

Evaluating the nature of peace in post-1991 Ethiopia in light of Johan Galtung's typology of positive and negative peace

Muluneh Kassa, Demillie Mollaw

Lecturer in the College of Social Sciences at Assosa University and Currently PhD Candidate at Addis Ababa University, Institute of Federal Studies, Ethiopia

Lecturer and Post Graduate Program, Coordinator at FDRE-Defense Command and Staff College, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Abstract

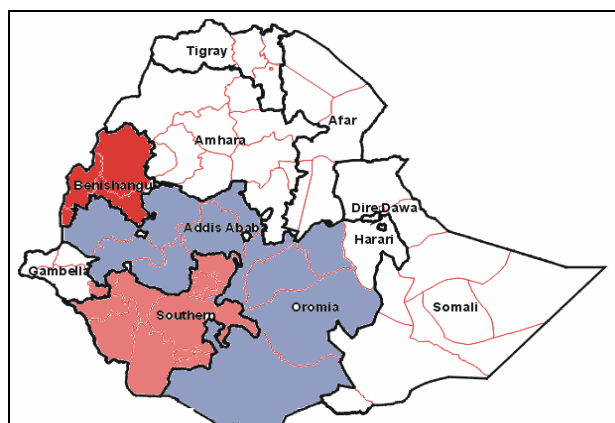
This piece of paper aimed to evaluate the nature of peace in current Ethiopian federation. Thus, different empirical information were collected to evaluate the situation. Under this piece of paper the writer collects incidents that was happen after 1991 up to present in Ethiopia, to determine the nature of peace in accordance with Galtung's typology of peace. Accordingly, the author argued that even if currently violence is minimized relatively with the successive previous regimes, the nature of peace in contemporary Ethiopian political setup is basically categorized under negative peace. An issue of positive peace is unthinkable in contemporary Ethiopia because of the prevalence of different episodes which undermines the situation of peace across the state vividly.

Keywords: Johan Galtung, positive and negative peace, Ethiopian federation, violence

1. Introduction

Ethiopia is one of Africa's the second largest and the third populous country located in the Horn of Africa. In accordance with the latest estimate, Ethiopian population approximates to eighty million with more than eighty-five ethno-linguistic groups. Geographically, Ethiopia shares border with Kenya in the South, Somalia in the South East, Djibouti in the East, the Sudan in the West and Eritrea in the North.

Following the demise of military rule, the federal constitution which was adopted in December 1994 and come to force in August 1995, introduced ethnic based federal system of government (Alem, 2003) [9]. Accordingly, Ethiopian federation was formed into nine regional states with two city administrations, namely, Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromiya, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, Gambela, Harari and Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa city Administrations. For further information look at the current administrative map of Ethiopia bellow.



Source: Adopted from Berhanu Gutema, 2007

Fig 1: Administrative Map of Post-1991 Ethiopia

After the demise of the Derg regime, the reason why Ethiopia designed and adopted ethno-linguistic federalism was primarily to address the 'national question' a popular name for the 1960s struggle against ethno-linguistic domination (Mar kakis, 2003). Hence, the new state structure is supposed to ensure the rights of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' to self-determination, including the right to secession (Art 39 of the FDRE Constitution). However, there has been a growing debate as to whether, ethnic based federalism can maintain unity within diversity of the country in general and regional states in particular.

The supporters of ethnic federalism point out that, it has maintained the unity of the Ethiopian peoples and the territorial integrity of the state, while providing full recognition of the principle of ethnic equality. As cited in Turton, (Clapham, 2002), argued that the current federal system has radically changed the former centralized and unitary state structure by introducing the principle of self-determination for the federated regional states using ethnicity as its basic organizing principle. Most scholars in the field agree that, federalism is suitable to a diversified or heterogeneous society. In support of this argument, Anderson asserted that, "Federalism seems particularly suited to democracies with very large populations or territories with highly diverse populations that are regionally concentrated" (Anderson, 2008: 12) [11]. Therefore, Ethiopia being a multinational state, so the introduction of federalism seems to be an appropriate political arrangement. In line with this argument, Alem concluded, "Multicultural Federalism was a necessity and a positive innovation for Ethiopia creating the basis of sustained peace and social and economic development" (Alem, 2010: 11).

This entails that, ethnic based federalism has been considered as a means of accommodating ethnic interests and a solution for the contending ethnic problems of the country. In support

of this argument, Tesfaye (2010) [63] stated that Ethnic federalism has played a crucial role in solving conflicts by enabling the various ethnic communities to control regions of the country where they are the majority, while respecting basic minority rights. Similarly, Van Der Beken (2012) [20] asserted that federalism is a mechanism to accommodate ethnic diversity like the case of Ethiopia.

There are also arguments against the introduction to ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. Those who negatively viewed ethnic federalism argue that the federal structure has caused ethnic consciousness and contradictions. They argue that, the introduction to ethnic federalism will cause tensions, instability and ultimately to the disintegration of the country instead of creating stability and harmony. For instance, as cited in Turton, Kymlicka pointed out that the adoption of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has a risk of failure since the system is not sufficiently federal (Turton, 2006) [64]. Assefa's explanation seems to support Kymlicka's argument when he stated, "the principle of ethnicity would inevitably reinforce ethnic tensions and conflict" (ibid: 131). Nevertheless, in contrast, the intention and promise of implementation of ethnic based federal system of government in Ethiopia was to create a country with equal Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' and to put an end to authoritarian rule by democratizing the Ethiopian state and society as a whole, this is being the precondition for durable peace and development in the country (preamble of FDRE constitution).

The very objective of this paper is to evaluate critically the nature of peace in post-1991 Ethiopia in line with Johan Galtung's typology of 'Positive and Negative Peace'. Accordingly, the major specific issues investigated under this paper will be ethnic federalism, inter-ethnic and religious conflicts, the situation of political competition and election, the impact of non-traditional security threats on Ethiopian peace and security, violation of civic and political rights, the immediate consequences of integrated development 'master plan' on the country peace, and threat of terrorism in Ethiopian peace and security to decide the category of peace in contemporary Ethiopia in accordance with Galtung's typology of peace.

