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### Terrorism as a Human Security Threat in the Horn of Africa: A Case Study in Ethiopia

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This paper explores terrorism as a critical threat to human security in the Horn of Africa, with a particular focus on Ethiopia. Drawing from historical and contemporary contexts, the study illustrates how terrorism not only undermines individual freedoms but also destabilizes communities and societies at large. It analyzes the theoretical frameworks surrounding human security and terrorism, revealing their intricate connections. Notably, the paper highlights Ethiopia's multifaceted counter-terrorism strategies, including the adoption of the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation in 2009, which has been instrumental in addressing the terrorism threat. Despite facing significant human rights criticisms, Ethiopia's approach, marked by military and legislative measures, aims to protect citizens and maintain stability. The conclusions drawn stress the importance of balancing national security initiatives with human rights considerations to ensure the enhancement of human security amidst growing threats.

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## INTRODUCTION

Starting from the African luminaries such as Nkrumah and Senghor, who argued for the betterment of basic human needs, the concept of human security has been inspired. Later, following the publication of the UNDP in 1994, issues of human security were defined. Gradually, African states adopted laws and policies, explicitly or implicitly, to ensure legal protection for their respective citizens (Hussein, Gnisci, & Wanjiru, 2004). On the contrary, accompanied by a lack of confidence and political willingness, maintaining and creating conditions for human security in Africa has been a challenge, and this has resulted in violence and political disorder continuing to be widespread (Ibid).

These problems are mainly generated by the nature and capacity of states, which could contribute to an increase in criminal activity, maladministration, hunger, lawlessness, unemployment, displacement, and the prevalence of diseases. Above all, exacerbated by these problems, terrorism has become an alarming challenge to Africa and affects many civilians on the continent (Cilliers, 2004).

Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to critically examine terrorism as a threat to human security in the Horn of Africa by taking a case study in Ethiopia. The paper is organized into five subsections. The first section explains the conceptual and theoretical frameworks as guiding principles of human security. The second part discusses the nexus of terrorism and human security. The third part addresses the context of terrorism in Africa. The fourth part analyzes terrorism as a threat to human security by taking the case study in Ethiopia. Finally, the last section offers concluding remarks by summarizing the essence of the paper.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### **Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks as Guiding Principles of Human Security**

The concept of security continues to be a point of contention. The points of these arguments focus on the referent object to be secured and how to provide that security. In this regard, security experts such as Lippmann, Wolfers, Buzan, and Booth share a common perception that security has to do, above all, with freedom (Omeje, 2010).

With respect to human security, the UNDP has already developed a new paradigm focusing on people at the heart of security concerns. In this regard, the Human Development Report of 1994, titled "New Dimensions of Human Security," is probably the first attempt to define this concept in a holistic manner (Hussein, Gnisci, & Wanjiru, 2004). Accordingly, security is described in relation to seven dimensions: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security, which reflect almost all key components of human development (Ibid).

Furthermore, the CHS final report, "Human Security Now" (New York, 2003), states that:

"Human security means protecting vital freedoms. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity, and livelihood. Human security connects different types of freedoms—freedom from want, freedom from fear, and freedom to take action on one's own behalf" (Ibid).

Though the two concepts, human security and human development, are not clearly articulated in the 1994 UNDP report, they are clarified in the 2003 report from the Commission on Human Security (CHS). The latter document identifies that human security is akin to human development in that both are concerned with human welfare and basic human

freedoms. While human development generally focuses on achieving growth and distributing its benefits equitably among people, human security encompasses conditions essential for survival, the continuation of daily life activities, and the dignity of human beings (Chourou, 2004).

Several African states, whether explicitly or implicitly, have adopted their own policy frameworks of human security driven by CSS (Critical Security Studies) and the new dimensions presented in the 1994 UNDP publication. In principle, citizens are theoretically entitled to benefit from these laws and philosophies, becoming the centre of security. However, due to interrelated factors, cyclical drawbacks affect human security. The primary factor relates to the nature and capability of states, which impact security on multiple dimensions. Insecurities of this nature can have significant spillover effects on the lives of people (Akopari, 2007). Today, above all, terrorism is becoming a critical challenge to Africa, threatening both civilians and states on the continent (Cilliers, 2004).

