

A Book Review on Clapham, Christopher (2017), *The Horn Of Africa: State Formation And Decay*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. xiii + 224 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 068018 3

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Politics in the Horn of Africa is fundamentally complex and contested because of the region's diverse identities, geographic features, historical legacies and strategic location along the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and Indian Ocean. It attracts the attention of scholars like Professor Clapham who is one of those who were interested to write about the politics of the horn of Africa and the book, which I am interested to review, *The Horn of Africa: State formation and decay* (2017), is the recent of his publications.

The book deals with dynamics of state formation in the horn of Africa and Somali, Djibouti and Ethiopia are basis of the study. Djibouti receives less attention and Kenya and Sudan occasionally entered in the narrative but not seen as real integral part of HoA, rather the author focuses on Ethiopia and Somali region from Ethiopia. Year 1991 was taken as critical period, as states in the horn collapsed (Somali), new states were created (Somaliland and Eritrea), and autocratic governments were over thrown (Both from Somali and Ethiopia), new political order started. The central argument of the book was Geography shapes the social and political structures of HoA societies, which in turn dictates the manner in which they govern themselves. In addition to demography, their modes of economies and socio-politics present a marked contrast, as determined by different ethnicities and tried to show how human society created by physical geographies / topography, in which humans impose them to striking degree.

To show varying societies of the horn, the author took John Markakis as reference to justify three zones as High land core as fertile zones for arable farming, lowland periphery suitable for pastoralist, and high land periphery topical forests suitable for coffee plantation. This followed by different ways of life. Politically, the author justifies that highlanders historically created power structure and lowlanders as subordinates and also seen as sources of conflicts because of competition for resources. These terms used to show how grievances created in the area and take privileged position to the core as sources over lowlier status.

In exploring state decay and secession, the unique history of Ethiopia repeatedly come. Clapham underlines the tactical brilliance of Emperor Menilik II in defeating Italian forces at Adwa in 1896 and in playing colonial states off against one another. He frames Imperial expansion to the south and west as being rapidly accelerated in order to anticipate European conquest. Clapham argues that "external powers... have been absorbed into the existing structures region, and have contributed to conflict in ways that owe more to their

configuration to local circumstances than anything inherent in those powers themselves. He explores that how the horns peculiar topography gave rise to the Ethiopian empire, the sole African state not only to survive European colonialism but also to participate in colonial enterprise of its own. Its impact on its neighbor/ Djibouti, Eritrea, Somali, Somaliland/ created a regions very different from that of post colonial Africa. The dynamic has become more distinct since 1991/ new states from Ethiopia and Somali born/. Even though Ethiopia not externally colonized, there was internal colonization/ as author argue/ which is more problematic from external. Example external colonizers exercise equal subjugation, neutral in language, advocate nationalism to brought people together but internally in equality between groups, Amharic domination, and unequal structure of internal rule.

International actors are largely absent from the chapters exploring the contrasting projects of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Clapham's focus is more on how highland social structures and the mentality of guerrilla movements have influenced the conduct of the two regimes. Significant attention is paid to the Ethiopia-Eritrea border war of 1998-2000 and its impact on bilateral relations. Clapham presents a detailed analysis of the problematic nature of the Ethiopian ethnic-based federation. As a country that has never witnessed a peaceful transfer of power from one party or group to another without violence, EPRDF took power after bloody civil wars and conflict is an open-ended question. Essentially and historically the government was undemocratic, follows a system of internal authoritarianism, whereby people are accustomed to submitting to anyone who captures power. Politically plan of Ethiopia for democratic power transformation is not achieved as there is no freedom of liberty, central government controlled by one ethnic group dominance, narrow frame work of democracy which results politics of identity especially in Oromo and Amhara. Even their representatives in the center were looking their own internal ethnic constituencies than the center. So in Ethiopia assumption of economic growth would lead to ethnic consciousness on the reverse creates social imbalance

History of Somali was different from others by territorial structure. Somali inhabitants claim for nationalism on the union of Somali across colonial era territorial frontiers. After Sayd Barre had got power there is a shift towards reassertion of pan Somali identity in reaction against clan based squabbles of the civilian regime and committed to scientific socialism which is trajectory for pastoralist and also cannot functional and impossible to construct a power state on the foundations by a

pastoralist society. The brief period of governance by the Islamic Courts Union during mid-2006 is described as a moment remembered nostalgically by many Somalis, unlike the Ethiopian intervention and the African Union missions which followed. Curiously, Clapham neglects to deal with Kenya's involvement in Somalia. He does, however, dedicate attention to indigenous state-building in Somaliland, where international interference was notably absent.

