



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Simulation on Conflict Prevention in the Greater Horn of Africa

This simulation, while focused around the Ethiopia-Eritrea border conflict, is not an attempt to resolve that conflict: the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) already has a peace plan on the table to which the two parties in conflict have essentially agreed. Rather, participants are asked, in their roles as representatives of OAU member states, to devise a blueprint for preventing the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict from spreading into neighboring countries and consuming the region in even greater violence. The conflict, a great concern particularly for Somalia and Sudan where civil wars have raged for years, has thrown regional alliances into confusion and is increasingly putting pressure on humanitarian NGOs and other regional parties to contain the conflict.

The wars in the Horn of Africa have caused untold death and misery over the past few decades. Simulation participants are asked as well to deal with the many refugees and internally displaced persons in the Horn of Africa, a humanitarian crisis that strains the economies – and the political relations - of the countries in the region. In their roles as OAU representatives, participants in this intricate simulation witness first-hand the tremendous challenge of trying to obtain consensus among multiple actors with often competing agendas on the tools of conflict prevention.



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Introduction

Each student will be assigned a role as a representative of one of the countries on the OAU Committee. Players must try to act as they think their roles would, given the circumstances of the simulation scenario. Participants should try to stay true to the roles they have been assigned.



Materials

Each participant should receive the following materials:

- The Scenario and Background Documents (pages 5 - 20.)
- A simulation role

Teachers may wish to provide the following items for this simulation:

- A classroom or conference room and sufficient breakout rooms or additional space for any needed teamwork
- An overhead projector or multimedia data projector and an overhead screen.
- Flip charts (one per team) and flip chart paper (or white boards) and markers
- 1 pad and pen per student
- Several computers with printers
- Internet access for additional research or access to a library.



Scenario

It is 1999 and the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity—Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim—has organized an ad hoc OAU Committee to deal with the current conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. There are two objectives for this committee:

- to help the two countries agree to end the violence between them and the displacement of peoples from the border areas and come to a satisfactory agreement on the status of the disputed border; and
- to prevent the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea from spreading into surrounding countries, particularly Sudan and Somalia.

The OAU and other outside parties (including the United Nations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United States and non-governmental organizations such as the International Red Cross) believe it is imperative to develop a concerted program to prevent the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict from spreading throughout the Horn of Africa or through much of eastern Africa.

The Ethiopia-Eritrea war has been a particular concern for Somalia, which has lacked a central government for almost a decade, and Sudan where an on-going civil war in the southern region of that country has caused widespread death and destruction for over a decade. While the spillover of the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict into Somalia is apparently increasing, it is not the only potentially dangerous extension of that conflict. Because both Ethiopia and Eritrea have actively supported and hosted Sudanese opposition forces, the fragile peace process in Sudan has been postponed and possibly damaged. The Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict has thrown regional alliances into confusion and is increasingly putting pressure on humanitarian NGOs and other regional parties to contain the conflict.

Another problem the committee will have to deal with is the large number of refugees in the Horn of Africa countries. These large populations of refugees make the situation increasingly volatile since most of these countries are economically incapable of supporting these displaced persons. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reports that 285,000 Somali refugees are in Ethiopia, and continued fighting between Somali factions has made repatriation difficult. Many Eritreans fled their country during its war for independence with Ethiopia from 1967 to 1990. The UNHCR reports that as many as 349,000 Eritreans remain in Sudan today. Relations between Sudan and Eritrea have been strained over activities of subversive elements in the two countries; as a result, repatriation of the Eritrean refugees from Sudan has been stalled. Recently, a large number of Eritrean youths have fled into Sudan to escape the forced conscription into the Eritrean military.

Representatives of the following countries will be on the ad hoc OAU Committee: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Djibouti, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Libya, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Some countries on the committee are more than interested observers because as powers in the region they feel they have a stake in the outcome of the conflict. In particular, these include Djibouti, Egypt, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda. Thus, the committee is made up of states whose foreign policy goals will be affected by the outcome of the committee's work as well as by outside, neutral parties.

This committee will meet from June 20-June 22, 1999 in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, to discuss how to prevent the spillover of the Ethiopian-Eritrean border war into neighboring countries in the Horn of Africa. At any point during the meetings, committee members will be able to call in representatives of the Ethiopian and Eritrean Governments to ask them questions. Also available for questioning will be representatives from the US Government, the UN, the UNHCR, the Red Cross, the Arab League, and others.

Thus, the ad hoc OAU committee is charged with developing a plan for:



1. Preventing (or stopping) the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea from spilling over into the surrounding countries. Implicitly, an agreement by Ethiopia and Eritrea over their outstanding issues of disagreement would be a significant step toward preventing conflict elsewhere in the region. However, it is critical to adopt a plan of conflict prevention in the event that no solution to the Ethiopia-Eritrea war is found.
2. Providing assistance to and ensuring the safety of the numerous refugees in the region that have been displaced due to ongoing conflict. The refugee problem reflects the fact that the wars in the region have caused untold death and misery as well as the fact that refugees can often be exploited for political and military gain.

The committee will need to consider what tools of conflict prevention it may want to adopt – from mediation to the possible use of sanctions; from development and humanitarian assistance to the stationing of observer or peacekeeping forces in disputed areas – so that the parties in conflict might be persuaded to act in a way that will keep fighting and violence from spreading. It is important to note that the task of the committee is not to solve the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict; the OAU already has a peace plan on the table to which the two parties in conflict have essentially agreed. Enforcement of the peace plan may be an important component of conflict prevention in the region, but the committee must remain focused on devising a blueprint for preventing the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict from spreading and consuming the region in much greater violence.

Because Burkina Faso is the host for the meeting, the representative of Burkina Faso will serve as the committee's chair. The role of the chair will be to help facilitate the discussion and debate and keep the committee focused on the agenda.

The committee will operate by means of consensus. Consensus is neither decision-making by majority rule nor unanimous agreement. Consensus is an outcome that reflects what most of the parties can agree to. Whatever the committee agrees to is not binding but represents what the members believe is most probable, and desirable, to prevent conflict and is most likely to gain the acceptance of all the parties involved. Representatives of both Ethiopia and Eritrea, as well as representatives from the United States, the United Nations, and a number of NGOs, including the Red Cross, have come to Ouagadougou and are available to appear before the committee to answer any questions which the committee feels are important. The committee will have to decide when an outside representative should be requested to meet with the committee as well as what the nature of the information it seeks from that representative is and what kind of questions will be asked of him or her.



Background

Early History

Historical evidence suggests that area now known as Eritrea was inhabited prior to 1000 BC by Semitic invaders. Eritrea was a part of the kingdom of Aksum until the 7th century. At the height of its power, Aksum stretched from western Egypt to Yemen in the Middle East. After this prosperous empire fell apart, the country was ruled by a series of emperors. In the middle of the 16th century, the region was conquered by the Ottomans, and remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until the late 19th century.

Ethiopia is one of the world's oldest independent nations. According to the Old Testament of the Bible, it was founded by Menelik I, who was the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Like Eritrea, Ethiopia was part of the ancient kingdom of Aksum. During the height of its power, which was around the 5th century, Aksum was the Red Sea's dominant trading power. Missionaries introduced Christianity to the region in the 4th century AD. In the 7th century, Islam was introduced to the region. In 1493, the Portuguese began trading with the Ethiopians. Soon, they attempted to convert the nation to Roman Catholicism. To end religious tensions, all foreign missionaries were banned from the country. In 1543, the Somalis attempted to annex Ethiopia. Although Ethiopia was successful in resisting, the war devastated the economy and paved the way for a series of civil wars that occurred sporadically for the next two centuries.

In the early nineteenth century, Ethiopia consisted of two main peoples, the Amhara and the Tigray. Both were Semitic speakers, and Christianity had already spread through much of the country. Politically, the Ethiopian state was defined by feudal anarchy. The government had been established at Gonder, which had been at its height around 1700. By the early 1800s, the central government had minimal control over outlying regions while various nobles fought for command of the throne. In this feudal era, class structures were clearly defined and social mobility was very limited. The agrarian economy of northern Ethiopia became increasingly self-sufficient, and the balance of power in the country shifted to the southern capital of Shewa, which prospered in trade under King Sahle Selassie, whose kingdom continued to expand further southward. Meanwhile, in the north, Kassa Hailu was able to defeat several warring lords, consolidating their power under him. In 1855, he marched south and brought Shewa under his control and was crowned King Tewodros II by the Christian church. In 1862 he offered Britain's Queen Victoria an alliance to defeat Islam. Her refusal resulted in a diplomatic fallout that eventually led Britain to invade Ethiopia in 1868. The British re-instated Kassa as King Yohannes IV in 1872. The king expanded his empire, becoming the first Ethiopian ruler in over 300 years to hold authority from Tigray south to Gurage.

During the late 1880s, Italy colonized Eritrea. The region was desired because of its coastal location, which facilitated commerce. During its colonial era, Eritrean society became highly urbanized. As the number of Italian immigrants increased, many native Eritreans lost their property and were forced to live in urban centers. This led to the creation of a working class sector. The economic focus of the nation began to shift from agriculture to the industrial sector and manufacturing. The majority of Eritreans were employed as laborers and soldiers, while the managerial jobs were reserved for the Italians. Additionally, Eritreans were excluded from the educational system, with a few exceptions. Those who managed to receive an education were often only educated on a primary level in order to keep them in a subordinate role to the colonizers.

Menilik, Yohannes' successor, granted Italy rule over Eritrea. The Italians, however, sought to make all of Ethiopia their protectorate. Ethiopia opposed this, and in 1896 it successfully fought for and won back its autonomy. Between 1896 and 1906 the country expanded to its present size, with a capital at Addis Ababa. Over the next couple of decades it built a modern railway and made other technical improvements, such as roadways and hospitals. In 1923, under the



auspices of Prince Zauditu, Ethiopia joined the League of Nations, and its economy prospered with the export of coffee. The country continued to prosper under Haile Selassie I, who took power in 1930. But Italy's leader, Benito Mussolini, out of fear that Ethiopia's growing power and wealth could be detrimental to Italian exploits in the Horn of Africa, declared war on Ethiopia and defeated it. In 1935, Italy used Eritrea as the primary military base in the region for its invasion of neighboring Ethiopia. From 1936-1941 Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Italian Somaliland were joined to form Italian East Africa. Although Ethiopia appealed to the League of Nations for help, its pleas were ignored. Emperor Haile Selassie was forced to flee the country. He found refuge in England. In 1941, with British military aid, Italy was defeated and Emperor Selassie returned to rule Ethiopia. The British took over Eritrea. The British required the labor forces and industrial potential of Eritrea to supply the Allied forces during World War II. At the end of the war, many factories were closed and moved to other countries. The resulting mass unemployment forced many Eritreans to go to neighboring countries in search of work. The future of Eritrea after World War II lay in the hands of the four victorious allied powers (USA, USSR, Great Britain, France).

