



**POLAC MANAGEMENT REVIEW (PMR)
DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCE
NIGERIA POLICE ACADEMY, WUDIL-KANO**



THE AFRICAN UNION AND CHALLENGES IN ADDRESSING THE CONFLICT IN TIGRAY, ETHIOPIA

Maigari Jerry Kantiok

Department of Political Science, Nasarawa State University, Keffi - Nigeria

Abdullahi Salau Modibbo, PhD

Department of Political Science, Nasarawa State University, Keffi – Nigeria

Ruth Caleb Luka, PhD

Department of Political Science, Nasarawa State University, Keffi – Nigeria

Abstract

The conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia, has presented significant challenges to regional stability and humanitarian conditions, calling into question the effectiveness of the African Union (AU) in managing such crises. Despite numerous interventions, the AU's capacity to mediate and mitigate the conflict has been met with varying degrees of success. This study examines African Union's challenges in addressing the Tigray conflict. Specifically, it analyzes the effectiveness of the AU's mediation efforts in resolving the conflict and evaluates the impact of its peacekeeping missions on civilian protection in the region. Using content analysis method, this study adopts Neo-functionalism, as propounded by Haas (1958), to understand the dynamics of regional integration and the role of supranational institutions in conflict resolution. Neo-functionalism provides a framework to assess how the AU's institutional capabilities and political dynamics influence its intervention strategies and outcomes. The findings reveal that while the AU has made substantial diplomatic efforts to mediate between conflicting parties, the results have been mixed due to internal political dynamics, limited resources, and varying levels of commitment from member states. The AU's peacekeeping missions have had some success in providing immediate protection to civilians; however, logistical constraints and operational challenges have hindered their overall effectiveness. The study recommends strengthening the AU's institutional capacity through increased funding and member state support, enhancing collaborative mechanisms with other international organizations, and prioritizing comprehensive peacebuilding strategies that address root causes of the conflict. These measures are essential to improve the AU's responsiveness and effectiveness in managing conflicts in Tigray.

Keywords: African Union (AU), Challenges, Addressing, Tigray Conflict, Ethiopia

Introduction

The African Union (AU) has faced significant challenges in addressing the ongoing conflict in the Tigray region of Ethiopia, which began in November 2020. This conflict, marked by widespread violence, displacement, and a severe humanitarian crisis, has tested the AU's ability to mediate and resolve intra-state conflicts on the African continent.

Ethiopia, a nation with a complex ethnic and political landscape, has long struggled with issues of ethnic diversity and political centralization. The conflict in Tigray has its roots in the historical political dynamics following the 1991 overthrow of the Derg regime. The establishment of a federal system based on ethnic lines saw the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) emerge as a dominant political force within the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) coalition. However, with the rise of Prime

Minister Abiy Ahmed in 2018, tensions escalated. Abiy's efforts to reduce the TPLF's influence and promote national unity led to a crisis when the TPLF conducted regional elections in defiance of the central government's postponement due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This defiance prompted a military response from the federal government, resulting in violence and a humanitarian crisis (International Crisis Group, 2021).

The AU, headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, is responsible for promoting peace and stability across Africa. The AU's Peace and Security Council (PSC) is mandated to intervene in conflicts and facilitate negotiations. Despite its proximity to Ethiopia and its stake in regional stability, the AU's response to the Tigray conflict has faced criticism for being slow and inadequate. The AU's initial reluctance to condemn the actions of the Ethiopian government or the TPLF reflects Ethiopia's significant influence within the Union and the complex political landscape. The AU's principle of non-interference in member states' internal affairs further complicates its ability to take decisive action (Mehari, 2020). Efforts by the AU have largely focused on advocating for dialogue and ceasefire, often overshadowed by more direct interventions from the United Nations and the European Union.

Several factors contribute to the AU's difficulties in effectively addressing the Tigray conflict. Ethiopia's geopolitical significance, as both the seat of the AU and a key player in the Horn of Africa, complicates external intervention. The Ethiopian government frames the conflict as a matter of national sovereignty and internal security, resisting external mediation. Additionally, the AU's reliance on consensus and the principle of "African solutions to African problems" often result in slow decision-making and lack of decisive action. The AU also faces limitations in resources and logistical capabilities compared to other international organizations (African Union, 2021). The fragmented nature of African states, with diverse interests and alliances, further impedes the AU's ability to present a unified front.

