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ARTICLES

| | |
|--|------------|
| Minority rights protection under the second house: The Ethiopian federal experience | 144 |
| Alene Agegnehu and Worku Dibu | |
| Route for sustainable development in Ethiopia: Opportunities and braves of good governance | 150 |
| Idris Mohammed and Mohammed Ahmed | |
| Ethiopia's growth and transformation plan and its implications for synergic sum effect contextualized into regional cooperation in the horn of Africa | 162 |
| Assefa Leake Gebru and Yemane Zeray | |

Review

Minority rights protection under the second house: The Ethiopian federal experience

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Right after the overthrow of dictatorial military regime since 1991, Ethiopia underwent a remarkable change of political system. It has restructured the society based on federal state arrangement which creates nine self-administered regional government taking linguistic, settlement pattern, and consent of the governed into consideration. Addis Ababa and although not mentioned in the constitution, Dire Dawa become autonomous city administration outside regional sphere of competence but administered and responsible to the federal government. The federal arrangement further creates Bi-cameral federal institutions, House of People Representatives and House of Federation for the site of regional people representatives and minorities that are found within the regional government, respectively. Under the house of people representative, out of 548 seats, 20 are lefts and reserved for minority groups. Under house of federation, this is commonly understood as the house of minorities in which every nation, nationality and people of Ethiopia have representative that reflect the interests of their minority groups. Every nation, nationality and people has a minimum of one representative and possibly to have additional representative based on their population number. The house with its entrusted power to interpret constitution, enables safeguarding the constitutionally granted minority rights. Such recognition of cultural diversity and the institutionalization of minority rights is a critical factor that acts as the viability of ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia.

Key words: Ethiopian federalism, house of federation, minority rights, minority rights protection.

INTRODUCTION

The Ethiopia federal system is given due emphasis for the rights of nation, nationality and people of the country. The preamble of the constitution acknowledge them and begin by stating "we nation, nationality and people of Ethiopia," (FDRE Constitution, Art (1)). It also strengthen it by giving sovereign power on the hands of Nation, Nationality and People of Ethiopia and it declared that the constitution is the direct expression of their sovereignty which is

exercised by them through their representatives (FDRE Constitution, Art (8)). Moreover, the constitution also grants them the right to self-determination including the rights to session and the right to establish institutions of government in their jurisdiction. They also have the right to have equitable representation both in state and federal governments' houses so as to protect their constitutional rights (FDRE Constitution, Art (39)).

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In order to realize the above-mentioned rights of nations, the FDRE constitution established the house of people representative (HPR)- which represent the people of the regions and House of Federation (HoF)- a none law making body composed of the representatives of each nation, nationality and people. The constitution provides the mandate to promote equality among nation, nationality and people of Ethiopia and, to interpret the constitution, deciding on issues related to constitutional disputes and budget allocation (Art 62). But, in theory, an impartial body, not constitutionally beholden to any of the ethnic groups, is required to resolve or handle the aforementioned sensitive issues (Magbako et al., 2008:291). However, the HoF, which is composed by the majoritarian ethnic groups that also form the ruling party, is mandated to carry out the above-mentioned functions. But, how could the minority groups in the HoF exercise their rights if they are overridden (outnumbered) by the more populated groups that forms the ruling party, who have more seats in the house, since the simple majority is a requirement to pass all decisions in the house. Thus, though the HOF is meant to protect minority ethnic groups, reflect the diversity of the Ethiopian people and promote equality and unity among Ethiopia's various ethnic groups, this cannot be fully realized due to the unbalanced representation of ethnic groups in the HoF or HOF's majoritarian make-up (Tsegaye, 2004). As indicated in Assefa (2007) *"in the areas of fiscal transfer, the rights of national minority are rarely protected due to the majoritarian nature of the house"*.

In a nutshell, constitutional adjudication by the political organ which fall under the influence of ruling party that lacks complete independence from the EPRDF and the executive branch of government and composed by majoritarian ethnic group is seem not in a right track to adequately protect the rights of minorities (Magbako et al., 2008:285). Hence, the objective of this article is to investigate the political representation of minorities in HoF, and the role, appropriateness and effectiveness of the HoF in protection of minority rights in Ethiopia.

Representation of minority in the house of federation

One of the most important component pillars of minority rights is the representation and participation of minorities in the decision-making process at federal institutions. This is very critical, in a sense that it helps the minority groups to enjoy, protect and promote their own rights. Accordingly, the Ethiopian federal political system provides the opportunity of representation of all minorities in the houses of federation (FDRE, 1995, Art 62 (2)).

According to Art 61(1) of the FDRE constitution, house of federation is composed of representatives from among each nation, nationality and people of Ethiopia. However, there is a unique arrangement, for the more populous ethnic groups in the house. The nation that has more population

will have more seats in the house. This arrangement however, deviates from international practices. In USA, there is equal state representation in the second chamber, senate (each state has two representatives). Under the Canadian, each province has the right to have equal representation in the senate, and the same rule is also applied in Australia federation. In Switzerland, the upper house is composed of 46 representatives, two from each 20 full canton and one from half cantons (Bogale, 2012:77; Dafflon, 1992). But, though there are more than eighty ethno-linguistic groups in Ethiopia, there are nations who do not have seats in the house. In contrast, the four more populated and relatively economically advanced ethnic groups Amhara Oromo, Somalia, SNNP and Tigray constituted the largest seats which accounts for 61 seats out of 135 seats by the principles of additional seat for extra one million populations. Thus, such kinds of arrangement provided by the constitution might create domination of the minority ethnic groups by the largest groups in the house. As some scholars lament, though the House of Federation is mandated the responsibility to settle the disputes that may arise between regional states and to promote and consolidate the unity of Nation, Nationality and Peoples of Ethiopia based on equality and their mutual consent, practically, the house however has little power in policy formulation and legislation at the federal level (Haileyesuse, 2012: 8).

Consequently, the representative of each nation, nationality and people, that is, the minorities have no strong influence on the legislation, policy formulation and implementation processes of the federal government. However, as Haileyesuse mentioned, principally, minorities have possibilities of influencing central decisions.

By taking into consideration the development and decision on federal-state budget transfer formula and the constitutional interpretation as the basic responsibilities of the second house and the possibility of representation of minority nationalities in the house of peoples representatives, it is possible to argue that, minorities have wider possibilities to bring their case forward and to influence the decision making process at the federal level (Haileyesuse, 2012: 8).

However, the major elements taken into consideration for the degree of influence on decision making is party politics. Due to this reason, minority issues are also strictly linked to the party political arrangement in the country and the current unavoidable coalition of regionally organized parties may give a chance for the minorities to promote their issues, as a coalition partner (Haileyesus, 2012:8).

Because of the aforementioned fact, the minority groups, who have less seats in the house of federation also has less representative in the house of people representatives, oppressed and dominated by the majority ethnic groups since all decision in the houses are held based on simple majority. Beyond this, "Ethiopian constitution of 1994 contains no provisions that guarantee

representation for different ethnic groups in the federal executive," this also undermines the protection of minority rights since every rights listed in the constitution and decision made by the HoF require an enforceable body that stands strongly on the side of minority groups (Beken, 2007:111). As Getachew, 2011 notes:

In the process of implementation of the constitutional right to self-rule by the majority ethnic groups in their respective vicinity, rights of minorities within the ethnic regional states and sub-state administrative units could be violated by those dominant ethnic groups exercising political, social and economic powers.

The establishment of the upper house seems to have more of political intention than promotion of equality among nations. Because, if only the majority ethnic groups are beneficial in both chambers than the minority, the Ethiopia government is needed to establish the two chambers. Even, Article 13(1) of the FDRE Constitution states that the judiciary has the duty to enforce the fundamental rights and freedoms in the constitution. In practice, however, "the judiciary has been stripped of one of its most powerful tools in guarding against the infringement of constitutionally guaranteed human rights-the power of judicial review" (Magbako et al., 2008). If this is the case, why does the constitutional framers want to give the power of constitutional interpretation for non-independent and partial political organ? According to Assefa (2007), the rationale for vesting the power of interpreting the constitution in the HoF, and not in the regular court like USA or a special constitutional court like Germany, is mainly emanated due to the main reasons of; firstly, the constitutional framers considered the Constitution as a '*political contract*' or the reflection of the '*free will and consent*' of the nationalities, since the preamble of the constitution begin by saying we nation, nationality and peoples of Ethiopia, the constitutional interpretation should be vested in the hands nationalities. Secondly, "empowering the judiciary or a constitutional court may result in unnecessary 'judicial adventurism' or 'judicial activism' in which the judges would in the process of interpreting vague clauses of the constitution put their own preferences and policy choices in the first place. Thus, the framers argued, this might result in hijacking the very document that contains the 'compact between the nationalities' to fit the judges' own personal philosophies" (Assefa, 2007: 10).

The effectiveness of house of federation in the protection of minority rights

The house of federation is the primary organ mandated to promote equality and unity among peoples (FDRE Constitution, Art 62 (4)). As per the intention of the constitutional framers, the house is uniquely constituted so

as to protect and promote the rights of nation, nationalities or minority groups. It is also the responsibility of the house of federation to guarantee the observance of the constitution which enshrines rights of national minorities. The HoF is specifically mandated to deal with the quest self-determination including secession (FDRE Constitution, Art 62 (3)). However, the HoF has not specifically been mandated to combat ethnic discrimination or ensure racial equality. "*The HoF also suffers from serious capacity constraints, and its efforts in terms of promoting tolerance are limited to organizing cultural festivals and shows*" (ibid). It has not taken a proactive role in terms of identifying discriminatory practices and systematically combating them, or understanding causes of ethnic conflicts and providing sustainable solutions (ibid). The Ethiopian human rights council stated its limitation as follows:

The HoF has never responded to reports by local nongovernmental organizations working on human rights on incidences of ethnic conflict or recommended measures to address problems (Ethiopia Human Rights Council, 2009).

The aptness of the HoF to protect and promote the rights of minority should be examined in relation with identity, competence, organization and structure of the institution. The role assigned to the house of federation- protection of minority rights as well as promotion of equality of nations, interpretation of the constitution, deciding on issues related to and fiscal equalization requires well organized competent and impartial organ (Temesgn, 2012:35). When we see the house of federation in light of competency and impartiality, the house of federation is inappropriate organ to protect, promote and enforce minority's right in Ethiopia federation due to the reason that the house of federation is a political organ that fall under the influence of ruling party (Magbako et al., 2008:291). Hence, it is difficult to expect that the more sensitive political issues are decided in the unbiased and impartial manners by the house of federation since the house is under the influence of and loyal to the ruling party in power, it could not expose the wrong doing of their members. "*A political body, which represents the various interests of the ethnic groups, is not in a position to resolve such matters*" (ibid). Most of the power entrusted house makes the federal or state government to be the parties in dispute. It is also true that the determination of the rights of minority groups in one way or other is related to socio economic and political aspects. Hence it will be far from truth that such institution will settle on disputes with one level of government, a party impartially. Moreover, it is unlikely such organ can force one level of government and protect minority rights since there is a political affiliation and the house is the part of government (Bogale, 2012: 106).

The second reason is that its majoritarian nature also hindered the house to protect minority interests. As it is explained interpretation of the constitution, deciding on the

rights of minority nations and determination grant should be decided based on the majority vote which may override the voice of minority groups in the house. Such has been experienced in determination of subsidies to the region in the past years. It is also important to note that the manner of election of the members of the house might make them members to stand in favor of the states interest at the expense of minority rights (Yohannes, 2010:60). The third reason which makes the house inappropriate to protect minority is its competence. "*House of Federation (HoF) is a political body which often lacks competence and expediency in deciding on constitutional disputes*" (Ethiopia Human Rights Council, 2009: 3).

