



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

**PROGRAM: MASTERS ART OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY
(EXTENSION PROGRAM)**

**ETHIO-US DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SINCE 2018 AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS FOR ETHIOPIA'S PEACE AND SECURITY**

BY:

SAMRAWIT GEBRESELASSIE.

MARCH, 2023GC

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

ETHIO-US DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SINCE 2018 AND ITS
IMPLICATION FOR ETHIOPIA'S PEACE AND SECURITY

By: SAMRAWIT GEBRESELASSIE

ADVISER; DEMEKE ACHISO (PHD)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, ADDIS ABABA
UNIVERSITY.

MARCH, 2024

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Samrawit Gebre Selassie entitled ‘Ethio-US Diplomatic Relations since 2018 and Its Implications for Ethiopia's Peace and Security ‘ submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in International Relations and Diplomacy complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Approved by Board of Examiners

Advisor

Signature

Date

Internal Examiner

Signature

Date

External Examiner

Signature

Date

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled ‘Ethio-Us Diplomatic Relations Since 2018 And Its Implication For Ethiopia's Peace and Security’ is my own work. Furthermore, this study contains neither material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of the University, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

SAMRAWIT GEBRESELASSIE

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that Samrawit Gebreselassie has carried out her research work ‘Ethio-US Diplomatic Relations Since 2018 And Its Implication For Ethiopia's Peace And Security’ ‘The Case of Ethio-US Diplomatic Relations’ for the partial fulfilment of Master of Arts in political science and international relations at Addis Ababa University, School of Graduate Studies. This work is original and it is suitable for submission of Masters of Arts in political science and international relations.

DEMEKE ACHISO (PHD)

Advisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Demeke Achiso (PhD) whose advice, guidance, and comments were helpful to undertake this study. Secondly, i am deeply grateful and truly indebted for family members, friends, and work mates for their valuable encouragement and moral support more than ever during the preparation of this research. May God bless you ALL.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Content	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	v
<i>Abstract</i>	vi
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1. Background of the Study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem:	3
1.3. Core Agreement:	5
1.4 General Objective of the Study	6
1. 5. Specific Objectives of the Study	6
1.6. Research Questions	6
1.7. Methodology and Methods Of Data Collection:	6
1.7.1 Design of the Study	6
1.7.2 Population and Target Population of the Study	7
1.7.3 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques	7
1.7.4 Data Source and Data Collection instruments	8
1.7.5 Procedures of Data Collection	8
1.7.6 Methods of Data Analysis	8
1.8 Ethical Consideration	9
1.9 Significance and scope of the Study	9
1.10 Delimitation of the Study	9
1.11 Limitations of the Study	10
1.12 Organization of the study	10
CHAPTER TWO	11
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.1.1 Conceptual understanding of diplomatic relations	11
2.1.2 Bilateral Relations A Brief Explanation	13
2.1.2.1 What Is Bilateral Diplomacy?	13
2.1.2.2 Why does bilateral diplomacy matter?	14
2.1.2.3 How is bilateral diplomacy conducted?	14

2.1.2.4	Where is bilateral diplomacy performed?.....	15
2.1.2.5	Advantages and Disadvantages of Bilateral relations	15
2.1.3	Conceptual Understanding of Security	16
2.1.4	Concepts of National Interest and National Security.....	18
2.1.4.1	National Security.....	18
2.1.4.2	National Interest	21
2.1.5	Conceptual Understanding of Peace	23
2.1.6	Meaning and Role of Foreign Policy	23
2.1.7	The Foreign Policy of a Dependent State	25
2.2	Theoretical Framework.....	26
2.2.1	The Theory of Realism: A Brief Explanation	26
2.2.2	Neo-Realism	28
2.2.3	The Theory of Liberalism: A Brief Explanation	30
2.2.4	Neo-Liberalism	31
2.2.5	The Theory of Constructivism: A Brief Explanation	32
CHAPTER THREE.....		34
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ETHIO-US PEACE AND SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS		34
3.1.	Introduction.....	34
3.2.	The Beginning and Move of the Official Diplomatic Relationships	34
3.3.	Ethio-US Relations in the Post Occupation Era.....	36
3.3.1.	Relations with the Haile Selassie Regime	36
3.3.2.	Relations in the Post -1974 Period	37
3.3.3.	Ethio-US Relations Since 1991.....	39
CHAPTER FOUR.....		49
4. DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION		49
4.1.	Understanding the Current State of Ethiopia's Relationship with the Us.....	49
Introduction		49
4.2	Ethiopia-Us Relations: A Comprehensive Analysis Since 2018.....	49
4.3	Understanding the Current State of Ethiopia's Relationship with The Us	51
4.4	Factors Influencing the Ethiopia-Us Relationship: Implications for Peace and Security	52
4.5	Understanding the Convergence and Divergence of Interests in the Ethiopia-U.S Relations Since 2018	54
4.6	Analyzing Security Concerns Stemming From Ethio-Us Relations	57
CHAPTER FIVE.....		60

5.2 Conclusion	62
5.3 Recommendation.....	65
Appendices	72
APPENDIX II	74

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAU -	Addis Ababa University
AD -	Ministry of Audiovisual
AFRICOM -	United States Africa Command
AGOA -	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AMISOM -	African Union Mission in Somalia
BD -	Bilateral Diplomatic
BDU -	Bahir Dar University
COVID-19 -	Coronavirus Disease 2019
EPDRF -	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
GRED -	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
IGAD -	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IPSS -	Institute for Peace and Security Studies
MIP -	Ministry of Press
MAE -	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NATO -	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSAs -	Non-Governmental Agencies
PM -	Prime Minister
PEPFAR -	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
RDNDP -	Revised National Defense and Security Policy
TPLF -	Tigray People's Liberation Front
U.S -	United States
UN -	United Nations
USSR -	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VCDR -	Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations

Abstract

This paper examines the evolving relations between Ethiopia and the United States since 2018 and analyzes their implications for Ethiopia's peace and security. The methods of data collection include content analysis of official statements and interviews with key stakeholders. The relationship between these two countries has witnessed significant changes in recent years due to a range of geopolitical shifts, economic factors, and internal dynamics within Ethiopia. The period since 2018 has been marked by a number of key developments that have influenced the relationship between Ethiopia and the United States. These include changes in leadership in both countries, shifts in foreign policy priorities, and evolving security challenges in the region. By examining the various dimensions of this relationship, including security cooperation, economic ties, and diplomatic engagements, this paper seeks to offer a comprehensive analysis of how these interactions impact Ethiopia's peace and security. The findings suggest since 2018, the bilateral relationship has faced some challenges due to various factors, such as: Ethiopia's political and economic reforms under Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. The current government is using ambassadors for political gain, which has resulted in a lack of commitment to diplomacy. There have been both areas of convergence and divergence in interests between Ethiopia and the US since 2018. While both countries share a commitment to promoting economic development and regional stability, there are also significant disagreements over issues such as the GERD, national interest and human rights issues. It suggests that there is a need for a more diplomatic approach to relations between the two countries, which would require a greater emphasis on selecting qualified and committed ambassadors. The relationship between Ethiopia and the United States has also multifaceted implications for peace and security in Ethiopia. These implications cut across diplomatic, humanitarian, security, economic, regional, and human rights dimensions. In conclusion, this paper argues that a deep understanding of the evolving relationship between Ethiopia and the United States is essential for policymakers, scholars, and practitioners seeking to promote peace and security in the region. By offering insights into the complex dynamics at play in this relationship, as well as their implications for Ethiopia's peace and security, this paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the intricate web of international and domestic factors that shape the future of this strategically important country.

Key words :Ethio-US relations, peace and security, data collection methods, diplomatic dynamics, and bilateral cooperation.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Background of the Study

Diplomatic relations between countries carry immense importance for the stability and growth of nations. The bond Ethiopia shares with the United States is one of the key relationships that Ethiopia has with other countries. The contact between Ethiopia and the United States is one of the oldest ties that Ethiopia has established in its diplomatic history. This relationship chronologically holds the fourth place following the relations of four European nations with Ethiopia namely: Italy, France, Great Britain and the USSR respectively as contended by Taye (2010:108). Though it had the fourth place from the start, by now it has a much closer relationship than most of these earliest allies.

Ethiopia and the United States of America started their diplomatic relations in 1903. Since then, their relations improved time to time, especially, in the Emperor Haileselassie I period due to Ethiopia's importance to the U.S. interest to control the Red Sea region, establishing the Kagnaw station in the 1940s, and Ethiopia's need to use the U.S. diplomatic power to weaken Britain's dominance in the restored Ethiopian government after the defeat of Italian rule in 1941 (Shin, 2018:76). There was a sharp increase in U.S. military and economic cooperation in the 1940s and '50s though decreasing in the 1960s and '70s due to the development of satellite technology decreasing Kagnaw station's importance for the U.S. So, the U.S. policy toward Ethiopia focused increasingly on the need for political reform and modernization of the Imperial regime (Shin, 2018:78). During the Derg period, their relations weakened due to Derg's affiliation with the Communist world and the relation between Ethiopia and U.S.A. was mainly focused on humanitarian aid. In 1985, Ethiopia became the biggest recipient in Africa of assistance from USAID and food aid was the main component of Ethiopia-U.S. relations in the 1980s (Shin,2018:78).

The collapse of the Communist world and EPRDF's taking power in 1991 led to the revival of the relations between the two states. U.S. began new relationship with Ethiopia by encouraging the development of democratic governance, improving human rights, political liberalization, economic reform and the road toward a market economy in the 1990s. U.S. also wanted Ethiopia increasingly for support on regional stability and counterterrorism issues and Ethiopia's support

for regional peacekeeping and cooperation on counterterrorism brought a positive reply from U.S. though differences on human rights and democratization usually had a negative impact in the 2000s and 2010s(Shin,2018:89).

And since the new reform government led by P.M. Abiy Ahmed came to power, the diplomatic relation between the two states has taken a different trajectory; the relation was expected to improve due to P.M. Abiy's reform plans but became challenging after U.S. led discussion on GERD failed and later the Tigray war broke out and U.S. expressed its concerns over human rights violations in Tigray war (Feltman,2021:2). But after a peace agreement, led by African Union and U.S. and E.U. as observers, between Ethiopian government and T.P.L.F. was signed in October 2022 , the Ethiopia-U.S.A. bilateral relation is starting to improve again (The Reporter, 2022:4).

The bilateral relation between Ethiopia and U.S.A. is a historical relation between a Super Power and a Dependent state (Lyons, 1986:67), though theoretically bilateral relation refers to the relationship between two independent states which implies cultural, economic and political factors influence this relationship and it usually refers to the diplomacy between two independent states (Carrier, 2022:56). The bilateral relation between U.S.A. and Ethiopia shows continuities and changes in the form of governments taking power and their respective foreign policies. The dynamics of the current relation between Ethiopia and U.S.A. is influenced by these historical developments and has its own prospects and unique challenges showing unsettled behavior, especially due to the Tigray war. And, this unsettled character in the relation is the mirror-image of the Superpower-Dependent state relations between Ethiopia and U.S.A. and framed by their foreign policies and national interests influencing the convergence and divergence of this dynamic relation.

The aim of this study is to investigate the implications of the Ethio-US diplomatic relations on Ethiopia's peace and security by analyzing the determinant factors of this relation, mainly, the Tigray war and human rights concerns raised by U.S. and Ethiopia's wanting to handle the issue by itself without external pressures, and its implications on the bilateral relations based upon the premise of Ethiopia-U.S.A. relation since 2018 has some asymmetric characteristics, U.S. making pressures especially on the Tigray war and Ethiopia facing consequences like sanctions and these conditions affecting the relation though improving after the Pretoria agreement.

Furthermore, the US has also been criticized for its involvement in regional politics, including its support for controversial leaders in countries such as Eritrea and Egypt. This has led to concerns about the potential negative impact of the US's influence on Ethiopia's internal affairs, including its fragile political situation and ongoing conflicts in regions such as Tigray, Amhara and Oromia. In contrast, Ethiopia has witnessed an increased number of ethnic-based conflicts, religious violence, and security issues.

1.2. Statement of the Problem:

It was few weeks after the peace agreement signed between Ethiopian government and TPLF that the U.S.–Africa summit was held and President Biden and P.M. Abiy met in Washington D.C. for the first time signaling a new start for a friendly U.S.-Ethiopia diplomatic relations (The Reporter, 2022:2). But a few months before, the relation seemed unrecoverable due to the human rights issues on Tigray war leading up to the measures taken by U.S. to ban Ethiopia from AGOA in January 2022 (USTR News, 2022:3) because the Tigray war was a major security threat to U.S. interest to maintain peace in the horn region (Frazer,2021:12), and the idea of peace agreement to stop the Tigray war seemed a mere hope. And, this dynamic bilateral relation is governed by the foreign policies of the two states.

The principle of national security, have remained to be the most important and even the first of all the national interests in the foreign policy of Ethiopia in its relations with the United States America. (MIP & AD 2002:4). In this regard (Malhotra 2001; 98), also gives a brief and clear explanation about this concept when he writes: National interest is the most crucial concept in international relations. It is the key concept in foreign policy as it provides the material on the bases of which foreign policy is made. It is the purpose of foreign policy to conduct foreign relations in a way so as to achieve national interest to the maximum extent. Therefore, the cooperation between the two countries in the security perspective is not carried out without doubts because of the principle of national security. Some inconveniences and disputes have been observed between the two countries occasionally because of national interest. Since 2020, Ambassador Feltman argues, the relation between the two nations have deteriorated for which was accompanied by a conflict in the northern part of the country.

when we see the specific foreign policy measures taken by the two presidents of U.S., President Trump on GERD, his foreign policy emphasis mainly focused on using economic pressure to advanced foreign policy goals, and President Biden, foreign policy emphasis mainly focused in the name of assuring the protection of Human Rights on Tigray war although it have some hidden agendas in us side in supporting TPLF (Sloan,2021:21), and the diplomatic actions taken by the P.M. Abiy government(Verjee,2021:14) were like mobilizing Ethiopian Diaspora in the U.S. against U.S. government stand on the Tigray war , the challenges surrounding the relation become visible. Nevertheless, Ambassador Jeffrey Feltman, U.S. Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa, wrote in November, 2021 stated that Ethiopia is an exporter of peace and stability for the rest of the Horn, via peacekeeping and longstanding important partnership with the US. Thus, initial problem of this research is to investigate how the long-standing relationship between the two actually benefited Ethiopia in keeping its own peace and stability particularly after the establishment of the new government which, according to the ambassador, opened a promising new chapter in US-Ethiopian relations. And though several literatures discuss the major issues in the current Ethiopia-U.S.A. relations, it appears that sufficient analysis has not been given relating the trends with the asymmetric character of this relation and the foreign policies and national interests of the two states to show what is behind the challenges and hopes surrounding the relation.

Considering the long history between the two countries there are limited number of researchers who tried to investigate the US-Ethiopian relation. One of the researches worth mentioning is a research by David Shinn (2018:54). Shinn in his research outlined the Ethio-US relation from Roosevelt to Trump. He divided his article into historical periods until 2018 when, to use some of his words, ‘a new stage is set for an improvement in US-Ethiopian relations’ (Shinn, 2018: 73). Despite Shinn, however, the researcher could not find any scientific study that is dedicated to assess the current status of the ethio US cooperation and, how the relations influenced the country's foreign relations based on the lived in it experience, which is why this study is initiated. Moreover While several studies have examined Ethiopia's foreign policy (e.g Negera Gudeta, 2019 and Berouk Mesfin, 2012), national interest (e.g Gosaye Tilahun, 2022) and Ethiopia’s relation with major powers and none of these studies, either implicitly or explicitly sketch the factors that have played a significant role in shaping the recent Ethio-US diplomatic

relations and the major security issues that have arisen recently which implies that there is a thematic gap in the area.

Taking this into account, this study will investigate the major security issues that have arisen as a result of the relationship. Nonetheless, this study will also try to investigate and deeply understand the cooperation between the two countries focusing on the recent Ethio-US diplomatic relations and assess their potential implications for Ethiopia's domestic and regional security.

1.3. Core Agreement:

The Ethio-US Diplomatic Relations Since 2018 and Its Implications for Ethiopia's Peace and Security" revolves around the following points:-firstly The United States of America is one of the most influential countries in the world and has a significant impact on the domestic and foreign policies of other countries, especially in developing nations like Ethiopia. Ethiopia has been a strategic ally of the United States in the Horn of Africa region due to its geopolitical position, economic potential, and role in regional stability. However, since 2018, there have been significant changes in the diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and the United States, particularly in the areas of human rights, democracy, and governance. The relations since the political reform of 2018 saw challenging times, particularly, over GERD and Tigray war. The bilateral relationship between Ethiopia and U.S. since 2018 is shaped by U.S. interest to counter China's growing influence in the horn (Sloan,2021) in addition to maintaining the security of the region (which is convergent with Ethiopia's interest to secure peace in the region) but, when it comes to Tigray war Ethiopia's interest to handle its internal affairs by its own and U.S. interest to handle the crisis under the premise of the Tigray war was a major security threat to U.S. interest to maintain peace in the horn region made divergent interests affecting the relationship between the two states. Therefore the research proposal seeks to investigate the nature and causes of the recent tensions in Ethiopia-US diplomatic relations, analyze the implications for Ethiopia's peace and security and although showing improving signs after the Pretoria agreement..

