



ETHIOPIA'S ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

by

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Addis Ababa University
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SECURITY COUNCIL**

By

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**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis
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Abstract

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is the most powerful international institution in the history of the nation-state system. It is predominately becoming an influential body in global politics where member states are contributing their respective shares in copious world affairs. In the case of Ethiopia, despite the fact that it had been elected three times as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in the past; little is known about its roles, activities and overall practices in the Council. In this respect, this study intends to explore the role of Ethiopia in the UN Security Council, primarily focusing on its aspirations, voting behaviors and rationales behind its votes on Security Council Resolutions. In addition, it appraises the basic Security Council reform issues, and presents an assessment of the major reform proposals (the 2005 UN High Level Panel Report, the Group of Four and the Africa Union proposals) in line with Ethiopia's stances as well as its level of eligibility for a permanent seat in the Security Council. To achieve the objectives of the thesis, the researcher employed a qualitative methodological approach. Data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected via key informant interview with higher officials, senior diplomats as well as other pertinent experts in the area of the study, while the secondary data were collected from books, journal articles, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs database, and United Nations mission reports as well as internet resources. Since the data gathered are essentially of qualitative nature, the researcher employed qualitative data analysis techniques. The study argues that Ethiopia's voting behavior is more or less consistent in regard to protecting its national interest as well as promoting the African agenda, while it is partially consistent as regards to global issues with its declared foreign policy. Furthermore, it pursues a hedging position with the permanent members, cooperates with the elected members, and aligns with fellow African representatives in the Council. The findings of the study revealed that Ethiopia, as part of fulfilling its international responsibility, has adopted a strict legalist approach to Security Council affairs. The country corporately supports the reform of the Security Council, and also it has been found out to be leading, among the African comparator's group, for the aspired two African permanent seats in the Security Council. In conclusion, this study highlights the importance of revising the existing foreign policy and framing a uniform international legal behavior as well as well-articulated guiding principles. Generally, it has been suggested that there are works yet to be done, including image building and diplomatic works aiming at enhancing the role of the country in the UN Security Council.

Key words: Ethiopia · Multilateralism · United Nations · UN Security Council · Security Council Reform · Voting Behavior · Resolutions

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved sister “**Z**”, whom I have lost in the middle of pursuing this Master’s Program.

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List of Abbreviations

Acronym	Definition
• AU:	African Union
• AUPSC:	African Union Peace and Security Council
• ECOSOC:	Economic and Social Council
• ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
• EU:	European Union
• FANSPS:	Foreign Affairs National Security and Policy Strategy
• FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
• G4:	Group of Four
• HIPPO:	High-Level Panel on the Review of UN Peace Operations
• ICJ	International Court of Justice
• IGAD:	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
• IMF:	International Monetary Fund
• ISS:	Institute for Security Studies
• LN:	League of Nations
• NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
• NRC:	National Role Conceptions
• OAU:	Organization of African Unity
• Para.:	Paragraph
• PBC:	Peace-building Commission
• TCC:	Troop Contributing Countries
• UDHR:	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
• UFC:	United for Consensus
• UK:	United Kingdom
• UN:	United Nations
• UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
• UNSC:	United Nations Security Council
• US/USA:	United States of America
• WHO:	World Health Organization
• WTO:	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Ethiopia has a long history of contact and friendly relations with the outside world. In the past, the country was pursuing multifaceted foreign policies that go beyond bilateral relations and was extending and conducting multilateral relations with global actors as well. The long-lasting friendly relations Ethiopia has been carrying out has greater rewards in terms of expanding and strengthening bilateral and multilateral diplomatic as well as technical cooperation the country has with other countries, continental and intercontinental organizations.

Most of the time, the main focus area of the country's foreign relations was bilateral one with its neighboring and regional counterparts (Chatham House, 2015, p. 3). Though the country's successive achievements of bilateral relations in the past years are highly applauded, the significant contribution it has been making towards the maintenance of peace and security at the regional, continental and global levels is usually overlooked. For the most part, the country's involvement and contributions in multilateral international organizations are left unnoticed.

Notwithstanding, history indicates that Ethiopia is a notable nation in recognizing and supporting the establishment of international organizations that stand for the maintenance of global peace and security. Ethiopia was relatively isolated from major movements of world politics until the Italian invasions at the end of the 19th century. But since the dawn of the 20th century, the country was becoming an active participant in the global arena recurrently. Initially, it became a full member of the League of Nations on September 28, 1923. Above and beyond, since World War II, it has played an active role in African and world affairs. Ethiopia was a charter member of the United Nations and took part in several UN-led peace support operations. The late Emperor Haile Selassie was also one of the prominent founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now known as the African Union (AU). And as stated in its *Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (2002)*, Ethiopia has also been playing significant role towards consolidating its relations with regional and international organizations comprising the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Arab League and the European Union (EU), etc. around the world (Yonas, 2018, pp. 374-375).

Most importantly, the diplomatic relations and co-operations that Ethiopia has been building with the UN was getting expanded and strengthened from time to time. Since its membership in 1945, Ethiopia's role in the organization has been evolving progressively. Starting from contributing a huge number of troops to the UN-led peace support operations in the fields; it has been continuously involved in the UN multilateral diplomatic activities.

Ethiopia has been elected three times (1967-68, 1989-90, and 2017 to 18) as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, and its record shows that it has routinely acted as a responsible member of the Council (United Nations, 2019). However, the country's position, voting behavior and its outlook on the prospective reform of the Security Council remains unknown. What is more, taking its prior experience of the Council's work into consideration, there are great expectations, especially from the African countries on whether Ethiopia is eligible enough to represent the continent in the Security Council permanently (Esayas, 2016). In this context, there are certain legitimate concerns as to whether Ethiopia can contribute significantly to the UN Security Council's work, in view of the changing global political landscape, declining public trust in political systems and the spread of populist agendas across the world.