### **THE NEXUS OF TERRORISM AND HUMAN SECURITY**

The human cost of terrorism has been felt in every corner of the globe. It has a real and direct impact on human rights, with devastating consequences for the enjoyment of the rights to life, liberty, and physical integrity of victims. In addition to these individual costs, terrorism can destabilize and undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, and threaten social and economic development. All these again have a tangible impact on the enjoyment of human rights. Furthermore, terrorism threatens the dignity and security of human beings everywhere, takes innocent lives, jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and aims at the destruction of human rights (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, n.d.). For example, New York, Israel, Madrid, London, Kenya, and other places have fallen victim

to suicide attacks committed by terrorists (Global Terrorism Index, 2015).

Terrorism is generally understood as acts of violence designed to instigate terror within civilian populations. In 1994, the General Assembly's Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, set out in its resolution 49/60, stated that terrorism includes criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons, or particular individuals for political purposes (Jawad, 2015).

The United Nations has adopted several fundamental documents and international standards as a policy response and reform to terrorist attacks, threats, and unlawful terrorist acts. Starting with the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001), numerous security and counter-terrorism legislations and policies have been issued globally, including in Africa (Asresahegn, 2011).

In general, terrorism can be identified as a major challenge based on at least two fundamental factors. Firstly, individuals suffer the consequences of terrorism. Secondly, terrorism disrupts societal functioning by compromising everyday human life (Ibid). Furthermore, acts of terrorism are uneven. These acts do not conform to conventional methods of warfare. In the backdrop of transitioning to democracy and security sector reform, the pressure to counter terrorism has become significant but challenging. However, one measures it, terrorism has multidimensional spillover effects on human security (Okumu & Botha, 2007).

These counter-terrorism measures are broadly categorized into two: military (war approach) and legislative (criminal approach). The military approach involves revolutionary warfare driven by military actions against terrorism, while the criminal or legislative approach is based on developed international law and the basic requirements of the Security Council Resolution, which focuses on criminalizing individuals suspected of terrorist activities (Amen, n.d.).

Ultimately, it is evident that there exists a nexus between terrorism and the enjoyment of human rights and freedoms. This link becomes apparent when groups or individuals deprive people of their freedoms, destroy property, and conduct threats and intimidation (Shimelis, 2014).

## **THE CONTEXT OF TERRORISM IN AFRICA**

The issue of terrorism in Africa is complicated by additional related factors that exacerbate the situation. The inability to tolerate dissent fuels the spread of terror, especially through militant Islamic movements. These groups have found fertile ground in Africa due to its vast landscapes, which facilitate the movement of immigrants, arms, and crimes associated with terrorism (Okumu & Botha, 2007).

The utilization of technology by terrorists such as prints, images, digital materials, videos, audiotapes, sermons, books, pamphlets, and the internet—accelerates the spread of fundamentalist ideologies. After 9/11, policymakers began to focus on the connection between the internet and terrorism. Particularly, videos of insurgent attacks and statements from terrorist leaders serve as inspiration to a wide audience and are widely disseminated through chat rooms, forums, emails, and social media platforms. They are also employed by radical preachers and self-appointed commentators. For example, Global Jihad messages are often tailored to exploit vulnerable populations, particularly youth (Ginkel, 2011).

By any measure, terrorism severely impacts human security in Africa, with its multifaceted spillover effects (Okumu & Botha, 2007). For instance, Boko Haram, an Islamist terrorist group based in northern Nigeria, has been responsible for 6,644 deaths. Similarly, Egypt is engaged in armed conflict with ISIL and Ansar Beit al-Maqdis, an ISIL affiliate operating within its borders. These conflicts in both countries led to an additional 750 deaths in 2015 (Global Terrorism Index, 2015).

More specifically, the Horn of Africa is populated with weak, corrupt, and warring states, which

include the single failed state of Somalia, seen as fertile ground for Islamic fundamentalists and terrorist activities (Khadiagala, 2004). The United States has classified the Horn of Africa—comprising Kenya, Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea, and Sudan—as a major source of terrorism. In the wake of the 2013 Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi, various East African countries intensified their efforts to detect, deter, disrupt, investigate, and prosecute terrorist incidents. Since the 9/11 attacks against the United States, the Horn has received heightened scrutiny as a critical focal point in the war against terrorism (Ibid).

