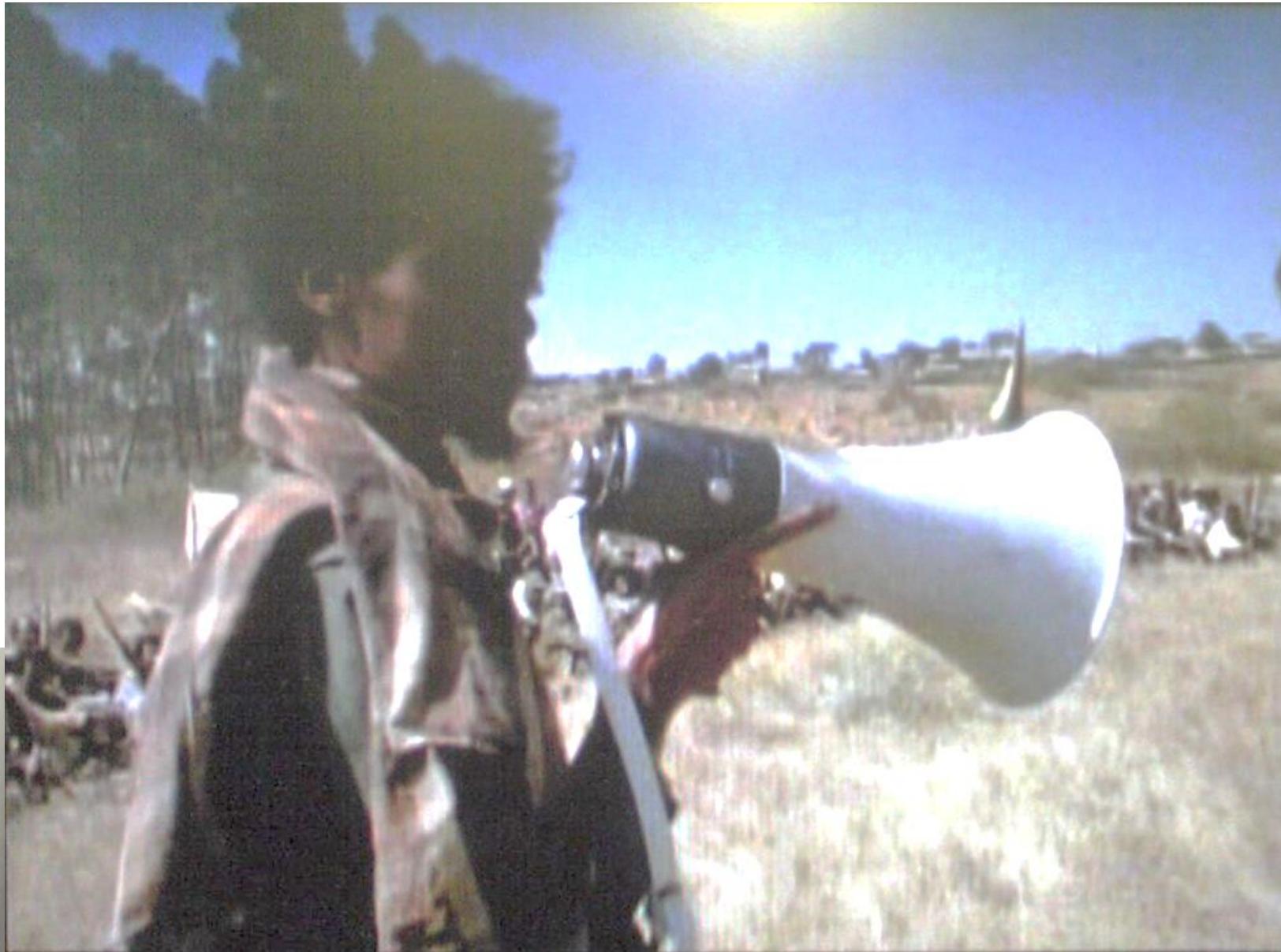


Question of Peace and stability in the Horn of Africa



Meguro City College 13 December 2025
Course "What is Happening on Earth Now: Part 2"
From a corner of Africa: How does the world today look from Eritrea?
By H.E. Mr. Estifanos Afeworki, Ambassador of the State of Eritrea to Japan

Self introduction



1978 A Japanese documentary, "Liberated Area in Desert"



Overview

- **Introduction of Eritrea**
- **Background history**
- **Current Events**
- **Future prospective**



Introduction: Where is Eritrea?

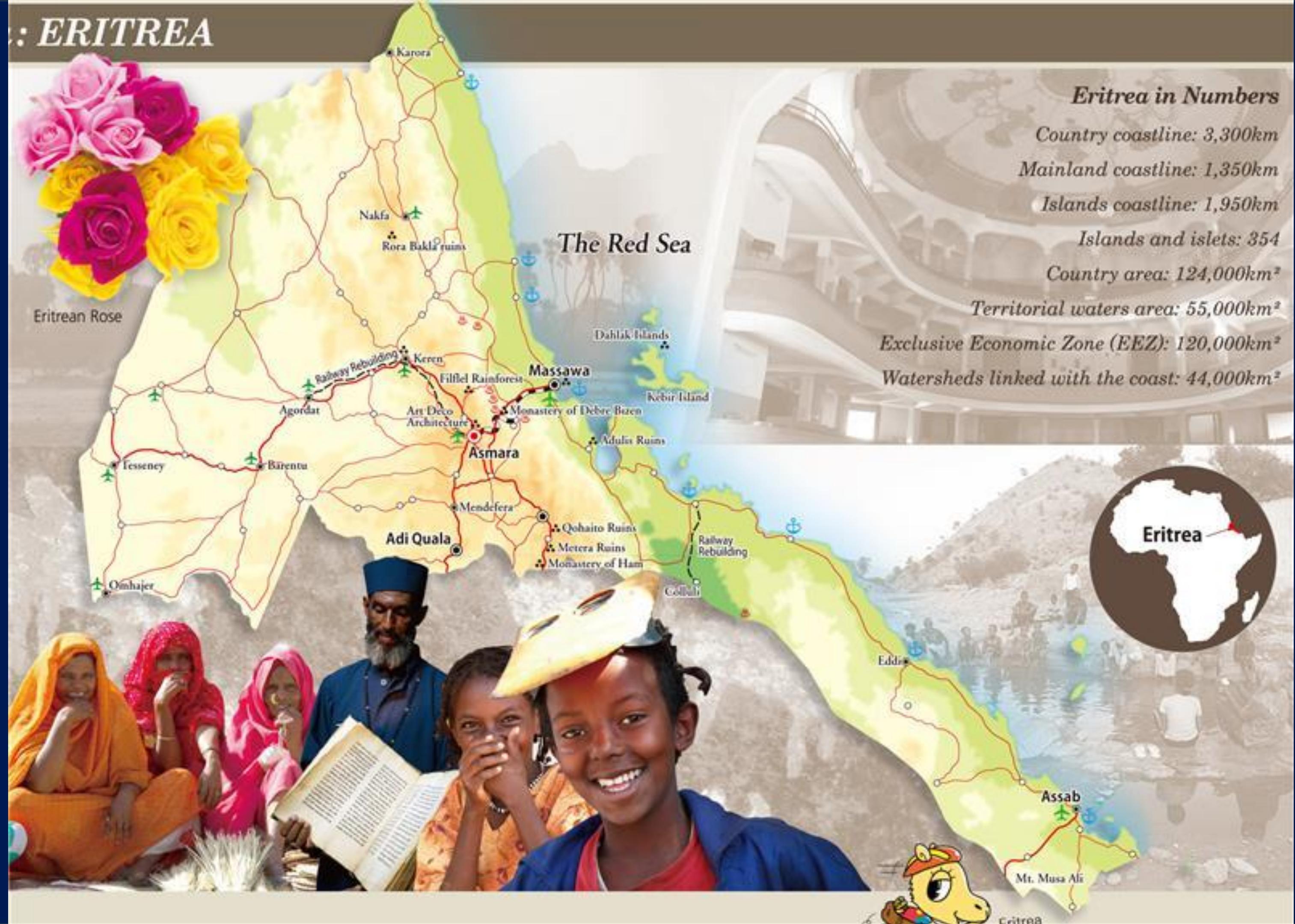


The Horn of Africa

Eritrea
Ethiopia
Djibouti
Somalia

*Sudan and South Sudan (and occasionally Kenya and Uganda) are sometimes included.

ERITREA



Eritrea in Numbers

Country coastline: 3,300km

Mainland coastline: 1,350km

Islands coastline: 1,950km

Islands and islets: 354

Country area: 124,000km²

Territorial waters area: 55,000km²

Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ): 120,000km²

Watersheds linked with the coast: 44,000km²

Basic information

Country name : State of Eritrea

President : Isaias Afwerki

Independence Day : May, 24

Time zone : GMT+3

Monetary unit : Nakfa (1dollar = 15Nakfa (2014))

Area : 124,300km²

Highest point : Amba Soira(3,018m)

Lowest point : Kobar Sink(-116m)

Population : 6.3 million

Main language : English, Tigrinya, Arabic

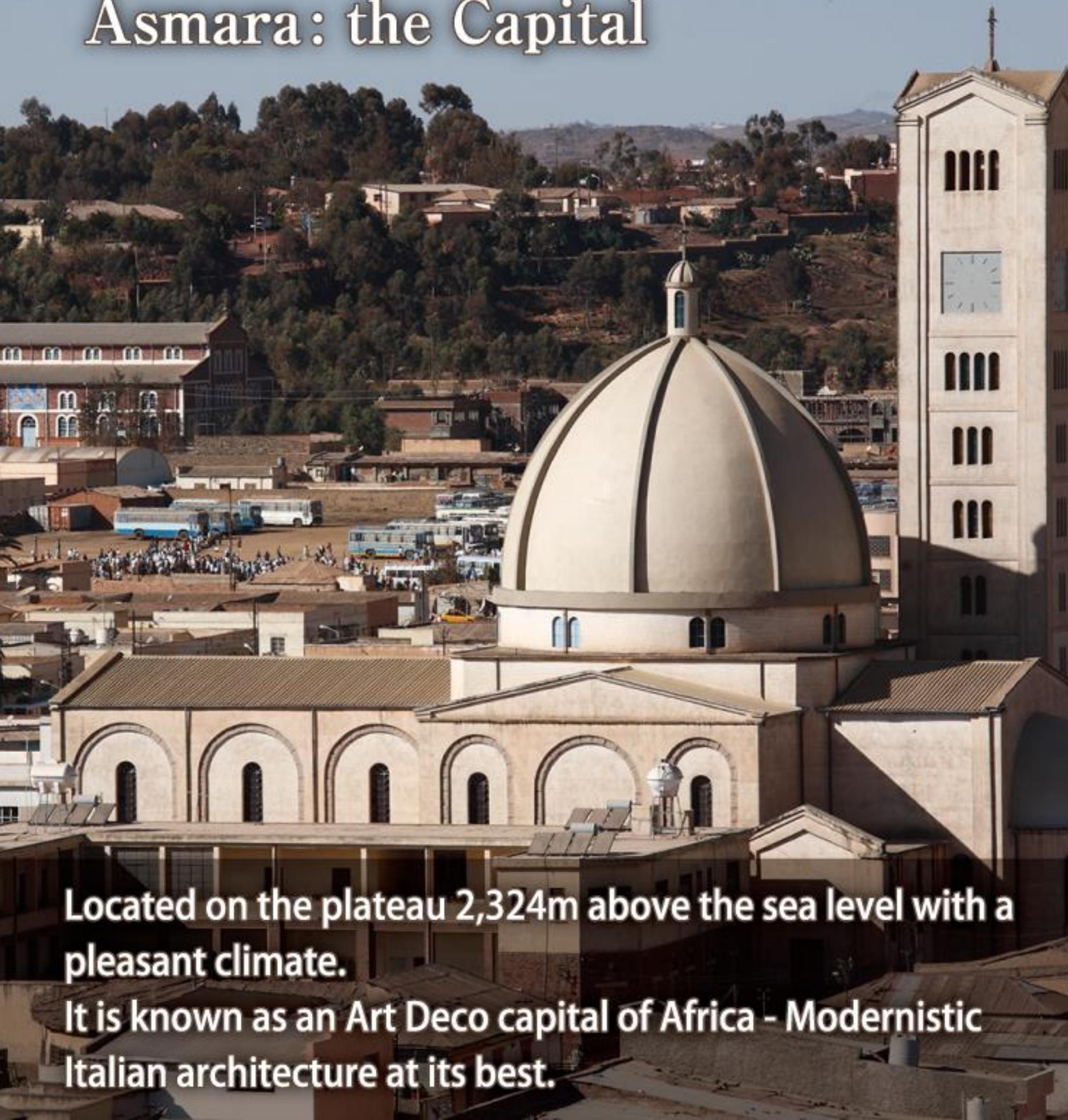
Ethnic groups : Afar, Bilen, Hedareb,
Kunama, Nara, Rashaida,
Saho, Tigre, Tigrinya

Religions : Christianity, Islam,
Judaism and Anna (denominations)

Agriculture : Cereals, edible oils, beans,
cottons, vegetables,
cut flowerers, coffee, sisal,
livestock, fish

Industries : food processing, beverages,
leather products, clothing,
textiles, ceramics,
glass making (Traditional industry)