The central objective of this study is to explore the wide-ranging status, achievement, and prospects of Ethiopia in the United Nations Security Council. And it examines Ethiopia's evolving role, recent positions, voting behaviors and its stances on the proposed reform of the UN Security Council. This study conducted in-depth interviews with senior diplomats, higher experts and officials of the international organizations' directorate at the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Analyses of these interviews along with a review of the relevant documents were essentially made to answer the intended pursuits of the research.

In the past, much research has focused on the country's role in several UN-led Peace Support Operations, and was mostly limited to the field activities of the Peacekeeping Operations (Hagos, 2016; Haile, 2006; Haile, 2012; Muluken, 2011). For that reason, it remains unclear what Ethiopia has accomplished and how it behaves in regard to resolutions in the UN Security Council. In view of that, this study aims to add new stock of knowledge by exploring Ethiopia's role, beyond the field activities of the Peace Support Operations, in the UN Security Council. Furthermore, it tries to close the gap between the ongoing changes of the Security Council and the outdated perception of the Ethiopian side by arguing for a new or reformed policy towards

multilateral international organizations. This study, as part of a growing body of research on multilateral diplomacies at the international level, increases our understanding of Ethiopia's performances and contributes its fair share to future researches on similar topics pertinent to the country's global roles and responsibilities.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia was already part of the global system since the first quarter of the 20th century. Most notably, it was a prominent member of the League of Nations and later it became a member of the United Nations in 1945 along with three other African states Egypt, Liberia, and South Africa. Beyond itself, it has represented Africa in the United Nations Security Council as a non-permanent member on three different occasions (Atakilte & Adetula, 2017, p. 5).

In spite of this fact, Ethiopia's dynamic role, representations, aspirations, and accomplishments in the UN Security Council is not adequately studied. Previously, it was tried to study Ethiopia's contribution to certain Security Council authorized Peace Support Operations to some extent; however, the country's role at the Security Council was not comprehensively studied (Haile, 2006; Niguse, 2011). What is more, since its establishment in 1945 the UN Security Council has gone through successive changes; yet Ethiopia's perception towards the Council remains elusive.

Even today, there is an envisioned quest for the UN Security Council reform, which is essentially expected to expand the membership of the Council. Yet, the Ethiopian government remains indifferent to this issue with an outdated perception. Obviously speaking, the multilateral and institutional diplomacy that was pursued by the nation has won it a seat in the UN Security Council as a non-permanent member and has further implications that can position it to a permanent membership representing Africa in the Council. However, the country's foreign policy is mostly dealing with maintaining the status quo that was being pursued since long ago.

Despite the prominence of the Country's membership in the UN Security Council, it seems that certain aspects of it are understudied. In this respect, it is unfortunate that no single academic study conducted to the best of the researcher's knowledge, particularly concerning the diplomatic role of Ethiopia in the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular. Having said so far, the researcher aims to explore the overall role of Ethiopia in the UN Security Council and contribute his fair share to the understanding of the study area.

In summary, the researcher argues that there is a need for a better understanding of Ethiopia's self-motivated role in the UN Security Council; to move on the country with the continues progress of the Security Council. Since this is the first investigation of its type, the purpose of this study is to develop some preliminary groundwork that a more detailed evaluation could be based and to fill the stated gap by exploring and analyzing the study area using the recent data available. Finally, this research was, therefore, intended to fill the gap of this widely ignored area, and provide helpful empirical evidence in the study area on the issue of interest.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the main roles, aspirations, and achievements of Ethiopia in the United Nations Security Council?
2. What are the bases for Ethiopia's voting behavior in the Security Council?
3. What is Ethiopia's outlook on the prospective reform of the United Nations Security Council?
4. In regard to the proposed expansion of the UNSC permanent memberships, how are Ethiopian government and policymakers intending and is the country eligible for an African permanent seat in the Council, based on the defined criteria?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General objectives

The main objective of the research is to explore the overall role of Ethiopia in the UN Security Council and examine the possible position the country can secure once the envisioned reform of the Security Council is realized. Based on the questions above, the research has the following specific objectives:

1.4.2 Specific objectives

1. To describe the main roles, achievements, and challenges of Ethiopia in the United Nations Security Council.
2. To assess Ethiopia's voting behavior and the rationale behind it in the Security Council.
3. To evaluate Ethiopia's standpoint on the prospective reform of the United Nations Security Council.
4. To examine Ethiopia's level of eligibility for permanent membership in the proposed United Nations Security Council reform structure.

1.5 Significance of the Study

There is a limited understanding and scanty research over Ethiopia's involvement in multilateralism, more specifically regarding its role in the UN Security Council. As a result, the primary intended contribution of this research is to the empirical knowledge in the area.

Most of the studies previously focused on fieldwork of the United Nations Peace Support Operations. And as far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned, this study is a pioneer in Ethiopia regarding Ethiopia's role in the Security Council. Henceforth, the results of this study are expected to be significant in various respects:

- ✓ Firstly, it may fill the knowledge gap related to Ethiopia's role in multilateral relations.
- ✓ Second, it contributes to enhancing knowledge; it may be referred by policy makers and could also be used as academic reference material.
- ✓ Its findings could also be of greater importance for national and international peace and security issues.