2. Conceptualization of Peace in Accordance with Johan Galtung

Numerous scholars define the term 'peace' in various ways. But, there will never be any universal agreement on the concept of peace (Hakan Wiberg, 2005:21) [35]. Hence, the term peace has no single definition. It is vague, elusive, dynamic and subjective term. Thus, it is very difficult to conceptualize the term peace easily. For instance, in the early years of peace studies, it was assumed that peace is the opposite of war or absence of uproar (Matsuo, 2005) [46]. It was defined as the absence of war, partially because the early peace studies was strongly motivated by the reflection on the tragedies of the WWII with a sense of crisis of human survival caused by the danger of a total nuclear war on the two super powers (ibid). From this viewpoint, the writer infers that, it can be said that the peace concept during that time (WWII) consisted of only one peace value, that is, the absence of war (ibid). However, under this piece of paper the writer specifically adhere on the interpretations and definitions of the concept of peace coined by Galtung to be clear and explicit as far as possible for the purpose of

evaluation at hand.

Hence, Galtung argued that, violence is everything which prevents the full realization of innate somatic and mental human potentials. He forwarded a broader theoretical framework which could deal not only with the issue of war, but also issues of poverty, disease and human rights violations. Thus, in a nutshell, violence is anything which produces a gap between the physical and mental potentials of human beings and their actual conditions (Galtung, 1969). From this viewpoint; poverty, underdevelopment, oppression and other social troubles upsetting many people largely in developing countries in one and another way can be seen as manifestations of violence.

In his writing, Galtung coined two types of peace such as, 'negative and positive peace' (emphasis added). According to Galtung (1964), negative peace "is absence of war and direct violence which inflicts human suffering from individual, national, regional and international levels" while, positive peace "is working towards the elimination of unjust structures, inequitable relationships at inter-personal, group, national, regional and international levels or the integration of human society". In 1964 he did not specifically mention the word structural violence but human integration (Manfred Peters, 2014) [60].

Galtung also identifies eight components of negative and positive peace (Galtung cited in Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (eds.), 2007). Accordingly, the first components of negative peace is absence of direct violence (ceasefires, disarmament, prevention of terrorism and state terrorism, nonviolence) the second components are humanitarian aid, food aid, alleviation of poverty and misery the third are, liberation from oppression, occupation and dictatorship and the fourth components are overcoming prejudice based on nationality, race, language, gender, age, class, religion, etc., elimination of the glorification of war and violence in the media, literature, films, and monuments while, issues considered under Positive peace components are: first, life-enhancing cooperation and prevention of direct violence (peace-building, conflict transformation, reconciliation and reconstruction) second, building a life-sustaining economy at the local, national and global level in which everyone's basic needs are met third, good governance and participation, self-determination and human rights fourth, promotion of a culture of peace and mutual learning; global communication and dialogues; development of peaceful deep cultures and deep structures; peace education; and peace journalism (ibid).

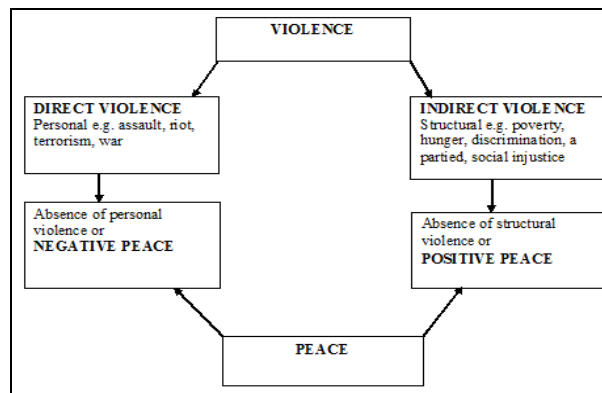


Fig 2: The expanded concept of peace and violence adopted from Baljit Singh (2003) [19]

Galtung created the connection between peace and violence in comprehensive way. Therefore, from the figure 2 ‘Positive peace’ denotes the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society, such as harmony, justice, equity, or the state of non-violence, sustainability and justice that is achieved when the causes of violence are eliminated and is only possible with the presence of the right attitude and the appropriate institutions etc. ‘negative peace’ denotes on the other side of interpretation weak or fragile peace or the simple aversion or cessation of war or direct violence (Galtung cited in Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (eds.), 2007). It is absence of overt war or violence in a particular culture, society or nation. But it does not mean that absence of pervasive injustice, inequality and personal discord and dissatisfaction. Galtung (1967) stated that the concept violence is also problematic like the term peace. Nevertheless, he try to define and dichotomize the concept. Thus, according to Galtung the term violence means an efforts to cause bodily harm to other human beings (ibid). In its dimension he has also divided violence as direct violence and indirect violence (Galtung cited in Baljit, 2003) ^[19]. Direct violence indicates harming others with intention while indirect violence which is also named as structural violence designates the harm done by socio-political structures and decisions that deprive someone of their access to basic needs necessary for fulfilling one’s full potentials in life (ibid). Cultural violence is the cultural justification for direct and structural violence (ibid). He also affirmed that both these types of violence can also occur concurrently (ibid).

In summary, according to Galtung ‘positive peace’ denotes the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society, such as harmony, justice, equity, or the state of non-violence, sustainability and justice that is achieved when the causes of violence are eliminated and is only possible with the presence of the right attitude and the appropriate institutions etc., while ‘negative peace’ denotes on the other side of interpretation weak or fragile peace or the simple aversion or cessation of war or direct violence (Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (eds.), 2007). It is absence of overt war or violence in a particular culture, society or nation. But it does not mean that absence of pervasive injustice, inequality and personal discord and dissatisfaction. Therefore, during my evaluation, I will use this distinction thoroughly to argue in which category contemporary Ethiopian peace has been categorized.

