

Full Length Research

The determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under consecutive Regimes: Appraisal of Military and EPRDF Government determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy

Negera Gudeta Adula

Lecturer, Department of Civics and Ethical studies, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mettu University, Mettu, Ethiopia. Address: phone: +251921201339, E-mail: negera2017gudeta@gmail.com

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This paper examines determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the military regime and the incumbent government. The study employed a qualitative approach as the methodology of the study. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources. The secondary data was collected from books, journal articles, published and unpublished materials, governmental and non-governmental organization reports and remarks, magazines, and internet sources. To substantiate and supplement the secondary data, the paper also used primary data collected through key informant interview. Given the data gathered are qualitative, the study employed qualitative data analysis techniques. The finding of the study revealed that the demise of the military regime brought not merely change in terms of determinants of foreign policy making and execution but also brought a shift in foreign policy approach and orientation of the country and the establishment of a federal democratic system in Ethiopia in 1991 ushered a major paradigm shift in the making and execution of the country's foreign policy and diplomacy. Inter alia, siege mentality approach was changed, foreign policy approach was shifted from the outside-in approach to the inside-out approach, foreign policy objective was shifted from hard power(military based) to soft power based (economic diplomacy) and diversification of partner and area of foreign policy and foreign relations.

Keywords; *foreign policy and diplomacy, derg regime, EPRDF government*

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INTRODUCTION

Ethiopia is one of the ancient states in the world. But, the formation of modern Ethiopian empire traced back to mid of the 19th Century (Van der Beken, 2007) which was facilitated by the demise of the era of prince and the coming of Ras Kasa(Seifuddin,1997)who traced his lineage to the house of David, King Solomon and succeeded in consolidating his rule over the Abyssinian

core from which modern Ethiopia would flower. Ras Kasa sought the assistance of European states to modernize to the country and defend the threat from Egypt and Turk which were Muslim states. The formation of modern Ethiopian empire in the mid of the 19th century ushered the beginning of modern Ethiopia's foreign relations and foreign policy though the foreign policy document of the

the country was not adopted until 1996 when the official document of Ethiopian foreign policy was adopted by the incumbent government (Keller, 1987).

Since the formation of modern Ethiopian empire, different regimes have been emphasizing the issue of foreign policy and foreign relations as the best means to realize the foreign policy objectives which were modernization project of the country and defending the national integrity. Ethiopian foreign policy under different regimes was determined by domestic, regional and global factors which are quite different from the regime to regime.

Foreign policy making and execution of a given country are determined by both domestic factors, regional factors and global factors which basically termed in general as internal determinants (domestic factors) and external determinants (regional factors, and global factors (Amare, 1989). Thus, the objective of this study is to examine the determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the military and EPRDF regimes.

In terms of methodology, the study employed the qualitative research methodology and narrative research design was employed to achieve the objective of the study. Accordingly, the study used a secondary data which collected from books, journal articles, published and unpublished materials and the primary data was also collected via key informant interview from key actors and pertinent experts in the area of the study. Given the data gathered are qualitative; the study also employed the qualitative technique of data analysis.

Ethiopian foreign policy under the military Regime (1974-1991)

Military regime held the throne in 1974, as a result, different factors that lead to the demise of the imperial regime. In the 1960's, armed conflicts arose in different regions of the empire and students nurtured the ideas which provided the ideological ammunition for resistance against the imperial regime and this aggravates the uprising in different provinces of the country which paved the way for the demise of the imperial regime (Van der Beken, 2007).

The occasion was alarmed and accelerated by different factors that initiate the teachers, students, farmers, civil servants to revolt against the imperial regime such as shortage of water, food, taxation problem, unemployment, delay of salary payment and other social services problem throughout the corner of the country which finally amounted to the downfall of Imperial regime (Bahru, 2002). During the military regime, Ethiopia's foreign policy was primarily rooted in "Westphalia principles with its emphasis on the security, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Ethiopian state (Broich, 2017).

In 1974, a military junta of derg established itself and since then to 1991 the state power was held by military government and the foreign policy of the country also remain on the hand of Mengistu Hailemariam who was the chairman of the military regime and chief of armed force. At the beginning the military regime foreign policy remain the same with the foreign policy of emperor Haile Selassie who have strong ties with western European Countries and specially with USA but later on President Mengistu shift the foreign policy of the country from West to East due to the reduction USA support to Ethiopia as the result of poor human right record of the military regime.