The humanitarian impact of the conflict, including allegations of war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and blockades on aid, has attracted international condemnation. However, the AU has struggled to balance diplomatic engagement with the Ethiopian government while addressing these humanitarian concerns effectively. The underutilization of the African Standby Force, a key component of the AU's peacekeeping capability, highlights gaps in rapid deployment and operational effectiveness (Williams, 2021).

To enhance the AU's role in addressing the Tigray conflict and similar crises, several recommendations are proposed. Firstly, reforms within the AU are necessary to strengthen conflict resolution mechanisms and ensure timely and decisive action. This includes improving the capabilities of the PSC and enhancing coordination with regional economic communities (RECs) that have better on-ground insights and can act more quickly. Secondly, the AU must build trust and credibility with both member states and international partners. This involves balancing respect for national sovereignty with addressing human rights abuses and promoting humanitarian access. Engaging a broad range of stakeholders, including civil society organizations and the diaspora, can contribute to more inclusive and effective peacebuilding strategies. Sustained international support and cooperation are crucial. While "African solutions to African problems" is an important principle, the AU's efforts should be complemented by international diplomatic, financial, and logistical support. Partnerships with organizations such as the UN and the EU can enhance the AU's capacity to mediate and resolve conflicts. The Tigray conflict presents a significant test for the African Union's conflict resolution capabilities. Despite its strategic position and mandate, the AU faces substantial challenges, including geopolitical complexities, limited resources, and organizational constraints. Addressing these challenges and improving the AU's effectiveness requires a multifaceted approach, involving internal reforms, increased international support, and a balanced approach to conflict resolution and humanitarian

concerns. It's against this backdrop this study examined the African Union and Challenges in Addressing the Conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia. In specific, the study seeks:

- i. To analyze the effectiveness of the African Union's (AU) mediation efforts in resolving the Tigray conflict.
- ii. To evaluate the impact of the African Union's peacekeeping missions on civilian protection in the Tigray region

Literature Review

The African Union (AU) is a continental union consisting of 55 member states located on the continent of Africa. It was established on May 26, 2001, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and launched on July 9, 2002, in Durban, South Africa, with the aim of replacing the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The AU has its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The organization seeks to promote unity and solidarity among African states, accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent, and promote peace, security, and stability.

The concept of a unified Africa dates back to the pan-Africanist movements of the early 20th century, which sought to end colonial rule and promote solidarity among African peoples. The establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 marked the first major attempt at continental unity. The OAU focused on decolonization and the fight against apartheid, but it faced criticism for its inability to intervene in the internal affairs of member states, particularly in cases of human rights abuses and conflicts.

Formation and Objectives

The African Union was formed to address the shortcomings of the OAU and to adapt to the changing global and continental landscapes. The AU's primary objectives include achieving greater unity and solidarity between African countries and peoples; defending the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of its member states; accelerating the political and socio-economic integration of the

continent; and promoting peace, security, and stability on the continent.

Organizational Structure

The AU's organizational structure includes several key bodies:

- i. **The Assembly:** Composed of heads of state and government of member states, it is the highest decision-making body. The Assembly meets at least once a year to discuss and make decisions on policies and issues affecting the continent.
- ii. **The Executive Council:** Made up of foreign ministers or other ministers designated by the member states. The Council prepares material for the Assembly and oversees the implementation of policies adopted by the Assembly.
- iii. **The Commission:** The AU's secretariat, responsible for the day-to-day management and administration. It is headed by the Chairperson of the Commission.
- iv. **The Permanent Representatives Committee (PRC):** Consisting of permanent representatives of member states, it prepares the work for the Executive Council and acts as an advisory body.
- v. **The Peace and Security Council (PSC):** This body is responsible for the AU's conflict prevention, management, and resolution strategies. It also has the mandate to intervene in member states in cases of grave circumstances, such as war crimes and genocide.

The Conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia

The conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia, has captured global attention due to its severe humanitarian consequences and geopolitical implications. Rooted in historical, ethnic, and political complexities, the conflict began in November 2020 between the Ethiopian federal government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The violence has led to widespread atrocities, displacement, and a humanitarian crisis, exacerbating tensions within Ethiopia and affecting the broader

Horn of Africa region (Lyons, 2019). The roots of the Tigray conflict can be traced back to Ethiopia's intricate history of ethnic federalism and political power struggles. The TPLF, a dominant force in Ethiopian politics for nearly three decades, was a key player in the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) coalition, which overthrew the Derg regime in 1991. The EPRDF's rule, heavily influenced by the TPLF, established a federal system based on ethnic lines, which some argue sowed the seeds for future conflicts by exacerbating ethnic divisions (The Guardian, 2021).

Political Tensions and the Outbreak of Conflict

The rise of Abiy Ahmed to the Ethiopian premiership in 2018 marked a significant shift in the country's political landscape. Abiy's government initiated sweeping reforms aimed at political liberalization and national unity, but these changes were met with resistance from the TPLF, which felt marginalized by the new administration. Tensions escalated in September 2020 when the TPLF conducted regional elections in Tigray, defying a federal directive to postpone elections due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The conflict officially began on November 4, 2020, when Abiy Ahmed announced a military offensive against the TPLF, accusing it of attacking a federal military base. This offensive quickly spiraled into a full-scale war, drawing in regional forces from Amhara and the Eritrean military, further complicating the situation (International Crisis Group, 2020).

Humanitarian Crisis and Atrocities

The conflict has resulted in a catastrophic humanitarian situation. According to reports from the United Nations and various NGOs, millions of people have been displaced, and there have been widespread reports of atrocities, including mass killings, sexual violence, and the destruction of infrastructure. The UN has described the situation in Tigray as "a stain on our conscience" and called for urgent international action to address the crisis. Access to the region has been severely restricted, making it challenging to deliver humanitarian aid. The Ethiopian government has faced international criticism for blocking aid and

communications, exacerbating the suffering of the Tigrayan population. Reports of famine-like conditions have emerged, with millions in dire need of food assistance (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

International Response and Geopolitical Implications

The international community's response to the Tigray conflict has been mixed. Western countries, including the United States and members of the European Union, have condemned the violence and called for an immediate ceasefire and unrestricted humanitarian access. Sanctions have been imposed on Ethiopian and Eritrean officials implicated in human rights abuses. However, the response from regional actors has been more complex. Eritrea's involvement on the side of the Ethiopian government has drawn condemnation, but there has been limited action from the African Union (AU). Some African nations have been reluctant to criticize the Ethiopian government, citing respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs (Reuters, 2021).

Efforts for Peace and Resolution

Efforts to resolve the conflict have been ongoing but fraught with challenges. Ceasefire agreements have been repeatedly violated, and peace negotiations have stalled multiple times. In December 2021, a unilateral ceasefire was declared by the Ethiopian government, but fighting soon resumed. Mediation attempts by international bodies and neighboring countries have so far failed to yield a sustainable resolution. The AU appointed former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo as a special envoy to mediate the conflict, but his efforts have faced significant obstacles, including mutual distrust between the Ethiopian government and the TPLF.

Impact on Ethiopia and the Region

The Tigray conflict has had profound impacts on Ethiopia and the broader Horn of Africa. Within Ethiopia, the war has deepened ethnic divisions and undermined the country's stability. The conflict has also strained Ethiopia's relations with neighboring countries and international partners, complicating its

foreign policy and regional standing. The humanitarian crisis has spilled over into neighboring regions, with refugees fleeing to Sudan and other countries, creating additional pressures on these states. The instability has also threatened economic development and regional security, with fears that the conflict could spark wider ethnic violence and further destabilize the Horn of Africa (BBC News, 2020).

The conflict in Tigray is a complex and multifaceted crisis with deep historical roots and significant contemporary implications. The war has not only caused immense human suffering but also poses a substantial challenge to Ethiopia's unity and regional stability. Addressing this conflict requires a nuanced understanding of its underlying causes, robust international engagement, and a commitment to a peaceful and inclusive resolution. The international community must continue to push for humanitarian access, accountability for atrocities, and a sustainable political solution that addresses the grievances of all parties involved (Al Jazeera, 2020).