3. Evaluation of the Nature of Peace in Post-1991 Ethiopia

In order to evaluate the situation of the current Ethiopian peace based on Johan Galtung’s typology of positive and negative peace, the researcher have tried to evaluate the nature of peace in contemporary Ethiopia with particular emphasis of current ethnic-federalism, inter-ethnic and religious conflicts, the situation of political competition and election, the impact of non-traditional security threats on the peace and security of the Ethiopia (climate change, cross-border trade, environmental degradation, infectious diseases, irregular migration, food shortages and transnational crimes such as people smuggling and drug trafficking), violation of civic and political rights, the immediate consequences of Addis Ababa ‘Master plan’ on country’s peace and security and the threat of terrorism in Ethiopian peace and security.

3.1 Ethiopian Ethnic Federalism, Inter-Ethnic and Religious Conflicts

Most probably starting 20th century onwards, the greater challenges facing ethnically diversified states have been management of the existing diversities of different levels of government. Of which Ethiopia is the one which was affected by this condition typically nation formation of a long time like other African states. Hence, it is obvious that issues of promoting peace were horrendous episodes of earlier Ethiopian successive regimes. Though, the 1995 Ethiopian constitution is aimed and promised at building one common political and economic community founded on the rule of law and capable of guaranteeing sustainable peace, democracy and socio-economic development.

The current constitutional recognition of ethnicity as a basic principle of state organization and representation was supposed to be an important tool of accommodating diversity and avoiding ethnic conflicts. This idea is substantiated by Asnake Kefale’s explanation. Asnake asserted that, the post-1991 period has brought a very significant change in the Ethiopian politics. He argued that, the newly introduced ethnic-based federalism was hoped to bring about positive change in the relations between the various ethnic groups which were characterized by conflict. However, territorial issues have been still causing violent conflicts and tensions (Asnake, 2002) ^[16]. Abbink also supported Asnake’s explanation. According to him, Ethiopian federalism has been causing several unintended effects of ethnic conflict. He asserted that, the most observable impact on federalism in Ethiopia has been its decentralization of ethnic conflicts at regional and local levels (Abbink, 2006) ^[4].

Conflicts which appear as a mere inter-ethnic differences consisted of multifaceted variables (Lubo, 2012). He mentioned a number of ethnic conflicts that occurred after 1991 and their causes and concludes: “*In spite of the creation of ethnic federalism as an endeavor to address inter-ethnic conflictual problems with Ethiopia*” (ibid, 2012:66). Thus, the ethnic federal arrangement has become major source of ethnic conflicts over identity, territory and claims to power and resources. Moreover, according to Mesfin (2006) ^[51], ethnic conflicts are the results of deliberate manipulation of ethnic sentiments and identities by either leader of ethnic groups or government officers who want to use conflicts as a means of securing economic and political advantages.

According to some scholars of social anthropology, inter-ethnic conflict is viewed as the outcome of frustration within and between different ethnic groups within state (Kelemework and Mitiku, 2005). Factors such as failure of production, drought, and the failure of governments to serve the society they are meant to serve based on their contract and instead neglect particular ethnic group politically and economically as well as encroachment and the resultant competition over resources by neighboring ethnic groups may cause varying degree of conflicts. In addition to resources or power conflict between two or more ethnic groups’ ethno political disputes can also take place to protect their culture, group status, and identity against one another which are mostly non-negotiable at ethnic level (Pearson, 2001) ^[28]. It is in cognizant of the effect of ethnicizing conflicts that Messay argues “*ethnicity is a strong social force that must be properly considered and managed in order to obliterate its destructive roles in politics*” (Messay 2001: 283) ^[52].

According to Balcha (2008) ^[18], ethnic plurality would lead to conflict multiplication if it is not carefully approached and properly treated and its adverse effect will worsen when the elites play a key role in the creation of ethnic ideology as a means to their political advantage.

No matter the causes of conflicts, inter-ethnic conflict has become a major concern because the deployment of the members of ethnic groups to the conflict is always appearing along their ethnic lines. Although several scholars identify different causes, the reality is that ethnic conflict characterizes post 1991 history of Ethiopia. For instance, Zakaariyaas listed a number of ethnic conflicts such as the 2005 conflict between Oromo and Somali in Southern Oromia, conflict between the same people in the same year in eastern Oromia, the 2008 conflict between Oromo and Gumuz people in western Oromia, the 2008 conflict between Sidama and Oromo in southern Ethiopia and the 2009 conflict between Afar and Oromo in eastern Oromia. He has explained the severity of internal displacement, ethnic cleansing and mass killings during the conflicts mentioned above (Zakaariyaas, 2010:4) ^[73].

According to Medhane, in the Gambella region among different peoples particularly between Anuak and Nuer ethnic groups has been a common phenomenon. He pointed out that, political power in the region was in the hands of the Nuer during the military regime. The Anuak who established the liberation force called, the Gambella Peoples Liberation Movement was not able to control territories in the region during the military regime. The coming in to power of EPEDF in the country changed the situation. Currently political power is dominated by the Anuak and this situation has drastically changed the degree and intensity of the conflict between the two ethnic groups although historically resource-based clashes and small-scale skirmishes attributed to values embedded in identity and culture have been common in the area. Thus, factional fighting and inter-community violence characterized the region for the last two decades. The Anuak considered Gambella as their land and began to question the existence of the Nuer let alone allowing them to share political power. This denial coupled with improper intervention of the federal government has changed the nature of conflict in to more violent and bloody (Medhane, 2007) ^[49]. Dereje also pointed out that, the GPLM was transferred in to a party and the federal government replaced its leaders by members who are friendly to the government. This action enraged some members of the movement who choose military solution. Therefore, the peace environment of the region has been disturbed not only by ethnic conflicts but also by the confrontation between the federal government and armed groups of Anuak who resisted EPRDF's hegemonic political behavior (Dereje, 2009) ^[26].

