

*The Ethiopian Quest for Democracy in a Dominant  
Party State*

*A Case Study on Democratization in Ethiopia Since the Implementation of  
Ethnic Federalism in 1995*

Carolina Dahla

s1184210

Master Thesis, Political Science  
Submitted to Dr. Jan Erk (1<sup>st</sup> reader)

Dr. Frank de Zwart (2<sup>nd</sup> reader)

June 11<sup>th</sup> 2012

Leiden University

Word Count: 16270

## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>2. Literature Review</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>3. Theoretical Framework</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>4. Methodological Framework</b> .....	<b>9</b>
4.1 Democracy and the Democratization Process – Tools of Measurement .....	11
<b>5. Background</b> .....	<b>12</b>
<b>6. Historical Overview – From Menelik To Selassie and Mengitsu</b> .....	<b>14</b>
<b>7. Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (ERDPF) – The Rise of the Powerful Opposition Movement</b> .....	<b>16</b>
7.1 The Politics of the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (ERDPF).....	18
<b>8. Ethiopia’s Transformation Into an Ethnic Federal State – Ideology and Aspirations</b> .....	<b>19</b>
8.1 Ethiopia’s Ethnically Based Administrative Regions.....	22
<b>9. Ethiopian General Elections 1995</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>10. Ethiopian General Elections 2000</b> .....	<b>27</b>
<b>11. Ethiopian General Elections 2005</b> .....	<b>30</b>
<b>12. Ethiopian General Elections 2010</b> .....	<b>35</b>
<b>13. The Ethiopian Quest for Democracy – Two Decades of Democratic Façade</b> .....	<b>38</b>
<b>14. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>15. Bibliography</b> .....	<b>45</b>

## List of Abbreviations

- AAPO – All Amhara People’s Organisation
- AAU – Addis Ababa University
- ANDM – Amhara National Democratic Movement
- COEDF – Coalition of Ethiopian Democratic Forces
- CUD – The Coalitions for Unity and Democracy
- ENDP – Ethiopian National Democratic Party
- EPRDF – Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
- EPRP – Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Party
- FDD – Forum for Democratic Dialogue
- NEB – The National Electoral Board
- OAU – Organisation of African Unity
- OLF – Oromo Liberation Front
- OPDO – Oromo People’s Democratic Organization
- SEPDF – Southern Ethiopian People’s Democratic Front
- TPLF – Tigray People’s Liberation Front
- UDJ – Unity for Democracy and Justice
- UEDF – United Ethiopian Democratic Forces
- WPE – Workers’ Party of Ethiopia
- WSLF – Western Somali Democratic Front

**Abstract.** From 1991 and onwards, Ethiopia has gone through a political transition using ethnicity as the fundamental principle for organizing a federal government. The transition of this change ended in the newly elected government in August 1995. The country is divided into nine separate federal states based on ethnic identity. The change of the political structure of the country has been radical and pioneering. Radical, in the sense that Ethiopia used to be a centralized and unitary state. Pioneering, in the sense that it has gone further than any African state, and further than 'almost any other state worldwide' (Clapham 2002: 27) in using ethnicity as the principle for organizing the federal state system (Turton 2006: 1). This change was meant to mark a beginning for a more democratized society after decades of political suppression and authoritarianism. Thus, this radical and pioneering, yet fundamental change in the society was received with hopefulness of a better and more democratic tomorrow in Ethiopia. This thesis will look at how the Ethiopian quest for democratization has succeeded.

## **1. Introduction**

*“We, the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia: (...) Determined to consolidate, as a lasting legacy, the peace and the prospect of a democratic order which our struggles and sacrifices have brought about; Have therefore adopted, on 8 December 1994 this Constitution through representatives we have dully elected for this purpose as an instrument that binds us in a mutual commitment to fulfill the objectives and the principles set forth above.”* (The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1995: 3-4). With these words the new constitution in Ethiopia was implemented in 1995. The country embarked on a journey of an African experience on ethnic federalism and on a quest for democracy. Though, the transformation to this ethnically based federal system already started in 1991 when the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power and introduced the new idea of ethnically defined regional states with economic, political and organizational power (Aalen 2002a: 1).

Thus, after a transitional period Ethiopia implemented an ethnically based federal system as a governing principle in 1995. This was claimed to be an attempt to organize and manage the ethnic heterogeneity in the country and by this create more equality and a more democratic state. Thus, by recognizing ethnically based groups, and organizing the country into separate ethnically based federal states, Ethiopia was

trying to achieve democracy, respect for political freedom and human rights. Has this African experiment been a successful one?

Since 1991 Ethiopia went through a radical political transformation. After having been under the power of a military dictatorship, also known as the Derg, since the end of the 1970s Ethiopia's political scene and its people were ready for a change. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) were one of the most significant opposition movements against the military dictatorship and finally managed to overrule it and thus assumed power in 1991. Since that they have been the main political force of Ethiopia. The Constitution was written and the ethnic federal system was implemented as the organizational principle of the country. Promises of democracy and of a flourishing economy were made by the authors of the constitution (EPRDF members), but how did the future unfold for Ethiopia? The ethnic federal formula has been the organizational principle in the country for almost two decades. The transformation into the new organizational principle was led by the EPRDF and the country has since then been highly dominated by this party. Has there been a true chance for the country to take steps towards democratization when under the rule of a dominant party? How has the Ethiopian quest for democratization unfolded in a single party dominated state?

In this thesis, I want to research how having been single party dominated ever since the implementation of ethnic federalism, and ever since the promise that was made of a more democratic state, has affected democratization in Ethiopia. Thus, has the promise of a more democratized society consolidated in this single party dominated state?

## **2. Literature Review**

The quest for stability, peace and democracy in Africa has been of great interest amongst scholars focusing on democratic transition. The end of colonialism and the newly attained independence of several African countries marked a new beginning for the continent. This inspired academics to follow and study the changes that were happening and about to happen in many new nations, including Ethiopia.

The literature on Ethiopia's organizational changes, which were basically single party led, and literature of the new era about the ethnically federal organizational principle and whether those changes have led to a more democratized state has interested scholars in the past years. The transition to ethnic federalism which began in 1991 with the defeat of the military regime, the Derg, and which consolidated in 1995 when the first multiparty elections were held in Ethiopia has been studied by several scholars. The end of the transition and the beginning of the new journey the country embarked on from 1995 and onwards has similarly been of scholarly interest.

Ever since Ethiopia had its first multiparty elections in 1995 and the general elections that followed after that in 2000, 2005 and 2010 has been closely studied by scholars and international observers in order to monitor whether steps towards democratic consolidation has been taken, as the dominating party the EPRDF promised. Thus, the attempt to democratize Ethiopia has been studied by academics.

The Norwegian political scientist Lovise Aalen (2002a) has focused her academic work on democratization in the Horn of Africa, with Ethiopia being a big part of this academic work. Aalen acknowledges serious problems that Ethiopia is facing and that is decreasing their chances of democratic development and consolidation, namely concerning the elections. The first multi-party elections that were held in Ethiopia in 1995, did not show signs of democratic development in the country due to a strong grip of power that the dominating party, EPRDF held. Aalen states, that EPRDF has misused their powerful position and turned it into authoritarianism. She finds the promise of democracy made by the EPRDF highly questionable and unlikely to become political reality as long as the party is in power. (Aalen 2002a)

Kjetil Tronvoll (2000) states in his research about the Ethiopian quest for democratization that during the dominance of the EPRDF it has hindered democratic development and consolidation from happening because of the party's suspiciousness towards all opposition movements and groups. The EPRDF has basically perpetuated its power position in the country by the 'divide and rule' tactics. Tronvoll thus means that the real agenda of the EPRDF is highly questionable and their actions do not

support democratic development of any kind to blossom in the society (Tronvoll 2000: 20).

Melakou Tegegn has studied the developmental challenges that Ethiopia is facing since the implementation of ethnic federalism as the organizational principle. Tegegn argues that democracy and freedom are the main challenges that Ethiopia has faced during the EPRDF government. He assesses that EPRDF has been faced with these issues ever since assuming power in 1991 but that the result of dealing with the issues have been dismal. EPRDF indeed declared democracy to be one of the main issues that needs to be developed in the country, but as far as delivering on this challenge goes, EPRDF has not met these challenges. Tegegn studied Ethiopia from the beginning of the implementation of ethnic federalism up until the post 2005 election period, and stated that the EPRDF really showed their true colours in after the 2005 elections in making no pretence of being democratic. (Tegegn 2011)

Academic work focusing on the political developmental challenges that Ethiopia faces acknowledges the role that the EPRDF plays in the situation and argues that the dominating party has not been successful in fulfilling the promise that they have made of a more democratic Ethiopia. Although, on the specific scope of this study, how a single party dominated state has succeeded in democratization, with the focus on whether democratic development has been made in the area of free and fair elections and how the support for the EPRDF has progressed during the era of ethnic federalism has not specifically been the topic of any academic work.

Thus, what I will do in this thesis, is to provide a timeframe from 1995 up until 2010 and look at whether there has been democratic development or consolidation during this one party dominated era of Ethiopia's history. The time period of this study will provide us with the possibility to see a development in the country's efforts to democratize.

### **3. Theoretical framework**

The process of democratization that has been going on in several developing countries since the end of the Cold War has been imbued with difficulties. Even though many countries, including Ethiopia, have voiced their willingness to implement new political reforms to support democratization, political uncertainty still remains in many countries.

The theoretical framework that I will be using in the research is a theory of Third World democratization by Earl Conteh-Morgan (1997).

The central theoretical argument of the theory goes as following, namely that power relations play the most fundamental role in the transition from authoritarian rule to democratization. Whether democracy can emerge, whether it can stabilize and whether it can maintain itself is determined by these power relations. Thus, the balance of power between different societal groups and coalitions (e.g. ethnic, political and institutional groups) are of utmost importance in making democratization work. This balance of power between different societal groups and coalitions is enforced by two other power clusters; 1) the strength and structure of the state apparatus and 2) transnational relations. The state apparatus plays an important role in democratization, since it is not merely an institution but an arena in where decisions are made, which makes it an important actor in the dynamics of democratization. Transnational relations also play a dynamic role in Third World democratization, e.g. Western states and organizations whose roles are generally underscored when it comes to developing countries and their developmental challenges. Thus, these relations play a vital role in democratization because they influence expectations and the way the Third World political groups respond to decisions related to democratization. (Conteh-Morgan 1997: 2-5)

The theoretical argument in this thesis is that power relations play the most important role when it comes to making democratization work. This means that unbalanced power distribution does not create a fruitful environment for democratization to flourish.

