads of State and Government is expected to declare 2014 the "**Year of Agriculture and Food Security**". In addition, the Summit will also hear reports on the implementation of previous decisions, on the activities of the Union's Peace and Security Council, of NEPAD and of the activities of the High-Level Committee on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, as well as other pertinent reports. The Summit will also appoint ten new members of the Peace and Security Council to serve for the next two years as well as choose the new Chairperson for the African Union for 2014.

Somalia's new Cabinet, the Jubba Administration, and AMISOM expands.....

This week Somalia witnessed three major developments with the Somali Parliament's approval of the new Prime Minister's cabinet, the inauguration of the Jubba Administration and with Ethiopian troops formally joining AMISOM. All are important in their contribution to strengthen Somalia's fragile security and governance and in the effort to put together a strong federal structure in Somalia.

On Tuesday (January 21) the Somali Parliament approved the 55-member Cabinet of Prime Minister Abdiweli Sheikh Ahmed, which included 25 Ministers, 25 Assistant Ministers and 5 State Ministers. The names of the cabinet were initially approved by President Sheikh Hassan Mahmoud who said "Prime Minister Abdiweli Sheikh Ahmed Mohamed has my full support, and I assure the Somali people and our international friends that we recognize the hard work before us. We are committed to real change that can be seen, felt and trusted by every Somali." He added "We are under no illusions that the government has a formidable challenge in the sheer scale of its agenda. We need to continue extending security, improve public services delivery, accelerate public finances reform and make further progress in building a federal Somalia." Presenting the list to Parliament for endorsement, Prime Minister Abdiweli Sheikh Ahmed said "I am pleased to announce my Cabinet today after extensive consultations. This Cabinet is representative of all of Somalia, made up of people with the right talents, enthusiasm and dedication to serve the Somali people and take our country forward."

Parliament agreed and endorsed the choices. The Speaker of the Parliament, Mohamed Osman Jawari, announced that "186 members of the parliament have approved the government. The Cabinet received 46 no-confidence votes, while one member has not voted." President Mahmoud praised Parliament for effectively discharging its authority and commended parliamentary democracy as "coming of age."

The new cabinet is significantly larger than its predecessor, the 10-member cabinet of former Prime Minister Abdi Farah Shirdon, both in terms of portfolios and office holders, and contains many new faces. Among those remaining are former Interior and National Security Minister, Abdihakarin Guled, who becomes Minister of National Security, and former Presidential Palace Minister, Farah Sheikh Abdulkadir, who is now appointed Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. Among those dropped are the two women who held senior government positions: former Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Fawsia Yusuf Hajji, and the former Minister for Civil Service Development, Mariam Qasi. The former Defense Minister, Abdulhakim Mahmud Haji, also loses his position. New appointments include Ridwan Hirsi Mohammed as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Religion, and other leading appointments include Hussein Abdi Halane, General Mohamed Sheikh Hassan and Abdirahman Ducaale Bayle as Ministers of Finance, of Defense and of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation respectively. Women have been given two less significant cabinet positions: Nadifo Mohamed Osman as Minister of Public Works and Housing and Khadijo Mohamed Diriye as Minister of Women and Human Rights. Other appointments include General Ahmed Mohamed Mohamud as Minister of Health.

Overall, the cabinet selection followed the 4.5 clan formula that allocates positions “equally” to the four major clans/sub-clans with the .5 allocation for “minority” clans. As always, there were some complaints; two deputy ministers refused their appointments.

Members of the new cabinet took the oath of office on Thursday in a colorful occasion held at Parliament in the presence of President Hassan Sheikh Mahmoud, the Speaker, Mohamed Osman Jawari and Prime Minister, Abdiweli Sheik Ahmed. The cabinet members were sworn in by the Chairman of the country’s Supreme Court, Aideed Abdullahi Ilkahanaf. The Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Somalia, Nicholas Kay, welcomed the approval of the Cabinet and said “I congratulate the new Ministers, Deputy and State Ministers of Somalia. The Cabinet has a large task ahead: delivering peace and reconciliation, rule of law and good governance to the Somali people, as well as providing public services and building the economy.” He added: “The United Nations will continue to support the Federal Government of Somalia as it strives to make progress in all these areas in the context of the Somali Compact.”