1.4 General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this research proposal is to examine the implications of Ethiopia's diplomatic relations with the United States since 2018 on Ethiopia's peace and security

1.5. Specific Objectives of the Study

The study have the following specific objectives;-

- To assess the current state of Ethio-US diplomatic relation since 2018.
- To identify the key factors which shape the Ethio-US diplomatic relation
- To investigate the coverage and divergence of interests in Ethiopia-US relations since 2018.
- To analyze major security issues that have arisen as a result of this relationship

1.6. Research Questions

This study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the current state of Ethio-US diplomatic relations since 2018?
2. What factors have played a significant role in shaping the Ethio-US diplomatic relations since 2018?
3. What factors contribute to the convergence and divergence of interests in Ethiopia-US relations since 2018?
4. What are the major security issues that have arisen as a result of the Ethio-US relationship?

1.7. Methodology and Methods Of Data Collection:

1.7.1 Design of the Study

The study employed qualitative research design, according to (Creswell ,2008;23) qualitative approach deals with analyzing data, or categorizing the data and finally making interpretation in order to grasp a meaning out of the collected data. Qualitative methodology is also important to discuss a complex political phenomenon (Khotari, 2004; 145). Of the variety of qualitative research methods, The Case Study method is selected because this type of method gives authority to the researcher to make the required descriptions and interpretations based on the

collective data than the other methods (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009:223).As the research attempt to describe the implications of Ethiopia's diplomatic relations with the United States ,for Ethiopia's peace and security, the research questions are better handled in a qualitative research design and case study method since the topic involves a lot of underlying and complex issues that cannot be possibly measured in quantitative methods and statistical data. Besides the issue of Ethio US relation is a difficult one in such a way that people cannot define it in a universal manner as it involves different points of view from different people, states, sub state groups, international organizations etc. Thus, the selected design and method were assumed to be appropriate to investigate the implications of the Ethio-US diplomatic relations on Ethiopia's peace and security.

1.7.2 Population and Target Population of the Study

The population of the study include policymakers, diplomats, academics, civil society representatives, ordinary Ethiopians and those members of Ethiopian defense forces who are directly or indirectly working on the cooperation of the two countries. More specifically, the target population includes, but not limited to, those people who are working in the following directorates or departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Members of Parliament, and Ethiopian Ministry of Defense, Ethiopian Institute for Strategic Studies, Institute of Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) and Ethiopian media outlets like Journalists covering international affairs or foreign policy.

1.7.3 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

The representativeness of the sample is not as such a question in this kind of study and yet, the researcher make all the necessary efforts so as to collect as much information as required to fully address the specific objectives of the study. Therefore, the interviewees are selected purposely from the above-mentioned Departments/ Directorates and diplomats of the two counties based on their involvement and knowledge in relation to the topic under study. Ten (10) staff members from officials working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassadors, Addis Ababa University's Peace and Security Office, political science department of Bahirdar University, journalists with expertise in the subject matter, And political party higher officials are used for the study.

1.7.4 Data Source and Data Collection instruments

The necessary data for this study are collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data will be collected from those individuals who are going to be involved in the face-to-face interview. The researcher decided to use these tools because it helps to gather the opinion and comments of qualified individuals on the matter. For this purpose, key Informants is selected from various institutions including Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ethiopian Foreign Relation, Ethiopian Institute for Strategic Studies, s, Journalists, and Institute of Peace and Security Studies (IPSS). The questions of the interview will be organized in a semi-structured manner. This is because semi-structured interviews allow flexibility of questions and make the respondents answer the question in unconstrained way.

The secondary data are collected from Books, scholarly Articles, Journals, archival materials, published reports of Government as well as international organizations and newsletters in order to analyze, explore the treats, opportunities, challenges, and risks of the Ethio-US relationship since 2018. Finally both the primary as well as the secondary data was triangulated in order to examine the problem.

1.7.5 Procedures of Data Collection

In order to realize its intended purpose of this study the researcher employ variety of strategies in gathering relevant data. First, key informants are contacted in order to obtain their agreement to take part in the study. Once their consent is obtained a convenient time and place for an interview were scheduled and the data was collected by using notebooks and voice recorder. Secondly, the secondary data sources is identified and sorted out on the basis of their relevance for the study. The identification of these sources was most likely made based on the information obtained from the interview participants and other relevant members of the specified departments on the two sides. Ones they are identified and sorted accordingly, the necessary data was collected based on the checklist prepared for this purpose.

1.7.6 Methods of Data Analysis

The data collected through the series of interviews are t arranged based on the themes mentioned in the basic research questions which are framed at the beginning of the study. In the similar fashion, the data collected from the secondary sources were also sorted out. Eventually, the data

was narrated thematically to the extent of meeting the research objectives set for the study. In doing so, the researcher make use of some descriptive statistical methods to summarize some data obtained from the secondary sources to make it more informative and complete based on the kind of the data collected in this regard.

1.8 Ethical Consideration

The researcher respected the rights, needs, values, and desires of informants. Specially, when the interviewee wishes to remain anonymous for any information, the researcher were respecting his her/consent to participate or not to participate. Besides, the researcher make all the necessary effort to duly acknowledge all the sources used in the preparation of this study.

1.9 Significance and scope of the Study

The scope of this paper is mainly focused on key events in the relations after the political reform of 2018 and does not discuss in great detail events before 2018. This study is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it provides a detailed analysis of the factors shaping Ethio-US diplomatic relations since 2018. The findings help policymakers understand the complex dynamics of these relationships and make informed decisions on future engagements. Secondly, it examines security issues linked to the Ethio-US relationship, such as terrorism, security cooperation, and regional stability. These insights help Ethiopia manage its security cooperation with the United States. Thirdly, it explores how the Ethio-US relationship has affected Ethiopia's foreign relations with other countries. Understanding these impacts is crucial as Ethiopia strengthens its position in the region and beyond. Finally, the study offers recommendations for policymakers to navigate the complexities of the Ethio-US relationship and protect Ethiopia's national interest. It provides insights on strengthening Ethiopia's global position while maintaining peace and security in the country.

1.10 Delimitation of the Study

The study will focus only on Ethiopia's diplomatic relations with the United States since 2018. It will not cover Ethiopia's relations with other countries or regions. It will also cover the period from 2018 to the present. This period is significant because it marks a shift in Ethiopia's foreign policy towards its strategic partners, including the United States. The study also aim to provide a comprehensive overview of Ethio-US relations and their implications for Ethiopia's peace and security. However, it will not provide a definitive or conclusive assessment, as the situation is dynamic and subject to change. Furthermore the study will rely on documentary analysis,

including policy documents, official speeches, and news articles. In addition the study will analyze the political, economic, and security dimensions of Ethio-US relations and their implications for Ethiopia's peace and security. It will not cover cultural, social, or environmental aspects.

1.11 Limitations of the Study

There were limitations that arise in conducting the proposed research on "Ethio-US diplomatic relations since 2018 and its implications for Ethiopia's peace and security. The study face limitations due to a lack of sufficient data relevant to the research topic. Data relating to diplomatic relations and peace and security were difficult to obtain, especially given the sensitivity of the topic. Conducting a comprehensive study on the proposed topic within a given timeframe limit the scope of the research. There may be a need to prioritize certain aspects of the research over others due to time constraints. Access to key participants such as government officials and diplomats were limited due to bureaucratic red tape and confidentiality agreements. This could limit the depth of analysis that can be conducted on the topic. The research may also be influenced by bias due to the researcher's personal beliefs or affiliations with certain political groups or organizations. This could affect the objectivity and validity of the findings

1.12 Organization of the study

This study will have eight chapters. Chapter one consists of the background, statement of the problem, objective, significance, delimitation, limitation, methodology and organization of the study. Chapter two presents review of related literature that is relevant to Ethio-U.S cooperation, as well as relevant topics to the problem under study. While chapter three deals with The Beginning and Move of Ethio US Diplomatic Relationships of the study; chapter four, five, six and seven presents the analysis and interpretation of the data collected through interviews. Finally, chapter eight deals with the summary of the key findings, conclusions, and recommendations. Besides, this research report consists of references, and appendices

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This part of the thesis brings to the fore a theory, principles, and ideas that are used in assessing and analyzing the information that is put in use to writing the thesis. This includes: conceptual understanding of diplomatic relations, bilateral relations, challenges and opportunities of bilateral relation, the concept of national security and national interest, the meaning and role of foreign policy, the foreign policy of a dependent state and the theories of realism liberalism and constructivism. These conceptual and theoretical perspectives are dealt here to briefly discuss their features and roles that they play in the relations between and among nations. In the meantime attempts have been made to show how they are related to Ethio-US security relationships. This condition depicts that international relationships cannot be examined, analyzed and clearly understood without the application of such theories, concepts, and ideas that are pertinent to the subjects in the discussions. To this end, the concepts hereunder help us as goggles to magnify and set up clear pictures about the conditions and factors of relations that are brought to the surface in due course of examining, assessing and analyzing the information and as well as in writing the thesis. These ideas and concepts are explained in brief hereunder.

2.1.1 Conceptual understanding of diplomatic relations

We can say that diplomacy is a political method that states use in matters of foreign policy. Just as foreign policy is considered one of the sub-disciplines of international relations, diplomacy is a crucial factor in foreign policy. Researchers consider diplomacy as a field of knowledge. The main goal of diplomacy is to maintain peace by preventing conflict. We know that the theory of diplomacy is an effective method for communicating and resolving international relations without racial, sectarian or language discrimination in the world order. Today, the theory of diplomacy can be expressed in two meanings: diplomacy in the narrow sense and diplomacy in the broader sense. Strictly speaking, the definition of diplomacy is generally formed by active diplomatic consultations and agreements carried out by the country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and through embassies. In the broadest sense, diplomatic theory applies to international relations. International organizations are an example of diplomacy in the broadest sense. For example, the United Nations, WHO and EU organizations. The word “diplomacy” becomes an ancient Greek word and is derived from the word “diploe”. Many researchers in the field of international relations have discussed in their work what the concept of diplomacy is. Ernest Mason Satow, a German diplomat born in England, expresses his theory of diplomacy as follows: The peaceful conduct of relations between states is called diplomacy In this case, diplomatic functions must be fulfilled (Barratt, 1985: 123).Headley Bull, a native Australian and professor of international relations, explains diplomacy as: “The conduct of relations between states and other entities active in world politics by official policy and peaceful means” (Bull 1932: 123). Another important point of view on the theory of diplomacy was represented by the American diplomat and politician Henry Kissinger. Henry Kissinger expressed diplomacy this way: “Diplomacy is the new world order, and modern diplomacy is the balance of forces between the forces of war and those of peace.” » Furthermore, decisions made by diplomacy influence future foreign and domestic policy (May 1994).Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu was a French politician who contributed significantly to the development of diplomatic theory. As a key player in diplomacy, Richelieu emphasized the need to build lasting relationships (Encyclopedia Britannia 2020: 156).Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli, military strategist, plays an important role in diplomacy and is therefore an important player in international relations. Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli explained the importance of diplomacy in solving security problems in his book *The Prince*. The author defined diplomacy as deception and hypocrisy. Furthermore, Machiavelli stated in his book that he viewed diplomacy as modern politics.

The purpose of diplomacy is to strengthen the state, nation, or organization it serves relative to others by promoting the interests it serves. To this end, diplomatic activity seeks to maximize the benefits of a group without incurring the risk and cost of using force and, preferably, without causing resentment. Usually, but not always, he strives to keep the peace; Diplomacy is heavily focused on negotiations to reach agreements and resolve problems between states. Even in peacetime, diplomacy may involve the threat of economic or other punitive measures or demonstration of the ability to enforce unilateral solutions to disputes through the use of military force. Normally, however, diplomacy aims to develop goodwill towards the state it represents and to promote relations with foreign states and peoples that ensure their cooperation or, failing

that, their neutrality. If diplomacy fails, war may occur; however, diplomacy is also useful in war. It guides the transitions from protest to threat, from dialogue to negotiation, from ultimatum to retaliation and from war to peace and reconciliation with other states. Diplomacy builds and promotes coalitions that prevent or provoke war. It breaks enemies' alliances and maintains the passivity of potentially hostile powers. She succeeds in ending the war and forging, strengthening and maintaining the peace that follows the conflict of. In the long term, diplomacy aims to build an international order that leads to the non-violent resolution of disputes and greater cooperation between states. Diplomats are the most important professionals (although by no means the only ones) in diplomacy. They are specialists in transmitting messages and negotiating adjustments in relations and conflict resolution between states and peoples. Their weapons are words, backed by the power of the state or the organization they represent. Diplomat's help leaders understand the attitudes and actions of foreigners and develop strategies and tactics that influence the behavior of foreigners, particularly foreign governments. The wise use of diplomats is the key to a successful foreign policy. We can divide diplomacy into two parts: the period of old diplomacy and the period of new diplomacy. Ancient diplomacy consisted of diplomacy between ancient Greece, Rome, ancient Egypt and the Hittites, with diplomacy administered on an ad hoc basis. The diplomacy of the new period is 17-18. We can say that it was created in the 20th century .An example of the diplomacy of the new period is the diplomacy that emerged after the French Revolution and was carried out during the Congress of Vienna and the Hague Peace Conferences (Encyclopedia Britannia 2020:143).

2.1.2 Bilateral Relations A Brief Explanation

2.1.2.1 What Is Bilateral Diplomacy?

Bilateral diplomacy (BD) is a central component of international relations and encompasses relations between the home country and individual foreign states one at a time. It is the core of foreign relations management. Cooperation is based on consent and within the framework of the norms of international law. It differs from multilateral diplomacy, including its regional variants, in the partners involved, but not in the actual techniques. It is a main task of foreign ministries, embassies and consulates. Bilateral diplomacy works with individual foreign states on a variety of issues in order to advance its own national and international goals .It is critical to recognize the differences and take immediate action to minimize potential problems. Security is the

primary concern of every state and the basis of foreign policy. The effectiveness of a country's bilateral diplomatic engagement is often enhanced through participation in regional and multilateral frameworks, underscoring the convergent nature of modern diplomacy. Nongovernmental agencies (NSAs) and interest coalitions that drive and implement diplomatic engagement are two additional aspects that play a role in this increasing diplomatic contact. Participation in regional and multilateral frameworks supports the goals of bilateral diplomacy by increasing a country's ability to respond to regional and global opportunities and challenges

2.1.2.2 Why does bilateral diplomacy matter?

Bilateral diplomacy is essential for any country to be able to interact directly with other countries, whether they are in its immediate neighborhood or beyond. Through these commitments, states strengthen their own (foreign) goals. In addition, bilateral diplomacy lays the foundation for building coalitions of interests in regional and multilateral forums. The strength of a country's bilateral relationships affects its position on the global stage. All countries benefit from strong diplomatic cooperation. However, when it comes to the foreign policy of small states, the relevance of bilateral diplomacy becomes more apparent. Although the limited capabilities of smaller states may place them in an inferior position compared to larger ones, the initial disadvantage can be overcome. This can include trust in collective solidarity and the rule of law, strict commitment to specific tasks and the application of new solutions.

2.1.2.3 How is bilateral diplomacy conducted?

The practice of diplomacy is based on dialogue, formal, informal, unofficial, casual, and often detailed. Part of it leads to negotiations that culminate in agreements that may be tacit or formalized in documents with different names, such as exchanges of letters, protocols, agreements and contracts. The process is continuous, unceasing and often even leads to wars. When disputes or problems arise, countries take different approaches to resolving differences. In situations of persistent mutual problems, a bilateral relationship may enter a phase of deceleration or, if the problem persists, a freezing phase, which could limit mutual interactions to a minimum. Normally, countries in our globalized world prefer economic cooperation. Trade and Investment.

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR) codified practices that had evolved over time and became the enduring basis of diplomatic practice. The central pillar of the VCDR is reciprocity: countries grant diplomatic privileges and immunities to others on the basis that they themselves receive the same benefits. The focus of this agreement is on bilateral diplomacy. The core of the VCDR is Article 3: The tasks of a diplomatic mission include, among others:

1. Represent the sending state in the receiving state.
2. In the receiving State, protect the interests of the sending State and its nationals within the limits permitted by international law.
3. Negotiations with the government of the receiving state.
4. Determine by all legal means the conditions and evolution of the situation in the receiving State and report thereon to the government of the sending State
5. Promote friendly relations between the sending state and the receiving state and develop their economic, cultural and scientific relations.

2.1.2.4 Where is bilateral diplomacy performed?

The central role in formulating a country's foreign policy is played by its diplomatic institutions. These institutions include the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE) as well as other ministries and official organizations that collaborate on their bilateral agendas. Diplomatic missions abroad are predominantly carried out by embassies and consulates. These have been regulated in international law for more than six decades in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR) of 1961 for embassies and since 1963 in the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations (VCCR) for consulates.