Conflict between Oromos and the Somalis over border issues is another phenomenon which is mainly motivated and influenced by these post-1991 political developments. Mesfin Getachew (2006) ^[51] argued that, the introduction of ethnic based federal structure has caused severe conflicts. According to him, Mai'so district in southern Ethiopia is dominantly inhabited by Oromo clans (Itu) and Somali clans (Issa, Hawiya) and other minorities from different ethnic groups. He also revealed that, the decentralization of administration that happened to follow the introduction to ethnic based federalism has aggravated local conflicts. He explained the

relationship of the two ethnic groups living in Mai'so district in the following manner:

Historically, the Itu Oromo and the Hawiya Somali had common agreements and alliance. After the adoption of new federalism based on ethno-regional states and the search for identity in the Hawiya side effect, the long lasting cooperation and alliance with Itu Oromo and forced them to see to the newly coined Somali regional state and shift their alliance to Issa side (Mesfin, 2006: 16). ^[51]

Many scholars and writers who conduct research on the area agree that the Horn of Africa is one of the most fragile or crisis regions in the world. For instance, according to Kidane Mengisteab, the "*Greater Horn region is one of the most conflict-ravaged areas on the African continent where the populations of the region have endured many inter-state and intra-state armed conflicts during the post-independence era*" (Kidane, 2011:7). Similarly, other scholars explained the very insecure environment of the region as "*Violent conflict is more the norm than the exception in the Horn of Africa*" (Tadesse and Yonas 2007:1). The Ethiopia pastoralist ethnic groups of Afar and Issa are part of this politically sensitive region. Conflict between the ethnic groups caused by traditional cattle raids and competitions on pasturelands and water resources has been common. However, according to Asnake (2002) ^[16], their conflict has been intensified and transformed in to frontier conflicts after the introduction of ethnic federalism and restructuring of the state post 1991. Although it seemed a little bit exaggerated, after mentioning the various ethnic conflicts in current Ethiopia, (Aregawi, unknown: 12) explained the widespread nature of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia as "*no ethnic group in Ethiopia seems to have smooth relationship and live at peace with its neighbor*".

The negative nature of peace in Ethiopia can be deduced from the relationship between university students. In principle, students joining higher education institutions of the country are the hopes of the future generations. They are researchers, educators, peace advocates and future political leaders whose role has the power to decide the fate of the country. However, the anthropological research conducted by Abera Hailemariam on 'Ethnic Identity and the Relations of Amhara, Oromo and Tigray Students at Addis Ababa University Main Campus' revealed out the prevalence of unusual and devastated forms of relationship between students coming from different ethnic groups.

According to the research, the Amhara, Oromo and Tigray students in the university have strained relationship. Oromo and Amhara students are heard when discussing the oppressive relation among their ancestors behind their conflicts. Tigrians are believed by others as having direct contact with the government simply they are Tigrians because key positions in the current government are held by elites from this ethnic group. Students show intolerance behavior while discussing on ethnic federalism, issues of self-determination and the disparity between theory and practice in the implementation of the existing federal arrangement. Because of the development of unhealthy relationship between students of the three ethnic groups, their relationship has been based on ethnic lines.

Students' allegiance to their own ethnic group is observable in their day today activities. They move in groups and there are reserved areas where students mostly used to sit which are

named after certain ethnic groups. The sitting patterns of these students in the university compound and even in the dining-hall follow ethnic lines. What is even more surprising is that, students who are expected to settle their difference by discussion and dialogue mostly show the tendency of using violence to solve problems (Abera, 2010) ^[5]. Conditions in other universities are not different. To the knowledge of the writer of this paper, there are also occasions where violent ethnic conflicts among students became serious to the extent of disrupting the healthy functioning of other universities such as Semera, Haromaya, Jimma and Gondar.

Even though public discourses on relations between the two largest religions in Ethiopia, Orthodox Christianity and Islam titled to accommodation and tolerance, balanced way of approaching religious relation in earlier Ethiopia are still subject to different interpretation. According to Hussein (2006), the relation between Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia from the earliest times to the present has been characterized by both consensual and conflictual. After the coming in to power of EPRDF in 1991, there was an intension to avoid the past injustice and religious inequality. Freedom of religion, belief and opinion is given guarantee and recognition by Art.27 of the 1995 constitution. However, according to Dereje, Muslims have been contesting discourses of accommodation and religious tolerance despite of the new forum for religious equality opened by the current political system.

The relation between government and religious groups particularly Muslims have been becoming unfriendly. Getachew (2012) argues that, although separation of state and religion is given recognition and reciprocally non-intervention in the affairs of each other is clearly stipulated in the current constitution, religious conflict has been seriously affecting the security of Ethiopians. He added that government's response to Muslim protests has been divorced from what is claimed in the constitution.

Public discourses on religious conflicts in Ethiopia today have shown that the different actors in conflict have been instrumentalizing religion to surface their grievances related to other matter such as politics, economic and social. Whatever causes behind, religious conflict (Christian-Muslim) has been intensified. For instance, Christians and Muslims have lived together in the town of Gonder since the time of its establishment in 1636 without open fighting. However, according to Haileyesus who conducted an empirical research on the issue, currently the relation between the followers of the two religions has been getting worse. He explained the situation as follows:

The findings of the study revealed the existence of various causes and actors in the conflict between the Orthodox Christians and Muslims in Gondar town. As a result, provocative religious propagation, lack of clear legal regime[s] regarding religious matters, religious extremism, lack of understanding and misapplication of freedom of religion, new identity consciousness, lack of good governance, competition over ritual and burial sites, historical factors, national religious problems, and globalization and external involvement were found to be the causes of religious intolerance between the Orthodox Christians and Muslims in Gondar town (Haileyesus, 2012:134).

Another serious religious conflict took place in western Ethiopia at a place called Beshasho in 2006. The conflict

aroused when Muslims began to construct a mosque at a place which the Christians have long considered it as their holding. According to contributors (2006), Islamic fundamentalist groups set fire to churches, butchered the body of Christians with knives and killed them. Similar action was done on Christians in 2011. According to [m.christianpost.com/.../thousands-of-thousands-of-Islamic-extremist-groups-set-fire-to-churches-which-forced-thousands-of-Christians-in-and-around-Asendabo, Jimma zones](http://m.christianpost.com/.../thousands-of-thousands-of-Islamic-extremist-groups-set-fire-to-churches-which-forced-thousands-of-Christians-in-and-around-Asendabo-Jimma-zones). These examples could indicate how religious conflict has been becoming one of the major threats jeopardizing Ethiopian peace and security.