## **TERRORISM AS A THREAT TO HUMAN SECURITY: THE CASE STUDY IN ETHIOPIA**

### **Historical Relationship between Muslim and Christian Communities**

Ethiopian Muslims do not descend from 'Arab stock' but are indigenous, belonging to the diverse ethnic communities of the country. Though the history of Islam in Ethiopia spans more than 1,200 years, research and preservation activities have been marginalized. While Islam expanded through peaceful means via trade routes and mobile teachers (many of Yemeni and Arab origin), it was generally tolerated by Christian monarchs. Although this Islamic faith has contributed to the enrichment of Ethiopian modern culture, research (as previously mentioned) has focused more on political and religious issues than on interactions between Muslim and non-Muslim communities (Amen, n.d.).

Furthermore, the unique, long-established, and precious culture of tolerance among followers of the two religions could have significant implications for combating terrorism. The legacy of Najashi rescuing Muslims in the northern part of the country (Tigray) stands as a testament to this culture of tolerance. Extensive literature has been produced and reinterpreted that portrays Ethiopia as a model of universal humanity and grace. Accordingly, Muslims in Ethiopia coexist under non-Islamic

governments, provided these governments are just toward Muslims and their religion (Ibid). Moreover, for many Arab and Islamic pragmatists, Ethiopia represents more of a partner than an enemy. However, the legacy of Ethiopians within the Muslim community shifted negatively following its intervention in Somalia. The actions of these Islamic pragmatists in Somalia directly affected and shaped attitudes toward the redefinition of Ethiopia's anti-terrorism strategy (Ibid).

The second source of opposition arose from Ethiopia's cooperation with the US on issues of counter-terrorism in general and the war on Iraq in particular. These two events (Ethiopian intervention in Somalia and collaboration with the US) engendered significant dissatisfaction within Ethiopian Muslim society. Consequently, Muslims in Ethiopia organized demonstrations in Addis Ababa, despite police prohibitions against them. However, representatives of the Muslim community voiced their opposition to Ethiopia for siding with the US and UK. Mainly since the aforementioned events, the relationship between Ethiopian Muslims and Orthodox Christians, as well as Protestants, has been characterized by some form of disagreement (Asresahegn, 2011).

### **Terrorism and Its Consequences on Human Security**

Ethiopia, like other states worldwide, has been affected by terrorism. Since the 1990s, there have been multiple terrorist attacks perpetrated by both internal and international terrorist groups. A notable example is the attempted assassination in 1995 involving Egyptian terrorists associated with Al Gamal Islamiya (Islamic Group); they attempted to assassinate President Hosni Mubarak while he was arriving in Addis Ababa for a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (Ibid).

Numerous serious terrorist acts in Ethiopia are believed to originate from groups associated with Al Qaeda based in Somalia. The absence of a strong governmental administration in Somalia has

rendered the Horn of Africa a potential haven for Al Qaeda and its subordinate groups/militants. Violent terrorist attacks have been predominantly committed in Ethiopia by foreign and domestic groups labelled as 'terrorists,' such as OLF, ONLF, AIAI, AGAI, and Al Shabab (Ibid).

Under the guidance of these terrorist organizations, attacks have occurred across various parts of the country. For example, in the Amhara Regional State, residents of districts such as Meqet Woreda and Flaqit town in northern Wollo were victimized by bombs thrown during public bazaar events. Other similar attacks were also reported in the Somali Regional State, including Degahabour and Jijiga towns on May 28, 2007. Many of these terrorist attacks have resulted in loss of life, heightened psychological fears, anxiety, suppression of individual freedoms, and violations of basic rights, with countless innocent individuals victimized. At different junctures, the Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRCO) has formally condemned these violent bombings, which targeted civilians at various times and places throughout the country (Ibid).

The Ethiopian intelligence service has announced the presence of Al Qaeda, Al Itihad, and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) operating in Somalia. Continuously, the intelligence sector has expressed that terrorist organizations and groups pose a significant threat to Ethiopian stability and the daily lives of citizens in various regions of the country. Gradually, the increase in these threats and challenges compelled the nation to adopt more extensive counter-terrorism measures beyond conventional approaches to combat terrorism (Ibid).