What is more, the results of the study may prove to be of great importance to governmental organizations like the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign affairs, to gain a clearer insight into how to formulate, implement and finally evaluate the country's role and positions in the United Nations Security Council. Finally, the study may also contribute to the sum total of the body of knowledge.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

First, lack of appropriate current literatures on the subject of Ethiopia's role in the United Nations Security Council was the main limitations in the course of conducting the research. The scope and depth of this study have also suffered from the inaccessibility of appropriate data. For example, the researcher could not get the relevant documents that give details regarding Ethiopia's non-permanent membership in the Security Council from 1967-1968 and 1989-1990, as they were not properly recorded in the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs database. In general, the researcher faced the following limitations:

- Paucity of time
- The inaccessibility of relevant data and well-prepared reports
- Unavailability of respondents.

1.7 Definitions of Key Terms

Permanent Members: These are the five states which the UN Charter of 1945 grants a permanent seat on the UN Security Council: China, France, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), the United Kingdom, and the United States (UN Charter, Art 24).

Non-permanent Members: These are the ten non-permanent members of the UN Security Council elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years (UN Charter, Art 24/2).

Voting Behavior: Is a form of political behavior which explains how and why decisions are made by public decision-makers (Ogbogu & Olaoye, 2017).

Bandwagoning: Is an alignment with the source of danger to gain benefits and ensure security at the expense of autonomy and opportunities to cooperate with other powers (Koga, 2018, p. 637).

Balancing: Is a way of foreign policy that implies to balance against the emergence of a predominant power (Choi, 1995, p .36).

Hedging: Is a strategic choice that the state makes by not taking sides, either temporarily or permanently (Koga, 2018, p. 637).

1.8 Organization of the Study

The entire thesis is organized into five chapters. Accordingly the first chapter deals with the general introduction, problem statement and other related contents, while the second chapter covers review of related literature and presents a conceptual and theoretical framework, the third chapter presents methodologically relevant issues, the fourth chapter focuses on data presentation, analysis, and interpretations, and in the fifth chapter summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

RELATED LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, a review of related literature about multilateralism, collective security and voting pattern and related issues are presented. The literature review consists of the general overview and history of multilateralism as well as collective security, along with Ethiopia's commitments to these concepts, its evolving role in the United Nations, and a theoretical framework comprising several theories that evaluate a given country's voting behavior in international institutions, specifically in the UN Security Council, with empirical evidence from other countries experience.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

This section outlines the conceptual arrangement of the study. Accordingly, a detailed explanation of concepts like multilateralism, collective security and voting patterns, which are pertinent to this study, is presented below.

2.1.1 Multilateralism

It is necessary at the outset to discuss the term multilateralism in the study of international relations. Most of the time, the term multilateralism is interchangeably used with international or global governance of the many. For Keohane (1990), multilateralism is the practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states, through ad hoc arrangements or by means of institutions (as cited in Morse & Keohane, 2014). Multilateral diplomacy, in purely quantitative terms, represents diplomacy between three or more states. Some early illustrations of the practice can be traced back to the Peace of Westphalia, the Congress of Vienna, the League of Nations, or the Bretton Woods agreement (Dayer, 2017).

Multilateralism has a long history, but it is principally associated with the era after World War II, during which there was a burgeoning of multilateral agreements led primarily by the United States. The organizations most strongly embodying the principle of multilateralism are to be found in trade (the World Trade Organization (WTO)) and security (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)). Multilateralism may also involve regional or military alliances, pacts, or groupings, or may involve several nations acting together. For example, International organizations, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations (UN) are multilateral in nature (Scott, 2018).

Among others, as the most representative inter-governmental organization of the world today, the United Nations' role in world affairs is irreplaceable by any other international or regional organizations. The United Nations has made enormous positive contributions in maintaining international peace and security, promoting cooperation among states and international development. Today, people of the world still face the two major issues of peace and development. Only by international cooperation can mankind meet the challenges of global and regional issues. The United Nations can play a pivotal and positive role in this regard. Strengthening the role of the United Nations in the new century and promoting the establishment of a just and reasonable international political and economic order goes along with the trend of history and is in the interest of all nations (UN Role and Reform, 2017).

2.1.2 Collective Security

Collective security is a multilateral institution set up by states to establish and preserve peace throughout the international system. It is based upon the general principles of the indivisibility of peace and diffuse reciprocity. It is by nature a result of attempts to preserve the security of each state, which has come together against a common enemy (Ulusoy, 2003). And Dyke (1957) sees collective security as a system in which several states are bound to engage in collective efforts on behalf of each other's security. In general, collective security is a commitment of all against one.

From the above definitions by these eminent scholars, collective security can then be seen as a plan for maintaining peace through an organization of sovereign states, whose members pledge themselves to defend each other against attack and ultimately to defend the international public order. The concept is best seen as security for the individual nation by collective means, that is, by membership in an international organization made up of all or most of the states of the world pledged to defend each other from attack. The idea of collective security was extensively discussed during the World War I, and it took shape in the 1919 Covenant of the League of Nations, and again in the Charter of the United Nations after World War II (Ebegbulem, 2011).

The evolution of the concept of Collective Security has seen four distinctive periods. First, the Post WWI scenario, with the inception of the League of Nations; Second, post the signing of the UN Charter; Third, during the Cold War and Lastly, post 9-11 attacks in New York. All four periods bring about a particular threat that the world had never seen before. Be it, the proliferation of the Axis Powers and the failure of the League to check it in the first period;

or the conflict between the five permanent members of the UN and their rise as nuclear powers during the Cold War in the second and third periods. The world also saw the rise of non-state actors (terrorists) as a threat to global peace in the fourth era (Teacher, Law. 2013).