The formulation of Ethiopian foreign policy under the military regime was influenced by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and Marxist concepts of society and the alignment of forces even though the essence of foreign policy is similar to that of his predecessors but unlike its predecessors the Derg's foreign relation and policy solely depend on the Soviet Union since the military regime consider the USSR the natural ally of Ethiopia (Amare, 1987).

Beside this, Ethiopian foreign policy under the Derg regime was also an ideology based which is socialism and the foreign policy orientation of the regime was outside-in approach (siege mentality approach) which was all about externalizing the problem of the country especially like his predecessors he considered the neighboring states of Ethiopia as historical enemy of the country and personal diplomacy was also what defined the foreign policy of the country during Derg regime (Ibid).

Determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under military regime (1974-1991)

Like under its predecessors, Ethiopian foreign policy under Derg regime was influenced by both internal determinants like the historical legacy, the level of economic development and external development such as political dynamism in the horn Africa and the norms of the international system. Therefore, the following section will present both the internal and external determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under military regime respectively.

Internal determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under military regime (1974-1991)

The Ethiopian foreign policy was determined by economic development, historical legacy, military capability, political development and stability, the nature of society-state relationship and personality of the leader and image of the leadership during the military regime (Amare, 1989).

The nature of political development and instability

The nature of the political system under the Derg regime was characterized by the absence of unity and cohesiveness due to the advent of historical attempt to impose a single set of values on a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional, polyglot population which in fact leads to political instability. Despite the prevalence of initial promise of the military regime to ensure popular participation, equality of all people and respect of people's fundamental rights but the reality on the ground is different because of the nature of political system which was dictatorial and believe in the slogan of Ethiopia first and historical legacy of Haile Selassie's political system.

Therefore, this domestic reality and internal political contradiction determine the country's foreign policy and it urged the regime to highly and solely depend on on the Soviet Union to continue the unity of the state and ensure the perpetual survival of the regime.

Economic development

It is no doubt that Ethiopia is one the world poorest and economically backward countries during military regime due to imbalanced economy and inadequate socio-economic environment, though the military regime nationalize the means of production and distribution and conduct different reform program like associating the peasant (collectivization), resettlement and state farming, (Temesgen 2013). Thus, this backward nature of Ethiopian economy under the military regime was the major internal determinant of Ethiopian foreign policy under the regime because the main objective of the military regime was to continually remain in power by solving the economic problem of the large community and maintaining the unity.

Military capabilities

Maintaining territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Ethiopia was the primary of objective of Ethiopian foreign policy since the formation of modern Ethiopian empire and again during the reign of the military regime which is fact realized based on the national or military capacity of the country. To this end, the military regime allocates the (60%) sixty percent of the annual budget for the military sector in addition to aid which received from the Soviet Union. Ethiopia ranked first in terms of allocating a large amount of money from the annual budget for armed force and again in terms quantity of armed force which resulted from the absence of durable peace in Horn of Africa and Ethiopia. Despite this, the armed force of Ethiopia under military regime was not well-trained and this resulted in the defeat of the armed forces by ethnic based internal movements like Eritrean People Liberation Front, Tigray

People Liberation Front, Oromo Liberation Front and other insurgent movements.

Generally, the military capability was the major determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy during the military regime because it leads to the sustenance of national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and perpetual existence of regime and the military regime calculate its own military merits in conducting foreign policy and foreign relations of the country.

Historical Legacy

The historical worry has also dominated the perception and attitudes of all Ethiopian regimes: suspicion of their neighbors' rooted in the memory of past confrontations. The Christian ruling classes of Ethiopia have long been convinced that 'Arabs' and 'Muslims' can never be reconciled with their nation's interests (national interest of Ethiopia). This historical tragedy made the military regime to develop foreign policy strategy which intended to against the interest of neighboring Arab states. The foreign policy strategy developed by military regime include wedging divisions between Arab states, to pit Africans against Arabs, making arrangements with those in a position to influence Arabs and to search for a powerful patron.

Therefore, the historical legacy is clearly expressed by Ras Kasa (emperor Tewodross II) letter to Queen Victoria of England which state that is Ethiopia is the only Christian state in the Horn of Africa and Red sea which surrounded by Muslim states which are the enemy of Ethiopia since they intended to create one Muslim state in the Horn of Africa. So, it was these historical legacies which pushed the military regime to develop anti-Arabian state foreign policy and strongly rely on USSR, India, Yugoslavia, Italy and other western European state and again attempted to forge against Arab states in Organization of Africa Union. In a nutshell, the siege mentality approach and the factors of historical legacies are the internal determinant factors of Ethiopian foreign policy under the military regime.