The theoretical framework that I will use in my research will help to answer the following questions;



1. Is democratization possible in a dominant party state, like Ethiopia?
2. What factors has hindered or improved the democratic development in Ethiopia?

This theory will be implemented in my analysis to explain the path towards democratization in Ethiopia. The power relations in the state are thus vital to focus on, which this theory emphasizes, in order to explain and understand the path the country has been on since 1995. This theory of Conteh-Morgan fits particularly well in my thesis since when studying how Ethiopia as a single party dominated country has performed when it comes to democratization, it is important to look at the interplay between actors, and not only the single party in question. I will research the background of the country which led to this single party dominating situation, which will give basis for two important power clusters emphasized in the theoretical argument, namely the 1) strength and structure of the state apparatus and 2) transnational relations. These power clusters will be of importance to study since they in turn affect the power between political groups in the society which in turn determines the chance for democratization. Thus, an in-depth analysis of the situation in the society prior to the elections between the years 1995-2010 is of importance to study in order to get the full picture of the situation and for the analysis. The most important relation to focus on in this thesis and in explaining the democratization developments of the country is the power relations between the political groups, namely the EPRDF and the opposition. It is apparent that the EPRDF has more power since they are the dominating party, but is the opposition given the fair opportunity that they deserve in order for the country to achieve democratization?

#### **4. Methodology**

This thesis will explain the democratic development in an single party dominated Ethiopia since the implementation of the new organizational principle, ethnic federalism. Ethiopia has ever since the implementation of this new organizational principle been single party dominated, and I want to explain how the fact that the country has been single party dominated has affected the democratization.

Democratization was an important issue that the dominating party, the EPRDF, from the beginning emphasized as something that the party will pursue.

The methodological framework that will be used in this research is a qualitative approach in which text and document based techniques are being used to explain my dependent variable, democratic development. I will analyse the country in-depth ever since the implementation of the new organizational principle, ethnic federalism. What the main focus of my analysis will be, in order to answer my research question, is the four multi-party elections that Ethiopia has undergone since the transformation into an ethnic federal state, the 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010 elections. I will analyse, based on academic research and official reports of elections observers, whether the elections were considered free and fair. The concept of free and fair elections will be discussed in the following chapter.

I will also analyse the results of the voting. By analysing whether the elections were considered free and fair it will give an overview of how the democratization process is developing in the country. By looking at the results of the elections I will analyse the position of the dominant party, the EPRDF. By looking at these two factors, free and fair elections and election results, I can determine whether the dominant position of the EPRDF is in correlation to the level of democratization in the country.

My independent variable in this research is thus single party domination (EPRDF) and my dependent variable is the democratic development of Ethiopia.

In my hypothesis, I state that by having been single party dominated it has not provided Ethiopia with the needed tools for democratization to develop. I base my hypothesis on the theoretical argument of this thesis which argues that for democratization to work, the balance of power between different societal groups plays an important role (in this case, political groups) and that this balance of power in the end determines whether democratization can develop or not. It is obvious, that power never can be equally distributed, but it can be unfairly and undemocratically distributed, and I hypothesize that this unfair and undemocratic distribution of political power in Ethiopia has led to a political situation where democratization is difficult to achieve.

#### **4.1 Democracy and the Democratization Process – Tools of measurement**

In this thesis, I am going to answer the question how the fact that Ethiopia has been single party dominated has affected democratization. The dominating party, the EPRDF, made a promise to pursue democratization. How has the quest for democratization in Ethiopia unfolded? We therefore have to measure democracy and how that will be done is going to be discussed in the following segment.

The cases I have chosen to base my study on, is the national multi-party election in 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010. The reason for that I chose all the four national elections that Ethiopia has undergone during its period as a federal state is that a pattern in democratization might be seen when looking at all of these four national election. How can we measure democracy? This study deals with elections, and there are several ways of measuring the level of democracy / democratization from studying elections. I have chosen to focus on the following ways of measurements; the perhaps most simple way of measuring, is to look at whether elections are held at all, another way to measure this is to look at whether elections are held according to both national and international standards, i.e. are the elections conducted in a free and fair environment, and additionally I will look at and analyze the results of the election. When analyzing the results of the elections one of the main interests will be to focus on the EPRDF. The power that EPRDF has possessed since the beginning of the 1990s in Ethiopia has been of great proportions, but is the system really fair and democratic, or is EPRDF manipulating the system in their advantage. How has this single party dominated position that Ethiopia has affected democratization?

Thus, to what extent were the elections held according to both national and international standards, i.e. freeness and fairness and the election results will be analyzed in order to answer the research question. In order to study how free and fair elections are, these concepts need to be precised.

The cornerstone of the democratic process is free and fair elections. Without free and fair elections, it is impossible to have a working democratization process. What is thus needed to fulfill the criteria in order to achieve what is considered to be free and fair elections are several factors. Firstly, there needs to be a legislative framework that enables elections to be free and fair. Secondly, the media, the forces that maintain law

and order in the country and the electoral administrators need to be impartial and need to base their practices on neutrality. Thirdly, the political forces of the country need to be accepting and willing to allow a competitive electoral process, which includes all the political forces in the country (Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 2005: 2).

As Kadirgamar-Rajasingham (2005: 2) eloquently puts it; *“the government of the day, the political parties, the armed forces, police, election adjudicating bodies, civil society, organized and unorganized groups - must accept and support the process and not undermine it through violence, intimidation or any other unlawful means.”*. Thus, it is important to recognize that both state actors and non-state actors can undermine the legitimacy of free and fair elections. The concept about free and fair elections can be seen as an ‘umbrella concept’ which includes several equally important factors that need to be met, but more than only that it is a process, or a continuum, which needs to be organized with all these factors in mind.

In this thesis, I will look at two different factors which affects free and fair elections, namely the impartiality of media, electoral administrators and forces that maintain law and order, thus whether the opposition movements and parties were considered to have the same possibilities as the dominating party, the EPRDF, and whether all political forces in the country were accepting and allowing the competitive electoral process. The legislative framework will not be included in this thesis due to lack of space.

Thus, to what extent the elections were held according to both national and international standards, i.e. freeness and fairness and the election results will be analyzed in order to answer the research question.

## **5. Background**

Ethiopia, officially known as The Federal Republic of Ethiopia, is located in the horn of Africa and is the second most populous country in Africa with its more than 80 million inhabitants. Ethiopia is the oldest independent country of Africa with a rich history. Because of its geographical location, the country has been a gateway of commerce and a meeting point for three continents; Africa, Asia and Europe and

therefore the history of the country has been heavily influenced from the interaction between these continents (Desta 2007: 12).

Ethiopia, historically known as Abyssinia, has a long history with some of the oldest sites of human existence known to scientists. For most of its history, Ethiopia was a monarchy and the Ethiopian dynasty traces back to many centuries B.C. What distinguishes the nation from other African ones is that apart from a five year long Italian occupation, Ethiopia was never colonized. *“In the 1870s and 80s, the Ethiopian empire succeeded in withstanding colonial expansionism; a successful resistance crowned with the victory of the Ethiopian army over the Italians at Adua in 1896”* (Brems & Van Der Beken 2008: 1). The Italian army thus lost its attempt in colonizing Ethiopia and that was a vital factor in preserving and reinforcing the sovereignty of Ethiopia. Ethiopia remained free from colonization except for this five year long Italian occupation. What made Ethiopia an exception to survive the scramble of Africa unlike other African nations? Mengiste Desta (2007) claims in his theory that this was because of Ethiopia’s uncompromising nationalism, its geographical features with mountainous areas which served as a natural fortress and its determination which has risen from a national consciousness (Desta 2007: 19-20). Apart from not being colonized, the country was not spared from severe famines, war and genocide which was the result of political turbulence in form of autocratic and later Marxist leadership and mismanagement of the nation.

Ethiopia is an ethnically highly diverse country. Unlike other African nations, ethnicity has been politicized and seen as an advantage, rather than a threat, to democratic consolidation. The federal constitution, which is based on the different ethnic minority groups’ right to secession, has been in force since August 1995 (Brems & Van Der Beken 2008: 2).

The most prominent ethnic groups are; Oromo (34,5 %), Amhara (26,9 %), Somali (6,2 %), Tigraway (6,1 %), Sidama (4 %), Guragie (2,5 %), Welaita (2,3 %), Hadiya (1,7 %), Affar (1,7 %), Gamo (1,5 %), Gedeo (1,3 %), other (11,3 %) (Central Intelligence Agency 2012). In all, there are more than eighty ethnic groups living in Ethiopia.

In this thesis, the early historical stage and the period of monarchy in the country will not be summarized due to lack of space, instead what will be reviewed is the historical background of the Haile Selassie era and the Mengistu era to give a foundation and an understanding to the preexisting conditions in the country which led to the ethnic federal system and to the single party dominated era.

## **6. Historical Overview – From Menelik to Selassie and Mengistu**

Ethiopia has a war-torn history with Italy. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (1895-1896) the first Italo-Ethiopian war took place under the rule of the Ethiopian emperor Menelik II. The result of this war was an Ethiopian victory, which proved that the nation was able to withstand colonization. Emperor Menelik forced Italy into signing a contract which recognized the independence of Ethiopia. The second Italo-Ethiopian war took place in 1935-1936 under the rule of the last emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie. This war proved the inherent debilities of the League of Nations since Italy and Ethiopia both were part of the League. The league was unable to control Italy and to protect Ethiopia in the war. This led to the Italian occupation of Ethiopia which lasted for five years. Ethiopia is an exception from other African countries since it was able to withstand colonization unlike so many other African nations. This was a shining example to African people in their struggle against the European Colonial Powers and served as a symbol for African pride and dignity (Desta 2007: 8, 9-10). Haile Selassie ruled Ethiopia from 1930 until 1974, except the six years which he spent in exile during the Italian occupation.