Generally, all collective security arrangements have certain rules. States identify each other as fellow citizens within a larger society, they agree to follow a particular set of rules, and they enforce those rules through multilateral action, including the use of force if necessary. Beyond this basic structure, however, many forms of collective security are possible, varying by the substance of the rules, who determines the rules and how to enforce them (Frederking, 2007).

2.1.2.1 Ethiopia's Commitment to Multilateralism and Collective Security

Ethiopia, "*The Cradle of Human Civilization*", was once a giant in the world and its reputation was well known, because of its independence symbolism, promotion of Pan-Africanism and global leadership. This reputation has been stretched out of the continent encompassing other regions, superpowers, and multilateral international organizations, including in the United Nations. Particularly, when it comes to United Nations peace and security matters, the country has built a strong legacy in its long-lasting services. In June 2016 Ethiopia was elected for the third time as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, for the period 2017-2018. The country previously held two terms as a non-permanent member from 1967-1968 and 1989-1990. Once again, Ethiopia rejoined the council at a time when the effectiveness of multilateralism and collective security, in particular, the UN Security Council is being increasingly questioned by a geopolitical divide among its permanent members (P5).

Ethiopia is by no means new to multilateralism, international diplomacy, and international institutions. It has historically been relying on diplomacy to exert influence at the regional, continental and global levels. As early as 1923, Ethiopia became a member of the League of Nations and was one of the 51 pioneer countries that founded the UN in 1945 (Embassy, Ethiopia. 2016). By the time of the League of Nations, the country was a strong advocate of collective security and in the UN it has promoted Pan-Africanism and independence for the colonized territories of Africa (Atakilt & Adetula, 2017).



Figure 2.1: Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Member of the Ethiopian Delegation to the UN, signing on behalf of Ethiopia the UN Charter at the San Francisco Conference on 26 June 1945 (UN Photo)

On the continental level, Ethiopia has routinely been a firm believer in bringing African countries together to guarantee peace on the continent. Ethiopia's contribution to the liberation of African states and the foundation of the OAU indicates its devotion to the development of Africa. In 1963, it played a critical role in the establishment of the OAU, today the African Union, and has been hosting the organization for more than 50 years (Haile, 2006).

When it comes to collective security, Ethiopia was the only African nation who single-handedly fought for the promotion of the principle of collective peace and security by challenging the European powers in the days of the League of Nations. Even, in spite of its harsh experience with the League of Nations, Ethiopia once again proved its commitment to global peace and security by being one of the three founding African nations of the UN. The reason why Ethiopia joined and shown positive to the UN missions in troubled spots of the world, is due to the country's respect to international law and firm stand to the principles of collective Peace and security (Muluken, 2011).

In the main, Ethiopia never lost confidence in multilateralism and remained a staunch supporter of the principle of collective security. Its active involvement as a founding member of several multilateral organizations, among others, the UN and later the OAU was entrenched in the deep-rooted belief in a fairer, more peaceful and more secure organization of peace-seeking nations. Given its historical legacy, its commitment to global peace endeavors was noticeably creditable and has been persistently progressing with time.

2.1.2.2 Ethiopia's Evolving Role in the United Nations

As mentioned, Ethiopia, Africa's oldest independent country, prides itself on being the founding member of the United Nations Organization in 1945 alongside fifty-one other countries of the world. From the African continent, only Egypt, Liberia, and South Africa joined Ethiopia in signing the Charter of the UN on June 26, 1945, in the San Francisco Conference (Esayas, 2016). Since then, Ethiopia has been a notable and committed member of the organization's activities.

2.1.2.2.1 Long Experience in Peace Support Operations

The United Nations deploys peacekeeping forces to prevent or contain fighting, stabilize post-conflict zones, help implement peace accords, and assist democratic transitions. UN Peacekeeping began in 1948 when the Security Council authorized the deployment of UN military observers to the Middle East. Since then, more than 70 peacekeeping operations have

been deployed by the UN. Over the years, hundreds of thousands of military personnel, as well as tens of thousands of UN police and other civilians from more than 120 countries have participated in UN peacekeeping operations (Renwick, 2015).

Ethiopia has a long and proud history in UN Peace Support Operations and has participated and is participating in several UN missions (Haile, 2012). In the early 1950s, its troops joined a multinational UN peacekeeping force in the Korean War. Similar interventions were also made in the 1960s in the Congo conflict (Atakilte & Adetula, 2017). Then again, when the tradition resumed in the 1990s, Ethiopia has sent forces to UN operations in Rwanda (1995), Liberia (2003), Burundi (2004), Sudan (2006), Abyei (2011), South Sudan (2013), Somalia (2014), Haiti (2015) Cote d’Ivoire (2016) and Chad (2017). Excluding Ethiopia’s contribution to the AU operations in Somalia, Ethiopia now stands first in the world with over 7,000 peacekeeping forces dispatched in different UN missions (United Nations, 2019). This brings the total number of troops it has posted since the 1950s to over a staggering 80,000 personnel (Esayas, 2016; Yonas, 2018, p. 372).

The UN Peace Operations have been undergoing an evolutionary change through time; Ethiopia’s contributions have also been growing progressively. But the country’s involvement in peace and security goes further than contributing troops. Beyond this, Ethiopia has also been part of the United Nations multilateral diplomacy. And it has served several times as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, the international body which is entrusted by the UN Charter with the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

2.1.2.2.2 As a Non-permanent Member of the United Nations Security Council

The UN Security Council can be regarded as the most powerful organ of the international community (Schmitz & Schwarze, 2011). It is one of the six principal organs created by the UN Charter. The other enumerated bodies include the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. The principal responsibility of the Security Council is to maintain international peace and security as well as accepting new members to the organization and approving any changes to the UN Charter. Its powers include the establishment of Peace Support Operations, the establishment of international sanctions, and the authorization of military action through its resolutions. It is the only UN body with the authority to issue binding resolutions to member states.