Leadership and image of the regime

Under the military regime, all political power was concentrated under the strong hand of Mengistu who the Secretary-General of the Worker Party of Ethiopia and the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Force. He has controlled the all political activities of the regime, the foreign policy of the country was approved by him, the President's idiosyncrasies determine the country's foreign policy and major decisions in foreign policy and relations have taken place without sufficient thought about its consequence and implications. Thus, this monopoly of authority adversely affects the predictability

and clarity of foreign policy and makes its systematic formulation and execution difficult during the military regime (Amare, 1989).

To sum up, Ethiopian foreign policy during military regime was internally determined by the aforementioned and discussed factors such as economic development, military capabilities, historical legacies, the personality of the leader, the nature of political development and instability. Beside these, all determinants of external determinants which affected Ethiopian foreign policy under the military regime and the following section brought the brief discussion of external determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the military regime.

External determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the Military regime (1974-1991).

In addition to internal factors that determined the making and execution of Ethiopian foreign policy during the military regime, there were also external factors that shaped Ethiopian foreign policy such as political situation found in Horn Africa countries, in the continent (Africa) and international political system. Amare Tekle (1989) stated that two external determinants affect the Ethiopian foreign policy under military regime namely global factors and regional factors.

Regional and sub-regional factors

Ethiopia found at the nucleus of Horn of Africa. The political condition and political atmosphere found in the Horn of African countries affect the foreign policy making and execution of Ethiopia since the reign of emperor Tewodros II to even today due to the spillover effect of what happened other Horn Africa states. Ethiopian foreign policy always affected by the political situation found in the Horn African states.

Therefore, these are also the factors that determined Ethiopian foreign policy under military regime because during the then time officials of the regime and president Mengistu himself believe that Ethiopia is surrounded by several unfriendly states, who's inhabitants share more differences than similarities, and whose relationships have largely been characterized by mutual suspicion and violent hostility. This made the regime to understand that, the major security threat of Ethiopia is an external threat since the foreign policy approach and orientation of the regime was an outside-in approach (Amare T., 1989).

Beside this, Ethiopia was an independent state in the Horn of Africa and this resulted in the conduct of boundary demarcation between Ethiopian and European powers (Britain, France, and Italy) and it was this boundary demarcation which incorporated Ogaden and surrounding area as part of the Ethiopian empire especially during the reign of emperor Menelik II and

again Eritria which was Italy colony was also federated with Ethiopia in 1952 as a result of UN resolution of 390 (v). These two provinces were major security threats of Ethiopia during the military regime and affected Ethiopian foreign policy and relations and they were the catalyst for relationship with neighboring states because of the independent Somalia and Eritrea was not interested in the demarcated territory by colonial powers and that was what amounted to the 1977 Ethio-Somali war and the raise Eritrean People Liberation Front and other movements to against the regime (ibid).

Generally, Ethiopia is the only non-Arab and officially non-Muslim state in the Red Sea region, and because of its proximity to the Middle East, the oil-rich Persian Gulf, and the militarily important Indian Ocean, it continues to attract the attention not only of the two superpowers, but also Israel and various Arab governments, as well as Western Europe. Thus, due to the geostrategic importance of the country and its epicenter to all Horn African states the Ethiopian foreign policy was affected by the political system in the Horn of Africa.

Global factors

The reign of the military regime (1974-1991) was in the era of cold war and bipolar system which determined the foreign policy of nation states across the world. Therefore, the same logic applies on the foreign policy of Ethiopia under the military regime because the milestone of Ethiopian foreign policy during the then time was making Soviet Union and another socialist state the natural ally of the country.

The military regimes near total dependence on the leaders in Moscow and their Warsaw Pact allies for military and logistical support during the war with Somalia and in the Eritrean conflict; several other factors have facilitated the consolidation of this new special relationship. The Soviet Union and its allies were thus exerted immense influence on both the domestic and foreign policy of Ethiopia and this made Ethiopia play central role Ethiopia in the informal network of Africa's Marxist regimes created during the late 1970s and early 1980s including Angola and Mozambique. Therefore, international political situations including the cold war or global bipolar system were determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the military regime due to the mere dependence of derg on USSR and other socialist countries for military and other supports.