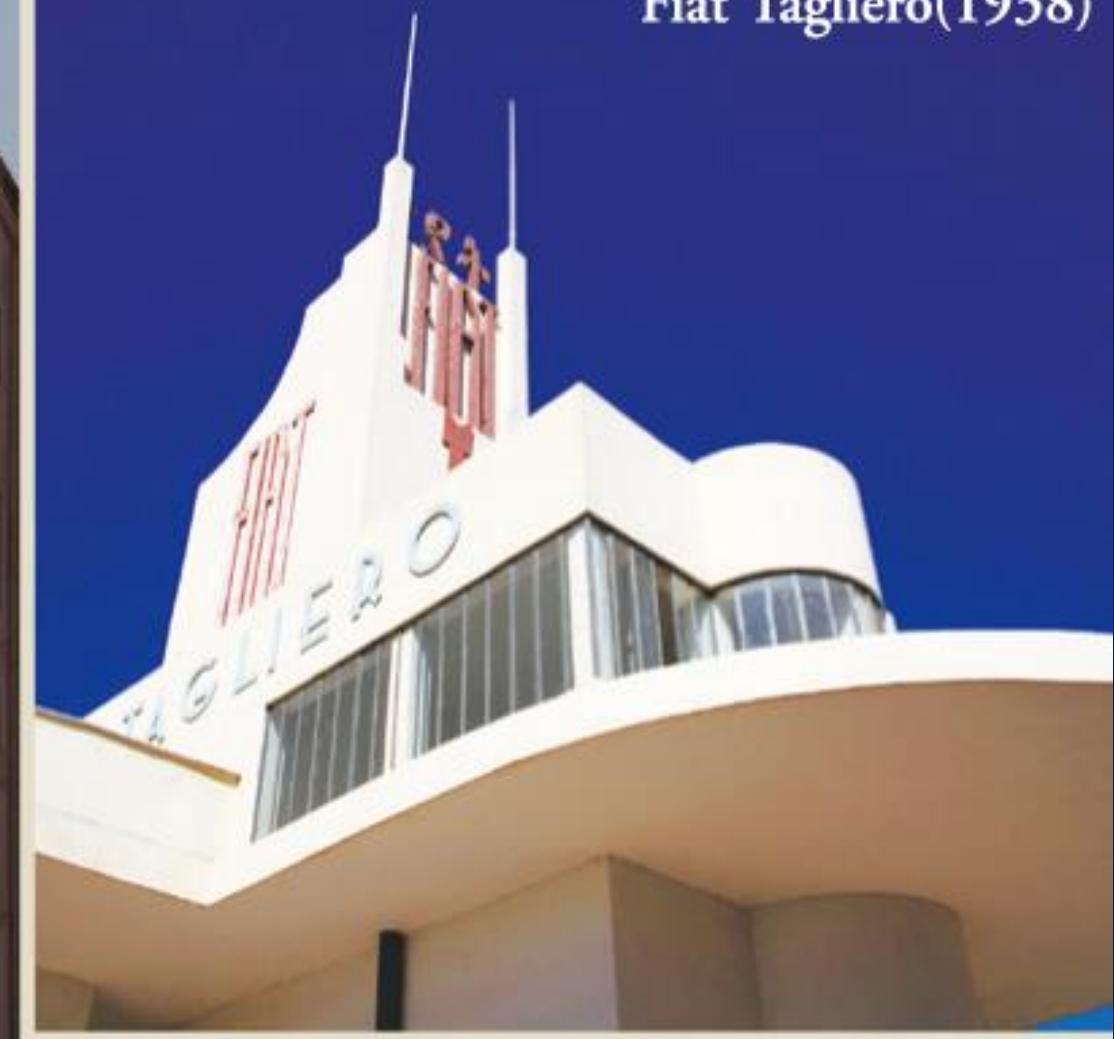
Asmara: the Capital



Located on the plateau 2,324m above the sea level with a pleasant climate.

It is known as an Art Deco capital of Africa - Modernistic Italian architecture at its best.

Fiat Tagliero(1938)



Cinema Impero(1930's)





Massawa: "the Pearl of the Red Sea"

A port city housing footprints of unique Ottoman and colonial architecture is a gateway to the unique diving sites of the Dahlak Archipelago Islands.



Dahlak Islands

Unpolluted sandy beaches, colorful underwater life, aggregated islands of the Dahlak archipelago, historic Nakura Channel and shipwrecks are a few of the additional products waiting to be harnessed.

Eritrean Railway

Since 1887 : Starting from the Port of Massawa the railways rises as an artery of the transportation system of Eritrea to an altitude of 2,394 meters at km 115, and then descends to 2,342 meters to the capital city Asmara at km 117.600.



Filflel Rainforest

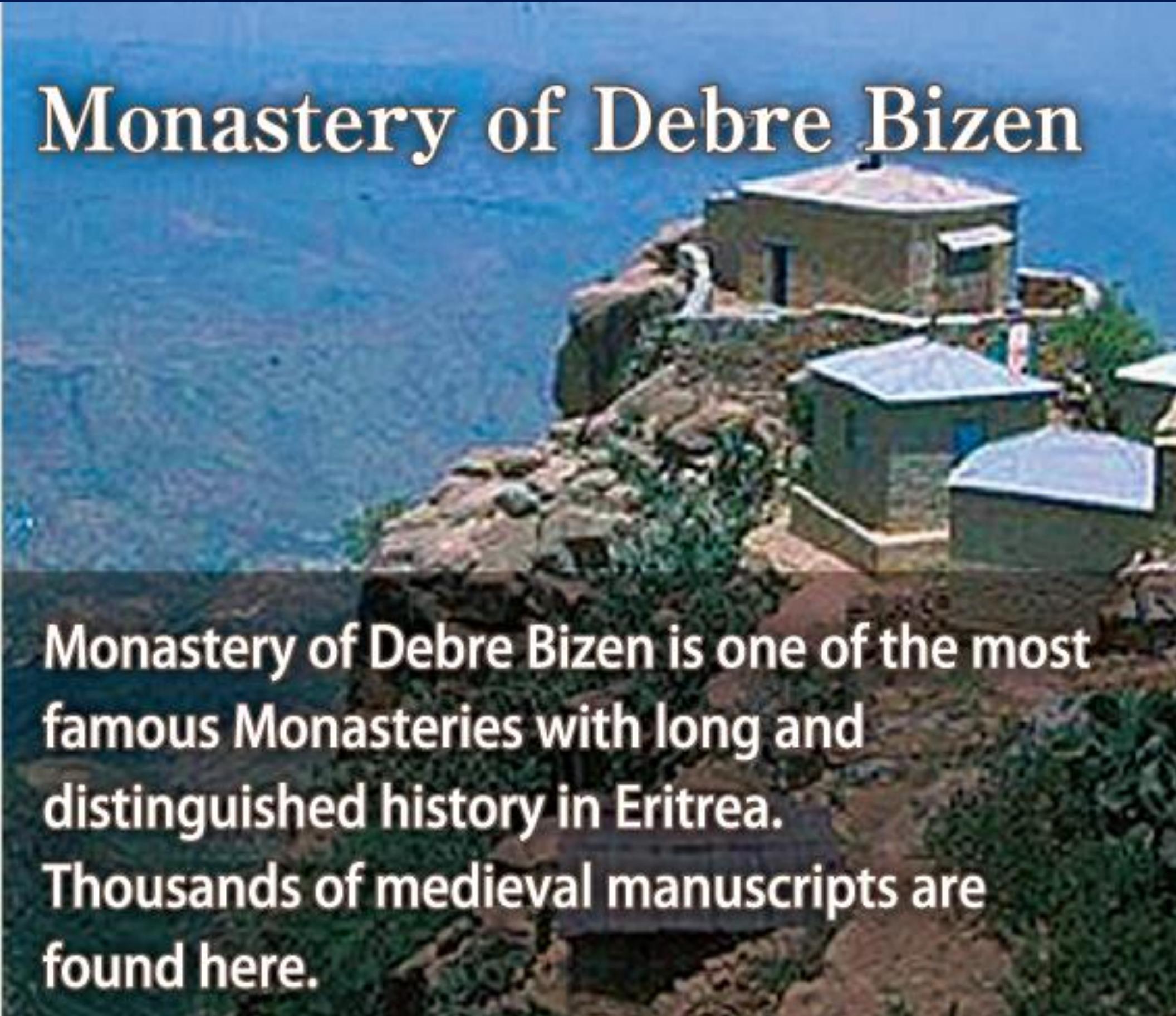
Filflel (Filfil) Rainforest is located in the northern most tropical forest of Africa is home to unique biodiversity and ideal location for eco-tourism, bird watching and scientific researches.

Keren reaches its busiest on market days as traders come and sell various goods. The famous Madonna of the Baobab, the camel market and the old railway station are just some of the numerous attractions.



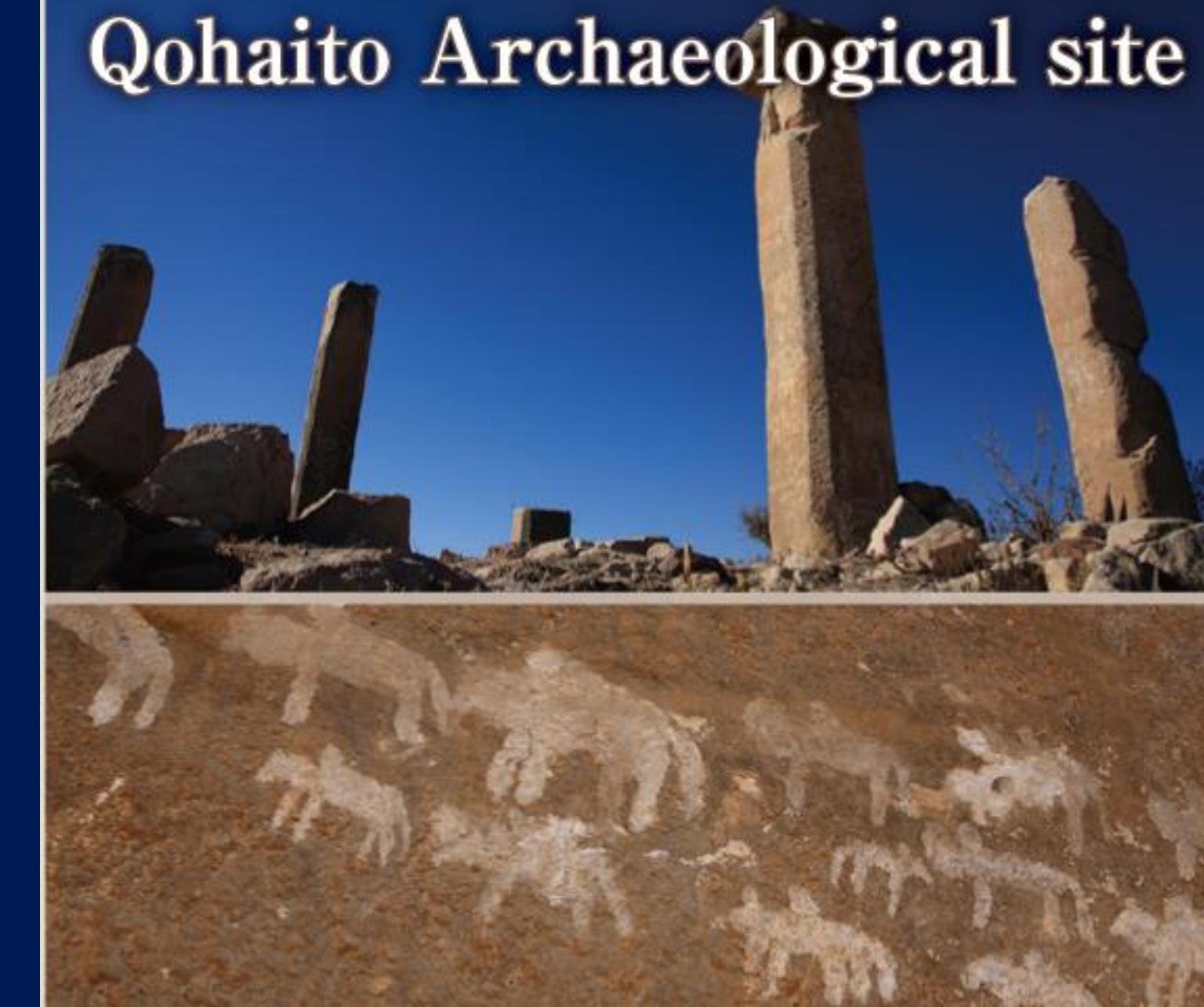
Monastery of Debre Bizen

Monastery of Debre Bizen is one of the most famous Monasteries with long and distinguished history in Eritrea. Thousands of medieval manuscripts are found here.



Qohaito is one of Eritrea's largest and most famous archaeological sites. The Qohaito plateau contains many large mounds, monumental structures, multiple stone tumuli and ancient dam.

