

THE CONTEMPORARY ETHIOPIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM FROM (1995-2020) AND THE CHALLENGES IT FACES

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Abstract:

In This Study , Since Abiy Ahmed came to power in April 2018, Ethiopia has witnessed political paradoxes manifested by his accelerated steps in redrawing the political and social landscape of his country according to a new philosophy represented by his official quest to achieve social and economic justice among the various Ethiopian regions after years during which an elite of Tigrayans took over the leadership positions in the state and important economic resources. In addition to adopting reform policies that won Great popular satisfaction and support, Abiy Ahmed has created strong enemies within Ethiopian society, especially from the Tigray national elites.

Keywords: contemporary, Ethiopian, political

Introduction

Ethiopia is one of the most important large and influential countries in the Horn of Africa, due to its geopolitical and historical advantages, and the Ethiopian system is one of the most systems that contain ethnic differences, which has left its repercussions on the entire public life, it is a country rich in ethnicities and tribes, each of which has a language, religion, history, and civilization to which it belongs and is proud of. These differences resulted in several decades-long conflicts that began with the imperial era, and continued with the military-socialist phase, up to the reign of the Abu Ahmed regime.

Importance of study:

The importance of the study comes because Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic country, and to find out the negative impact that resulted from the conflict between them, which made it a factor of division and permanent conflict throughout the ages until the rule of Abu Ahmed, which made it vulnerable to internal divisions as a result of disagreements with the dominant nationalism on the governing institutions. The importance of the study also comes through researching the current political transformations within the Ethiopian affairs and the possibility of success in making radical transformations in light of the great challenges facing it, whether (regional or international).transformations in it in light of the great challenges it faces, whether (regional or international).

Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to shed light on the Federal experience in Ethiopia, despite its modernity, because of the desired benefit in studying federal models similar to the Ethiopian Federal experience, especially as it suffers from internal divisions and ethnic differences between the Tigray, Oromo and Amhara

Problem of the Study

The study addresses an important problem that the issue of multi-ethnicity in Ethiopia continues to cast a shadow on the functioning of the institutions of the political system in Ethiopia to this day, as well as the regional and internal repercussions that leave significant effects that would deepen the rift between ethnicities and nationalities and thus complicate the level of imbalance of security and stability of the Horn of Africa, as well as raise concerns about the fate of democracy and the Ethiopian state, which reflects on the ambitions and political trends of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed

Contemporary Ethiopian political system and challenges

Pursue Ethiopia is federal and follows the system of government Parliamentary, And there Many existing parties on Ethnic basis in Ethiopia, butNo voice is louder than the voice of the Democratic Front, and that the electoral practice in Ethiopia has been for more than two decades an important pillar of the political system, in spite of The size of the contradictions that he suffers fromEthiopian social composition, but the centralization and strength of the system helped to keep the system coherent and away from ethnic problemsOn thedespitefromIts inability to achieve social justice for all citizens.

First Topic: Internal challenges

The internal stability of any country is related to several factors, the most important of which is the unity of the state from within and the absence of more than one nationality competing to reach power, and this is manifested in several countries, especially African countries, which made nationalities become independent and establish a state for themselves and others there is a clash between them and the central government of the state, the strongest African example of this is the state of Ethiopia. It is filled with different ethnicities and nationalities, as one historian described it as a museum of peoples because of its many nationalities and ethnicities, which since its inception have been fighting to reach power and control the reins of government without other nationalities. Thus, Ethiopia continued this state of conflict until the largest conflict came between the ruling Tigray Liberation Front of Ethiopia during the period (1991-2012) and the Ethiopian central government, after the rise of Abiy Ahmed as prime minister, who belongs to the Oromo nationality, which is the largest of the Ethiopian nationalities.⁽¹⁾

One of the problems that faced Dessalines and prompted him to resign was his desire to break free from the domination of the Tigrayans, especially its military establishment, although he is constitutionally its head, but it was acting on individual orders through the minister of Defense and senior generals, the purpose of which was to obstruct any reform steps aimed at addressing the economic imbalances in the areas of unrest, which was caused by the control of the Tigrayans over the economy sector and the return of land confiscated in the Oromo or Amhara regions to them. Another explanation for Dessalines' resignation is that he feels that the army does not want to calm the situation in the country, and even constantly seeks to spoil any attempts at reform. He addressed this through a speech in the midst of the events of 2015, in which he called on all the parties of the ruling coalition to line up in the fight against corruption and terrorism and confront what he described as arrogance and arrogance practiced by some, " in a clear but implicit reference to Tigray, but his deputy demiki Mekonnen was more explicit when he said: the Tigray