Since they are the members of the ruling party, this assures that most of them lack technical competence so as to protect and promote minority rights effectively (Bogale, 2012:107). More importantly, members of the HoF are more of political expert than legal expert that perform its function with the support of Council of Constitutional Inquires (CCI)¹. The competence of the council remain an advisory role, they can merely hear and decide those cases that does not need constitutional interpretation. In other words, the CCI is required to submit its recommendations' to the HoF or pass a decision if it finds there is no need for constitutional interpretation. Regarding its decision, if party is dissatisfied with the decision of the CCI, it may appeal to the HoF. Thus, it is clear that the CCI is merely an advisory body to the HoF, lacking the competence to give a binding decision. The HoF even has the liberty to disregard the CCI's opinions in some cases. The ultimate power of constitutional interpretation is vested in the hand of political expert than legal expert (Assefa, 2009).

Moreover, the HoF also meet twice a month, if there is a case of how it can solve many issues from various ethnic groups within a short period of time in unbiased manners and promote equality among Nation, Nationality and Peoples of Ethiopia. The constitution of some regional government could not recognize the existence of minority group. For example, the preamble of the Oromo constitution refer to 'we Oromo people' not to the peoples of the Oromia region, whereas that the Amhara constitution give due attention to the position of ethnic minority groups by providing a guaranteed representation of "*minority nationalities and peoples.*" As we understand from the above statement, Oromia constitution clearly reflect discrimination between the Oromia peoples and the minority groups. It is obvious: such kinds of constitutional contradiction result resentment and conflict, however, the HoF give deaf ear to settle the constitutional disputes among region (Beken, 2007; Revised Constitution of

Oromia and Amhara State, 2002).

As a result, as there are not even two states with same population size and ethnic diversity, it is inevitable that the states would differ from each other in their representation in the House of Federation. Constitutionally speaking, the HoF is designed to represent nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. However, in this scenario, it can be realized that each state is indirectly represented by the number of nation, nationalities and peoples it hosts and additional member for extra one.

As discussed above in regions like Oromiya, Afar and Somali, since the respective regional state constitution does not recognize other ethnic groups, their representation in the house is only estimated by the number of their total population. While in others, in addition to population number, the diversity of the regions also has a considerable impact on getting seats in the house. For instance, in Amhara regional state, there are five ethnic groups including the dominant Amhara; similarly in Benshangul Gumuz there are five ethnic groups, in Tigray there are three ethnic groups, in Gambella, there are four ethnic groups, more surprisingly in SNNP there are about 56 ethnic groups. This implies that in these regions, before considering their population number, they will have five, three, five, four and fifty six representatives, respectively.

As shown in Table 1, there is incomparable representation of regional states in general and ethnic groups in particular. It ranges from high represented region of southern amounting to 61 to low represented regions of Harari and Afar with one and two representatives, respectively. On the other hand, regional states that have an ethnically very diverse population (such as the Southern state) or those inhabited by large ethnic groups (such as the Amhara and Oromia regions) are more strongly represented in the HoF (Beken, 2009). Hence, three states (the Southern state, Amhara and Oromia) together have 111 of the 134 representatives in the House of the Federation. While the other three regional states such as Harari, Gambella and Benshangul-Gumuz together has only 10 representatives. Hence, the house that is entrusted with the responsibility to promote the equality of the peoples of Ethiopia and consolidate their unity faces difficulties of performing the task because of its composition.

Unlike other federations such as the American federation where each state has equal representative in the upper house which enable them to have equal say in influencing decision, the Ethiopian federation under this asymmetric representation, it is undoubtedly true that regions with few representative in the second house has no equal capacity to put pressure on issues raised within the house that affects the interests of their respective regions.

The status of less represented regions in decision making process at the house

As seen above, the composition of the house of federation

¹The Council of Constitutional Inquiry (CCI), consisting of eleven members among others, comprises the Chief Justice and his deputy of the federal Supreme Court, who also serve respectively as chairman and vice chairman of the CCI, six other legal experts appointed by the President of the Republic with the recommendation of the lower house, as a matter of practice coming from different constituent states, and three persons designated by the HoF from among its members.

Table 1. Ethnic composition of the regions and their number of representatives in the house of federation (second house).

| Member states | No. of ethnic groups | Seats in HoF |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Tigray | 3 | 7 |
| Afar | 1 | 2 |
| Amhara | 5 | 24 |
| Oromia | 1 | 26 |
| Somali | 1 | 5 |
| Benshangul Gumuz | 5 | 5 |
| SNNPRS | 55 | 61 |
| Gambella | 4 | 4 |
| Harari | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 76 | 135 |

Source: House of Federation representation document, 2017.

exhibits a wide asymmetry in seizing of seats (votes) among regional states. It ranges from 61 seats of SNNP up to only 1 seat of Harari regional state. All decision of the house in general is decided by simple majority votes. Therefore, it is hardly possible to imagine that the interest of minorities are prevailed or protected unless and otherwise other special law or practices are promulgated.

As a result, in the process of passing decision, there is huge disagreement among member states especially between less populated and populous regions. The minorities (in this case 'minority'-refers to those ethnic groups that have less population number) are easily snowed under in decision making process as they hold insignificant voices and because there is no special law which protects them. As the source indicates that political negotiation is the only mechanism to smoothen contentions among member states and until now, the HoF encounter not severe difficulties in solving disagreements appearing among member states in relation to determining the subsidy allocation formula because the dominant party controls the federal government and all regions (Asnake, 2009). Yet, it is difficult to imagine how the HoF would devise acceptable decision that would be welcomed by all states, when rival political parties in a multiparty context come to control the regional governments.

In Ethiopia when a federal system has been put in place, formal bicameralism was envisaged. However, though the constitution creates a bicameral legislature, a more serious analysis suggest that the constitution take up bicameralism in form not in practice because it is a two house parliament and both chambers involved in the federal law-making process with one usually requiring the consent of the other to pass legislation. But in the case of Ethiopia, the second chamber, namely the HoF is not functioning as a legislative body and not involved in law making process. As a result, it is very difficult to consider the second house in Ethiopia as a bicameral and effective institutional arrangement able to protect minorities (Berhanu, 2007). To be called a bicameral as discussed in

the theory, the involvements of the two chambers in the legislation process is needed. But in Ethiopian federation, the legislation process resides only in the House of People Representative and it has powers to legislate alone in all matters assigned by the constitution to federal jurisdiction. Unlike other federations, the FDRE second chamber participation in law making process that affects the interest of minorities is restricted only in limited cases. Therefore, instituting bicameral legislature in form and unicameral in actual operation is the other unique feature of Ethiopian Federalism that incapacitate the effective protection of minorities rights by enacting laws that can directly affect and benefit them.

CONCLUSION

The HoF is a political organ that fall under the influence of the ruling party and composed of the majority ethnic groups or unbalanced representation is mandated to promote the equality of nation, nationality of Ethiopia. However, since the HoF is under the influence of legislative and executive branch of ruling party, it lacks complete independency and impartiality to get the heart and mind of the minority, thus, it is not in a right track to promote and protect the minority rights. Unless the constitutional adjudicators are independent and impartial, the constitutional adjudication would not meet or attain the objectives of promoting and protecting minority rights. The HOF's inefficiency and political subjectivity in interpreting the FDRE Constitution, and the numerous avenues for abuse, have led and will lead to failure in protecting the fundamental rights and freedoms of the right of citizens in general and the right of minority in particular. That is why the most sensitive political issue raised by different ethnic groups to the HoF is postponed for a long period of time and become unsettled. Thus, the power of constitutional interpretation should be taken away from the HOF and given for an independent and impartial body, that is, the judiciary organ that must undergo judicial reforms. Unless due to its unbalanced representation or majority make-up sum up with its political interest and incompetence of the house by the more populated ethnic groups that form coalition and establish a ruling party, it is foolish to think the right of minorities are well protected and promoted. Because every decision taking place in the HoF requires the simple majority, in which the minority interest is always suppressed and oppressed by the dominant ethnic groups and since they are put in that position by the vote of their ethnic groups, the majority ethnic group representative in the house stand for the interest of thr majority at the expense of the minority.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Full Length Research Paper

Route for sustainable development in Ethiopia: Opportunities and braves of good governance

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The landmark of good governance in order to bring sustainable development in Ethiopia was the ratification of 1995 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) constitution. Within this constitution, the individual and group rights of people were protected, indicators of good governance was identified and mentioned and recognitions for different institutions were given. Even though the constitution was drafted with different rights, the implementation was not as much as it was expected. In order to bring sustainable development, good governance is so important. To conduct the study only secondary data were used. Different relevant data's on the issues were systematically collected from books, magazines, newspapers, internet, articles, journals, and different report. However those data were critically reviewed and analyzed. Good governance is the precondition for sustainable development. In this paper, the researcher tried to identify the indicator of good governance such as legitimacy of the government, community participation, local empowerment, accountability, transparency, democratic institutions and freedom of media. Different challenges of good governance were identified. These are excessive poverty, population growth and high unemployment combined with a high incidence of HIV/AIDS. Fallow opportunities such as improper utilization of natural resources, lack of proper utilizations of different democratic institutions were also identified. Different measures were taken to overcome those challenges. The strategies such as government and institutions should work together, devise ways and means of sharing of national wealth, avoid failed state, insure discipline and organization, encourage culture of completion and innovation and fight corruption. These strategies are adopted by government, institutions, non state actors and individual members.

Key words: Good governance, sustainable development, linkage.

INTRODUCTION

A country does not have to be rich in natural resources to be prosperous. Conversely, a wealth of natural resources does not guarantee prosperity and a high quality of life. The 1991 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia prescribe the fundamental rights of citizens.

For development to last there is need for good governance. It is very important to ensure that good governance forms the basis of development, otherwise, there will be no sustainable development or "sustainable human development" (UNDP, 1997). The United Nations

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Development Programme's (UNDP) definition of good governance is set out in a 1997 UNDP policy document entitled "Governance for Sustainable Human Development". The document states that governance can be seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It is explained that governance has three dimensions: economic, political and administrative. Economic governance includes the decision-making processes that affect a country's economic activities and its relationships with other economies. Political governance is the process of decision making to formulate policy. Administrative governance is the system of policy implementation. Encompassing all three, good governance defines the processes and structures that guide political and socio-economic relationships (UNDP, 2003).

The indicators of good governance includes peace, transparency, respect for human rights, rule of laws and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development are essential for achieving sustainable development. Good governance is important prerequisites to achieving sustainable development. Good governance at national and international levels are essential for sustainable development including sustained and inclusive economic growth, social development, environmental protection and the eradication of poverty and hunger (General Assembly resolution 66/288).

The Commission on Africa puts it aptly- "There can be no development without peace, but there can be no peace without development. Therefore, investing in development is investing in peace. However, the worsening challenges of this sustainable development includes: population growth, corruption and poor access to health and educational services, have become a potential source of threat to peace and stability in the region (African Development Bank, 2005). Measures to address this challenge should include improving access to productive assets for youth, empowering them politically and economically, creating and expanding income-generating activities and involving them in community based decision-making, so as to provide them with the opportunity to become active agents for building peace, preventing conflict and promoting a culture of peace (UN, 2005; UN, 2006). In Ethiopia a major challenge is to develop mechanisms to promote responsibility, economically, productive resource management and to ensure equitable distribution of wealth to stakeholders.

Statement of the problem

Working conditions should be safe and healthy, and every worker should receive a fair wage to ensure a decent living for him/her and his/her family. Every person has the right to an adequate standard of living attained by having access to adequate food, housing, clothing and the continual improvement of conditions. To meet food needs

states need to improve methods of production, conservation and distribution by using all available technical and scientific information. States should also use available information in order to make more efficient use of natural resources. Every person has the right to the highest attainable level of physical and mental health. Everyone should have access to education, and enjoy the benefits of scientific progress (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966, article 1, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13). This treaty asserts the right of every person to self-determination in order to develop in all economic, social, political and cultural fields. Articles 6 and 7 define the right to employment in order to achieve economic stability. So having this convention in mind, Good governance is so important for sustainable development. Sustainable development is holistic that include economical, political, social and cultural development.