Selassie's reign came to an end in 1974 which sparked from revolutionary events which later led to that he was overthrown by a military junta. The military junta later came to be called the Derg. The Derg was developing and becoming more powerful more rapidly than the opposition. Haile Selassie was removed and incarcerated. After this political and societal confusion led from the revolution, Mengistu Haile Mariam emerged as the powerful and dominant leader of the Derg and later evolved into the dictator of the country. Mengistu shifted Ethiopia's political position from having been more oriented to the United States into being more oriented towards the Soviet Union and introduced the political landscape of Ethiopia with a classic Stalinist

system. The dictatorial rule of Mengistu generated opposition from the very beginning and resulted in many Ethiopians fleeing the country and establishing exile political parties and organizations, whilst others resisted the dictatorship and the Derg from within the country. During the dictatorship of Mengistu the opposition base steadily grew stronger. Mengistu set up the ‘workers’ party and proclaimed a ‘peoples republic’. The political exile movements had very little or no direct effect on the political developments inside Ethiopia, but movements within the country grew stronger and gained support and strength with the years (Henze 2007a: 18-19). Nevertheless, the gruesomeness of the Mengistu era was very real; “...*extraordinary brutality of government campaigns of imprisonment and torture, enforced resettlement, manipulation of food aid, and military activity including the bombardment of civilian centres and markets*” (Vaughan 2003: 166-167).

During the dictatorship of Mengistu, Ethiopia went through one of its darkest periods of history, the Red Terror (also known as Qey Shibir), and dictator Mengistu was later found guilty of this genocide in an Ethiopian court because of the gruesome actions during the Red Terror. The genocide took place during the years 1977-78. It was an attempt from Mengistu’s side to wipe out his opponent groups. The main target was the educated youth, since these mostly were in the forefront of the resistance movements against the military regime. No legal evidence was needed, nor used, in order to execute anybody who was young and educated. Anybody who fitted this description was in serious danger of being suspected of anti-revolutionary and anti-governmental activities and thus in serious danger of their life (Pausewang et al. 2002: 27). These years of terror cost thousands of Ethiopian’s lives. There are different estimates on how many victims the period of the Red Terror caused, but the number of victims is up in several hundreds of thousands of people. Mengistu was later convicted in an Ethiopian court and found guilty of genocide, *in absentia* though, since he had by that time in 1991 fled to Zimbabwe. During his reign, Mengistu was faced with opposition groups growing stronger. One of the most significant forces in the opposition against the Mengistu regime was the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). EPRDF played a vital part in putting an end to the era of the dictatorship that had lasted in Ethiopia for well over a decade and in forcing Mengistu to flee the country. In the next part of this thesis, the rise of the EPRDF and its importance in shaping Ethiopia’s political landscape will be discussed.

## **7. Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) – the Rise of the Powerful Opposition Movement**

What surprisingly came to be the most powerful opposition movement in fighting against and challenging the Derg and the dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam was the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), even though they “*had a modest and unimpressive beginning*” (Henze 2007a: 34). TPLF was founded by a group of young students from the Addis Ababa University (AAU). The group fled from Addis Ababa to their home region of Tigray, which is situated in the old heartland of Ethiopia where the old Ethiopian empire and its center first were situated. They felt that they as Tigrayans had a historic entitlement in shaping the political landscape of the future in Ethiopia. The members of the TPLF regarded their political views as Marxist, but in fact their views were very elementary from a Marxist perspective and “*more akin to that of the Chinese communists in the 1930s and some of the Latin American movements based on rural populations than that of urbanized intellectuals.*” (Henze 2007a: 34). The opposition movement progressively gained support from the Tigrayans and grew stronger (Henze 2007a: 34-35).

The Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) founded the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in 1989. TPLF was at that time a Marxist-Leninist liberation movement who fought for the right of autonomy for the Tigray ethnic group. TPLF was nevertheless not strong enough to fight the Derg and in order to create a powerful national resistance movement it was established into an ‘umbrella’ movement (Pausewang et al 2002: 14-15). TPLF needed to rebrand itself by making big adjustments in terms of political orientation, ideology and mobilization in order to play a national role and to be able to defeat the Derg. The TPLF needed to think about its future in the Ethiopian national politics and therefore broaden its constituency and open its membership to different ethnicities, other than only the Tigray ethnic group, in order to create a strong coalition movement of ethnic organizations to win military victory over the Derg (Kefale 2009: 69).

Parties who became members of this ‘umbrella’ movement were the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the Oromo People’s Democratic Organisation (OPDO) and the Southern Ethiopian People’s Democratic Front (SEPDF). SEDPF became a member of EPRDF at a later stage than ANDM and OPDO since it was



established in 1994. SEDPH thus became the last member of the party (Pausewang et al. 2002: 14-15). In addition to these parties, EPRDF gained several affiliated parties at a later stage. EPRDF was thus a TPLF creation but had developed into a much stronger force and was becoming a personality of its own without attachment to the TPLF. It had all the potential to grow into a major political force – which later became reality (Henze 2007b: 166).

The EPRDF became the strong political and military force that Ethiopia needed in finally defeated the Derg with a military victory. After the defeat in 1991 the EPRDF assumed power of the country. The Ethiopian state and its political future and reconstruction were left in the hands of the EPRDF (Kefale 2009: 2).

Thus, the era of military force in Ethiopia's political history came to an end in 1991 with the military victory of the EPRDF. The majority of the Ethiopian people was relieved that the war finally was over and wanted nothing more than peace. There were high expectations of that the people would finally be able to decide their own political future for themselves. At that time, the priorities of the people were basic security, i.e. that the gruesome acts that were a reality during the military regime would end and to regain freedom and peace in one's daily life. For the majority of Ethiopian people, who were living in rural areas, the biggest wish was to be able to once again till their fields and feed their families in peace without any state intervention taking place and destructing their lives. Thus, since the end of the military regime Ethiopia was a bud of hope for democratic development and respect for humanitarian rights to be implemented in the state policies (Pausewang et al. 2002:1).

Since the end of the Cold War, several African countries had committed themselves to implement democratic ideas and to become more democratized in the 'third wave' of global democratization process which Huntington (1991) explains in his theory. Nevertheless, democratization is a process which does not happen overnight, but "*...is not just a matter of one election; instead, each successive election helps to push a country along the path towards respecting full democratic rights.*" (Pausewang et al. 2002: 1). The EPRDF took over power in May 1991, and ever since that Meles Zenawi (both the leader of TPLF and of EPRDF) has been the head of executive. "*He*

*served as president of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (1991-1995) and has been prime minister since the inauguration of the federal government in 1995.*” (Kefale 2009: 3). The party has since its takeover of the political power of Ethiopia promised “...*the development of an inclusive and democratic political order*” (Kefale 2009: 57). This study will look at how this promise of the EPRDF has materialized, thus whether democratization was possible in a single party dominated Ethiopia.

### **7.1 The Politics of the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)**

Since the democratic development of Ethiopia during the single party dominated era will be studied, it is vital to focus on the politics of the ruling party in question, the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The party has been in power ever since it assumed power in 1991 after its military victory over the Derg, the military dictatorship that was in power for well more than a decade in Ethiopia (1974-1991). What first started as a regional political party, The Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), it grew into a national ‘umbrella’ movement. Meles Zenawi has ever since been the leader of the EPRDF, and still possesses the position of leader in the TPLF. Since Ethiopia has been ruled by the EPRDF with the same man, Meles Zenawi, in the front ever since the party took over political power from the Derg, it can be questioned whether any democratic development has taken place whatsoever since the countries reconstruction into a ethnic federal state. The EPRDF, which has been the one and only ruling party in Ethiopia since 1991, states that its ideology is based on revolutionary democracy (Kefale 2009: 67). The party has still not made the essence of this political ideology clear (Merera 2003: 120). Even though its ruling position ever since 1991, the party officially accepted a multiparty system and incorporated democratic rights in the federal constitution, which can be seen as an action motivated to lessen suspicions of the Western world and its governments but also the Ethiopian public (Kefale 2009: 71).

*“On the one hand, it solemnly declared its commitment to ‘democracy, peace and development.’ One the other hand, it meticulously worked to translate its hard won military victory into political dominance.”* (Kefale 2009: 71).

## **8. Ethiopia's Transformation to an Ethnic Federal State – Ideology and Aspirations**

*“Every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession. Every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and develop its own language to express and to promote its culture, and to preserve its history.*

*Every nation, nationality and people has the right to a full measure of self-government and territory that it inhabits and to equitable representation in regional and national government.”*

(The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1995)

In 1991 Ethiopia was faced with a golden opportunity – yet, a tremendous task. The political future of the country was in its casting (Pausewang et al. 2002: 3). Ethiopia is an ethnically heterogeneous state with several ethnic minority groups, some consisting of more people and others more marginal ones. Under the reign of Emperor Menelik, the Ethiopian state expanded geographically even more southwards and led to that even more ethnic minority groups had to exist together. This expansion took place and was final in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Kefale 2009: 59)

What followed after this expansion was ethnic inequality in form of economic exploitation. This could particularly be seen in the imposition that the Amhara ethnic elite enjoyed; the Amharic language was as an embodiment of the Ethiopian nation (Merera 2003: 62 cited in Kefale 2009: 60). Ethiopia is thus no exception to the ethnic heterogeneity that is present in many other African nations. What makes Ethiopia different, is that it in 1994 engineered the ethnic federal formula as the governing principle for the country. The ethnic federal constitution was an innovation by the EPRDF and, as the party states, a new beginning for a democratic order to flourish. As already stated above, one of the underlying principles for implementing this particular federal formula was to resolve the national inequalities and which were present in the country and to take steps towards democratization (Merera 2002: 11).