### **Ethiopian Counter-Terrorism Strategy and Ethiopian Anti-Terrorism Law**

The Ethiopian Anti-Terrorism Proclamation (ATP) was not endorsed overnight. Instead, global experiences from developed countries with similar commitments and clear positions against terrorism were taken into account. For example, prior to



adopting this ATP, Ethiopia examined the UK's response to terrorism and the legal frameworks it employed, particularly after the 9/11 attacks.

Additionally, Ethiopia drew conceptual frameworks from the UK's new anti-terrorism legislation and the prevention of terrorism that places a higher priority on the work of its domestic police and intelligence agencies. The impact of the UK Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act of 2001 on the enjoyment of human rights has also been considered (Ibid). Ethiopia has acknowledged that terrorism has a severe effect on various fundamental human rights and freedoms identified in the UDHR. This same document imposes an obligation on states to take and implement effective counter-terrorism measures to protect their citizens from terrorists and their activities (Asresahegn, 2011).

Guided by Article 3 of the UDHR (which empowers states to legislate in a manner consistent with human security) and drawing on international experiences, Ethiopia adopted its own Anti-Terrorism Proclamation (ATP), approved by parliament in 2009. Since then, this proclamation has been utilized to protect against threats and acts committed against national interests, individuals, and the civilian population. Practically, it has been employed to prosecute and convict individuals associated with terrorist activities (Maluki, n.d.). But what differentiates Ethiopia's model of anti-terrorism? The following section provides an overview of the factors that distinguish Ethiopian security forces as unique and committed to the struggle against terrorism in the Horn of Africa (HOA) and domestically.

### ***Features of Ethiopian Security Forces and Actors in the Fight against Terrorism***

As previously mentioned, Ethiopia employs both preventive and responsive mechanisms in its counter-terrorism strategies (Ibid). Thus, the country's approach to counter-terrorism is multidimensional, reflecting international and domestic political processes and institutional

practices (Asresahegn, 2011). It consists of actions aimed at suppressing terrorist violence by utilizing various statecraft tools, including military force, criminal law measures, intelligence operations, regulatory controls, and diplomacy (Carne, n.d.). This means Ethiopia is implementing both military and legislative measures within its counter-terrorism strategies (Asresahegn, 2011). Furthermore, the country also adopts Anti-Money Laundering initiatives. For effectiveness, it has become an associate member of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and the Eastern and Southern Africa Anti-Money Laundering Group (ESAAMLG) (Maluki, n.d.).

Ethiopia's counter-terrorism strategy empowers actors to control illegal bank accounts owned or operated by citizens and foreigners. In practice, financial activities suspected of having terrorist links have been cancelled. The Ethiopian National Bank is responsible for managing such banking activities in the country (Asresahegn, 2011).

As part of the international system, Ethiopia collaborates closely with the US on military and legislative acts, technical experiences, and various financial supports in addition to the aforementioned enhanced measures. Furthermore, the government has expanded the level and number of new security measures, including vehicle searches and other checks at international hotels frequented by foreigners (Ibid).

Importantly, Ethiopia has an efficient and effective security apparatus rooted in the long conflict experienced by the previous revolutionary opposition against the Derg regime. Many security personnel possess experience from military campaigns, having been shaped primarily by political ideology. Ethiopian security forces utilize firm and harsh tactics and have developed impressive intelligence capabilities. Due to this multidimensional approach to counter-terrorism, Ethiopia has not been perceived as a soft target for terrorists, unlike other nearby countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda (Khadiagala, 2004).

The writer of this paper aims to illustrate at least two significant practical incidents demonstrating the commitment of Ethiopian security forces in the fight against terrorism. The first incident was an attempted assassination against President Mubarak, which was planned within Ethiopia for at least a year. Some plotters even married Ethiopian women to facilitate their intentions. However, Ethiopian forces successfully tracked down and thwarted this assassination attempt, eliminating several perpetrators involved in the conspiracy (Ibid).