Different governments consider themselves as good governance. But different problems such as weak public participation in decision making, without observing the rule of laws, commitment to fight corruption, lack of properly respecting sovereignty of people and abuse of power are occurred. That means government officials didn't properly adhere to perform indicators of good governance. These indicators are legitimacy of government, accountability of holders of political office, transparency, competent government, and respect for human rights, public participation and democratic institutions. Identifying and knowing the challenges of good governance means half of the challenges have been solved. Different opportunities of good governance are not been properly exploited. Another problem is the controversial issue on either good governance is the precondition of development or not. There are different views on the relationship between good governance and sustainable development. Some people argue that good governance must pursue first then bring sustainable development. In contrary to that others argue sustainable development comes first then good governance comes next. This is debating issues for different countries of the world.

Having the above problems taken in to account, the study has developed the following research questions:

- i) What are the indicators of good governance to bring sustainable development in Ethiopia?
- ii) Is there a link between good governance and sustainable development?
- iii) What are the prospects of good governance for sustainable development in Ethiopia?
- iv) What are the challenges that visage to good governance to bring sustainable development in Ethiopia?
- v) What are the possible solutions to overcome those challenges and to exploit those opportunities to bring sustainable development in Ethiopia?

METHODOLOGY

The objectives of the study were directed the researcher toward the

selections of sources of data, methods and techniques of data collections and how to analyze the collected data. The theoretical prospective of indicators, opportunities, challenges and links of good governance with sustainable development were critically reviewed from existing published and unpublished documents. To conduct the study only secondary data were used. Different relevant data's on the issues were systematically collected from books, magazines, newspapers, internet, articles, journals, and different report. However those data were critically reviewed and analyzed. Different policies and constitutions were also part of our sources of information for this study. The collected data were analyzed qualitatively with the purpose of identifying major indicators, related challenges, future prospects and links of good governance with sustainable development and presenting evidence based judgments on key issues. It is because this method of analysis is better when the nature of the research problem requires more exploration (Yin, 2009). Narratives forms of data presentation were used. In the process of addressing the research question, the methodology what we used have a profound influence or determine the outcome of the studies. Having this in mind, the researcher primarily prepared the review protocol. It helps to avoid unnecessary duplication of efforts, personal bias, and publication biases. The prepared protocol was reviewed by colleagues. Based on the comments forwarded, some modification were made on the search terms as well as the on the data search and extraction strategy. Then after, piloting the research protocol has been made. The very reason behind was to identify mistakes in the data collection and aggregation procedures. In doing so the inclusion criteria has been used. Accordingly, those studies which meet the criteria were selected. In the process of searching the literature, balancing the specificity and specific required compromising the number of literature examined and their specific relation to the subject under consideration. Hence, in due course, various search words were used.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Governance is the use of power in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development (World Bank, 1992:1). It can also be defined (UNDP, 1997:9) as "the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs". Governance is not only the province governments (e.g. local, state and federal) but is also the responsibility of: citizens, corporations' large businesses, small businesses, civil servants, institutions, non-government organizations (NGOs), and community groups. Government describes as the political, economic and administrative processes carried out by the state. Governance includes the government but also the private sector and the civil society sector. 1997 United Nations Development Report defines governance: the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. As the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and obligations, and mediate their differences.

Khan (1998) refers to Bilney (1994:17) who sees good governance as "the effective management of a country's social and economic resources in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable and equitable". The UNDP (1997:9) equates good governance with democratic forms of governance. These forms rely on public participation,

accountability and transparency (Holtz, 2000:10). For our part, we distinguish between political good governance and corporate good governance. Political good governance is the effective, ethical and efficient management of public affairs and resources by democratically elected leaders and their appointees. Good governance is full respect of human rights, the rule of law, effective participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, transparent and accountable processes and institutions, an efficient and effective public sector, legitimacy, access to knowledge, information and education, political empowerment of people, equity, sustainability, and attitudes and values that foster responsibility, solidarity and tolerance (UNDP, 2004).

From these definitions we understood that democratically elected leaders and their appointees sometimes mismanage a country's affairs and resources. However, in that case, and assuming that the elections are free and fair, the citizens have themselves to blame for their wrong choice. Also, self-imposed leaders and their appointees sometimes effectively and efficiently manage a country's affairs and resources. When this happens, citizens are in a real dilemma. The choice between, on the one hand, mismanagement by democratically elected leaders and their appointees and, on the other hand, good management by self-imposed leaders and their appointees, is very hard to make. Corporate good governance is the effective, ethical and efficient management of an organization's affairs and resources by persons chosen in accordance with the existing laws/rules. It is applicable to the management of organizations especially in the non-state sectors. So, good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment. So good governance performs their duties accordance with authority given to them, they must be competent with required skills and in transparent and efficient manners. To be good governance there must be community participations in political, social and economical aspects.

Conceptualize sustainable development

Todaro and Smith (2003:792) define development as "The process of improving the quality of all human lives". They refer to three important aspects of development (1) raising people's living levels – their incomes and consumption levels of food, medical services, education etc., through relevant economic growth processes; (2) creating conditions conducive to the growth of people's self-esteem through the establishment of social, and economic systems and institutions that promote human dignity and respect; and (3) increasing people's freedom by enlarging the range of their choice variables, as by increasing

varieties of consumer goods and services". According to UNDP (1997:1) human development means "expanding the choices for all people in society". Development is not one and specific concept. Development is whole about improving living standards of people, increasing their freedom in all aspects, sustained in food security and improvements in all aspects of the people. Todaro and Smith (2003:811) explain sustainable development as a "Pattern of development that permits future generations to live at least as well as the current generation". This definition is similar to that of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987; Elliot, 1994:5). Sustainable development is development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Elliot (1994:13) points out that the concept encompasses the interdependent goals of (various aspects of) development and environmental conservation. Thus, for sustainable development to exist there must be good governance; meanwhile, having a resource is not a guarantee to bringing sustainable development. The resources (human, materials, natural resources and time) must be managed properly in effective, efficient and transparent manner. When the government tries to bring sustainable development, the opportunity of future generation must not be affected.

Good governance and sustainable development linkage

What should a country/government pursue first - democracy or development? If a country chooses to pursue democracy first, then its development will be slow given the attendant need for consultations and compromises. By contrast, if the choice is first for development, then aspects that go with democracy such as consultations, compromises, media freedom and (certain) human rights - will be (temporarily) reduced or even suspended. Sen (1999:147-159) said "a real conflict between political liberty and democratic rights (which are part of good governance), on the one hand, and the fulfillment of basic economic needs (which are part of sustainable development), on the other". According to him, sustainable development comes first. Others focused on good governance, which they consider as forming the basis of and accompanying sustainable development (OECD, 2002).

Which comes first: Good governance or sustainable development?

Sen (1999:147-159) uses, economic needs (which we can take to represent sustainable development) and political freedoms and civil rights (which represent good governance). He considers that; first, freedoms and rights hamper economic growth and development. Second, if

poor people are given the choice between having political freedoms and fulfilling economic needs, they will exactly choose the latter. Third, political freedom, liberties and democracy is a specifically 'Western' priority, which goes, in particular, against "Asian values", which are supposed to be keener on order and discipline than on liberty and freedom - where "individuals must put the state's rights before their own". Sen (1999) focused on the extensive connections between political freedoms and the understanding and fulfillment of economic needs. He admits that it is certainly true that some relatively authoritarian states (such as South Korea, Lee's own Singapore and post reform China) have had faster rates of economic growth than many less authoritarian ones (including India, Costa Rica and Jamaica). According to him, we cannot take the high economic growth of China or South Korea in Asia as a definitive proof that authoritarianism does better in promoting economic growth.

However, like UNDP (1997:11), it argues that (good) governance promotes sustainable development - including the aspects of poverty reduction, job creation and sustainable livelihoods, environments protection and regeneration; and the advancement of women. Bad governance leads to the opposite of the foregoing such as: increase in poverty and unemployment or underemployment. According to the European Union, good governance is a development sine qua non (The ACP Courier, 1999-2000: 9). For its part, bad governance is seen as likely to lead to the suppression of liberty, the stifling of competition and underdevelopment. If a choice must be made as to which to begin with, then good governance must come first. However, realistically, at the personal and governmental levels, the answer is likely to differ from one individual/government to another since the circumstances and so the choices of all individuals and all governments can never be the same. To Sen, in judging economic development, it is not adequate to look only at the growth of GNP. There is needed to look also at the impact of democracy and political freedoms on the lives and capabilities of the citizens. He argues that political and civil rights give people the opportunity to draw the attention of government forcefully to general needs, and to demand appropriate action from the government. He also stated as if poor people are given the choice between having political freedoms and fulfilling economic needs, they will invariably choose the latter - which implies that citizens of the third world countries are indifferent to political and democratic rights. He argues that the only way of verifying it would be to put the matter to democratic testing in free and fair elections with freedom of opposition and expression "precisely the things that the supporters of authoritarianism do not allow to happen". He also emphasized political freedom, liberties and democracy as a specifically 'Western' priority, which goes, in particular, against "Asian values" but also, by implication, the values of other non Western societies especially those in the third world (Sen,

1999: 227-248). So the justification of authoritarian political arrangements in Asia - based on Asian values – has typically come not from independent historians but from authorities themselves such as governmental officers or their spokespersons or those close to people in power. Second, not all Asian culture is opposed or indifferent to basic political rights. At any rate, Sen adds, Asian culture is diverse. He argues that the “valuing of freedom is not confined to one culture only, and the Western traditions are not the only ones that prepare us for a freedom-based approach to social understanding” Sen (1999:157).

Developing and strengthening a democratic system is an essential component of the process of development. So without good government, it is difficult to think about development. Development is holistic process which includes economical (GDP), cultural, political and social development. So if one country achieved only GDP, it is impossible to say that country is developed. The development can be sustained if and only if economical, political, social and cultural developments were achieved. As general, good governance is the precondition for development of most countries of the world.

Indicators of good governance

There are many indicators of good governance. But those indicators may differ from country to country based on economic development and experience of democracy. Those indicators are:

Legitimacy of government

Political legitimacy is a major determinant of both the structure and operation of states (Beetham, 1991). In Beetham's treatise on legitimacy, justification is based upon a 'common framework of belief' between the dominant and the subordinate in any power relationship (Beetham, 1991: 69). Legitimate government is a government generally acknowledged as being in control of a nation and deserving formal recognition which is symbolized by the exchange of diplomats between that government and the governments of other countries (dictionary.com). In Ethiopian context, legitimacy of government implies degree of democratization in country. Even if political and administration democratization is written in FDRE constitution, it is not respected as it is expected. It is only one political party that is ruling the country and the ruling party can do everything based on the party consensus rather than society's interest. Ethiopian government cannot positively respect bill of rights (freedom of associations, freedom of speech, peaceful demonstration and etc (Assale, 2010).

Accountability of political

The quality of public policies designed by political leaders

is one measure for the quality of good governance, and policy choices depend in part on the degree to which leaders are held to account. This dimension is related to the degree of political competition in choosing both political leaders and civil servants, the credibility of political parties, the orderly transfer of power, transparency in party financing, disclosure of parliamentary votes and asset declaration, the existence and enforcement of conflict-of-interest rules, and the extent to which political power rests in the hands of socio-politically powerful elites operating behind the scenes (Soboka, 2003). In general, it is related to political opens and fair access to decision making power. Accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to who varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organization or institution.

Transparency

Transparency means that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations (Transparency International, 2010). It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media (UNDP, 2004). Transparency means openness, free and easy access to information, contestability (Soboka, 2003). It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be beneficiary of or/and affected by such decisions and their enforcement.

Participation

Participation refers to the involvement of citizens in the development process. The principle of participation derives from an acceptance that people are at the heart of development. They are not only the ultimate beneficiaries of development. Participation by both men and women is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It is important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision making (Arena, 2012).

Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand. Community participation in Ethiopia politics also improved from time to time with different modifications. The elections of 2005 were judged by many as being the most openly contested in the country's political history. The elections generated unprecedented interest and turnout was by far higher than in previous elections. The ruling

party won the elections but with a significantly reduced majority in parliament while NEBE's conduct of the elections is judged to have significantly improved; its impartiality was nevertheless questioned by opposition parties. The opposition in Ethiopia has often complained of harassment and intimidation and what they perceive as the absence of a level playing field in the electoral process. The Government has since the elections, undertaken measures to further enhance the democratization process.

Freedom of the media

The Ethiopian constitution guarantees freedom of the media. It creates democratic society that helps free exchange of ideas and information. A free and open press and the freedom of speech and expression are guarantees to the assurance of political rights and civil liberties in making informed decisions, facilitating the exchange of political discourse, creating a market place of ideas and as a check on government power insuring that public officials and institutions remain accountable to the voters. The media's ability to report on business and the economy is also crucial for preserving public trust in the markets and for attracting foreign and domestic investment. Therefore, the rights of press to freely publish, editorialize, critique, and inform citizens (Soboka, 2003).

Consistent with the constitution, Ethiopia has opened space for the development of private print and electronic media. There has been an increase in the number of private newspapers in Ethiopia since the media was liberalized. Press freedom has proven to be a highly contentious issue. A new press bill that was drafted a couple of years came under strong criticism inside and outside the country because it was perceived as too restrictive on the private media. The law has been amended based on international best practices, and the legislation was passed by Parliament. Some analysts still maintain that the new Law is restrictive. One concern is over the heavy penalties that will be imposed on owners of newspapers breaking the law. The importance of a free press in enhancing transparency and providing the public with the means of holding the executive accountable cannot be overemphasized. Although Ethiopia is committed to press freedom as enshrined in its constitution, the challenge is to ensure that the press operates freely.

Local empowerment

For a country which has different nations, nationalities, cultures, languages like Ethiopia decentralization is so important. The power and authorities of making a decision is transferred to the local levels such as woredas and kebeles. Woreda is the key unit in Ethiopian decentralization process. The woreda council is the main

representative body at the local level, and its decisions directly affect the welfare of citizens and local communities. However, the dual accountability to which the woreda council is subjected has been questioned by some for relegating community accountability to a secondary level, thereby undermining communities' needs and interests. It has been argued that such dual accountability also limits the independence of the local council, implying that the autonomy of the woreda is not fully respected. Regional Governments and woredas have been assigned spending responsibilities for the provision of basic services. However, their revenue mobilization capacity is not sufficient to enable them discharge their mandates effectively (CEDAW, 1995).

Respect for human rights and rule of law

The interconnection between good governance, human rights and sustainable development has been made directly or indirectly by the international community in a number of declarations and other global conference documents (World Bank Group, 2005). For example, the Declaration on the Right to Development proclaims that every human person and all people "are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development" (Article 1). In the Millennium Declaration, world leaders affirmed their commitment to promote democracy and respect internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development. According to the United Nations strategy document on the millennium development goals (MDGs), entitled "The United Nations and the MDGs: a Core Strategy", "the MDGs have to be situated within the broader norms and standards of the Millennium Declaration," including those on "human rights, democracy and good governance" (UNDP, 2004).

Independence of the Judiciary

Article 78 of the Ethiopian Constitution provides for an independent Judiciary. To ensure judicial autonomy, the President and Vice-President of the Supreme Court are appointed by Parliament upon nomination by the Prime Minister. The executive has no powers to remove them from office. There is a disciplinary code of conduct and rules by which the judges are governed. Constitutionally, judges cannot be removed from their duties until retirement except for violation of disciplinary rules or on grounds of gross incompetence or inefficiency or if found unfit to operate due to ill health. Nevertheless, the independence of the judiciary in Ethiopia has been questioned by some observers. There is a perception that the autonomy of the judiciary in Ethiopia is weak. Yet in recent years, the judiciary has ruled against the government on major cases, such as those involving

breach of the constitutional rights of the private press and the Ethiopian Human Rights Council.

Impediments of good governance for sustainable development

There are different challenges of good governance which hinders sustainable development. These are:

Population

Ever since the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, we have known that sustainable development is the way to meet increasing population challenge. Sustainability is all about living within our means, leaving plenty for our grandchildren and ensuring everyone has a reasonable chance at a decent living (Keating, 1992). The lack of political will on the part of governments, social and environmental irresponsibility on the part of corporations, and inertia to adopt a sustainable life style on the part of citizens, have collectively contributed to this failure. There are many problems which are involved in creating and maintaining good governance and sustainable development in Ethiopia and which those in charge of its management confront and should try and resolve. According to Ethiopian central statistics authority population census, the Ethiopian population is increasing at increasing rate. But the problem is how to provide food, clean water, shelter and jobs for this population, in ways that enhances and nurtures the Earth's natural resources and ecosystems that support our survival, is the challenge of our times.

Excessive poverty

Poverty is likely to force otherwise decent citizens to tolerate bad governance, particularly where such is accompanied by real or apparent prosperity/development – however temporary (Subbaro, 1997). Also, very poor citizens are not good allies of sustainable development. The following statement by Anane (1996:8) "Poverty is a major setback to environmental protection and sustainable development in third world. This is because majority of the people, particularly in rural areas, are poor. For them, where to get the next meal is much more important than any problem of desertification or wildlife depletion. Poverty is caused by, or leads to, other problems/evils like hunger and disease. Indeed, one of the worst aspects of poverty is the apparent willingness to surrender one's freedom.

Poverty in Ethiopia is widespread and remains a major challenge of sustainable development and stability (Lutheran World Federation of Ethiopia, 2006; Easterly, 2002). It is estimated that close to half of the population in urban and rural areas of the country live in absolute

poverty due to lack of economic opportunities, governance crisis, inadequate basic household income, and poor means of survival (Mamo, 2008; Serneels, 2004). A study conducted in 2003 and 2004 by the Ethiopian Economic Association and the report by the Lutheran World Federation of Ethiopia (2006) shows that nearly half of the 71.3 million Ethiopians live below the absolute poverty line, lacking an average income of one American dollar per day as a means of acquiring basic necessities of life. Currently, 50% of the rural and urban population of the country in the age group between 15 and 30 years is unemployed due to lack of opportunities (Serneels, 2004).

In Ethiopia, there can be no credible sustained national development policy unless otherwise the needy population is fed first and foremost. The structure of the Ethiopian economy indicates that agriculture is critical to the Ethiopian economy. Agricultural sector directly supports about 85% of the population in terms of employment and livelihood. Although the contribution of agriculture to GDP has decreased in recent years, it remains the largest sector, estimated at about 40% in 2006, and generating about 88% of export earnings. However, the agricultural sector is characterized by small scale farming, highly fragmented landholdings, traditional farming technologies, heavy reliance on rainfall, low input and low productivity.

Corruption

Although the prevalence of corruption in Ethiopia has been historically low, there is a perception that the problem is growing. The Economic Intelligence Unit 2007 Country Report for Ethiopia states that forces of economic liberalization and commercialization appear to have increased opportunities for corruption. Areas prone to rent seeking behavior and corrupt practices include the allocation and leasing of urban land and transactions where rules and procedures are not clearly defined, or regulatory oversight over decisions is weak. The Government has recognized from the outset the need for vigilance, and for proactive actions to prevent corruption and promote high ethical standards in public administration. Corruption was said to have resulted in undermining the legitimacy of the governments and weakening their structures, reducing productivity, hindering development, worsening poverty, marginalizing the poor, creating social unrest and finally speeding up their downfall. Bribery was considered as a 'motivational' factor, not an offence. Nepotism was also mostly regarded as a positive approach to help friends and relatives (OECD, 2011).

The absence of corruption is a sign of good governance. In a corrupted city, economic development and reform is unthinkable, because it hinders the ability of the city to attract investment, discourages the growth of democratic institutions, and let's power to concentrates in the hands of the few. Thus, the best way to fight corruption is to be open

and transparent. However, this does not mean that in certain cases the secrecy and confidentiality of the society are not retained. Strong laws against corruption and the presence of law enforcement agencies that work against corruption demonstrate a government's commitment to this principle (Soboka, 2003). In fighting corruption, good governance efforts rely on principles such as accountability, transparency and participation to shape anti-corruption measures. Initiatives may include establishing institutions such as anti-corruption commissions, creating mechanisms of information sharing, and monitoring governments' use of public funds and implementation of policies (UNDP, 2004).

In 2001, the Federal Ethics and Anticorruption Commission (FEAC) were established with the aim of curbing corrupt practices. Despite its limited organizational capacity, the Commission has successfully prosecuted high profile cases. In 2004 a number of senior government officials and senior management staff of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia were prosecuted for abuse of office for personal gain. 16 Corruption court cases, however, have tended to be slow, and some have questioned the independence of the FEAC. Moreover, there is a perception that some of the high profile corruption cases that are prosecuted are politically motivated. The Commission has also received good co-operation from the public despite the absence of whistle blower protection legislation. The whistle blower law is expected to be presented to Parliament soon. Existing Proclamations also require the Prime Minister, Ministers and other senior Government officials to declare their assets and liabilities and any conflict of interest that may arise in the policy making process. Under the laws, citizens have the right to seek information on the assets and liabilities of top Government officials and to seek redress through the court system for any wrong doing by the Government. The extent to which these rights are exercised in practice is, however, not clear. There is need for systematic monitoring of corruption trends in Ethiopia and the involvement of non-state actors in this process will be vital.

Dependency on foreign aid

The post-2000 period, however, has seen a resumption of large disbursements of grants and loans from the United States, individual European nations, Japan, china, the World Bank, and the African development bank. These funds totaled US\$1.6 billion in 2001. In November 2007 the magazine *The Economist* reported that there is tangible evidence that the foreign aid given to Ethiopia reaches the people it is meant to, based on a visit to the South of the country. Roads, schools and water systems are being built and "there are few complaints about corruption, a fact that continues to make Ethiopia popular with foreign donors". On February 2, 2006 BBC reporter Peter Greste report from Mekele, northern Ethiopia: "Like

a patient addicted to pain killers, Ethiopia seems hooked on aid". He added: "For most of the past three decades, it has survived on millions of tons of donated food and millions of dollars in cash. It has received more emergency support than any other African nation in that time."

United States Agency International Development (USAID) has supported the Government of Ethiopia's focus on building the institutions of good governance to promote transparency and public accountability. Simultaneously, USAID works with Ethiopian government and civil society partners to promote a culture of pluralism including that of the respect for the rule of law and tolerance of differing perspectives. Confidence in long-term local peace and security is absolutely essential to the willingness of all, whether government institutions, international donors, private companies or individuals, to make the investments required for transformative development. USAID works to support the explicit commitment of the Government of Ethiopia to improve and make governance more accountable, to ensure that policies and development projects are planned to minimize the disruption to affected populations, and to reduce the chances that violence and insecurities will hamper economic growth. At the state level, USAID efforts increase focus on knowledge and skills essential to improve conflict management and sustainable development, such as land use, planning and natural resource management, training to a broad range of state and non-governmental organizations. But if some conditions may be changed USA government may stop the aid.

Nature of politics

In Ethiopia, in conjunction with the parliamentary elections that has now become a bone of contention between the ruling and the opposition parties, and while we explore the vicissitudes in the Ethiopian political landscape, we have come to testify that the art of government is no longer a monopoly of the EPRDF (Arena, 2012). There is no doubt that the present political climate in Ethiopia is promising, although we cannot for sure affirm that Ethiopia is on the threshold of a full-fledged democratic system. If at all, the popular elections manifest a fledgling and not a robust democratic system, and with respect to the latter we are toddlers at best and infants at worst. However, we must not fail to recognize the positive contributions of the current elections irrespective of the impetus (domestic and international) behind it. We should also not fail to admire the civility of the Ethiopian people demonstrated throughout the pre-election debates, the election and post-election period. The gathering of two million Ethiopians at Meskel Square and returning home without any incident, let alone a violent clash, is quite astounding and historic. On the other hand, we as Ethiopian intellectuals must admit that in some respects we are

lagging behind the momentous massive Ethiopian undertaking.