Ethiopian Foreign policy under EPRDF government

The failures of the Marxist-Leninist regime to solve the national problems lead to the downfall of the military regime in 1991 and the regime was headed by the Ethiopian people Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (Keller, 2005). Military regime dethroned in

what eventually by three regionally, and largely ethnically based guerrilla armies that included the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) secessionist movement dating back to 1961 (Schraeder, 1992). Since then the approach and the orientation of Ethiopian foreign policy were redefined and the national interest of Ethiopia and the national security threat of Ethiopia also reidentified.

Accordingly, Ethiopia's national security threats identified as internal vulnerabilities and problems, such as political and economic problems. The dethroning of the military regime brought not only shift in the foreign policy approach and orientation but also leads to the adoption of the Foreign Policy and National Security Strategy document in 1996 for the first time and the document redefined the countries national interest and redefined the major security threats to Ethiopia's survival (Tewodros, 2015).

The identified security threats by foreign policy and national security strategy are economic backwardness and poverty in which a large majority of the people exist, together with the understanding of the need for democracy and good governance and for the establishment of a democratic structure and government at all levels throughout the country. Without these, Ethiopia would be unable to survive as a country and its very existence would be in doubt and unless there is a speedy economic development. The approach and orientation of Ethiopian foreign policy were also changed from the outside-in approach (Siege mentality) to inside-out approach. Ensuring the fast-economic development and realization of democratization assumed as the alpha and omega for the survival of the country as statehood.

Moreover, the Ethiopian foreign policy under EPRDF government is characterized by its effort to diversify its partner. Unlike its predecessors, the post-Cold War era of Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy has been characterized by the effort to diversify its partners with non-western powers such as China, India, Turkey, Brazil, Malaysia, and the oil rich Gulf States unlike the military regime which relied on the Soviet Union only and again area of engagement like foreign direct investment and addressing economic constraints through strategic trade negotiations and aid was also major dynamism in foreign policy of the country unlike the derg regime which emphasized the military sector alone. The rationale of the EPRDF's foreign policy and strategy document is to support the democratization process of the local politics and addressing economic constraints through economic diplomacy which facilitated by trade negotiations, aid and foreign direct investment (Muzeyen, 2015). Therefore, this implies that the emphasis of Ethiopian foreign policy under the incumbent government is on economic diplomacy and foreign policy objective shifted from hard power (military) to soft power (economy).

Determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under incumbent Government

Even though there are shift and dynamism in foreign policy approach and orientation under the EPRDF regime, both domestic factors, regional and global factors remain the determinant factors that influence and shape the nature, style, and objectives of the foreign policy of Ethiopia under the EPRDF regime.

Internal determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the EPRDF regime

Despite the change of one regime to the other either via peacefully and round table negotiation or forcefully (Coup d'état), domestic realities or factors remain the determinant of the foreign policy of a given state. The EPRDF government redefined foreign policy objectives, national interest, and foreign policy orientation and approach the country especially through adopting the Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy in 1996 and revising it in 2002 which clearly identify the internal determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under incumbent government. Accordingly, economic backwardness, and nature of the political system (absence of democracy and good governance are twin internal determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy).

Economic backwardness and poverty

Since 1991, Ethiopia's national interests have been completely redefined to focus on the country's internal vulnerabilities and problems like poverty and economic backwardness. As clearly pointed out in Ethiopian Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy document of 2002 poverty and economic backwardness are two major threats to Ethiopia and its very survival. The document elucidated that the attainment of speedy economic development is fundamental to the survival of our country which finds itself in a state of abject poverty and backwardness (Ministry of Information, Press & Audiovisual Department, 2002). Therefore, this implies that poverty and economic backwardness is the major threat to statehood survival of the country and without the rapid economic development the viability of the country as statehood is doubt and this shift of foreign policy approach from the outside-in approach to an inside-out approach lead to the change in foreign policy objective from hard power (military diplomacy) to soft power (economic diplomacy).

Thus, it was to this end why the EPRDF government emphasis economic diplomacy as a panacea to solve the poverty and economic backwardness by attracting foreign direct investors and enhancing export led industrialization. Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front government also believe that

transforming and expanding Ethiopia's economy through agricultural sector, energy, and other sectors can realize rapid economic growth which can benefit all nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia and realize the very survival of the country-based Westphalia treaty-based statehood (Brouk, 2012).

Moreover, the incumbent government also strongly believes that the national interest and security will be guaranteed if only rapid economic development is attained and this rapid economic development is critical for the protection of the national interests and security of the country (GCAO, 2012).

Therefore, poverty and economic backwardness is the major that shaped the style, approach and orientation of Ethiopian foreign policy under the incumbent government because it is major threat to national interest of the country and it is a threat to perpetual survival of the country in addition to external influence and this was due refinement national interest of the county to democratization and economic development after the dethrone of military regime in 1991.