The Council has fifteen members, and among these fifteen members sitting on the Security Council; five are permanent members and the other ten are elected by the General Assembly every two years. The five permanent members are the People's Republic of China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. The rest are non-permanent members, elected by the General Assembly for a maximum of two years (Dreher, Sturm, & Vreeland, 2009, p. 4). When the two-year term of a non-permanent member concludes, it is not eligible to be immediately re-elected. This allows a variety of countries to participate in Security Council decisions, which is a very prestigious honor (Gruenberg, 2009).

According to Article 23 of the UN Charter, the Security Council seats are allocated according to "*equitable geographical distribution,*" maintaining representation by the regional groupings from which nonpermanent members are elected. The ten nonpermanent UNSC seats are distributed according to five regional electoral groupings: Africa, Asia-Pacific Group, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Western European and Others Group (Dreher et al, 2009, p. 4). Apart from forming the basis for selective seats in the Security Council and ECOSOC, these groupings are not active as political caucuses as the Non-Aligned Movement or the Group of 77 are. Thus, the aims of representation from regional groupings largely appear to be descriptive, in line with the Charter's focus (Lai & Lefler, 2009).

Among these regional electoral groupings, Africa appears to have the most disciplined rules for selecting candidates. It operates a system of turn-taking within sub-regional groups, which should, in principle, ensure that all countries in Africa eventually serve on the Security Council (Dreher, Gould, Rablenc, & Vreeland, 2012, p. 6). Three non-permanent seats on the Council are allocated to Africa (A3). One seat comes up for election every even calendar year, and two seats are contested during odd years. Although there have been exceptions, elections for seats allocated to Africa tend to be uncontested as the African Group maintains an established pattern of rotation among its five sub-regions (Security Council Research Report, 2016, p. 2). Accordingly, Northern Africa and Central Africa share one seat, Western Africa holds one seat every odd calendar year, and Eastern Africa and Southern Africa share one seat every even calendar year (Iwanami, 2011, p. 11). Theoretically, under this system, every country in Africa would eventually get a turn to be a candidate for a seat on the Council.

Ethiopia is a notable candidate from the Eastern Africa group, for any of the three non-permanent seats reserved for Africa in the UNSC. The country's mission as a non-permanent member of the Council represents not only itself, but Africa as well as the African Union, and works closely with the continent's institutions to represent its interests, opinions, and positions.

In the country's diplomatic history, the years 1967-1968, 1989-1990 and 2017-2018 hold special significance as it was during these periods Ethiopia was seated as a non-permanent member of the UNSC (Berhanu, 2018). In the main, its honorable contributions in its strong-minded involvements in such multilateral arenas have gained the country immense respect and confidence in the eyes of the international community and particularly fellow Africans (Esayas, 2016). Expressly, during its third tenure (2017-18), Ethiopia has been described as a champion of the Council by its UN ambassador, for discharging its continental responsibilities by mobilizing support for objectives that the AU wanted promoted (Tekeda, 2019, p. 4).

2.1.3 Voting Pattern

The Security Council as the most powerful organ of the UN is capable of passing resolutions that bind all member and non-member states. As stated Under the Charter, all member states are obligated to comply with Council decisions. Given the Council's power to authorize multilateral sanctions and military action, its members have played a major role in some of the more significant world events of the past 70 years, from the Korean War to the recent crises of Syria. Nowadays, it remains the world's most important source of legitimacy for international action (Dreher et al, 2012; Zerubabel, 2016).

The UNSC reaches at decisions through voting. The extant voting arrangement in the Council has resulted from a compromise between the US, the Soviet Union, and the UK, at the conference of Yalta in February 1945 (Wouters & ruys, 2005). Currently, the Council is the only UN body that allows the use of the veto. The veto is exercised when a country votes against a draft decision and so prevents its adoption. It can only be used by the five permanent members.

Article 27 of the UN Charter, and rule 40 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure, concern voting in the Security Council. Particularly, Article 27 of the UN Charter distinguishes between procedural and non-procedural (substantive) matters in Council decision-making. All votes are by open ballot, and a negative vote from one of the five permanent members kills the resolution. A resolution will also fail if seven Members vote against the resolution or abstain from voting (Dreher et al, 2009, p. 5).

In general, the current voting rules of the UN Security Council are stated in Chapter 5, Article 27, of the UN Charter, as follows:

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.
3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that in decisions under Chapter VI, under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting (UN Charter, art 27).

As can be seen from the above, the voting procedure is a formal mechanism by which the Security Council makes its decisions. The Charter provides for a majority vote and serves as one of the most well-known examples in the voting-power literature (Felsenthal & Moshé, 2014, p. 2; Práce, 2015, p. 12). This voting pattern results from defining five permanent members of the Council (UN Charter, art. 23, para. 1) and assigning them a special position in the voting process (UN Charter, art. 27, para. 3).

All members of the Security Council vote for, against, abstain or may not participate at all on draft resolutions. These member states have different voting behaviors, according to their foreign policy, self-interest or cooperation. According to Bratton (2013), voting behavior is a form of political behavior which explains how and why decisions are made by public decision-makers. It focuses on why people vote as they do and how they arrive at the decisions they make (as cited in Ogbogu & Olaoye, 2017).