The elections are nascent experiments for the Ethiopian people, but the civility of the people should not be alarming unless deep down. Here, we underestimate the potential of the people and fail to recognize the long history of civilization of Ethiopia. In fact, any people, including Ethiopians, with rich history and culture, can perform miracles especially if they enjoy a political leadership with legitimate power that genuinely governs on behalf of the people and the nation. It will in fact be obliged to be more accountable, responsible and transparent. It will also be compelled to rethink its former disastrous policies and yield for reform and change, including nullifying domestic laws and abrogating international treaties. It will have an opportunity to see the light of the day and appreciate what it means to govern a proud nation with legitimate power, thanks to the opposition and the Ethiopian people. Again, if all goes well, the future Ethiopian government should immediately create ways and means for the Ethiopian Diaspora to repatriate and the latter should get ready to seize the moment and reconnect itself with its people back home.

Internal weakness

Payroll controls systems in Ethiopia are adequate, although internal controls on non-salary expenditures show some weaknesses. For example, payment commitments for goods and services do not always consider cash flow availability. Internal audit systems exist in all budgetary institutions in Ethiopia at both federal and sub-national levels. However, the internal audit capacity is weak. This is partly due to lack of professionalization of the internal audit function. There are initiatives underway to strengthen and modernize the internal audit function to conform to international best practices.

Prospects of good governance for sustainable development

Different opportunities of good governance was not been properly exploited yet. These are: like underutilization of natural resources, lack of proper utilizations of different democratic institutions among others.

Democratic institutions

Ethiopia has been able to make spectacular achievements towards that good government. The most notable achievement made in this regard is the establishment of a number of democratic institutions and the activities they have made so far. Besides, it laid the foundations for the establishment of vital institution such as Parliament, the

Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, Office of Ombudsmen, Ethics and Anti-corruption, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia etc. The democratic institutions are playing a key role in advancing sustainable development. They have become effective check and balance to the State power. However, they cannot function separately. Their success depends on how well people recognize their rights and incase of violation, their awareness what to do and where to go to claim. But existence of these institutions is not the guarantee for government to be democratic. These institutions must be freely performing their task, they must protect society's rights, and they must be used as agent between government and societies in order to perform their functions in a well manner. When led by human rights values, good governance reforms of democratic institutions create avenues for the public to participate in policymaking either through formal institutions or informal consultations. They also establish mechanisms for the inclusion of multiple social groups in decision-making processes, especially locally. Finally, they may encourage civil society and local communities to formulate and express their positions on issues of importance to them (UNDP, 2004).

Natural resources

Ethiopia has small reserves of gold, platinum, copper, potash, and natural gas. It has extensive hydropower potential including the great Ethiopian renaissance dam. Of the total land area, about 20% is under cultivation, although the amount of potentially arable land is larger. Only about 10 to 15% of the land area is presently covered by forest as a result of rapid deforestation during the last 30 years. Of the remainder, a large portion is used as pasturage. Some land is too rugged, dry, or infertile for agriculture or any other use. The Area of Ethiopia: Ethiopia has 31 endemic species of mammals. The African Wild Dog prehistorically had widespread distribution in Ethiopia. Ethiopia has a large number of species listed as critically endangered, endangered and vulnerable to global extinction. Even if Ethiopia is rich in natural resource, the country did not properly utilize yet. Due to absence of good governance the country didn't get the expected outcome.

Possible solutions to overcome those challenges

To succeed in sustainable development at the quality, scale and speed needed to meet the challenge, we need strong working partnerships between governments, corporations and citizens. Notions of transparency, participation and accountability were embedded in Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration (1992) affirmed by 178 governments. These are:

Strategies that should be adopted by the government and institutions

Governments and institutions should work together to: devise ways and means of sharing national wealth (be transparently and equitably); avoid weak or failed states; ensure discipline and organization; encourage a culture of competition and innovate as much as possible so as to find solutions that are adapted to African problems and issues; and Fight corruption by making it very costly to indulge in corrupt practices (Keating, 1992).

Strategies that should be adopted by the governments

The government should:

- i) identify the various elements that constitute patriotism and nationalism and promote them;
- ii) strengthen national defense; work out, adopt and maintain, a wise foreign policy that includes honorable peace with neighboring countries;
- iii) ensure that the stability resulting from law and order serves all peace loving citizens, practice discipline in financial and other aspects of management;
- iv) ensure and sustain that elections are held at regular intervals
- v) strengthen regulatory agencies so that competition among enterprises and organizations is fair; and the consumers are not ripped off;
- vi) institute and/or strengthen free and compulsory education.

Strategies that should be adopted by non-state actors

The private organizations should assist governments by forwarding proposals on how the economy and government can be maintained and improved; keeping governments on their toes through both constructive criticisms and support; and increasing investments so as to reduce unemployment and poverty (Nkuuhe, 2005). The civil society organization should reduce dependency on foreign aid since such tends to make governments justifiably suspicious of their agendas and intentions, strengthen transparency and accountability in financial matters, strengthen internal democracy; and increase their capacity to monitor public policy management so as to check actual or potential abuse of power by governments (Keating, 1992).

Strategies that should be adopted by individuals themselves

For their part, individuals themselves should: be patriotic and selfless, despite problems in African countries,

including some shortcomings on the part of the leaders, work very hard/avoid laziness – instead of hoping that “government will do everything for them”, adopt a culture of systematic saving for the future, learn to participate actively in the affairs of their countries through debating the issues of the day and voting when elections are due; refuse to be bought by prospective representatives to legislative bodies, challenge representatives to deliver or quit, avoid making unrealistic demands on the government (such as, for public servants, demanding remuneration similar to that payable in developed countries), be patient when dealing with their representatives and officials; and if elected leaders, stop making politics their source of livelihood but, instead have an exit strategy (Keating, 1992).

Conclusion

Before 1991 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, some of the citizen of this country is considered as secondary. So before 1991 constitution, it is difficult to think about development. But post 1991 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia some fundamental rights of citizens are protected, all community of this country considered as citizen, citizen have opportunity to live and do which help them to grow and etc. Development is holistic process which includes social, political (good governance), economic and cultural development. To bring sustainable development, good governance is so important. Most of governance considers them as good governance but within Ethiopia to say whether good governance is there or not, we can identify by applications good governance indicators. Such as: legitimacy of the governments, accountability, transparency, community participation, local empowerments, respect for democratic and human rights, freedom of media and etc. several challenges of good governance were identified. These are: population, excessive poverty, corruption, dependent on foreign aid, nature of politics and internal weakness. Unexploited opportunities were rich in natural resources and existence of democratic institutions. Good governance is the pre fulfillment in order to bring sustainable development.

The political community has as the fundamental principle of its existence the end toward which all must work together. This common good requires from everyone--authorities and citizens alike--an attitude of active cooperation toward the end proper to the political community. The common good embraces the sum of those conditions of social life by which people are able to achieve the perfection proper to them with greater fullness and facility. The common good consists in respect for the rights and duties of the human person. The state is to encourage, to assist, and when necessary to supplement the initiatives of its citizens. To advance a peaceful social order, the participation of people in decisions affecting the

common good, especially through democratic processes is important. To achieve success it requires having a nation of people that make nation building the primary focus and the leaders that are devoted for the public common good in all level of development. To ensure long term gain it is very important that the democratic culture be developed and democratic institutions must be encouraged. Good governance is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. The primary objective of good governance is to assure equality, accountability, transparency, Participation, Responsiveness; Consensus oriented system, Equity and inclusiveness, justice and lasting peace to all citizens. Generally, the existence of a government and society free of corruption, an efficient civil service, public participation and favorable environment for rapid economic development are fundamental. The prevalence of the elements ensures the rule of law, transparency, accountability and efficient service delivery. Very important in the qualities of good governance must see him or herself as a servant, be always close to his or her followers, feel their pains, put himself or herself in the shoes of his followers, give solution to their problems in order to bring sustainable development.

IMPLICATIONS

Governance in Ethiopia would require coalition and cooperation among the various branches of government and definitely a functioning parliament and not a rubber stamp one. Future governments in Ethiopia would be more responsible, accountable, and transparent. Having democratic institutions is not a guarantee for good governance to bring sustainable development, but the democratic institutions such as anti-corruption commission, ombudsman, and different civil associations must perform their activities in the right manner. The government must give freedom for these institutions in order to bring desired results. Thinking about sustainable development without good governance is illogical; so the government must democratize different institutions, discharging responsibility in transparent manner, utilizing resources in equity manner, respect sovereignty of people and avoid illegal activities in order to bring sustainable development. Always depending on foreign aids itself is like making a mistake; that means, if government did not satisfy the interest of the donors, donating countries stop their aid. Because giving aid for a given country has different fulfillment as pre-conditions, the government must have to find other alternative sources of finances like encouraging saving attitudes of the society, encouraging domestic investors, borrowing from domestic national and commercial banks and etc. If human resources are properly utilized it can be an asset; but if we only keep increasing population without proper utilization, it can be burden on the future generation. Controlling the population is possible using different techniques. The government

must have prepared a policy which can overcome the above challenges- policies which can reduce the populations, reduce poverty, combat corruptions, which encourage accountability, transparency and etc. Continuation is better than intervention, if the future coming change is under question (Edmund Burke).

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Full Length Research Paper

Ethiopia's growth and transformation plan and its implications for synergic sum effect contextualized into regional cooperation in the horn of Africa

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The East African region, in which Ethiopia is located, is commonly known as the Horn of Africa. It is branded for its economic underdevelopment and political instability. The region is economically poor, politically unstable and very volatile security wise. In lieu of this, it is prudent to describe the region as one that represents one of the most complex sub-regions in Africa. To resolve these and associated problems, states of the region are contributing a lot. Interally, Ethiopia is striving level best possible individually and collectively via the regional framework. However, its role has been much challenged for its weak economy. Given this as it may, it's now in a good track record of fast economic growth that sets the foundation for its transformation plan to get realized in the near future. In lieu of this, if its objectives stated under the second growth and transformation plan (GTPII) are achieved, it will add a momentum in Ethiopia's regional role. But what is to be contributed? How? In which and what manner can the state is expected to play to the best of the regional scenario, are some of the very fundamental questions that the research is going to address throughout the research process. To address these questions and arrive at its research objective, the researchers have employed a proper methodological approach in terms of crafting theoretical paradigms, research design, techniques of data collection and analysis. Within this theoretical approach, the study has gleaned secondary data sources, and analytically examine them in a triangulated research design (descriptive, evaluative and document analysis). Hence, the study has examined Ethiopia's trend in a broader manner and explored viable prospects in redressing the Horn's much trouble pertaining to the nexus of security-peace-development challenges. According to the findings of the study, thus, Ethiopia will have the greatest propensity to play as a regional hegemony by complementing its missed link. Among others, it will create a new window of opportunity for increased interstate economic relations and viable conflict resolution approaches.

Key words: Regional cooperation, horn of Africa, Ethiopia, hegemony.

INTRODUCTION

States in the Horn of Africa region, encompassing Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya and

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Uganda, are well known for their interwoven challenges to human survival. Economic underdevelopment, political instability and human insecurity describe the overall mood of states in the region. This has got its own contribution in making the regional scenario dismal (It is imperative to note that, the subjective aspects of states do share objective similarities emanating from the economically unviable, politically unstable and even security wise volatile mood of the states' in Horn of Africa region).

To rectify these interwoven problems, states leaders of the region have spent ample time and resources in crafting regional cooperative venture, to which the rejuvenation of inter-governmental authority for drought and desertification (IGADD) is a case in point. The implication is quite vivid: regional cooperation schemes, which are venerated in common via shared values and institutions, are plausible remedies to address common problems thereby ensuring peace-security-development in the region. This is evident from IGAD's establishment document, and its strategy.