2.1.2.5 Advantages and Disadvantages of Bilateral relations

Since only two countries are involved, concluding a bilateral agreement is much easier compared to multilateral trade agreements. It gives companies access to new markets. If the parties involved see demand, they will open up more job opportunities and bilateral agreements will also allow consumers to buy products at lower prices. For example, some product types may be more expensive without an agreement. As with any other trade-related agreement, less successful companies will likely have difficulty keeping their businesses afloat as they will not be able to compete with more successful industries in another country. By abolishing trade tax, companies lose their price advantage. A bilateral agreement can also lead to competition agreements between other countries (Andaya, 2006: 669–690).

2.1.3 Conceptual Understanding of Security

Security is a fragile and significant issue that has different meanings for scientists, analysts, policymakers and organizations around the world. Fundamentally, security is about the presence of peace, security, happiness and protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crises or threats to human dignity, all of which facilitate the development and progress of any human society. The concept of security has become a concern in the decades since the end of the Cold War in, which could also be seen as a milestone for various schools of thought related to security studies. Security, as a concept, has diverse dimensions. It is aptly used in psychology, finance, information access, public safety, defense and military matters. The meaning of security is ambiguous its scope continues to expand every day. The elastic nature of the concept of security attracts different meanings and different views. Security is an important concept that every human person desires and it has one or two meanings though it defies precise definition. This explains the position of Barry Buzan (1991), who describes security as an ambiguous and multidimensional concept in which military factors have been inadequately taken into account.

Security has to do with the process involved in mitigating any kind of threat to people and their valuable assets. For this reason, Buzan explains that security is about freedom from threats and the ability of states to maintain an independent identity and their functional integrity in the face of forces of change that they view as hostile, while the ultimate goal is survival (Bodunde et al .al, 2014: 23). From the above, it is generally recognized that security consists in feeling safe from harm, anxiety, fear, oppression, danger, poverty, defense, protection and preservation of fundamental values and threats to these values. (William, 2008:122) similarly argues that security is most often associated with alleviating threats to valued values, particularly those threats that endanger the survival of a particular reference object. In line with the above, Imobighe states that *“security is about being free from dangers or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its valued values and legitimate interests and well-being to improve their population. Internal security could therefore be viewed as the absence or absence of those tendencies that could undermine the internal cohesion and corporate existence of a country, as well as its ability to maintain its institutions vital to the promotion of its fundamental*

values and its socio-political and political policies. social. economic goals as well as the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of the people” (Ogaba. 2010: 35-36).

It could therefore be inferred that security, be it classical, state-centric and traditionalist or non-traditionalist, is all about protection of assets including living and non-living resources against loss or damage. There are two major Schools of Thought to the concept of security – Traditional and Non – Traditional.

The traditional school of thought advocates maintaining the Cold War concept of security. This school of thought defines security in this sense as protection against dangers and attacks or intruders from outside. The traditional security paradigm is a realistic construction of security in which the reference object is the state (Abolurin, 2010:56). It equates security with peace and conflict prevention with military means. Deterrence policy, non-offensive defense and the like. For this reason, Walt defines security as a study of the threat, use, and control of military force (Walt, 1991:76). Examines the situations that make the use of force more likely, the ways in which the use of force affects individuals, states, and societies, and the specific measures that states use to prevent or wage war. This school of thought is closely linked to the military and that is why Barry Buzan believes that security is underdeveloped and needs to be restored. Nwoliise believes that the Cold War era gave widespread dominance to conventional security doctrine, to the extent that security was based on the belief that only a military system could effectively deter attacks and threats of violence (Nwoliise, 2008:167).

The second school of thought for conceptualizing security is the non-traditional school. This school seeks to broaden and deepen the definition of security. He argues that other issues such as environmental, political, economic and social threats endanger the lives and property of individuals rather than focusing on the survival of the state. This implies that a predominantly military definition does not take into account the fact that the greatest threat to the survival of the state may not be military in nature, but environmental, health, political, social and economic threats. Contemporary ideas and opinions on security are all-encompassing, as Sola Ogunsanwo aptly states: *“security is more than military security or protection from external attacks. For many residents of developing countries, security is understood as a fundamental level of survival. Therefore, to provide an integrated security assessment for Africa, the non-military dimension of security needs to be added. Henceforth, the concept of security must be applied in its broadest sense to include economic*

security, social security, environmental security, food security, equality of life security and technological security” (Ochoche, 1997: 27).

However, security in this sense is human emancipation oriented. It means that people/citizens must be liberated from those challenges, difficulties and constraints that may prevent them from carrying out what freely they would choose to do which includes epidemics, poverty, oppression, poor education, crises and so on. Today, politics, ecological issues, economic and demographic issues which are non-military tend to pose serious threats to people's security.

2.1.4 Concepts of National Interest and National Security

2.1.4.1 National Security

The nations of the world value the security of their territorial integrity, their resources and all their citizens. This establishes the belief that national security is the preservation of the independence and sovereignty of a nation state. In reality, every country has a variety of interests to protect. These interests together constitute the national interest, which is based on values, good governance and the protection of the social and economic well-being of all citizens. Based on this, national security can be described as the protection and safeguarding of the national interests of a state or nation. This corresponds to the perception of Harold Brown [United States Secretary of Defense from 1977 to 1981], who defines national security as the ability to preserve the physical integrity and territory of the nation; maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; Protect its nature, institutions and governance from external disturbances and control its borders (Abolurin, 2011, Adedoyin, 2013).

Therefore, there is no universally accepted definition of national security, but rather there are two schools of thought about it: the old school [traditional security paradigm] and the new school [contemporary perspective]. The old school, also known as the realist school, views national security from a militaristic perspective with an emphasis on military response and threat management. Lippmann states that a nation is secure when it does not have to resort to war or the threat of war to protect its legitimate interests (Lippmann, 1944). Maniruzzaman confirms this view and sees national security as the protection and preservation of the minimum basic values of political independence and territorial integrity of each nation (Maniruzzaman, 1982).

Orwa also defines national security as the protection of national interest, including national values and political and economic ways of life, from internal threats and challenges (Orwa, 1984). In line with the above view, Mandel defines national security as the pursuit of physical and psychological security, which is largely the responsibility of national governments in order to avoid direct threats, especially from abroad, to the survival of those regimes, their citizens or of their kind endanger life. Life (Ngbale, 2011). Examples of old school writers include Hans Morgenthau, Laswell, Walter Lippman and many others. The new school expanded national security beyond the military realm to include non-military factors. He argues that the old-school security concept cannot capture modern security threats such as hunger, unemployment, poverty, environmental humiliation, etc. This informed McNamara when he discovered that; Any society that wants to achieve adequate military security in the face of acute food shortages, population explosion, low levels of production, low per capita income, low technological development, inadequate and inadequate public services and a chronic unemployment problem has a false sense of security. This showcases the significance of contemporary thinking about national security and this informed the thinking of Nwolise when he postulates that: A country may have the best armed forces in terms of training and equipment, the most efficient police force, the most efficient custom men, the most active secret agents and best quality prisons, but yet be the most insecure nation in the world as a result of defence and security problems within bad governments, alienated and suffering masses, ignorance, hunger, unemployment or even activities foreign residents or companies (Abolurin, 2011; 184).

Also, Obasanjo conceives national security as the aggregate of the security interest of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups and the entire political entity (Obasanjo, 1999:1-3). Also, Lynn and Miller describe it as the politics and policies governed by a less narrow definition of security which is concerned not only with military threats but with other problems that threaten directly to degrade the quality of life of a national community (Ngbale, 2011: 220). The Reviewed Draft National Defence Policy (RDNDP) conceptualizes national security as: All-encompassing condition in which citizens can live in freedom, peace and safety; participate fully in the process of governance, enjoy the protection of fundamental human rights; have access to resources and necessities of life and inhabit in environment which is conducive to their health and well-being (RDNDP, 2002:1) To Professor Charles Maier of Harvard University, national security is the capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion

of a given society believe are necessary for it to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy prosperity and well-being (Maier in Nwaogu, 2013). From the foregoing, national security can be seen as the totality of a nation's effort to protect and preserve the state, its institutions, lives and property and the well-being of its entire citizenry. In sum, the thought on modern security indicates that the concept goes beyond the defense of the territory but also recognizes the various components and institutions of state that have much responsibility in ensuring security of a state since no country will allow itself to suffer internal or external risk. It is obvious that national security is not the sole responsibility of the armed forces alone but also the citizenry, Customs, Prison, Immigration, Police, Civil Defense and other private internal security organizations.

This shows the importance of contemporary thinking on national security and this influenced Nwolise's thinking when he postulated: "A country can have the best armed forces in terms of training and equipment, the most efficient police, the most efficient customs officers and the most active secret agents and Better quality prisons but still the most unsafe nation in the world due to defense and security problems within bad governments, alienated and suffering masses, ignorance, hunger, unemployment or even activities of locals or foreign companies (Abolurín). , 2011; 184).Furthermore, Obasanjo understands national security as the totality of security interests of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups and the entire political entity (Obasanjo, 1999:1-3). Furthermore, Lynn and Miller describe it as politics and politics governed by a narrower definition of security, addressing not only military threats but also other issues that threaten to imminently affect the quality of life of a national community (Ngbale, 2011: 220) . The Revised National Defense Policy Project(RDNDP) conceptualizes national security as: a comprehensive state in which citizens can live in freedom, peace and security; participate fully in the governance process and enjoy the protection of fundamental human rights; Have access to life's resources and needs and live in an environment conducive to their health and well-being (RDNDP, 2002:1). For Professor Charles Maier of Harvard University, national security is the ability to control these internal and external conditions. which public opinion of a particular society considers necessary for it to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and well-being (Maier in Nwaogu, 2013). From the above, national security can be seen as the totality of a nation's efforts to protect and preserve the state, its institutions, lives and property, and the well-being of all its citizens.

In conclusion, thinking about modern security indicates that the concept goes beyond the defense of territory, but also recognizes the various components and institutions of the state that have a great responsibility in ensuring the security of a state, since no country will allow itself to suffer. Internal or external. Risk. It is obvious that national security is not the sole responsibility of the armed forces, but also of citizens, customs, prisons, immigration, police, civil defense and other private internal security organizations.

2.1.4.2 National Interest

The term “national interest” can be understood as a high-ranking or major interest of a nation, which is presumed to be shared by all nationals. Gove (1976:1505) defines the term as “*National interest is the interest of a nation as a whole, viewed as an independent entity, separate from the interests of subordinate group areas and also of other nations or supranational groups.*” According to this declaration, the national interest is considered to be the interest of the nation as a whole and cannot be surpassed by the interests of groups within the country or by the interests of other external bodies. It provides the basis and clues for shaping a state's foreign policy. It is also a central component on which relations between states are built. Gove (1976:1505)

Malhotra gives a brief but clear explanation of this concept when he writes: “National interest is the most important concept in international relations.” It is the key concept of foreign policy as it provides the material on the basis of which foreign policy is made. The purpose of foreign policy is to manage foreign relations in a way that maximizes the national interest. The concept of national interest is central to any attempt to describe, explain, predict and understand international relations (Malhotar, 2001:79). The above statement indicates all the characteristics of national interest. Consequently, the declaration emphasizes that national interests are the most important element in international relations. He also says that this concept is the key factor in formulating a state's foreign policy. This means that the elements of national interest determine the type of foreign policy that should be formed.

The explanation also implies the connection between national interests and foreign policy. On the one hand, the national interest represents the basis on which a foreign policy is formulated, and on the other hand, it indicates the efforts of a foreign policy to achieve the goals of the national interest. In short, the declaration describes that any activity that promotes international relations is well done when viewed from the perspective of national interests. Therefore, we can

safely say that a clear and unambiguous understanding of the concept and characteristics of national interests is of paramount importance when approaching the idea and practice of international relations. For Ethiopia, this means identifying and prioritizing its national interests, formulating a relevant foreign policy framework, and developing relationships with countries perceived to be working to address its bilateral interests with Ethiopia.

The concept of security can be understood as being free from danger, fear, unrest and uncertainty. It is also understood as a basis of trust. It is also seen as something that secures, defends and protects someone or something from all sorts of circumstances that threaten and/or genuinely affect their well-being. In addition, measures taken by a national government or state units to protect against espionage are also used to explain the concept of security (Gove, 1976:2053). The right to protection from abuse and physical attacks is also used to explain the concept of security (Hutchful, 2000:221). The concept of national security is defined by the Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Press and Audiovisual (MIP & AD) (2002:4) in the following words: *Fundamentally, security policy is about ensuring national survival. The be-all and end-all of security is to ensure national survival. Other questions of national security can only be raised if national existence is guaranteed. Foreign and security policy must be designed primarily to ensure national security. This is followed by questions of prosperity, sustainable peace and stability, and other related concerns.*

As clearly stated above, the question of security is the most important and essential element in the process of maintaining the existence of a state. It is the central question in the process of ensuring the survival of a nation. According to the above statement, other national interests of a state are considered secondary to national security. In this sense, Ethiopia is a country that is duly concerned about this policy. Consequently, throughout its long history, the issue of security has continued to be the element that has attracted the attention of its leaders. Although the great attention paid to national security can put pressure on the country's development, the attention paid to national security has contributed significantly to the national security and territorial integrity of the nation. More specifically, from the perspective of Ethiopian leaders, relations between Ethiopia and the United States are based on maintaining the country's security. That's because; Ethiopia-United States relations have been primarily focused on Ethiopia's security since their inception by Ethiopian leaders, and most of Ethiopian leaders' interactions with those of the United States have focused on security issues. The concepts of national interest and

national security are closely linked because: National security is the core element and vital value of a national interest. As mentioned above, the principle of national security remains the most important and even the first of all national interests in Ethiopia's foreign policy in its relations with the United States.

2.1.5 Conceptual Understanding of Peace

Peace can be described as a nonviolent and calm atmosphere between people, groups of people, and the state. According to studies of International Relations, peace is the elimination of war in the state. But Johan Galtung¹ completely changed the concept of peace. According to him, peace has two types' positive peace and negative peace (Dijkema & d'Heres, 2007:169).

- Positive Peace Positive peace is a type of peace that is difficult to achieve because it combines human attitude, annexation of (governing) system and (governing) institutions for the progress of societies, and also the inclusion of diverse groups of people for making one nation (and not try to harm the diversity of these groups for unity). So, positive peace is some kind of which only achieve by the “Inner Peace”. Like Lao Tzu said in above mention poem that peace only brings when the heart is in peace.
- Negative Peace Negative peace is easy to achieve by the states and people because negative peace is the absence of violence, extremism, and war. In negative peace, the borders of the state are secure and no one touching the sovereignty of the state while government and population are suffering. Negative peace can be fit where people are not at peace because of injustice and poor government and system. Negative peace is also very essential because negative peace is also the first step towards positive peace because if a state is in a war then the first step towards peace would be the elimination of war and securing borders after good governance can bring positive peace. (Dijkema & d'Heres, 2007:172).

2.1.6 Meaning and Role of Foreign Policy

The term foreign policy in general is used to explain directions and guide lines that states formulate to use as guiding principles in their diverse interactions with other states and international organizations. *The term foreign policy is defined as follows by Gove (1976:889): Foreign policy is the underlying basic directions of a sovereign state in its interaction with other sovereign states typically manifested in peace, war, neutrality, and alliance or various combinations of or approaches to*

these. According to the above statement, states behave and act in their international interactions in accordance to the principles that they design to peruse their objectives in the international arena.

The foreign policy of any country is determined by a number of elements. These elements may be broadly classified as objective and subjective. The objective or environmental factors determine the general framework within which the foreign policy is to operate. The subjective factors determine the specific response to a particular situation and indicate the direction of a foreign policy (Sirvastava, 2003:393). Malhotra (2001:185) lists five elements that he believes are common objectives of a foreign policy of all nations: “maintaining the integrity of a state; promoting economic interest; providing for national security; providing for national prestige and developing national power; and maintaining world order.” With this frame of mind, we now try to throw a bird’s eye view on the nature and features of the foreign policies of Ethiopia and the US and the roles these policies take part in shaping the Ethio-US relations.

As is the case with all other countries particularly developing countries, Ethiopia has been susceptible and vulnerable to external pressures and influences. To this end, Ethiopia’s foreign relations have been conditioned by pressures from hostile and friendly elements. Over the years, Ethiopia’s foreign policy has increasingly become defensive in design and operation than aggressive in that it has been reacting mostly to felt or presumed outside pressure rather than taking initiatives of its own in foreign affairs (Negussay, 1978:53). To this end, it is worth noting that the different regimes of Ethiopia have been forced to give more emphasis to the security and territorial integrity of the country. Likewise, the foreign relations of the country have been greatly been influenced by its security relations. This is very much reflected in the Ethio-US relations. In contrast, the country’s development seems to be overshadowed by the high regard owed to the security of the nation. And this has got a negative impact on the overall progress of the country.