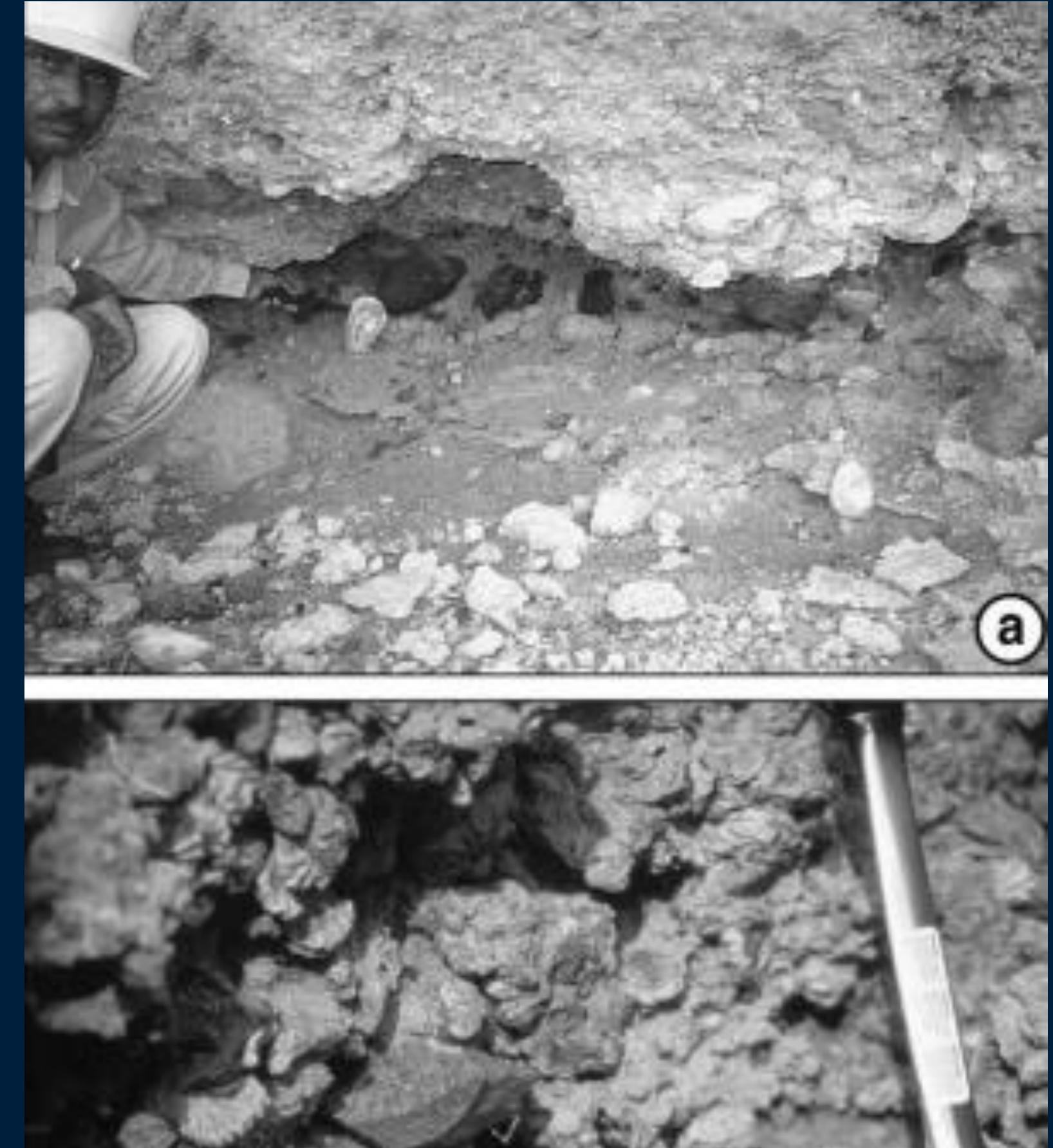
Qohaito Archaeological site



Background history

ABDUR - 125,000 YEARS OLD -

**the earliest, best dated evidence for
human occupation of a coastal marine
environment was located on the coast of
the present-day Eritrea**



Source: Walter, R. C. et al. (1997), Nature 385, Fig. 1.

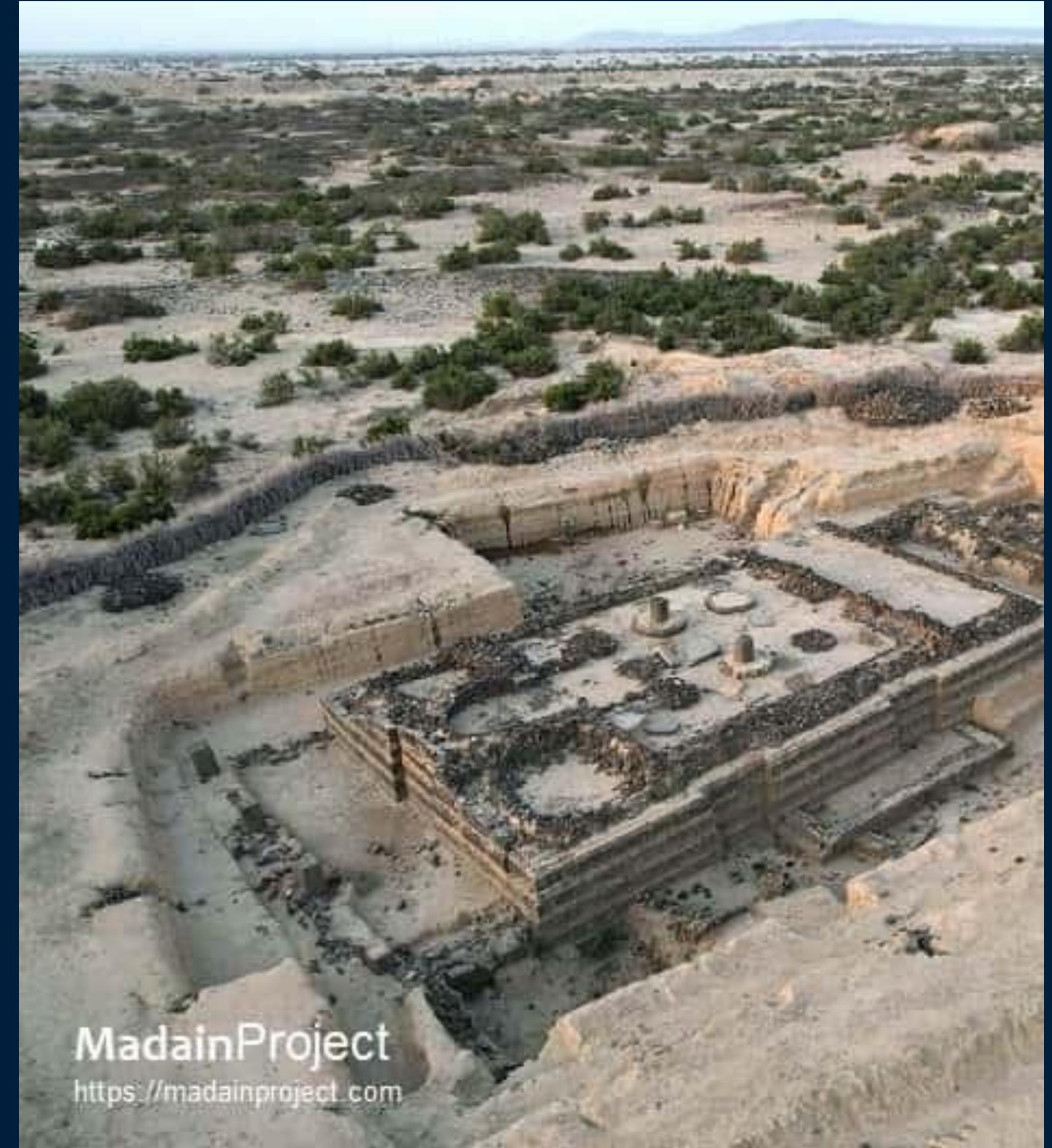
Location of Abdur



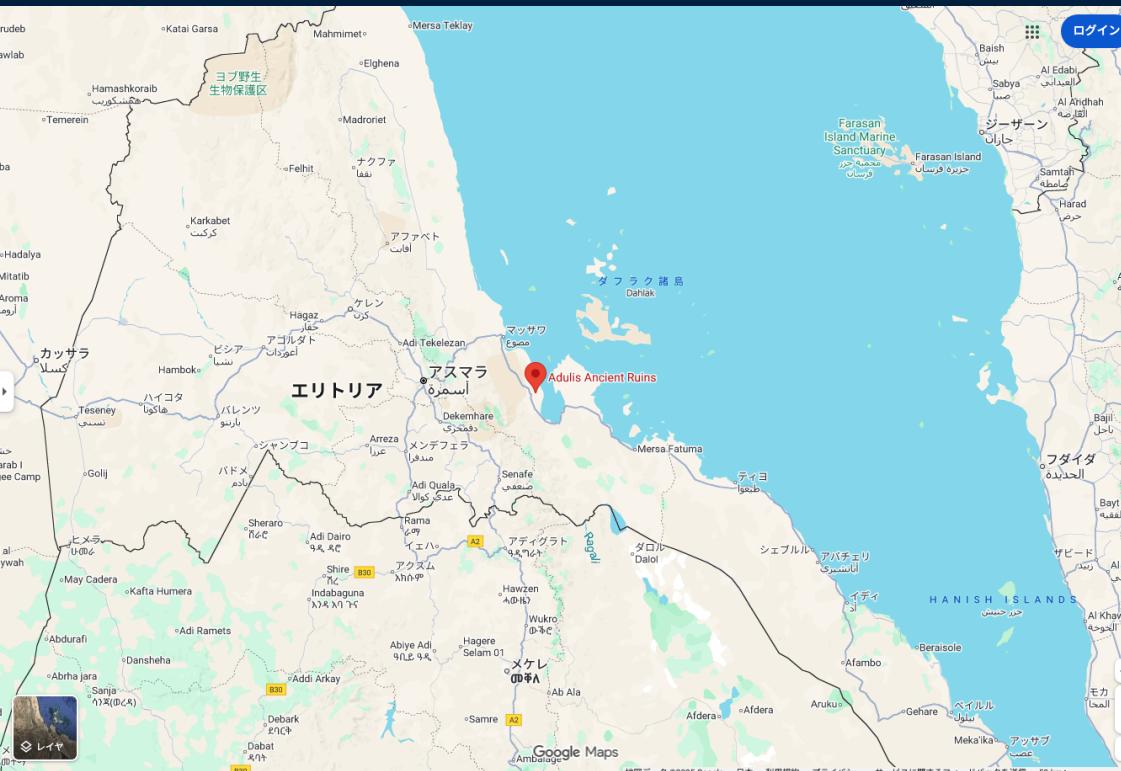
ADULITE ANCIENT RULE 9th BC – 5th AD

Adulite ancient rule (9th c. BC – 5th c. AD) functioned as a major regional center for commerce and trade.

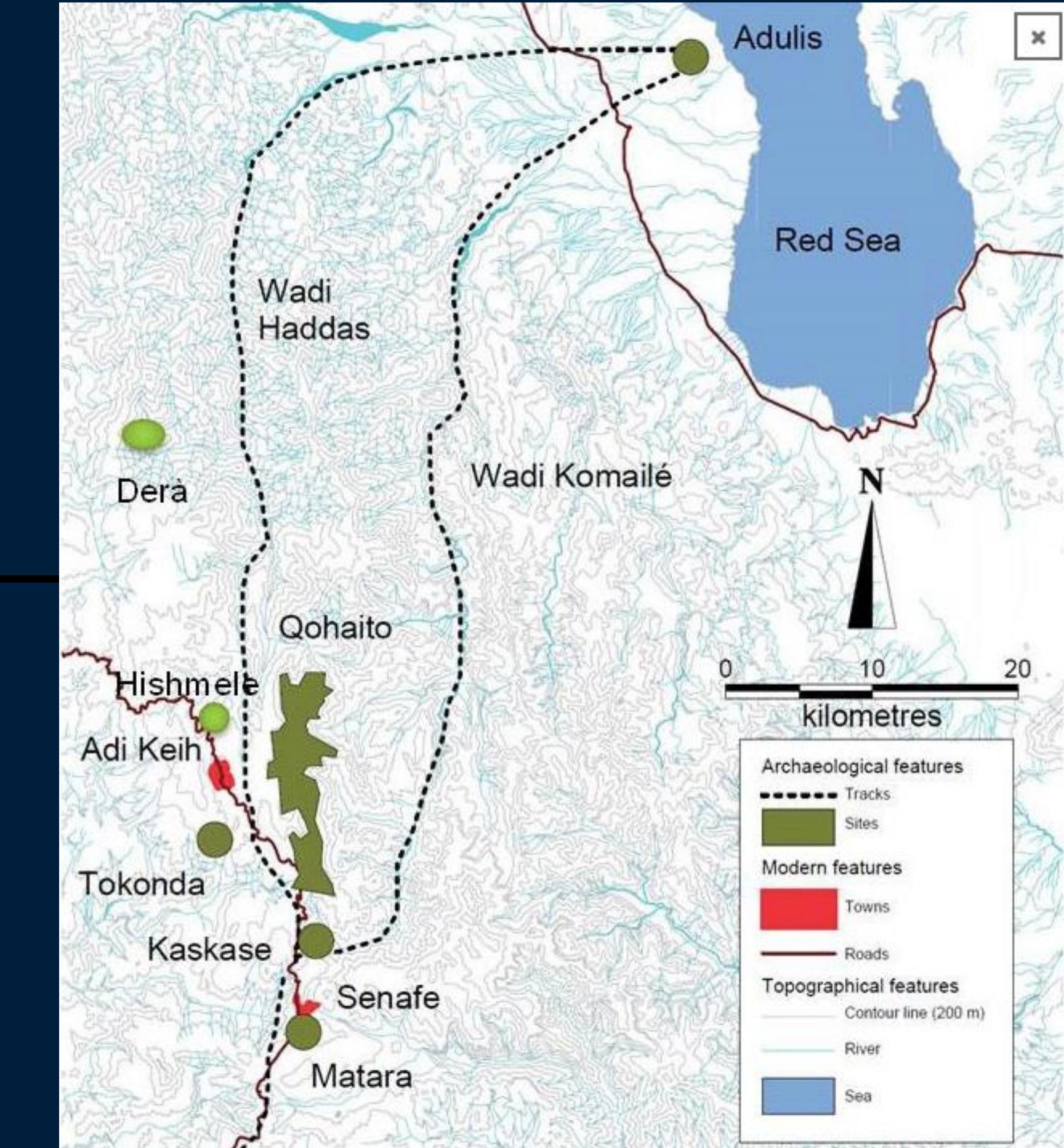
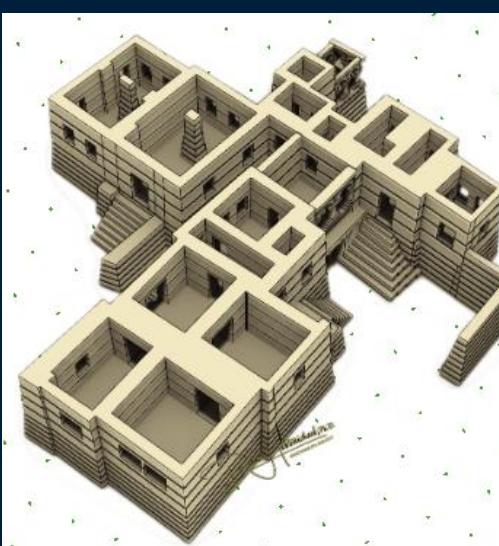
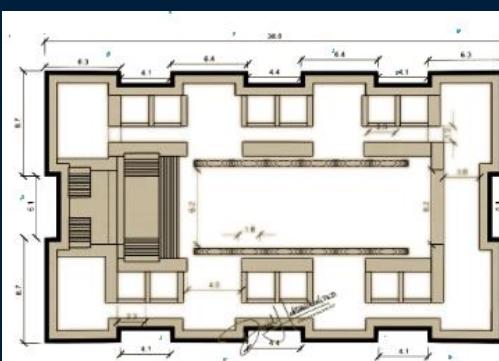
1,400-year-old church ruins were discovered



Location of Adulis



Adulis Court(up), King's Residence(bottom)
Dr. Daniel Habtemichael <https://www.adulites.com/>



Adulis Court(up), King's Residence(bottom)

The Ancient Port City of Adulis: Research Updates

<https://shabait.com/2024/04/03/the-ancient-port-city-of-adulis-research-updates/>



The remains of the ancient cathedral at Adulis, one of the earliest Christian ecclesiastical structures excavated on the Red Sea coast.