3.2 The Impact of Political Competition and Election on the Country's Peace

In Ethiopian history, multiparty politics is a new phenomenon. Following the overthrow of imperial regimes in the mid-1970s, one-party system political organizations came on the scene by replacing no-party system. Hence, pre-1991 the EPRDF leadership made essential changes to the institutional structures of the Ethiopian state, primarily through the adoption of a new constitution (1995 FDRE constitution). The remarkable political changes of this period are the establishment of a federal arrangement and recognition of multiparty elections legally. Even if, multiparty system has been recognized constitutionally, the EPRDF has remained the dominant party throughout the past 25 years within the country.

Democratic election and peaceful transition of political power is one mechanism which can be considered to understand the condition of peace in a certain country. The country passed five successive elections after current federal state structure was adopted. The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Front (EPRDF) was able to rule the country without strong opposition since seizing power in 1991. However, during the 2005 election, the ruling party encountered a fierce competition from the largest opposition party, the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD). Pausewang (2009) ^[58] pointed out that, after the election both the ruling party, EPRDF and CUD announced that they have won the majority vote. In fact, the opposition parties won all the seats in Addis Ababa which EPRDF had certainly never anticipated. Not only that, CUD also announced the majority vote in rural constituencies. EPRDF on its part announced that it has overwhelmingly won the support of the rural communities. As the relation between the two became worse, demonstration was erupted on the side of CUD, Police and Special Forces of the government opened fire, killed people. Pausewang explained the subsequent situations as follows:

CUD initiated cautious demonstrations of protest. Government reacted in escalating the confrontation, arresting thousands of CUD members, students, journalists, businessmen and other supporters of CUD. Almost 200 people got killed in the street riots. The leaders of CUD were arrested and eventually brought to court, accused for treason and even genocide. EPRDF claims that these leaders had provoked peaceful public protest well knowing they would become violent, and speculating on it to paralyze the government. The reference to the "Orange Revolution" in Georgia and Ukraine gave the background to calling it an attempt at toppling the democratically elected government by illegal means (Pausewang, 2009: 558) ^[58].

Eventually power stripped out from the hands of the

opposition party because the ruling party resorted to the use of force and arrested thousands of students, party leaders, journalists. After getting released, several members of the opposition party have left the country. This historical event has awakened EPRDF and it has been doing everything possible to weaken opposition parties which would enable it to dominate political power for long (ibid).

Beside to this, EPRDF actively encouraged and supported political entrepreneurs based in the remaining regions of the Ethiopian federation to form their respective political organizations, which became regional ruling parties in their respective areas qualifying as pro-EPRDF groups thus facilitating the ruling party's dominance in the entire country (Kassahun, 2010) ^[40]. Hence, EPRDF's leverage to reward clients through distribution of power and resources that are deployed unsparingly and with impunity played a crucial role in expediting its drive for absolute control. Abbink (2006: 177) ^[41] noted that, many people in position of power from the federal to the grassroots levels enjoyed privileged positions as a result of political loyalty and belonging to the ruling front.

Hagmann (2005) ^[32] also noted that, among the key features of post-1991 Ethiopian politics are signified by the co-existence of patrimonial and legal-rational domination, institutional instability at administrative level, and complex and often contradictory patron-client relations. In spite of rights and freedoms certified by the constitution with regard to political and associational life, the EPRDF has exhibited exclusionary tendencies by way of barring unwanted political organizations from participating in the political process (Berhanu, 2003). Accordingly, the EPRDF and the government apparatus exercise firm control over all aspects of Ethiopian society. In the elections of 2010 and 2015 the EPRDF won an overwhelming majority with 546 and 547 seats respectively out of the total 547 seats. The opposition was divided and could offer no effective counterbalance. The strictly monitored elections went off peacefully but press and other freedoms came under pressure. There was much international criticism of the lack of scope for political opposition.

The natures of actors participating in politics as well as existing cleavages within the society are among the important factors which determine whether elections become peaceful or violent. Cleavages are "politically effective conflict configurations institutionalized in the social structure." (Eith & Mielke, 2001 quoted in Mehler, 2007) ^[12]. Thus, many Ethiopians have been put into a dilemma, and hence an identity crisis, in the name of 'national liberation' instigated by narrowly focused regionalists, including those currently ruling the country. Because of these forces, the political atmosphere in contemporary Ethiopian political setup remains complicated before and immediately after election. In other words, the unity of the Ethiopian people and sustainable peace in the country remains questionable in the future. The current regime claims to have solved basically the question about nationalities by creating ethnic based decentralized states. In reality, all of them are under the direct control of the ruling party that highlights whatever differences there may be among the people.

Wondwosen (2008) ^[69] has also provided a sound description about the changing nature in the political space in the country after the 2005 parliamentary election. He explained that in 2005 the EPRDF government opened the political space

which enabled opposition parties to compute for power. The election results and the success of opposition parties was beyond the anticipation of the ruling party. Being alarmed by the strong challenges it faced, the ruling party closed the space by killing, arresting and intimidating many opposition leaders and their supporters. After making opposition parties out of the game, the ruling party deliberately kills their computing spirit and thereby it created a favorable condition for a single party domination (Wondwosen, 2009: 67). Arriola's argument supports the above idea. Arriola argued that, "*the aftermath of the 2005 elections cast a shadow over Ethiopia's democratization*" (Arriola, 2011:2). He also asserted that, EPRDF has been using legal and coercive measures to restrict the movement of opposing parties to ensure that similar challenges to its authority would not be repeated (ibid).

Therefore, in accordance with Galtung's typology of peace, from the above signposted incidents one can argue that during national and regional elections, the nature of peace has classified under negative peace.