As clearly indicated in the above premises, the foreign policy of Ethiopia is not a policy formulated based on the assessment made on the objective and subjective elements of the country. Mainly it is a policy which had aimed at responding to pressures and influences exerted from the outside world. The US is among those countries that have been influencing Ethiopia’s foreign policy in a considerable manner. Although, the two countries have had relations prior to

World War II, the US influence has been very strong since the end of the Second World War. This was so because; after the war the US became one of the bipolar centers and hegemonic state of the international system. Accordingly it changed its policy of isolation and started to play a very active role in the international affairs. Sirvastava underscores this major change in the policy of the US in the following vocabulary:*Since the end of World War II the US surrendered her traditional policy of isolation and assumed the role of protectorate of democracy. She mainly concentrated on checking communism. For this purpose she mainly concluded regional pacts as well as bilateral treaties with a number of countries (Sirvastava, 2003:44).*

In this regard, Ethiopia was one of the countries that signed a treaty with the US in the Horn of Africa, and its foreign policy had been greatly influenced by the US. To this end, the role of Ethiopia was very important in the process of deterring the communist expansion. Furthermore, the participation of Ethiopia in the Korean and Congo crises had have much more correlation with the US national interests and the influence that the US foreign policy had exerted on the Ethiopian foreign policy.

Even though, Ethiopia's foreign policy had been pro American, the country unlike many dependent states of the world had acted uniquely and had enter played a crucial role over the great powers including the US. Accordingly, Ethiopia had used the British forces over the Italian fascists to evict the later from Ethiopia. Etiopia had also used the US superior and hegemonic position to challenge the British domination. Moreover, Ethiopia had also played the Soviet card against the Americans. These diplomatic maneuvers signify the prudence of Ethiopia's diplomacy especially during the time of Haile Selassie. Ethiopia's strategic position had also been among the important factors to attract the US foreign policy towards Ethiopia.

2.1.7. The Foreign Policy of a Dependent State

According to Bruce E. Moon, the dependency theory in general explores the process by which the foreign policy of a weak nation comes to reflect the preference of more powerful nations. He further notes that there are two general conceptions of the nature of this process: the bargaining and the dependency models. In the bargaining model the most common conception of the influence relationship suggest that powerful nations secure the cooperation of weaker states chiefly through the use of reward and punishment behaviors. The reward behavior most frequently identified is military aid and economic assistance. Trade and investment have also

been considered as reward behaviors. The use of force, threat of force, boycott, and sanction can be taken as punishment behaviors (Moon, 1983:317).

The other model which is a dependency model perspective influence, conceptualizes the link as a longer term structural relationship in which the opportunity for the weak state and the necessity for more powerful state to engage in bargaining is severely limited. In this model, the stronger state imposes a familiar characterization mechanism on the weaker state. The familiar characterization helps the stronger state to attain a significant alteration on the policy of the weak state without a chance of any bargaining relationship. That means, through the process of familiar characterization a weak state is presumed to comply with the policies of the stronger nation. In this model, the weaker state does not have the opportunity to bargain for its compliance towards the interest of the stronger state (Moon, 1983:320).

Ethiopia's dependence on super powers has been a long-lived phenomenon. In the mid of the 16th century when a dangerous Muslim invasion was waged against Ethiopia, Ethiopia had sought assistance from the European great powers by which that dangerous invasion was resisted and was defeated" (Clapham, 1988:221). The above statement is a good indication of the long extended dependence of Ethiopia on a foreign assistance for its security. However, it should be noted that Ethiopia also has had a remarkable history of resisting and defeating external forces merely by her own capacity and autonomous action.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1. The Theory of Realism: A Brief Explanation

Political realism is one of the schools of political thought, which is opposed to the idea of the theory of idealism. The proponents of the idea of realism argue that power is the immediate aim of international relations. Morgenthau writes as under to this end: "In International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power (Morgenthau, 2003:135). Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim" (Morgenthau 2003:137). The meaning of realism is also very much entwined with the idea of security and power. In this regard security is a priority for all states. And to maintain security the possession of a relatively more power is very essential and indispensable according to the idea of realism. Malhotra also explains this notion by relating it to the belief of individuals: Its meaning revolves around security and power

factors. These notions are the outcome of individuals' beliefs that, others are always trying to destroy him and hence he must be constantly ready to kill others in order to protect himself" (Malhotra, 2001:117).

With this state of mind, states that adopt the realist theory prefer to make their power stronger than others. As underscored in the above statements, this is meant with the attitude that others are always in need to attack them and that their readiness could help them to challenge and to defeat those enemies at any circumstance and point of their attack. For that matter, they are always in a state of building their military capacity and checking and rearranging their military alliances now and then. Accordingly, the United States and Ethiopia could be categorized to this group of countries and we shall be looking into this state of affairs by assessing some of their activities.

Realism had wide followers in the period of Second World War, because it offered a convincing reason for why and how the most widespread and deadly war in world history followed a period with peace as well as optimism. Despite it appeared with this term in the twentieth century, a lot of realists look back much further. Realists look way farther toward ancient times, in which they found the same patterns in humans' behaviors as seen in this modern time. As its term indicates, supporters of realism argue that it shows the reality in this world as well as factors causing change in global politics more effectively. Thomas Hobbes is usually cited in the discussions regarding realism because of his explanation of those brutalities in life in the time of English Civil War in the period 1642-1651. He described men as they live in the order-less kind of nature's state that Hobbes perceived it as kind of "war of all against all." To solve this, he presented a social contract between the ruler and people of the state to sustain relative peace and order. In our time, these ideas are taken for granted because it is mostly clear who rules states. The leader, or sovereign, like the monarch or the parliament, forms the rules and then constructs a punishment system for all that break the rules. This is accepted in any state in order that citizens' lives can operate with the sense of order and security; though it might not be perfect that it is better compared to a state of nature. But because no this kind of contract appears internationally and that there is no sovereign authority handling matters in the world, fear and disorder rule global relations. For realists, people live in a system of international anarchy. Due to that war is more ordinary than peace for realists; even they perceive it to be inevitable.

2.2.2 Neo-Realism

Not many theories shaped the International Relations highly like neo-realism. Neorealist perspective of IR is framed by the ultimate power of security interests, countries' need for self-preservation and also their refusal toward cooperation. It says that as there is no authority above states like a world government that establishes rules and norms obligatory over all the states and that can ensure obedience by force, if necessary, states live in a condition of permanent insecurity regarding their neighbors' intentions. They have to be prepared for the worst to happen, which is war. These ideas clearly put neo-realism under the traditions of former realist writers like Hans Morgenthau and Henry Kissinger, but it goes above them regarding theory building methods. Neo-realism established by Kenneth Waltz around 1979 as outlined in his book called Theory of International Politics. Contrary to realism, which was highly shaped by the events of the Second World War period and ideas that explained conflicts in relation with human behavior, Waltz opposes these explanations in international relations meaning though human nature plays its role in fueling conflicts, it cannot sufficiently show the causes of war and peace, except by the mere statement that man's nature is explained as sometimes he fights and sometimes he does not. Against the central objective of earlier realists, particularly Morgenthau, to construct an international relations theory in the image of a foreign policy theory, Waltz wanted to construct an international relations theory more systemically. So, Neo-realism transformed the analytical methods up to the level of interpreting the international system. It comes to conclusions on the states' behavior after analyzing the structure of the global system; because of this, it is usually called structural realism. The establishment of neo-realism has close relations with the East–West rivalry. At the time of superpowers entering a period of their relations relaxing in the 1970s long after years of the Cold War, classical realism began to lose its power to explain it. Explanations centered upon interdependence or world-systems theory became fit better the international system that was seen by increasing cooperation. But, because of U.S.S.R. invasion of Afghanistan showed the short time of relaxation has come to its end, and in the opinion of many writers, the U.S. not use a pacific approach any longer on the international relations, especially after Iranian revolution. U.S. economic supremacy also became threatened with regard to the sudden increase in oil prices. It was in this period of U.S. relative economic decline in the world economic system that Kenneth Waltz's book called Theory of International Politics was published.

Neo-realist theory had two main concerns. First, it wanted to explain the causes of the bipolar world breeding East–West rivalry, the causes of a world full of arms remaining stable and why it didn't go to war in spite of many stages of friendly relations as well as confrontations. Second, because of the decrease in U.S hegemony during the 1970s and, on the other hand, the economic growth in European countries and Japan, and also the crisis in the global economy, neo-realism tried to explain the causes of U.S. beginning to shrink its hegemonic status. Waltz tried to create a general theory of International Relations which would interpret both war and periods of peace in international politics through systematic methods. He was inspired by economics so he used its methods toward describing the international system. Waltz describes that IR structure makes states to focus on ensuring security and building their power, but at the same time it leads to power arrangements on global level which prevent military conflicts. In his observation, the order in the international system has the dominant role which was the role of powerful states according to the traditional realist school. Due to this, neo-realism increases on classical realism in two ways, one in its use of analytical category and second in its use of epistemological approach. So, for Waltz, neo-realism was a big scientific success on the works of classical realists. However, due to the end of the bi-polar world order, neo-realism began to have a crisis, because it failed, like other IR theories, to forecast this event. But after September 11 2001, neorealist theory gained an unexpected power in acceptance. Problems on national security and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan became dominant in international relations, though the state-centeredness of the neo-realist approach was not comfortable to explain the new developments and security policy challenges. But, due to the tension among states in the Middle East and Asia, it appears obvious that the theories that see states as the main actors in international politics would continue in being significant for the future, particularly in security issues. And despite the criticisms against it, another main reason why neo-realism is important is that the continual role of the neorealist school in framing policy in a lot of foreign and defense ministries of states. So, scholars say that in order to describe states' certain foreign policy decisions, we have to grasp neo-realists' view of the world (Pashakhanlou, Arash, Comparing and Contrasting Classical Realism and Neorealism, 2009, e-ir.info) (Schnieder, 2014:189). And for this paper, neo-realism is preferred to analyze Ethiopia-U.S. relations as it best shows the superpower-dependent state character of this relation based upon its description of state to state relations with respect to international as well as national security issues and how superpowers like U.S. pursue to insure

its national security concerns in the horn of Africa by shaping its relations with Ethiopia, the key state in horn of Africa region.

In sum, both the US and Ethiopia have favored the theory of political realism in the pursuit of their security and military capacity. This is also true to other nations that are threatened by rival neighbor in countries. Generally, the theory of realism that had highly dominated the international relations between and among nations during the Cold War era is still influencing relationships between nations.

2.2. 3 the Theory of Liberalism: A Brief Explanation

Liberalism was termed to be a utopian theory which is recognized to some extent as that still today. The supporters of it see human beings to be inherently good and also trust that peace as well as harmony among states can be achieved and it is desirable. In the end of eighteenth century, Immanuel Kant formed the notion that countries sharing liberal ideas do not have a reason to resort to military conflict against each other. According to his view, if more and more states accept liberalism globally, the better peace will be ensured in the world because liberal countries have the rule of their fellow citizens in which citizens do not have the inclination to resort to military conflict. And this has opposite results to the rule of kings and also other not elected leaders who mostly have arrogant interests disregarding the interests of their citizens. Kant's ideas gained acceptance and still continue to get developed due to contemporary liberals, especially in the democratic peace theory, which states that democracies will not resort to conflict with one other. In addition to that, liberals are faithful in this idea which states the sustainable cessation of war is an achievable goal. Turning liberal thoughts into work, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson presented his so called Fourteen Points in front of the U.S. Congress by January 1918 in the ending year to WWI. The final of the fourteen points, which indicate directions toward a reconstructed world after the war, was an indicator for a general assembly of countries, which turned to the League of Nations. By the year of 1920, the League of Nations was established particularly for the objective of monitoring affairs among countries and turning into practice, as well as sustaining, global peace. But, when the League of Nations disintegrated because of the start of WWII in 1939, the League's collapse was difficult to liberals in order to understand, because events began to oppose their thoughts. Hence, despite the attempts of thinkers like Kant and Wilson and others, liberalism could not have a strong acceptance and

another new theory rose to show the continuing occurrence of wars. And this theory was termed as Realism (McGlinchey, 2017:138).

2.2.4 Neo-Liberalism

In the final years of 1990s, a renaissance of liberalism had occurred within the theories of International Relations. The new strength of the liberal approaches that developed due to relaxation in East–West relations and the coming of peace research after 1970s were related to the coming to an end of Cold War as well as the disintegration of the Communist governments in Eastern and central Europe. From all the happening of the events, most important was the international systemic change in 1989/90 causing scholars of seeing social depths in international relations and assured the validity in liberal thoughts of global Relations. In pragmatic sense, the liberal ideas of the democratic international order, though supported by a lot of people in the first years of 1990s, came to experience other developments: the ethno-national wars and conflicts, regional kind of power struggles and also facing the international terrorist groups. And this led many writers to see retrospectively toward a liberal thinking regarding the 1990s. When we see it using a historical view, however, except to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, it was evident that international relations after 1989/90 led to domesticating foreign policies as well as global politics, which led to observe clearly of the true and determinative aspect of global relations and that is the society. However, the renaissance in liberal perspectives, which continued using names like Moralism, or idealism and also utopianism became discredited because of their idealist faith in world progress, was merely a reaction of the real-world historic trends. It was linked mostly with an increasing dissatisfaction regarding systemic methods. Realism’s failure to forecast the East–West rivalry coming to end is one instance of this. Scholars were increasingly uncertain regarding the realist idea that says states are the fundamental determinants of international politics. They say that we should reject the idea that assumes states to be central as well as coherent actors in the global system and change it with an evidently practical as well as dynamic observation of world politics. In spite of all these common factors, the ideas of liberal perspectives of world politics are not rejected. Writers say that, largely, the emphasis of the word liberal took ground due to the thinkers in the process of European Enlightenment as well as liberal political theory that thought liberalism possible toward civilized international relations and for society to progress. However, they say, if we see the foundational theoretical frameworks

and the difference, when comparing these assumptions against competitive theoretical frameworks, as largely held positivist criteria toward persuasive kind of theory building, the old liberalism explaining IR is not sufficient. This is because theorists in the similar liberal ground came up with comparatively isolated and also unsystematic nature in their theoretical frameworks. The liberals like Adam Smith, or Immanuel Kant, or John Stuart Mill or Woodrow Wilson, contributed important insights based upon their political as well as philosophical assumptions regarding the relation between the inside character states and their behavior in the world; and the liberal theory in defining IR was largely built around these ideas. But the writers could bring in their perspectives together in order to create a consistent theoretical framework that would serve as the basis toward a general intellectual program. To higher extent than realism, due to its huge historical background, liberalism was a shapeless theory. Scholars say we can find a lot of different perspectives of liberalism related to how main ideas of countries' foreign policies would be conceptualized like Republican Liberalism, which says democratic states act more peacefully as well as cooperatively in relation with other states than nondemocratic states; Pluralist Liberalism, which says a balance of distribution of power and also negligible struggles regarding distribution among social groups encourage cooperative behavior in relation with other states; Sociological Liberalism, which says transnational relations induce cooperative character of states; Free-Trade Liberalism, which advocates open trade relations and interdependence lead to cooperation, to mention just the most important ones. In addition to its flexibility, liberal theory was also dominated by prescriptive ideas of action. The Liberal theory under idealist tradition was not sufficient to picture the work of international politics and tried to show ways to change the existing instruments of power as well as domination among societies. So, liberalism was always concerned in producing societal analysis and also criticism. The opposition between empirical analysis and political theory was an obstacle in developing analytical approaches to the interpret international politics using the main liberal ideas (Manning, Liz, 2022:56) Neoliberalism: What It Is, With Examples and Pros and Cons investopedia.com) (Schnieder, 2014:67).

2.2. 5 The Theory of Constructivism: A Brief Explanation

Constructivism is the other theory usually seen as the middle position, but it falls between mainstream schools and the critical ones. It can also be said it has familial relations with that of

English school. Despite scholars of other outlooks, constructivists emphasize the significance of values as well as shared interests among individuals interacting globally. Alexander Wendt who is a well-known constructivist, explained the relationship among individuals and structures like state implying structures constrain individuals and also they construct identities as well as interests of them. The main point of constructivism is the essence in international relations is found in people's interactions. In fact, states are not the one to interact but they are the individuals of those states, like politicians or diplomats. Since those who interact on global stage accept international anarchy to be the main principle of it, it means it's the component of the reality. But, if the anarchy is due to what we cause it to be, it is that different countries can see anarchy in different ways and the characters of anarchy might change through time. Global anarchy might be changed by another system due to influential individuals representing states accepting the idea. Constructivism shows that ideas and norms have their own power. And, constructivists show the process in which the norms of IR can be challenged as well as replaced by new set of norms (Mcginchey, 2017:117)

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ETHIO-US PEACE AND SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims at examining and assessing the historical perspective of the cooperation between the two countries and factors that determine the relations between the two countries in order to find out the roles these factors have played in the process of the interactions between the two states. In line with these roles and impacts the relationships have been examined and assessed. Following this condition, it has also been checked that whether Ethiopia and the U.S. have benefited from their relations over the decades from the military point of view.