Most of the time, votes cast in the UNSC are an expression of foreign policy decision making by national states and have been used as indicators of their voting behavior (van der Ven, 2011). Studying how states interact and vote at the UNSC over a long period and across different issues areas could reveal changes in the behavior of states. Naturally, as the world they live in changes, so do states affiliation and allegiances. Another point to consider is that the best predictor of UN voting behavior is the voting group a state identifies with (Graham, 2013).

From time to time, world politics has been changing significantly; the voting behaviors of the UN Security Council members were also varying by their respective interests. Since the votes of the five permanent members alone do not suffice to cross the required decision threshold, they need the support of at least four non-permanent members to pass a resolution. This suggests that

non-permanent members have some power over Council decision making. Besides, temporary members are also believed to receive political and financial benefits. Some even link voting behavior to economic favors (Kuziemko & Werker, 2006; Wonjae, Amanda, & Junhan, 2015).

Regarding this previous studies suggests that, governments elected to the UNSC receive certain benefits; more foreign aid especially from the US, more programs from the World Bank, more money from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and more loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with less stringent (softer) conditionality (Kuziemko & Werker, 2006). And according to Dreher and Vreeland (2011), when there are foreign aid pay-offs for UNSC members, governments presumably trade the money for votes (p. 2). Though some economists have largely ignored the question of whether Council membership is related to foreign aid payments, Kuziemko and Werker find a large positive effect of Security Council membership on foreign aid receipts (2006, p. 2).

More specifically, Eldar (2008, as cited in Dreher & Vreeland, 2011, p. 7) argues that the United States heavily pressured nonpermanent members of the UNSC to get support for a resolution implying military intervention in Iraq 1991, including “*a promise of financial help to Columbia, Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia and Zaire; a promise to the USSR to keep Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania out of the November 1990 Paris Summit conference and to persuade Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to provide it with hard currency...*” He further argues that before the second Gulf war, the United States again attempted to buy votes of temporary UNSC members to pass a resolution on the use of armed forces in Iraq.

To cite one example, in 1992, Zimbabwe entered into its first International Monetary Fund (IMF) arrangement in a decade. The IMF granted the government a loan of over 300 million dollars. At the time, Zimbabwe was also serving a two-year term on the UN Security Council, which was deciding the fate of the aggressor nation Iraq for having invaded its neighbor. The United States was leading an effort to dismantle the military power of Dictator Saddam Hussein. During its time as a UN Security Council member, Zimbabwe voted on several resolutions regarding Iraq that the US cared a great deal about, including some resolutions that did not receive support from other developing countries. When Zimbabwe failed to support just one resolution against Iraq, however, Zimbabwe was threatened by the IMF with new policy conditions to receive continued installments of the loan. Then, Zimbabwe subsequently supported eleven Security Council resolutions opposing Iraq (Dreher & Vreeland, 2007).

On the other hand, the one member of the UN Security Council that most consistently opposed the US resolutions over the Gulf War was Cuba, who was a UNSC member 1990-1991. By then, Cuba had nothing to lose concerning the IMF. Cuba ceased to be a member of the IMF in 1964, claiming the IMF was a tool of the US and Western Capitalism (Dreher & Vreeland, 2007, p. 6). Today, Cuba is one of a small handful of countries that do not belong to the IMF and cannot receive loans from the institution as a consequence. Surprisingly, however, the early history of Cuba provides yet another anecdote in favor of this argument. Cuba first served on the UNSC 1949-50, before IMF arrangements existed. Then it served again on the UNSC 1956-7, and it entered its first and only IMF arrangement on December 7, 1956, for a loan of 12.5 million SDR (Special Drawing Rights) (Dreher, Sturm, & Vreeland, 2006, p.8).

What is more, recent studies report the temporary members of the UNSC receive favorable treatment from various multinational organizations in exchange for their political support for permanent members. In the analysis of panel data for 197 countries over the period from 1946 to 2008, the empirical results show that the elected members tend to behave similarly with permanent members, especially with the US, as the number of loan programs signed with the IMF and the World Bank increases (Wonjae et al, 2015).

Overall, there is a strong reason to expect vote-buying to be prevalent in a substantial proportion of UNSC decisions. Predominantly, the US has been using its sizeable influence at the IMF to change voting at the Security Council. As mentioned, several years earlier, the first Bush administration famously pressured governments to vote in favor of the UNSC resolution approving Operation Desert Storm. And when Yemen voted 'no', James Baker, the Secretary of State, reportedly told colleagues, "*[t]hat is the most expensive vote they ever cast.*" Then, the US subsequently cut \$70 million in foreign aid (Dreher et al, 2006, p.11).

In this regard, Dreher and Vreeland (2011) stated that the United States, the largest vote-holder at the IMF, rewards friends and punishes enemies. Elected members of the UNSC that vote with the United States are more likely to receive loans from the IMF, and the loans are larger. Conversely, elected UNSC members that vote against the United States receive loans that are fewer in number and smaller in size (p. 3).

Even today, the Trump administration is seeking to forge a closer link between aid and how countries vote at the United Nations. Former US Ambassador to the UN Nikki Haley has

reportedly drafted an “*America First Foreign Assistance Policy*” that would seek to ensure that US aid dollars better advance US interests, including at the UN. This would seem to be part of the administration’s broader push to incentivize compliance with US foreign policy preferences or to punish opposition (Rose, 2018). For instance, on 18 December 2017, the US vetoed a UN Security Council resolution that had called for the withdrawal of US President Donald Trump’s recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. The resolution was supported by all remaining 14 members of the Council. Two days after the vote, President Donald Trump threatened to cut foreign aid to countries that voted against the US at the UN saying:

All of these nations that take our money and then they vote against us at the Security Council Well, we are watching those votes. Let them vote against us; we will save a lot. – President Donald Trump, Dec. 2017. (Rose, 2018).