What is the ideology behind the Ethiopian ethnic federalism and what makes it special? In 1991 the Ethiopian political future was at its casting. After years of suppression under the military regime the country was ready for a change. But how was this change going to be embodied into a more democratic and free political future as the Ethiopians were promised? Ethiopia with its rich ethnic versatility already had some forms of democratic traditions in different parts and levels of the state. These elements, that were found in most Ethiopian cultures and ethnic groups, were e.g. councils of elders, aid organizations, different arrangements of distributing scarce resources and similarly different arrangements and procedures of dealing with crime and conflict (Pausewang et al. 2002: 3). Thus, democratic procedures as such were not completely new to the Ethiopian society. After the victory over the regime of Mengistu, he escaped to Zimbabwe leaving the country in the hands of the ethnic opposition movements. The coalition of opposition movements, EPRDF, with Meles Zenawi in the leading positions assumed power (Pausewang et al. 2002: 27). Two conferences were held in 1991, one in London and the other one in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, as an attempt to find a solution for a new democratic beginning for Ethiopia. In the conference in London, the United States acted as the mediator and facilitator. The United States accepted that the EPRDF (coalition movement formed by TPLF) and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF; who had been the other victorious troop in the fight against the military regime), would take control over Addis Ababa and Asmara respectively (Pausewang et al. 2002: 27).

After the conference in London, the conference in Addis Ababa was held. The EPRDF called in the representation of different ethnic groups, mostly arbitrarily selected, to attend this conference called 'Peaceful and Democratic Transitional Conference of Ethiopia' (Pausewang et al. 2002: 29). An example of the arbitrary selection of participants was that EPRDF refused the ethnic group EPRP from participating in the London and the Addis Ababa conferences. The reason for the refusal of participation from the EPRDF's part, is that the TPLF and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) had a complicated relationship with one another. The EPLF had risen as the first and most consistent opposition movement under the military regime and the TPLF fought an acrid campaign against them. Other notable movements that were not invited were the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE), which was the ruling party during the Derg regime, and several other ethnic-based parties which had united in exile and

formed the Coalition of Ethiopian Democratic Forces (COEDF). Some of the political parties or movements that in contrast were invited to participate, which were more than 20, were mostly small ethnic parties that were newly organized and mostly even organized under the EPRDF tutelage (Lyons 1996: 123). In this transitional stage, we can already sense an unequal distribution of power between the political organizations and parties, which based on the theoretical argument of this thesis, does not create a fruitful environment for democratization to flourish.

In the conference held in Addis Ababa, the Transitional Period Charter was drafted and accepted jointly by the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and the EPRDF. This charter was going to have the role of the supreme law of Ethiopia during the period of transition in the country, thus also given the role as body of national representation and reconciliation. Furthermore, the conference established (out of the members who were present) the Council of Representatives that would serve as a transitional parliament during this transitional time and the executive branch, the Council of Ministers. In the transitional government Meles Zenawi (leader of the TPLF and also of the EPRDF coalition) held the post of President and Tamrat Laine, member of the ethnic opposition movement Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) which also is a part of the EPRDF coalition, held the post of Prime Minister, who was responsible to the President (Pausewang et al. 2002: 29).

The Council of Representatives was given the task of reorganizing Ethiopia into new regions. These new federal regions were divided so they would become as ethnically homogeneous as possible. Two additional charter cities were chosen and were given the same status as the regions, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The boundaries of these regions caused a lot of controversy and discussion amongst Ethiopians and created a much more complicated social reality for many people than what the political reality suggested. Institutionalized ethnicity as the controlling principle in the country was a radical change which did not go as smoothly and painlessly in many people's social reality as in the political sphere (Lyons 1996: 124-125).

Thus, the EPRDF had a strong grip of the power already in the transitional stage. The ideology behind the Ethiopian ethnic federalism was the reconciliation of the different ethnic groups as well as peaceful and democratic cooperation and development

between them. These ideas would stand as the base for the new federal state (Pausewang et al. 2002: 29). The reason that ethnic federalism was adopted in the country might have been motivated by the issue of finding an appropriate way of managing the highly diverse ethno-linguistic landscape of Ethiopia (Kefale 2009: 4) and by trying to create a tool to end the unjust relationships between the different ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the constitution for the ethnic federal republic was drafted by the EPRDF and its coalition, in the absence of several opposition movements, and thus, the sincerity of the constitution concerning democratization is highly questionable. What also is questionable is the possibility for the process of democratization to begin in a country where the distribution of power already had taken an undemocratic turn with EPRDF tightly holding its power position.

*“The politics of federalizing Ethiopia and the decentralization of power [...] revolves around the EPRDF political programme that apparently inspired the authors of the national constitution.*

*Several studies on the EPRDF-initiated decentralization of power based on ethnic and/or linguistic criteria cast serious doubt on the sincerity of the EPRDF leaders and the wisdom of such a federal formula for a country of over seventy ethnic groups whose elites are advancing contradictory agendas.” (Merera 2002: 17).*

To summarize the transitional state of Ethiopia, we can conclude that already at this stage, there was an uneven distribution of power between the EPRDF and the political opposition movements and parties, since the opposition movements were not given a fair chance against the EPRDF who held a strong grip of the power. The situation thus did not create an environment that would support democratic development in the country.

## **8.1 Ethiopia’s Ethnically Based Administrative Regions**

As stated before, Ethiopia is divided into nine different ethnically based administrative regions and two chartered cities. The nine administrative regions are the following; Tigray National Regional State, Afar Regional State, Amhara National

Regional State, Oromia National Regional State, Somali National Regional State, Benishangul Gumuz National Regional State, Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional States, Gambella National Regional State and Harari National Regional State. The two additional charter cities are Addis Ababa Administration (the capital city of Ethiopia) and Dire Dawa Administration Council. (Embassy of Ethiopia in Berlin, Germany (2010).

The division into ethnically based administrative regions replaced the former system of provinces. Dividing the country into these separate administrative regions was not an easy task and this political surgery created some new ethnically based administrative regions where two or several ethnic groups were lumped together. Examples of this is e.g. the Benishangul Gumuz National Regional State. Benishangul and Gumuz were two separate ethnic groups that were lumped together to form the same region “...by the consent of the concerned people or administrative fiat.” (Merera 2002: 11). Another example of this is the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional States which lumped several dozens of ethnic minority groups together. This was simply done in order to create expediency in the organizational landscape (Merera 2002: 12).

## **9. Ethiopian General Elections 1995**

In May 1995 the closing of transition, the first general elections as an ethnic federal state, took place in Ethiopia. This was supposed to stand for the culmination of democracy after the transitional time that had lasted for the past four years (Pausewang et al. 2002: 39) and after the 17-year long military dictatorship (also known as the Derg) with Mengistu Haile Mariam in the front (Rock 1996: 92).

In the Constitution it was stated, that in the national (general) elections the nation will choose legislators to rule their country for the following five years. The four years of transition period, which had been imbued with the EPRDF control and restructuring of the state with their political agendas and furthermore the non-participation of opposition movement had made the elections anticlimactic, already expecting the win of EPRDF (Lyons 1996: 131, 132). The elections were closely observed since these

were the first multi-party elections in the history of the country and the first elections since the new federal, democratic order. Observers and representatives from several different countries (Austria, Belgium, Britain, Canada, Finland, France, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, Russia, Spain, Sweden and the United States) and several organizations, including e.g. the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) followed the elections unravel.

The purpose for Ethiopia's first general election was to inaugurate the federal republic. On paper, it all looked fair and democratic; the constitution which was an EPRDF creation, promised many things, including the right for all Ethiopian citizens to engage themselves in political activity and a democratically elected and permanent government. Thus, on paper it seemed free and fair, but in practice it was everything but that. A Norwegian Observer group stated the following after observing the first general elections of Ethiopia;

*“The Norwegian Observer group cannot characterize the 1995 Regional and Federal elections in Ethiopia as ‘free, fair and impartial’. Conducting elections as a mere formality and claiming democracy without having any democratic public debate is a futile exercise. It is true that the logistical technicalities of administering the elections were improved. However, the 1995 elections were not based on an inclusive discussion. They did not allow free competition between all legal political alternatives. Moreover, people in rural areas had good reasons to fear negative consequences if they did not vote for the EPRDF or its member parties, and this quelled most forms of divergent expression. Thus, we cannot conclude that these elections can be considered free and fair. They were not sufficient as an indicator of a democratic debate, not even of a process towards developing a democratic society.”*  
(Tronvoll & Aadland 1995: 59)

Thus, what came to be the reality of the 1995 general elections was not as promising and democratic as it had been promised in the constitution. It fell short from being the new democratic beginning that many Ethiopians had been wishing for after the fall of the military regime. The transition towards Ethiopia becoming a democratic state had not begun without problems, mainly because of the power relations between the EPRDF and the opposition. Nevertheless, there are several factors which lead to that



the elections could not be considered as neither free nor fair. In the following I will discuss those issues.

One of the major issues in the 1995 general elections was the fact that several opposition parties boycotted the elections, some of the boycotting parties included the Western Somali Democratic Front (WSLF) and the All Amhara People's Organisation (AAPO). The boycotting took place since many members of opposition movements and parties considered the elections as bias towards the ruling EPRDF. Meles Zenawi, the leader of the powerful EPRDF, stated that he had tried to entice opposition parties to participate, but they had all refused. Zenawi further countered the allegation by stating that the reluctance and the boycotting from to oppositions side is because these parties know that they don't have the support that they claim they have. Partly, this is accurate since most of the opposition parties were not as politically organized as the EPRDF. Most of the parties did not even have a political program, so they were lacking in parts that EPRDF already had organized themselves, and thus gave them more support.

These parties that chose to boycott the elections were never officially, or unofficially, prevented from participating in the elections, but the boycotting opposition alleged that there were intimidations taken place from the ruling EPRDF coalitions side and even some cases of opposition party leaders that were arrested because of stated 'conspiracy against the state'. One famous example of arresting an opposition party leader was the arrestation of Professor Asrat Woldeyes. He served as leader for the opposition party AAPO and was arrested in June 1994, less than a year before the first general election. He served a six year sentence for warmongering and conspiracy against the state (Rock 1996: 96). According to Amnesty International (1995) the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (EPRDF coalition) has carried out political imprisonments against its opponents in a major scale ever since it assumed power in 1991. Amnesty International (1995) further states that "*The detainees have included non-violent critics of the government, including journalists and political activists.*" and the majority of these detainees were detained without any trial or charges (Amnesty International 1995). Several government opponents have even disappeared. In the case of Professor Asrat Woldeyes, Amnesty International (1995) claims that there was no clear cut evidence that would have proven the fact that the AAPO leader

would be guilty of the accusations that he was charged with. Thus, violations against democratization but also against human rights were conducted by the EPRDF coalition that affected the country's first multi-party election, and its first try on democratization, in 1995 and in the transitional period.