The Unification of Ethiopia and Eritrea

After World War II, Ethiopia felt the need to make its presence felt internationally. It accomplished this task by becoming one of the first nations to sign the Charter of the United Nations, supporting the decolonization of Africa, and helping to establish the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Both the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa are headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. In 1947, a Muslim League was created to promote the independence of Eritrea. However, since Ethiopia did not have access to the Red Sea, it wanted to annex Eritrea, so that it could use the Eritrean coastline. Ethiopia began to claim that Eritrea had been a part of it throughout its history. While a significant segment of the Eritrean population supported the unification of Ethiopia and Eritrea, there was a considerable division of opinion, which usually fell along religious lines. Traditionally, Christians have favored unification, while Muslims have favored Eritrean independence.

In 1945, Emperor Selassie petitioned U. S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to support the reunification of Eritrea and Ethiopia. Both an Allied and UN commission studied the matter and concluded that Eritrea had neither the economic resources nor the national consciousness to sustain independence. In 1952, a resolution by the UN General Assembly joined Ethiopia and Eritrea. This was done in spite of pleas from the Eritreans for independence. The resolution did, however, grant Eritrea certain fundamental rights and limited autonomy. It provided for Eritrea and Ethiopia to be linked through a loose federal structure under the emperor's sovereignty but with a form of internal self-government. The federal government, which for all intents and purposes was the existing imperial government, was to control foreign affairs, defense, foreign and interstate commerce, transportation and finance. Control over domestic affairs (including police, local administration, and taxation to meet its own budget) was to be exercised by an elected Eritrean assembly on the parliamentary model. The Eritrean territory was to have its own administrative and judicial structure and its own flag. Ethiopia did not recognize any of these rights.

After World War II, the country's elite and the church assumed that victory over the Italians essentially meant the restoration of their traditional privileges. Emperor Haile Selassie was reinstated against the wishes of the land-owning elites. Selassie began attempting to implement reforms to modernize the country and centralize power. Before long, however, new social classes stirred into life by Selassie's reform policies, as well as a younger generation full of frustrated expectations, clashed with forces bent on maintaining the traditional system. Many of Selassie's reforms were nullified by the traditional elites in an attempt to maintain their power.

New young reformers grew impatient with the inability of the country to adopt such changes and launched a coup d'etat. The leadership of the 1960 revolt came from three groups: the



commander of the Imperial Bodyguard, Mengistu Neway, and his followers; a few security officials, including the police chief; and a handful of radical intellectuals related to the officials, including Girmame Neway, Mengistu's brother. Although the coup was initially successful in the capital and was supported by many students, it failed to win the support of the army, air force, church, or mass public and consequently failed. However, the coup illustrated Selassie's fragile control over the country.

In Eritrea, the emperor's representative undercut the territory's separate status under the federal system. In August 1955, Tedla Bairu, an Eritrean who was the chief executive elected by the assembly, resigned under pressure from the emperor who then replaced Tedla with his own nominee. He made Amharic the official language of Eritrea in place of Arabic and Tigrinya, terminated the use of the Eritrean flag and moved many businesses out of Eritrea. In addition, the central government restricted all political parties, imposed censorship, gave the top administrative positions to Amharans and abandoned the principle of parity between Christian and Muslim officials. In November 1962, Ethiopia declared an end to the federation and illegally annexed Eritrea as its 14th province. The Eritrean Assembly, many of whose members had been accused of accepting bribes, voted unanimously to change Eritrea's status to that of a province of Ethiopia. All capital, industries, and plantations were left in Italian hands. Following his appointment of the arch-conservative Ras Asrate Kasa as governor general of Eritrea, Emperor Selassie was accused of "re-feudalizing" the territory. However, there were no international protests against Ethiopia's illegal annexation of Eritrea.

Elimination of Eritrea's self-rule consolidated opposition by the Eritreans. Four years earlier, in 1958, a number of Eritrean exiles had founded the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) in Cairo under Hamid Idris Awate's leadership. This organization, however, soon was neutralized. A new faction, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), emerged in 1960. Initially a Muslim movement, the ELF was nationalist rather than Marxist and received Iraqi and Syrian support. As urban Christians joined, the ELF became more radical and anti-capitalist. Beginning in 1961, the ELF turned to armed struggle and by 1966 challenged imperial forces throughout Eritrea.

The rapid growth of the ELF also created internal divisions between urban and rural elements, socialists and nationalists, and Christians and Muslims. In June 1970, Osman Salah Sabbe, former head of the Muslim League, broke away from the ELF and formed the Popular Liberation Forces (PLF), which led to the founding of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in early 1972. Both organizations initially attracted a large number of urban, intellectual, and leftist Christian youths and projected a strong socialist and nationalist image. By 1975, the EPLF had more than 10,000 members in the field. In 1976, Osman broke with the EPLF and formed the Eritrean Liberation Front-Popular Liberation Front (ELF-PLF), a division that reflected differences between combatants in Eritrea and representatives abroad as well as personal rivalries and basic ideological differences--factors important in earlier splits within the Eritrean separatist movement. For three decades (1961-1991), the EPLF would fight for Eritrea's independence in the longest civil war in Africa's history.

In 1974, discontent with Emperor Selassie erupted throughout Ethiopia, and a successful coup was launched by the military. Before the coup, the military had remained divided and faction-ridden. Selassie did this purposefully as a check on military strength. In June of 1974, a body of men that eventually totaled about 120--none above the rank of major and almost all of whom remained anonymous--organized themselves into a new body called the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, and Territorial Army that soon came to be called the Derg (Amharic for "committee" or "council"). They elected Major Mengistu Haile Mariam chairman and Major Atnafu Abate vice chairman; both were outspoken proponents for far-reaching change.

Although the Derg still claimed loyalty to the emperor, they controlled the military and therefore were the ones with the power. Selassie was forced to make concessions to the Derg and to include the Derg in all government activities. The Derg continued to undermine support for the emperor until they formally deposed him on August 12, 1974 and imprisoned him. The Derg then



proclaimed itself that nation's ruling body. The Derg summarily executed 59 members of the royal family and ministers and generals of the emperor's government; Emperor Haile Selassie was strangled in the basement of his palace on August 22, 1975.

Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam assumed power as head of state and Derg chairman, after having his two predecessors killed. Mengistu's years in office were marked by a totalitarian-style government and the country's massive militarization, financed by the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, and assisted by Cuba. From 1977 through early 1978, thousands of suspected enemies of the Derg were tortured and/or killed in a purge called the "red terror." Communism was officially adopted during the late 1970s and early 1980s with the promulgation of a Soviet-style constitution, a Politburo, and the creation of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE).

The Derg also faced external opposition from the Somalis. In July 1977, sensing the disarray in Ethiopia, Somalia attacked across the Ogaden Desert in pursuit of its irredentist claims to the ethnic Somali areas of Ethiopia. Ethiopian forces were driven back far inside their own frontiers but, with the assistance of a massive Soviet airlift of arms and Cuban combat forces, they stemmed the attack. The major Somali regular units were forced out of the Ogaden in March 1978. Twenty years later, the Somali region of Ethiopia remains under-developed and insecure. To combat these threats, the Derg turned to the Soviet Union for aid because its former primary benefactor, the United States, had ceased supporting the country due to the Derg's human rights and Marxist orientation.

During these turbulent years however, the Eritrean rebels made advancements. Encouraged by the imperial regime's collapse and attendant confusion, the guerrillas extended their control over the whole region by 1977. Ethiopian forces were largely confined to urban centers and controlled the major roads only by day. Despite an influx of military aid from the Soviet Union and its allies after 1977, the government's counterinsurgency effort in Eritrea progressed haltingly. After initial government successes in retaking territory around the major towns and cities and along some of the principal roads in 1978 and 1979, the conflict ebbed and flowed on an almost yearly basis. Annual campaigns by the Ethiopian armed forces to dislodge the EPLF from positions around the northern town of Nafka failed repeatedly and proved costly to the government. Eritrean and Tigrayan insurgents began to cooperate and the EPLF provided training and equipment that helped build the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) into a full-fledged fighting force.

The rebel organizations had problems of their own. Armed clashes occurred between the ELF and the EPLF. In the 1980s, the EPLF emerged as the dominant political and military force in Eritrea as the ELF was mainly comprised of Muslim nomads. In contrast to the ELF, the EPLF had a social-revolutionary profile. The EPLF saw itself not only as a national liberation movement, but also as a movement for social change. From 1972-74 and from 1980-81, there was heavy fighting between the ELF and the EPLF. In 1981, the ELF was finally defeated and driven into the Sudan. From 1974 onwards, the clandestine guerrilla struggle transformed itself into open people's warfare, reaching a high-point in 1977 with the liberation of several cities. But in 1978, with the aid of the Soviet Union, Ethiopia launched a counter-offensive against the liberated cities. In the face of modern weaponry, the EPLF responded with a tactical retreat and prolonged people's war. During Ethiopia's counter-offensive, however, the EPLF was able to confiscate heavy weapons (tanks, artillery). These allowed the EPLF to score great victories in its 1987-88 offensive. In February 1990, after many heavy battles, the EPLF took over the strategic port city of Massawa on the Red Sea.

Between 1982 and 1985, the EPLF and the Derg held a series of talks to resolve the Eritrean conflict, but to no avail. By the end of 1987, dissident organizations in Eritrea and Tigray controlled at least 90 percent of both regions. The Derg faced further difficulties with a severe famine that affected the country in 1984-1985. The government's inability or unwillingness to deal with the famine provoked universal condemnation by the international community. Even many supporters of the Ethiopian regime opposed its policy of withholding food shipments to



rebel areas. The combined effects of famine and civil war put the nation's economy into a state of collapse. The Derg's collapse was hastened by droughts and famine, as well as by insurrections, particularly in the northern regions of Tigray and Eritrea. In 1989, the TPLF merged with other ethnically based opposition movements to form the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). In May 1991, EPRDF forces advanced on Addis Ababa. Mengistu fled the country and was granted asylum in Zimbabwe, where he still resides.

When the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia collapsed in the spring of 1991, the Ethiopian occupation army in Eritrea gave up and left the capital city of Asmara without a fight. The civilian population of Eritrea had suffered greatly during the decades of war, especially from the air bombardments by the Ethiopian air force. Many Eritreans grew up knowing only war. hundreds of thousands had fled to the Sudan. The "Thirty Years War" in Eritrea had hundreds of thousands of victims. But the cause of Eritrean liberation enjoyed almost no international support, although no one disputed the fact that Emperor Haile Selassie had illegally annexed the region in 1962. The strategic importance of Ethiopia was too great to risk a conflict with the Addis Ababa government over the issue of Eritrea. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the UN were worried that allowing the creation of an independent state would unleash questions about borders all across the African continent, leading to bloody conflicts. Israel supported Ethiopia to prevent the creation of an independent Eritrea, and both the United States (1953-1977) and the Soviet Union (after 1977) had supplied Ethiopia with modern weaponry to suppress the Eritreans by force. Both super powers were concerned about the territorial integrity of Ethiopia and its access to the Red Sea. Control of Eritrea meant control over the entrance to the Suez Canal as well as the Indian Ocean. And, near the region as well were the oil fields of Arabia. Only a few Arab and Islamic states gave limited support to the Eritreans, mostly to the ELF, to support the creation of an Islamic state in Eritrea. An entire generation of Eritreans grew up during the war, which became their "normal daily life." There was little protection for civilians from the air bombardments. The war brought fear and suffering to the people: repression, abuse of human rights, murder, mass executions, torture, prison, robbery, forced relocation, flight, and death.