Empirical Review

Mehari (2020) examines the African Union's (AU) approach to the Tigray conflict, highlighting significant challenges in its mediation efforts. The study notes that the AU's response was initially characterized by hesitation and a lack of decisive action due to Ethiopia's influence within the Union and the AU's principle of non-interference in member states' internal affairs. Mehari argues that the AU's focus on advocating for dialogue and a ceasefire was overshadowed by the more direct interventions from international actors like the United Nations and the European Union. The study highlights the AU's struggle with balancing respect for Ethiopia's sovereignty with addressing severe humanitarian issues and allegations of war crimes. The findings underscore the limitations of the AU's conflict resolution framework, particularly its reliance on consensus and slow decision-making processes.

Williams (2021) explores the impact of Ethiopia's geopolitical significance on the AU's ability to address the Tigray conflict. The study discusses how Ethiopia's

role as the headquarters of the AU and its influence in the Horn of Africa complicated the AU's interventions. Williams highlights that Ethiopia's government framed the conflict as a matter of national sovereignty and internal security, resisting external mediation. This geopolitical context, combined with the AU's resource constraints and the principle of "African solutions to African problems," resulted in delayed and limited responses. The review emphasizes that the AU's mediation efforts were constrained by Ethiopia's resistance to external involvement and the organization's own institutional limitations.

The African Union's response to the humanitarian crisis in Tigray is critically analyzed by African Union (2021). This report highlights the severe humanitarian impact of the conflict, including mass displacement, famine, and allegations of ethnic cleansing. It examines the AU's efforts to address these issues, noting that while the AU made calls for humanitarian access and a ceasefire, its responses were often hindered by the organization's limited peacekeeping capabilities and logistical challenges. The report underscores the gap between the AU's diplomatic efforts and the urgent humanitarian needs on the ground, pointing out that the AU's peacekeeping missions, such as the African Standby Force, were underutilized in this context.

Botvinick (2021) examined Conflict monitoring and cognitive control. A neglected question regarding cognitive control is how control processes might detect situations calling for their involvement. The authors propose here that the demand for control may be evaluated in part by monitoring for conflicts in information processing. This hypothesis is supported by data concerning the anterior cingulate cortex, a brain area involved in cognitive control, which also appears to respond to the occurrence of conflict. The present article reports two computational modeling studies, serving to articulate the conflict monitoring hypothesis and examine its implications. The first study tests the sufficiency of the hypothesis to account for brain activation data, applying a measure of conflict to existing models of tasks shown to engage

the anterior cingulate. The second study implements a feedback loop connecting conflict monitoring to cognitive control, using this to simulate a number of important behavioral phenomena.

Straus (2016) investigated The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2). This article describes a revised Conflict Tactics Scales (the CTS2) to measure psychological and physical attacks on a partner in a marital, cohabiting, or dating relationship; and also use of negotiation. The CTS2 has (a) additional items to enhance content validity and reliability; (b) revised wording to increase clarity and specificity; (c) better differentiation between minor and severe levels of each scale; (d) new scales to measure sexual coercion and physical injury; and (e) a new format to simplify administration and reduce response sets. Reliability ranges from .79 to .95. There is a preliminary evidence of constructs validity.

Theoretical Framework

The study adopted Neo-functionalism as propounded by Haas (1958). Haas (1958) had attempted to look at the different reasons that may encourage the progress of integration plans in different organisations. These motifs were used to investigate the causes that led the African Union to be not fully integrated, if compared with the European Union. The first motif that Haas examined is the political interests of states, and their direct effect on the progress or regress of economic integration plans. The lack of economic integration in Africa, then, might be linked with the difference in political interests of African state actors. Therefore, they were hesitant about suggested integration plans, such as the plan for the United States of Africa, the ratification of the protocol creating the African Court of Justice, and the plan to develop a Pan African Parliament into an elected legislative body. This rejection might be associated, then, with the divergence of this plan with the main political interests of African countries, who feared a decrease of their sovereignty and autonomy. Moreover, these plans did not match the economic interests of the African states. This can also be interconnected with the differences between African countries at the level of their

economic capacities, including natural resources, economic development, and connections with the global markets.

Relevance of Neo-Functionalist to the Study

Neo functionalism was selected to study the African Union and the conflict in Ethiopia for a number of reasons. Firstly, Neo-functionalism is the theory that answers most of the research questions, especially those which are related to studying the role of the African Union in the conflict in Ethiopia. This theory focuses on the phenomenon of the shift of loyalties, and its direct effects on the progress of integration plans in any organisation. It is mainly related to the idea of the redefinition of interests, moving from narrow and national to be regional and larger in scope (Haas, 1958).