Thus far, it has been argued that non-permanent members of the UN Security Council receive extra foreign aid from the US and the UN, especially during years when the attention focused on the Council is greatest. Several authors have found that Council membership itself, and not simply some omitted variable, drives the aid increases (Dreher et al, 2006, p. 8; Iwanami, 2011; Kuziemko & Werker, 2006, p. 6; Wonjae et al, 2015).

In the main, Ethiopia’s foreign and security policy is centered on economic development to benefit the people and create conducive situations for such development. According to its 2002 Policy Document, its lists of priorities include market opportunities, investment, technical and financial support for its economic development and democratization (para, 4). It further suggests the strengthening of Ethiopia’s cooperation with the UN and its specialized agencies, and institutions like the World Bank that provide important assistance to Ethiopia's development (para, 2). Bearing this in mind, and given the fact that seventy-five percent of the UN's resources are spent in activities in the economic, social, and technical areas; it would be reasonable to ask interesting questions like “*If Ethiopia’s main involvement in the UN is basically for socio-economic development, could not it exchange its votes for gaining financial aids?*”

In this respect, the *Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (2002)*, having underlining that the most important element of its interests is economic, also argues that its poverty and economical backwardness could expose it to foreign governments and other bodies in the following manner:

Foreign governments and other forces may be encouraged to act against our national interest thinking that they can get Ethiopia to succumb to their economic and other pressures because the country is now in a poor and backward state. They may be tempted to take measures that would put our fundamental interests in danger believing that the people can easily be at each other's throat and are unlikely to collaborate for a common cause. They may feel that our defense and security capabilities are weak for economic, political and technical reasons (para, 2).

These presumptions cannot be discounted, for the reason that such limitations could make the country vulnerable in many ways. On the other hand, this may also be linked to its voting behaviors in the UN Security Council Resolutions. In this respect, though at times, be costly to the country's immediate advantages, Esayas (2016) argues that Ethiopia's principled stance in its participation and role in such multilateral arenas have gained it immense respect and confidence in the eyes of the international community and particularly fellow Africans.

However, other scholars' argument contradicts the above assertion. For example in 2018, the United Nations was deadlocked as the US and Russia voted against each other over an investigation into the suspected chemical attack in Syria. Each country placed a resolution before the UNSC to vote on. The US text was vetoed by Russia while the Russian text was not adopted because it did not gain enough votes (Sampathkumar, 2018).

Diplomats have openly admitted about the chemical attack in Syria, journalists have written about it, human rights organizations have declared it several times. However, Russia, China, Bolivia, and Kazakhstan voted against the agenda, while the African countries on the Council Ethiopia, Equatorial Guinea and Ivory Coast (the A3s) abstained, leaving only seven countries in favor, and one less than was needed for the briefing to happen. At the end of the day, the Security Council failed to adopt a resolution that would, according to press reports, have imposed sanctions against parties using chemical weapons in war-torn Syria (Tadros, 2018).

Additionally, Tadros (2018) labeled this as a “*disgraceful moment*” for the Security Council. When the council is blocked from simply discussing human rights in Syria, it has lost all credibility to find a solution. Worse than that, it has become part of the problem. The main reason, why the Council has failed in the issue of Syria among other things is because some member states are believed to have failed for economic or political influence in the UNSC.

In this regard, Ethiopia's position in the UN Security Council, particularly its voting behavior in the Council has been a bone of contention among local and foreign scholars. For instance, when Ethiopia abstained in regard to the chemical attacks in Syria in 2018, it has created confusions and puzzled politicians around the world, researchers as well as international communities. In the field of International Relations this could give rise to a couple of argumentations, particularly over the country's voting pattern in the Council. On the one hand, since a negative vote or veto from one of the Council's five permanent members means a resolution cannot be adopted, it can be said that Ethiopia was furtively going with the expected winners i.e. Russia and China (Bandwagoning). On the other hand, it can be argued that the country was lining up itself with its regional counterparts i.e. Equatorial Guinea and Ivory Coast (Aligning). And it can also be argued that, since Syria was becoming a playground of the superpowers and regional proxies, the Ethiopian government does not want to immerse itself in the clash of the superpowers (Hedging) (Tadros, 2018).

Ethiopia's representative (Tekeda Alemu), explaining his abstention, also condemned the use of chemical weapons for any reason under any circumstance. In Syria, however, the Joint Investigative Mechanism had not been able to find "*highly convincing*", "*substantial*" or even "*sufficient*" evidence, but only "*sufficient information*", he emphasized. While Ethiopia's belief that the conclusions were not firm enough was not intended to cast aspersions on the Mechanism, he said, it was nevertheless obligated to point out areas requiring further inquiry (Security Council Report, 2017).

Regardless of such arguments, Ethiopia's abstention on the chemical attacks in Syria did not go well with many scholars. For instance, Tadros (2018) expressed his frustrations as; "*Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Bolivia, Ivory Coast, Equatorial Guinea and Ethiopia, history will not forget this vote and the dangerous precedent it has set for human rights at the Security Council. Most unjustly of all, the ones that pay the price for this colossal UNSC failure are the people in Syria that were being killed, maimed, starved and tortured every day.*" At this instant, we understand that Ethiopia's voting behavior in the UNSC is highly debatable and this is what will essentially be investigated in this paper.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

There are several mainstream theories that seem appropriate to examine Ethiopia's voting behavior in the UN Security Council. In the following theoretical review, the liberalists, rationalists, and national role theory, will shortly be outlined to argue which theories will be considered for the research.