The fact that most of the opposition parties had boycotted the general elections, voluntarily or non-voluntarily, aroused mixed feelings amongst Ethiopian citizens. Several blamed the opposition parties for not participating in the elections, whilst others supported the decision of the opposition parties. The supporters came mainly from the Oromo region and from the capital city, Addis Ababa. On the election date it was fairly clear from the beginning that the EPRDF was going to win by a landslide. It had no meaningful opposition to challenge it, apart from some; the Ethiopian National Democratic Party (ENPD), which was the most politically organized and meaningful opponent to the EPRDF, and furthermore some minor ethnically or regionally based political groups and several rather weak independents which were the challengers. Thus, this opposition did not create a true challenge for the EPRDF (Lyons 1996: 132).

Nevertheless, apart from all of the ambiguities concerning the elections, there were also positive developments taking place. The elections were generally considered, by the international observers, to have been organized well and planned and executed in a way which had improved from elections that had been held prior to this one in Ethiopia. In all, about 32,000 polling stations were set up in more than 500 constituencies. Although well organized and executed, some irregularities were noted in some electoral districts. Some of the irregularities included that lack of privacy in the voting booths had been noted and even some cases of election officials who had been encouraging voters to vote for a certain candidate (Rock 1996: 99). According to Tronvoll & Aadland (1995) the elections were neither free nor fair based on two main reasons, the first being that there was an obvious lack of political competition, and the other being that eligible voters chose not to vote based on fear (Rock 1996: 99). The boycott from the opposition side is controversial, since it is extremely hard to know whether or not the opposing parties would have had the support that many of them claimed to have. Also, the allegations against the EPRDF and its affiliated parties are difficult to prove, since both parties have their own claims. Whether the boycott happened from their own will or as a result of a threat is not clear. What contrary is

clear, is that at this point in Ethiopian politics, is that the EPRDF is one of the most well organized parties with a political and economic agenda, which most of the opposition parties lack.

The elections were intended to stand for the democratic culmination of the transitional period, but did not succeed in doing so. The EPRDF and its affiliated parties got 93,8 percent of the votes. As we can see from the results of the voting, the EPRDF and its affiliated parties received almost all of the votes. A lot of ambiguities about the EPRDF's actions prior to the voting, which did affect the result of the general election, did not give Ethiopia the democratic beginning it had hoped for. It is impossible to know how much support the opposition parties would have had, had the situation been different and had there been political competition.

What can be concluded based on the first multi-party elections held in Ethiopia, is that it did not support any kind of democratic development. The power relations between the EPRDF and the political opposition groups were not in balance since ambiguities from the EPRDF side took place, and therefore did not create the environment for democratization to take place.

## **10. Ethiopian General Elections 2000**

The general elections in 2000 in Ethiopia were the second multi-party elections in the country's history since military regime had been defeated. The 1995 elections ended in a clear victory for the EPRDF, who got almost all of the votes. Thus, Ethiopia had been under the EPRDF rule ever since the military regime had been defeated and EPRDF assumed power in 1991. Since the first multi-party election Ethiopia were going through a war against Eritrea (1998-2000) who had been fighting for their independence for already several decades. This caused thousands of people's lives and turned out to be an extremely costly war. The war was a result of a border conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia which ended in the Eritrean victory over the border. Nevertheless, Ethiopia still occupies the territory which was fought over, even though it belongs to Eritrea (Lata 2003). Thus, the atmosphere around the second multi-party

election in Ethiopian history was influenced to a great extent by the still ongoing war with Eritrea.

In the first multi-party election in 1995, EPRDF had nearly no competition. Most opposition movements chose to boycott the elections, for contested reasons. In the elections of 2000, contrary to the prior elections, most opposition political parties did participate. The elections were approached with great expectations from the public. The problem in these elections was not the fact that parties did not participate, like in 1995, but that they lacked the economic resources to run a proper campaign.

*“In Addis Ababa, most visibly to the foreign community, an almost free election campaign took place, except that the opposition parties had very limited resources for running their campaigns [...]”* (Pausewang et al. 2002: 43).

The Ethiopian National Electoral Board (NEB) where distributing money to the opposition parties according to how many candidates were running in the elections, which enable some kind of political competition. Even though the image of that a free and fair political campaign was taking place in Addis Ababa, there are speculations (mostly accusations from the opposition side) that this was a tactic from the governments side to put on a;

*“[...] stage play in Addis Ababa for the foreign community while keeping firm control of the rural area. [...] EPRDF could afford to lose all of Addis Ababa to the opposition, it was speculated, without any significant loss of power or prestige.”* (Pausewang et al. 2002: 44).

After all, 85 percent of the population of Ethiopia lived in the rural areas, thus the results of the elections in the rural areas would easily outweigh the results of the capital city. Even though, what seemed as a façade from the ruling governments side, the NEB had put in more effort than in the election in 1995 in order to create more democratic political competition. Thus, there were some minor signs of a will of trying to embark the road towards democratization in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, the ruling government did not invite any election observers from foreign countries to observe the elections in 2000, and that was still a sign that the EPRDF did not take

democratization seriously. Their argument to this was that “[...] *a democratic country did not need to have its elections approved by foreign observers.*” (Pausewang et al. 2002: 44). This was thus the situation in the country before the second multi-party election in the history of Ethiopia. Some signs of improvement concerning signs of willingness for democratization, at least in the Addis Ababa region, were observed.

As mentioned in the earlier chapter, the AAPO leader Professor Asrat Woldeyes was arrested for alleged warmongering and conspiracy against the state. Professor Woldeyes held a very visible political rally which’s enthusiasm was seen as challenging the state authority. He was later arrested and imprisoned and the AAPO office was closed. In the 2000 elections there were no AAPO candidates running for election (McCann 2002: 74). Even though one of the main opponents to the EPRDF political programme, AAPO, did not participate, most opposition parties did participate. The political climate had definitely changed to the better compared to the 1995 elections, in which several opposition parties boycotted the elections. In the 2000 elections political competition was more present, at least what many observers could conclude from Addis Ababa. *“A more liberal and open climate in the public debate in Addis Ababa was observed during the 2000 election campaign. [...] this was an important improvement on the 1995 elections, when TPLF completely dominated the scene.”* (Aalen 2002b: 89). What added to the impression that many had gotten of the more open political debate was the fact that political debates and discussions had been broadcasted on the national television and on the radio. The media plays an important role in legitimizing a more transparent electoral process (McMahon et al. 2004). Even though signs on political competition was shown by having political debates on the television and on the radio, much of what was broadcasted was propaganda in favor of the ruling government; some of the propaganda from the ruling governments side stated that; *“EPRDF’s five-year programme should be a model for other parties that spend most of their time making false promises to the people and criticizing their rivals.”*(Aalen 2002: 90). Almost all of media coverage in the country is provided by state owned channels, thus with some exceptions; an example of this is that a private radio station was allowed in the Addis Ababa regions and its outskirts during and before the elections. (McMahon et al. 2004)

It can thus be concluded, that more opposition movements did participate in the 2000 elections and that the atmosphere was more open to political debates and discussion,

even though EPRDF's power position was omnipresent throughout the country, even though it was less visible in the Addis Ababa region. One explanation to this, which is provided by Aalen (2002: 90) is that most people, who are situated in the country side, are not informed about the issues that are linked to upcoming elections. Aalen states that many people have a hard time seeing any alternative parties in power and that *"people do not seem to have a clear conception about what other parties could possibly satisfy their needs."* (Aalen 2002b: 92). She further claims, that the strong grip of power that EPRDF and its affiliated parties has, is based on the fact that people are generally not concerned with whether they have political liberty or not, but whether they get their basic needs covered. This way of thinking is well illustrated in a well-known Ethiopian proverb; *"Whoever is crowned as a king is my king and whoever comes as my mother's husband is my father."* (Aalen 2002b: 92). The main circumstances that differentiates these elections from the 1995 one, is the presence of opposition parties. Thus, it can be concluded that democratization progresses have been made since the previous elections, even though ambiguities and questionings concerning opposition presence in the capital city compared to the country side.

## **11. Ethiopian General Elections 2005**

In 2005 Ethiopia held its third multi-party election. This was an important election in terms of testing whether progress has been made in democratizing the country. What made these elections so special compared to the two prior ones in 1995 and 2000 was the fact that the EPRDF government decided to open up the elections to party competition and international observation. This was an unprecedented and bold move from the ruling government's side. Also, what was going to be unprecedented in Ethiopian political history, was the never before seen high voter turnout. The pre-election period prior to the 2005 elections showed several positive signs in terms of democratization that had not been present in the two prior elections.

The 2005 elections in Ethiopia were significant in terms of transition. The EPRDF had been dominating the political scene, with its affiliated parties, for more than a decade. The ruling government with Prime Minister Meles Zenawi in the front stated that they were intending to take more decisive steps towards making Ethiopia a

pluralistic democracy and Zenawi repeatedly claimed that *“his government and party were keen to ensure a “flawless” democratic process.”* (European Union Election Observation Mission 2005).