¹ Khairy Omar, Ethiopia PENFederalism and disintegrationsakarya university,magazineTurkish Vision, Issue 194, 1/11/2022, p. 174

People's Liberation Front is not.⁽²⁾

Thus, the choice of a successor to Dessalines was linked to several considerations, Hence, the reasons for holding internal elections in the Oromo Democratic organization in February 2018, which brought Abiy Ahmed, who is described as more compatible with the Tigrayans and maintains close relations with them during his ERA in the Army, as they formed his majority in the face of Mengistu, and even the reasons for holding internal elections in the Oromo Democratic organization he learned their language, and graduated into the military career, so he was able to gain their trust, which enabled him to take a great position in the intelligence and military corps He is a technocrat because he specializes in telecommunications engineering, where he became minister of communications and Information Technology under Dessalines. He also enjoys the consensus of the Amhara people, as well as being close to the southerners to some extent.⁽³⁾

First -Requirement - -: Opposition to governance by the regions

The federal system established in Ethiopia according to the 1994 constitution, following the overthrow of the Marxist regime in 1994/1991. And that was the goal of reducing marginalization and exclusion from which many ethnic groups were suffering. The problem is for the regions that make up the Ethiopian state through different times, but this system came to fit. Name the country into nine major states. And two cities follow the federal government. And may grant this the Constitution Regions Which includes the largest ethnic groups, including (Amhara, Oromo, Tigray, Southern Nations) membership within ruling coalition. Therefore did not This system achieves what it came for. In addressing and managing the problems of ethnic diversity in Ethiopia during the past three decades. Including The most serious problem with this system by his resurrection on the basis of ethnicity rather than nationality, and founding basic rights for the individual and the Ethiopian society represented by (the ear-hand job government and representation in local and federal bodies) on racial considerations because they are ethnically indigenous to the constituent federal territories and Not an Ethiopian national. This system has led to the emergence of internal contradictions within the regions. There are more than 90 ethnic groups in Ethiopia. And because ethnic minorities live within each region, which led to the emergence of many minorities within Territories, Ethnic federalism unleashed a struggle for supremacy between The Big Three Provinces: Tigray, Amhara, and Oromo, Especially the conflict between the three big provinces. The ruling coalition led by the Popular Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). And who was Popular Front for the Liberation of Tigray dominant perhaps Yeh From 1991 until the coming to power of Abiy Ahmed April-2018. ⁽⁴⁾

Since the arrival of Abiy Ahmed to the reins of power and the obsession of marginalization and getting rid of the dominance of the Tigray controls him, like the former prime minister (Desalegn), as the first civilian to come from outside the Amhara and Tigray, Desalegn has previously sought to please the Oromo and Amhara, but Abiy Ahmed was not satisfied with that,

² Abtdon Shafi'i, Dimensions of the Prime Minister's resignation unless Ethiopian and its implications Reports, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 22/2/2018, p. 3

³ Ahmed Askar, Map of Crises and the Future of the State in Ethiopia, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 7/9/2021, pp. 6-7

⁴ Abdel Qader Mohamed Adam, Ethiopia and the federal system: the most difficult balance between ethnic pluralism and national unity, analytical papers, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 12/13/2020, p. 2

but made radical transformations in favor of the Oromo, southern province, Amhara, Tigray. His cabinet of 29 ministers included the retention of 13 of them in their posts, the change of 10, and the movements of six ministers. The share of the Oromo was (12) ministers, while the southern region of Ethiopia received 7 ministries, the Amhara region received (5) ministries in addition to the deputy Abiy Ahmed (demiki Mekonnen), the Tigray Region (3) ministries, the Somalia Region (2), and finally the Afar region one ministry.

He also disagreed The political scene in Addis Ababa has been completely lost My father worked on displacement The political and military class And give way to Dialogues constructive With the nationalities of the politically and economically marginalized majority, which thing reverse change In the manner of taking Ethiopian internal politics with critical internal issues which She was reason Basically For the popular protests in which Ethiopians have sacrificed their blood since 2016. Where Abiy Ahmed adopted several reforms Since April 2018 Within the Ethiopian interior got guided international And as it comes:⁽⁵⁾

1- Keeping the army out of politics: military leaders from the "Tigray" nationalism dominated the joints of Ethiopian domestic and foreign policy for more than two decades, until Abiy Ahmed came and appointed Seri Mekonnen as commander of the armed forces, despite his party origins in the Tigray People's Liberation Front, succeeding Samura Yunus, who served in the Ethiopian army for four decades, and appointed Air Force Commander Adam Mohammed, who belongs to the Amhara Democratic Party, as head of the National Intelligence and security service to replace Getachew Asafa. This comes within the framework of the political and economic reforms that he pledged and in response to the demands of protesters after the unrest in Ethiopia in recent years that preceded his coming.