The second incident involved actions against the OLF and ONLF. Ethiopian forces killed and captured several key military leaders and members of OLF and ONLF. Among those killed by Ethiopian forces was Dr. Mohamed Serri, who organized the terrorist attack against the Chinese oil explorer in 2007 in Ogaden (Somali Regional State of Ethiopia). Additionally, an OLF leader named Furgasa was also captured by the Ethiopian military (Asresahegn, 2011). Overall, due to these practical examples, Ethiopian intelligence and security forces are considered well-qualified and experienced in combating terrorism domestically and internationally (Gordon, Sullivan, & Mittal, 2015).

#### ***Actors' Involvement and Their Power to Enforce Anti-Terrorism Law***

The National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) holds responsibility for the overall counter-terrorism management, coordinating with the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) and the Ethiopian Federal Police (EFP). The security forces comprise the police and military, mainly tasked with domestic and external security matters, respectively. The military, responsible for external security issues, comprises both air and ground forces under the Ministry of National Defense. These forces have repeatedly confronted clashes with the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the Somalia-based terrorist group Al Itihad Al Islamiya (AIAI), and certain elements of the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) in various

locations across Ethiopia, southern Somalia, and northern Kenya (Asresahegn, 2011).

NISS is also mandated to facilitate interagency coordination as well as international partnerships, including information sharing and an overarching counter-terrorism strategy that involves collaboration with the United States. For effective counter-terrorism operations, Ethiopian actors work closely with the US and other stakeholders who hold a similar commitment and stance against terrorism. For instance, technical training, technology transfers, and financial support are key areas of cooperation in the fight against terrorism. In 2014, Ethiopia received training and equipment through the U.S.-funded Regional Strategic Initiative, along with the International Law Enforcement Academy and the Antiterrorism Assistance program (Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f, 2015).

#### ***Critique of Ethiopian Anti-Terrorism Proclamation and Actors' Power***

In principle, the FDRE Constitution guarantees an independent judiciary. As per Article 79(2), courts are “free from any interference or influences of any governmental body, governmental official, or from any other source.” Sub-article 3 further states that “judges shall exercise their functions in full independence and shall be directed solely by the law” (Shimelis, 2014).

The critiques began with a few parliament members when the proclamation was approved. Subsequently, human rights activists, journalists, and others expressed grave concerns regarding the broad and vague definitions of terrorism outlined in the proclamation. They argue that the proclamation grants police and security services unprecedented powers, usurping citizens' constitutional rights and shifting the burden of proof onto the accused (Gordon, Sullivan, & Mittal, 2015).

According to critics, rights enshrined in the constitution are violated by the 2009 Anti-Terrorism Law as it provides excessive power to security forces while diminishing the role of the courts. They

contend that, under this unlimited authority, police and security forces can arrest and detain individuals or take other arbitrary actions without warrants, charges, bail, or statutory time limits. Furthermore, they argue that political and security suspects are often taken away in secret without any notification to family, friends, or close relatives (Shimelis, 2014).

Moreover, critics argue that the Ethiopian Anti-Terrorism Proclamation provides police with unlimited powers to investigate without due process. Among others, Articles 16 (sudden search), 17 and 18 (covert search), 19 (power of arrest), 21 (duty to provide samples), and 22 (duty to provide information) are the main articles that challenge the due process of law. Particularly, Article 14 grants extensive powers to NISS to conduct electronic surveillance of telecommunications under the pretext of gathering information, allowing mobile phone, email, and website monitoring of opposition members without court warrants (Ibid).

Journalists have further complained that the right to freedom of expression, guaranteed by international documents such as the UDHR (Article 19), UN General Assembly Resolution, ICCPR, and Article 29 of the FDRE Constitution, is being violated (Ibid). Additionally, critics assert that some articles mentioned in the proclamation lack clarity due to their broad and vague language. For instance, the proclamation defines a “terrorist organization” as “[a] group, association, or organization composed of no fewer than two members with the objective of committing acts of terrorism, planning, preparing, executing, or causing the execution of acts of terrorism, or assisting or inciting others to commit acts of terrorism in any way” (Asresahegn, 2011). The proclamation further allows the government and its security forces to suppress internationally protected freedoms and to crack down on political dissent, including peaceful demonstrations and public criticisms of government policy (Gordon, Sullivan, & Mittal, 2015).