In another important development, the inauguration of the Jubba Interim Administration took place this week. It was on August 27, 2013 that delegations from the Interim Jubbaland Administration and the Somalia Federal Government signed the Addis Ababa Agreement to establish an inclusive interim administration, to represent the Gedo, Lower Jubba and Middle Jubba regions, and appointed Ahmed Islam Madobe as its head. In an event preceded by a visit by President Sheikh Mahmoud to Kismayo in November, a National Reconciliation and Peace-building Conference was held in Mogadishu. This concluded with an agreement by all parties in Jubba to accept the Addis Ababa Agreement and continue with peace-building and the formation of an interim administration.

This was finally completed with the launch of the Jubba Administration on Monday this week (January 20) and a ceremony was held in Kismayo to inaugurate the new body - the Executive Council of the Jubba Interim administration, which is made up of 10 ministers, two deputies and headed by the Administrator, Sheikh Ahmed Islam Madobe. The occasion was attended by Ethiopia’s Ambassador to Mogadishu, Ambassador Wondimu Assaminew; former Somali Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Geddi; the Deputy Speaker of the Federal Parliament, Jaylani Nur Ikar; the Vice President of Puntland, Abdihakim Abdullahi Haji Omar Amay; the United Nations Special Envoy to Somalia, Ambassador Nicholas Kay and the Special Representative of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission for Somalia, Ambassador Mahamat Saleh Annadif.

The successful launch of the Jubba Interim Administration is seen as a landmark achievement for the people of Somalia and for Ethiopia who has consistently supported peace efforts and which played a major role in mediating the painstaking negotiations of the Addis Ababa Agreement last August. The Jubba Interim Administration’s successful launch will serve as a model to resolve issues related to regional state formation in other parts of Somalia. Sheikh Madobe noted that reviving the economy will be the key task of his administration. This, he said, would be instrumental in combating unemployment and would contribute to the fight against Al-Shabaab terrorists. Ambassador Wondimu congratulated the Federal Government and the Jubba Administration and pledged Ethiopia’s continued support to the people of Somalia in their quest for peace and national reconciliation. Ambassador Mahamat Saleh Annadif also congratulated the new administration and the people of Somalia, on this “major achievement”. He said “We are witnessing a historical event today, but above all, an event which symbolizes hope, the hope for peace and stability in Somalia.” He added that “What has happened in Jubba is an example to follow for the other regions, in accordance to the Somali Federal constitution, but above all it allows them to reconcile. Their African brothers, AMISOM, will always support them and we promise that the year 2014 will be a crucial year in the fight against terrorism in Somalia.” Mr Kay also congratulated “Leader Sheikh Ahmed Madobe Islan on the formal inauguration of the Interim Jubba Administration, as well as the appointed Deputy Leaders and Ministers.” He said “this is a milestone in the process of implementing the August 27 Addis Ababa Agreement”. Special Envoy Kay stressed the integration of militias’ as one of the most important task facing the Interim Administration.

Also this week, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) welcomed troops of the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) at a flag-hoisting ceremony on Wednesday (January 22) in Baidoa, the capital of the Bay region. The occasion was the formal re-hatting of Ethiopian forces in Somalia as AMISOM’s sixth contingent,

joining forces provided by Burundi, Djibouti, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Uganda. The Ethiopian troops, working alongside the Somalia National Army will be responsible for AMISOM operations in Sector 3 and part of Sector 4 in the fight against Al-Shabaab that is Gedo, Bay and Bakool regions as well as around Belet Weyne. The Ethiopian troops will be commanded by an Ethiopian sector commander, who will in turn report to the AMISOM Force Commander, Lt General Silas Ntigurirwa, under the overall directive of Ambassador Mahamat Saleh Annadif, the Special Representative of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission for Somalia.

Ethiopia joins AMISOM following UN Resolution 2024, which allows the Mission to increase its strength from 17,731 to 22,116. The Ethiopian Sector Commander Brigadier-General, Gebremedhin Fikadu Hailu, speaking during the ceremony, pledged the commitment of his forces to work towards ensuring peace in Somalia, while abiding by the rules that govern the AMISOM force. He said "I assure you that the Ethiopian Defense Forces will make a difference in AMISOM operations by cleaning Al-Shabaab from Sectors 3 and 4, under the command of the Force headquarters, and will completely implement AMISOM's Concept of Operations in all of its military activity." Ethiopian Ambassador to Mogadishu, Ambassador Wondimu Asaminew, who thanked the Ugandan and Burundian forces and other units in AMISOM for their sacrifices in keeping the peace and security of the region, also pledged Ethiopia's continuous support to Somalia.