2- Internal reconciliation: Abiy Ahmed visited various regions in the country, including his first visit to the Somali (western) region within Ethiopia since the nineteenth century, which is suffering from unrest due to local government practices and border disputes with the Oromo region ⁽⁶⁾, he also visited the town of Ambo in Oromia, which has been the heart of protests and clashes with security forces since 2015, and pledged to address their grievances, and met with leaders and various opposition forces that were leading protests in the Oromo and others who were refusing to communicate with Dessalines, most notably: mirara godina, chairman of the Oromo Congress party Federalist, Bekele Gerba, secretary general of the party, and others.

3-Raise Restrictions on media in Ethiopia: where It was a gag policy part One of the military's practices is to curtail the voices of the opposition and protesters, so the ban imposed on many news websites was lifted, so that their owners can exercise their rights in freedoms and the rights guaranteed by the media to journalists, which reflects that the policy of one media mouthpiece no longer has a place in Ethiopia's new policies.

⁵Badr El-Shafei, Ethiopia: The choices and challenges of the new government, a report Al-Jazeera Center for Studies, 7/5/2018, pp. 3-5

⁶Ebdoun Al-Shafei, Ethiopia: Geopolitical variables and the future of balance in the African region, report, Al Jazeera Center for Studies 9/7/2018, p. 3

4- The return of the Ethiopian opposition: Abiy adopted a policy of internal openness and rehabilitation of politicians opposed to the state, by releasing them and providing guarantees to opponents abroad, against the background of the recent conciliatory approaches of the Ethiopian authorities with the opposition movements, and its affirmation to them of the freedom to practice peaceful political work, the return of Letta (head of the Oromo Democratic Front) and his four companions came from exile and were received at Addis Ababa airport by the adviser to the prime minister for security affairs and the minister of the government liaison office in the government of Abiy Ahmed.⁽⁷⁾

Oromo nationalists

The Oromo are the largest ethnic groups in Ethiopia and are spread across most of its regions, especially in the southwestern regions of Ethiopia. Most of them are Muslims, but includes this the current Slices Several accumulate her speech throughout history the talk. However, the most important What distinguishes this current is the unity of discourse with a difference their configurations regulatory, As the modern narratives to The Oromo is radically opposed to all forms of Amharic domination⁽⁸⁾. Abi Ahmed and his political project faced many challenges And in particular Of the nationality to which he belongs (Oromo), It is those challenges:

A-embodied His tangible policy is an extension to central governments previous, which was characterized by systematic oppression and subjugation of the Oromo people in particular and carrying out mass arrests In addition to his early close alliance with the Amhara circles.

B-existence Competitors with experience and popularity For Abi Ahmed Among them, the most prominent: Jawhar Muhammad, why Yrsa. And Strong political organizations competing with his party and its political project A group within the movement of democratic federalism. In addition to true recognition of it before category wide from Oromo as a reliable political representative to achieve ambitions this people, in spite of that it incline A politician from the "Oromo People's Democratic Organization", which It was established by Tigray Liberation Front after it came to 1991 from former prisoners of war and the organization later transformed into the Oromo Democratic Party which later merged into the currently ruling prosperity party.⁽⁹⁾

Amharic nationalists: The nationalists take off Amharic than that the concept of Amhara is not an ethnic concept. So understand they criticize the existing system of ethnic federalism. Therefore, Some Amhara circles have enshrined a nationalist discourse that is not very different from the narrow nationalist discourse of other ethnic groups in the country. Within this nationalist discourse, the killings against the Amhara are also being portrayed as a continuation of the ethnic

1 Badr El-Shafei, Ethiopia: The choices and challenges of the new government, previously mentioned source, pp. 5-6

2 Abd al-Salam Ibrahim Baghdadi, National Unity and Minority Problems in Africa, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Doctoral Dissertation Series 23, Beirut, August 1993, p. 47

3) The wish of Abdul Hamid Al-Jundi, Radwa Muhammad Kamal Kamel et al., The impact of the Ethiopian internal conflict between the central authority and the Tigray Liberation Front on stability Ethiopian politician 2012-2021, on the website: <https://democraticac.de/>

cleansing approach that has been practiced against them in recent decades across the country.

There are two currents that represent nationalism among the Amhara, and they are:

A-movement National Amhara (Nama): Founded in July 2018. its mission aTo defend the AmharaBThe face of persecution and oppression to which he continued to be exposedAmharic, as well assoughtStrives to live up to the aspirations of Amharic nationalism.