3.3 The Effect of Non-traditional Security Threats on Country's Peace and Security

The changed nature of conflict has influenced evolving theoretical approaches and understandings of peace and security, as well as practical responses. The new concept of security includes a wide range of non-military phenomena such as economic disruption, population growth, environmental degradation and migration (Krause, 1998:126; Caballero-Anthony, 2007; Caballero-Anthony, Ralf Emmers *et al* (eds.), 2006). In other words, the 'non-traditional security threats are defined as:

Challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily from non-military sources, such as climate change, cross-border environmental degradation and resource depletion, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages and transnational crimes such as people smuggling and drug trafficking. These dangers are transnational in scope, defy unilateral remedies and require comprehensive, that is, political, economic and social responses, as well as the humanitarian use of military intervention. (Parker, 2011: 90).

Unofficial livestock trading is one of the human activities which have been negatively affecting the economic activity of the pastoral communities along the borderlands of Ethiopia. Trekking livestock started at village and then moved to the primary and secondary markets from where traders trucked them to the international markets like Nairobi and Mombasa (Hussein, 2010). Proliferation of small arms and light weapons has been a major factor in sustaining armed conflict, cross-border cattle rustling, and other serious armed crimes in the region. Because of the long and porous borders, illegal smuggling of firearms from neighboring countries particularly from Somalia has remained to be a serious problem. Firearms are still sold without the consent of the government by some individuals and the illegal transfer and sale of firearms has been also taking place inside the country (McLean, 1998) ^[48]. Ethiopia is one of African states where trafficking in persons is a serious problem. Most the researchers conducted in Ethiopia have found out that women and children being the poorest group are the most vulnerable group to various forms of sufferings associated with trafficking in persons. The

interplay between pushing and pulling factors has been contributing for the increasing number of human trafficking. Poverty, labour abuse, lack of employment opportunities for youths, failure in academic endeavors and gender differentials among others are pushing factors. On the other hand, the role of traffickers and artificially expanding demand for cheap labor is among the pulling factors (Animaw, 2011) ^[13].

According to Moges (2007) ^[53] the missing link among environment, population and poverty has been forcing the vast majority of Ethiopians to suffer due to environmental disasters. Different stakeholders such as the government, community based organizations, donor agencies, NGOs have been doing unreserved efforts to eradicate poverty and ensure food security. Victims of environmental security threat may resort to migration and other illegal practices for the purpose of securing their means of livelihood. As we have been heard in different media currently because of environmental disaster, around eight million peoples of Ethiopia have been affected by poverty.

HIV/AIDS is also another source of national security threat in Ethiopia. The spread of this disease has been seriously affecting the national economy. The effect of the spread of this disease would ultimately lead to the reduction in investment which in turn leads to the reduction of the economic growth of the country (Bollinger, L., B., Stover, J., and Eleni Seyoum, 1997). Similarly, governance issue has been quite clear a challenging issue at the federal, sub-national and lower administrative unites in contemporary Ethiopia. In this regard, the Ethiopian government explicitly claimed that the success of 'developmental state' democracy is depending on the avoidance of corruption and rent seeking. Currently, corruption and rent-seeking has been crippling the development of the country. In this view, former Prime Minister of Ethiopia Meles Zenawi affirmed in his public speech that:

Currently in Ethiopian the left hand of the government have captured by the rent seekers and corrupters but the hand of the ordinary citizens was not captured by the corrupters and rent seekers. Therefore, he called the people at large by saying that to stand beside the government to tackle this problem...

Hence, Ethiopian government credited the prevalence of high level of corruption and rent-seeking in different public institutions within the country. Dearth of good governance of certain state is one basic symptoms of negative peace as Galtung's explanation of peace.

Therefore, from the above context of non-traditional security issues within the country, one can surmise that the situation of peace in contemporary Ethiopia in accordance with Galtung's typology of peace in one or another way categorized under negative peace.

3.4 Violation of Civic and Political Rights

Article 39 (3 and 5) of the federal constitution assumes that every ethno-cultural community has its own territory, and confers the right to "a full measure of self-government which includes the right to establish institutions of government in the territory that it inhabits". It also defines ethno-cultural communities as "Nation, Nationality or People... as a group of people who have or share a large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable,

predominantly contiguous territory (Article 39 (3 and 5) of the Federal Constitution)".

The Federal Constitution is not only recognizing ethno-linguistic identity, but it also establishes regional states based on ethnicity. The constitution has many salient features, one of which is the right of ethno-cultural communities to self-determination, including the right to establish a regional state or independent state. Under Art 39(4), the federal constitution has conferred to ethno-cultural communities not only the right of self-determination but also "unconditional" rights to secede and establish an independent state of their own. However, the quest for self-administration by various groups has been denied and still it remained to be one of the causes of conflict. For instance, the demands for regional autonomy by the Sidama people in Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples region create instability under the respective region. According to report released by United Sidama Parties for Freedom and Justice (*USPFJ*):

The government deployed its Special Forces and Security forces across the entire Sidama region. These forces are terrorizing peaceful citizens in their own villages, neighborhoods, towns, children at Schools and high schools, market places, Churches, colleges, on streets and roads, Universities, stopping any gathering by more than two people. Beating, imprisonment, torture, harassments and killing is also widely reported and pervasive, in particular around and in Cuko/Chukko district that is located about 63 KM from Hawassa where over two dozen people were arrested since Monday, the 25th of June 2012 and two deaths were reported (*USPFJ*, 2012).

Apart from this, in Ethiopia the objectives of successive regimes to centralize the state and strengthen the power of the ruling class were facilitated by the marginalization and exclusion of minorities. Both the imperial regime and the military government opted for the process of modernization through the use of force. Before 1991 the scheme of marginalization of minorities ethnic groups was centralized however currently it becomes decentralized. It means that at the sub-national levels of government the right of ethnic minorities is not diametrically respected. The ethnic groups which consider themselves as the indigenous ethnic groups at some regional states apply ethnic cleansing or displacement of non-minorities' ethnic groups in different occasion. Thus, the treat of inter-ethnic conflict in current Ethiopian political setup is high.