[https://shabait.com/2024/04/03/the-ancient-port-city-of-adulis-research-...](https://shabait.com/2024/04/03/the-ancient-port-city-of-adulis-research/)



Large intact vessel discovered at Adulis in 2024, providing new evidence for the early occupational phase of the ancient Red Sea port (1st–2nd century CE).

AXUM RULE

1st – 9th AD

Axum Rule (1st–9th c. AD) had its centers spread across the present-day highlands of Eritrea, northern Ethiopia, and Hadramawt in modern-day Yemen.

BEIJA and CUSHITIC RULE

8th – 13th AD

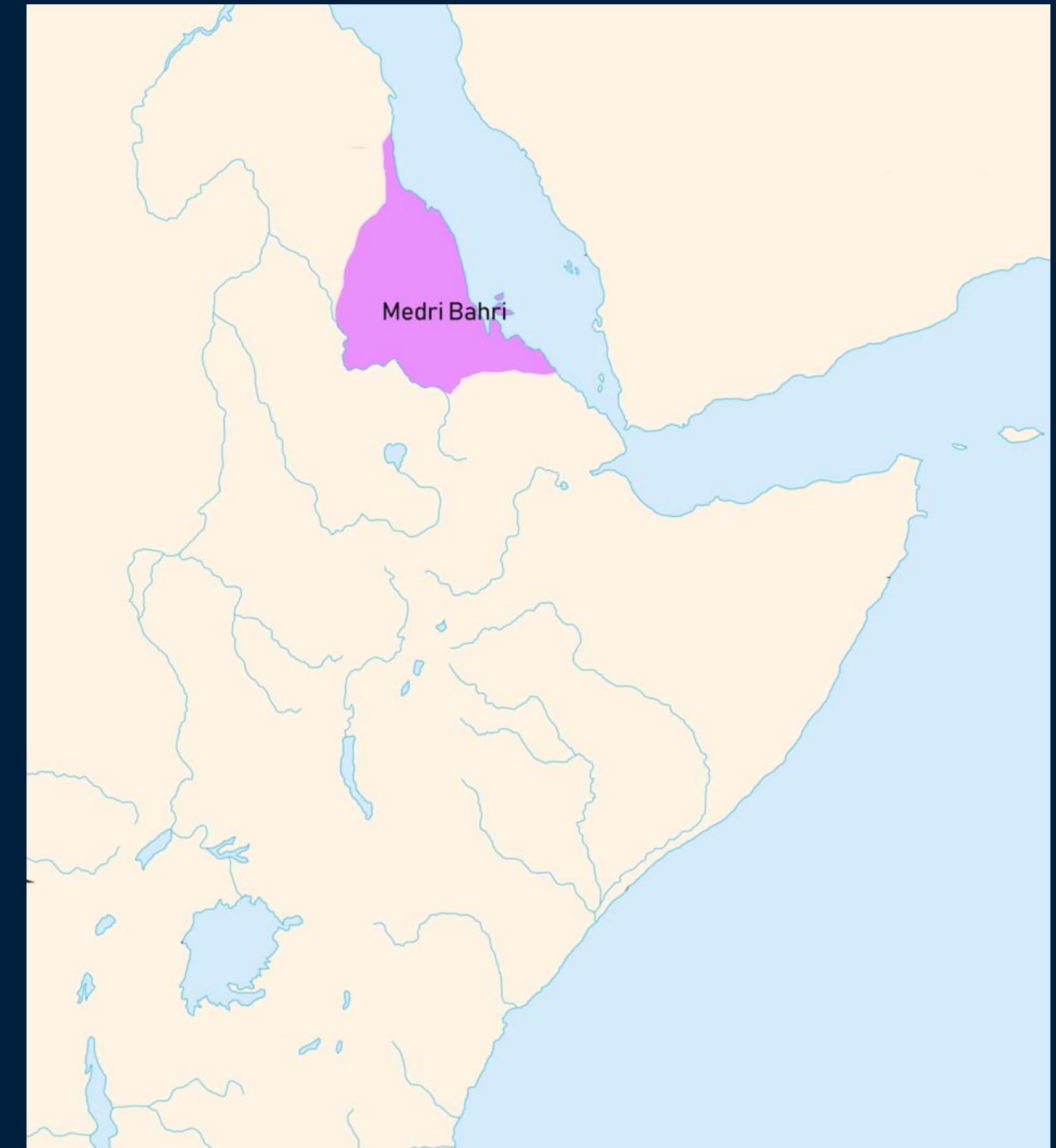
Beja and Cushitic rule (8th – 13th c. AD): made several incursions into Axumite territories.



"Beja People," 101 Last Tribes,
<https://www.101lasttribes.com/tribes/beja.html>.

BAHRE NEGASH RULE 14th - 18th AD

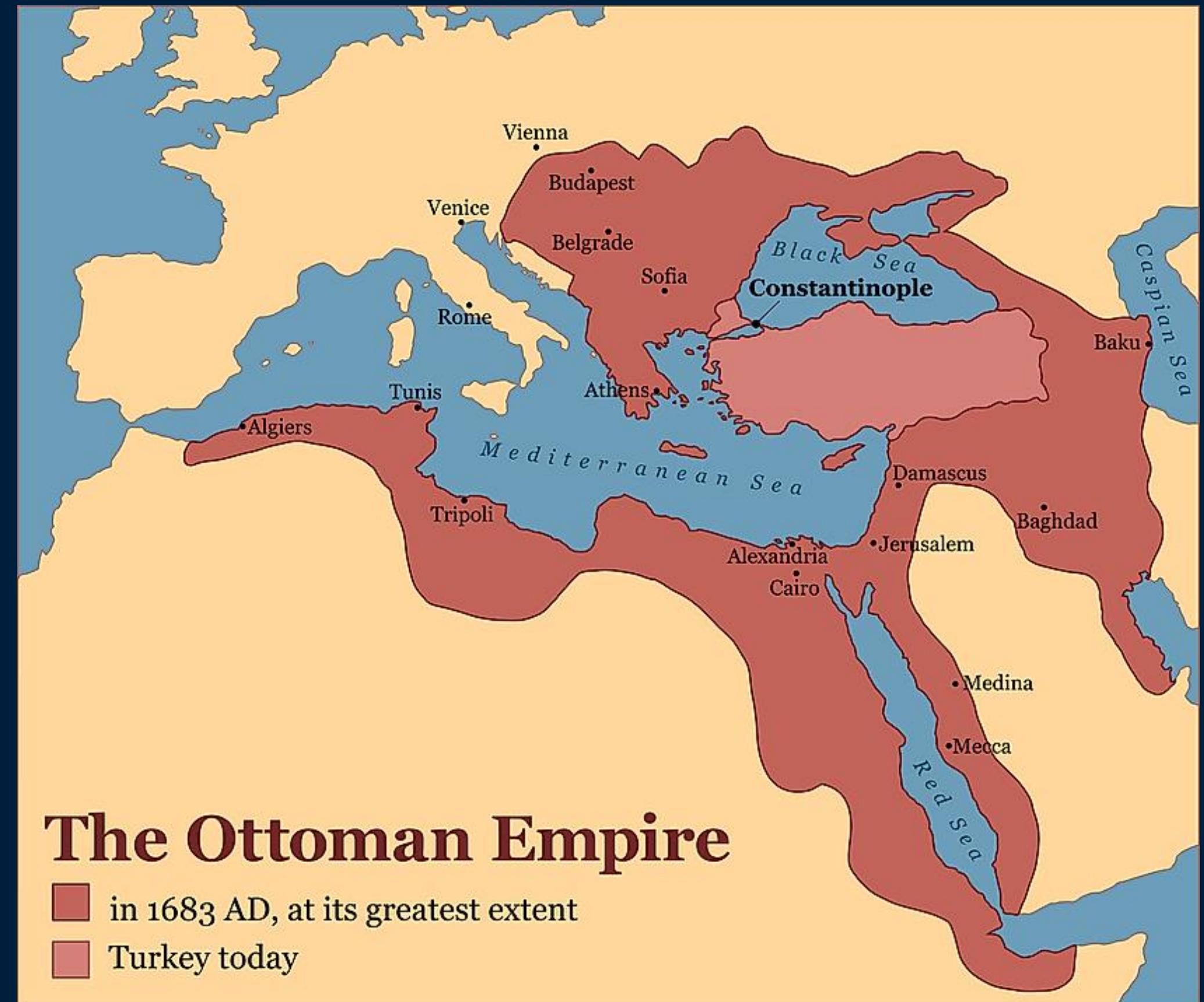
Bahre Negash rule RULE (14th - 18th c. AD): arose in highlands of present-day Eritrea.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, “Medri Bahri” (Public Domain).
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Medri_Bahri.png

THE OTOMAN RULE 15th - 19th c. AD

The Ottoman Rule(15th - 19th c. AD): curved an enclave from the realm of the territories of Bahre Negash.



Source: Unknown creator, map found online.

https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/uszh86/largest_extent_of_the_ottoman_empire/?tl=ja&utm_source=share&utm_medium=web3x&utm_name=web3xcss&utm_term=1&utm_content=share_button
Used here for educational / illustrative purposes.

EGYPT RULE 1846-85

Egypt Rule (1846-85) took over the control of the Ottoman rule.



Figure X. Map of Egypt and neighbors, 1880 (Wikimedia Commons, CC-BY-SA 3.0). Original map by Sting.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt_and_neighbors_1880_map_de.png

BRITISH MILITARY EXPEDITION

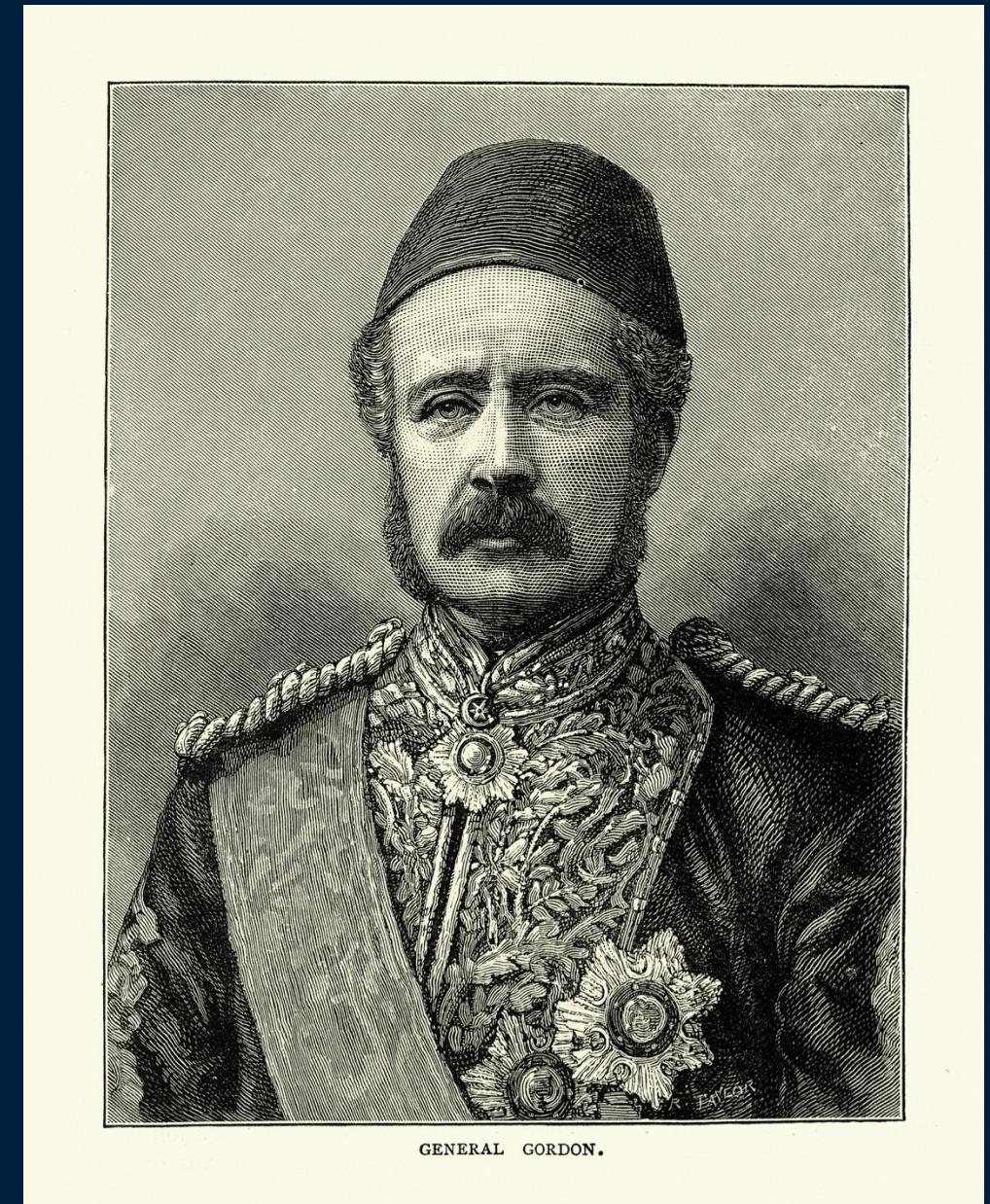
Nile river British military expedition by general Napier in 1868 (from India to the Blue Nile)