In July 1991 after Mengistu had fled the country, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), and the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement established the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TOE). It was comprised of an 87-member Council of Representatives and guided by a national charter that functioned as a transitional constitution. In June 1992, the OLF withdrew from the government; in March 1993, members of the Southern Ethiopia Peoples' Democratic Coalition left the government.

In May 1991, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), led by Isaias Afwerki, assumed control of Eritrea and established a provisional government. This provisional government independently administered Eritrea until April 23-25, 1993, when Eritreans voted overwhelmingly for independence in a UN-monitored free and fair referendum (99.8% of the population). Eritrea was declared independent on April 27, and the United States recognized Eritrean independence on April 28. On May 24, 1993, Eritrea was proclaimed a sovereign state, the 52nd in Africa and the 192nd in the world. There was then a close and cordial relationship with the new transitional government in Ethiopia.

Two Separate Countries

In Ethiopia, President Meles Zenawi and members of the TOE pledged to oversee the formation of a multi-party democracy. The election for a 547-member constituent assembly was held in June 1994, and this assembly adopted the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in December 1994. The elections for Ethiopia's first popularly chosen national parliament and regional legislatures were held in May and June 1995. Most opposition parties chose to boycott these elections, ensuring a landslide victory for the EPRDF. International and



non-governmental observers concluded that opposition parties would have been able to participate had they chosen to do so.

The Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was installed in August 1995. The EPRDF-led government of Prime Minister Meles has promoted a policy of ethnic federalism, devolving significant powers to regional, ethnically-based authorities. Ethiopia today has 10 semi-autonomous administrative regions that have the power to raise and spend their own revenues. Under the present government, Ethiopians enjoy greater political participation and freer debate than ever before in their history, although some fundamental freedoms, including freedom of the press, are somewhat circumscribed in practice.

In Eritrea, the government was reorganized and after a national, freely contested election, the National Assembly, which chose Isaias Afwerki as President of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, was expanded to include both EPLF and non-EPLF members. The EPLF established itself as a political party, the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ). In 1994, President Afwerki, along with the provisional government, began to prepare a final draft of the Eritrean constitution. It was eventually ratified in 1997, although it is known as the Constitution of 1995, noting the year of its official completion.

Meanwhile, Sudan has remained rather aggressive toward its neighbors, with its purported goal of spreading Islamic fundamentalism throughout the region. These concerns, along with Sudan's unwillingness to play a constructive role in regional development, have raised security concerns along Eritrea's border with Sudan. Khartoum gives support and safe-haven to a small, relatively ineffectual Eritrean insurgent group, the Eritrean Islamic Jihad (EIJ). Eritrea, in turn, supports the Sudanese opposition, which has coalesced in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The NDA has the stated objective of overturning the current National Islamic Front (NIF)-dominated government in Khartoum.

The Border Dispute

During the initial stages of Eritrean independence, a joint Ethiopian-Eritrean commission was established to properly demarcate the border areas that were still in dispute, particularly in the Badme region. The common borders between Ethiopia and Eritrea, however, were never clearly defined, a situation which would eventually lead to years of conflict between the two countries. In addition, during this period of independence, the port of Assab was given to Eritrea in an attempt to restore Eritrea's original boundaries during Italian colonization. This key port eventually became a highly disputed territory between the two countries because without it, Ethiopia remained landlocked.

Eritrea was also involved in disputes with other neighbors. At the end of 1994, after a large border raid, Sudanese-backed Islamists, reportedly from several countries, were killed inside Eritrea. At this point, Eritrea broke off relations with Sudan. Ties between the two countries were resumed after a series of conferences in 1995 and 1996 in Eritrea. In 1995, a dispute with Yemen over the Hamsh Islands in the Red Sea led to limited fighting, and was eventually resolved through international arbitration. In May of 1995, the country was divided into six administrative regions.

After a few incidents between Eritreans and Ethiopians along the border of the Badme regions, in July 1997, the leaders of both countries agreed to form a joint commission to draw the boundary. The conflict between the two countries was also fueled by clashing economic interests. In November of 1997, Eritrea issued its own currency, the nakfa, after having used the Ethiopian birr for four years. While Eritrean officials wanted Ethiopia to accept the nakfa in a one-to-one exchange with the birr, Ethiopian officials demanded that Eritrea pay for all its goods in hard currency. The Nakfa has nationalist origins, as it is the name of the Eritrean stronghold which was besieged by Ethiopia for months during the independence movement. During the time that Eritrea was using the Birr, the Eritrean economy suffered because of high Ethiopian interest rates



and monetary policy. After the Nakfa was introduced, trade between the two nations came to a virtual halt, due to Ethiopia's violent reaction.

The current disputes have their origins in age-old border disputes between the Tigray people of Ethiopia and the Eritreans. These border disputes were generally not addressed by the imperial powers that ruled the area, and so were never resolved. In 1992-1993, the Tigrayan authorities began to enforce the demarcation line for the boundary, and penalize Eritreans who had farmed there for decades. In 1996, this campaign of harassment was intensified by the TPLF (Tigrayan People's Liberation Front). Since after independence the two governments were on friendly terms, these border disputes were downplayed. Now, they had come to the forefront of the relationship between Eritrea and the Tigray. The area was "unilaterally demarcated" by the Ethiopians, without Eritrean knowledge or consent. Ethiopian soldiers began to patrol this and other border areas, often entering into Eritrean territory. The border area is crisscrossed by volcanic remains, dry river valleys, and plateau slopes.

On May 12, 1998 the Eritrean government unilaterally deployed its army and occupied a border area consisting of Badme (also known as Yirga) and Shiraro districts. The town of Shiraro itself was not occupied. Ethiopia responded and moved army units to the area. The general reason for the border dispute is that the border area was never demarcated - it is currently simply drawn as a straight line. However, Badme and Shiraro districts were always administered as part of Ethiopia, a fact which EPLF has not contested. Instead, they claim that a fascist-era Italian map (from 1934) shows that these areas should belong to Eritrea. An examination of the Italian maps proves that the Italians violated the treaties they signed with Ethiopia and pushed the border to the Tomsa-Tekezze junction in the south. The 1902 treaty states that the border should be located at the Setit-Maieteb junction which is further west towards Sudan. The Ethiopian border is based on over 100 years of administrative records, tax records, voting lists, censuses, etc. and established Ethiopian sovereignty during all phases of Eritrea's existence. Italy never occupied these areas, despite illegally claiming them on its maps. By contrast the Eritrean border is based on a fascist-era Italian map which was created during the very period that Italy was trying to conquer Ethiopia. In fact, Italy instigated several border disputes which Ethiopia tried to resolve through the League of Nations. The National Geographic map from 1935 shows the Eritrea-Ethiopia border with the notation "boundary in dispute."

There are many reasons why Eritrea thought it could win the dispute over the boundary with Ethiopia by force. It appears, however, Mr. Isaias made a terrible miscalculation. He believed that a quick showdown with the large neighbor of 60 million people would show that neither he nor his small country of 3.5 million could be pushed around. But Eritrea has paid a considerable price. The Eritrean economy is dependent on Ethiopia for 67 percent of its exports and a large proportion of its imports, particularly food. In addition, the Eritrean government used to derive considerable income from Ethiopian trade passing through Massawa and Assab. An economic recession in Eritrea is now inevitable even before taking into account the costs of the war. In addition, Eritrea estimated that over 50,000 Eritreans have been forced out of Ethiopia into Eritrea, which exacerbates an already precarious economic situation.

After the fighting in May of 1998, the border area was placed under Eritrean rule. In June of 1998, both countries also started to expel citizens of the other from territory that each controlled. In June of 1998, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Susan Rice announced a joint US-Rwandan peace plan under which Eritrea would withdraw its troops from the Badme region, and a neutral observer force would then be deployed to the area. This plan, however, did not result in any significant change in the situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia. In a final effort to mediate between the two countries, an Organization of African Unity (OAU) delegation consisting of the leaders of Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso, and Rwanda, was sent to the region on June 19, 1998. The delegation urged both sides to accept the US-Rwandan proposal for peace, but failed. The Union of African Parliamentarians at its 21st conference held in Niamey, Niger on 18-20 August, 1998 adopted a resolution which:



- calls upon Eritrea to respect the finding of the OAU Ministerial Committee dealing with the crisis, which has conclusively affirmed that Ethiopian-administered territories have been occupied by Eritrean armed forces;
- affirms that the said occupation constituted a fundamental element of the crisis that has to be addressed by the Government of Eritrea;
- calls upon the Government of Eritrea to withdraw its forces to the point where it was prior to development of 6 May 1998 as recommended by the facilitators, the OAU and the UN Security Council.

On November 7, 1998, the OAU proposed a peace plan similar to the US-Rwandan proposal, and although Ethiopia accepted it, Eritrea posed questions to the OAU regarding the proposal. The OAU replied to Eritrea's concerns this February, and meanwhile the United States, United Nations, and other African nations have continued diplomatic efforts to persuade Eritrea to agree to the peace plan. In recent weeks, after extensive fighting, eventually the Eritrean forces were driven out of the Badme area. Following this victory in the Badme region, Ethiopia claimed victory. Eritrea, acknowledging defeat, at least temporarily, announced that it would now accept the Organization of African Unity's peace proposals, which Ethiopia had endorsed in November. The OAU proposed that both sides withdraw from disputed territory pending adjudication, something that Eritrea had previously refused to do. Initially, there was hope that Eritrea's acceptance would lead to an immediate cease-fire. Ethiopia's foreign minister, Seyoum Mesfin, said that a de facto cease-fire would come into effect once the Eritreans signed up to the OAU plan. However, based on current events, this seems much less certain. Other voices in Ethiopia are calling for a knock-out blow or for the army to retake the disputed areas that Eritrea still occupies, especially near Zalambessa. Isolated skirmishes have already been reported along the disputed frontier and continued fighting along the border has resumed despite international efforts to establish peace between the two regions.

Ethiopia declared a total victory over Eritrea in the border war at the beginning of March 1999, but two weeks later the fighting resumed. This time, in addition to the boundary, the two governments are arguing over the peace plan to which both have publicly agreed. Eritrea, for its part, subscribed to the plan only after losing the biggest chunk of contested ground in heavy fighting on the Badme plain. In what is described as a trench war similar to World War I, the fighting has left thousands--perhaps tens of thousands--dead or wounded. The combatants are quarreling over details of the peace agreement that diplomats failed to resolve. At issue are the smaller areas Eritrean forces continue to hold, including the Zalambessa and Tsorona front, south of the Eritrean capital of Asmara, where fighting resumed on March 14, 1999. The peace plan calls for both sides to withdraw their forces from all contested areas, for independent observers to take the field and for technical experts to decide the boundary. However, Ethiopia insists that Eritrea, which triggered the crisis last May by moving forces into the contested areas, must pull out first.