Freedom of opinion and expression is one of the basic civil and political rights given due recognition by the various human rights instruments and it is a prerequisite for the discovery of truth, self-governance and personal development (Gedion, 2010) ^[31]. The contribution of freedom of expression for the attainment of societal goals and its role for the steady progress of a democratic system is very crucial. It is only when people are free to receive and impart information that they can make appropriate and meaningful political choices (Limpitlaw, 2012) ^[43].

Democracy requires the active participation of citizens. Information is considered as "the oxygen of democracy," because of its impact on the ability of citizens to effectively participate in decision making (Daniel B. & Jagne, F. 2000). It is for this reason that curtailing the operation of media has been considered not only as a violation of the rights of media but also violating the rights of citizens' free access to

information (Limpitlaw, 2012) ^[43].

The right to freedom of opinion and expression is recognized by Article 29 of the Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopian Constitution. The press law which was introduced in 1992 began to serve as an instrument of detaining journalists and others who are connected to the production and distribution of press media products (Amnesty International, 1998). Moreover, since 2008, the Ethiopian government has enacted various legislation such the Anti-terrorism proclamation of 2009 which put unfriendly restrictions on basic human rights (Human Rights Watch, 2012). Journalists have been subject to telephonic threats, intimidations and arrests for any criticism they make on the government. Government prosecutions of journalists have been end up in criminalizing them by using either transgression of the press law or instigating terrorists acts as a pretext. Because of the harsh treatment of journalists, the Ethiopian government have been identified as one of the “*worst enemies of press media in the world by many international media and human rights agencies*” (Human Rights League of the Horn of Africa, 2009:3). Similarly, Abiyou (xxx), who conducted a research on the role of police and human right in Ethiopia revealed that the role police in the respect and protection of human right is still minimal. Unlawful detention, arresting and torture is still committed by police members.

3.5 ‘Master Plan’ as immediate cause in the Country’s Peace and Security

Integrated Development ‘Master Plan’ is the plan designed by Ethiopian government to integrate Addis Ababa and Addis Ababa area Oromia Special Zones. According to the government, the ‘Master Plan’ designed to bring urban services to remote areas of Oromia special Zones. However, in April and May 2014 and December 2015 violent protests against the ‘Master Plan’ took place and continuing in many Ethiopian universities, towns and villages across Oromia Regional State. The intention of protesters and other Oromo’s feared that the move would be detrimental to the interests of Oromo farmers and would lead to large-scale evictions to make way for land leasing or sale, which had already happened in some parts of the region (Amnesty International, 2014). However, the claim of the government has been completely different from the protesters and some opposition political parties including armed opposition parties (Genbot 7).

Even if the root cause of protest is fuzzy, the issues of ‘Master Plan’ created instability throughout Oromia regional state and many public universities of the country. Many Oromo’s also considered the move to be in violation of the constitutionally-guaranteed protection of the “special interest” of Oromia in relation to the “supply of services or the utilization of resources or administrative matters arising from the presence of the city of Addis Ababa within the state of Oromia” (ibid). Even if the legitimacy of the protest falls under question, different sources reveal, the government applies unnecessary and excessive force to control the protest. For instance, according to Amnesty International Report:

Unnecessary and excessive force and arbitrary arrests has been applied by the security forces on protests to stop the protest. However, the violent response of the security services to the initial protests contributed to fueling further protests. Eye-witnesses, local residents and other sources told Amnesty

International that security services, comprised of federal police and the military Special Forces, opened fire with live ammunition on peaceful protestors in Ambo and Guder towns and at Wallega and Madawalabu universities (Amnesty International telephone interviews with individuals in seven locations in Oromia between 6 – 16 May 2014 (details and locations withheld for security reasons). According to the reports more than 30 people had been killed. Students and children as young as eleven were among the dead (Amnesty International, 2014).

Generally, in 2014 up to present, the condition in Oromia regional state is full of violence. For instance, in some areas by the name of democratic demonstration the protesters themselves also violate human right by beating, hurling stone or other materials and using guns on civilians and government actors. At the same time the response of government is also harsh because comprised of federal police and the Military Special Forces, opened fire with live ammunition on protesters to stop the protest (ibid). Currently Ethiopian the government has declared ‘state of emergency’ to ensure stability and prevent damage of property in the country (Speech addressed by Ethiopia’s Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn in EBC). From this point one can claim that, the declaration of state of emergency by the government has the indicant of negative peace in present Ethiopia.

3.6 Terrorism and its Threat to Ethiopian Peace and Security

Although Terrorism as a human phenomenon has been known and existed for long in the history of mankind, no-one has succeeded in coining universally accepted definition for terrorism (Vark, 2009) ^[66]. According to Acharya, the term terrorism has been used since long time ago however because of its dynamic nature it has been including several elements. Nowadays, defining terrorism has become more complicated because the conflicting parties characterize themselves as a terrorist (Acharya, 2009). The world, especially the Horn of African region has been facing serious peace and security challenges forcing several countries to design counterterrorism strategies to fight against terrorism and terrorists (Simon, 2011). Beginning from the mid-1990s, several acts of terrorism have occurred in states of the Horn of Africa and hence the region is considered both as breeding ground and a safe haven for terrorist organizations (Dagne, 2010). Ethiopia being part of what is known as the conflict ridden region of Africa cannot be free from the effects of terrorism. One of the serious terrorist incidents in the post 1991 Ethiopia was an assassination attempt made by Egyptian extremist group against the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak in 1995 in Addis Ababa (Simon, 2011).

The long and porous national boundaries of Ethiopia have been easily crossable for terrorists and insurgents. Based in Somalia, Al Ittihad al Islamiya (AIAI), and internally Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) have engaged in different terrorist acts such as kidnappings, assassination attempts, mining of roads, and bombings of bars, hotels, and public buildings (Shinn, 2004).

The disintegration of the state of Somalia following the downfall of Siad Bare government made Somalia the most vulnerable state to international terrorism which jeopardized the security of the whole region. Several terrorist operations have taken place in Somalia since 2007 (Weldeselasse, 2010).