... and talks between the Federal Government of Somalia and the Government of Somaliland

Representatives of the Federal Government of Somalia and of the Government of Somaliland signed an agreement to guide future discussions during their latest round of talks in Istanbul. These were held in Istanbul for three days last week, ending on Saturday (January 18) when an agreement was signed committing the two sides to resolving issues and to cooperating and agreeing to hold further round of talks in three months. The preamble of the communiqué notes that this is a document for the process of political dialogue between the Government of Somaliland and the Federal Government of Somalia, and notes that in accordance with the framework agreement reached in discussions earlier in Chevening, Dubai, Ankara, and Istanbul I, delegations from the Federal Government of Somalia and the Government of Somaliland met in Istanbul between 16-19 January, 2014 with the assistance of Turkish Government.

The two sides agree to refrain from inflammatory statements and the communiqué lays out an overall framework in which "the parties are committed to continuing their dialogue in a spirit of mutual respect", to focus "on resolving future relations between the two entities", and committing them "to resolving all problems and disputes in an exclusively peaceful manner". They agree to "reach decisions by consensus between the negotiation team:" and "a joint secretariat will be established in Turkey to ensure proper dialogue coordination; provide logistical, administrative and record-keeping to support the process; and support implementation of decisions reached by the negotiating parties." They agree to establish a regular schedule of meetings every 90 days. The agreement stresses that the partners in the dialogue are the Government of Somaliland and the Federal Government of Somalia, as represented by their delegated negotiation teams and that they will adopt decisions to insure timely and effective implementations of any agreed outcomes.

The two sides also agreed a nine-point Declaration of Principles under which the parties will pursue dialogue towards agreed outcomes and enter into the dialogue firmly committed to resolve issues. They agree to facilitate and jointly define areas of cooperation, and make a firm commitment to the resolution of differences through exclusively peaceful means and dialogue. Referring back to their last meeting they also agreed to nominate Air Traffic Control Board within 45 days, and appoint an ad-hoc technical committee composed of 4 members, (two from each party) to prepare the terms of reference of the Air Traffic Control Board. The Technical Committee work will be supervised by their respective two Ministers. The final point in the declaration of principles was a condemnation of all the atrocities committed by the military regime before 1991 against all Somali people particularly the people in Somaliland.

Bringing Eritrea "in from the cold" needs real policy changes by Eritrea's government

Every year or two, there's a wave of suggestions that it might be time for the US to try and once again engage with Eritrea. The latest such effort came in December from former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa

(1989-1993), Herman Cohen in a piece entitled: "Time to Bring Eritrea in from the Cold". Ambassador Cohen now heads a lobby firm but his recommendation was picked up by former US Ambassador to Ethiopia, David Shinn, and by the former US Ambassador to South Africa, Princeton Lyman, both of whom supported the idea but argued (on the same website) that this might not be easy. Ambassador Shinn thought the idea was "harder than it sounds", while Ambassador Lyman in a masterly understatement said previous efforts by the US had proved "difficult". They are likely to continue to be so. Only last October, the Eritrean regime publicly blamed the US (and later the UN) for the Lampedusa tragedy when 366 Eritreans, mainly youngsters, were drowned trying to reach Italy, having fled from their own country. This sort of rhetoric is a commonplace of the Eritrean regime which in the past has claimed the US created the 1998 Eritrean-Ethiopian war, and suggested the 9/11 atrocity was carried out by the US itself. Nevertheless, Messrs. Cohen, Shinn and Lyman seemed to think: "we should try".

In principle, of course, no one would disagree. Everyone would like to see Eritrea change policies and lose its status as a pariah state, but none of these comments by former US diplomats, get to the heart of the problem. This lies in the nature of the regime in Asmara and, leaving aside its highly repressive internal activities, its external policies. Others, besides the US have tried to improve relations with Eritrea over the years. None have been more than minimally successful. The reasons are simple and relate largely to Eritrea and President Isaias' insistence on ignoring all norms of international behavior and international relations. Eritrea has repeatedly demonstrated over the past 23 years that the fundamental principles of its external policies are force, aggression and violence, either open or clandestine. These attitudes also characterize its internal policies. President Isaias operates with little understanding or interest in the wider world, which he has tended to ignore, especially when it fails to treat him with the exaggerated respect he apparently believes he and Eritrea deserve.