The critics argue that the proclamation also results in long-term imprisonment and potentially the death penalty for “crimes” that bear no resemblance, under any credible definition, to terrorism. It states that “terrorist acts” are punishable by “rigorous imprisonment from 15 years to life or by death.” Critics consider this provision problematic, as it criminalizes speech ambiguously defined as “encouraging,” “advancing,” or “supporting” terrorist acts—even in the absence of direct incitement to violence (Ibid).

Additionally, critics contend that the Anti-Terrorism Law sets new evidentiary standards for terrorism, allowing hearsay or “indirect evidence” to be admitted before the court without limitations. Similarly, official intelligence reports are admitted regardless of their source or collection methods. By permitting the use of these intelligence reports, the law effectively allows for evidence obtained through torture (Ibid). Critics further argue that the proclamation negatively impacts political pluralism and the promotion and protection of human rights within the country. In particular, it poses a significant threat to human rights defenders, activists, and journalists (Shimelis, 2014).

However, Ethiopia defends itself against these critiques with several arguments and responses. It asserts that from the outset, emphasis has been placed on human rights, incorporating them into the constitution. These basic rights and freedoms are taken directly from international human rights documents. Out of 106 Articles within the constitution, one-third are dedicated to human rights. Furthermore, Ethiopia guarantees that all human rights conventions ratified by the country are integral to domestic law (Ibid). [This is why some Western entities and scholars consider Ethiopia's current constitution one of the modern constitutions in the world for its emphasis on human rights concepts found in the UDHR and ICCPR].

It is argued that addressing the issue of terrorism in Ethiopia signifies an unquestionable need for adopting the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation (ATP).



This decision did not happen overnight; rather, Ethiopia has taken into account all the realities and contexts of terrorism to justify its adoption. A group comprising members from the police, the Ministry of Justice, the Intelligence Agency, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of National Defense participated in the drafting process and contributed inputs toward the realization of the proclamation. Thus, the Ethiopian Anti-Terrorism Proclamation (ATP) was intentionally devised, and well thought out, and stakeholders provided comments that were incorporated before the law was ratified by parliament (Ibid).

Ethiopia further contends that terrorism has direct and significant impacts on human rights, resulting in devastating consequences to the right to life, liberty, and physical integrity of victims. Additionally, Ethiopia insists that terrorism can destabilize governments, undermine civil society, threaten peace and security, and impede social and economic development. Collectively, these factors have a tangible impact on the enjoyment of human rights (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, n.d.).

Hence, according to Ethiopia's argument, terrorism cannot be addressed by traditional military means alone due to its multifaceted spillover effects threatening human security (Okumu & Botha, 2007). Furthermore, the country is surrounded by fragile states within the HOA, and its vulnerability is heightened by the volatile nature of the region (Khadiagala, 2004). Article 3 of the UDHR, which places an obligation on states to implement strategies that protect their citizens from terrorists, supports Ethiopia's need for policies to combat terrorism (Carne, n.d.). Moreover, the UN Attorney-General's provision for human security provides a clear rationale for states to enact counter-terrorism measures that uphold human rights. Combatting terrorism through military and legislative strategies is both justified and internationally accepted (Asresahegn, 2011).

It has been also asserted that the nature of terrorism in Ethiopia is increasingly complicated, exacerbated by sophisticated technology whereby citizens and foreigners engage in illegal and terrorist activities through illicit bank accounts. Consequently, Ethiopian intelligence and security forces are empowered to control such illicit activities, leading to the cancellation of financial transactions suspected of links to terrorist groups. This approach also promotes freedom for both foreign and domestic investors to invest and facilitate development within the country (Ibid).

Also, Ethiopia has established its machinery to monitor respect for human rights; this power is legislated to the Ministry of Justice through Article 23 of Proclamation No. 4/95. This institution (the Ministry of Justice) has adopted legal mechanisms to initiate the implementation of significant UN conventions concerning terrorism issues (Ibid). Ethiopia also claims that its security and intelligence forces are well-trained and equipped to fight terrorism, possessing efficient and impressive operational capacities that prevent it from becoming a safe haven for terrorists—unlike Somalia, Kenya, and Djibouti in the Horn of Africa (Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f, 2015).