To date, estimates are that over 50,000 have died in the fighting between Ethiopia and Eritrea. This is due to the nature of the war, which is reminiscent of the trench warfare of World War I and the fact that the wounded receive poor medical help. In addition, the fighting has displaced hundreds of thousands of people and compounded the strain on two very poor countries that are often victims of widespread famine. And, there remains fundamental disagreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea on the OAU peace proposal. Ethiopia insists on Eritrea withdrawing from all occupied territories "within a short time frame" before any ceasefire negotiation. Eritrea, for its part, says it wants a negotiated agreement to a ceasefire and implementation of the OAU peace plan before withdrawing.



Framework Agreement for a Peaceful Settlement of the Dispute Between Eritrea & Ethiopia

Concerned with the current situation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the OAU proposed A *Framework Agreement for a Peaceful Settlement of the Dispute Between Eritrea and Ethiopia* on November 8th, 1998. The following is the direct text of the peace proposal:

We, the Heads of State and Government, mandated by the 34th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, from 8 to 10 June 1998, to contribute towards the search for a peaceful and lasting solution to the unfortunate conflict which erupted between the brotherly countries, the State of Eritrea and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia:

Deeply affected by the outbreak of the conflict between the two countries that are united by historic links of brotherhood and a common culture;

Saddened by this conflict which occurred at a time when the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the State of Eritrea had launched a new era of relations built on a partnership and a common vision and ideals as regards the future of their peoples, the region and the whole continent;

Nothing, however, that differences had emerged between the two countries relating particularly to their common border, differences which the two countries endeavored to resolve peacefully;

Deploring the fact that, notwithstanding those efforts, an open conflict broke out between the two brotherly countries, with which our 34th summit was seized;

Paying tribute to the commendable efforts made by friendly countries aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the conflict;

Conscious of the fact that resorting to the use of force results in loss of human lives, the destruction of property and socio-economic infrastructures as well as creating a division between the peoples, all the things which the two brotherly countries and our continent cannot afford at a time when all efforts must be



channeled towards the promotion of peace and development which we greatly owe to our peoples;

Encouraged by the commitment made by the two Parties to the OAU High-Level Delegation to settle the conflict peacefully and by their positive response to its appeal to continue to observe the moratorium on air strikes and to maintain the present situation of non-hostilities;

Having considered and endorsed the Report and Recommendations of the Committee of Ambassadors, as submitted by the Ministerial Committee to the parties on 1 August 1998 in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso;

Having listened to the two Parties and made an in-depth analysis of their respective positions, taking into account their legitimate concerns and after having thought deeply about the ways and means likely to contribute to the peaceful settlement of the crisis in a fair and objective manner;

MAKE on behalf of Africa, its peoples and leaders, a solemn and brotherly appeal to the Leaders of the State of Eritrea and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia to do everything in their power to opt for a peaceful settlement of the dispute and find a just and lasting solution to the conflict;

SUBMIT, hereunder, for the consideration of the two Parties, the elements of a Framework Agreement based on the following principles:

- resolution of the present crisis and any other dispute between them through peaceful and legal means in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity;
- rejection of the use of force as a means of imposing solutions to disputes;
- respect for the borders existing at independence as stated in Resolution AHG/Res. 16(1) adopted by the OAU Summit in Cairo in 1964 and, in this regard, determine them on the basis of pertinent colonial Treaties and applicable international law, making use, to that end, of technical means to demarcate the borders and, in the case of controversy, resort to the



appropriate mechanism of arbitration.

We recommend that:

1. The to Parties commit themselves to an immediate cessation of hostilities;
2. In order to defuse tension and build confidence, the two Parties commit themselves to put an immediate end to any action and any form of expression likely to perpetrate or exacerbate the climate of hostility and tension between them thereby jeopardizing the efforts aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the conflict;
3. In order to create conditions conducive to a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the conflict through the delimitation and demarcation of the border, the armed forces presently in Badme Town and its environs, should be re-deployed to the positions they held before 6 May 1998 as a mark of goodwill and consideration for our continental Organization, it being understood that this re-deployment will not prejudge the final status of the area concerned, which will be determined at the end of the delimitation and demarcation of the border and, if need be, through an appropriate mechanism of arbitration;
4. This re-deployment be supervised by a Group of Military observers which will be deployed by the OAU with the support of the United Nations. The Group of Military Observers will also assist the reinstated Civilian Administration in the maintenance of law and order during the interim period;
5. a) The re-deployment be subsequently extended to all other contested areas along the common border within the framework of demilitarization of the entire common border and as a measure for defusing the tension and facilitating the delimitation and demarcation process. In effect, the demilitarization which will begin with the Mereb Setit segment, will then extend to the Bada area and the border as a whole;



b) The demilitarization process be supervised by the Group of Military Observers;

6. a) The two Parties commit themselves to make use of the services of experts of the UN Cartographic Unit, in collaboration with the OAU and other experts agreed upon by the two Parties, to carry out the delimitation and demarcation of the border between the two countries within a time-frame of 6 months which could be extended on the recommendation of the cartographic experts;

b) Once the entire border has been delimited and demarcated, the legitimate authority will immediately exercise full and sovereign jurisdiction over the territory which will have been recognized as belonging to them;

7. In order to determine the origins of the conflict, an investigation be carried out on the incidents of 6 May 1998 and on any other incident prior to that date which could have contributed to a misunderstanding between the two parties regarding their common border, including the incidents of July-August 1997.

8. a) At the humanitarian level, the two Parties commit themselves to put an end to measures directed against the civilian population and refrain from any action which can cause further hardship and suffering to each other's nationals;

b) The two Parties also commit themselves to addressing the negative socio-economic impact of the crisis on the civilian population, particularly, those persons who had been deported;

c) In order to contribute to the establishment of a climate of confidence, the OAU, in collaboration with the United Nations, deploy a team of Human Rights Monitors in both countries;

9. a) In order to determine the modalities for the implementation of the Framework Agreement, a Follow-up Committee of the two Parties be



established under the auspices of the OAU High-Level Delegation with the active participation and assistance of the United Nations;

b) The committee begin its work as soon as the Framework Agreement is signed;

10. The OAU and the UN working closely with the international community, particularly, the European Union, endeavor to mobilize resources for the resettlement of displaced persons and the demobilization of troops currently deployed along the common border of both countries;

11. The Organization of African Unity, in close cooperation with the United Nations, will be the guarantor for the scrupulous implementation of all the provisions of the Framework Agreement, in the shortest possible time. On the decision of the OAU Delegation of leaders that met in Ouagadougou, the above peace plan was later submitted to the OAU central body for conflict resolution.



OAU history and set-up

The continent of Africa has traditionally been a land blessed with natural resources and expansive space. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the land was colonized and exploited by European countries. Though colonialism, thanks to a global effort, has all but ended on the African continent, its ramifications are still pertinent to present day African nations. In the years since the end of colonialism, Africa has been plagued with a series of border disputes, civil wars, famines, and health issues. Still bountiful in resources and possessing great promise for industrialization, Africa's progress has often been hindered by these internal issues.

The Organization of African Unity was created as a United Nations special committee to deal with regional issues and special interests of African Nations. Originally composed of 32 members, it now has 53 nation members that meet in order to discuss and resolve Pan-African issues.

The Organization of African Unity descended from the emergence of Pan-African awareness in the nineteenth century. African communities first united in order to put an end to colonialism, then evolved into a movement for political independence and social reform for all of Africa. The first Pan-African gathering took place in Manchester, United Kingdom in 1900, followed by other African conventions such as the Ghana Guinea Union of 1958 and the Monrovia Group of 1961. These conferences built African solidarity and paved the way for the ultimate creation of the Organization of African Unity on May 25, 1963, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. At this landmark meeting, 30 independent African nations gathered in an organization concerned with national freedom, decolonization, protection of common African interests, and resolution of intra-African conflicts.

Present membership in the OAU is 53 nations, welcoming all sovereign African nations and neighboring islands. The African Unity House in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia serves as the headquarters. Leadership is in the form of a Secretary General and five deputies, appointed by the heads of state and government for a four year term. Four specialized commissions currently exist in the OAU: the Labor Commission; the Economic, Social, Transport, and Communications Commission; the Defense Commission; and the Scientific, Cultural, Educational, and Health Commission.

The principles and objectives for the OAU are stated in the OAU Charter. Among these are the promotion of unity and solidarity of the African states, cooperation to achieve a better life for the people of Africa, and the promotion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Also included are the eradication of colonialism and development of nations' rights to their own sovereignty. To achieve said goals, member nations pledged to harmonize their policies in the following areas: political and diplomatic activity; economic activity; health, sanitation, and nutrition; science and technology; and defense and security.

The Ad Hoc Committee:

By March 1999, both Eritrea and Ethiopia had supposedly "accepted" a peace agreement. However, fighting in border regions continued since both parties wanted the other country to remove its military forces from the disputed areas first. Observing that the border dispute was far from over and fearing that the war may spill over into surrounding Horn of Africa states, the OAU has called a special ad hoc committee to work on finding a peaceful solution to the war. This committee will meet from June 20th to June 22nd, 1999. Members of the committee are: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Djibouti, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Libya, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Ethiopia and Eritrea have been invited to attend the meeting and speak to the committee.

Since the background history of Ethiopia and Eritrea has already been given, some background information on the members of the committee and their positions on the conflict follow.



Roles

The simulation roles include representatives from the following countries:

Burkina Faso
Cameroon
Djibouti
Egypt
Ghana
Kenya
Libya
Nigeria
Senegal
Somalia
South Africa
Sudan
Tanzania
Uganda
Zambia
Zimbabwe



Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso is a landlocked country and shares its borders with six nations. Its citizens belong to two main cultural groups, the Voltaic and the Mande. The concentration of Burkinabe lies in the south and center of the country. As a result of this high concentration, hundreds of thousands of people migrate annually to Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire for seasonal agricultural work.

Upper Volta achieved independence on August 5, 1960. The first president, Maurice Yameogo, was the leader of the Voltaic Democratic Union (UDV). The 1960 constitution provided for election by universal suffrage of a president and a national assembly for 5-year terms. Soon after coming to power, Yameogo banned all political parties other than the UDV. The government lasted until 1966 when after much unrest - mass demonstrations and strikes by students, labor unions, and civil servants - the military intervened. From 1966 to 1984, Burkina Faso was plagued by a series of military coups.

On August 4, 1984, Upper Volta changed its name to Burkina Faso, meaning "the country of honorable people." Capt. Thomas Sankara, a charismatic leader appointed Prime Minister in January 1983, sought by word, deed, and example to mobilize the masses and launch a massive bootstrap development movement. But many of the strict austerity measures taken by Sankara met with growing resistance and disagreement. Despite his initial popularity and personal charisma, problems began to surface in the implementation of the revolutionary ideals. Tensions over the repressive tactics of the government and its overall direction mounted steadily. On October 15, 1987, Sankara was assassinated in a coup that brought Capt. Blaise Compaore to power.