B-Party Baladaras for Real Democracy: And he knew Dares Council, It is an entity to defend the rights of the residents of the capital and to oppose the claims of the Oromo nationalists that the capital (Addis Ababa) belongs to the Oromia region.

The constitutional crisis and the elections of the Tigray region

Since Abiy Ahmed came to power, massive purges have taken place targeting the leaders of the Tigray Liberation Front. And if the Front refused to cancel the ruling coalition (the Revolutionary Democratic Front for the Peoples of Ethiopia) and establish the Ethiopian Prosperity Party in its place, it considered a new phase of the conflict between it and Abi Ahmed, which reached its climax against the background of the suspension of the general elections that were scheduled for August 2020.under the pretext of virus spreadCOVID-19), which was achieved by the Tigray regional government within its constitutional deadline and was conducted on September 9, 2020.And he hascount itThe Federal Council is unconstitutional and has severed relations with the government and parliament of the Tigray region, which were formed according to the region's elections.Whereas the Ethiopian federal system gives the right totoRegions to form their own security forces, so I hastened some sides regional On an ethnic basis, to build its own forces, establish armed militias, and engage in conflicts, which further complicated the country's situation. This was evident in several manifestations, for example, the emergence of armed groups such as "Fanu" in the Amhara region, and "Shanna" in the Oromia region, which are active against the regional governments. And the federal government too. ⁽¹⁰⁾

The country witnessed conflicts between different regionsresulted inIncrease in the number of internally displaced personsa result ato ethnic violence. AccordingtoChairman of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission(Addiso Gepregzyabir) Lost Nearly a million Ethiopians have been displaced from their homesa resultEthnic violence has escalated since Abiy Ahmed came to power.asThe number of internally displaced persons in the country has reached at September 2020 to (1.8) million citizens among them(1.2) million citizensbecause of ato internal conflicts in the country. What paramilitary forces or ethnic militias known as "special police", which was establishedpreviouslyAs counter-insurgency units, they are increasingly involved in ethnic conflicts, especially between neighboring ethnic regions, at a time when Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed constantly invokes religious symbols, especially those associated with American evangelical Protestant churches, and appoints some of them toHis administration because they

¹⁰ Yunis Abdali Musa, Ethiopia between the challenges of reality and the ambition of the future, Mogadishu Center for Research and StudiesVolume 1, Issue 1, Somalia2016, p. 22

are descended from the Oromo region.⁽¹¹⁾

that afor consecutive eventsto for the last two yearsand its developments She indicatedThis leads to serious difficulties facing the government of Abiy Ahmed in addressing the imbalances of the federal system And the extent of his ability to respond to the demands of nationalitiesother forTo reach a national political consensus. Abe also faced Ahmed Stand Within the Oromo ethnic group, which is exposedcontinuouslycrackdowns from the federal governmentwaArrests and assassinations, led by the Oromo Liberation Front.And it's notAmhara nationalityfarAs for these practices, the rule of Tigray has reduced the privileges enjoyed by the Amhara,which thingPay this nationaltoAn alliance with the Oromo nationalitiesometimes.

Second -Requirement -: challenges an economical

Prepare The economic state of Ethiopia is the pivotal engine that attracts the interactions of other internal engines in the country, ethnicity Of which and religious and political practices, apps the system federal,wahuh Rob Regional and GGer from adid notinternal movements.It is a circle where all sides intersecthuhYah, it is based on a process stability and building the Ethiopian state.Given for importance and seriousness economy in ranking Affairs Country ethiopian, she came practical development Economic as one from most important Goals Politics internal and external ethiopian, to succeed completion coffee beans The system Politician, and transformation democrat, apps System federalism ethnic from Okay stability Ethiopia.⁽¹²⁾

- Managed unless economics unless Theobi by a contagious investigation no High growth lap the years unlessgoodIt reached (10.5)% for the years 2005-2006 until 2015-2016.,However, on the other hand, Ethiopia suffers from high poverty rates and the spread of corruption on a large scale, which resulted in the depletion of resources and the deprivation of large groups of enjoying the economic boom that the country witnessed during that stage. And when Abiy Ahmed came to power, he realized the necessity of drawing up an economic reform program through which he would be able to Employment now The political opening to serve the economy of Alb to Dr And to meet the demands of citizens who go out in regular protests, etcnofor the yearsAnd the development of infrastructure, transportation, and electronic commerce to form Tigray's spheres of influence, which dominated the country's economy,As he was able to investigation unless appeared Coming unless economic coming:
- Signing a partnership contract with a company (DHL) And Ethiopian Airlines in 2018, during which Addis Ababa's efforts to liberalize the economy were praised. Abe also worked to address the problem of foreign currency shortage, reduce external debt, and reduce high inflation levels, which reached 15.6% by 2018.⁽¹³⁾