The opposition agreed to participate in the elections after long negotiations that were held. After the government accepted its request concerning international observers being present during the elections and new media guidelines being adopted they agreed to participate. Even though these big changes towards democratization, several opposition politicians were questioning the fairness of the process, notably the NEB, since it is a state owned political body. The opposition parties were questioning the true intentions behind these changes accepted by the ruling government. *“[The opposition] argued that the EPRDF was opening up the political environment to enhance its legitimacy and international standing, without contemplating any real democratic challenges to its powers.”* (European Union Election Observation Mission 2005). EPRDF were dismayed by the lack of trust that the opposition had shown them and this tenseness between the government and the opposition overshadowed the whole elections process all the way from the beginning. Thus, going into the 2005 elections, the NEB and the ruling government did not enjoy the full support of the opposition. *“[...] reports of intimidation and violence, and highly polarizing rhetoric raised concerns during the pre-election period but did not deter opposition parties from campaigning in nearly every constituency.”* (Lyons 2005). Even though violence took place during the pre-election time, and international observers have voiced their concern about this, many are still positive about the democratic direction that these elections have taken. European Union (EU) diplomat Tim Clarke expresses this with stating that *“Never before in Ethiopian history had there been such an open debate in the country,”* and he goes on addressing the ambiguities that are still to be seen in the elections; *“Yes, there are deficiencies, (but) this is only the third election in the country.”* (BBC News 2005b). Thus, even though international concerns of the violence that was taking place, international observers seem overall positive about the direction with a more open political debate encouraging the opposition to also take stand, something that is an unprecedented development in Ethiopian political history.

A lot of improvements in terms of democratization took place in these elections that had not be seen in the two prior multiparty elections. In 2000, we could see that political debates and discussions through media was taken place, but was mostly

through state owned channels and was used to spread propaganda. Opposition movement media coverage was only seen in the Addis Ababa region and not in the rural areas. What was different in these elections was that opposition parties were given access to use state owned media channels in their own campaign. A lot of live debates on television and on radio were broadcasted around the country, and this created a whole new political atmosphere and this resulted in an overwhelming amount of voters, so overwhelming that some polling stations had to stay open 24 hours a day (Lyons 2005). Unarguably, these elections followed by a lot of positive development in the country democratization wise, to an extent that the elections could be called more free and fair than the two previous elections. According to Abbink (2006: 183) the previous elections in 1995 and 2000 were controlled in a much greater extent by the EPRDF and its affiliated parties than in the 2005 elections.

Since the ruling government opened the elections to international observers, the NEB accredited 319 international observers to follow the elections in Ethiopia. Also, since the ruling government officially opened political party competition, the opposition formed coalitions in order to have a meaningful campaign against the EPRDF and its affiliated parties. The strongest opposition movements consisted of two strong bases; The Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) and the United Ethiopian Democratic Forces (UEDF). The CUD is a coalition consisting of four main parties with a constituency of urban and business-class but also with a growing base in the rural areas in central, western and northern Ethiopia (Abbink 2006: 182). The CUD coalition emphasizes the risks with the system of ethnically based federalism and claims that the system could lead to a disintegration of Ethiopia. Thus, the coalition campaigns for a recentralization of Ethiopia. The UEDF coalition consists of five parties based in Ethiopia and additionally nine parties that are based in the diaspora of the country, thus a coalition largely based on ethnic-based groups which had entered the political scene in the post 1991 Ethiopia (Abbink 2006: 181). The UEDF opposition was not satisfy with the current system of ethnic based federalism and campaigned for a system with more power to be divided between various ethnic groups (European Union Election Observation Mission 2005). These new opposition movements had grown stronger during the pre-election period in 2005. The growth of these opposition parties reflected on the dissatisfaction and mistrust that the public felt towards the ruling government. The general attitude that the public had about the



government was a mistrust regarding economy, food assistance, agriculture, corruption, perceived lack of transparency and health care. An attitude of cynicism was present in the country and the public wanted a change and new hope for democratization. The pre-election period was thus permeated with a new hope of democratization which was seen in improved relations between the EPRDF and the opposition. The opposition was finally given a chance for democratic participation.

Even though the pre-election period had shown positive developments toward democratization, post-election developments raised serious questions about where the development of Ethiopia's political future was going. It was moving further away from the utopia of a peaceful democracy. Rallies and campaigns had been taking place all over Ethiopia, and mainly in the bigger cities. On the evening of the actual voting day, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi proclaimed a ban on political rallies of any kind for thirty days and also took over the police and the militia of the capital city. The day after the voting, the ruling government, EPRDF and its affiliated parties claimed victory, even though no official result had been published by the NEB. These arguments were countered with the opposition groups (mainly CUD and UEDF), also claiming victory. The environment in the country was very restless and tense in the days that followed the elections. In the absence of the official voting results, allegations and rumors of fraud were circulating, and this environment of anxiousness and tension resulted in that many Ethiopian's started to believe that the election results were being manipulated (European Union Election Observation Mission 2005).

The impartiality and fairness of the NEB and its actions were questionable during the elections period. Both Ethiopians and international observers were questioning the actions of the electoral board. As the European Union Election Observation Mission (2005) observed, the performance of the NEB was mixed. The elections were overall well organized and they proceeded generally efficiently. There were significant delays with the counting of the votes which resulted in the restless and tense atmosphere in the country. It is clear that the election officials should have been better prepared and trained for their task at counting votes and aggregation procedures. A positive development in there elections were the electoral preparations and infrastructure challenges. It was generally well organized given the small budget the NEB had.

What is clear is that the NEB did not enjoy the full confidence of the opposition parties. The fact that the NEB is appointed as the official election commission by the parliament, which in this case is EPRDF dominated, does naturally raise concerns from the oppositions side and a commission which is elected by a one party dominated parliament will not inspire full confidence from the opposition side. (European Union Election Observation Mission 2005).

Apart from concerns and mistrust indicated from the opposition parties towards the NEB these elections are considered a cornerstone when it came to enlarged freedom for political campaign when comparing to the two previous elections held in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, the opposition alleged the ruling government of intimidating and arresting the supporters of the opposition. In the rural areas the opposition claimed that the intimidation had appeared in the form of threats of land dispossession and loss of fertilizers and food aid (European Union Election Observation Mission 2005). In the rural areas the government provides the people with all the most essential tools for living and therefore “[the government] is everything – landlord, fertilizer, loans for farm tolls and food aid during times of drought.” (BBC News 2005a). Thus, the government possesses the right assets to convince, or intimidate, the rural voters. Massive campaign rallies were held in Addis Ababa, one by the EPRDF and the other by the opposition. The atmosphere at these rallies were described as peaceful and calm (European Union Election Observation Mission 2005).

The general elections in 2005 were a step forward in the countries mission to democratization, but still proved that the country has a long way to go. There were a lot of ambiguities, especially the uncertainties of the voting results and alleged intimidations from the ruling governments side. There is no doubt about that the country has proceeded democratically since 1991 in the form of political institution building, but how the process is being used and so closely controlled by the EPRDF coalition is frightening. (Abbink 2006)

The results of the voting were made public in September of 2005, about four months after the election day. Meles Zenawi, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia and leader of the EPRDF coalition announced an ‘overwhelming victory’ for the EPRDF and its

affiliated parties. The EPRDF officially got 67,8 % of the votes, which translates into 371 (out of 547) parliamentary seats (Abbink 2006: 183).

The opposition parties gained more seats in parliament than ever before, and even if the victory of EPRDF was apparent, the percentage of its gained votes had gone down from the two prior multiparty elections. The strongest opposition challengers that EPRDF had, the UEDF and the CUD gained 52 and 109 seats in parliament. The improvement that the opposition parties had made compared to the two prior elections were significant. The opposition had gone from having gained 12 members of parliament in the previous elections to now having 174 seats in parliament (Abbink 2006: 84). The opposition parties were dissatisfied in the result, even though they had taken great steps since the past elections.

Thus, another five year period of rule had begun with Meles Zenawi in the front of the EPRDF led government. One of the first changes that the newly elected government made, was to change the rules into minimizing the impact of the opposition (Abbink 2006).

## **12. Ethiopian General Elections 2010**

In 2010 Ethiopia held its fourth multi-party elections. In 2005 the pre-election excitement was widespread and people were generally interested in the elections since the big opposition movements were growing and gaining support. In 2010 the process was a letdown in comparison to the 2005 elections. Kjetil Tronvoll (2010: 121) explains how the general public related to the fourth election; “*[the general impressions] among Ethiopians was that the outcome was a foregone conclusion, so the electorate was rather passively, or perhaps reluctantly, following the campaign and election discourse.*”. The only excitement among the people was related to how overwhelmingly the ruling EPRDF was going to win in these elections. The elections in 2010 were truly a setback from the 2005 elections where the opposition had taken significant steps and gained a lot of support throughout the country. For the democratization process that Ethiopia had embarked upon, and actually gained some credibility in the 2005 election, these elections brought all those hopes back to the

ground. What had gone wrong, and was it true that the EPRDF and its affiliated parties actually were as popular as Prime Minister Meles Zenawi claimed?

According to Puddington (2010) Ethiopia's democratization development faces a downward trend; *"Ethiopia received a downward trend arrow due to the narrowing of political space in advance of the 2010 elections[...]"*.

*"During the massive re-ideologization campaign undertaken after the 2005 elections [...] the EPRDF and Prime Minister deliberately employed an alarmist language, aiming to polarize the political landscape and to convince the people that, without EPRDF in power, Ethiopia would turn into chaos."* (Tronvoll 2010: 124). The 2010 elections took a disturbing turn compared to the 2005 election. The EPRDF went in to the 2010 elections with the tactic to target opposition parties, their members, human rights defenders and individuals in order to eliminate their voices of criticism and mistrust in the ruling government. Individuals that had voted for opposition parties in the previous elections were pressured and threatened not to support the 'anti-democratic' opposition parties again. Media outlets that were not owned by the government were closed down and reporters who were voicing their criticism towards the ruling government were harassed and intimidated, forcing many to flee the country. The EPRDF was doing all in its power to shut the opposition voices. Chairman of Oromo People's Congress Merera Gudina explains how more or less all of their party offices were forcefully closed by the ruling government; *"the house owner we rented offices from was told by the authorities that he constructed the building illegally and that it had to be demolished. Then we were kicked out; and the building is still standing."* (Tronvoll 2010: 125).

The political atmosphere was yet again back at the repressed and undemocratic stage as it had been previous to the 2005 elections. The tension was running extremely high in the run-up of the elections. These elections were either going to allow the consolidation of democratization, or prove that the past 19 years of Ethiopian political history has been an empty exercise (Sansculotte-Greenidge 2010: 221).