Compaore, Capt. Henri Zongo, and Maj. Jean-Baptiste Boukary Lengani formed the Popular Front (FP), which pledged to continue and pursue the goals of the revolution and to "rectify" Sankara's "deviations" from the original aims. The new government, realizing the need for popular support, tacitly moderated many of Sankara's policies. As part of a much-discussed political "opening" process, several political organizations, three of them non-Marxist, were accepted under an umbrella political organization created in June 1989 by the FP.

Today, Burkina Faso is in its Fourth Republic. Under the constitution the government is headed by a strong president (Blaise Compaore), a prime minister (Kadre Desire Ouedraogo), a Council of Ministers presided over by the president, a bicameral National Assembly, and the judiciary. Both the legislature and the judiciary are independent, but there has been tremendous outside influence in both.

Burkina Faso has excellent relations with the countries of the European Union, North African states, and Asia. France, which colonized Burkina Faso, is a significant provider of aid and strongly supports Compaore's developing role as a regional powerbroker. Through the years, Compaore has continued to develop his stature as a mediator. He has helped mediate a political crisis in Togo and helped resolve the Tuareg conflict in Niger. The capital city of Ouagadougou has been the host of several OAU meetings where the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea has been discussed, and it was the location where the current OAU peace proposal was made. Djibouti and Zimbabwe have joined Burkina Faso as members of the OAU high-level delegation tasked with mediating the border dispute.



Cameroon

Cameroon first witnessed Western influence as a German protectorate in the 1880s. Following Germany's defeat in the First World War, however, Cameroon was divided between Britain and France under a League of Nations mandate instituted in 1919, a mandate that would later be extended by the United Nations. In 1955, the outlawed Union of Cameroonian Peoples (UPC), based largely among the Bamileke (western highlanders) and Bassa (coastal) ethnic groups, began an armed struggle for independence in French Cameroon. French Cameroon achieved independence in 1957 under the control of the principal pro-independence party, the Cameroon National Union (UNC). In 1961, a plebiscite was held to decide the future of British Cameroon: the northern provinces voted to become part of Nigeria, while the south opted for union with French Cameroon. A centralized political and administrative system was introduced with the veteran northern politician Ahmadou Ahidjo as president. Ahidjo, relying on a pervasive internal security apparatus, was able to outlaw all political parties but his own in 1966. He also successfully suppressed the UPC rebellion, capturing the last important rebel leader in 1970. In 1972, a new constitution replaced the federation with a unitary state. The 1972 constitution provides for a strong central government dominated by the executive. The president, without consulting the National Assembly, names and dismisses cabinet members, judges, generals, provincial governors, prefects, sub-prefects, and heads of Cameroon's 100 state-controlled firms. The president also obligates or disburses expenditures, approves or vetoes regulations to implement newly enacted laws, declares states of emergency; and appropriates and spends profits of federal firms. The judiciary is subordinate to the executive branch's Ministry of Justice. The Supreme Court may review the constitutionality of a law only at the president's request.

In 1975, Paul Biya, the country's dominant political figure in recent years, took up his first major appointment as Prime Minister of the burgeoning state. When Ahidjo stepped down from the presidency, of his own volition, in 1982, Biya was chosen as his successor. Since then, as head of the UNC and its successor party, the Cameroon People's Democratic Assembly (RDPC), Biya has achieved political domination over Cameroon, ending off the two major threats to his rule. The first of these threats came in 1984 when Ahidjo, the former president of Cameroon, discontented with the direction of his successor's policies, launched a military coup. It failed. The second virtual coup came in 1992, when the leader of a two-year-old semi-legal opposition party, the Social Democratic front, John Fru Ndi, presented a major challenge to Biya at the year's presidential election. Amid copious complaints of intimidation and electoral malpractice--Ndi was so sure of victory he claimed it on the basis of unofficial results--Biya managed to persuade the electoral commission that he had indeed won a close fight.

Concerns about the Biya regime's electoral chicanery and regular human rights abuses led to the failure of Cameroon's initial attempt to join the Commonwealth in 1993--although it was accepted two years later. Cameroon also maintains a close relationship with France, largely due to membership in the CFA franc zone. Relations with Nigeria, Cameroon's powerful neighbor, have been awkward as of late resulting from several outstanding border disputes. The primary one, involving an area known as the Bakassi peninsula, is under international mediation. Cameroon has also been involved in mediating in the dispute between the Nigerian government and its opponents in Togo.

In regards to the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict, it seems that several elements of Cameroonian history closely resemble recent events in the Horn of Africa. Both Ethiopia and Cameroon endured periods of colonial rule, and each harbored populations that later wished to not be part of state boundary lines drawn by European diplomats. In Cameroon, this population was allowed to become part of Nigeria. In contrast, Eritrea made claims for independence for many decades without success. Thus, Cameroon is likely to emphasize the importance of popular sovereignty and self-determination by the Eritrean peoples.



In regards to border disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Cameroon proposes international mediation into the conflict, as is currently being conducted between Nigeria and Cameroon concerning the Bakassi peninsula. All in all, conflict prevention is of the utmost importance, with the significance of compromise and autonomy to be considered. Nevertheless, should a conflict arise, it is essential that international observance and monitoring be present to preserve the greatest possible degree of peace in the region.



Djibouti

The nation of Djibouti is located on the horn of Africa, bordered by the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea to the east, Eritrea to the north, Ethiopia to the west and Somalia to the south. It is a primarily desert climate, with mountains in the central portion. 70% of the citizens of Djibouti live in the capital city, and the remainder are nomads. The land is basically useless, but the country gains its importance due to its strategic locale. Djibouti, the capital city, is the end of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti rail line, which has carried all Ethiopian exports out of Ethiopia via the Red Sea port. Since the independence of Eritrea, this port has become very important to Ethiopia, which became landlocked as a consequence.

Djibouti gained its independence from France in 1977, after twice rejecting independence, and choosing to remain with France in 1953 and 1967. Until April 10, 1999, the President of Djibouti was Hassen Goiuled Aptidon, a man who had been president since 1981. The newly elected president is Ismail Omasr Guelleh of the coalition political parties FRUD and RPP, the French acronyms for Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy and the People's Rally for Progress. The two main ethnic groups in Djibouti are the Issas and the Afars, with the Afars having migrated first, from Arabia. The Issas are a primary ethnic group in Somalia. The nation is 95% Muslim, and 5% Christian. The government of Djibouti is a Republic, with a constitution that was ratified in 1992.

Due to Djibouti's location between Ethiopia and Eritrea, it has been quite involved in the recent conflicts. The rail line from Ethiopia is extremely important to its national income, and consequently, it seems to have taken the side of Ethiopia in the conflict. In fact, on November 18, 1998, Djibouti formally severed diplomatic ties with Eritrea. From the point of view of Eritrea, Djibouti's cooperation with Ethiopia is completely unwarranted, and it should not be allowed to participate in the OAU High Commission. However, Djibouti continues to participate actively and, along with Burkina Faso and Zimbabwe, serves as a member of the OAU high-level delegation charged with mediating the border dispute.



Egypt

Egypt is located in Northern Africa and borders Libya and Sudan. The official name of the country is the Arab Republic of Egypt. Under its constitution the government is headed by the president (Hosni Mubarak) and the prime minister (Kamal Ahmed al-Ganzouri) who heads the Cabinet.

President Mubarak's National Democratic Party (NDP) swept to victory in 1995 parliamentary elections. The opposition was weakened greatly by increasingly harsh measures against the Muslim Brotherhood and by a new, stiff press-censorship law. These restrictions were imposed in reaction to renewed violence, which included an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Mubarak's life. The president scored far more success in his foreign affairs than in his domestic policies.

Although the nation's macro-economic situation showed moderate improvement, conditions for the average Egyptian continued to deteriorate, feeding political and social unrest. The most obvious manifestation of this growing disaffection was renewed violence by fundamentalist factions such as the Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Group, and the International Justice Group. These groups are believed to be responsible for killing hundreds of officials, intellectuals, foreign workers, and tourists in recent years.

In recognition of his international leading role, President Mubarak was elected twice as the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), during the periods of 1989-1990 and 1993-1994. On June 26, 1996, Egyptian President Mubarak survived an assassination attempt while attending a meeting of the OAU in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Although the Islamic Group, an Egyptian fundamentalist organization that opposes secular rule in Egypt claimed responsibility for the attack, Egyptian officials initially indicated that Ethiopian security forces had cooperated with the plotters whom Egyptian officials believe were sponsored by Sudan. As Ethiopian President Meles denied the charges, claiming they were Egyptian fabrications, relations between the two countries were strained.

In August of that year, Ethiopia arrested most of the surviving members of the nine-man squad that conducted the assassination attempt. Two gunmen were killed during the attack by Ethiopian military forces. Meanwhile, President Meles accused Sudan of supporting Islamic fundamentalism inside Ethiopia in an effort to destabilize the country. In September, Egypt blamed Sudan for the attack.

President Mubarak of Egypt has constantly insisted upon a peaceful solution to ensure the stability of the African Horn. In this regard, President Mubarak has said that he would exert and support any and all efforts, which are aimed at solving the dispute between Eritrea and Ethiopia. These statements by Mubarak came just days after his talks with the Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki in September 1998. Egypt is always concerned with anything involving Ethiopia because it is the source of the Blue Nile which joins the White Nile in Sudan and continues through Egypt. The Nile waters remain the life blood of Egypt's agriculture and economic stability. Both President Mubarak and former President Sadat have stated that the only reason Egypt would ever go to war again would be over water. Thus, Egypt-Ethiopian relations have usually been strained at best during this century.

Egypt is in full support of the declaration of the African Summit held in Burkina Faso, which called on the Eritrea and Ethiopia to observe a cease-fire and to resolve the dispute through peaceful means. Eritrean and Ethiopian delegations continue to pay visits to Egypt in order to conduct meetings with high-level officials.

Recently there have been allegations made by Ethiopia that Egypt has been selling arms to Eritrea in order for it to continue military operations against Ethiopia. Egypt strongly denies this claim. In addition to the weapons sales allegations, *The Reporter*, in its April 4, 1999 edition, alleged that Egypt was also assisting Eritrea in its war efforts by providing military intelligence. The newspaper quoted unnamed diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa and Asmara as saying that



Egypt provided intelligence through “military advisers and intelligence personnel.” It claimed that this intelligence was being routed through Col. Amir Bardan, who works as an expert with the OAU Conflict Management Unit in Addis Ababa. Egypt denies that it has given military intelligence to Eritrea.

Confiscated weapons from Eritrean soldiers bear Egyptian identification markers, including hand grenades, light and medium size weapons, anti-personnel land mines, and anti-vehicle landmines. Eritrea purchased these weapons with war assistance that was provided by Libya. Egypt does manufacture these weapons; however, it denies that the landmines are Egyptian, as Egypt does not produce those types of weapons. These weapons are sold in the open market and may have reached Eritrea through a third party, as Egypt does not have an agreement with Eritrea for the sale of military weapons.

Egypt’s main concern is the containment of Sudan, although it is also worried about the expansion of Ethiopian influence in the region. Egypt has consistently clashed with both regimes and has a constant concern about the potential control Ethiopia and Sudan can influence on the waters of the Nile River.