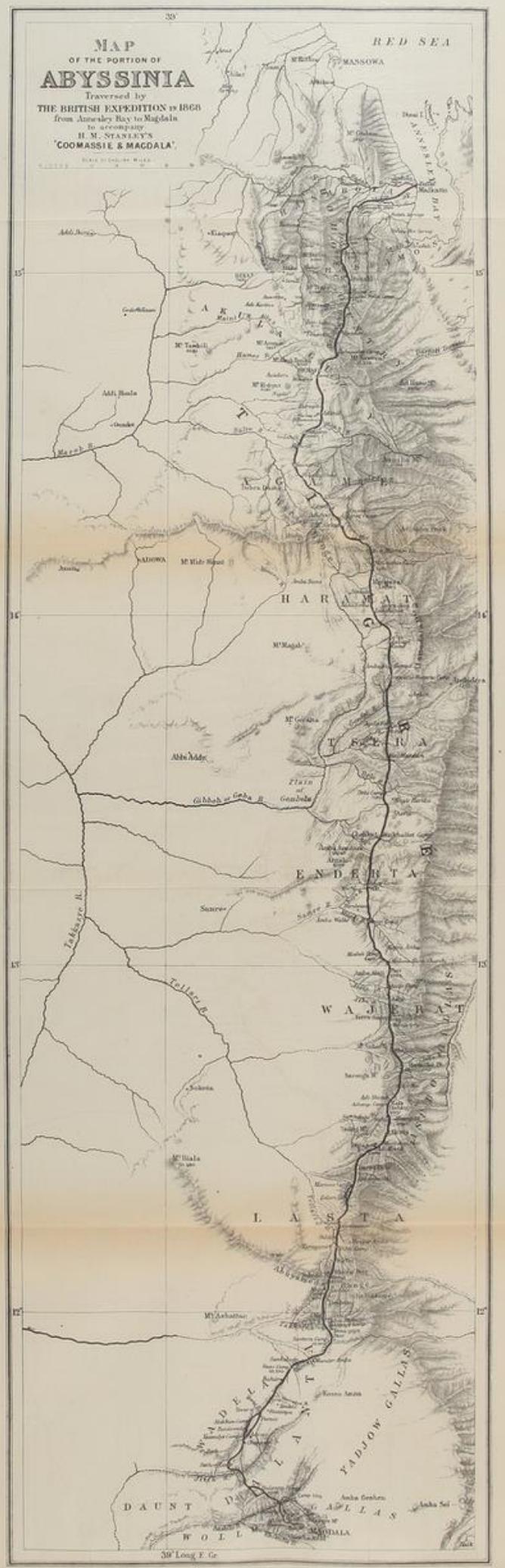
Source: *The Graphic*, November 29, 1884. Wood engraving by T. Griffiths after F. Villiers.

BRITISH MILITARY EXPEDITION 1884–1885

Nile river British military expedition by General Gordon (1884–1885),



Source: Henry M. Stanley, *Coomassie and Magdala: The story of two British campaigns in Africa* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874).



OPENING OF THE SUEZ CANAL IN 1869

Red Sea becomes a new
strategic global trade corridor



Image: iStock.com / duncan1890



1887 Map by Italy “Sudan, Red Sea, Massawa, Assab, Abyssinia etc.”



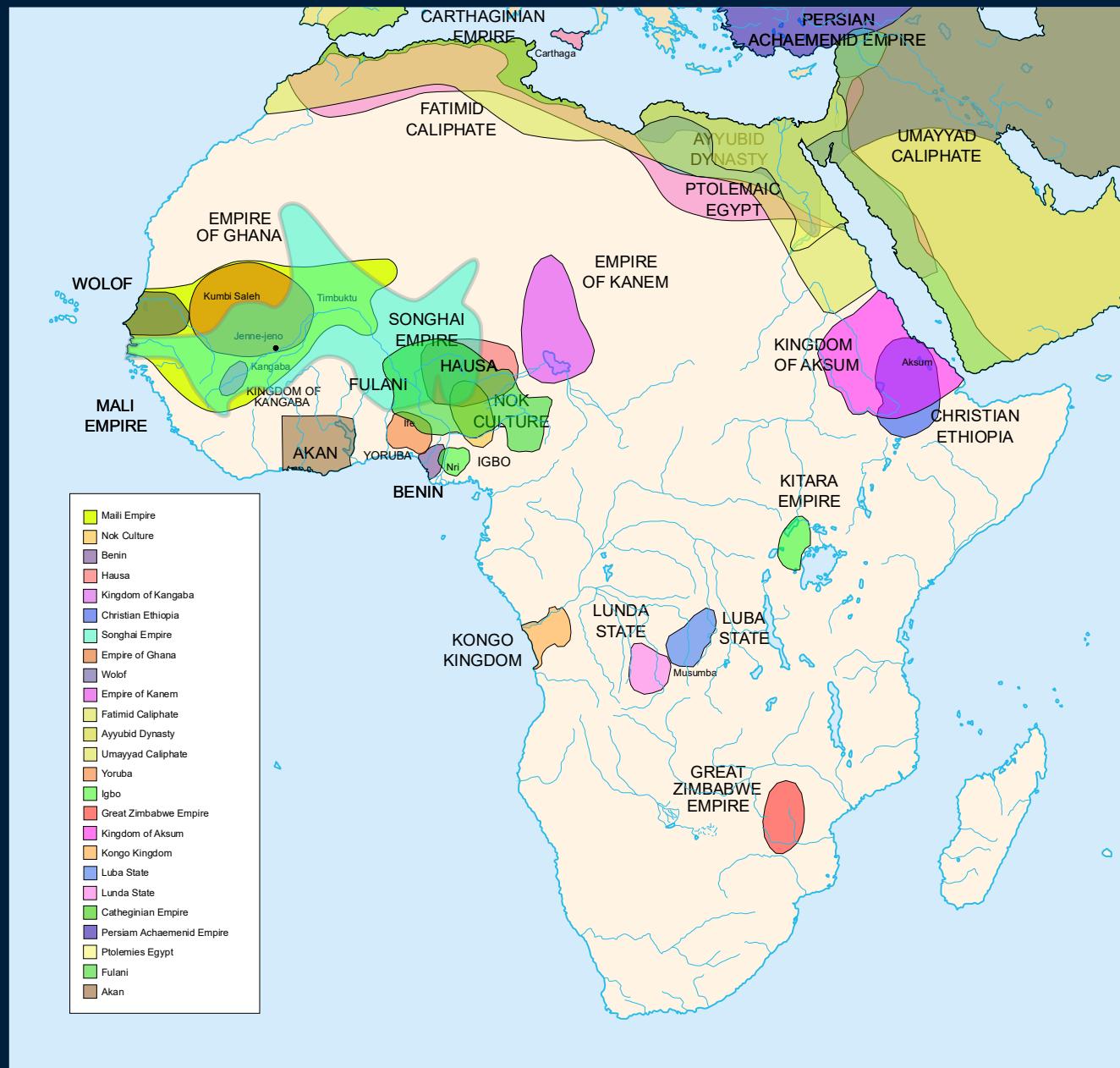
BERLIN CONFERENCE 1884–1889

**Berlin Conference (1884–1889);
Agreement of 14 European
countries to scramble Africa into
colonies.**

THE RHODES COLOSSUS : STRIDING FROM CAPE TOWN TO CAIRO



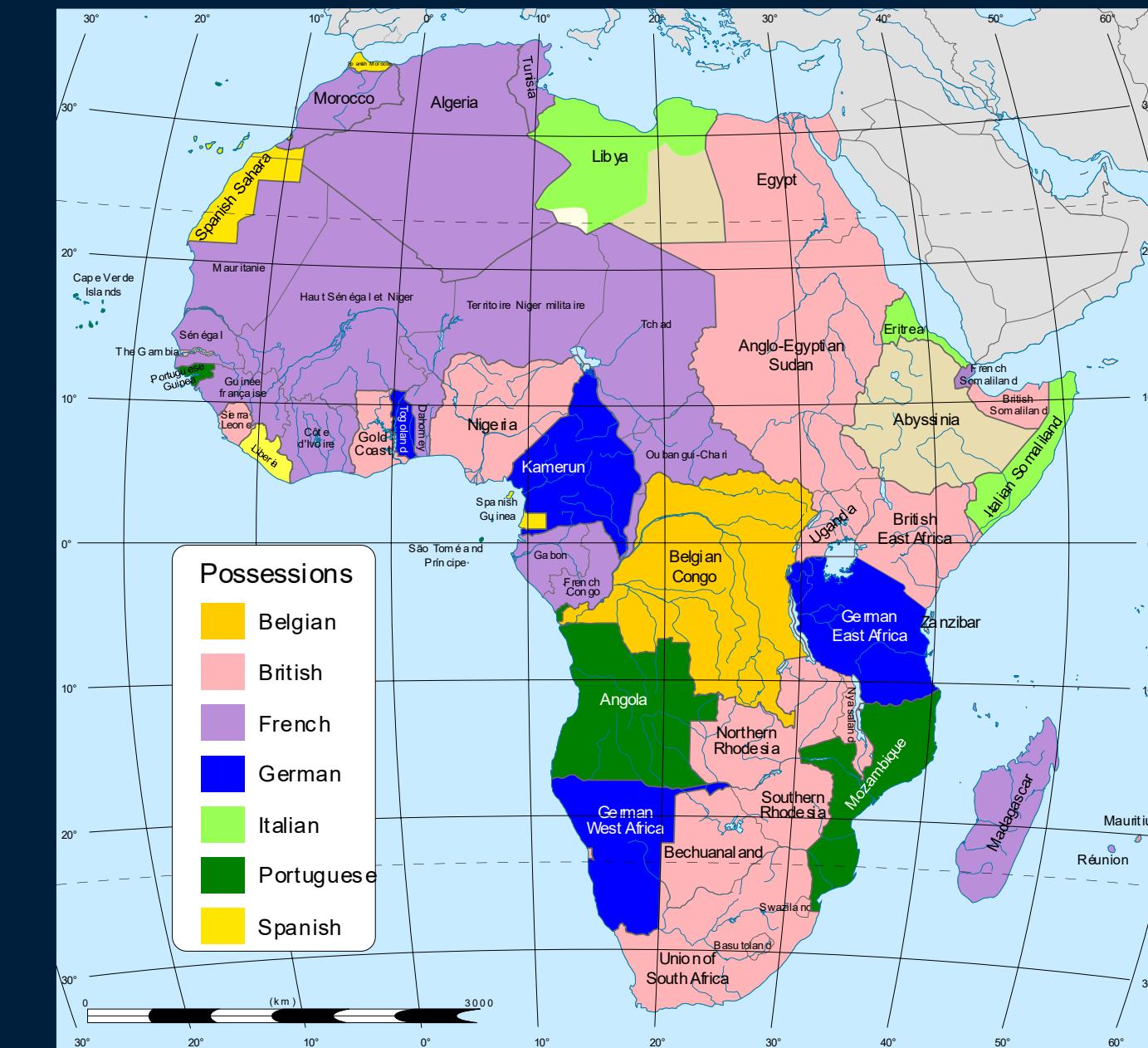
BERLIN CONFERENCE -Before and After -



Major pre-colonial states in Africa

(excluding East African states such as Ajuran, Adal, Buganda, Rwanda, Kilwa, and Imerina, and southern African ones: Mapungubwe, Rozvi, Maravi, Uukwanyama, and Mthwakazi)

Source: "African civilizations map — pre-colonial" (public domain), Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:African-civilizations-map-pre-colonial.svg>



Areas of Africa controlled by Western European colonial powers in 1914

Source: "Africa map 1914" (public domain), Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Africa_map_1914.svg

ITALIAN COLONIAL RULE 1881-1941

Eritrea became Italian colonial rule (1881-1941)
–it ended in World War II defeated by the Allied Forces.