Neo-functionalism emphasize that collaborative efforts in one functional area can spill-over or have ramifications for other spheres of cooperation. The relevance of the neo-functionalist theory to the discourse is that the process of integration was supposed to spill-over to other areas of integration apart from economic to political, to security and to trade.

Methodology

To achieve the aim and objectives of this study, a content analysis method was employed, reviewing official AU statements, reports from international organizations, and scholarly articles on the Tigray conflict. The analysis focused on the AU's diplomatic efforts, peacekeeping missions, and humanitarian assistance strategies. Specifically, official AU communiqués and press releases were examined to understand the organization's public stance and policy declarations regarding the Tigray conflict. Reports from international bodies such as the United Nations and Human Rights Watch were analyzed to gain insight into the global perspective on the AU's interventions. Additionally, scholarly articles provided a critical examination of the AU's effectiveness, challenges faced, and the broader geopolitical implications of its actions in Tigray. This

comprehensive content analysis allowed for a nuanced understanding of the AU's multifaceted role in addressing the crisis.

Result and Discussion

The effectiveness of the African Union's (AU) mediation efforts in resolving the Tigray conflict

The African Union (AU) has undertaken numerous interventions aimed at resolving crises across the continent, demonstrating varying degrees of effectiveness. Content analysis of the AU's interventions reveals a multifaceted approach that includes peacekeeping missions, diplomatic negotiations, and support for democratic processes. For instance, in Somalia, the AU Mission (AMISOM) has been crucial in countering militant groups, while in South Sudan, the AU has facilitated peace agreements. However, the effectiveness of these interventions is often hampered by several barriers.

Firstly, logistical and financial constraints significantly limit the AU's capacity. The dependency on external funding and lack of adequate resources hinder sustained operations. Secondly, political complexities within member states, including issues of sovereignty and internal politics, complicate the AU's efforts. Thirdly, there are challenges related to coordination with other international bodies like the United Nations, leading to overlapping mandates and diluted efforts. Finally, there is the issue of limited enforcement power. The AU often lacks the authority to compel compliance, relying instead on diplomatic persuasion, which is not always effective.

Overall, while the AU has made notable strides in addressing continental crises, its interventions are often constrained by financial, logistical, political, and structural barriers, impacting their overall efficacy.

The impact of the African Union's peacekeeping missions on civilian protection in the Tigray region

The African Union (AU) has established various response mechanisms to address peacekeeping and conflict resolution across the continent. These mechanisms include the African Peace and Security

Architecture (APSA), the Peace and Security Council (PSC), and the African Standby Force (ASF). APSA is the overarching framework aimed at preventing, managing, and resolving conflicts. The PSC serves as a decision-making body on matters of peace and security, while the ASF is intended to provide rapid military and humanitarian intervention in crises.

Despite these structures, the AU's efforts have often been hindered by several obstacles. Firstly, inadequate funding and logistical support have significantly limited the effectiveness of AU missions. Many member states struggle to contribute the necessary resources, leading to reliance on external donors, which can undermine the AU's autonomy. Secondly, political complexities and lack of unified political will among member states often delay decision-making and intervention. This fragmentation can result in inconsistent and delayed responses to emerging conflicts.

Discussion of Findings

The African Union (AU) has faced significant challenges in addressing the conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia. The content analysis of AU statements, reports from international organizations, and scholarly articles revealed several key findings regarding the AU's diplomatic efforts, peacekeeping missions, and humanitarian assistance strategies.

The AU's diplomatic initiatives have included calls for ceasefire, dialogue, and peaceful resolution of the conflict. Despite these efforts, the AU has struggled to mediate effectively between the Ethiopian government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The AU's inability to enforce ceasefire agreements and ensure compliance from both parties highlights a critical limitation in its conflict resolution capabilities. Furthermore, the AU's diplomatic interventions have been perceived as lacking neutrality, partly due to Ethiopia's influential role within the AU, which has undermined the credibility and effectiveness of the organization's mediation efforts.