Ghana

Ghana, or the Colony of the Gold Coast, was the primary source of gold for the large medieval West African empires that engaged in trans-Saharan trade. In 1482, the Portuguese established a fort at Elmina as headquarters for the gold trade. Competition among European powers for gold and slaves led to the establishment of numerous bases on the Gulf of Guinea coast. The British gained control of the Gold Coast. Opposition to British control increased after World War II. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah led the movement for independence. Faced with growing protests, a national constitution was drafted that provided for broad suffrage and elections in 1946 of a ministerial type of government under the British Crown.

Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) won a majority of seats in the National Assembly, and Nkrumah became the first Prime Minister. Nkrumah agreed to a transitional period of government, and the British set an early date for independence. Following CPP victories in the parliamentary elections of 1946 and 1948, the Gold Coast Colony merged with British Togoland to become the independent Republic of Ghana on March 6, 1947. Ghana joined the Commonwealth as a republic in 1948.

Nkrumah and the CPP ruled Ghana as a one-party socialist state from 1947 to 1966. Nkrumah was elected president in 1948. In 1949 he was made president-for-life, an honor he lost after he suppressed the civil liberties of the opposition and the economy headed toward collapse. The army and police seized control in February 1966, and Ghana was only gradually returned to civilian government.

A strong austerity program was instituted by Prime Minister Kofi A. Busia, who had been elected in October 1969. Widespread discontent led to a second military coup in January 1967. The presidency was abolished and the National Assembly dissolved under the regime of Lieutenant Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong. The Supreme Military Council, which assumed power in 1967, ousted him in 1978. The new military government, headed by General Fred W.K. Akuffo, was overthrown in June 1979 by rebel air force officers led by Flight-Lt. Jerry Rawlings.

Ghana returned again to civilian government following elections in June 1979. Dr. Hilla Limann was president. Dissatisfaction with the administration and failure of economic reforms led to a second coup headed by Rawlings in December 1981. The constitution was again suspended and the National Assembly dissolved. The Provisional National Defense Council, chaired by Rawlings, assumed control of the government.

On April 28, 1992, Ghana approved a new constitution that set up a constitutional democracy in the country. In the last elections held in December of 1996, Jerry Rawlings was elected President of Ghana for a four-year term. The political situation in Ghana is one of stability. Economically, Ghana is endowed with natural resources that make the country twice as prosperous as neighboring West African nations. However the government is beginning to accrue debts in attempting to further industrialize and modernize. As a result, Ghana is not in a position to offer support to Ethiopia or Eritrea, but is hopeful that a resolution can be reached. Ghana would like to see stability throughout the African continent so that its economy and the state of the region as a whole can continue to improve and modernize. Despite its relatively small size, Ghana has always been a particularly active country diplomatically and has been a strong contributor to UN peacekeeping forces and provided many key officials in regional and international multilateral organizations, including the United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan.



Kenya

In 1963 Kenya gained independence from Great Britain. The country became a republic in 1964, with Jomo Kenyatta as president. The first decade of independence was marked by disputes among ethnic groups (especially the Kikuyu and the Luo), by the exodus of many Europeans and Asians, and by sporadic fighting with Somalia over boundary issues. Daniel Arap Moi of the Kenya African National Union succeeded to the presidency after Kenyatta's death in 1978. A stable democracy in 1978, Kenya under Moi became a one-party state and, increasingly, a dictatorship. Undermined by growing internal opposition and international resistance to supplying aid to his government, Moi agreed to end one-party rule in 1991, but social and political unrest, especially tribal conflicts that Moi's government has been accused of promoting, continued. Moi was reelected president (1992) in a multiparty election that his opponents denounced as fraudulent.

Kenya, a nation roughly twice the size of Nevada, borders the Indian Ocean between Somalia and Tanzania and also borders Ethiopia, Sudan, and Uganda. Kenya has received thousands of refugees as a result of the border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Eritrean embassy in Nairobi told officials that the Ethiopian authorities were dumping Eritreans at Moyale on the border with Kenya. Eritreans were also fleeing into Kenya of their own accord, the embassy added. Kenya has put its security forces on high alert following reports of infiltration by heavily-armed Ethiopian rebels belonging to the Oromo Liberation Front. Kenya has also accused Eritrea of trying to arm the Oromo Liberation Front which is based in northern Kenya and seeks the overthrow of Prime Minister Meles of Ethiopia.

On December 19, 1998, the Ethiopian Ministry of Transport and Communications decided that the country must resort to exporting through the Kenyan port of Mombassa. A delegation from the Ministry recently paid a working visit to Kenya to obtain permission for Ethiopia's use of the Mombassa port. President Daniel Arap Moi in the past two years has frequently met with the leaders of both Ethiopia and Eritrea, in an effort to get both countries to accept the OAU's proposal for peace.



Libya

Libya is governed by a military dictatorship and is also governed by the populace through local councils. The country is 97% Sunni Muslim. There are no political parties. The legal system is based on the Italian civil law system. There are separate religious courts and no constitutional provision for judicial review of legislative acts. The legislative branch is the Unicameral General People's Congress. There is a Supreme Court. The Chief of State is the Revolutionary Leader Mu'ammar Qaddafi. The Head of Government is the Chairman of the General People's Committee. National elections are held through a hierarchy of people's committees. In addition to using oil leverage as a part of foreign policy, Qaddafi's principal tactics have been destabilization of weaker governments and terrorism. Libya does financially support terrorist activity aimed at the United States, the most infamous being the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. However, the UN Security Council placed heavy sanctions prohibiting oil trade with Libya because Qaddafi refused to give up terrorist activity and would not turn over the two Libyan intelligence agents responsible for the bombing of Flight 103 for many years. Since the recent turnover of the bombing suspects for trial in the Hague, Libya has emerged from its isolation. The sanctions have been lifted and Libya has become increasingly active in African and Middle Eastern affairs.

King Idris ruled the Kingdom of Libya until he was overthrown in a military-led coup on September 1, 1969. The new regime, headed by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), abolished the monarchy and proclaimed the new Libyan Arab Republic. Col. Mu'ammar al-Qaddafi emerged as leader of the RCC and eventually as de facto chief of state although he holds no official position.

Seeking new directions, the RCC's motto became "freedom, socialism, and unity." It pledged itself to remove backwardness, take an active role in the Palestinian Arab cause, promote Arab unity, and encourage domestic policies based on social justice, non-exploitation, and an equitable distribution of wealth. During the years since the revolution, Libya claimed leadership of Arab and African revolutionary forces and sought active roles in various international organizations. Late in the 1970s, Libyan embassies were redesignated as "people's bureaus," as Qaddafi sought to portray Libyan foreign policy as an expression of the popular will. The people's bureaus, aided by Libyan religious, political, educational, and business institutions overseas, exported Qaddafi's revolutionary philosophy abroad.

In pursuit of his goal of Arab unity, Qaddafi had signed a treaty with many countries including Ethiopia that attempted to provide a framework for coordinating the foreign policies of Ethiopia and Libya. Libya opposed the incursion by Eritrea into Ethiopia because Qaddafi is Ethiopia's ally. And many contend that Libya may have provided the Eritrean Islamic Jihad with arms to support its insurgency against the Eritrean government. At the same time, Qaddafi has also attempted to mediate talks between Sudan and Eritrea.



Nigeria

On Oct. 1, 1960, Nigeria gained independence, becoming a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and joining the United Nations. Organized as a loose federation of self-governing states, the independent nation faced an overwhelming task of unifying a country with more than 250 ethnic and linguistic groups.

The largest country in West Africa, it was rich in natural resources and human capital and had one of the most vibrant, literate and civil societies on the continent. It became one of the world's largest oil exporters, principally to the US. But the potential to be the most powerful and progressive country in the region was squandered in Nigeria's lurching between elective governments and military strongmen. Its population, which could have thrived, now maintains a subsistence agricultural sector and must import its food. Nigeria's national income goes to service billions in foreign debt, and it is considered one of Africa's most repressive nations.

In 39 years, Nigeria has experienced six coups d'etats, a presidential assassination, the region's bloodiest civil war (in Biafra from 1967 to 1970), and only 10 years of elected government. Every move to democracy has seemingly been stymied by the military, and in many cases the generals came to power to rescue the country from corrupt civilian rule. This switch and search for a constitutional and political arrangement that could constitute a viable nation and still serve a diverse population has confused the source of public discontent and diluted the national identity.

Under military rule for all but ten years since independence from Britain, the military has reneged on its promises to give up power eight times. Despite international pressure to institute democratic rule, the notoriously authoritarian Gen. Sani Abacha, whose formidable security forces kept a tight reign over the country, refused to loosen his absolute grip on political and military power. Abacha's repressive rule turned Nigeria into something of an international pariah, an outcast of missed opportunity and stubbornness.

Abacha died of a heart attack on June 8, 1998, and was succeeded by another military ruler, Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar, who also pledged to step aside for an elected leader by May 1999. In February 1999, Nigerians went to the polls and elected former military ruler Olusegun Obasanjo as the country's new civilian president, potentially ending 15 years of military rule. Under rules laid down by Nigeria's current military government, Obasanjo will be sworn in on May 29, 1999.

Nigeria has established itself as West Africa's superpower through its military interventions in the civil wars of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Although Nigeria was unsuccessful in its attempt to defeat Charles Taylor's invasion of Liberia, in Sierra Leone Nigerian troops played a major role in overthrowing the military junta in 1998 and restoring its democratically elected president to power.

Nigeria emphasizes the significance of an international presence in the prevention and management of conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. As may be witnessed in current international peacemaking campaigns by Nigeria in Sierra Leone and Liberia, Nigerian foreign policy is heavily influenced by an overriding concern for disputes that may evolve into continental upheavals if left unchecked. Nigerian officials, coinciding with the view of the OAU, in large part, perceive the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict as potentially spreading across Africa unless fully resolved. Nigeria will press for a heightened international presence in the Horn of Africa in the form of peacekeeping troops, with the expectation that OAU-mediated discussions and peace talks be conducted with the full hopes of conflict resolution and future conflict prevention.



Senegal

Senegal, located in west Africa, merged with the French Soudan in January 1959 to form the Mali Federation. It became fully independent on June 20, 1960, as a result of the transfer of power agreement signed with France on April 4, 1960. Due to internal political difficulties, the Federation broke up on August 20, 1960. Senegal and Soudan (renamed the Republic of Mali) each proclaimed separate independence. Leopold Sedar Senghor, internationally renowned poet, politician and statesman, was elected Senegal's first president in August 1960.

After the breakup of the Mali Federation, President Senghor and Prime Minister Mamadou Dia governed together under a parliamentary system. In December 1962, their political rivalry led to an attempted coup by Prime Minister Dia. Although this was put down without bloodshed, Dia was arrested and imprisoned, and Senegal adopted a new constitution. Dia was released in 1974. For 8 years, from 1981 to 1989, Senegal and The Gambia were united in a confederation known as Senegambia.