Nature of domestic political system

Infant stage democracy and lack of good governance is the source of inability to work together in a spirit of tolerance and cooperation in the country (FANSPS, 2002). Supporting this argument Tewdros (2015) stated that, Ethiopia completely redefined its national interest in post 1991 and gave a due emphasis for internal vulnerabilities which include the domestic political problems such as absence of democracy and good governance which is in fact the prominent factor in determining state-society relationship and rapid attainment of democratization is key for viable survival of the state because absence of democracy and good governance is the major threat to Ethiopia's national interest and its very survival.

Moreover, the FANSPS document pointed out that establishing a democratic order in Ethiopia is the way to respect people and individual rights, affirm good governance, and assure stable working and living conditions. Democracy is an important instrument to mobilize around common goals and to involve the people in nation building and guarantees that the members of the various nations, nationalities, and religions in Ethiopia live in an atmosphere of tolerance. In the absence of a democratic order, national and religious divisions will invariably intensify, the abuse of human rights would result in strife, and poverty would spread further a recipe for disintegration and destruction.

Thus, the realization of democracy will therefore not only help to attain development and good governance but also ensure national security and survival. Without a doubt, democratization is fundamental to safeguard the individual interests of every Ethiopian as well as to

ensure the country's continued existence.

In a nutshell, the nature of domestic political system (which include absence of democracy and good governance) is the major internal determinant Ethiopian foreign policy under the EPRDF government which can really determine the style, approach and orientation of the foreign policy of the country because realization of democratic principles and good governance are the bases for the very survival of the country.

External determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under EPRDF Government

Though much emphasis was given for internal problems and vulnerabilities as the major threat of Ethiopian national interest and national security by incumbent government, external factors (political condition in horn Africa, Africa, and global political system) are also the major determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the current regime. So, despite the cease of siege mentality approach which considers the neighboring countries as enemies of Ethiopia, under the current regime, external situations (political situation and economic situation) remain the main external determinants factors of Ethiopian foreign policy under incumbent government.

Regional and sub-regional factors

Ethiopia shares a boundary with all the states of the Horn of Africa which are very difficult to fully monitor and conflict-ridden region. Ethiopia bounded in East by Djibouti, in the south-east by Kenya, in North by Eritrea, in the south-west by Somalia in West by both by Sudan and South Sudan. Thus, as far as Ethiopia is the land locked country found at the nucleus of the Horn of Africa which is the single geostrategic important in the world due to its proximity to Red sea, oil endowed countries and Nile River. The political dynamism in any of Horn of African states have its own impact on Ethiopia, what threaten the national interest of Horn African states today will also threats the national interest of Ethiopian tomorrow (Brouk, 2012). Thus, the presence of the military base of other countries such as USA, France, China, Saud Arabia and others in Djibouti determine the foreign policy style, approach, and orientation of the country (Gashaw and Zelalem, 2016).

Moreover, EPRDF government of Ethiopia also believed that; the development plan and foreign policy objectives of the country will sustainable and realized if there are a shared vision and action for peace and development with all Horn African states. Therefore, this implies that the political dynamism in the Horn of Africa is the other major determinant factor that determines Ethiopian foreign policy under EPRDF regime because Ethiopia found at the center of Horn African states and this pave the way for Horn of African states to easily

threat Ethiopia.

Each of Horn African can pose threat to Ethiopia, for instance, Eritrea was one of headache of Ethiopian security since the outbreak of war in 1998 and state of deadlock or stalemate which lasted from 2000-2018. Ethiopia have almost harmonious relations with all neighbor states except Eritrea till joint is friendship signed between Ethiopia and Eritrea on July 08 2018, failed state Somalia is another security threat to Ethiopia since it is the city of terrorist organization like Al-Shabab, civil war in South Sudan since December 2013 posed the security threat to Ethiopia due to its spillover effects.

The shared resources between and among Ethiopia and Horn African countries and dynamics of Nile hydro politics is the other external determinant of Ethiopian foreign policy under EPRDF government. This also determine Ethiopian foreign policy due to the fact the twin objective of Ethiopian foreign policy under the current regime can be realized only by extracting and using Ethiopia's natural resource especially the Nile which is a potential resource that generates hydro-electric power but this potential resource shared by Horn African states and Egypt and again utilization of this resource all require the consent of these riparian states though Ethiopia contributed 86% of blue Nile and this shared resource determine Ethiopian foreign policy under EPRDF government (Jan Záhorský, 2014).