Notwithstanding their novel moves for cooperation, yet there is limited achievement. Given this, as it might be, Ethiopia's constructive role (though much challenged) for practical and sensible regional cooperation was always prominent and worth of value. Its commitment in rectifying politico-security challenges of neighboring states like the case in Sudan and Somali attests this facet. And in the last five years, Ethiopia has exercised its first phase transformation plan and very recently started the second phase which is believed to contribute its share in rectifying the regional challenges of peace-security-development nexus. The First and second development plan are designed out of Ethiopia's achievement in economic development and lessons gained from the past ten years in which Ethiopia has registered a double digit economic growth. Hence, if the ongoing national plan, for growth and transformation is realized, it will set a momentum for a more accelerated economic growth at home with multiple implications to the regional scenario.

It is proper, thus, to argue that there will be synergic sum effect to the regional context if such positive development in Ethiopia is realized in the upcoming five years. Given this and other potential sources of power leverage¹ of Ethiopia, it is cogent in helping the researcher to develop scenarios and predict trends in which Ethiopia is to play for regional cooperation in addressing the triple challenges of security-peace –development in the region. It is within this general claim that the research project is going to explore the general implications of the ongoing growth and transformation plan to the IGAD's regional context.

In lieu of this, Ethiopia's past and current roles are analytically examined *vis-a-vis* the challenges and prospects of the development plan thereby draw

implications for a viable regional cooperation. This project work shall, thus, indicate possible scenarios that reinforce the existing strengths, and weaken the restraining factors. Hence, the findings of the study shall prove invaluable addition to the Ethiopian government's relentless efforts to maximize its propensity at home thereby to increase the synergic sum effect in addressing the exigencies of regional cooperation in the study area.

Statement of the problem

It is common Knowledge that regional cooperation blends a unique opportunity for geographically contiguous states. This is to serve them as a strategic thinking, and as a general approach to respond to national, regional and international existing challenges and anticipated threats. This is true especially in today's world of globalization in which states cannot solve national and regional problems independently.

Currently, states are doing what they had not been able to do previously for the attainment of their national goals and interests through their respective cooperative venture (Glassner, 1993). This signifies regional cooperation indispensable approach in addressing common problems and cultivating mutual benefits. For instance, if we look at this from economic point of view, regional cooperation helps in contributing to the expansion and straightening of material, technological and financial bases by coordinating states relatively limited economic resources and potentialities (ibid).

Likewise, regional cooperation is instrumental in addressing challenges of peace and security. This is illustrated, for example, in Southern and Western African regions in which respective constellations are playing important roles in building regional peace and security architecture. This has also its own irreplaceable effect in promoting economic cooperation and regional integration agendas in the upcoming future. Leaving aside the chicken-egg paradox², peace and security are important priority issues for regional economic development endeavors.

On a similar fashion, for peace and security to avail in a given region, gradual economic cooperation is vital. In this regard, Gebretsedkan (2005) has eloquently argued that regional economic cooperation has the greatest propensity to gradually create interdependence among states of a particular regional configuration that ultimately make causes of violence powerless. It is in due of these multiple advantages that states in the IGAD region (the

¹ This can be seen in terms of its military and diplomatic capability, its geographic proximity with about 5 states in the region- namely, Kenya, Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, its peacekeeping experience in many trouble spots of the world and its high propensity to achieve its millennium development goals and the ongoing national development and transformation plan.

² Regional peace, security and economic development are interconnected and correlated but it seems difficult to identify the right causality. While the correlation between lack of peace, security and economic decline/poverty is well established, yet the direction of causality remains to be unclear. In this regard, conceptualizing the nexus may be the right response to such paradoxes as "no development without peace and security and no peace and security without development". For further in-depth analysis of this paradox see Saundry, peter(2007)" regional cooperation for peace and development in Africa"

Horn of Africa) have spent ample time and resources to create a viable regional cooperative venture.

In this respect, their commitment in the establishment of various organizations can be reckoned as a testimony. Notwithstanding this, there is limited achievement that, in point of fact, can be ascribed to different factors. To mention few, lack of hegemonic state -equipped with diplomatic-political, military and economic capability; and the competitive nature of their economies take the lion's share. Yet, currently Ethiopia is envisaging a unique economic development that best helps in it's strive to arrive at its desire of playing regional hegemony. It is yet, contested from its neighbors.

In sum, this study will examine Ethiopia's ongoing plan and action pertaining to its challenges, prospects and subsequent implications in which Ethiopia is to play its part in helping arrive at a doable regional cooperation in the Horn of Africa. In view of this, the research project, hence, is intended to discover and examine how the ongoing transformation plan in Ethiopia will help address the basic stumbling block of regional cooperation in the study area.

Research objective and basic questions

The research intends to assess the ongoing growth and transformation plan of Ethiopia in light of its synergic sum effect to the regional context. Hence, the research will; to examine Ethiopia's economic achievement and the ongoing national plan in light of its prospects for a hegemonic role player in the region, to analyze the missed link in Ethiopia's endeavor for regional cooperation and to develop scenarios and implications from Ethiopia's transformation plan into regional importance. To provide a proper understanding of the issue at hand and arrive at its research objectives, the study attempts to address the following research questions, with specific thereof: Is Ethiopia committed for regional cooperation? What historical evidences can show its commitments? What roles has Ethiopia played in initiating and enhancing regional cooperation in the Horn region? What are its achievements and predicaments so far? What was the missed link in Ethiopia's efforts for a feasible cooperation in the region? What implications for regional cooperation can be drawn if Ethiopia's transformation plan is realized? How?

METHODOLOGY

First and foremost, a thorough and critical literature review will be conducted in relation to the notions of regional cooperation in areas of peace-security-development. To give the analyses a practical touch of reality, the research significantly requires to look in to the subjective aspects of states thereby examine the objective reality at the regional level. In lieu of this, thus, the study has scrutinized the issue at hand as being guided with the following methodological approaches. The research has employed liberal pluralist interdependence theory, and the functionalist approach in regional

cooperation. This is to capitalize the practical application, and importance of regional cooperation. Besides, taking into account the nexus of security- peace -development in a given regional context, the postclassical realist assumption of state behavior in regional cooperation is considered as both a paradigm and framework of analysis. This will help to indicate how viable regional cooperation is dependent on a leading sub-regional powers' quality: readiness, commitment and capability. Within this theoretical approach, the study has used only secondary data sources and analytically examined in a triangulated research design: Descriptive, evaluation and document analysis.

A great deal of effort is being made to glean secondary data sources. In light of this, academic papers, official dispatches, research outputs, were consulted. With this, emphases were given to cross check sources for their credibility with regard to the writings of authoritative scholars in the subject at hand. Besides, in search of objective judgments and opinions related to the study, relevant non-governmental organisations (NGO's), and pressure groups were consulted through their publications, and information and research outlets. This has helped principally in developing a scenario pertaining to the synergic sum effect of Ethiopia growth and transformation plan to the regional context.

The research is made to be qualitative in its approach. Though it was imperative to look for primary sources, given the financial and time constraints, it has faced, it's being made to solely depend on secondary data sources. This may debilitate the quality of the study, yet a great deal of effort is exerted, and a due care is being made to forestall the degree of its influence.

Description of study area

Horn of Africa region is located in the Eastern tip of the African continent that looks like a horn, and intrudes to the Indian Ocean. The countries that make up the Horn of Africa region include Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea, The Sudan, Kenya, and Uganda, where Ethiopia is at the heart of the region. The Horn of Africa covers an area of 5.2 square kilometer, and a population of more than 170 million. The horn of Africa is a region of ethno-cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity. Christianity and Islam are the major religions that co-existed for centuries, yet diversity of religious practices ranges from relics of ancient form of Judaism, indigenous African beliefs to animism. In terms of identity and modalities of social organization, heterogeneity is a common characteristic of the region in all states but with some degree of caution on the Somali state.

The region is known for its structural heterogeneity reflected in diversified modes of production, and production relation owing to the rural-urban, pastoral and agricultural as well as eco-zonal divides of highlander and lowlander population that depend on subsistence economy.

Politically, it is a region of rampant intra and interstate hostilities, belligerency and spontaneity that are ascribed to factors associated with modality of power- interplay and mutual intervention in the affairs of one another, that most often do not aggravates human insecurity in the region.

These shades influence in debilitating to use the regions available potential leverage pertaining to its strategic significance. Given this regional image, the study will focus

on Ethiopia's ongoing development plan with regard to its synergic sum implication to the aforementioned region to stimulate a newly concerted cooperation for mutual benefit. Hence, the study is to be undertaken in Ethiopia- a vibrant nation in terms of both its national development endeavors, and significant contribution to the regional cooperation. The country has an estimated population of more than 80 million, and an area of 935,183 square miles.

The regional scenario and the place of Ethiopia

The Horn of Africa is located in the far northeast region of Africa that constitutes its own sub-system within the wider African continent. There is no agreement on the exact boundary of this sub-region. However, Kassahun (2013), argues that the attributes used to identify regional sub-systems tend to take into account "geographic proximity, regularity and intensity of interaction between actors, internal and external recognition of group of states as distinctive area consisting of two or more countries" qualify to be a region.

In this sense, all member states of IGAD are used as forming the Horn of Africa's regional sub-system. Geographically speaking, thus, the Horn of Africa comprises seven states: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan. There are tribal, cultural, historical, economic, political, and security ties among these seven countries. This broader definition is both purposive and more appropriate for successful economic integration that reflects the diversity and greater economies of scale as well as consistent with the existing regional cooperation initiative established by the states of the region (Kassahun, 2013).

Including the aforementioned states, the region is known for its shores bordering the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Due to the Horn's prime access to major sea routes, it has been a high traffic area for trade for many Arab and far Eastern territories.

Over the last four decades, the Horn of Africa has been wracked by major conflicts in Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea (IGAD, 2008) and, to a lesser extent, Djibouti. Conflicts in individual countries are often compounded by inter-state conflicts of varying degree, and intensity which take place at different times. Moreover, recurrent droughts resulting in famine, and other troubles, among them environmental degradation and economic hardship, are expressed in the impoverishment of broad sections of the populations. Cross-border violence even beyond state level carried out by rebels can easily escalate into inter-state tensions, and the Horn of Africa presents the best examples of this devastating pattern.

The Horn of Africa have been plagued with border disputes, civil unrest and droughts, as well as other natural and man-made calamities that often result in economic repression, civilian casualties, human rights violations and famine (Woodward, 2013). Due to such adversities,

countries in this region have also been hindered by various forms of oppression, unstable infrastructural development and displacement of the population. Besides, ethnic conflict has had dramatic effects on political and regional stability throughout the Horn region (Attilio, 2013). Though there have been efforts made to improve democracy and human rights in the Horn of Africa, inadequate living standards, fuelled by the repression of democracy, combined with repressive military regimes as well as international intervention, has unfortunately marred the regional atmosphere for a long period of time in history.

The region's most devastating conflicts, however, are intra-state conflicts, which conceptually are of three types, although in reality they are often hard to distinguish. The first are inter-communal conflicts, which are fought among ethnic, clan and occupational groups; for instance; pastoralists vs. sedentary farmers. These conflicts are generally fought by communities over land, water and livestock (in the form of cattle rustling) and are often provoked by resource scarcity, resulting from a rapidly deteriorating environment and fast-growing populations. The second type is the one-sided conflict, which entails atrocities perpetrated by governments and rebel groups against unarmed civilian populations for a variety of reasons. The third and perhaps the most devastating type of intra-state conflict the region has experienced consists of 'civil wars' and chronic strife between the state and organized political groups, which are mostly ethnic- or region-based (Kassahun, 2013; Woodward, 2013). Such conflicts have attributed to the internal political structure and nature of economic distribution.

The complexity and interconnectedness of intra- and inter-state conflicts and the concomitant pervasive insecurity ravaging the region make the Horn of Africa to be the most conflict-ridden region in the African continent. This has rendered the task of building durable and meaningful peace and security in the region and beyond making it extremely difficult (Menkhaus, 1999). At the root of these intra- and inter-state conflicts and insecurity is the crisis of the state. The precarious state-building process has rendered the state crisis-stricken. State crisis in turn gives rise to conflicts and insecurity at home and beyond.