¹¹ Suhaib Mahmoud, *The Tigray Region War: Background to the Conflict and Its Possible Repercussions*, Case Assessment Series, Arab Centre for research and Policy Study, 12/25/2020, pp. 2-3

¹² Abd al-Wahhab al-Tayyib al-Bashir, *Internal Ethiopian interactions and their impact on Ethiopian policy orientations towards the Arab world*, previously mentioned source, pp. 85-86

¹³ Ibrahim Samih Rabaya, *Hind Al-Mahalli Sultan, Ethnic Federalism and the Structure of the Ethiopian Political System*, Arab Future Journal, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Volume 44, Issue 516, Lebanon, 2/28/2022, p. 66

- The economic openness included the partial or total privatization of the airlines sector, railways, sugar factories, industrial complexes, hotels, communication companies, maritime transport and hydroelectric stations.
- Fighting rampant corruption in state institutions, which was one of the drivers of social unrest.⁽¹⁴⁾

However, Abiy Ahmed's economic policies did not lead to tangible successes due to wars and ethnic tensions that led to millions of Ethiopians being subjected to famine, so he did not achieve any tangible success in the field of debt restructuring, as he faced many challenges, including:

1- Ending the Tigray monopoly of the economy, as they dominated it in many different ways, including their control over the endowment fund for the rehabilitation of the Tigray region, which was one of the most prominent partners of the Ethiopian government in its large construction projects, especially in the dams sector, and they were also keen to control large owned companies. to the state, headed by the Steel and Engineering Company (METEC) through its president, Kenvi Dagneu, which is the only national construction company that participated in the construction of the Renaissance Dam, and Gebri Mikael, the new head of the TPLF, also controls the telecommunications and electricity sectors.⁽¹⁵⁾

2- The position on the draft law for the capital (Addis Ababa) administratively affiliated to the Oromo, which emerged after the government presented the project for the continuous development of the capital in 2015, which was prepared by the Oromo organization headed by Abiy Ahmed in March 2017, despite its support by the government. However, it was not approved due to the objections of the Tigrayans and the Amhara to it, and the reasons for rejecting this draft law were evident due to the definition of special interests that prompted the expulsion of the indigenous people on the grounds of the national project and the public interest, and therefore the draft law considers that maintaining Addis Ababa as a federal capital does not mean harm to the indigenous population.⁽¹⁶⁾ (Addis Ababa) within the territory of Urmia

3- The challenge of transparency, accountability and combating rampant corruption in the country, which was considered one of the reasons for the outbreak of Oromo unrest, which was referred to by the former Minister of Finance Alemayehu Gogo, In front of Parliament during the session devoted to discussing the budget before his arrest in August 2017, when he said (that the public sectors do not use their budget in the correct place, and warned them that they may be subject to accountability and the rule of law. The importance of encouraging the incentive system to increase productivity and not being limited secretly to senior officials who have influence in the bureaucratic and party apparatus as well). However, he did not find a listening ear and these negatives still exist even in higher educational institutions. This is related to the separation between partisan tasks and those of the government, as the confusion between them results in caring for private interests and factional interests at the expense of the public interest in return.⁽¹⁷⁾

¹⁴ Badr Al-Shafi'i, Ethiopia: The New Government's Choices and Challenges, previously mentioned source, p.8

¹⁵ Abu Bakr Al-Am, A Reformist Leadership: Abi Ahmed's Adoption of Consensual Policies Internally and Externally, research papers, Issue 27 Future Center for Research and Advanced Studies, Abu Dhabi, 2018, p. 87

¹⁶ Badr El-Shafei, Ethiopia: The choices and challenges of the new government, A previously mentioned source, pg.8

¹⁷ Mustafa Mahmoud Abdullah, The new Ethiopian role and its components in the Horn of Africa. The Arab Democratic Center for Economic and Political Strategic Studies, 20/7/2019 on the website: <https://democraticac.de/?p=61833>

Third requirement: Ramifications ethnicity

Ethiopia is one of the countries with an ancient history and civilization that extends over time in which the phenomenon of ethnicity¹⁸ The independent variable that affects the political, economic, cultural, security and social variables in whole or individually in the equation of daily political life in Ethiopia, which has suffered from ethnic conflicts between the two groups (Amhara and Tigray) since the oldest history The rule later became to the Amhara nationality, which dominated for centuries, expanding and annexing the lands of other ethnicities, the most important of which are the lands of the Oromo nationality in the middle and south of the Ethiopian plateau and the Eritrean lands in the north of the plateau and other nationalities in southern Ethiopia such as (Sidama, Raqi, Celts, ... and others). .