The analysis found that the AU has not deployed peacekeeping forces directly in Tigray, relying instead on diplomatic pressure and coordination with other international bodies. This contrasts with previous AU interventions in other African conflicts, where peacekeeping missions played a crucial role. The absence of an AU-led peacekeeping mission in Tigray reflects both logistical challenges and political constraints. The complexities of engaging with a member state's internal conflict without explicit consent from the Ethiopian government have further complicated the AU's peacekeeping potential.

The AU has emphasized the importance of humanitarian assistance and has called for unrestricted access to aid for the Tigrayan population. However, the implementation of these humanitarian strategies has been hindered by the Ethiopian government's restrictions on access to the region. Reports from international organizations indicate severe humanitarian crises, including famine and displacement, exacerbated by the limited reach of aid efforts. The AU's reliance on member states' cooperation and the lack of enforcement mechanisms has significantly impeded its ability to alleviate the humanitarian suffering in Tigray.

The AU's efforts to address the Tigray conflict have been hampered by significant challenges in diplomacy, peacekeeping and humanitarian aid delivery. The organization's structural limitations, political dynamics, and reliance on member state cooperation have collectively constrained its effectiveness. To enhance its role in such conflicts, the AU may need to strengthen its conflict resolution mechanisms, ensure greater neutrality, and develop more robust frameworks for humanitarian intervention, independent of political influences from its member states.

Conclusion

The African Union (AU) faces significant challenges in addressing the conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia. Despite its efforts in diplomacy, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance, the AU's response has been hindered by a complex array of factors, including

limited resources, political divisions among member states, and the reluctance of some stakeholders to engage in meaningful dialogue.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the study made the following recommendations:

- i. The African Union should intensify its diplomatic efforts to facilitate dialogue and negotiation between the conflicting parties in Tigray, Ethiopia. This could involve leveraging its diplomatic channels to encourage dialogue, mediate negotiations, and promote confidence-building measures aimed at de-escalating tensions and fostering reconciliation.
- ii. The African Union should prioritize the deployment of robust and impartial peacekeeping missions in Tigray to help stabilize the region and protect civilians. These missions should be adequately resourced, trained, and equipped to effectively implement their mandate, including monitoring ceasefires, protecting civilians, and facilitating the delivery of humanitarian aid.
- iii. The African Union should work closely with international partners and humanitarian organizations to ramp up humanitarian assistance efforts in Tigray. This includes ensuring unhindered access for aid agencies, coordinating relief efforts, and mobilizing resources to address the urgent humanitarian needs of the affected population, including food, shelter, healthcare, and protection services.
- iv. The African Union should advocate for accountability and justice for human rights violations and atrocities committed during the conflict in Tigray. This could involve supporting investigations into alleged crimes, facilitating access to justice for victims, and cooperating with international mechanisms, such as the International Criminal Court, to ensure perpetrators are held accountable for their actions.

References

- African Union. (2021). "Humanitarian Crisis and the African Union's Response to the Tigray Conflict." *AU Peace and Security Report*, 5(4), 87-104.
- African Union. (2021). African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA).
- Al Jazeera. (2020). Ethiopia's Tigray crisis: What you need to know. Retrieved from https://www.aljazeera.com [https://www.aljazeera.com].
- BBC News. (2020). Ethiopia's Tigray crisis: How a soldier survived an 11-hour gun battle. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com [https://www.bbc.com].
- Haas, E. B. (1958). *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford University Press.
- Human Rights Watch. (2021). Ethiopia: Tigray conflict abuses and international response. Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org [https://www.hrw.org].
- International Crisis Group. (2020). Ethiopia's Tigray War: A Deadly Quagmire. Retrieved from https://www.crisisgroup.org [https://www.crisisgroup.org].
- International Crisis Group. (2021). Restoring Peace in Ethiopia's Tigray Region. Retrieved from https://www.crisisgroup.org [https://www.crisisgroup.org].
- Mehari, T. (2020). The African Union's Peace and Security Architecture: An Overview. *African Security Review*, 29 (1), 28-41.
- The Guardian. (2021). Ethiopia declares unilateral ceasefire in Tigray. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com [https://www.theguardian.com].
- Williams, A. (2021). "Geopolitical Dynamics and the African Union's Role in the Tigray Conflict." *Journal of African Studies*, 29(2), 112-135.