More to the point, the Horn of African states' foreign policies have been characterized dominantly by mutual intervention through backing one another's political oppositions. The reciprocal interventions using intrastate protagonists remain one of the major instruments of foreign policy among the countries of the region. This strategy is aimed at weakening actual and presumed adversaries with the hope of strengthening their bargaining position in their dealing with each other (Kassahun, 2013).

Therefore, pursuing regional foreign policy through proxy forces in neighboring countries has been the normal pattern of relations for decades in the sub-region. The logic of 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend' forms the basis for interstate alliances between states and among

non-state actors in the Horn (Williams, 2011). This activity has proved persistent over time, and has survived radical political reconfigurations, including regime changes (ibid). This in itself is a prominent ground in cursing the horn of Africa region as the worst of its kind for human life.

In general terms, these bitter conflicts and insecurities are historical, socio-economic, domestic, intra-regional and international factors and underdevelopment coupled with poor political power interplay. External interventions, driven by competing national, economic, political, security and strategic-linked interests connected to the war on terror and concern about piracy, render the conflicts intractable.

Despite some semblance of regional stability, compared to previous years, there are still many challenging issues in the Horn of Africa, such as the issue of pervasive poverty, inadequate access to social services, and conflict-prone government policies. Combined with the regions vulnerability to drought and civil unrest, the Horn of Africa has produced some of the largest numbers of refugees worldwide (el-affendi, 2005).

In spite of the engagement of many local, national, regional and international actors in the attempt to mitigate the conflicts, no significant results have been achieved as might so be deemed required. The methodology of international intervention and the politics of conflict resolution, which stress global strategic, security, political and economic interests, have not only proved lacking, but have also skewed the process of state-, peace- and security building to the regional importance.

The piecemeal approach to conflict resolution quite often emanating from geo-strategic expediency is another factor that perpetuates conflict in the Horn of Africa. Interlinked conflicts and insecurities demand holistic, historicized, multidimensional and multidisciplinary analyses, regional approaches and mechanisms which are missed in the horn's regional scenario for long. Given this as it may, regional frameworks are initiated since the mid of 1980's in the region. In light of this, the subsequent section will examine the trends in the making of regional approach, which is of a recent phenomenon to the horn's regional sub-system.

Constellational trends in the Horn of Africa

For long, the Horn of Africa region has been heavily impacted by wars and conflicts, poverty and cyclic droughts all with pervasive human casualties. Since the period of African year of independence, the region has experienced several devastating inter-state wars, including the Ethio-Somali wars of 1964 and 1977-78, the Kenyan-Somali war (1963) and the Ethio-Eritrean border war of 1998-2000. It has also witnessed destructive cross-border communal conflicts often triggered by environmental degradation, and facilitated by porous borders, which are not always respected or even recognized by pastoral communities, especially those who

belong to ethnic groups split across national boundaries (Assefa, 2005).

On top of this, the region has experienced mutual intervention in the internal affairs of one another like the case in between Ethiopia and Sudan, during the military government of Ethiopia, the long existed cases of this kind in between Uganda and Sudan. Proxy wars are also common to the region, the very recently proxy was the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea in the land of Somali is a case in point (ibid).

All these and similar contexts depict the undesirable regional image of the horn of Africa, and put people's and states of the region in the same boat. Thus, to address such gloomy images and human casualties, states of the region have crafted regional cooperation scheme which is venerated in common. The establishment of IGADD and its revitalization is a case in point. This is particularly true; when the need to overcome above stated regional challenges was recognized, member states have rejuvenated the then Inter-Governmental Authority for Drought and Desertification (IGADD) to become the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in 1996 (Musso , 2013).

The regional constellation was entrusted with the task of promoting conflict-resolution and stability as a prerequisite for inter-state cooperation in areas of security, peace and development agendas. Among African Regional Economic Communities (RECs), IGAD is comparable only to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for its acting as a regional peace-maker and not just as a forum for economic integration agendas alone (Abbink,2003).

According to Woodward (2013), the regional body has been set up for the Horn of Africa seeking in its own way to reflect comparable regional developments as somewhere else in Africa, such as ECOWAS and SADC (South African Development Community). It is also possible to argue that in spite of its limitations, it is now recognized as an international organization working alongside the African Union, the European Union and the United Nation as being representing the interest of the regional states.

Since its revitalization the regional organization, IGAD has embarked on two mediation efforts: Peace process in Somalia, and the negotiations between the government of Sudan and the SPLM/A (South Sudan Liberation Movement/Army). In the first case, its initiatives have lapsed several times, but the latter. IGAD-led negotiations between Sudan, and the SPLM/A has succeeded against all expectations, resulting in the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement in 2005, after years of intermittent talks, and help South Sudan declare its independence in 2011 subsequent to the popular referendum held in Juba, its capital.

With this exception, the constellation looks to be inept for variety of reasons. In most of its cases, IGAD is known for its ineptitude and shortcomings, and charged with a responsibility for securing peace, security and economic

development in line with its mandate. According to Kasahun (2013), the incompatible hegemonic interests and aspirations of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Egypt and Libya supported by their respective allies and sympathizers are detrimental to efforts attempting to lay the ground for the realization of a viable security arrangement and cooperation in the Horn of Africa within the framework of IGAD. Besides, lack of regional hegemony and incompatible economic systems, and the monoculture nature of their economy rendered the regional cooperative scheme inept. However, there are good prospects in Ethiopia that it can fill this level gap to the best of the regional setting.

In line with this, Berouk (2011) and some scholars in the Horn of Africa argue that the region lacks a clear regional power, and that it is characterized by contested leadership. Kenya, the region's economic power, lacks the hard power to assume a leadership position. Although Sudan has the potential, it is grappling with numerous unresolved internal armed conflicts. Ethiopia is arguably constrained by lack of economic capacity. Despite this, other scholars argue that Ethiopia is "the most powerful and dominant power" in the Horn of Africa (Dehez, 2008; Berouk, 2011). Such contention pertaining to Ethiopia's position as to whether it qualifies to be a regional power, and will play a leading role in the region or not, need a separate treatment which is the main objective of this study.

In light of this, thus, the subsequent section will look into the Ethiopia's national context thereby indicating the prospects that Ethiopia can play in light of its ongoing development efforts, and its growth and transformation plan. Besides, it will kindle on the overarching challenges that debilitate Ethiopia's constructive role in the regional framework.

Ethiopia's national context in light of its regional role

Ethiopia is one of the oldest independent nations in the world. It has long been an intersection between the civilizations of North Africa, the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa. Unique among African countries, Ethiopia was never been colonized, maintaining its independence throughout the high days of colonialism. It is the second largest country in the Horn of Africa and shares borders with Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan, South Sudan and Kenya.

Ethiopia was one of the poorest countries in the world, afflicted by decades of social upheavals, wars, poverty and famine inflicted from its misguided policies. This has been the whole mark of the state of Ethiopia lingering afresh memory in the mind of many Ethiopians. This is particularly true up until the beginning of 1990's. In line with this, Assefa (2015) has argued that until 1991, natives and foreigners alike and the international community in general had viewed Ethiopia as the mythological Pandora's box of many unknowns and evils. This is true

as the country has remained in a state of deep rooted economic quagmire, political crises and social upheavals with concomitant effect on the lives of its population.

Thus, the period 1991 is, thus, a land mark in the Ethiopian history as it has ushered a multifaceted development and fundamental shift in policy orientation and development strategy. Since, the demise of the military rule, the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia have entered into a new phase of political economy accompanied by a new optimism for a multifaceted economic development, peace and democracy. This is also the guiding principle of its foreign policy objectives and direction. The government, with its unwavering commitment to drive the country out of the long awaited and deep rooted economic quagmire, designed and implemented a doable National strategy reflected in both its foreign and domestic policy, and able to register a double economic growth in the last 12 years.

At this moment, Ethiopia has become one of the world's fastest-growing economies, and its GDP per capita has risen on an annual basis. The country, which was known among the outside world as the world's most impoverished nation, where periodical drought and famine were claiming the lives of many citizens, has managed to attain faster economic development in less than two decades changing its image for the good (Ministry of Information, 2015). Not only Ethiopia has been able to achieve sustainable development but also been able to join the ranks of the world's fastest economies like China (ibid).

According to Klosowicz (2015), after the fall of the military dictator, Ethiopia is commonly perceived by independent observers as one of the most stable African countries. This view seems to be shared by tourists, who come to Ethiopia in large numbers every year. The capital city itself, with the modern airport and the growing modern district along Africa Avenue, makes a good impression on new comers. The very fact that Addis Ababa is home to the seats of the key regional African organizations, including the African Union (AU), and diplomatic missions of nearly all the significant countries of the world, adds to the reputation of the country. These entire factors make Ethiopia appear to be one of the safest and most dynamically developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, with its political stability likely to have a positive influence on its neighbors (ibid). In light of this imperative shift, the subsequent part will look into the economic, political, military, and diplomatic efforts of Ethiopia from the vintage point of implications to the regional framework of cooperation.

Economic development endeavors and its Implications

It is evident that Ethiopia has witnessed previously unseen economic development, accompanied by various changes in the political culture and environment at many levels of the state. Social and religious development have

oscillated between respect and understanding. The growing economic potential and influx of foreign capital drives the development of the country's infrastructure, in particular, the construction of roads (African Development Bank Group, 2011). The economy has experienced significant growth over the past decade, averaging 10.8% per year from 2003/4 to 2012/13 compared to the regional average of 5.3%, and was the 12th fastest growing economy worldwide (The World Bank, 2015). The growth and transformation plan (GTP), launched late 2010, is the government of Ethiopia's response to address its multifaceted development challenges. The GTP is borne out of the government's vision to propel Ethiopia into middle income country status by 2025.

A number of international economic institutions predict that in the next few years Ethiopia will experience intensive growth. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Ethiopia is the fastest growing African economy among the non-oil producing African countries. Currently, the country is negotiating its membership in the World Trade Organisation, and the government has been making efforts to ensure that it has the best possible image among investors (Maasho, 2013). The economic diplomatic effort, which is part of the massive campaign targeted at making 'Ethiopia as one of the middle income economies in the world', will be further intensified so as to help accelerate the ongoing diverse economic development programs in general and the ongoing growth and transformation plan in particular. Such moves have helped Ethiopia to play its constructive role in relation to members of the IGAD region.

For instance, neighboring countries are keen to import renewable energy from Ethiopia because it is cheap and most of them are utilizing energy sources that do not compound the problems of climate change. In this regard, Ethiopia has already begun supplying electricity to Djibouti since May 2003 EC. By doing so, it has become the first East African country to export power to abroad. The 283-km long Ethio-Djibouti Electric Power Transmission Project was inaugurated in October 2011. The 230-kilo volt power transmission line enables Djibouti to receive 35 megawatt of electricity.

Ethiopia in return will get foreign exchange earning amounting 1.5 million US dollars per month (Government Communication Affairs Office, 2012). The construction of the double-circuit line, which was launched in September 2007, was completed in mid-2011. A memorandum of understanding providing for the supply of electric power to Kenya has also been signed between the governments of the two countries earlier.

According to EEPCo (Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation), the installation of an electric power line stretching from Ethiopia to Kenya has been launched and is currently in progress (ibid). Ethiopia's dream of becoming a hydroelectric superpower has also continued, as well as the realization of gigantic water projects, despite the extreme costs. The great renaissance dam is likely to

have significant consequences beyond the regional level, likely affecting relations between Sudan, Egypt, and Ethiopia (Klosowicz, 2015).

Ethiopia is expected to generate sufficient power in the next five years to enable it to honor electric power to demand from its neighbors. The country has signed initial agreements to supply 500 mega Watt to Sudan. Emphasis will also be given to other infrastructural developments consisting of road, energy; air and railways transport facilities, and health and education institutions, among others, during the remaining years of the implementation of the GTP. Here comes not only Medhane (2005) assertion of Energy-led integration but also infrastructural development integration in the horn of Africa to come true.