**Viale Mussolini (today Harnet Avenue)
in 1930s Asmara**

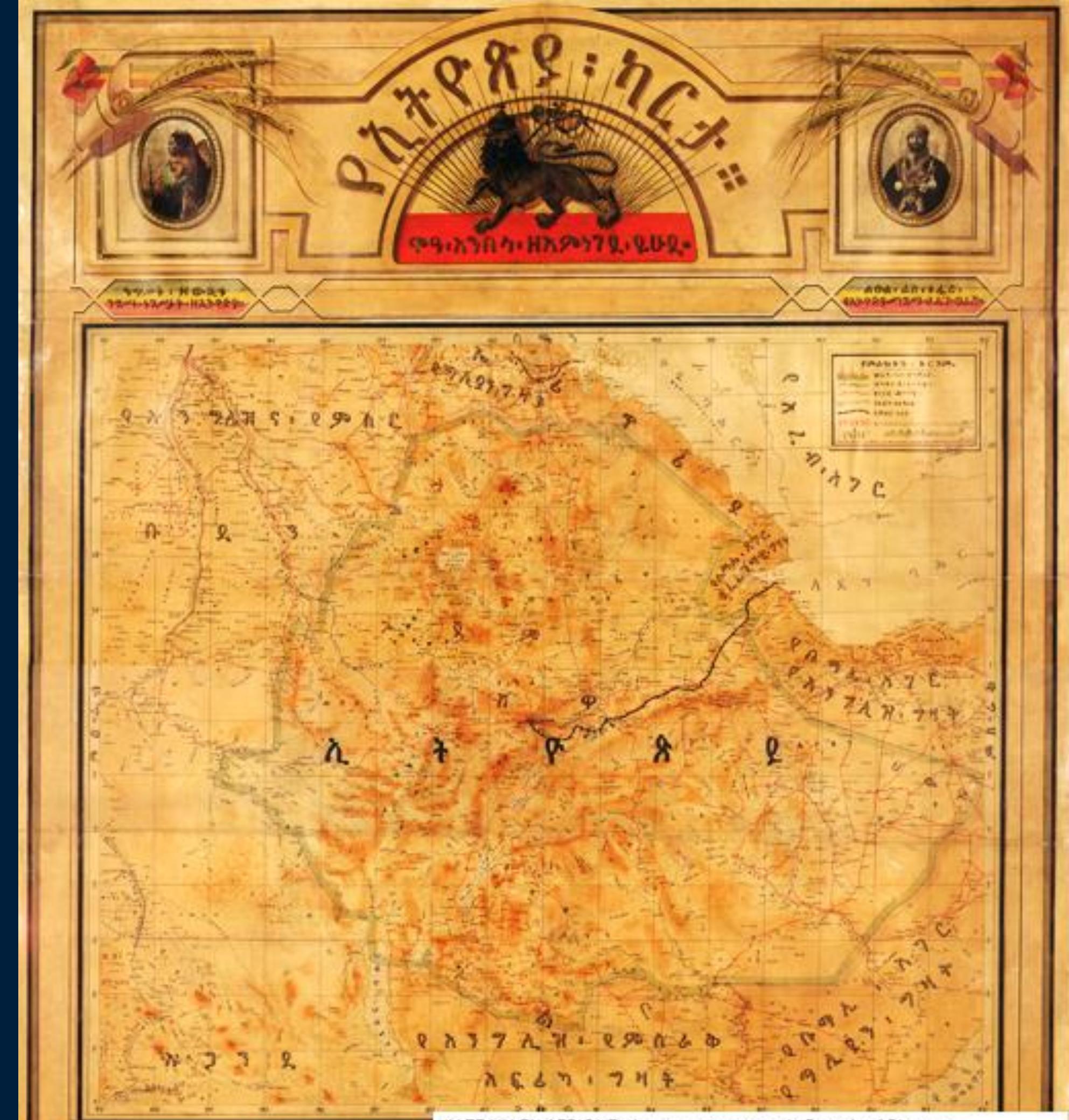
Source: "Viale Mussolini (today Harnet Avenue) in 1930s Asmara", Wikimedia Commons (public domain).
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Viale_Mussolini_%28today_Harnet_Avenue%29_in_1930s_Asmara.jpg

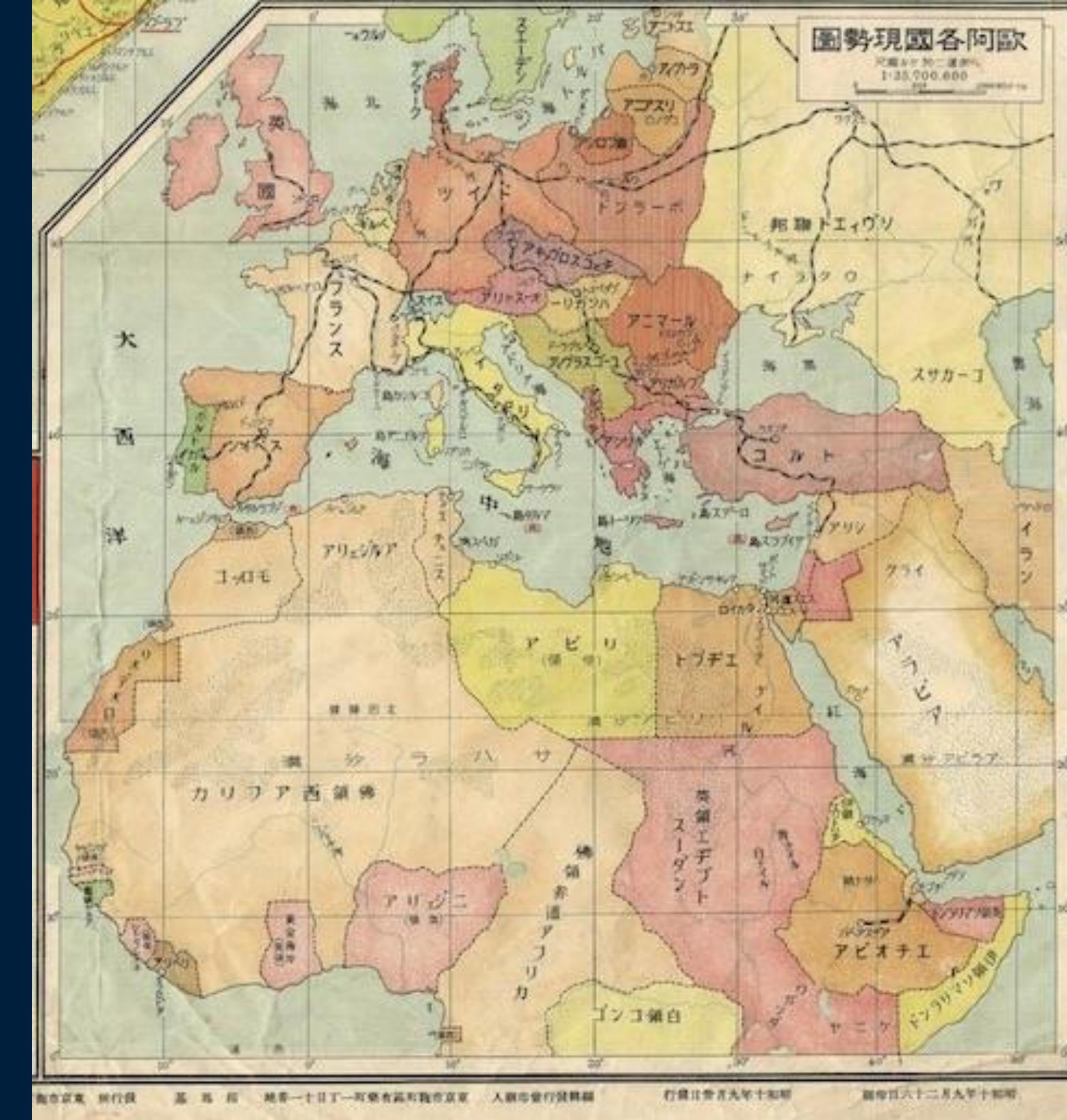
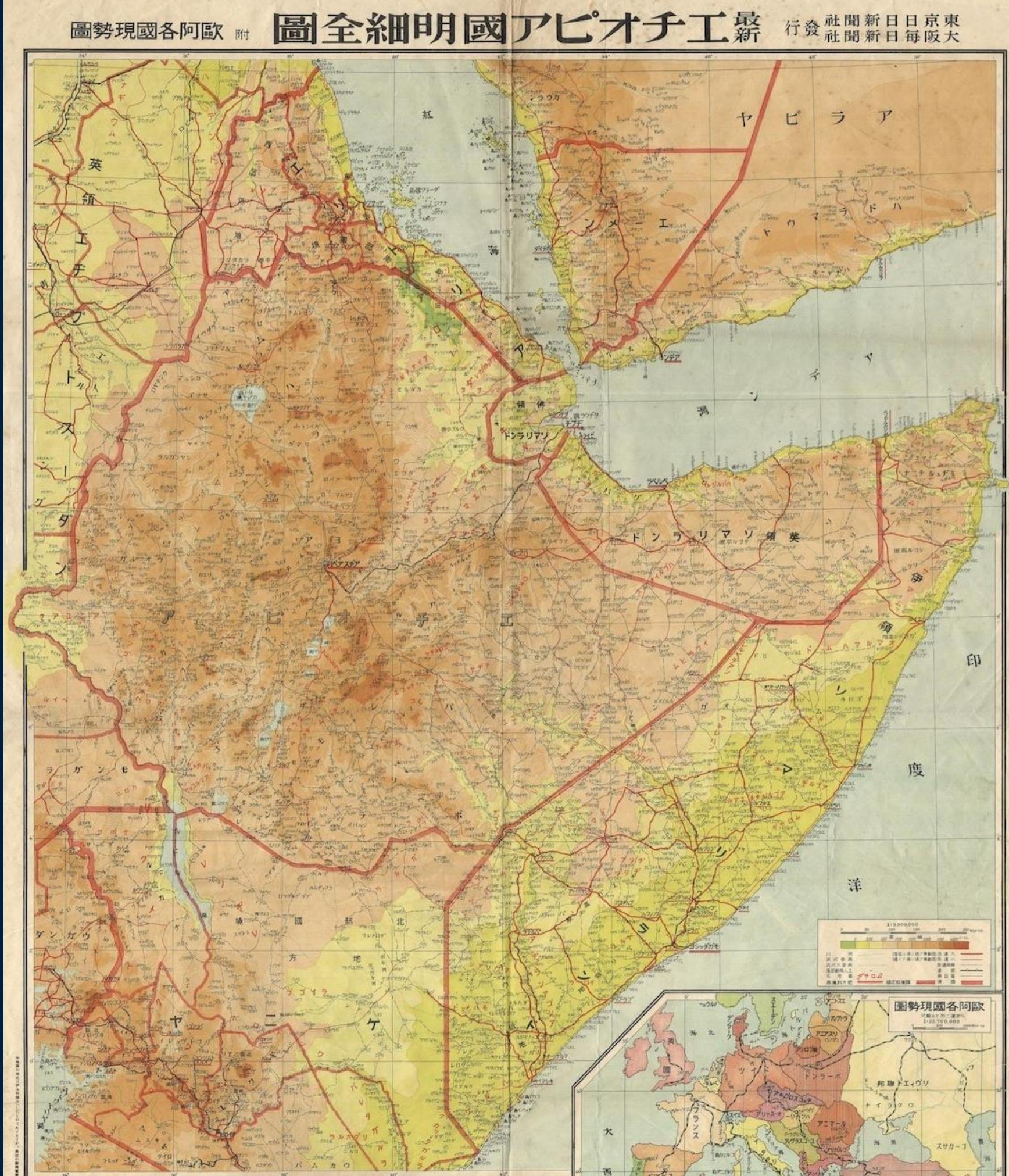


**Map of
Africa Orientale Italiana**



**Flag of
Africa Orientale Italiana**





Published in 1935(Shōwa 10) by Tokyo NichiNichi Shimbun & Osaka Mainichi Shimbun newspaper in Japan

GEDEON EXPEDITION in 1941

British military occupation of Eritrea & Ethiopia by general William Platt (Gedeon Expedition) in 1941.





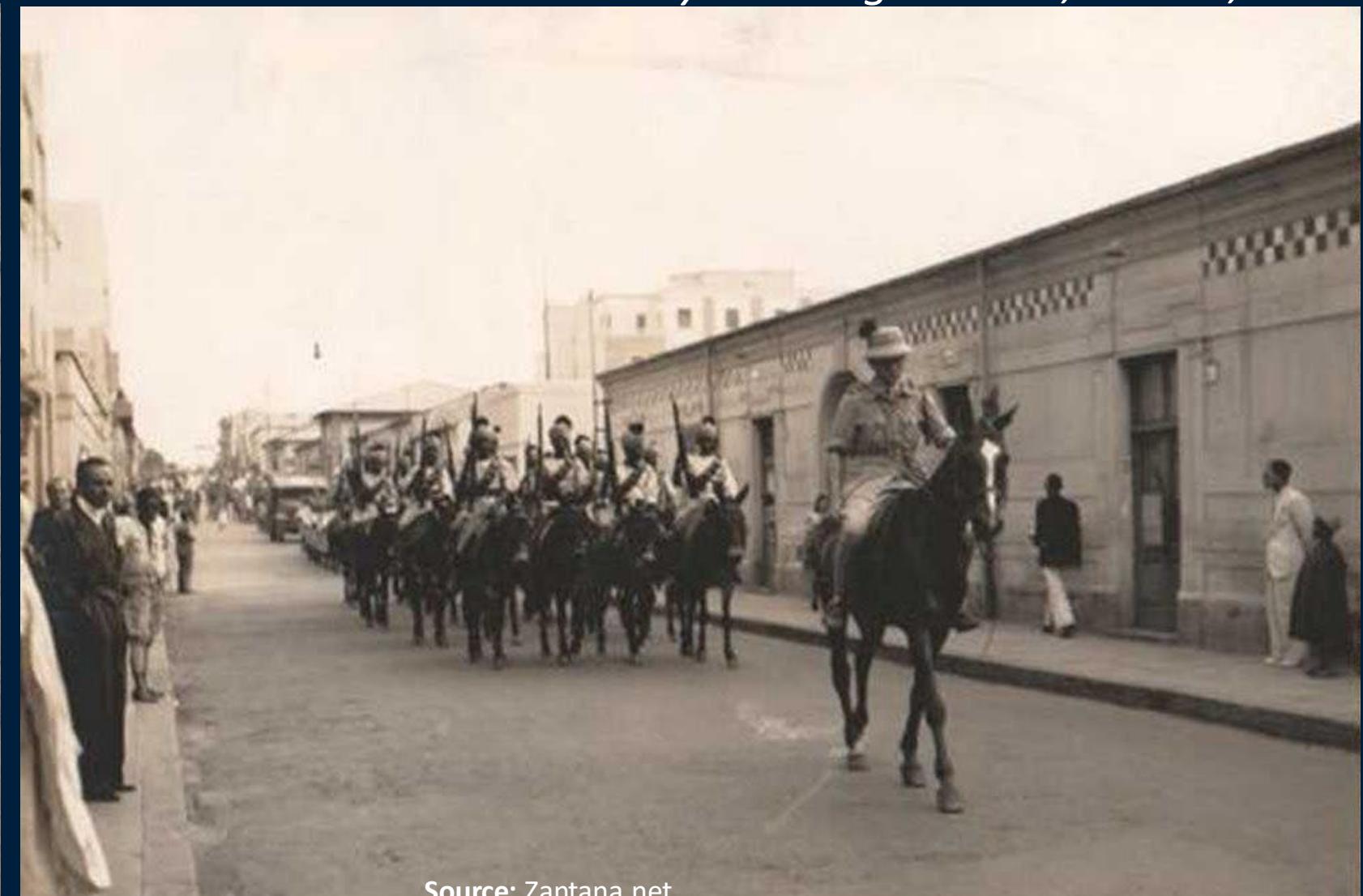
British Indian Division soldiers near Barentu, Eritrea 1941