However, this does not imply that terrorism is absent from Ethiopia and its people. Rather, domestic terrorist organizations in Ethiopia, such as OLF, ONLF (and Ginbot 7), supported by international terrorist networks, affect the lives of many civilians. The approach adopted by these domestic groups and organizations to combat the current government is viewed as unlawful and has resulted in significant violations of human rights. Additionally, the conflicting political stance of these groups may be deemed correct or incorrect, but their methods of opposing the government have culminated in the loss of innocent lives (Okumu & Botha, 2007).

In an effort to protect citizens from terrorists, the National Intelligence and Security Service may conduct surveillance on the telephone, fax, radio,

internet, electronic, postal, and similar communications of any individual suspected of terrorism, provided they obtain a court warrant (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, 2009).

Ethiopia further argues that terrorist activities are evolving and becoming increasingly sophisticated, necessitating thorough investigations and proactive measures. For example, if someone is suspected of terrorism based on opinions or feelings expressed online, they are likely to progress through various levels of radicalization before committing terrorist actions. Counter-terrorism actors must consider the relationship between opinion and action, the process of radicalization, and the trajectory toward violent extremism (Ginkel, 2011). Individuals expressing support for any form of terrorist activity may face conviction for encouraging terrorism (Gordon, Sullivan, & Mittal, 2015).

The different levels of opinions and actions can be illustrated in a pyramid. The base of the pyramid consists of all those who are politically inert, regardless of their beliefs or feelings. The next level comprises activists engaged in legal and nonviolent political actions. One step higher on the pyramid are the radicals, who are engaged in illegal political actions that may include violence. As illustrated through these phases, investigations are not linear (Ginkel, 2011).

Information is routinely gathered without judicial warrants. While this electronic “evidence” is primarily used to compel suspects to confess or divulge information, some recorded emails and phone calls have also been presented as evidence during trials governed by the repressive Anti-Terrorism Proclamation (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

At the top of the pyramid are the terrorists and radicals utilizing violence to achieve their political objectives. Analysis of terrorist narratives and the relationship between speech and action demonstrates various levels of support for terrorism.

Therefore, it is critical that the scope of offences relating to incitement to terrorism is clearly delineated, and the role of the internet is recognized as a significant factor in spreading radical narratives (Ibid).

## CONCLUSION

In relation to human security, the UNDP has developed a new paradigm for the concept of human security that prioritizes people as the focal point of security concerns. In this context, the Human Development Report of 1994, titled “New Dimensions of Human Security,” likely represents the first attempt to define this concept holistically. Over time, African states have adopted varying laws and policies, both explicit and implicit, to ensure legal protection for their citizens, recognizing different factors affecting human security. Among these factors, terrorism can be identified as a global threat to human security due to its direct impact on human rights and basic freedoms, severely undermining fundamental human rights, including the right to life, which is considered the supreme human right as stated in the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and other human rights instruments.

The issue of terrorism in Africa is complicated and aggravated by various factors that fuel its growth. In particular, the Horn of Africa (HOA), challenged by weak, corrupt, and warring states—some of which have failed—has become a refuge for Islamic fundamentalists and terrorists. Ethiopia, as a part of this geopolitical landscape, has faced attacks from both international groups (such as Al Shabab and Al Itihad) and domestic terrorists like the OLF and ONLF.

Ethiopia passed the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation (ATP) in 2009, guided by international principles and experiences from developed countries with strong anti-terrorism positions. Various actors, including the National Intelligence, Defense Forces, Federal Police, and others, enforce this ATP, demonstrating their commitment to the issue.

Despite facing criticism from human rights activists, journalists, and some scholars, the proclamation has been enforced, resulting in prosecutions of individuals, groups, and organizations suspected of terrorism. The fight against terrorism utilizes both military and legislative frameworks, which operate in tandem with multifaceted systems and experiences. Ethiopia remains relatively peaceful and stable due to its security forces and its model of counter-terrorism strategies.

The author recommends that government actors and other stakeholders collaboratively enforce the Anti-Terrorism Law without infringing upon human rights. They should also cooperate to combat their common enemy—terrorism—aiming to reduce its incidence and its effects on human security in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa as a whole.

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