Given the long and porous borders that Ethiopia share with Somalia, has increased the threat of terrorism on the national security of Ethiopia.

The ONLF was striving for the secession of the Ogaden region. In 1994, the leaders of the front who understood that their vision could not be materialized resorted to armed insurgency activities. The front resorted to terrorism as its main mode of operation. This shift was consolidated when the front began to receive support from AIAI from Somalia and from Salafi religious elements in the Middle East. Similarly, OLF has turned to armed struggle and terrorism in 1992. The two fronts negotiated and have conducted a number of joint operations causing political unrest in the region (ibid).

As the threat posed by terrorism on the national security become serious, the Ethiopian government began to use all possible means. The United States Department of State Publication Bureau of Counterterrorism pointed out some of the actions made by the Ethiopian government as follows:

The Ethiopian government passed the Antiterrorism Proclamation (ATP) in 2009, followed by legislation in 2011 designating five organizations as terrorist groups – including al-Qaida, al-Shabaab, the ONLF, OLF, and Ginbot 7. While the ATP has been used to prosecute and convict a small number of individuals associated with terrorist activity, it has also been used to prosecute and convict journalists, opposition political figures, and activists (Country Report on Terrorism, 2013: 67).

Viewing the political disorder in Somalia as the main threat to the national security of the country, the Ethiopian government have increased its military presence along the border areas between the two countries to limit the chance of terrorists infiltrating in to Ethiopia. Moreover, the Ethiopian military force is still engaged in counterterrorism operations in Somalia in cooperation with the government of Somalia and the continental peacekeeping mission, African Union Mission in Somalia (ibid).

4. Conclusion

As indicated in the conceptualization section of this paper, Galtung has come up with two types of peace namely negative peace and positive peace. According to him negative peace refers to absence of war or direct violence which inflicts human suffering from individual, national, and regional level. On the other hand, positive has to do with working towards the elimination of unjust structures, inequitable relationships at inter-personal, group, national, regional and international levels or the integration of human society. The broader theoretical frame work forwarded by Galtung also deals with issues of poverty, diseases and human right violations.

Currently in Ethiopia, there is no war or direct violence which implies the prevalence of negative peace in the country. On the other hand, the discussions above showed that the introduction of ethnic federalism and the instrumentalization of ethnicity by various actors have caused various forms of violent conflicts among different ethnic groups. Ethnic conflicts in Gambella region between Anuak and Nuer, conflict between Oromos and Somalis and the Afar- Issa conflict happened in recent times and which are stifled by undemocratic intervention of both the federal and regional governments are indicators of the presence of structural violence what Galtung characterizes as a harm done by socio-

political structures and decisions that deprive someone of their access to basic needs. This is because most of the problems have been solved in a manner depriving the rights of one group at the expense of the other party to the conflict.

Religious conflicts erupting in different parts of the country and acts of terrorism are also the manifestations of the presence of structural violence. Physical hurts, deaths and displacement of people are violent in their nature. Election and the presence of unhealthy competition for power and violation of basic civil and political rights which are manifested in unlawful treatment of citizens, killing and imprisonment are also indicators of the prevalence of structural violence. On the other hand, despite the presence of dissatisfactions among the various groups in the country currently we do not see war or direct violence because of the highly securitized strategy being implemented by the Ethiopian government. This is because there are cases where symptoms of violence here and there which have been quickly stifled by the government.

When we scrutinize the issues of self-determination pragmatically, it becomes one of the main sources of conflict rather than preventing conflict currently because it opens Pandora's Box for all nation nationalities and peoples to regional autonomy. For instance, the demands for regional autonomy by the Sidama people in Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples region create volatility in the respective region. Hence, the misunderstandings exist on the government actors and people create violation of human rights. According to Galtung's view Positive peace holds good governance, participation, self-determination, human right respectation, and promotion of a culture of peace and mutual learning. But when we analyze critically, the prohibition of the quest of the Sidama people to establish their own independent region in Ethiopian federal setup is implication of presence of structural violence. Here, one can realize it as negative peace since it is structural violence.

Besides, the current condition of relationship between some opposition political parties and the ruling party/EPRDF in one and another ways looks like negative peace because most political parties including EPRDF have undertaken violence as a means of achieving various political objectives. Uproar exists on national and regional election in Ethiopia. Tension is common phenomenon during and immediately after election result announced. Therefore, according to Galtung conceptual lenses of peace, one can conclude that, during and immediately after election at different levels of government the nature of peace in Ethiopia has been categorized under negative peace.

According to Ethiopian government perception, Integrated Development 'Master Plan' was designed to bring urban services to remote areas of Oromia special Zone. However, in 2014 up to 2016 violent protests against the 'Master Plan' took place in many universities and towns across Oromia Regional State. The outcome of Mater Plan in Oromia was full of violence between the protesters and government actors. For instance, by the name of democratic demonstration the protesters themselves also violate human right by beating, throwing stone or other materials and using guns on civilians and government actors. At the same time the response of government is also harsh because comprised of federal police and the Military Special Forces, opened fire with live ammunition on protesters. Hence, with regard to the situation

of master plan, as Galtung's conceptual lenses or prisms of peace it has been labeled under negative peace since it is structural violence.

Generally, it is obvious currently violence is minimized relatively with the previous regimes. However, one cannot think of positive peace in contemporary Ethiopia. Positive peace requires the elimination of unjust structures and inequitable relationships. Ethnic and religious conflicts and the violation of basic rights are the results of the quest for equality and justice by one group and the violation done by the other. Positive peace has to do with the presence of peaceful, just structures and cooperative relationships, social and economic development. When the researcher evaluates the condition of peace in Ethiopia in the light of this attribute of positive peace, there is a complete mismatch. This is because of the presence of different situations in one way or another negatively influences the peace and security as well as the socio-economic development of the country. Such as dissatisfactions which are waiting to precipitate events to be surfaced, illegal trading, smuggling, proliferation of light weapons, diseases, migrations and environmental degradations. In general, the contemporary peace condition of Ethiopia is categorized under negative peace.

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