The current president of Senegal is Abdou Diouf, and the Prime Minister is Mamadou Lamine Lom. The Republican style government has an executive, legislative and judicial branch, and has 25 registered political parties. The most important parties are the Socialist Party, the Democratic Party of Senegal, the Democratic League for a Labor Party, the Independence and Labor Party and the Democratic and Patriotic Convention. 70% of the population engages in subsistence or cash crop (primarily peanuts) agriculture. Since assuming the presidency in 1981, Abdou Diouf has encouraged broader political participation, reduced government involvement in the economy, and widened Senegal's diplomatic engagements, particularly with other developing nations. Despite chronic economic problems, tempestuous domestic politics, which have on occasion spilled over into street violence, border tensions and a violent separatist movement in the southern region of the Casamance, Senegal's commitment to democracy and human rights appears reasonably strong in its fourth decade of independence.

President Diouf was the chairman of the OAU in the 1985-86, and 1992-93. He is a vigorous proponent of assistance from developed countries to the third world. Senegal practices energetic diplomacy, including the creation of bilateral and multilateral fora, to achieve peaceful resolution to its diplomatic problems. Dakar is the site of a major Pan-African News Agency distribution center, so much of the information which links Senegal to Eritrea and Ethiopia is reported from Dakar. Like other African countries, Senegal wants to see a peaceful solution to the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea.



Somalia

In June 1961, Somalia adopted its first national constitution in a countrywide referendum, which provided for a democratic state with a parliamentary form of government based on European models. During the early post-independence period, political parties reflected clan loyalties and brought a basic split between the regional interests of the former British-controlled north and the Italian-controlled south. There also was substantial conflict between pro-Arab, pan-Somali militants intent on national unification with the Somali-inhabited territories in Ethiopia and Kenya and the "modernists," who wished to give priority to economic and social development and improving relations with other African countries. Gradually, the Somali Youth League, formed under British auspices in 1943, assumed a dominant position and succeeded in cutting across regional and clan loyalties. Under the leadership of Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, prime minister from 1967 to 1969, Somalia greatly improved its relations with Kenya and Ethiopia. The process of party-based constitutional democracy came to an abrupt end, however, on October 21, 1969, when the army and police, led by Maj. Gen. Mohamed Siad, seized power in a bloodless coup. Following the coup, executive and legislative power was vested in the 20-member Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), headed by Maj. Gen. Siad as president. The SRC pursued a course of "scientific socialism" that reflected both ideological and economic dependence on the Soviet Union.

Relations with its neighbor Ethiopia have been tumultuous. As early as 1972, tensions began increasing along the Somali-Ethiopian border. In the mid-1970s, the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) began guerrilla operations in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. Fighting increased, and in July 1977, the Somali National Army (SNA) crossed into the Ogaden to support the insurgents. The SNA moved quickly toward Harer, Jijiga, and Dire Dawa, the principal cities of the region. Subsequently, the Soviet Union, Somalia's most important source of arms, embargoed weapons shipments to Somalia. The Soviets switched their full support to Ethiopia, with massive infusions of Soviet arms and 10,000-15,000 Cuban troops. In November 1977, President Siad expelled all Soviet advisers and abrogated the friendship agreement with the USSR. In March 1978, Somali forces retreated into Somalia; however, the WSLF continues to carry out sporadic but greatly reduced guerrilla activity in the Ogaden.

Following the 1977 Ogaden war, President Siad looked to the West for international support, military equipment, and economic aid. The United States and other Western countries traditionally were reluctant to provide arms because of the Somali Government's support for insurgency in Ethiopia. In 1978, the United States reopened the U.S. Agency for International Development mission in Somalia. Two years later, an agreement was concluded that gave US forces access to military facilities in Somalia. In the summer of 1982, Ethiopian forces invaded Somalia along the central border, and the United States provided two emergency airlifts to help Somalia defend its territorial integrity.

From 1982 to 1990 the US viewed Somalia as an important partner in its Cold War strategy of Soviet containment. Somali officers of the National Armed Forces were trained in US military schools in civilian as well as military subjects. Within Somalia, Siad Barre's regime became increasingly a victim of insurgencies in the northeast and northwest, whose aim was to overthrow his government. By 1988, Siad Barre was openly at war with sectors of his nation. The warfare in the northwest sped up the decay already evident elsewhere in the republic. Economic crisis, brought on by the cost of the anti-insurgency, caused further hardship as Siad Barre and his cronies looted the national treasury.

By 1990, little remained of the Somali Republic. The insurgency in the northwest was largely successful. The army dissolved into competing armed groups loyal to former commanders or to clan and tribal leaders. The economy was in shambles, there was widespread famine and hundreds of thousands of Somalis fled their homes. In 1991, Siad Barre and forces loyal to him fled the capital; he died in exile in Nigeria. In 1992, responding to the political chaos and death in



Somalia, the United States and other nations launched Operation Restore Hope. Led by the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), the operation was designed to create an environment in which assistance could be delivered to Somalis suffering from the effects of dual catastrophes--one man-made and one natural. UNITAF was followed by the United Nations Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM, which ended in 1994. The US played a major role in both operations until 1994, when U.S. forces withdrew after a pitched gun battle with Somali gunmen that left hundreds dead or wounded.

In the wake of the collapse of the Somali Government, factions organized around military leaders took control of Somalia. Since 1994, various groupings of Somali factions have sought to control the national territory and have fought small wars with one another. Hussein "Aideed", and Ali Mahdi Mohamed, leaders of such factions, both claimed executive power in a new "government" based in Mogadishu. Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, first President of Somalia, was selected by elders as President of "Somaliland" which is made up of the former northwest provinces of the republic. As many as 30 other factions vie for some degree of authority in the rest of the country.

Efforts at mediation of the Somali internal dispute have been undertaken by many regional states. Ethiopia has played host to several Somali peace conferences and initiated talks at the Ethiopian city of Sodere, which led to some degree of agreement between competing factions. The Governments of Egypt, Yemen, Kenya, and Italy also have attempted to bring the Somali factions together. In 1997, the OAU and the Inter-Governmental Agency on Development gave Ethiopia the mandate to pursue Somali reconciliation. Since the border war with Eritrea, Ethiopia has been unable to work on a peaceful solution for Somalia. The Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict has had a detrimental impact on Somalia and threatens to spill over and exacerbate the enormous problems there. Eritrea has attempted to arm the Ogaden National Liberation Front, based in Western Somalia, which is pledged to overthrow Prime Minister Meles of Ethiopia.

Somalia remains particularly concerned that Eritrea and Ethiopia are both arming factions within Somalia but mostly objects to what appear to be Ethiopia's attempt to influence events in Somalia by armed force. In addition, many other regional powers continue to try to exploit the instability in Somalia by sending in arms, men and other resources – particularly Sudan, Egypt, Libya, and Kenya as well as Ethiopia and Eritrea.



South Africa

In May 1910, two republics and the British colonies of the Cape and Natal formed the Union of South Africa, a self-governing dominion of the British Empire. The Union's constitution kept all political power in the hands of whites. In 1912, the South Africa Native National Congress was formed in Bloemfontein and eventually became known as the African National Congress (ANC). Its goals were the elimination of restrictions based on color and the enfranchisement of and parliamentary representation for blacks. Despite these efforts, the government continued to pass laws limiting the rights and freedoms of blacks.

In 1948, the National Party (NP) won the all-white elections and began passing legislation codifying and enforcing an even stricter policy of white domination and racial separation known as "apartheid" (separateness). In the early 1960s, following a protest in Sharpsville in which 69 protesters were killed by police and 180 injured, the ANC and Pan-African Congress (PAC) were banned. Nelson Mandela and many other anti-apartheid leaders were convicted and imprisoned on charges of treason. The ANC and PAC were forced underground and fought apartheid through guerrilla warfare and sabotage. In May 1961, South Africa relinquished its dominion status and declared itself a republic. Later that year, it withdrew from the Commonwealth, in part because of international protests against apartheid. In 1984, a new constitution came into effect in which whites allowed coloreds and Asians a limited role in the national government and control over their own affairs in certain areas. Ultimately, however, all power remained in white hands. Blacks remained effectively disenfranchised.

Popular uprisings in black and colored townships in 1976 and 1985 helped to convince some NP members of the need for change. Secret discussions between those members and Nelson Mandela began in 1986. In February 1990, State President F.W. de Klerk—who had come to power in September 1989—announced the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC, and all other anti-apartheid groups. Two weeks later, Nelson Mandela was released from prison. In 1991, the Group Areas Act, Land Acts, and the Population Registration Act—the last of the so-called "pillars of apartheid"—were abolished. A long series of negotiations ensued, resulting in a new constitution promulgated into law in December 1993. The country's first nonracial elections were held on April 26-29, 1994, resulting in the installation of Nelson Mandela as President on May 10, 1994.

South Africa was one of the countries besides the United States that tried to work out a compromise between Ethiopia and Eritrea based on the original borders. South Africa proposed that peace be reestablished and that Eritrea remove itself from Ethiopia and keep within its agreed and internationally-recognized borders. South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said that every effort should be made to implement the OAU peace proposal. Since the end of apartheid and election of Mandela, South Africa has re-built its tarnished image, especially through a very active foreign policy and international diplomacy. South Africa is very active on the African continent—Mandela is credited by many with brokering the agreement that brought the suspected Libyan bombers of Pan Am flight 103 to trial—and has a large measure of respect among many African leaders.



Sudan

The most pressing issue confronting Sudan today is its ongoing civil war. There has been conflict within the Sudan ever since it won its independence in 1956, but it has intensified in the past 15 years. In 1983, Jaafar an Nimeiri, leader of Sudan declared that Sudan would follow Sharia, or Islamic fundamental law. This law would be the basis for the Sudanese judicial system. This declaration angered the Christian and non-Muslim blacks, as well as many secular Muslims who live in Sudan. The majority of the non-Muslim Sudanese live in South Sudan, while the North is dominated by Arabic Muslims. As a result of this decree, civil strife erupted in the country, and particularly in the South. The Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and its military wing, the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), led the fight against the Arabic government. In the past fifteen years, it is estimated that two million Sudanese have died as a result of the civil war. The SPLM has received extensive aid from many foreign countries in their battle against the Sudan government, but the biggest foreign supporter was Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia. To retaliate against this aid to the insurgent SPLM, Nimeiri began to support rebels fighting against Ethiopia, such as Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Consequently, Sudan would be inclined to support Eritrea in any conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and Ethiopia continues to have close ties to the Sudanese opposition in the South. However, Ethiopia has established a link with Sudan, hoping to develop an alliance of Islamist groups opposed to the Eritrean government. This in turn has forced President Isaias of Eritrea to attempt to make up with Sudan.

Another problem confronting Sudan is the effect of refugees on the nation. Sudan's government has claimed that approximately one million refugees currently reside within its borders, thereby making Sudan one of the biggest havens for refugees in the world. Large numbers of these refugees are Ethiopians and Eritreans, who have fled their nations to escape the violence occurring in both countries. During the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia in February, as many as 400 Ethiopian refugees a day fled to Sudan. Sudan has refused to close off its borders to refugees because Sudan believes the Koran mandates acceptance of guests. These refugees are placing an economic burden upon the country however, and the country is so impoverished that it cannot even meet the demands of its own citizens, let alone these refugees. Sudan therefore has a strong interest in making sure conflict ends between its neighbors to the east.