3.2. The Beginning and Move of the Official Diplomatic Relationships

Many historical periods have passed since the end of World War II and relations between the United States and Africa in general and between the United States and Ethiopia in particular. US. Became a global superpower, although challenges were posed by another Eastern Bloc superpower, namely the Soviet Union, which dominated the communist world and created a bipolar system in the world. After the end of World War II, the “containment strategy” became the basis of U.S. foreign policy. Since its launch, the strategy has had many impacts on regional policymaking around the world, and African politics has played its part. Although Africa did not play a major role in American postwar strategy compared to other regions of the world such as Europe, Asia, or Latin America, Africa played some role in attracting the interest of the United States.. In other words, Africa occupied a more than peripheral position due to its potential in economic resources, which gave it importance in postwar American foreign policy immediately after the creation of the postwar world order (Okoth, 1993). : 123).).

With the onset of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union competed to admit independent African countries into their bloc. But after the collapse of the communist order and the United States They gained a dominant position in world politics, and after the September 11 attacks, U.S. interests in the region shifted from fighting communism to fighting terrorists, many of whom operated freely in many parts of the region. For much of the 20th century, the situation in sub-Saharan Africa remained at low levels comparable to those in the United States .priorities

of politicians, but the situation changed with the intensification of the Cold War and the independence of African countries. Since the United States viewed this region as another area in which to resist Soviet influence, it needed new African leaders from independent countries to help them fight communism. In particular, the United States feared that communism would exert its full effect on the central and southern regions of the continent, and this fear was brought about by a period of American-American interventions and proxy wars. USSR.

After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the United States changed its priorities. US. Emerged in the region and evolved from fighting communism to promoting democracy and stability through humanitarian efforts. However, due to the September 11 attacks, there was renewed interest in Africa as al-Qaeda-linked groups such as the Islamic State and Al-Shabab operated unhindered in the region. To meet this challenge, the George W. Bush administration created the United States Southern Africa Command (AFRICOM), which includes all African countries except Egypt. To curb the power of Islamist terrorist groups in the region, the United States has trained and supported soldiers from several African countries. In addition to its new military focus in the region, the George Bush administration has shown great interest in sub-Saharan Africa as part of American military policy. Global health spending, which addresses most global health challenges and also forms the basis of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), described as a success of the Bush administration.

The second was a USAID agency called the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which focused on long-term economic growth, and the United States worked with a significant number of countries in the region (see 2022: 123). And you. Relations between South Korea and the Horn of Africa have undergone new developments in recent years. The recent crises in the Horn of Africa, particularly in Ethiopia and Sudan, have shown, as some authors argue, that the United States lacks a clear and coherent policy in this sector. In the absence of a fundamental framework for understanding and addressing the complexity of regional priorities, the United States has adopted specific methods and responses to challenges and crises, preferring to focus on individual countries rather than pursue a comprehensive regional approach. Floor. For example, by harnessing enormous diplomatic energy and using bilateral and multilateral diplomatic tools to resolve the Tigray conflict, the US was able to Ethiopia withdrew from the AGOA, which could impact U.S. trade interests and strategic needs in East Africa if relations with Ethiopia do not improve significantly. The importance of American foreign policy in resolving political

conflicts through friendlier diplomatic means has been questioned by some, not through punitive measures. Some authors also cite the conflict in Sudan as evidence that U.S. Africa policy has limited diplomatic influence and few allies in the region that could be leveraged for peace in Sudan, and that the U.S. has more power in strategic competition and should have in cooperation with African countries. Villages. When new partners enter the market, the region adopts a policy of non-interference and should strengthen African institutions (such as AU, IGAD, African Continental Free Trade Area) to achieve consensus and good governance based on shared principles and values (Gabriel, 2022).

When we look at the U.S.-Ethiopia relationship from a historical perspective, it is important to understand the relationship the United States has with Ethiopia. U.S. policy rarely considers Ethiopia separately. Ethiopia is widely considered to be the dominant Horn of Africa country in combating terrorism and maintaining peace and political stability in the region.

3.3. Ethio-US Relations in the Post Occupation Era

3.3.1. Relations with the Haile Selassie Regime

Looking at the historical sequence, American security relations with Ethiopia strengthened between 1941 and 1952. Between 1952 and 1960, military and economic agreements multiplied. Furthermore, US policy toward Ethiopia became more focused on the political reforms and modernization of Haile Selassie's regime from 1960 to 1974, particularly after the failed coup in December 1960 (Shin, 2018: 134). The nature of the relationship between a state dependent on a superpower has been a feature of U.S. relations. And Ethiopia during the Haile Selassie period. Close relations with Ethiopia were important to fulfilling U.S. commitments. Like Ethiopia, it needs access to the United States key communications base in Eritrea and Ethiopia that supports U.S. interests at the United Nations, particularly in collective security efforts, and provides an acceptable voice of moderation to African nationalist leaders. The emperor also spoke the American language. Diplomatic power to gain access to Eritrea, obtain economic and military support and strengthen the legitimacy and reputation of Haile Selassie in relation to his role in the diplomatic community. U.S. assistance related to development issues amounts to \$309 million. dollars from 1951 to 1975, making Ethiopia the largest recipient of American aid to Africa. And a relationship between states dependent on a superpower does not require that all of their foreign policy needs coincide with those of the United States. Foreign policy tended to focus

on combating global communism, while the emperor focused more on regional issues (Lyon, 1986: 165).

3.3.2. Relations in the Post -1974 Period

As the new Military Council took power and adopted socialist ideology, its relations with the United States eventually became unpleasant. Longstanding relations between Ethiopia and the United States have gradually weakened. Some researchers blame Mengistu for the shortcomings of this important relationship between the two countries. Getache Metaferia is one of them who makes the following brief statement on the loss of relationship and places the blame on Mengistu as follows: “Colonel Mengistu took a hardline position and remained an obstacle in relations between Ethiopia and the United States during the Carter administration. Getachew (2009: 63). On the other hand, some scholars believe that affected Ethiopia's relations with the United States, arguing that the United States' refusal to sell weapons to Ethiopia's hostile movement alienated Western military governments towards Somalia and therefore forced it into an alliance with the Soviet Union. Taye's (2010: 15) motivation seems to correspond to this judgment:

When the United States refused to sell arms to Ethiopia, at a crucial time when Somalia, armed to the teeth with modern weapons, invaded Ethiopia to realize its long-held dream of a greater Somalia, the dark Hopes for a restoration of relations between Ethiopia and Somalia weakened Ethiopia The United States was disappointed. . This was partly and primarily the immediate cause of the movement and the radical turn of the revolutionary government to the East.

According to Taye's statement above, the Derg turned to the Soviet Union on the grounds that Ethiopia had been denied possession of the weapons purchased by the United States. However, there is another point of view that differs from these two arguments, according to which there were radical elements in the military junta's council from the very beginning of its founding. According to this view, it was this radical faction of the Derg that led to the adoption of socialist ideology as the guiding principle of the country's political system in. One way or another, Ethiopia was forced to conform to this dogma, as a result of which the Ethiopian people gained nothing, or rather suffered more and lost too much.

The Ethiopian military administration's rapid eastward turn came as something unexpected for the United States. As part of their stance toward Haile Selassie's change in government, the Americans believed that U.S.-trained military officers would maintain relations between Ethiopia and the United States in the face of an impending change of government in Ethiopia. (Schrader 1996: 98) further explains the US officials' concept and presents it as follows: "The Ethiopian military would play an

important role in any change of government and serve as a guarantor of US-Ethiopia relations." » Unfortunately, it failed. This ideal was forgotten when the Ethiopian government under Mengistu was completely oriented towards the socialist camp. As Mengistu's position proved hard and fast, the United States then asked Somalia, Ethiopia's warring state at the time, to annex the Ogden region. The justification put forward by the Carter administration for leaving Ethiopia was attributed to the violation of human rights by the military regime in Ethiopia. Getachew (2009: 64) does not appreciate the American government's actions and describes them as ineffective using the following vocabulary: "However, the Carter administration's foreign policy has failed to put an end to human rights violations in Ethiopia." On the contrary, it led to Mengistu expelling American military personnel and closing American agencies."

The author rightly rejects the abandonment of Ethiopia by the United States for the following reasons: The easing or breaking off of diplomatic relations leads to division, that is, it leads to a lack of negotiations and dialogue between the conflicting parties. A similar situation has actually occurred between the United States and Ethiopia over the years. For this purpose, it is rather advisable and not necessary to exert pressure and pressure on the other party as the relationship progresses.

It was clear from these actions of the Carter administration and the response of the Ethiopian military government that the situation had further deteriorated relations between them and widened the already existing rift in their relations. This ultimately forced both sides to take their own steps to express their preferences, which had negative consequences for both countries. This means that the United States was forced to find a new partner in the Horn of Africa, Somalia, and that was too unfavorable to meet the new partner's needs. Likewise, Ethiopia was forced to look for another superpower, and that new ally was the Soviet Union, an ally with a new ideology to which it had become accustomed. However, the United States was not satisfied with this situation and viewed Ethiopia and the USSR as enemies of the United States and the West. Of course, this was another problem in the already strained Cold War relations between the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union..

Since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Mengistu regime has been forced to once again look to the United States. To this end, the Ethiopian government is said to have attempted to improve political conditions that contradicted American principles. In addition, Mengistus' government welcomed the immigration of Ethiopian Jews to the State of Israel. Getachew (2009:72) describes this event as follows: "Mengistu's alleged political

moderation and his support for the immigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel had eased tensions to some extent and relations between Ethiopia and the United States improved in 1990." American officials took advantage of this opportunity and began negotiations between Mengistu and opposition forces. This time, however, their aim was not to actually resolve the conflict between the two sides, but rather to create the conditions for a quick and smooth transfer of power to the EPRDF. Schraeder (1992:590) highlights the situation as follows: "The need for an orderly transfer of power in Ethiopia caught the attention of the White House when it became clear that opposition forces were advancing."

In 1990, when all factors spelled the end of the days of the Mengistu regime, his government was still making every effort to solve the problem by military means. This time, however, military relations and military support to the Mengistu regime would come primarily from the State of Israel. Schraeder (1996:164) observes the situation as follows: "Instead of seeking a negotiated solution to what Cohen described in April 1991 as 'the world's most destructive conflict,' the Mengistu regime continued to seek a military solution. with the support of Israel." Advisers and weapons. Despite efforts to contain the advance of opposition forces and a resolute determination to remain in power, the military administration was removed from power in May 1991 and replaced by the EPRDF.

3.3.3. Ethio-US Relations Since 1991

After EPRDF took control in 1991, the U.S. began new relationship with Ethiopia by encouraging the development of democratic governance, improving human rights conditions, political liberalization, and economic reform as well as the plan toward building market economy in the period 1991-1998. The U.S. increasingly wanted Ethiopia in the support on ensuring regional stability and fighting terrorism in the 1998-2005 period, particularly after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Increased support gained from Ethiopia on regional peacekeeping and on counterterrorism issues led a positive reply from U.S. though differences around democratization and human rights issues usually implying a negative condition on the 2005-2012 period. And U.S. questions about human rights and the democratization process in Ethiopia affected the relationship, the working on regional security issues and on counterterrorism were largely strong in the period of 2012-2018. But after 2018, The Trump administration gave minimal focus on Africa. It was expected of Trump administration giving the relation a big priority and the

Ethiopian government avoiding resorting to big HR abuses in the way it responds to ethnic conflict or the other internal challenges. No other issue was during Trump administration, save U.S. growing concern on China's influence in the region, replacing counterterrorism's importance and the horn region's security, insuring cooperation with Ethiopia. And Trump administration gave very little attention to HR and the democratization issues than former administrations have done. Trump administration also decided on cutting aid globally having its impact on Ethiopia (Shin,2018:124). But after Biden administration came to power in 2020 and the beginning of Tigray conflict at the same time, human rights issues played an important role in the relations leading Biden administration, the strong advocator of human rights, to have challenges with the Ethiopian government due to human rights atrocities committed in the Tigray conflict.

Regarding human rights versus security issues in the bilateral relations of the two states, security issues in relation with human rights issues led, historically, the direction of U.S.-Ethiopia relations and human rights issues became a major part of U.S. foreign policy instruments in the Carter administration. The weak human rights conditions in the Derg military regime of Ethiopia were an obstacle to the bilateral relationship until the revolution of 1991. The end of the Derg period led to the revival of the Ethiopia-U.S. relations, which since then have been strengthened. The U.S. had a replaced interest in the region, and the new Ethiopian government needed political, diplomatic and economic assistance. In spite of being one of the world's poor countries and a landlocked country, Ethiopia is said to fulfill strategic importance that make it an attractive partner for the U.S. In its geography, as a big country that borders all the other countries all around the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia surely contributes to the stability or in contrast the instability, of the entire horn region. As a major state in the region, Ethiopia has great influence negatively or positively (Seife, 2018:74).

The Horn of Africa's decreasing stability made the comparative strength of Ethiopia highly significant to the stability of the East Africa. Ethiopia also has a historical military charisma and institutions which make it an important security partner. When we see Ethiopia's geographical position for strategic importance, Ethiopia has as big importance to being base for military type of operations in order to get intelligence information and implement security operations in the region, and the U.S. administrations are highly aware of the huge military as well as security cooperation that Ethiopia can give. In terms of political influence, Ethiopia has been in position

of a highly respectable state in Africa and also in global security issues under UN from which U.S. policy makers can secure support from Ethiopia to fulfill their security needs not only regionally, but also globally. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital, is the head quarter of the African Union, which helps Ethiopia play an important role in influencing other states' policies. It is the human rights issue as the most challenging dialogue regarding the U.S.-Ethiopia relations. The security and stability issues supremacy over human rights is one important issue in shaping the relation. U.S. foreign policy plans are not only used to address human rights issues but they have other important foreign policy interests that the U.S. wants to achieve like security issues. And human rights issues in their nature are "universal aspirations" which do not have that much direct influence on affecting states' national interests.

The strength of the relationship the U.S. has with the Ethiopian government is important to consider. Because the U.S. had good relations with the EPRDF, it was increasingly difficult for U.S. to criticize the EPRDF government's human rights conditions and to use a strong diplomatic tools. The U.S. 2002 National Security strategy shows regarding the need of strong states in East Africa that U.S. is less concerned about conquering states rather about failing states, which helps the process of blocking the gateway to terrorist works. And different from the previous governments, the EPRDF government was searching for sustaining close relations with the U.S. and other superpowers in order to obtain development assistance and also economic support but rather was less interested in getting military aid and related assistance to secure its territorial integrity and the security of the country, which made it look less dictatorial, showed in superpowers' eyes, compared to previous governments. So, strong diplomatic measures can affect the main strategic needs of the U.S. administrations entering into unnecessary friction with a friendly regime and an important ally in the region.

The amount of human rights challenges in Ethiopia also influences U.S. diplomatic investments with regard to improving the human rights conditions in Ethiopia. And if human rights violations reach the stage of affecting the peace, security and stability of the region, the political price of neglecting it can get greater compared to the U.S. gets as benefits from this relationship with Ethiopia. So in this condition, the U.S. gets a strong cause to apply foreign policy tools in order to react on the human rights issues, as seen for example in Arab Spring: U.S, which was former supporter of Mubarak regime due to strategic interests, but supported the revolution seeing it as sure to sustain. The other important factor that led to which diplomatic tools the U.S. used to

apply on human rights issues was Ethiopian regimes policies as well as reaction regarding the criticisms got in foreign policy plans: the degree of using policies of ensuring one's autonomy and strength of resisting whether perceived or obvious foreign interventions. Generally, conducting human rights issues in a bilateral relationship is a very difficult condition that is often times misused, manipulated and misrepresented to fulfill narrow type of political interests (Seife, 2018:76).

The bilateral relations between U.S. and Ethiopia are framed according to their respective foreign policies. U.S. diplomatic relationship with Ethiopia is primarily focused on ensuring the protection of one's citizens in the other country, strengthening democratic system and institutions and improving human rights conditions, improving economic growth and development as well as strengthening regional peace and security. For example, Ethiopia, after the reform of 2018, took measures on having economic and political reforms, and U.S. supported on widening the capacity of civil societies, the media, improving the justice system and giving training on protecting the civic space as well as election processes (U.S. State Department, 2020:14).

The Diaspora politics also has significant influence on Ethiopia-U.S. relations. Great number of emigrants entered U.S. and Europe during many decades of Ethiopia's underdevelopment have led to the formation of global Ethiopian Diaspora, above two million people in U.S. alone, having their influence in the Diaspora politics and great number of remittance flows, total flow from U.S. and E.U. being \$4.6 billion in 2017, has its own impact on U.S.-Ethiopia relations. In addition the other important factor in the relation recently is that some writers are saying recent challenges in Ethiopian politics could affect U.S.-Ethiopia relations, in addition to U.S. foreign policy in Africa changing to concerning more on China's rise and Russia increasing influence in the horn and not terrorism as used to be is the biggest concern for U.S. affecting the huge role Ethiopia had in counterterrorism works which was one of the biggest lines of convergence of the foreign policy interests of the two states in the horn of Africa (Jeffery,2019:169).