Opposition groups were forming and reuniting in the pre-election period. After the 2005 elections splits within opposition groups had occurred and therefore there was now an attempt to create a more unified opposition movement. In 2008 the Forum for

Democratic Dialogue (FDD) was created with the main objective to unify opposition forces and create policy goals together. Another opposition alliance which was created in the pre-election period was the Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ). After the creation of the UDJ it joined the FDD and that made it “*perhaps the most important opposition platform*” (Scansculotte-Greenidge 2010: 225). The biggest weakness of the opposition is that the most binding thing the members of this opposition movement has is the antipathy to the EPRDF, rather than similar binding political views.

Since the 2005 elections had led to tension and widespread violence between the government and opposition the government was now taking special precautions in order to prevent opposition activity and to prevent the happenings in 2005 of repeating itself. The opposition alleged the police, local administrators and government party members of disruptive behavior that prevented opposition forces from campaigning. These allegations where either not acted upon from the NEB’s side or completely rejected by the authorities side (Tronvoll 2010: 128).

It is clear, that these elections lacked the freeness and fairness which a politically democratic procedure would need. The media was tightly controlled by the state, not allowing any private channels of political campaigning. The political competition was neither free or fair, imbued with violence, harassments and threatening against opposition members and supporters. The turnout in the 2010 elections were once again extremely high, 93,4 percent, which raises the question if coercive means were used in order to get people to vote or whether the elections were rigged (Tronvoll 2010: 128). The European Union observers mission noted several inconsistencies in the polling stations throughout the country. In only about half of the polling stations there were opposition party agents observing the balloting, this partly due to the fact that opposition party agents were fearing harassments and threatening from the government. Also, the opposition had credible proof of that opposition votes were trashed and ticked off. Thus, it can be concluded that freeness and fairness where far off from these elections (Tronvoll 2010: 129).

As expected, EPRDF won the elections overwhelmingly with 99,6 percent of the votes. It thus won all but two of the seats in parliament. The opposition gained one

seat, and the other seat was gained by an EPRDF-friendly independent candidate (Tronvoll 2010: 121).

The political situation, and the situation overall, had changed in Ethiopia due to the election outcome. It is well described by an Ethiopian who greeted Tronvoll (2010) with the following warning:

*“Things have changed. Everyone is afraid now. You cannot trust anybody, and the direct order by the cadres – from the local to the top level – to comply with government dictates stifle all political discourse. We do not even dare to joke about politics any longer, as it might be overheard and interpreted as opposition. We are afraid. We are back to a culture of fear and intimidation reminiscent of the Derg era.”* (Tronvoll 2010: 132).

### **13. The Ethiopian Quest for Democratization – Two Decades of a Democratic Façade**

Table 1. Measurement of indicators for free and fair elections

	<b>Impartial Media</b>	<b>Competitive Elections</b>
<b>1995</b>	No	No
<b>2000</b>	No*	No**
<b>2005</b>	Yes	Yes***
<b>2010</b>	No	No

\* Some sources of private media were allowed in the area of the capital city

\*\* In the capital city there were signs of competitive elections, but not in the rural areas.

\*\*\*Even though political competition was officially accepted by the EPRDF, the opposition alleged the ruling government of threatenings and harassment.

Table 2. EPRDF support

	<i><b>EPRDF</b></i>
	<b>%</b>
<b>1995</b>	93,8
<b>2000</b>	88
<b>2005</b>	67,8
<b>2010</b>	99,6

(Rock 1996: 98, Abbink 2006: 183, Tronvoll 2010: 121)

In this thesis I have looked at the four multi-party elections of Ethiopia, and whether there has been signs of democratization during this period of single party domination in the country. What we can conclude in the case of democratization in Ethiopia – is that it is yet to happen. Since the EPRDF took over power after defeating the military regime, the Derg, they have translated their military victory into a political one. Has Ethiopia been able to democratically consolidate after its transformation from military regime into a single party led federal state? When looking at the two indicators of this research, the election results and whether elections were considered free and fair, we can conclude that steps towards democratization has not happened. Based on the theoretical argument of this thesis, we can conclude that power relations between the EPRDF and the opposition did not support democratization. The EPRDF was not willing to allow fair political competition. Also, since the structure of the state, the new ethnic federal system, was built mainly by the EPRDF, this created bias institutions and thus further negatively affected the power relations between the EPRDF and the opposition, which in turn further complicated the quest for democratization in the country.

In the first multi-party elections of Ethiopia in 1995 the EPRDF and its affiliated parties won an overwhelming victory. These elections marked the end of the transitional period that had begun in 1991 with the defeat of the Derg. Opponent parties boycotted the election and this raised the question whether the EPRDF in fact had the level of popular support that it claimed to have, and that the election results reflected. In the elections of 1995 no meaningful political competition took place and several opposition party members were arrested with allegations of ‘conspiracy against the state’. The transitional period, which had been imbued with EPRDF power, and the Federal Constitution, which had been put together by the EPRDF translated into more of a one-party system based on a ‘divide and conquer’ principle. As a huge letdown, the 1995 elections did not bring the new democratic political structure to Ethiopia that they had hoped for. Even though the country was officially declared multi-party democracy, almost no opposition was present in the elections due to arresting, intimidation and harassment. The political future of Ethiopia has been in its casting, and it had taken a worrisome path.

After five years of EPRDF power, the second multi-party elections in Ethiopia were held in 2000. In terms of democratic consolidation, no significant steps had been taken, but some improvements had been made. The elections still had several flaws and were considered controversial. These elections, apart for some improvements, proved that the political system of Ethiopia had stagnated at an authoritarian level (Abbink 2006: 173). What had improved from the prior elections were the fact that there were far more opposition movement activity than in the 1995 elections. Some speculated that this would have been a façade put up in Addis Ababa by the government, since the only real political competition happened in the bigger cities, not in the rural areas. Thus, the elections cannot be considered fully free or fair in the case of the 2000 elections either. When looking at the voting results, EPRDF once again won with an overwhelming victory. In terms of democratic consolidation, steps of improvement were apparent, but they were still minimal if compared to what a free and fair electoral process would be.

The third multi-party elections in the political history of Ethiopia were held in 2005. These elections were groundbreaking in many ways. What was an unprecedented



move from the ruling governments side was that for the first time it officially open up the political scene to international observation and party competition. The pre-election time thus showed many positive signs of democratic consolidation. The media was opened up to private channels and political debates, including the opposition, were broadcasted nationwide. These elections thus showed a positive progress in the process of democratic consolidation. Even though there were important progresses that were made, these elections were unsurprisingly not saved from ambiguities. The impartiality of the NEB was questioned and a lots of alleged intimidations from the ruling governments side towards the opposition. The final results of the elections were made official four months after the elections day, and the waiting caused a violent and restless political situation. EPRDF did not win as overwhelmingly as in the two prior elections, but had a majority of 67,8 percent. We can conclude that due to the unprecedented acts from the ruling government (opening up the elections for political competition and international observers) affected the opposition forces and made them gain more support. The support for the opposition was on the raise. After the 2005 election Ethiopia took a step back in its democratic consolidation. The EPRDF changed laws which made the opposition forces even weaker and the ruling government even stronger in the parliament. Persecutions against opposition party members, supporters, humanitarian rights activists and journalist with opposition friendly views were threatened, intimidated and opposition activity was prevented in every way possible. This in itself proved that the EPRDF was only re-establishing a one-party state and the ethnic federalism formula was a façade to hide behind.

The fourth, and most recent, multi-party election held in Ethiopia was in 2010. In these elections EPRDF declared themselves the winners with 99,6 percent of the votes. These elections were far from being anything close to free and fair. Any private media channels, that had been allowed in the 2005 elections, were forcefully closed. Only government owned channels of media were allowed. Opposition party members and supports were fearing for their lives. The repressed and authoritarian way to rule Ethiopia had been re-established, but this time under the façade of an ethnic federal and 'democratic state'. Decentralization of power and a new democratic order which had been the promise and hope for Ethiopia in the beginning of the 1990s was not fulfilled. Instead, an era of an authoritarian one-party regime was being established.

The EPRDF has not delivered in challenges facing Ethiopia. The signs of democratic consolidation and political democracy have been dismal. The political framework of the EPRDF; ‘revolutionary democracy’ has proven itself to be neither revolutionary nor democratic (Tegegn 2011: 134-135). Two decades of EPRDF leadership in Ethiopia has not lead to the democratic consolidation that was promised. Members and supporters of opposition parties and movements is fearing the 2015 elections and are questioning how it would be able to continue the peaceful struggle for real democratic consolidation in the country. The opposition is fearing the total closure of all plural democratic representation and a new military regime to arise.

#### **14. Conclusion**

Ethiopia is one of the oldest nations in Africa and has a long history of independent statehood. In contrast from many other African nations, Ethiopia was never colonized, apart from a five year long Italian occupation. Ethiopia has undergone decades of political suppression and ever since introduced with a new organizational principle, ethnic federalism, which is single party dominated, it gave the nation new hope of a more democratic state.

Ethnic federalism as the organizational principle was introduced in Ethiopia after the defeat of the military regime, the Derg, and officially implemented in 1995. After the defeat of the Derg, the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) assumed power and introduced the new idea of “*self-determination for the nationalities*” including to right to secession and the right to economic and constitutional power to ethnically defined federal states (Aalen 2002: 1). As so many other African nations, Ethiopia is ethnically highly heterogeneous, but Ethiopia chose to deal with its ethnic heterogeneosness in a very different and pioneering way. Ethiopia embarked on a political journey with high hopes for democratic consolidation and a the hope for a better future. The peak of the transition period, from having been under the power of a military regime into embarking the road of the quest for democratization, was reached with the first ever multi-party election in Ethiopia's history in 1995. Ethiopia was entering this new political era with a dominating single party in the front. The dominating party, the EPRDF, made

promises of a more democratic Ethiopia, that so many people were wanting after decades of political suppression and authoritarianism.