For any regional and sub-regional cooperation to be doable, it demands the provision of roads and transportation channels. Seen from this perspective, roads are being built across the country; the railway line which connects Addis Ababa to Djibouti is being rebuilt, and all the key cities are actually huge construction sites. Ethiopia plays an important role as a key air carrier in Africa (Star Alliance, n.d.).

Ethiopian airlines is among the top three largest African airlines, with an excellent reputation for safety, which earned it the membership in Star Alliance in 2011 (ibid). Looking all this hopeful moves and concomitant scenarios from Ethiopia have a vivid implication for Ethiopia to fill level gaps in regional cooperation challenges. Supporting this scenario, Woldegebriel (2013), has argued that Ethiopia's recent promising economic performance offers hope for its people, and the country is increasingly attracting aid, trade and investment. It recently added a new area of focus on regional integration in IGAD through internal infrastructure development, and the export of hydroelectric power and water concessions to neighboring countries, adding impetus in helping Ethiopia's role and drive for a regional power. This approach may constitute a major improvement in addressing the shortcomings of Ethiopia's regional diplomatic practices.

In remarks made during a meeting with Prime Minister Desalegn, US President Barack Obama (Mehari, 2014) has pointed out that the "enormous progress in a country that once had great difficulty feeding itself, it's not only leading the pack in terms of agricultural production in the region, but will soon be an exporter potentially not just of agriculture, but also power because of the development that's been taking place there." This in itself will kindle a flicker and window of opportunity in addressing loose economic ties born of monocultural economy of the region.

According to Klosowicz (2015), in addition to the economic success, which is quite impressive for sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopia may also boast of a growing political position, not only in the Horn of Africa, but also across the continent. The country is also a home to Major African and international organizations (the African Union, as well as the realization of gigantic water projects, despite the extreme costs. The great renaissance dam is likely to

the UN Economic Commission for Africa). Apart from playing a crucial role in international relations, it is a key ally for Western countries, particularly the US and Europe in the fight against terrorism and extremism in the region (Mehari, 2014; Klosowicz, 2015).

This is imperative to easily deduce an implication that the country is to play in the future undertakings regional cooperation and integration agenda in its region.

Military mighty and its implications

Given its relative economic development at home and the support rendered on the part of the major powers in the name of fight against terrorism, it was able to build a strong military force which is capable of not only defending its sovereign independence, but also helping boost in its peace keeping effort in the region and beyond. The American support provided to Ethiopia, such as financing, training and equipment, has been changing the Ethiopian armed forces at a faster pace (Ploch, 2010).

Here, value adding might tend utopian, but even with its own resources at hand it has able to manage a relative military strength in the last ten years, with a viable prospect to further strengthen its regional might along with the success of its growth and transformation plan.

According to the Global Fire Power (World Military Strength Ranking), Ethiopia is currently the strongest Sub-Saharan country in military terms and the third strongest country in Africa after Egypt and Algeria, ranking higher than South Africa (Global Fire Power, 2014). Given that the ranking takes into account 40 factors in determining the position of each country in terms of military strength, it is cogent to trust the outcome of the ranking. Besides, Ethiopia is also the second most populous African country, which obviously translates into military potential if the need comes.

Ranked first in sub-Saharan Africa, third (next to Egypt and Algeria) in Africa and fortieth in the world, Ethiopia's military strength and role in regional peace and security, and its impressive track record in peacekeeping, counter-terrorism, and mediation efforts create a favorable condition for it to become the main hegemonic role player state to the best of the region and beyond. The share and contribution of Ethiopia in peace keeping mission is rising from time to time.

According to Mehari (2014) a total of 12 247 troops (4395 troops in the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), and 7852 in UN missions, Ethiopia is the biggest troop-contributing nation in the world. This is indicative of not only Ethiopia's military strength but also its readiness and commitment to play a constructive role in promoting peace and security in its area of concern. This is also founded upon its foreign policy strategy and objectives.

As the third contributor to UN peacekeeping missions in, for example, Darfur (UN-AU Mission in Darfur), Abyei (UN Interim Security Force for Abyei or UNISFA) and South

Sudan (UN Mission in South Sudan), Ethiopia's focus has been on peace and security in Africa. This has a far reaching implication for its constructive role to play in the regional scenario. Here, one can imagine the possible role that it could play if its ongoing growth and transformation plan is realized. Summing up this assertion, Kidist (2014), has the following to say;

Ethiopia's military power, population size, relative internal stability and diplomatic strength have enabled it to position itself as a regional power and to drive regional peace and security initiatives. Ethiopia has also been able to influence regional security agendas through sub-regional and regional organizations. The convergence of Ethiopia's interests and those of its western partners further give Ethiopia legitimacy in its regional role and status. At the same time, other states in the Horn of Africa have been unable to balance Ethiopia's position in the region or gain the same level of recognition for their role in peace and security.

Diplomatic endeavors' and its implications

Ethiopia's diplomatic tradition and its regional position is attributed to its sense of statehood. It has been founded on age long written historical accounts, dating seven centuries back, and on Ethiopia's awareness that it is the only African state which had not been colonised by European powers. The latter factor has a highly symbolic meaning for Africa as a whole, which is reflected, for example, by the fact that upon gaining independence many African countries chose the Ethiopian colors for their national flags (Klosowicz, 2015). Since the high days of African independence, Ethiopia is committed for the African continental organization.

Currently, its foreign policy is guided with the objectives of promoting sustainable development, democratization and promoting peace and security. The government of Ethiopia strongly believes that ensuring national security and peace could be questionable unless supported in particular by the prevalence of regional peace and stability and by good relations and co-operations from the countries neighboring Ethiopia and other countries of the continent (Government Communication affairs office, 2012). One of the strategies that is instrumental in minimizing potential threats endangering the peace and security of the nation, and in ensuring its sovereignty is establishing good diplomatic relations and friendly cooperation with neighboring countries based on mutual interest and benefits (ibid).

Pursuing strategies capable of enhancing sub-regional, regional and international political and diplomatic understandings and friendly cooperation is therefore the focus areas of the country's foreign relations and national security policy and strategy. Thus, the country gives greater consideration to have strong ties with its

neighboring countries and pursues appropriate policy towards them. By taking into consideration the importance of such diplomatic ties, the Ethiopian government is pursuing strategic directions in which neighboring countries can play a positive role in the country's political, social and economic development situations and vice versa (ibid).

Accordingly, the government has established strong political ties with all countries of the sub-region with the exception of Eritrea. In addition to the establishment of strong relations with the countries, the government has been engaged in activities that will ensure the peace and security of the sub-region thereby help the sub-region attain development and prosperity as part of its commitment to the region. Ethiopia plays a crucial role in the activity of supporting the efforts towards strengthening the capacity of IGAD to ensure peace and security, as well as political and economic cooperation. Ethiopia has continued playing prominent role towards the strengthening of IGAD and AU and enhancement of their activities geared on ensuring peace and stability in the African continent and ensuring the maintenance of the interest of the region in the international forums.

The significant contribution that Ethiopia has made in finding a lasting peaceful solution to the conflict between Sudan and South Sudan was also a testimony for this. Ethiopia has also been playing a significant role in the efforts launched to resolve peacefully the civil war in Darfur, Sudan by sending its peacekeeping forces to the conflict area. Ethiopia has also been playing significant role towards consolidating its relations with regional and international organizations comprising the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), the IGAD and the Arab League, etc around the world (government communication affairs office, 2012).

The friendly relations and co-operations which Ethiopia has been building with various countries and international organizations around the world, based on mutual interest and benefit, are getting expanded and strengthened from time to time in the last two decades. The country's diplomatic and political ties with many countries in the world are getting high places worldwide. The building of strong solidarity and diplomatic ties by Ethiopia with foreign countries has enabled it to transform from political insignificant to an influential nation in the world. According to Mehari (2014), for Ethiopia to become a hub for regional integration in the IGAD region a shift of focus to economic and trade diplomacy in the region is required, as is the case with other regions, without undermining the importance of its role in regional peace and security.

Cognizant of the imperatives, Ethiopia has therefore signed comprehensive co-operation agreements with Somalia, Sudan, Djibouti, Kenya, Yemen, Nigeria and South Sudan, reflecting its close relations with both close and distant African and Arab countries (ibid). However, at a regional level, IGAD is a key regional institution through which Ethiopia pursues its regional objectives. Since 2008,

Ethiopia has been the chair of IGAD. As one of the leading founders and main architects of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Ethiopia's rich history served as the seedbed for pan-Africanism. This in itself has also a blatant implication: let alone for the weak and fragile states of the horn state's region, Ethiopia is playing a prominent role in the African continent. In sum, given Ethiopia's relative stable politics at home, well established diplomatic ties, relative military strength and well recognized track record in its economic development, it could play a regional power's role in the horn of Africa thereby leading the region to the good.

Conclusion

According to this ongoing national plan, step by step measures are to be taken to lay a firm foundation for industrialization, though agriculture is still to lead the economy to the coming five years too. The implication is quite vivid: after five years industrialization will lead the national economy in which agriculture is to play a supportive role.

This significant paradigmatic shift in Ethiopia's economic policy has its own rampant implication in filling the exigencies for regional cooperation in the Horn of Africa (IGAD) region. For long, Ethiopia has led the region in a more creative political thinking and adaptation to the emergence of international trends. This is true as the country is implementing its second phase growth and transformation plan born out of its exhibited experience of a decade's long double digit growth rate. Regional powers generally contribute to stability and peace within their geographically defined spheres of influence.

The Horn of Africa region is said to lack a clear regional power for a long time in history. This study argues otherwise. Ethiopia, despite its constraints in terms of economic capacity, has played a prominent role emerged as a regional power capable of projecting its power beyond its borders.

Due to lack of economic capacity, Ethiopia has only managed to contain regional security challenges temporarily. However, by emerging as a central and influential security player in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia has managed to secure the development assistance that it desperately needs to boost its economy and deal with the numerous internal and regional constraints to its regional power projection.

To consolidate its regional power position and receive more recognition and credibility, Ethiopia needs to improve its internal political condition and increasingly play a more constructive role in the Horn of Africa. According to Klosowicz (2015), Ethiopia is clearly the dominant state in the Horn of Africa, as seen both in the narrower and broader perspective. Only Sudan can be compared to Ethiopia in certain respects, yet it is no match for the latter in population terms (38 million), military power, not to

mention its influence and prestige both in regionally and internationally.

The other countries: Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya and South Sudan are much smaller and weaker, with the overall population of 109 million, that is, slightly over 10 million more than Ethiopia. If the Horn of Africa was to be narrowed down to Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti, the predominance of Ethiopia would be huge, both in terms of the territory (40% of the region's area) and the population (85% of the total population in the region).

Being the most powerful country in the region, Ethiopia should, theoretically, control the regional environment. Ethiopia and Djibouti has maintained a relatively stable political environment, which has allowed for peaceful relations with Ethiopia, Somalia and other international partners. Djibouti has also become a host to many refugees and asylum seekers, as well as an international hub for port access.

Undoubtedly, Ethiopia plays a key role in the security complex of the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia, which is located strategically and is the most populous country in the region, enjoys sufficient authority among the countries in this region. Addis Ababa is also an important international actor, especially with regard to combating international terrorism and extremism. It enjoys the backing of the EU and the U.S., with the latter considering it an ally and one of the 4 states crucial for the U.S. interests in Africa. Ethiopia aspires to play a leading role in major regional initiatives, and undertakings aimed at stabilizing and integrating the region, and it takes an active part in peacekeeping and stabilizing missions.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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The background of the entire page is a composite image. At the top, a person in a dark suit, white shirt, and patterned tie is shown from the chest up. Below this, a semi-transparent dark grey band contains the journal's title. Underneath the title, there is a world map with glowing white lines connecting various points, suggesting global connectivity. At the bottom, a person's hands are visible holding a tablet computer. The tablet screen displays a blue bar chart with a white line graph overlaid on it, showing an upward trend. The overall color scheme is dark with blue and white highlights.

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