The rates of wars and rivalries have increased in Ethiopia because of the repression carried out by the Amharic regime ruling Ethiopia for a long time, or because of the ethnic conflict that has been going on until now. As a result, Ethiopia witnessed several revolutions, including ⁽¹⁹⁾

1- The Tigray Revolution: in which the Tigrayans were able to defeat the Ethiopian army and liberate the capital of the region (Maqli) in the forties, so Haile Selassie was only able to enter it with the help of British forces to eliminate the uprising, disarm them, occupy their lands and suppress their national struggle.⁽²⁰⁾

2- The Oromo Revolution: which was in its first stages spontaneous, but after the confiscation of their property, the second stage of the struggle began in 1965 and was organized by the petty bourgeoisie led by Tadesse Biro. After his arrest in 1967 and the prevention of his movement's activity, he sought to work secretly, and the Oromo continued their resistance and gathered around the Oromo Islamic Liberation Front, which was founded in 1969 and the secular Oromo Liberation Front, which was founded in 1973, and the Oromo Islamic Front is still striving for its people to obtain their rights and political freedoms. However, the Oromo suffer from organizational weakness and the effects of the Abyssinian occupation, which deprived them of education and participation in military and civil power, and abandoned them to the countryside and forests, which made their lives resemble the life of the Middle Ages.²¹⁾

3- The Eritrean Revolution: It is one of the most serious challenges that faced Haile Selassie's rule since the early sixties, as Ethiopia was claiming Eritrea's subordination to it. Before Italy's occupation of the latter and under the justification of its need for a sea port by presenting inducements to the active powers at the time such as the United States of America to be able to annex Eritrea to it through a federal rule in 1952, which was not satisfied by the majority at the time, so the Eritrean revolution began in 1962 to extend the revolution to regions Ogaden, Afar, Essa, Oromo, and others. This revolution exhausted the energies of the army, famine spread, and

¹⁸ See: Abd al-Salam Ibrahim Baghdadi, the positive dimension in Arab-African relations and ethnic pluralism as a cultural link, the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Beirut, April 2013, p. 124

¹⁹ Muhammad Al-Subaitli, Ethiopia: The Crisis of the Tigray Region or War in a Time of Peace and Reform, King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, January 2021, pp. 1-2

²⁰ Omnia Abd al-Hamid al-Jundi, Radwa Muhammad Kamal Kamel and others, the impact of the Ethiopian internal conflict between the central authority and the Tigray Liberation Front on stability Ethiopian politician 2012-2021, Arab Democratic Center, 4/28/2022, on the website: <https://democraticac.de/?p=81801>

²¹ Same previous source, p. 12

unrest broke out against unemployment and the high cost of living in Addis Ababa. ⁽²²⁾

4- The Ogaden Revolution (Western Somalia): Where the Ogaden region was in the nineteenth century politically affiliated to Somalia and its coasts extend from the border with Djibouti to the border with Kenya, so that Somalia forms a landmass in the water in the northeastern direction in the shape of a horn, so that the Ogaden falls within it. Which directed Haile Selassie's ambitions to annex it to Ethiopia, hence the struggle of the Ogaden in 1977 under the leadership of Muhammad Abdullah Hassan (Mahdi of Somalia) to liberate it from the Ethiopian occupation, and after his death, the resistance continued, but in a lighter form.

Haile Selassie tried to integrate the Somali Ogaden into Ethiopian society through intermarriage, despite the different religions and cultures between Somalia and Amhara. The Western Somalia Liberation Front was established after Somalia's independence in 1960. Because of the Ogaden issue, Ethiopia and Somalia entered into armed conflict in 1961 and another in 1963. A victory was achieved during it over the Ethiopian army in the Bali region inhabited by the Oromos, who were linked by Islam and cultural commonalities with strong ties with the Somalis. The two sides (Ethiopian and Somali) entered into a fierce war in the late seventies, and the conflict was resolved in favor of Ethiopia due to Soviet support. ²³

During the rule of the Derg (Ethiopian Military Council), it was agreed on the right of each nationality to determine its own destiny and not to underestimate the importance of ethnicities by the other or its culture, and that all nationalities are equal for the sake of the unity of Ethiopia and the struggle of its peoples against capitalism and inequality, but this did not happen realistically, despite From issuing the Mengistu program, through which the commitment was made to give the Ethiopian regions autonomy, but the Derg adopted weapons as a means of oppression, intimidation, and achieving national integration.