To see U.S foreign policy characteristics which are important to understand the baselines behind U.S. applies in its relations, U.S. has four major foreign policy aims: protecting U.S. citizens living abroad, spreading democracy and human rights as well as other universal interests, advocating international understanding on American values and its policies, and directing U.S.

diplomats, its government officials, and the other personnel inside and outside U.S. who work on these aims into bringing practical fruits (U.S. State Department,2008). These general objectives in mind, looking at the specific foreign policies taken by recent U.S. presidents, most relevant to our study of the relations since 2018, we see some varieties. Trump Administration was known for its foreign policy priority as a “peace-through-strength” foreign policy. It was known for taking measures like reducing U.S. spending on UN and NATO, withdrawing from Iran Nuclear Deal and sanctioning Iran, supporting Israel’s autonomy on Golan Heights and Jerusalem, taking campaigns of maximum pressure and advocating for tough sanctions regarding North Korea at the same time negotiating on denuclearization as well as resisting China’s competition on International Trade and mentions these as its achievements which at same time show some of its measures aligned with its peace-through-strength foreign policy (Foreign Policy, 2021). Its measure to passing economic sanction on Ethiopia regarding the GERD issue after Ethiopia withdrew from the U.S. led deal as it saw it favored Egypt was also one example of its policy of using economic sanction to make other states fulfill U.S. interests.

When we come to Biden foreign policy, the foreign policy priorities of the Biden administration are: stopping COVID-19 and improving health system globally, building stable and inclusive economy globally, improving democracy which saw threatening conditions, creating an improved immigration platform, improving U.S. relations with its partners, fighting climate challenges and lead on a green energy revolution, securing U.S.’s leadership regarding technology and managing its biggest geopolitical concern: U.S. relationship with China(Blinken,2021:169).

When we compare the foreign policies of the two administrations, Trump showed himself of not trusting international organizations as well as multilateral cooperation mechanisms while Biden showed a strong belief that international cooperation is in the interest of the U.S. While Trump distinctly wanted to establish close relationships with various authoritarian leaders like Putin or Kim Jung, U.S. has a long history of advocating for human rights in other countries, a trend strongly followed by the Biden administration (Sloan, 2021:145).

When we come to Ethiopian foreign policy, the foreign policy objectives of the Ethiopian government follow four main objectives: ensuring sovereignty as well as territorial integrity of the country, promoting Ethiopia’s national interest, strengthening economic and citizen-centered

diplomacy. Ethiopia always followed historical principles like peaceful coexistence, non-alignment, and non-interference in other states' internal affairs to name the few (Solomon, 2021:57).

The above general principles of Ethiopia in mind, coming to the specific foreign policies taken by recent leaders of Ethiopia, for example in the economic sphere, the EPRDF government tried to enter itself in the global order searching for highly needed investments for Ethiopia and trade agreements that would secure the rehabilitation and help in development of the domestic economy. In the security sphere, the country increased its state capacities significantly, which had a positive impact on its foreign as well as security goals, for example, in its huge participation in peace keeping operations around Africa which are important for image building as well as sustaining peace and stability in the region. Similar to its predecessor government, the reform government tried to continue the ties with China to attract foreign capital in order to continue with infrastructure and modernization projects, such as the GERD, but unlike EPRDF it announced to open privatization packages in transportation, telecommunications, logistics and energy, which align with U.S. interests, and, maintaining a good economic performance in 2018 with 6.8% and 2019 8.2% growth rates, though declining later due to the effects of COVID, widening internal instability and the big one: the Tigray conflict damaging the economy hugely; and tried to widen its relations with neighboring states, especially, Eritrea, trying to establish peace as well as bilateral trade, defense and logistical cooperation agreements in order to fulfill its national interests (Cardoso,2021:187). The reform governments' initial objectives were centered on three points: improving democracy, strengthening economic development and widening regional integration (Sara, 2019). But the internal challenges facing the reform government like the divisions within the ruling coalition which later led to the Tigray conflict, complex ethnic politics, big corruption and high economic imbalance challenged the reform government.

When we see earlier engagements in the Ethiopia-U.S. relations since 2018, the GERD issue comes first. Ethiopia since its announcing of the start of GERD in 2011 had confrontation with Egypt and a series of dialogues were held with the Egyptian government and in 2019 U.S. entered in the dialogues and the Trump administration brought a deal which Ethiopia did not accept and left the deal. Due to that, the Trump administration decided on Sept. 2020 that it would cut the \$130 million of aid to Ethiopia and the decision, according to State Department,

was led by its concern on Ethiopia's "unilateral decision to begin to fill the dam before an agreement and all necessary dam safety measures were in place." And Trump administration's decision complicated the process, as Ethiopia viewed the pressure as favoring Egypt's interests and an obstacle to discuss. This was Ethiopia's main reason for not signing U.S.-drafted agreement in February 2020, when Trump administration couldn't consider Ethiopia's interests and inclined toward the interests of Egypt (Kiruga, 2020:156). But Biden administration stand on GERD issue showed that it changed the policy that connected foreign aid with the GERD, signaling an important change in U.S. relations with Ethiopia. Several writers supported it as Trump administration's decision to freeze aid had not achieved anything but rather antagonized U.S.-Ethiopia relations. But the Biden administration changed it by saying "it is committed to providing life-saving assistance to those in need and humanitarian assistance does remain exempt from pause" (Salem,2021:13). Concerning the issue of GERD, the Biden administration stressed on the need for increasing negotiations between Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt as opposed to the tough position of the Trump Administration which shows the big difference in their foreign policy approaches of the two administrations (Solomon,2021:76).

When we come, the Tigray conflict, the biggest issue in Ethiopia-U.S. relations since 2018, TPLF and Prosperity Party, the reform government that came after EPRDF, were widening their disagreements which led to a military conflict in November 2019 and continued up to November 2022 and damaging the economy hugely and taking many lives. And it challenged the relations with U.S. because the conflict had the chance to destabilize the horn region affecting U.S. national interests in the region of fighting terrorists, stabilizing the region and securing its geopolitical interests in the region; and the Trump administration, especially, Tibor Nagy(Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) was hard on TPLF for attacking the Northern Command but was mild on Ethiopian government saying they continue pressing Ethiopian government to restore communication in the region. And later, writers state that the coming to power of the Biden administration and new foreign policy priorities toward Africa shifted the stress on issues of terrorism to dominance of China and Russia, as the biggest concern (Neamin, 2021:164).

Biden administration stand on the issue was saying the administration assessed the war and is working on positive issues and U.S. wants a positive relation with Ethiopia, that Ethiopia to be championing of democratic values and supporting institutions for Africa. But that good relations

with Ethiopia are challenging if the Ethiopian government is involving in the Tigray conflict with human rights violations as in human rights institutions' reports (Gavin, 2022:156). So, it can be said that the Biden administration was more focused on the human rights issues related to the conflict in order to use them as putting pressure on the Ethiopian government to ensure its security concerns in the region than the Trump administration.

While Ethiopia was up to recent times the second biggest receiver in Africa of U.S. aid and considered as a respectable partner on fighting terrorism and as example of peace and stability in this unstable area, the Tigray conflict became an obstacle in the U.S.-Ethiopia relations. And while the Trump administration, in the last days before leaving the place for the new Biden administration after losing the 2020 election, blamed TPLF in the start of the conflict, the way changed mainly related to the human rights concerns chosen by the new administration as it was the main interest of the Biden administration officials and even before winning the election Susan Rice, assistant secretary of state, expressed their concerns on Ethiopian government's handling the war showing significant human rights concerns . Ethiopia was also one of the countries not invited for the Biden's Democracy Summit (Desta, 2021:67).

It is important to note that we should make a huge mistake by framing the Tigray war only as a humanitarian and human rights problem. It had implications to be seen as a regional crisis that damages U.S. security interests. Ethiopia for more than two decades had been example of stability, making Ethiopia as one of the huge peacekeeping contributors in the world and also a motor in economic growth from East Africa. Writers advised that it is necessary to take all needed actions to end the conflict like working for an international consensus, and increasing the pain for the conflict's participants, as well as establishing "credible benchmarks" and supporting an African-led dialogue (Frazer, 2021:23) which later led to the agreement led by AU, U.S. and EU as observers, bringing the conflict to end after two years in November 2022.

To summarize the main issues in Ethiopia-U.S. relations since 2018, from 2016-2020, Ethiopia was provided by U.S. of over \$4.2 billion in the development as well as humanitarian assistance for Ethiopia and it supported P.M. Abiy's economic reforms aimed to improve private sector growth and investment. It was also funded by U.S. on capacity strengthening programs in relation with P.M. Abiy government's plans on democratic governance U.S. helped on strengthening the judiciary independence, electoral bodies and also the attorney general's office.

But starting in 2020, friendly relations between the two governments started to decline. First, Trump administration cancelled some of assistance programs of U.S. toward Ethiopia to make Ethiopia accept the agreement presented by the Trump administration though later Biden administration rejected Trump administration's decision and separated assistance programs from the GERD issue. Then, after Tigray conflict began, U.S. expressed its concerns on the situation and advocated for the end of the fighting and conflict participants allow for unblocked humanitarian aid. And U.S. and other related donors limited huge amounts in development assistance for Ethiopia in order to make pressure on the government to improving human rights issues in the conflict and announced to Ethiopia, in 2021, that it reached losing trade benefits under AGOA. U.S. also decided to sanction all participants involved in the crisis in September 2021 of blocking the humanitarian works, indicating to ending the war necessary for affirmative Ethiopian-U.S. relations (Feltman, 2021:8) which happened a year later after the signing of peace agreement in November 2022 signaling the prospect for friendly Ethiopia-U.S. relations.

So when we see U.S.-Africa relations in general and U.S.-Ethiopia relations in particular, we see that U.S. after WWII was mainly interested in its relations with Africa that it wanted to contain Soviet Russia's influence around the world, Africa being one component. It then shifted its attention toward building democracy and fighting terrorism after the collapse of Communism in 1990. Regarding its relations with Ethiopia, it had good strategic partnership with the Haile Sellassie government in its plan to control the horn region from Soviet influence and the Haile Sellassie government used U.S. first to get rid of the British influence on Ethiopia and then to strengthen it's military and economic capacity and gain back the separated region, Eritrea. But this changed after the Communist Derg came to power and their relations was restricted only to humanitarian aid but after EPRDF came to power in 1991, their relations revived again and they closely worked together for two decades especially on counterterrorism efforts.

And after the reform government came to power in 2018, their relations was expected to even widen because the reform government was planning to open state owned corporations for private investors unlike the previous government, which would satisfy U.S. main interests economically. But the relation began to deteriorate after Ethiopia left out of the GERD deal led by U.S. under the Trump administration and mainly after the Tigray war broke out and U.S. under the new Biden administration raised human rights abuses in the war and started to create pressure on Ethiopia using its superpower capacity to use international institutions for its intentions and

Ethiopia as economically dependent and weak state faced huge challenges economically and diplomatically. But after the Pretoria agreement their relations are getting to improve which could serve a big role in the start of maintaining their historically friendly relations and strategic partnership.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Understanding the Current State of Ethiopia's Relationship with the Us

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and interpret the data collected on the Ethiopia-US relationship since 2018 and its implication in Ethiopia's peace and security. The researcher uses various methods of analysis, including qualitative analysis to identify key themes and patterns within the data, However, there are still some matters that ought to have remained confidential for security reasons; in these cases, the information provided here is limited to a partial truth but is thought to be sufficient to draw the necessary inferences and conclusions insofar as the study's particular goals are concerned. The data gathered through semi-structured interviews is entirely qualitative, It is presented and interpreted using a thematic narrative. Furthermore, the researcher also utilizes secondary data sources such as academic articles, government reports, and news articles to supplement and validate the findings from primary data sources.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the Ethiopia-US relationship, this research project collected data from a variety of sources. These sources include seven officials working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Addis Ababa University's Peace and Security Office, political science department of Bahirdar University, journalists with expertise in the subject matter, as well as different political party officials. Additionally, the researcher draws from his own personal experience as a student of international relations and diplomacy to provide further insight into the topic.

4.2 Ethiopia-Us Relations: A Comprehensive Analysis Since 2018

Ethiopia and the United States have a long history of diplomatic relations, dating back to 1903. The two countries share mutual interests in promoting peace, stability, and economic development in the Horn of Africa and beyond. However, since 2018, the bilateral relationship has faced some challenges due to various factors. Ethiopia's political and economic reforms under Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, who came to power in April 2018 after a wave of popular

protests against the previous regime initiated a series of changes, including releasing political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency, opening up the media and civil society space, making peace with neighboring Eritrea, and pledging to hold free and fair elections. These reforms were created some tensions and conflicts with US and within Ethiopia, especially among different ethnic and regional groups.

According to the Research data obtained through an interview with a prominent expertise of University scholars it is deemed useful to analyze the relationship between Ethiopia and the United States since 2018, by dividing it into two distinct parts: the Trump administration and the Biden administration. This division is necessary due to the differing approaches and policies adopted by each administration towards Ethiopia, resulting in varying types of relationships between the two countries.

According to the responses gathered from the participants, During the Trump administration, it is observed that the bilateral relationship between the United States and Ethiopia was relatively positive. Despite some concerns related to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, the overall sentiment was one of cooperation. However, under the Biden administration, a discernible shift occurred, resulting in a deterioration of the relationship. Key factors contributing to this decline include the Governance, Rights, and Indigenous Development (GRID) concerns, coupled with the ongoing Tigray conflict. (Interview with the politician and the expertise of Bahir Dar University scholars)

The Tigray conflict is a civil war that erupted in November 2020 between the federal government of Ethiopia and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the ruling party of the northern Tigray region. The conflict was triggered by a dispute over the postponement of national elections due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and by the TPLF's attack on a federal military base in Tigray. The federal government launched a military offensive to oust the TPLF, with the support of Eritrea and regional forces from Amhara and Afar. The war has resulted in thousands of deaths, millions of displaced people, widespread human rights violations, and a humanitarian crisis. The United States has called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, a negotiated political settlement, and unhindered humanitarian access to the affected areas. The United States has also imposed sanctions and visa restrictions on some Ethiopian and Eritrean

officials involved in the conflict, and suspended some security and economic assistance to Ethiopia. (Interview with the peace and security expertise of Addis Abeba University scholars)

On the other hand Ethiopia's involvement in the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) project, which aims to generate hydroelectric power for domestic and regional use was the source of discomfort with US. The construction of the dam on the Nile River has been a source of dispute with Egypt and Sudan, who fear that it will affect their water security and agricultural livelihoods. In this context, the United States has taken a position that seems to favor Egypt and Sudan over Ethiopia. In November 2019, the US Treasury Department issued a statement saying that it had "encouraged" Ethiopia to sign a deal with Egypt and Sudan regarding the filling and operation of the GERD. This statement was seen by many as an endorsement of Egypt and Sudan's position and a disregard for Ethiopia's use of the river. This position by the US was not appropriate, as all three countries have a right to use the Nile River for their own needs. It was important for the US to remain neutral in this dispute and work towards a solution that is fair and equitable for all parties involved. This may involve mediating negotiations between the countries or providing technical assistance to help them find a mutually beneficial agreement. (Interview with journalists with expertise in the subject matter)

4.3 Understanding the Current State of Ethiopia's Relationship with The Us

According to the experts a pivotal turning point in the trajectory of U.S.-Ethiopia relations was marked by the signing of the Pretoria Agreement. This landmark agreement played a crucial role in restoring amicable ties between the two nations. Post-implementation of the Pretoria Agreement, the relations between the United States and Ethiopia have witnessed a notable improvement, with a focus on collaborative efforts for the attainment of peace in Ethiopia. The active involvement of the United States in contributing to Ethiopia's peace initiatives has been particularly commendable. Looking ahead, a predictive analysis suggests that the relationship between the United States and Ethiopia is poised to further enhance in terms of peaceful collaboration. The anticipation of a positive trajectory is contingent upon the faithful adherence to the provisions outlined in the Pretoria Agreement. As such, it is imperative for both nations to uphold their commitments as outlined in the agreement to foster a future characterized by strengthened diplomatic ties and cooperation. (Interview with the peace and security expertise of Addis Abeba University scholars)

Overall, the data presented in the interview findings suggest that the relationship was relatively good during the Trump administration, despite some discomfort regarding the Grand Renaissance Dam. However, during the Biden administration, the relationship deteriorated significantly due to factors such as the GRID and Tigray conflict. Nevertheless, after the signing of the Prioritizing Life-saving Interventions and Enhancing Conflict Resolution Skills (PRiL) agreement, the relationship has improved. Furthermore, the involvement of the United States in incorporating peace in Ethiopia is viewed positively. The study predicts that if the parties adhere to the PRiL agreement, the relationship will continue to improve, leading to a more peaceful future.

4.4 Factors Influencing the Ethiopia-US Relationship: Implications for Peace and Security

The regional conflicts in Tigray and the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) issue have had significant implications for Ethio-US relations. The Tigray conflict raised concerns about human rights violations, humanitarian crises, and regional stability, leading to international scrutiny, including from the United States. Regarding the GERD, water security, regional cooperation, and negotiations between Ethiopia, Sudan, and Egypt have presented challenges and opportunities for U.S. engagement.