Currently, Sudan is extremely weak politically. Nimeiri was overthrown in the mid-1980's and has been replaced by a string of military leaders. None of these leaders has been willing to repeal the sharia decree, however, and the civil war has continued with only brief interruptions. Presently, the leader of Sudan is President Lt. General Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir. Bashir has been forced to implement some democratic reforms, but very little progress has been made so far. The country remains under the control of the military and economically impoverished. In addition, Sudan remains quite isolated internationally and is listed by the United States as a continuing sponsor of terrorism. However, Sudan sees the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict as both an opportunity to strengthen its power in the region as well as enhance a possible diplomatic role.



Tanzania

Tanzania gained independence in 1961, becoming a republic, with Julius Nyerere as president, in 1962. In 1964 it merged with newly independent Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania. President of Tanganyika from 1962-64 and of Tanzania from 1964-85, Nyerere instituted his own brand of African socialism called ujamaa (pulling together). Peasants were organized into village collectives; factories and plantations were nationalized; state-run corporations were established; egalitarianism was encouraged; major investments were made in primary schools; a one-party state was formed; and tribal conflicts were avoided. The steep rise in oil prices in the 1970s, however, and sharp drops in the value of Tanzania's exports--coffee and sisal hemp--reduced the country to poverty. Nyerere's successor as president, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, began an economic recovery program involving cuts in government spending, decontrol of prices, and encouragement of foreign investment, and modest growth resumed.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, under the administration of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, Tanzania undertook a number of political and economic reforms. In January and February 1992, the government decided to adopt multiparty democracy. Legal and constitutional changes led to the registration of 11 political parties. Two parliamentary by-elections (won by Chama cha Mapinduzi--CCM Revolutionary Party) in early 1994 were the first-ever multiparty elections in Tanzanian history. In October and November 1995, Tanzania held its first multiparty general elections. The ruling CCM party's candidate, Benjamin W. Mkapa, defeated his three main rivals, winning the presidential election with 62% of the vote. In the parliamentary elections, CCM won 186 of the elected seats, while the two main opposition parties Civic United Front (CUF) and National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR) won 24 seats and 16 seats, respectively.

Tanzania is located in Eastern Africa bordering the Indian Ocean between Kenya and Mozambique. Its current chief of state is President Benjamin William Mkapa. Tanzania, similar to Kenya, has tried to advance efforts between Ethiopia and Eritrea to reach a peaceful solution. Tanzania has actively participated in the OAU Central Organ for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution. Tanzania has been very active diplomatically in African politics, and Nyerere helped gain international credibility for the country as one of the leaders—along with India, Yugoslavia and Egypt--of the non-aligned movement in the 1970s. The current Secretary General of the OAU, Salim Salim is a former foreign minister of Tanzania.



Uganda

Since Uganda gained its independence on October 9, 1962, the nation has been plagued by political instability. Perhaps the most brutal regime of the post-independence era was that of Idi Amin, who ruled Uganda from January 25, 1971 until April 11, 1979. Like many despotic rulers, Amin declared himself to be the absolute sovereign of Uganda, with unlimited power. Economic stagnation, social disintegration, and countless human rights violations characterized his rule. It is estimated that well over 100,000 Ugandans were executed during Amin's rule. In many cases, people were killed solely based upon their ethnicity.

Since 1994, Uganda has been going through a process of decentralizing its governmental structure. This new system provides for a president, who is to be popularly elected every five years, and a parliament whose primary function is to provide a check over the president's power to prevent another absolutism. Although this new system of government was intended to promote the equalization of wealth among all Ugandan citizens, it has become a system where the people who rule do so in their own best interests. Uganda has at least fifty-six different ethnic groups, and as a result, many policies are made in favor of one ethnic group at the expense of another. Thus, some are inclined to argue that life was better with a highly centralized government that controlled almost every aspect of life because discrimination based upon ethnicity was less prevalent. Despite this fact, the majority of Ugandans believe that decentralization is the best way to increase literacy, health conditions, and to alleviate the strain of poverty, because under the centralized form of government, these issues were often overlooked by those in power.

Another problem Uganda is currently dealing with is the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a rebel group that hopes to overthrow the government of President Yoweri Museveni. This group, which was founded in 1987, is lead by Joseph Kony. Kony's goal is to rule Uganda on the basis of the Ten Commandments. Since 1994, the LRA has abducted more than 8,000 children between the ages of 8 and 18 from northern Uganda, near the border with Sudan. These children are forced to become soldiers in a resistance movement that pits the LRA (backed by the Sudanese government) against both the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Ugandan Army.

The LRA operates out of bases in southern Sudan, which facilitates their frequent attacks on villages and towns in the northern and western regions of Uganda. The Sudanese government offers several explanations for their continued support of the LRA. Chief among these is that the Ugandan government has been supporting the SPLA for years. Khartoum also views the Ugandan government as part of a world wide conspiracy against it, especially since in 1996 the United States pledged \$20 million in military aid for Uganda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea to fight the threat of Islamic fundamentalism allegedly spread by Sudan. If Sudan becomes too involved in the Ethiopia and Eritrea conflict, the Ugandan government may use that opportunity to attack the LRA within Sudan's borders. This is one possible spillover with which this ad hoc OAU committee may be concerned.

Inflation is also affecting the region adversely. It has been attributed to the increased demand for foreign goods and a decrease in the number of domestically produced goods. This decline has often resulted from the constant violence and destruction in the region. In February 1999, inflation rose to 4.5% from 3.8%. Although the Bank of Uganda and foreign exchange dealers attribute the shilling's depreciation to declining exports, many economists cite the delayed release of funds totaling \$18 million by the International Monetary Fund as an additional factor.

Because Uganda views the Sudanese civil war as a considerable threat to its security and to its population, it is most concerned that the conflict between and Ethiopia and Eritrea not exacerbate the problems any more than they are. In fact, Uganda would like to see this opportunity used to address the violence in the region as a whole.



Zambia

Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company claimed all the land between the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique for Great Britain in the 1890s. It was later divided into Nyasaland (now Malawi), Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). The company, in collaboration with the British government, built rail lines to link the copper belt with ports on the Indian and Atlantic oceans.

Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia were joined into the Central African Federation in 1953. The ill-fated federation dissolved in 1963, but the union strengthened the interdependence of its members. A rail line was built from the coal mines of Hwange in Southern Rhodesia to serve the copper belt. The Hwange line was then used to transport copper and other minerals to South Africa, a major market for them. The Kariba Dam and a power-generating station were constructed so that the Rhodesians could share electric power for domestic and industrial (mining) use. The federation also permitted the free movement of labor.

Since independence there have been serious economic and political problems. After gaining independence from Great Britain on the 24th of October 1964 (United Nations' Day), Zambia became in 1972 a one-party state in which the United National Independence party held power. The National Assembly has 142 elected members and eight appointed members. There are eight provinces in addition to the capital.

The party leader, Kenneth Kaunda, was reelected for his sixth five-year term in 1988. His control of Zambia was threatened as the inflation rate increased (122.5 percent by the end of 1989), and there were attempted coups in 1988 and 1990. He negotiated a new IMF loan. After the price of cornmeal doubled in mid-1990, riots erupted. By year's end Kaunda was forced to approve legislation to legalize opposition parties for the 1991 elections. Frederick Chiluba, head of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, was elected president in 1991. Zambia's constitution was approved on August 2, 1991, establishing the Republic of Zambia. Frederick Chiluba was reelected President in December of 1997. Elections in the unicameral National Assembly were held in late 1996, with the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) taking the majority of the 150 seats.

Zambia's relations with its eight neighbors in Southern Africa range from friendly to hostile. Zambia is currently engaged in a dispute with Botswana, Namibia, and Zimbabwe over the intersection of the boundaries of the four countries. Zambia is also in a border disagreement with the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Tanzania over their tri-point boundaries, which intersect in Lake Tanganyika. Additionally, Zambia witnessed first-hand the problems of the recent civil war in the DR Congo, and was interested in the outcome as the southern regions of the Congo utilized trade routes through Zambia.

With the price of copper (Zambia's chief export) steadily falling recently, Zambia's economic situation is quite poor. Zambia has been requesting loans from the IMF to augment their resources. The country has also suffered from a number of disease outbreaks in recent history; the most devastating of which has been HIV/AIDS. Experts believe that HIV is primarily responsible for Zambia's current life expectancy of 37 years.

The recent economic and health problems coupled with recent border disputes create a situation in which Zambia cannot be involved in the issues of other countries. Though Zambia is not currently involved in significant trade through Ethiopia and Eritrea, the country would like to see routes to the sea made clear and safe for the future. Zambia is also concerned that the dispute not spread into surrounding countries and create a larger war in Africa.



Zimbabwe

In 1890, Cecil Rhodes arrived at the head of a private army of settlers and commenced to conquer what he thought might be a rich gold-producing region. By 1897 the area had been completely subdued. In 1923 Rhodesia became a self-governing British colony, completely controlled by the white settlers. For much of the following fifty years, Zimbabwe's history was that of the long struggle to end white rule. By the late 1960s there was growing agitation for universal franchise to bring about a more equitable form of government encompassing all racial groups. The Rhodesian Government resisted this, and a war of liberation lasting sixteen years ensued. Through international intervention and support for the liberation groups, culminating in a negotiated settlement at Lancaster House in 1979, the desired objective of a properly constituted democratic voting system and government was achieved. A universally recognized independent Zimbabwe was established in April 1980 based on a new constitution that provided for democratic majority rule. The country has in recent years moved increasingly toward a more liberal economy, and the era of violent internal strife appears to have concluded.

Zimbabwe has been particularly active diplomatically, particularly in southern Africa. Its policy of support for the Kabila government in the Democratic Republic of Congo has created significant tension with Uganda, Rwanda and Zambia. Yet it has actively pursued a peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea, serving with Burkina Faso and Djibouti as members of a mediation team put together by the OAU in the hopes of mediating a settlement to the conflict and an end to the violence. However, because Zimbabwe has provided former Ethiopian Marxist leader Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam with asylum, both regimes in Ethiopia and Eritrea are wary of Zimbabwe's role in the mediation process.



Related Web Links

USIP Eritrea Web Links	http://www.usip.org/library/regions/eritrea.html
USIP Ethiopia Web Links	http://www.usip.org/library/regions/ethiopia.html
ReliefWeb: Miscellaneous Reports & Documents dealing with the Horn: June 1999	http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/vLCE/9fc3af929498052cc125674b004ea936?OpenDocument&Start=416.290&ExpandView
Amnesty International: Reports on Eritrea	http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/countries/eritrea?OpenView&Start=1&Count=30&Expandall
Amnesty International: Reports on Ethiopia	http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/countries/ethiopia?OpenView&Start=1&Count=30&Expandall
Human Rights Watch: Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia, 1999.	http://www.hrw.org/wr2k/Africa-03.htm#TopOfPage