General William Platt in Khartoum, Sudan



Eritrean Ascari in the Italian colonial army



The British army entering Asmara, Eritrea, 1941

Source: Zantana.net

<https://zantana.net/abyssinian-campaign-britain-defeats-italy-in-eritrea/>

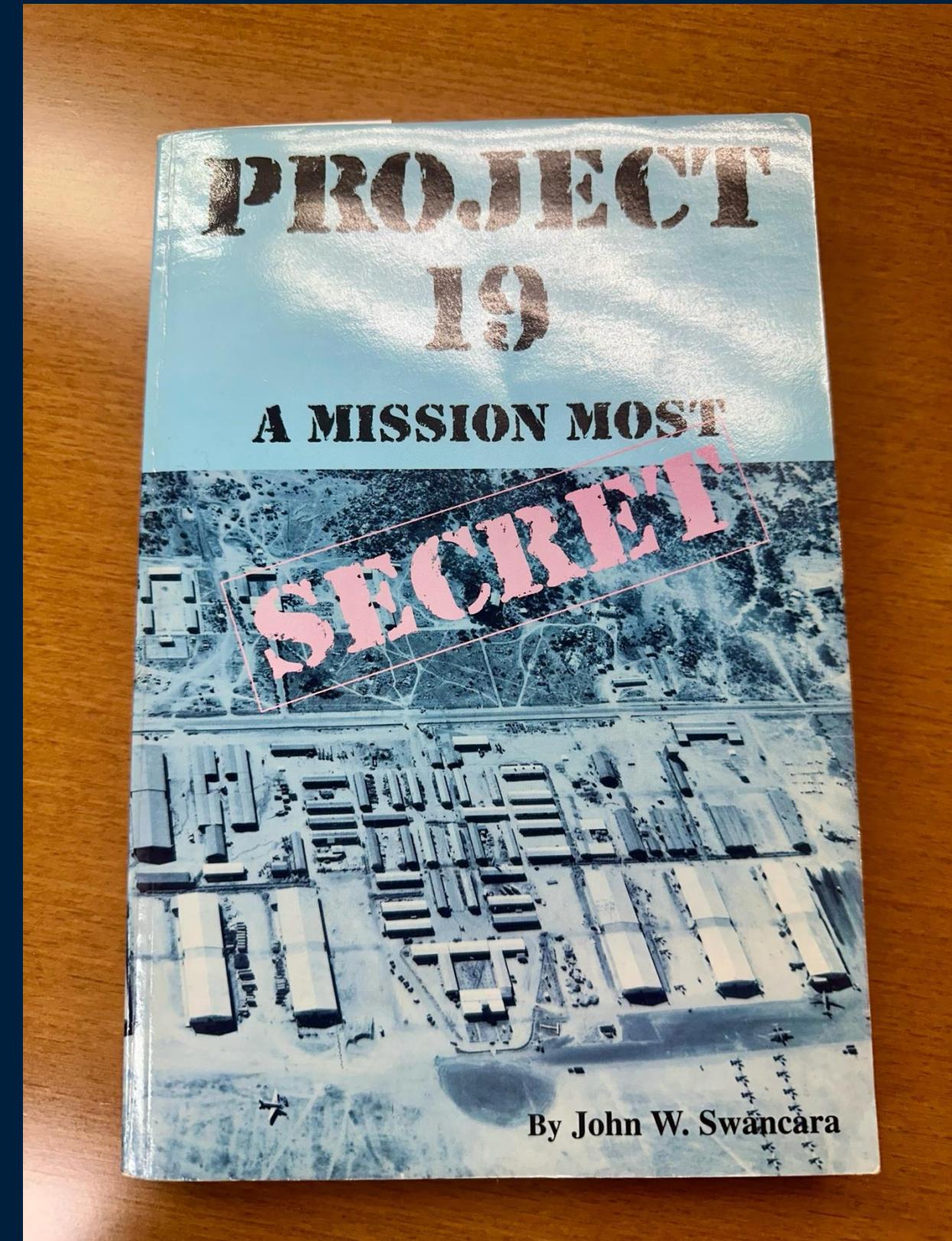
BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN ERITREA 1942 – 1952



Lt. David P.P. Cracknell with Eritrean police troops
https://zantana.net/british_campaign_successfully_ends_shifta-related_violence/

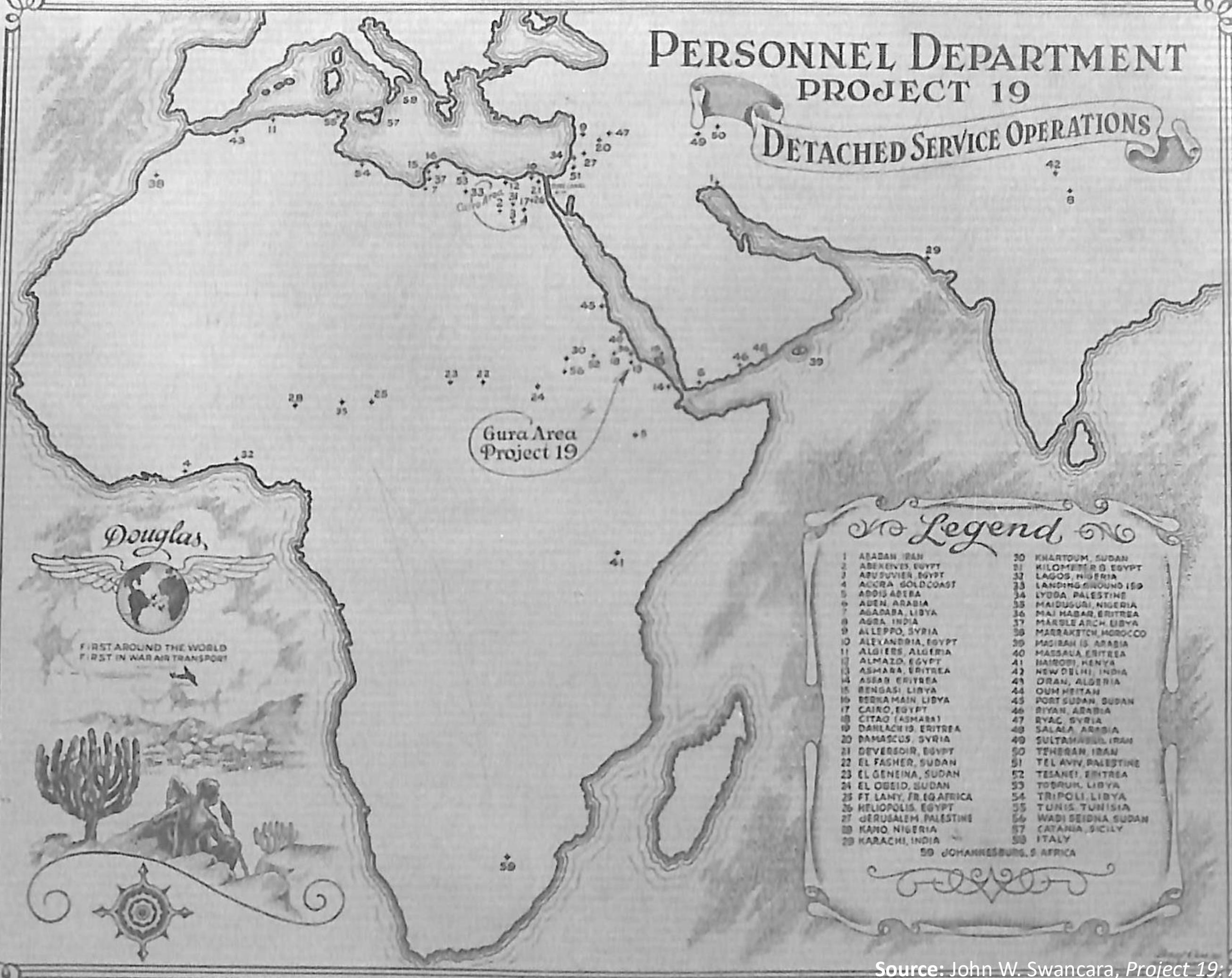
US 8 BASES IN ERITREA 1941 – 1977

Establishment of Strategic
Military Bases (8) by the US
in Eritrea (1941–1977)



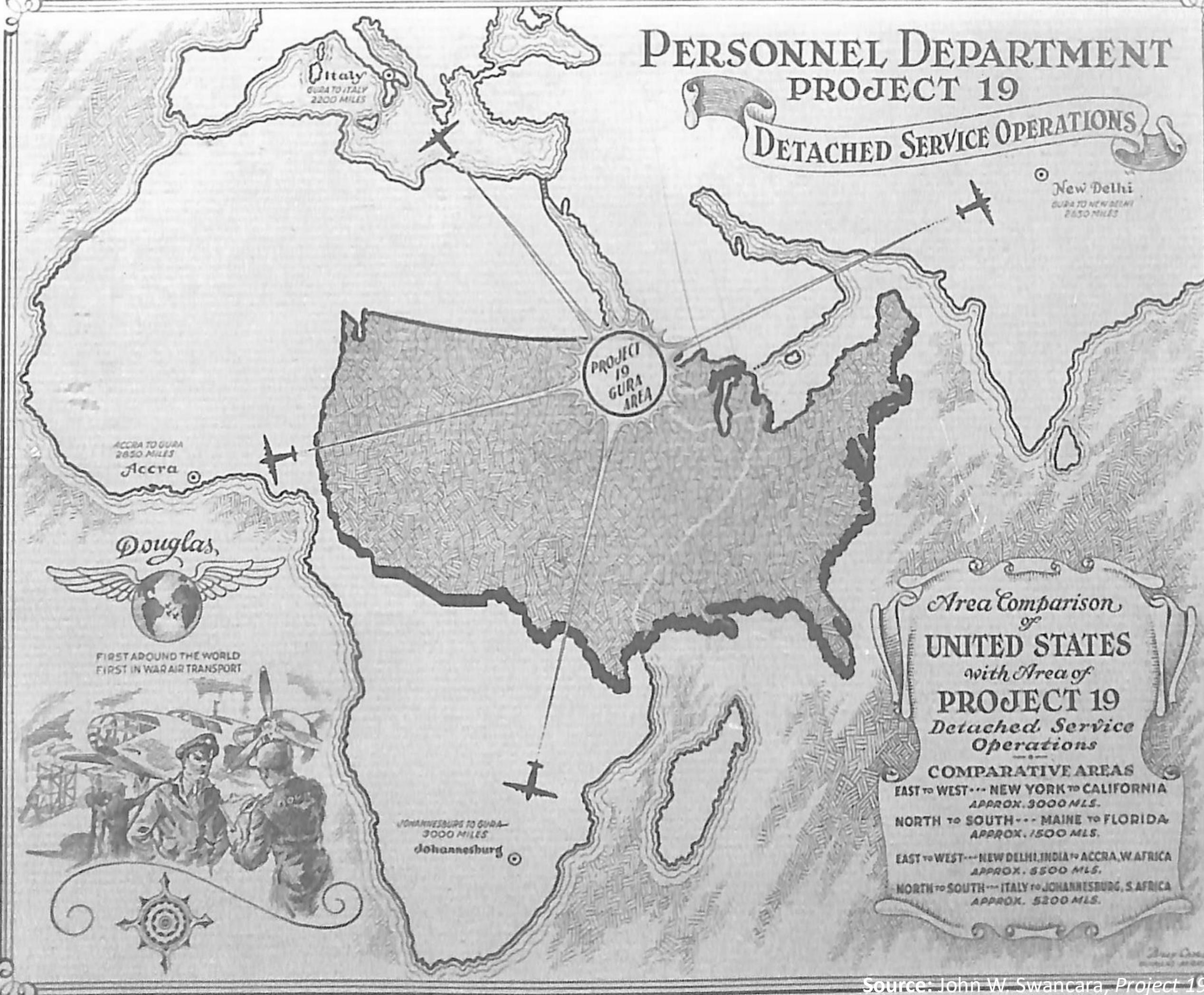
PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT PROJECT 19