According to Ambassador Takeda Alemu, the current state of Ethiopia-US relations is somewhat strained due to recent events such as the conflict in Tigray and the dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. There have been some disagreements and tensions between the two countries, but there are also efforts being made to improve relations. According to the ambassador, the concept of diplomacy is rooted in national interest, and the US is primarily interested in peace in the Red Sea area. The ambassador clarified that US does not have any particular love for the TPLF party, but rather believes that TPLF is more committed and strong enough to lead the country than the current government.

Moreover, the ambassador brings attention another factor that has contributed to misunderstandings between Ethiopia and the United States is the denial of Eritrea's intervention in the conflict. Despite having different technologies US has to detect such intervention, the

Ethiopian government has denied Eritrea's involvement. This has led to misunderstandings among Ethiopians who think that the US has a soft spot for the TPLF party. A notable aspect highlighted by Ambassador Tekeda Alemu is the absence of any inherent affinity towards the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) by the United States. Contrary to assumptions or perceptions, the ambassador asserts that the US does not harbor a particular favoritism or allegiance to the TPLF. Instead, the US perspective appears to be grounded in an evaluation of the commitment and strength demonstrated by the TPLF in leading the country. (interview with Ambassador Takeda Alemu, personal communication, [January 4,2024].

The data presented in the interview with political parties highlights the factors that have contributed to the poor state of relations between Ethiopia and the United States. The parties note that one of the key factors is the lack of well-qualified and diplomacy-backed diplomats being assigned to diplomatic positions. Instead, the current government is using ambassadors for political gain, which has resulted in a lack of commitment to diplomacy and a weakening of relations between the two countries. The parties's analysis suggests that there should be more qualified ambassadors who are committed to diplomacy and increasing relations between Ethiopia and the United States. This would require a change in the current government's approach to diplomatic appointments and a greater emphasis on selecting candidates with strong diplomatic backgrounds.(interview with Ezema political party higher official)

Overall, the data presented in the interview highlights the need for a more diplomatic approach to relations between Ethiopia and the United States. This would require a greater emphasis on selecting qualified and committed ambassadors. Moreover, this finding highlights the importance of investing in diplomacy as a means of strengthening international relations. Diplomacy is a critical tool for building trust and understanding between nations, and it requires skilled and experienced diplomats who are committed to promoting peace and cooperation as well as a willingness to acknowledge and address issues such as Eritrea's involvement in the conflict. By taking these steps, Ethiopia and the United States can work towards strengthening their relationship and promoting peace in the Red Sea area.

4.5 Understanding the Convergence and Divergence of Interests in the Ethiopia-U.S Relations Since 2018

The convergence and divergence of interests in Ethiopia-U.S. relations since 2018 reflect a complex interplay of geopolitical, economic, and strategic factors. Broadly speaking, both countries have shared interests in promoting stability, economic development, and countering common security threats. However, there are also areas where their interests diverge, leading to nuanced dynamics in their relationship. Areas of convergence and divergence between the two nations are discussed broadly as follows:

Convergence of Interests:

Since 2018, the relationship between Ethiopia and the United States has witnessed significant convergence in various aspects, reflecting a shift in diplomatic, economic, and strategic dynamics. Several key factors contribute to this convergence:

Ethiopia has become an increasingly attractive destination for U.S. investments. The U.S. has shown a growing interest in Ethiopia's economic potential, leading to increased trade and investment collaborations. This is evident in various sectors such as energy, infrastructure, and technology.

Both countries have collaborated on security issues, particularly in the Horn of Africa region. Counterterrorism efforts, peacekeeping initiatives, and regional stability have been common areas of interest and cooperation. Ethiopia's role in regional security and cooperation, especially in Somalia, where it contributes troops to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and supports the federal government's efforts to combat the terrorist group Al-Shabaab and stabilize the country. Ethiopia also participates in the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a regional organization that deals with issues such as drought, migration, and peacebuilding. The United States values Ethiopia's contributions to regional peace and security, and provides training, equipment, and funding to support its efforts.

Diplomatic relations have been strengthened through high-level visits between officials of both nations. These interactions have helped foster a better understanding of each other's perspectives and priorities.

Both Ethiopia and the U.S. have expressed commitments to democratic values and human rights. The convergence in their positions on these issues has laid the groundwork for collaboration on initiatives aimed at promoting democracy and protecting human rights.

The U.S. and Ethiopia share an interest in promoting stability in the Horn of Africa. Collaborative efforts have been made to address regional challenges, including conflicts and humanitarian crises.

The U.S. has been a significant contributor to Ethiopia's development through foreign aid and assistance programs. This support spans various sectors, including health, education, and infrastructure.

Both countries recognize the importance of addressing global challenges, including climate change. Collaborative efforts in environmental conservation and sustainable development reflect a shared commitment to addressing these pressing issues.

The two nations have explored opportunities for collaboration in the technology and innovation sectors. This includes partnerships in areas such as information technology, research, and development.

Efforts have been made to strengthen cultural ties and people-to-people connections between Ethiopia and the U.S. This includes educational exchanges, cultural programs, and initiatives that enhance mutual understanding.

The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the importance of global health collaboration. Both countries have engaged in joint efforts to combat the pandemic and strengthen healthcare systems. (Interview with journalists with expertise in the subject matter)

In summary, the convergence in Ethiopia-U.S. relations since 2018 encompasses economic, strategic, diplomatic, and socio-cultural dimensions. This evolving partnership reflects a shared interest in promoting stability, development, and cooperation in the region and beyond.

Divergence of Interests:

One significant area of divergence is the issue of human rights. Ethiopia has faced scrutiny over alleged human rights abuses, particularly in the context of internal conflicts. The U.S. has called for improvements, creating tension in the bilateral relationship. Striking a balance between national sovereignty and international human rights standards has been a challenge. The United

States has called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, a negotiated political settlement, and unhindered humanitarian access to the affected areas in the Tigray region, where Ethiopia's federal government has been engaged in a military conflict with the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) since November 2020. The United States has also imposed sanctions and visa restrictions on some Ethiopian and Eritrean officials involved in the conflict, and suspended some security and economic assistance to Ethiopia.

While both countries advocate for stability, there can be differing views on the pace and nature of political reforms. Ethiopia's internal political dynamics may not always align with U.S. expectations, leading to divergent perspectives.

The U.S. and Ethiopia may have differing visions regarding regional influence and alliances. Ethiopia's relationships with other regional players, such as China, may present challenges or points of contention in the broader geopolitical landscape. The United States has faced competition from China, which has increased its economic and diplomatic presence and influence in Ethiopia and other African countries. China has provided Ethiopia with infrastructure, investment, trade, and loans, and has supported Ethiopia's position on the GERD and the Tigray conflict

Despite shared economic interests, differences in trade policies and economic strategies can create challenges. Negotiations on trade agreements and economic partnerships may encounter obstacles based on each country's priorities and objectives. (Interview with journalists with expertise in the subject matter)

Conclusion

In summary, Ethiopia-U.S. relations since 2018 have witnessed both convergence and divergence of interests. While common goals such as counterterrorism and economic development provide a basis for cooperation, differences in areas like human rights and regional influence introduce complexities that require careful diplomatic navigation. The evolving nature of global politics continues to shape the dynamics of this bilateral relationship.

4.6 Analyzing Security Concerns Stemming From Ethio-US Relations

Ethiopia's relationship with the United States is complex and multifaceted, with both countries having significant interests in the Horn of Africa region. This chapter explores the major security issues that arise as a result of this relationship, as discussed in interviews with ambassadors and political parties. The insights gathered shed light on the diverse perspectives and concerns related to security in this crucial geopolitical context.

Ethiopia and the United States have had diplomatic relations dating back to the early 20th century. Over the years, the relationship has evolved, driven by various factors including security cooperation, economic interests, and shared values. However, there have also been periods of tension and disagreement, particularly regarding human rights issues and governance.

One of the key aspects of the Ethio-US relationship is security cooperation. Ethiopia plays a significant role in regional security, particularly in countering terrorism and maintaining stability in the Horn of Africa. The US has provided military assistance and training to Ethiopian security forces, aiming to enhance their capacity to combat threats such as al-Shabaab in Somalia. However, some political parties and ambassadors express concerns about the implications of this security cooperation. They argue that Ethiopia's involvement in regional conflicts, such as its intervention in the civil war in South Sudan, could have negative consequences for regional stability and exacerbate ethnic tensions within Ethiopia itself.

Human rights issues have been a source of contention in Ethio-US relations. The US has expressed concerns about the Ethiopian government's record on human rights, particularly regarding freedom of expression and political dissent. This has led to tensions between the two countries, with the US imposing sanctions and other measures in response to perceived human rights abuses. Ambassador and political parties interviewed highlight the importance of addressing human rights concerns in the context of security cooperation. They argue that a lack of respect for human rights could undermine stability and fuel conflict, emphasizing the need for dialogue and engagement to address these issues constructively.

Economic interests also play a significant role in Ethio-US relations. The US is a major investor in Ethiopia, particularly in sectors such as agriculture, energy, and telecommunications. This

economic engagement is seen as a driver of growth and development in Ethiopia, contributing to stability and prosperity in the region. However, some interviewees raise concerns about the impact of economic interests on security. They argue that the pursuit of economic gains could lead to exploitation and marginalization of local communities, fueling grievances and potentially destabilizing the region. They emphasize the importance of ensuring that economic engagement is sustainable and benefits all stakeholders.

In conclusion, the relationship between Ethiopia and the United States has significant security implications, as discussed in interviews with ambassadors and political parties. While security cooperation is important for countering terrorism and maintaining stability, it must be balanced with respect for human rights and governance. Economic interests also play a role, but they must be pursued in a way that is sustainable and benefits all stakeholders. Overall, the insights gathered highlight the complexity of Ethio-US relations and the need for a nuanced and holistic approach to security in the region.

4.7 Analyzing the implications of the relationship between Ethiopia and the United States for peace and security in Ethiopia

In analyzing the implications of the relationship between Ethiopia and the United States for peace and security in Ethiopia, it is important to consider a range of perspectives from various stakeholders. Through interviews with experts, ambassadors, and individuals directly involved in the dynamics of this relationship, several key implications emerge.

According to interviews with diplomats and foreign policy experts, the close relationship between Ethiopia and the United States has implications for diplomatic engagement in addressing peace and security challenges. The US has historically played a significant role in mediating conflicts and supporting peace negotiations in Ethiopia and the broader region although the peace keeping mission seems bias for Ethiopia .

Interviews with media workers and humanitarian organizations underscore the critical role of US support in providing humanitarian assistance during times of crisis in Ethiopia. The relationship between the two countries has implications for the delivery of aid, particularly in conflict-affected regions such as Tigray. The US's provision of humanitarian aid is seen as essential for addressing immediate needs and mitigating the impact of conflict on civilian populations but also

promoting TPLF sum how leading the country to more conflict . The United States has significant impacts and implications for Ethiopia's security due to its involvement in various aspects of the countries political, economic, and security landscape. Some of the key impacts and implications of the US presence in Ethiopia's security.

Perspectives from security analysts highlight the implications of security cooperation between Ethiopia and the United States. This includes areas such as counterterrorism efforts, military training, and capacity-building programs. While some view this cooperation as contributing to enhanced security capabilities, others caution that it could also have unintended consequences, such as potential human rights concerns or exacerbating internal tensions. The economic dimension of the Ethiopia-US relationship also has implications for peace and security. Economic ties, including foreign direct investment and trade agreements, can influence stability and development in Ethiopia. However, there are differing perspectives on how economic engagement impacts local communities, resource management, and potential drivers of conflict.the broader implications of the Ethiopia-US relationship for regional stability. Given Ethiopia's strategic importance in the Horn of Africa, US engagement with Ethiopia can have ripple effects on neighboring countries. This includes considerations related to cross-border security, refugee flows, and regional geopolitical dynamics, all of which intersect with peace and security concerns.

Overall, the US-Ethiopia relationship is complex and has both positive and negative implications for Ethiopia's peace and security. The direction of this relationship will likely continue to impact Ethiopia's stability and prosperity in the years to come. The relationship between Ethiopia and the United States has multifaceted implications for peace and security in Ethiopia. These implications cut across diplomatic, humanitarian, security, economic, regional, and human rights dimensions. Understanding these implications from diverse perspectives is crucial for informed policymaking and international engagement aimed at promoting sustainable peace and stability in Ethiopia.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECCOMANDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine the implications of Ethiopia's diplomatic relations with the United States since 2018 on Ethiopia's peace and security. The dynamic relationship between Ethiopia and the United States since 2018 has been a subject of significant interest and scrutiny. This chapter embarks on summary of findings of the data collected, shedding light on this intricate diplomatic landscape. The data for this study has been meticulously collected from a diverse group of sources, which largely involves a qualitative method for collecting data and analyzing it in a way that the research finds appropriate and meaningful. The following findings have been substantiated in the study:

- The current state of Ethio-US relations can be characterized as multifaceted. While there have been historical ties between Ethiopia and the United States rooted in mutual interests, the relationship has experienced complexities in recent times. Various diplomatic engagements, trade discussions, and strategic dialogues continue to shape the dynamics between Addis Ababa and United States. It's essential to note that the relationship is influenced by a combination of political, economic, and security factors.
- The conflicts in Tigray and the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam have had a significant impact on Ethiopia-US relations. The US has expressed concern over issues such as human rights violations and democratic governance in Ethiopia, while Ethiopia has sought to pursue its own development agenda and maintain its sovereignty.
- During the Trump administration, it is observed that the bilateral relationship between the United States and Ethiopia was relatively positive. Despite some concerns related to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, the overall sentiment was one of cooperation. However, under the Biden administration, a discernible shift occurred, resulting in a deterioration of the relationship. Key factors contributing to this decline include the Governance, Rights, and Indigenous Development (GRID) concerns, coupled with the ongoing Tigray conflict.
- Another factor that has contributed to misunderstandings between Ethiopia and the United States is the denial of Eritrea's intervention in the conflict. Despite having

different technologies to detect such intervention, the Ethiopian government has denied Eritrea's involvement. This has led to misunderstandings among Ethiopians who think that the US has a soft spot for the TPLF party.

- The dispute over the dam has also created tensions between the two countries, with the US expressing concern over the potential impact on downstream countries. The United States has taken a stance in the ongoing geopolitical issues involving Egypt and Sudan, particularly concerning disputes over the utilization of the Nile River. The essence of the matter lies in the perception that the U.S. has seemingly favored Egypt and Sudan, inadvertently neglecting Ethiopia's legitimate interests and rights in the utilization of the river.
- Another area of disagreement has been over human rights issues in Ethiopia. The US has expressed concern over the treatment of ethnic groups in Ethiopia, particularly in the Tigray region where conflict has erupted in recent years. The Ethiopian government has pushed back against these criticisms, arguing that it is working to address these issues internally.
- The lack of well-qualified and diplomacy-backed diplomats being assigned to diplomatic positions has emerged as another key factor contributing to the poor state of relations between Ethiopia and the United States. The findings of this research suggest that the current government in Ethiopia is using ambassadorial appointments for political gain, resulting in a lack of commitment to diplomacy and a weakening of relations between the two countries. , this finding highlights the importance of investing in diplomacy as a means of strengthening international relations. Diplomacy is a critical tool for building trust and understanding between nations, and it requires skilled and experienced diplomats who are committed to promoting peace and cooperation.
- Overall, it is clear that there have been both areas of convergence and divergence in interests between Ethiopia and the US since 2018. While both countries share a commitment to promoting economic development and regional stability, there are also significant disagreements over issues such as the GERD and human rights.
- Diplomatic relations have played a significant role in shaping Ethiopia-US relations. Diplomatic efforts have been made to address areas of disagreement and promote mutual

understanding, but there have also been instances where diplomatic relations have been strained due to disagreements over certain issues.

- A critical turning point in the U.S.-Ethiopia relations was marked by the signing of the Pretoria Agreement. This landmark agreement played a crucial role in restoring friendly ties between the two nations. Post-implementation of the Pretoria Agreement, the relations between the United States and Ethiopia have witnessed a notable improvement, with a focus on collaborative efforts for the attainment of peace in Ethiopia. The active involvement of the United States in contributing to Ethiopia's peace initiatives has been particularly commendable.
- To improve future Ethiopia-US relations, there should be a focus on promoting mutual understanding and cooperation. Diplomatic efforts should be made to address areas of disagreement and promote dialogue, while also respecting each country's sovereignty and development agenda. Efforts should also be made to address regional conflicts and promote peace and stability in the region.

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the data collected for this study, the researcher arrives at the following conclusions to each research questions which were formulated at the beginning of the study

Ethiopia and the United States have a long history of diplomatic relations, dating back to 1903. The two countries share mutual interests in promoting peace, stability, and economic development in the Horn of Africa and beyond. However, since 2018, the bilateral relationship has faced some challenges due to various factors, such as: Ethiopia's political and economic reforms under Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, Ethiopia's involvement in the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project, Ethiopia's internal conflict in the Tigray region and, Ethiopia's role in regional security and cooperation, especially in Somalia. According to diplomatic archives and expert analyses, the diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and the United States have had both positive and challenging impacts on their broader relationship. Diplomatic engagements have facilitated avenues for dialogue, collaboration on regional issues, and mutual understanding. However, differences in policy approaches, human rights concerns, and strategic divergences have occasionally strained the diplomatic ties. Nonetheless, both nations recognize the

importance of maintaining diplomatic channels to address shared challenges and explore opportunities for cooperation.