creation of Eritrean state with extra ordinary experience which can be seen as the most extreme example in the world than other liberation struggles and its independence cannot be followed by creation of good political institutions and also cannot achieve interests of its people. Government was organized by military commanders not by officials. Eritrea, after referendum, passes legal process and developed constitution in 1997 but not implemented. Ethio-Eritrea war 1998-2000 was fought over a small strip of contested territory and lacking any resource of evident value. Inability of Meles (PM of Ethiopia, chair person of dominant party TPLF) to discipline his co allied TPLF colleagues and Isayas's (PR of Eritrea) unlimited supremacy in Asmara were major factors for the war. Eritrea after war lacks good governance resulted with problem to meet basic needs for its citizens followed by high number of refugee. This because mentality leaders and core concern of them become survival government.

The author also deals about Somali land, which is unrecognized by any state, lacks funds and administrative capacity for development process, restricted to gain aid, no any foreign direct investment. Its citizens have memory of united Somali and there is no evident interest in reunion with the south, but I as a reader argue that there is no permanent enemy or friend in state relations, best example is recent Ethio-Eritrea relations. The author also related Somali region in Ethiopia, with a right of self-administration by 1995 constitution, but seen as threat of instability. In fear of Islamic terrorism, emanate from Somali, Ethiopian government needs to manage internal politics of the region. These other inter clan relations across states affect politics of them in one or another way.

The author argues states of the horn were affected by their relationship including their social structures and political systems. The states formation was problematic as they created by colonial zones and artificial boundaries which seen on cause for conflict. These problems cannot solve by OAU of 1963 or AU of 2000. These organizations impose Ethiopian hegemony in the horn and her hegemony represents central problem in dynamics of the horn. According to him, the horn is UN stable part of the world. To show this the author raises how Ethiopia influences Eritrea to be excluded from international relations. Even she was forced to withdraw from IGAD as it was highly dominated by Ethiopia and seen as instrument of her. For me it is true that as soon as Ethio-Eritrea agreement started, all states in the horn also turn their positive face towards Eritrea.

External interventions exacerbate Somalia's instability is also argument of the author. Support of peacekeeping forces in

Somali and South Sudan was problematic, even main contributor Ethiopia cannot achieve her desire. The author also argues that, external inventions play for peace in rare cases. Developmental initiatives will improve regional cooperation as the author argues. He raised issue of GERD and its implication, investment of Lamu port etc. The author also argues that trajectories of states in the horn were different and needs different ways of treatment to address their problems.

To conclude the review let us to see some basic ideas like; the author uses Wikipedia as legal source which cannot seen as legal to use as reference documents of research and I think it is better to have map of Africa to show the HoA than those put in the book because these maps lacks to convey basic information related the book. The book was entitled as; The Horn of Africa, state formation and decay. Yet; what? Why? How? State decay is not addressed.

The other gap of the book, for me as reader is the author creates an assertion that, HoA is different from other SSAs as non colonial Africa. For me all African states, including none colonized Ethiopia, were either highly influenced by colonial legacies like artificially created border which is one of major causes of conflict or colonized by European colonizers. On the contrary the author defines the horn as, comprising Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somali territories that came under Italian, British and French colonial rule. So it will make some confusion over readers. For me what makes African states different from one to another are, their history, political system, economic level, population size etc than colonial character.

The author argues Ethiopia is hegemony in the horn and her domination affects the horn especially Eritrea, control IGAD etc and represents central problem in the horn (p. 134). Therefore, she is responsible for instability of the horn. But the role of Keya in peace keeping mission like sending troupes as member of AMISOM, fighting with Al-shabab, sustainable economy and politics in comparison with other HoA states was undermined. And there is no any tangible reason for Ethiopia's hegemony.

The author argues that Somali Landers have no any interest of re unification with Southern Somali. However, I argue that there is no permanent enemy or friend in international relations. Methodologically it was dealt with qualitative approach, which best to dig deep ideas in the issues concerned. Draft book was revised by scholars in the field and institutional debates were included. Selected institutions were Center of African studies are university of Cambridge and Rift valley institute. Being recently published book also make it more advantageous and will initiate scholars to research especially why HoA always termed as insecure, poor etc even though the area was source of human being (Ethiopia), start civilization with equal step with Westerns but failed.