In the past, neither efforts to establish trust nor attempts to negotiate have made much progress. It is only now as sanctions have begun to cause problems with remittances and offer a possible threat to mining operations, which provide the major source of revenue to keep senior army officers and party leaders quiescent, that awareness is creeping in that the regime is facing deep and real economic and social problems. The most recent IMF estimates are that Eritrea's per-capita GDP adjusted for purchasing power parity will grow only around 1.7% between 2013 and 2018, a mark that will lead to the nation being ranked as the second-poorest country in the world before the end of the decade. This is despite the input of some quite substantial profits from mining, though there have widespread claims that these are dependent upon what amounts to 'slave labor'.

At the center of the argument of Messrs Cohen and Shinn is the issue of Eritrea's relations with Ethiopia. Both seem to accept the idea that President Isaias' hostility to the outside world, the US and everybody else, is caused by insecurity in the face of a continued threat posed by Ethiopia, seen of course, as a US ally. The excuses for the increasing sacrifices demanded of the population is provided by the threat of the "evil, hostile, menace of Ethiopia," or by the machinations of the US and its control of the UN and indeed almost everybody else. Indeed, to paraphrase an older US diplomat, referring to Stalin's policies after the Second World War: "A hostile international environment is the breath of life for the prevailing internal system..." The "threat" of Ethiopia is the standard official line provided by Eritrea and has provided the excuse for keeping national conscripts mobilized since 1998, but it no longer appears to be working. The population is hemorrhaging at a rate of 600 people a week across the border with Ethiopia and similar numbers to the Sudan, in spite of shoot to kill orders along the frontiers. According to the UN Special Rapporteur for Eritrea, some of those now crossing the border are unaccompanied children as young as five or six.

In fact, any external danger to the concept or reality of an independent Eritrea vanished in 1991 when the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took power in Ethiopia. The EPRDF played a major role in helping the EPLF win its war for independence. Once in power in Addis Ababa it immediately encouraged the assumption and recognition of Eritrea's independence. There has been no change of policy since, despite Eritrea's invasion of Ethiopia in May 1998.

Messrs. Cohen and Shinn go into some detail of the 1998-2000 war, but much of their comment is inaccurate. They also miss the central point, noted by the UN Claims Commission – "Eritrea violated Article 2, paragraph 4,

of the Charter of the United Nations by resorting to armed force to attack and occupy Badme, then under peaceful administration by Ethiopia as well as other territory...in an attack that began on May 12, 1998...". (Claims Commission's Partial Award *Jus Ad Bellum* (December 19, 2005), paragraph 16). The war was the result of Eritrea sending pre-prepared mobilized infantry and mechanized brigades across what was, at the time, the accepted administrative border between the two countries. It was a very clear case of aggression. Eritrea's defeat in June 2000 and its signing of a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement, followed by the Algiers Peace Agreement in December, produced no change in attitude. The Algiers Agreements required the creation of a 25 kms wide Temporary Security Zone along the border inside Eritrea, and the deployment of a United Nations Peacekeeping Mission to Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) to monitor this and the ceasefire. UNMEE was also given the task of providing logistical and security assistance to the demarcation exercise which was due to follow the Decisions of the Eritrea Ethiopia Boundary Commission, announced in April 2002.

Eritrea began its efforts to underline the Algiers Agreements prior to 2002, and subsequently ignored Ethiopia's acceptance of the EEBC Decisions in November 2004. Ethiopia had originally raised some concerns over the EEBC Decisions, but after failing to get satisfaction for these, it made it clear it was prepared to proceed to demarcation in conformity with international practice, and consistent with the Algiers Agreements and their aim of bringing about sustainable peace and the normalization of relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea. However, as soon as Ethiopia accepted the EEBC Decisions, Eritrea openly began to flout the Algiers Agreements, persistently violating the TSZ and imposing restrictions on UNMEE. By 2007, the UN Secretary General noted in a report to the Security Council that the Eritrean troops that had illegally entered the Transitional Security Zone in October 2006, not for the first time, had remained, and that Eritrea had also deployed additional troops accompanied by tanks and heavy armament. He described Eritrea's restrictions on UNMEE as representing "a serious violation of the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities of June 18, 2000, the 2001 Protocol Agreement of June 17, 2001 concluded between Eritrea and UNMEE, and relevant Security Council resolutions...". When these activities met with no more than mild verbal criticism from the Security Council, it steadily expanded its activities until it had taken over the whole TSZ, rendering the Algiers Agreements, including the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities, effectively null and void. The Security Council did pass a number of resolutions demanding Eritrea remove all restrictions on UNMEE, but it took no action and in February 2008 the situation reached a point where UNMEE, humiliatingly, was forced to withdraw.