In 1975, the Tigrayans began their armed struggle by establishing the Popular Front, and they fought a struggle against the Derg and became the main competing force in Ethiopia. In May 1991, they managed to overthrow the Mengistu regime and took power in the country after they allied themselves with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Thus, the front included representatives from Other major nationalities in Ethiopia, including (Amhara and Oromo). ²⁴

In 1979, the Derg rejected the request of the Oromo Islamic Liberation Front to use the Oromo language in broadcasting, education, speeches, and government work, and the right of the Oromo to publish a daily newspaper of their own. The intent was to fight their Oromo national culture, as the Derg stipulated the use of the Amharic language and its proficiency in education and in all government institutions.

Ethiopia witnessed, in light of the democratic transition it went through at the time, the adoption of ethnic federalism by groups that were feeling oppressed under the old regime, and the new elite created a system based on federalism that recognizes the autonomy of each ethnic group and

²² Mona Nejashi Rizkou Haqous, The Evolution of the Arab MediajTree in the time of the revolution: a studyAnalyticalHistory of print and audio media from (1961-1991),university thesis,College of Mass Communication, Middle East University, Jordan, May 2011, pp. 3-4

²³ Kholoud Mohamed Khamis, Political Decision Making in Ethiopia after 1991,theuniversityAl-MustansiriyaCenter for Strategic and International Studies, Al-Mustansiriya Journal for Arab and International Studies, Issue 47,2014,pp. 192-193

²⁴ Ahmed Majeed Jassem, Good governance and its role in the Ethiopian renaissance: Meles Zenawi as a model (1994-2012), FacultyLiteratureTikrit University, JournalPolitenessAl-Farahidi, Volume 13, Issue 45, March 2021, pp. 342-343

the adoption of the Ethiopian constitution in 1994, whose articles were expressing On the foundations of the Ethiopian political system and the right of ethnic groups to self-determination and determine their options, including secession.²⁵

And in framework religious makeup, van Most of the Oromo population are Muslims, with a minority embracing Orthodox Christianity and a few embracing traditional African religions. As for the Amhara, most of them embrace the Orthodox Christian religion, and those who have intertwined relations with the Orthodox Council, the most important of which is the interconnected relationship between the Church and the emperors (throughout history) of the Amhara and Tigray, who inherited Orthodox Christianity. What is lacking and Romo for those feature a result tendency of nationalists unless and Romo Toward secularism, which resulted the turned into a struggle within affiliated institutions H for the board unless Orthodox (. ²⁶)

At a later time, the Oromo's interest in converting to Islam increased, which helped the spread of Islam in Ethiopia, which prompted the regime at the time to work to increase the divergence between the Oromo, so it spread propaganda that those who convert to Christianity are more developed than those who convert to Islam, and thus Muslims did not have political influence It is commensurate with their number as a result of severe suffering by successive regimes, as they are viewed as enemies of the country. But the Muslims did not remain silent about this injustice, ignoring the history of their presence in the country, and ignoring the Islamic religion itself because it represents the majority of the Ethiopian people, and what resulted in depriving them of access to political positions under the pretext that they are not worthy of power, which prompted them to protest and form an association whose mission is to represent Muslims and demand their rights. ²⁷) Thus, the situation of Muslims changed and the exclusion policy that the Amharic regime had used since 1991 ended, when Muslims lived in a society where a great deal of tolerance prevailed and the ruling regime agreed to maintain Muslim courts that deal with personal and family status, which are based on Islamic law, as the authority announced. At that time, all monotheistic religions were equal in their rights, and the Muslim holiday became an official holiday for the state. However, despite all these changes, the EPRDF regime remained afraid of the fusion of the two largest nationalities, namely (the Oromo) and (the Amhara), so this policy was characterized The front is subject to repression, marginalization and exclusion as a deliberate and systematic policy towards the major ethnic groups. Thus, the issue of religion took its place as an important engine with the emergence of the nucleus of the Ethiopian state ⁽²⁸⁾) Thus, the Ethiopian state was formed according to the drive of ethnicity and religion in two systems, namely.

1- Ethiopia, the theological or theological state until the end of Haile Selassie's rule in 1974, which was the era in which religion was linked to political power.

2- Ethiopia is a secular state from the era of Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1974 and continued until the era of Meles Zenawi in 2012, in which religion was separated from the state by the text of the Mengistu Constitution in 1987 and the constitution of the government of Meles Zenawi in 1994.