DETACHED SERVICE OPERATIONS



PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT PROJECT 19

DETACHED SERVICE OPERATIONS





US base



US base

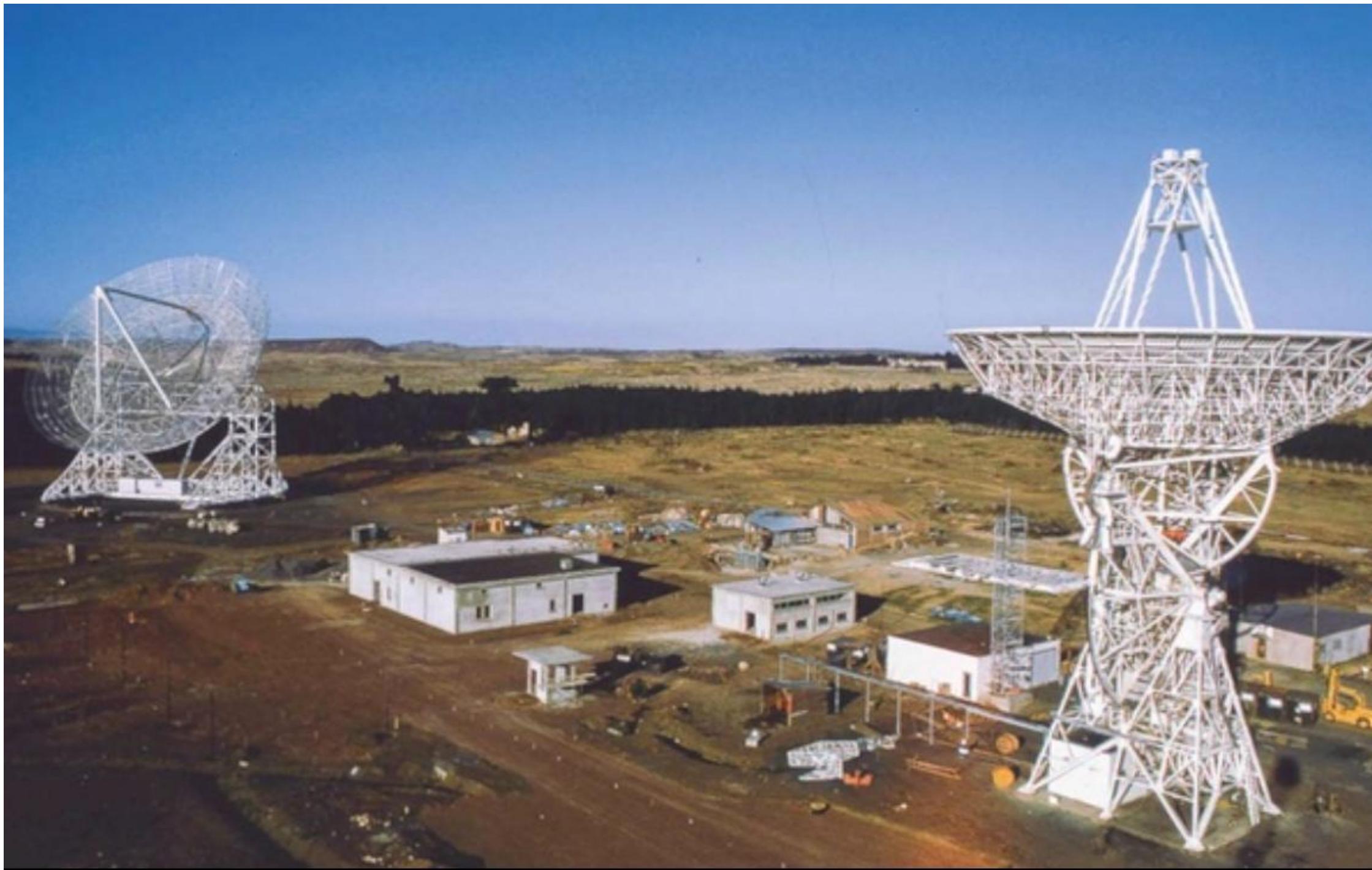


US base

Courtesy of Dan Carr & Randy Harris - Navy Cruise Book - '73 Tract C



US base



US base



US base



US base



US base

Federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea

Federal constitution of Eritrea & Ethiopia (1951 – 1961): prepared by Dr. Eduardo Anze Matienzo - a Bolivian politician & UN Commissioner in Eritrea, submitted to General Assembly in 1951: Land, Sea and Air access to the country to be under the Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia's rule.



BEHIND ANNEXATION

Immediately after Ethiopia conceded her oil to SINCLAIR : 50-Year Grant of Exclusive Rights which covered entire country – SINCLAIR urges US State Department to annex Eritrea in order to safeguard sea-access to its pipeline.

SINCLAIR OIL CORPORATION
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y.

September 27, 1945

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
SERVICES
100-938
APR 9 1944
Mr. Honorable James F. Byrnes
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

PETROLEUM DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Dear Mr. Secretary:

My Company has only recently completed an agreement with the Imperial Ethiopian Government for the development of petroleum in Ethiopia.

I feel rather certain that you, personally, have been informed with respect to this agreement. Unfortunately, the country of Ethiopia is an inland country, with no direct water outlet for export shipping. Should we be successful in discovering oil, we would, of necessity, be required to construct adequate pipe line facilities from Ethiopia to a suitable seaport, as well as an export shipping terminal. If we are to proceed with our development program in Ethiopia, it is of vital importance that Eritrea should be recognized as an integral part of Ethiopia, as we would have a suitable seaport outlet.

Our entire development program will seriously be delayed and affected should Eritrea be under the domination of any other power except Ethiopia. I, therefore, urgently request that your good offices support the demands of Ethiopia with respect to Eritrea.

For your personal information, I am attaching hereto photocastatic copy of the supplemental agreement between my Company and the Imperial Ethiopian Government, with respect to construction of pipelines to seaboard outlets, from which you will readily see the importance to this project of the acquisition of Eritrea by Ethiopia.

Very truly yours

DCB - ITP Unit
Ans: 1/11/86
R. -
Cat: B.R.T.
Rec'd:

President	
Distribution yes	No
to:	Letter
F. B. I. File No. 100-10000-67	
A. F. J. Reimerman	
DEPARTMENT	

884.6363/9-2745 ~~PI~~ CS/LE

BEHIND ANNEXATION

- Sinclair Oil received exclusive rights to all Ethiopian oil fields, granted by Emperor Haile Selassie.
- Sinclair agreed to provide royalties, education support, and public facilities.

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 7, 1945

LATE CITY EDITION
Standard Post-News Item
Berlin Telegram, Part 5

Telephone Atlantic 6200 FOUR

Sinclair Gets All Oil Rights In Ethiopia

Haile Selassie Makes Concession Covering 350,000 Square Miles

New York, Sept. 6.—(AP)—Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has granted an exclusive oil concession covering his entire 350,000 square-mile empire to the Sinclair Oil Corporation, part of it under a 50-year lease, it was announced today by H. F. Sinclair, president.

In return for the right to explore for and ship petroleum out of the country, the oil company will pay royalties to the emperor in addition to building one or more schools and hospitals, clinics and research foundations. It also will pay for educating Ethiopians in the United States for the next 10 years.

Previous Deal Recalled

Once before, in 1935, Haile Selassie deeded more than half his empire for exploitation and development by Anglo-American oil interests. At that time he acted in the vain hope that this would halt an anticipated Italian invasion.

Once before, in 1935, Haile Selassie deeded more than half his empire for exploitation and development by Anglo-American oil interests. At that time he acted in the vain hope that this would halt an anticipated Italian invasion.

The deal, engineered by British Promoter Francis M. Rickett, finally fell through after causing a world furore.

The new grant was signed in New York for Ethiopia by Ato Akilou Abte Wold, vice minister of foreign affairs and his country's chief delegate to the San Francisco security conference.

Repercussions Inevitable

Under the concession, all oil development rights for the entire territory—equal in size to Texas and Oklahoma combined, with Massachusetts and Rhode Island thrown in—will rest exclusively with the Sinclair corporation for five years. Then 50 per cent of the territory will be released. After five more years another 25 per cent of the country will be released.

The contract almost certainly will have wide commercial as well as possible diplomatic repercussions in the Middle East, where British interests have been particularly strong.

"From the point of view of justice, the opinions of the Eritrean people must receive consideration. Nevertheless, the strategic interest of the United States in the Red Sea basin and the considerations of security and world peace make it necessary that the country has to be linked with our ally Ethiopia."



-John Foster Dulles,
the US Ambassador to the UN

Push and pull of the superpowers have dominated the region since then -manifested in proxy wars, conflicts and geopolitical computation for critical hydrocarbon and mineral resources of nearly a century until the present.

アフリカの角

（エチオピア・エリトリア紛争 知られざる近代戦）



著者 エイドリアン・フォンタネラス
トム・クーパー
翻訳 平田光夫

大日本絵画

AFRICAN WAR

大規模な機甲戦、Su-27 vs. MiG-29のドッグファイト、そして首都をめぐる攻防……

誰も知らない激戦が
アフリカにはあった!

Targeting Eritrea Ethiopia Somalia And Sudan 1977 – 1991

- Expedition of USSR military lead By Field Martial Petrov



Major General Amha Desta, Chief of Staff of the Ethiopian Air Force, meeting with a Soviet military mission in Addis Ababa

Source: Adrien Fontanellaz and Tom Cooper, *The Horn of Africa: The Ethiopian-Eritrean War 1998-2000*, trans. Mitsuo Hirata (Tokyo: Dainippon Kaiga, 2016).

MARXISM AND NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION by Joseph STALIN

Marxism and the National and Colonial Question by Joseph STALIN— was promoted as a solution to the question of Eritrea's independence by the Military Regime of Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam of Ethiopia

Marxism
and the National
and Colonial Question



Joseph Stalin



POST COLD WAR PARADIGM SHIFT IN THE HORN OF AFRICA 1991 – 2025

the withdrawal of USSR from the region left behind a geo-political power vacuum which gave afresh an opportunity to the buildup of new alliances that induced but did not exclude the extremist groups from afar and near to the region especially from Afghanistan.



Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. (Public Domain Mark 1.0)

May 24, 1993 REFERENDUM



May 24, 1993: UN supervised referendum which declared Eritrea independent: after 50 years of political and armed struggle.



photos by Tomoaki Nakano

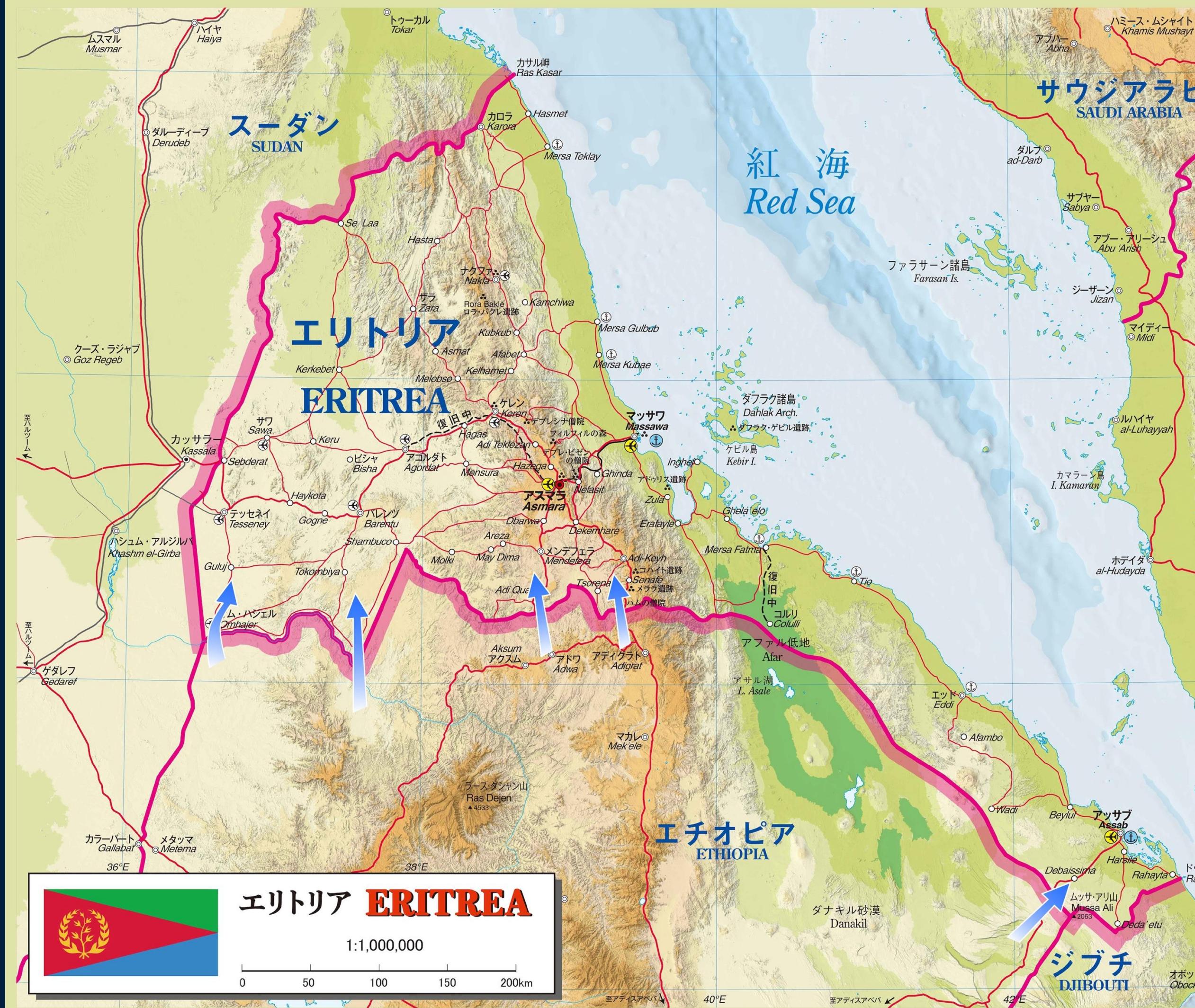


1991- 1996 Osama bin Laden and his followers used Sudan as a headquarter to develop al-Qaeda Networks - from afar and near - in the Middle East, Nile Basin and Horn of Africa countries. Eritrea and its harmonious cultures were brutally targeted.



Source: Max Fisher, "The CIA torture report and the hunt for bin Laden, explained," Vox, December 9, 2014, <https://www.vox.com/2014/12/9/7361091/cia-torture-bin-laden>.

1998 Tigray Peoples
Liberation Front (TPLF)
rule in Ethiopia declared
war on Eritrea.



1998 – US strike

1998 – US strikes sites in Sudan with missiles in retaliation to al-Qaeda attacks of its Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

2001 – September 11 attacks carried out by al-Qaeda against the US changed the security landscape of the planet including the subsequent internationalization of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa.



By Robert on Flickr - This image has been extracted from another file, CC BY-SA 2.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=17340779>

2006–2009: Ethiopia invaded Somalia.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, Ethiopian tank somalia.jpg (CC BY-SA 3.0)

The historic push and pull of the Cold War period re-engulfed the region – creating security, economic, political, diplomatic and humanitarian dilemmas – which resulted in various conflicts, wars, displacement of populations, famine and sustained underdevelopments.

FREE AND INDEPENDENT COMPETITIVE NATION AND NATION

**Statehood based on sovereignty and principle of citizenship respect
is the only strategic option which can open and foster future
regional peace, stability, cooperation & prosperity in the horn of
Africa**

(1952- 1962) US - Federal formula of rule by Abraham Lincoln introduced between Eritrea and Ethiopia, USSR - Nationalities formula of rule by Stalin introduced in Ethiopia (1991) did not work in the past and will not work in the future because Africa has more than 3000 ethnic languages

የኢትዮጵያ, thank you



Reference