This demonstration of UN weakness encouraged Eritrea in its bellicosity, its aggressiveness and its disregard for international norms, and another example followed almost immediately. In June 2008, Eritrea invaded Djibouti and seized several strategic locations just inside northern Djibouti, including the islands of Doumeira and Kallida. In subsequent fighting, nearly sixty Djiboutian soldiers were killed or wounded, and a senior officer and 18 others captured. Eritrean losses amounted to around 200 killed or captured. President Isaias denied there had been any clashes and persisted in this despite all the evidence of fighting. Eventually, two years later, in June 2010, following mediation efforts by Qatar at the request of Djibouti, Eritrean troops withdrew from the border areas, though the government still refused to admit there had been any conflict. A Qatari observation force was deployed to monitor the border area until a final agreement could eventually be reached, but no progress has been made in releasing Djibouti prisoners of war or in reaching a settlement as President Isaias still denies that anything happened. This time, the Security Council did react and imposed sanctions. Subsequently, with no apparent change in Eritrea's attitudes or policy over Djibouti, extremist support or destabilization policies in the region, the Security Council, not unreasonably, repeated its belief that Eritrea was a threat to international peace and security, and extended sanctions by another 16 months, to the end of 2014.

Another area of activity by Eritrea which also led to the imposition of UN sanctions was over Eritrea's persistent interference in Somalia and its support for extremist and terrorist organizations there. After the fall of the ICU in Somalia in December 2006, Eritrea gave refuge to Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys and other leaders of what later became Hizbul Islam and supported its anti-government operations in Somalia with planeloads of arms as well as training and funds. These activities included support for Al-Itihaad, Hizbul Islam, and Al-Shabaab, and the UN Monitoring Group produced detailed evidence of its transactions. President Isaias has also repeatedly insisted that Al-Shabaab and similar organizations must be considered Somali stakeholders, claiming despite all evidence they are not terrorists and they should be brought into government. Eritrea, unlike all other IGAD states, refused to recognize either the TNG or the current Federal Government of Somalia.

It even withdrew from IGAD in anger that other IGAD states refused to follow its line, though it has now asked to return. It hasn't changed policy. In 2013, the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea issued two separate reports and concluded that Eritrea had diversified its support for extremist operations to Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda and Yemen in addition to fronting a number of business operations.

This is, indeed, a government that relies so totally on the fiction of external threats to maintain its own internal legitimacy that whenever and wherever the fantasy appears threadbare, it has deliberately recreated it with another outbreak of violence or aggression. This is in the conflicts it started with Yemen in 1996/7, Ethiopia in 1998-2000 and Djibouti in 2008. On other occasions it has repeatedly backed opposition forces, extremists and known terrorists, consistently attempting to destabilize Ethiopia and Somalia and interfere in the internal affairs of Sudan and later of South Sudan. Its foreign policy has, in fact, consistently and persistently continued to demonstrate a pattern of aggression and hostility.

In fact, like any bully, Eritrea rapidly backs down when faced by firm action. Indeed, it is clear from past experience that the government in Asmara only responds to the threat of superior strength. Nothing less will produce change. As the UN Monitoring Group reports for both 2012 and 2013, as well as a mass of additional evidence, make clear, Eritrea has continued its efforts at regional destabilization. There has been no change of policy, merely some misrepresentation and verbal fiction. To lift sanctions now would send very much the wrong signals, giving Eritrea a green light to continue its policies of aggression and regional destabilization.

The lack of movement, whether in normalizing relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia, in response to UN sanctions over regional destabilization or UN demands over the conflict with Djibouti, is quite clearly the responsibility of Eritrea, and Eritrea alone. It has nothing to do with Ethiopia or Eritrea's border "dispute" with Ethiopia. Bringing in Eritrea "from the cold" can only come after a visible change of attitude in Eritrea, with implementation of a fundamental shift in attitude, an end to all aggressive policies, dismantling of training camps for extremists and terrorists, abandoning support for armed opposition groups and all other efforts to destabilize its neighbors. This needs to be accompanied by acknowledgement of the necessity for dialogue and acceptance of the norms of international diplomacy and adult relationships. Then, and then only, the lifting of sanctions and Eritrea's reintegration into regional organizations and international politics might follow.