In this thesis I have answered the question how the fact that Ethiopia was single party dominated has affected their quest for democratization. The indicators in this research were election results from the years 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010 and whether these elections were conducted on a free and fair basis. Based on studying these indicators I have concluded that the fact that Ethiopia was single party dominated has not been an enabler for democratization to take place in the country. The Ethiopian state has re-entered the state of authoritarianism led by the EPRDF with the principle of ‘dividing and conquering’. From having looked at the four multi-party elections that have been held in Ethiopia since the implementation of this new federal formula, we can conclude that no meaningful steps towards democratization has been taken.

The promise that EPRDF made since they assumed power in 1991 and invented the ethnic federal formula was *“to bring about durable peace, democratic governance and quick economic development by creating an egalitarian nation-state of equals in which all the country’s diverse communities are empowered.”* (Gudina 2004: 262). As an African nation with a high heterogeneousness ethnically, this was seen as a new experiment in trying to achieve democratization.

When looking at the four multi-party elections Ethiopia has had since its transformation into an ethnic federation, it is clear that the country is a *de facto* one party state. With an exception in the 2005 election, the EPRDF and its affiliated parties have won election after election with an overwhelming margin. Opposition movements, parties and their members and supporters are being threatened and harassed to the extent that they have to fear for their lives. It is thus obvious, that the EPRDF is not operating under a democratic framework or under a framework which would contribute to the development of democratization. The promise of a democratic order has not been materialized.

Even though some democratic gains were seen in the 2005 elections (the EPRDF officially allowed international electoral observers to observe the third multi-party elections of Ethiopia and additionally the ruling party allowed party competition)

these gains were quickly reversed making the EPRDF increasingly authoritarian. The underlying principles of The Constitution of The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia were to resolve the problem of national inequality and to implement a more democratic order. This constitution has worked as nothing but a façade since it was written.

The elections of 2010 secured yet another five years in the government for the ruling EPRDF and its affiliated parties. Thus, at least for the next five years, Prime Minister of Ethiopia Meles Zenawi will rule and be unchallenged. The following elections in 2015 are an event that the political oppositions, its members and supporters fearfully look forward to. The fight for democracy and a better tomorrow is not over, but the grip of power that the EPRDF still forcefully possesses is strong.

What does the future hold for Ethiopia and its politics? Will the quests for peace, freedom and democratization ever be fulfilled? The current political situation of Ethiopia is somber. Ethiopia under the rule of the EPRDF has been imbued with political violence, authoritarianism and democratic uncertainty and this period is not over. What looked like the start of a possible transition towards democratization in 2005 proved itself wrong. Ethiopia has stagnated in a period of authoritarianism where political freedom and democracy is still just a dream.

## 15. Bibliography

- Aalen, L. (2002a). Ethnic federalism in a dominant party state: The Ethiopian experience 1991-2000. *Chr. Michelsen Institute. 2* (CMI Report R), 135 pp.
- Aalen, L.. (2002b). Expressions of Control, Fear and Devotion: The Elections in Mekelle and Wukro, Tigray Region. In: Pausewang, S., Tronvoll, K., Aalen, L. *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Political Pretension and Performance*. Cumbria, UK: Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn. pp. 83-98.
- Abbink, J. (2006). Discomfiture of Democracy? The 2005 Election Crisis in Ethiopia and its Aftermath. *African Affairs*. 105 (419), pp. 173-198.
- Amnesty International (1995). *Ethiopia: Accountability past and present: Human rights in transition*. London: Amnesty International.
- BBC News. (2005a). *Ethiopia's Opposition 'Winning'*.  
Available: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4559553.stm> Last accessed 11th May 2012.
- BBC News. (2005b). *EU concern over Ethiopia election*.  
Available: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4530165.stm> Last accessed 10th May 2012.
- Brems, E. & Van Der Beken, C. (2008). *Federalism and the Protections of Human Rights in Ethiopia*. Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf. pp. 1-58.
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2012). *The World Factbook, Africa: Ethiopia* Available: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/et.html>  
Last accessed 25th April 2012.
- Clapham, C. (2002). Controlling Space in Ethiopia. In: James, W., Kurimoto, E., Donham D.L., Triulzi, A. *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism & After*. Oxford: James Curry. pp. 9-30.

- Conteh-Morgan, E (1997). *Democratization in Africa - The Theory and Dynamics of Political Transitions*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. pp. 1-50.
- Desta, Mengiste (2007). *Ethiopia's Role in African History*. Addis Ababa: Shama Books. pp. 1-53.
- Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. pp. 1-117.
- Elazar, D. J. (1987). *Exploring Federalism*, Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Embassy of Ethiopia in Berlin, Germany. (2010). *Ethiopian Regional Governments*. Available: [http://www.aethiopien-botschaft.de/government\\_regional.html](http://www.aethiopien-botschaft.de/government_regional.html). Last accessed 7th May 2012.
- European Union Election Observation Mission. (2005). *Ethiopia Legislative Elections 2005*. Available: [http://www.ethiomedial.com/courier/eu\\_observers\\_report.pdf](http://www.ethiomedial.com/courier/eu_observers_report.pdf) Last accessed 9th May 2012.
- Filippov, M., Ordeshook, P.C., Shvetsova, O. (2004). *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Henze, Paul B. (2007a). *Ethiopia in Mengistu's Final Years: The Derg in Decline*. Addis Ababa: Shama Books. pp. 1-295.
- Henze, P. B. (2007b). *Ethiopia in Mengistu's Final Years: Until the Last Bullet*. Addis Ababa: Shama Books. pp. 1-326.
- Huntington, S. (1991). *The Third Wave of Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, London: University of Oklahoma Press.

- Hutchinson, J., Smith, A.D. (1996). Introduction. In: Hutchinson J., Smith, A.D. *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 1-14.
- Jinadu, A. L. (2007). *Explaining & Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy*. Uppsala: Universitetstryckeriet. pp. 1-31.
- Kadirgamar-Rajasingham, S. (2005). *Essentials of Free and Fair Elections*. Paper presented at: Regional Dialogue on Free, Fair and Credible Elections, Islamabad, Pakistan. pp. 2-21.
- Kefale, A. (2009). *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia: a Comparative Study of the Somali and Benishangul-Gumuz Regions*. PhD Thesis: Universiteit Leiden.
- Lata, L. (2003). The Ethiopian-Eritrea war. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30 (97), pp. 369-388.
- Lyons, T. (1996). Closing the Transition: the May 1995 Elections in Ethiopia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 34 (1), pp. 121-142.
- Lyons, T. (2005). *Ethiopia: Implications of the May 2005 Elections for Future Democratization Programs*.  
Available:<http://www.ifes.org/~media/Files/Publications/White%20PaperReport/2005/254/IFES%20Ethiopia%20DG%20Options%20Paper.pdf>. Last accessed 10th May 2012.
- McCann, J.C. (2003). Prospects for Democracy, Agro-ecology and Civil Society: The Elections in Amhara Region, Ethiopia's Rural/Urban Hinterland. In: Pausewang, S., Tronvoll, K., Aalen, L. *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Political Pretension and Performance*. Cumbria, UK: Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn. pp. 63-81.
- McMahon, E., Beale, S. and Menelik-Swanson, G. (2004). *Ethiopia Pre-Election Assessment Report*.

Available:

<http://www.ifes.org/publication/f6f42ace604bfb37be74675f7d4d002b/Ethiopia.pdf> Last accessed 9th May 2012.

Merera, G. (2002). *Ethiopia: Transition Without Democratization*. PhD Thesis: Addis Ababa University. pp. 1-18.

Merera, G. (2003). *Ethiopia: Competing Ethnic Nationalism and the Quest for Democracy, 1960-2000*. Addis Ababa: Chamber Printing House.

Merera, G. (2004). Chapter II: Ethiopia: Constraints to Transition and Democratization. In: Nhema, A.G. *The Quest for Peace in Africa: Transformations, Democracy and Public Policy*. Utrecht: International Books. pp. 245-267.

Pausewang, S., Tronvoll, K. and Aalen, L. (2002). *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Democratic Pretension and Performance*. Cumbria, UK: Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn. pp. 1-244.

Puddington, A. (2010). *Freedom in The World 2010: Erosion of Freedom Intensifies*.

Available:

[http://www.sithi.org/admin/upload/media/%5B2011-01-13%5DFreedom%20in%20the%20World%202010%20Survey%20Release/Overview\\_Freedom%20in%20the%20World%202010.pdf](http://www.sithi.org/admin/upload/media/%5B2011-01-13%5DFreedom%20in%20the%20World%202010%20Survey%20Release/Overview_Freedom%20in%20the%20World%202010.pdf) Last accessed 11th May 2012.

Regassa, T. (2009). *Issues of Federalism in Ethiopia: Towards an Inventory*. 2nd ed. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Constitutional Law Series, Faculty of Law. pp. 1-68, 217-350.

Riker, W. H. (1975). Federalism. In: Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, *Handbook of Political Science* Vol 5., pp. 93-172.



- Rock, J. (1996). Ethiopia Elects a New Parliament. *Review of African Political Economy*. 23 (67), pp. 92-102.
- Sansculotte-Greenidge, K. (2010). A Contest of Visions: Ethiopia's 2010 election. *Review of African Political Economy*. 37 (124), pp. 221-227.
- Tegegn, M.. (2011). The EPRDF vis-à-vis Ethiopia's development challenges. In: Toggia, P., Tegegn M., Zegeye, A. *Ethiopia in Transit: Millennial Quest for Stability and Continuity*. Oxon: Routledge. pp. 131-161.
- The Constitution of The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*. (1995) Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Human Rights Commission
- Tronvoll, K. (2000). Ethiopia: A New Start? *Minority Rights Group 2000, An MRG International Report*. pp. 1-36.
- Tronvoll, K. (2010). The Ethiopian 2010 Federal and Regional Elections: Re-Establishing the One-Party State. *African Affairs*. 110 (438), pp. 121-136.
- Tronvoll, K. and Aadland, O. (1995). The process of Democratization in Ethiopia: An Expressions of Popular Participation or Political Resistance? *Human Rights Report No. 5*. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, University of Oslo.
- Vaughan, S. (2003). *Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia*. PhD Thesis: The University of Edinburgh. pp. 166-167.
- Vaughan, S. (2006). Responses to Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia's Southern Region. In: Turton, David *Ethnic Federalism*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press. pp.181-207.