²⁵ Repayment of seven born, practice electoral In the Ethiopian political system, Al-Mustansiriya Journal of Arab and International Studies, No. 41, 2013, pp. 144-145

²⁶ Khairy Omar, Ethiopia between the Federalism and disintegration A previously mentioned source, pg. 179

²⁷) Atta Mohamed Ahmed, Oromo Conditions in Ethiopia (1855-1991), A previously mentioned source, pp. 6-10

²⁸) see himj M. Mirghani Muhammad, Ethnicity and Democracy in Ethiopia, Journal of Future Studies, Volume 2, Number 1, December 2005, pp. 47-48

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And so these nationalities have remained since The rise of Ethiopia feeding for a purpose Access to power and control of the reins of sub-national government at the other, and continued Ethiopia on that conflict situation until The biggest clash and conflict came what Between the Tigray Liberation Front, which used to rule Ethiopia For two decades (1991-2012) and central government Ethiopian, after to receive Abi Ahmed presidency to a minister that He belongs to the Oromo nationality, which is one of the largest Ethiopian nationalities a number.⁽³⁰⁾

Ethnic federalism was also characterized by the division of the state into states and administrative units on an ethnic basis, taking into account internal borders and the proportional representation of ethnic groups in federal and regional institutions and the local administrative entity, administrative divisions were carried out in a way that accommodates each regional ethnic group, and the administrative boundaries were drawn in accordance with the boundaries of the ethnic on local affairs, with regard to Dominate decision-making in centralized institutions.⁽³¹⁾

The choice of ethnic federalism is related to several factors that form aspects of the political problem in Ethiopia, including the reduction of ethnic conflicts because it represents an intellectual framework that relieves ethnic tension that occurs as a result of overlapping interests of ethnic groups to transform them into ethnic alliances. The reason for the Constitution's bias towards the federal system is to avoid the causes of civil wars and prevent their occurrence in the future, but this does not hide the political imbalances that have plagued this federal system as a result of the dominance of the Tigray front in formulating its rules and including its goals in the Constitution and expanding its political role at the level of Ethiopia in exchange for reducing the participation of other nationalities in it inspired by the ideas of the people's democratic revolution to form a Marxist system of government based on workers and peasants.

The importance of Abiy Ahmed's policies emerged through his quest to establish a centralized pattern that includes the Oromo community, which is historically far from the center of power in Ethiopia, according to a framework based on the idea of a savior and a spiritual leader protected by God, and based on a pattern of active leadership based on a combination of religious values and the political situation..⁽³²⁾

Conclusion:

Ethiopia's political system is the result of the policy that expanded on the borders of the original nation-state to include different and contradictory nationalities and peoples. this expansion resulted from the collision of ethnicities and nationalities among themselves on the one hand, and collide with neighboring nationalities on the other hand, the state of Ethiopia has suffered throughout its history from instability and internal conflicts, and this is the case or the most precious feature of the form of the Ethiopian political system, and this is due to the ethno-ethnic dimension and the struggle for power, which was born with the emergence of the Ethiopian state.

²⁹ Abd Al-Wahhab Al-Tayeb Al-Bashir, Internal Ethiopian interactions and their impact on policy orientations Ethiopian towards the Arab world *Journal of African Studies* Center for African Research and Studies. Volume 28, Issue 48, Sudan, 31/12/2012, p. 85

³⁰ Walid Douzi, The strategy of assimilation of minorities: the Oromo as a model, Taheri Muhammad Bashar University, *Algerian Journal of Political Studies*, Volume 9, Issue 1, Algeria, 6/6/2022, p. 627

³¹ Khairy Omar, Ethiopia PEN Federal and disintegration, previously mentioned source pp. 175-176

³² Abu Bakr Al-Am, A Reformist Leadership: Abi Ahmed's Adoption of Consensual Policies Internally and Externally, aforementioned source, pp. 86-87

After that, the society began to develop economically and socially and until this federal system was established and the system in Ethiopia became democratic, Ethiopia witnessed the stage of political openness where Ethiopia adopted the Federal federal system a year later 1995 as a result of the crises that the country went through in that era, and this openness was not only real, but restricted; because the initiative to move towards multipartyism, and the decisions of the ruling elite in this regard did not come out of the blue, but was influenced by many internal and external variables. And that Ethiopia represents a special case in addressing the crisis of peaceful coexistence and Nation-State Building in Africa, through the adoption of sometimes coercive or sometimes voluntary policies, Ethiopia, despite the fact that it is a country in which a number of multiple nationalities are formed and there are cultural, religious, ethnic and sectarian differences that differ from each other, nevertheless managed to maintain its unity and cohesion and build a federal system through which these groups can coexist within the borders of one state. But it is exposed to crises that have resulted in separatist demands of some of its peoples, and some of them have already achieved this, as is the case with Eritrea, and others are still demanding independence or secession, and this does not mean that the state of Ethiopia is not immune from disintegration as a result of the failure to build national integration according to consensual and fair policies.