The dynamics of the political system in Horn Africa states and African states, in general, is the major external determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the EPRDF regime because Ethiopia found at the nucleus of Horn African states and the hub of African politics by virtue of hosting AU and United Nation Economic Commission for Africa (AUNECA).

Global factors

The second external determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under EPRDF government is political dynamism in the global world and the emergence of international issues such as terrorism, environmental problem, and raise of non-western powers such as Asian giants, Turkey and Brazil. The emergence of terrorism alarmed all nation states across the world to redefine and reinterpret their foreign policy specially to curb this global security threat.

September 9/11 attack of the pentagon and world trade center by terrorist organization rejuvenate Ethio-USA security relations and it turned the eye of USA to Ethiopia as the natural security ally and security partner and it also forced Ethiopia to adopt the counterterrorism law in 2009 and redefine its own foreign policy so as to avert this global crime. Thus, the emergence of terrorism as the threat to global peace and security is the major external determinant of Ethiopian foreign policy under the incumbent government and again following the 9/11

attacks against the United States, the Horn has come under increased study as a strategic focal point in the war against terrorism and other violence (Tegegne, 2016; Gideon, 2011).

The second global factor that determines Ethiopian foreign policy under the incumbent government is the environmental problem which is also the concern of all nation states in the world. Thus, as far the environmental problem is a trans-boundary problem which knocks the door of all nation states, mitigating this problem also requires the effort of all nation states in which Ethiopia is also a partner. Therefore, the emergence of the environmental problem which concerns all nation state and serious threat to the continual survival of the world nation state is the other external determinant of Ethiopian foreign policy under EPRDF government.

The rise of non-western powers such as China, India, Brazil, Turkey as an alternative ally of Ethiopia determined the approach, orientation and style of Ethiopian foreign policy under the EPRDF government. In addition to western powers, 21st century manifests the rise new Asian emerging economies, the emergence of Beijing consensus, New Delhi consensus, and South-South cooperation to a replace Washington consensus as alternative ally and development model for Ethiopia determine the foreign policy of Ethiopia under the EPRDF government (Elsje, 2011).

Generally, though Ethiopia's national interest was redefined, and much emphasis was given to internal vulnerabilities like underdevelopment and lack of good governance, dynamics of politics at international level and emergence of trans-boundary problems like terrorism, environmental problem and rise of non-western powers as alternative development archetype for Ethiopia are the main external determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under EPRDF regime.

CONCLUSION

Change of regime in a given state which takes place either peacefully (via democratic election) or forcefully (Coup d'état) lead to change in the foreign policy and foreign relations of given states but the domestic situation, regional political atmosphere, and political system at the international system remain the determinants of foreign policy approach, style, objective and orientation of the given state. The same logic applies for Ethiopia. The finding of this study revealed that under military regime Ethiopian foreign policy was determined by domestic economic and political development, national capacity, historical legacy and the real political situation in Horn Africa (threat from Somalia and Eritrea) in Africa and cold war and Non-Aligned Movement at the global level. Additionally, the study found that the foreign policy approach of the country was the outside-in approach, the

presidency idiosyncrasy determines the foreign policy of the country, the foreign policy objective of the country emphasized the hard power than soft power and the foreign policy and foreign relations of Ethiopia was merely depend on single partner (the Soviet Union and its allies).

Additionally, the finding of the study disclosed that the demise of the military regime brought shift not only in the foreign policy approach of the country from (outside-in approach to inside-out approach) but also shift in re-defining the national interest and national security and survival threats of the country. Furthermore, the finding of the study uncovered that, domestic realities (economic backwardness, lack of good governance and infant democracy) determine the foreign policy style, and approach of the country at domestic level and political and security dynamism in the Horn Africa such the presence of military garrison of strong powers in Djibouti, stalemate condition with Eretria, presence of terrorist organization in Somalia, dynamism Nile hydro politics since 2012 the beginning of GRED and maritime piracy in Somalia and South Sudan political crisis since 2013 are the determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy due to its spillover effects at the level of sub-region and emergence of terrorism as threat to global peace and security, environmental problem and the emergence non-western powers as an alternative development model such as China, India, Brazil, Turkey and others at the global level are the external determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under incumbent government.

Moreover, the finding of the study revealed that the change Ethiopian regime from the military to EPRDF brought a shift in foreign policy objectives of the country from hard power base to the soft power base, diversification of partner and area of foreign policy and foreign relations

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