The data presented in the interview suggests that the lack of well-qualified and diplomacy-backed diplomats being assigned to diplomatic positions is one of the key factors contributing to the poor state of relations between Ethiopia and the United States. The current government is using ambassadors for political gain, which has resulted in a lack of commitment to diplomacy and a weakening of relations between the two countries. This finding has important implications for the future of Ethiopian-US relations. It suggests that there is a need for a more diplomatic approach to relations between the two countries, which would require a greater emphasis on selecting qualified and committed ambassadors. This would involve a change in the current government's approach to diplomatic appointments, with a greater focus on selecting candidates with strong diplomatic backgrounds. Moreover, this finding highlights the importance of investing in diplomacy as a means of strengthening international relations. Diplomacy is a critical tool for building trust and understanding between nations, and it requires skilled and experienced diplomats who are committed to promoting peace and cooperation. Furthermore, this research highlights the importance of investing in diplomacy as a means of strengthening international relations. Diplomacy is a critical tool for building trust and understanding between nations, and it requires skilled and experienced diplomats who are committed to promoting peace and cooperation.

In addition, the data presented in the interview suggests that there is a need for greater transparency and accountability in Ethiopian politics. Another factor that has contributed to misunderstandings between Ethiopia and the United States is the denial of Eritrea's intervention in the conflict. Despite US having different technologies to detect such intervention, the Ethiopian government has denied Eritrea's involvement. This has led to misunderstandings among Ethiopians who think that the US has a soft spot for the TPLF party. Overall, the data presented in the interview highlights the need for a more diplomatic approach to relations between Ethiopia and the United States. This would require a greater emphasis on selecting qualified and committed ambassadors, as well as a willingness to acknowledge and address security issues. By taking these steps, Ethiopia and the United States can work towards strengthening their relationship and promoting peace in the Red Sea area.

One of the most significant issues in recent years has been Ethiopia's construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) on the Nile River. The dam is expected to provide Ethiopia with greater control over the water supply and allow them to generate electricity for their country. However, Egypt and Sudan have expressed concerns that the dam will reduce their water supply and have attempted to block its construction. In this context, the United States has taken a position that seems to favor Egypt and Sudan over Ethiopia. This position by the US is not appropriate, as all three countries have a right to use the Nile River for their own needs. It was important for the US to remain neutral in this dispute and work towards a solution that is fair and equitable for all parties involved. This may involve mediating negotiations between the countries or providing technical assistance to help them find a mutually beneficial agreement. In sum, the issue of the Nile River is a complex one that requires careful consideration of the needs of all three countries involved. The US should not take sides in this dispute but should work towards finding a solution that benefits everyone. It is time for all parties to acknowledge each other's use of the Nile River and work towards a mutually beneficial agreement.

The bilateral relations between Ethiopia and other states are likely to face both opportunities and difficulties in the future, depending on the evolving regional and global context, as well as the domestic situation in each country. Some of the factors that may affect the bilateral relations are:

- The implementation of the Pretoria Agreement and the resolution of the border dispute with Sudan, which may enhance Ethiopia's stability and security, as well as its cooperation with neighboring countries and the African Union.
- The completion of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) and the negotiation of a fair and equitable agreement on the Nile water sharing, which may have implications for Ethiopia's relations with Egypt and Sudan, as well as other riparian states.
- The continuation of the economic and political reforms initiated by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, which may improve Ethiopia's governance, human rights, and democracy, as well as its attractiveness for foreign investment and trade.
- The dynamics of the geopolitical competition and cooperation among the major powers, such as China, the United States, Russia, and the European Union, which may affect Ethiopia's strategic interests and choices, as well as its role and influence in the region and beyond.

Therefore, Ethiopia's bilateral relations will depend on how it manages these challenges and opportunities, as well as how it balances its national interests with its regional and global responsibilities. Ethiopia will need to maintain a proactive and constructive diplomacy, based on mutual respect and benefit, to foster its bilateral relations with other states.

This study has also tried to reach on conclusion that, fostering a constructive and mutually beneficial relationship between Ethiopia and the United States requires sustained dialogue, collaboration, and understanding. Both nations should prioritize addressing shared challenges, such as regional stability, economic development, and human rights concerns, through diplomatic engagements. Future initiatives should focus on enhancing trade relations, promoting sustainable development, and addressing security challenges collaboratively. Additionally, building people-to-people ties, fostering cultural exchanges, and strengthening institutional partnerships can contribute to a more resilient and prosperous relationship between Ethiopia and USA.

5.3 Recommendation

- Continued dialogue and engagement: Both Ethiopia and the US should continue to engage in regular dialogue and consultations on issues related to peace and security. This will help build trust and understanding between the two countries, and provide opportunities for cooperation on shared priorities.
- Support for regional stability: Ethiopia and the US should work together to promote stability and security in the Horn of Africa region. This could include joint efforts to address conflicts, promote economic development, and enhance regional cooperation.
- Cooperation on counterterrorism: Ethiopia has been a key partner in the fight against terrorism in the Horn of Africa. The US should continue to provide support for Ethiopian efforts to combat terrorism, while also ensuring that human rights are respected in these efforts.
- Addressing the GERD issue: The US should continue to facilitate negotiations between Ethiopia, Egypt, and Sudan on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD). This will require a balanced approach that takes into account the interests of all parties, while also recognizing Ethiopia's right to develop its water resources.

- Implementing the Pretoria Agreement for Lasting Peace through a Permanent Cessation of Hostilities (COHA) between the Government of Ethiopia and the Tigray People’s Liberation Front, with the support of the African Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the United Nations, and the United States as observers. This agreement is crucial for ending the conflict that broke out in November 2020 and addressing the humanitarian crisis in the region.
- Investment in peacebuilding initiatives: The US should continue to invest in peacebuilding initiatives in Ethiopia, particularly in conflict-affected areas like the Tigray region. This could include support for reconciliation efforts, community-based peacebuilding programs, and efforts to strengthen institutions that promote peace and security.
- Strengthening economic ties: Finally, both Ethiopia and the US should work to strengthen economic ties between the two countries. This could include increased trade and investment, as well as support for private sector development and job creation. Stronger economic ties can help build a foundation for long-term peace and stability in the region.
- In conclusion, strengthening the Ethiopia-US relationship in the peace and security perspective will require continued dialogue and engagement, support for regional stability, addressing human rights concerns, cooperation on counterterrorism, addressing the GERD issue, investment in peacebuilding initiatives, and strengthening economic ties. By working together on these shared priorities, Ethiopia and the US can build a stronger and more resilient partnership that benefits both countries and promotes peace and security in the Horn of Africa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Abiy Ahmed, (2021). Ethiopia's Democratic Transformation. *Foreign Affairs*, 100(3), 132–137.

Andrew DeCort, (2019). The Promise and Challenges of Ethiopia's Democratic Opening. *Journal of Democracy*, 30(2), 131–142.

Association, Quarterly, Vol. 27, pp. 315-340. USA: North western University

Barratt, J. (1985). *South African Diplomacy at the UN*. Londra: Palgrave Macmillan, Londra.

Bahru Zewde (2002), *a History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*. Addis Ababa University Press,

Bahru Zewdie (2005), *History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press

Berouk Mesfin (2012). Ethiopia's Role and Foreign Policy in the Horn of Africa. *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 6(1/2), 87-113. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41756936> .

Biruk, Y. (2020). Ethiopia and the United States: strengthening the relationship. Ethiopian Foreign Relations Strategic Studies Institute.

Bodunde, D. O., Ola, A. A. & Afolabi, M. B. (2014), "Internal Insecurity in Nigeria, The Irony of Multiplicity of Security Outfits and Security Challenges" in *IMPACT: IJRHAL*, Volume 2, Issue 5 Page 213 – 220

Bull, H. (1932). *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*. Australia: The Australian National University, Australia

Cardoso, Nilton(2021), Ethiopian Regional Ascension: Ethiopia's Foreign Policy from Mengistu Haile Mariam to Abiy Ahmed, *Brazilian Journal of African Studies*, seer.ufrgs.br

Clapham, Christopher (1988), *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Clapham, Cristopher (1996), *Africa and the international system: The politics of state survival*, University of Lancaster, Cambridge.org

Duret, D. (2019). The Ethiopia-US security relationship in the Horn of Africa. East African Institute for National Security Studies.

- Encyclopedia Britanica. (2020, 04 05). The spread of the Italian diplomatic system. 04 05, 2020 tarihinde <https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy/Conference-diplomacy> adresinden alındı
- Feltman Jeffery (2021), A Perspective on Ethiopian-U.S. Relationship after a year of conflict, U.S. Department of State, [state.gov](https://www.state.gov)
- Feleke Debela. Changes and Continuities in Ethio-US Security Relationships. Addis Ababa University, April 2011.
- Feltman Jeffery (2021), A Perspective on Ethiopian-U.S. Relationship after a year of conflict, U.S. Department of State, [state.gov](https://www.state.gov).
- Feyissa, S. (2018). Ethiopia-US diplomatic relations and their impact on regional security. *International Journal of African Studies and Development*.
- Foreign Policy (2021), Trump Administration Achievements: Restoring American Leadership Abroad, The White House, [trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov](https://www.whitehouse.gov)
- Frazer, Jendai (2021), Fighting in Ethiopia threatens US Security interests, twitter.com
- Fossey, E., Harvey, C., McDermott, F., & Davidson, L. (2002). Understanding and Evaluating Qualitative Research. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 36(5), N/A.
- Getchaw Metaferia (2009), Ethiopia and the United States: History, Diplomacy, and Analysis. The United States of America, New York: Agora Publishing.
- Gosaye Tilahun (2022). Ethiopia's Contribution to Peace Support Operations in the Horn of Africa and its Implications on National Interest. Addis Ababa University, School of Graduate Studies.
- Gove, Babcock P. & the Marriam Editorial Staff (1971), Webster's Third New International Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Marriam Co.
- Hutchful, Eboe (2000), "Understanding the African Security Crisis", in Musah J. K. Faxemi (EDs.), *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma*, pp. 210-232. London: Pluto Press.
- Jones, D., & Rothchild, D. (2020). Geopolitics and Conflict in the Horn of Africa: Responding to US and Chinese Engagement. *The Washington Quarterly*, 43(2), 109–129.

- Lyons, Terrence (2007). "Conflict-Generated Diaspora and Transnational Politics in Ethiopia," *Conflict, Security and Development*, 7(4).
- Mahmood, S. (2019). The Diplomatic Relationship between Ethiopia and the USA: A Historical Overview. *Asia & Africa Review*, 18(1), 45–62.
- Malhotra, Kumar V. (2001). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Manning, Liz, 2022, Neoliberalism: What It Is, With Examples and Pros and Cons investopedia.com.
- Mcglinchey, Stephan, *International Relations Theory*, E-International Relations Publishing, e-ir.info.
- Ministry of Information Press & Audiovisual Department. (2002). *The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia: Foreign Affairs and National Security: Policy and Strategy*. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information Press & Audiovisual Department.
- Ministry of Information Press & Audiovisual Department (2002), *The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia: Foreign Affairs and National Security: Policy and Strategy*, pp.1-156. Addis Ababa..
- Moon, Bruce E., 1983, *The Foreign Policy of the Dependent State*, *International Studies Quarterly*, jstor.org.
- Mulualem, M. (N/A). *The Role of Civil Society in Building Peaceful Societies: The Case of Ethiopia*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283320365_The_Role_of_Civil_Society_in_Building_Peaceful_Societies_The_Case_of_Ethiopia.
- Negera Gudeta (2019). Ethiopian Foreign Policy under Military and EPRDF Regimes: Changes and Continuities. *Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 2(1): 25-31. doi: 10.11648/j.jpsir.20190201.14
- Negusay Ayele (2003), *Ethiopia and the United States: The Season of Courtship*. Vol.1. United States of America: Copy Com.
- Nwolise, O. B. C. (2008), "National Security and Sustainable Democracy" in Emmanuel O. O. [ed], *Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria*. Ibadan: John Archers Publish.

- Ochoche, S. (1997), “Electoral violence and National Security in Nigeria” in African Peace Review. Vol. 1 No. 1 page 27.
- Ogaba, O. (2010), “Security, Globalization and Climate Change: A Conceptual Analysis” in Osita E. E. & Ogaba O. [ed] Climate Change and Human Security in Nigeria. Lagos: NIIA.
- Okoth, P. Godfrey (1993), United States Foreign Policy and Africa in the Immediate Aftermath of World War II, Journal of East and West Studies, tandfonline.com
- Schrader, Peter J. (1992). “The Horn of Africa: US Foreign Policy in an Altered Cold War Environment”. Middle East Journal, 46(4), 571-593. Middle East Institute. Available at <http://www.jstor.org>. Accessed 25 December 2009.
- Seife Ayalew(2018), The Security and Human Rights Dilemma: An Inquiry into U.S.-Ethiopia Diplomatic Relations 1991-2012, scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu.
- Shinn, David. (2018). US-Ethiopian Relations From Roosevelt to Trump. International Journal of Ethiopian Studies, 12(2), 61-80. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27026555>
- Sloan, Stanley (2021), U.S. Foreign Policy in 2021, jstor.org
- Srivastava, L.N., (2003), International Relations, 13th Ed. Delhi: Super Printers.
- Taye Berehanu (2010), An Introduction to Ethiopia’s Foreign Policy: Pre 1991. Addis Ababa: Far East Treading.
- The Reporter(2022), Laying Ethio-U.S. ties on stronger foundation, thereporterethiopia.com
- U.S. Department of State. (2021). Ethiopia Country Page. Available at <https://www.state.gov/countries-areas/ethiopia>.
- U.S. Department of State(2008), Diplomacy: The U.S. Department of State at work, Bureau of Public Affairs, state.gov
- U.S. Department of State (2020), U.S. Relations with Ethiopia, Bilateral Relations Fact Sheet, Bureau of African Affairs, state.gov
- USTR News(2022), U.S. terminates AGOA Trade preference program for Ethiopia, Mali and Guinea, ustr.gov.
- Verjee, Aly(2021), The Crisis of Ethiopian Foreign Relations, accord.org

Walt, S. M. (1991), The Renaissance of Security Studies. *Mershon International Studies Review*, 41; 211 – 239.

Williams, P. D. (2008), *Security Studies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group

Whyte, Alexander, 2012, Neo-realism and neoliberal institutionalism: born of the same approach?, e-ir.info

Appendices

Appendix I

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTERS OF ART IN
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY

Interview Guide... General Framework To be answered by officials working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassadors, Addis Ababa University's Peace and Security Office, political science department of Bahirdar University, journalists with expertise in the subject matter, And political party higher officials.

1. How would you describe the current state of diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and the United States since 2018?
2. In your opinion, what are the main factors that have influenced the evolution of these relations during this period?
3. How have these diplomatic relations impacted Ethiopia's peace and security in recent years?
4. What are some of the key areas of cooperation between Ethiopia and the United States in terms of security?
5. What are the convergence and divergence of interests in the Ethiopia-U.S. bilateral relations since 2018?
6. How have regional developments, such as the conflict in Tigray and the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam dispute, affected Ethiopia-US relations?
7. In your opinion, what steps could be taken to strengthen and deepen the partnership between Ethiopia and the United States?

8. What types of interests does the U.S. pursue regarding human rights as compared to security in the horn of Africa, in general, and in Ethiopia, in particular?
9. How does Ethiopia as an economically dependent state negotiate, bargain, refuse and submit to the demands of superpowers? Can we say dependent states such as Ethiopia have options? If so what are the options? What types of strategies and tactics can Ethiopia use?
10. Looking ahead, what do you see as the future of Ethiopia-US diplomatic relations and their implications for Ethiopia's peace and security?

APPENDIX II

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTERS OF ART IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY INTERVIEW LIST FOR PAPER ON IMPLICATIONS OF ETHIOPIA-US RELATIONSHIP FOR PEACE AND SECURITY:

1. Ambassador Tekeda Alemu

- Former Ethiopian Ambassador to the United Nations
- Expertise in diplomacy, international relations, and peacebuilding
- Insights on Ethiopia-US relations and their impact on peace and security

2. Media Workers from Amhara TV Journalists

- Journalists covering current events and conflicts in Ethiopia
- Perspectives on media coverage of peace and security issues
- Insights on the role of media in shaping public perception and policy discourse

3. Addis Ababa University Peace and Security Office Experts

- Experts in peace and security studies at a leading Ethiopian university
- Academic research and analysis on conflict dynamics in Ethiopia
- Perspectives on the implications of Ethiopia-US relations for peacebuilding efforts

4. Bahir Dar University Political Science Department Experts

- Political science scholars specializing in Ethiopian politics and governance
- Research on political dynamics, governance structures, and security challenges