The Liberal View

Fidler (1996) argues that the Security Council is a hybrid institution reflecting both realism and liberalism. The Security Council bears realism's imprint in the veto power given to its five permanent members (p. 415). For that reason, veto powers can be quite interestingly analyzed through a Realpolitik or 'Great Power politics' framework. Similarly, the liberal perspective that consists of a broad family of liberal theories generally sees sovereign states as the main foreign policy actors in the international arena. However, liberalists do not share the realist assumption that power is the means by which security is guaranteed. Rather, they see cooperation as a pervasive element in international affairs (Walt, 1998, p. 32).

The main aspects underlying the optimism about foreign policy cooperation are the emphasis of a state of interdependence between the actors, facilitated particularly by international institutions, free trade and to a lesser extent by peace and democracy more generally. Based on all these different currents within liberalism, the basic belief liberals have is in cooperation within international relations. The main purpose of liberalism is welfare instead of security. Liberalism believes in the common interests of human beings and that they are therefore willing to cooperate in domestic affairs, as well as in international affairs because this will lead to greater benefits for all. In this way, they differentiate themselves from realism because they believe in cooperation instead of conflict (As, 2013, p. 16).

Generally, the United Nations is connected to liberalist view, the Security Council also bears the imprint of liberalism, as it forms the centerpiece of a collective security system designed to deter aggression and increase peace and cooperation between states. The concept of collective security was designed to move international relations away from the balance of power politics toward a system of collective responsibility and action against threats to peace and order (Fidler, 1996, p. 415). In the broadest terms, this collective responsibility or interdependence suggests a relationship of interests such that if one nation's position changes, other states will be affected by that change.

The Rationalist View

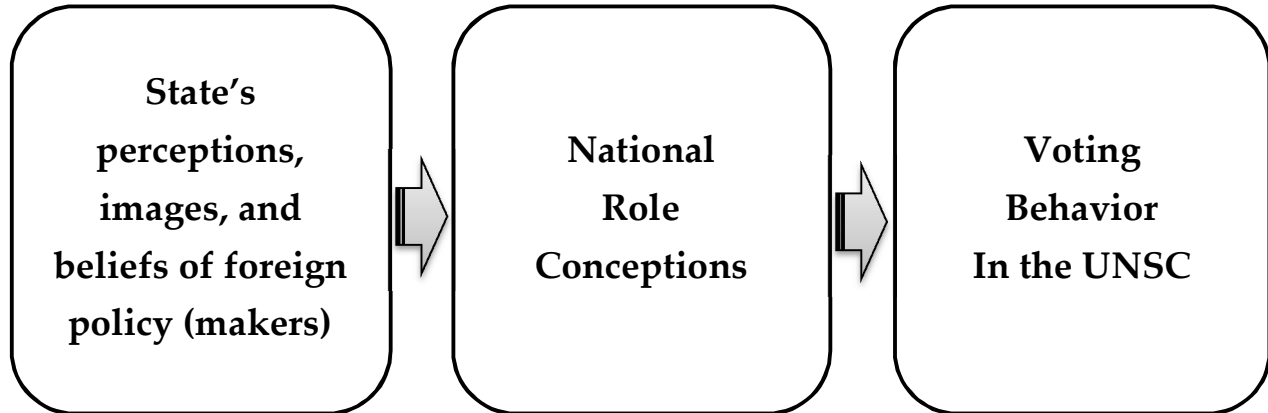
Most broadly speaking, rationalism denotes to any positivist exercise in explaining foreign policy by reference to goal-seeking behavior. States are seen as unitary actors which calculate the marginal utility of their actions. Faced with the possibility of cooperation, actors calculate the utility of alternative courses of action and choose the one that maximizes their utility under the circumstance. In view of that, their behavior is inspired by the logic of consequentiality; that is to say, it is driven by preferences and expectations about consequences. Cooperation is likely when the perceived gains of common action through the advantages of scale outweigh the potential costs of lost sovereignty or national prestige (Gordon, 1997, p. 80).

The National Role Theory

Another theory that helps us understand the behavior considering foreign policy decision making is role theory. Holsti (1970) identifies four concepts to understand foreign policy; role performance, national role conceptions, role prescriptions, and position. The attitudes, decisions, and actions of governments make up the role performance. National role conceptions are '*self-defined*' and role prescriptions are under the influence of the '*external environment*' (p. 240). In foreign policy analysis, the foreign policy maker is central to understand foreign policy decision making, together with his images, beliefs, and perception. Mainly, with the knowledge that national role conceptions take shape from perceptions, images, and beliefs of foreign policymakers, the next step is to define national role conceptions itself.

According to Holsti and Wish (1970, 1980), National role conceptions are the perceptions, images, and beliefs of foreign policymakers about how their nations should act in the international system. National role conceptions are not so different from images and beliefs. They are self-defined, and, thus, very personal specific, just like images and beliefs. How policymakers view the decisions and actions of the state influences the national role conception (Holsti, 1970). Besides, Wish's definition of national role conceptions, 'foreign policymakers' perceptions of their nation's positions in the international system', focuses on the perception of policymakers (1980, p. 533). Therefore, this paper assumes that national role conceptions are created through foreign policymakers, more accurately through, the perceptions, images, and beliefs of foreign policymakers and it will be used in this research as follows:

Figure 2.2: The relationship between State's foreign policy (makers), national role conceptions, and voting behavior in the UN Security Council



Source: Own construction adapted from Marjanović (2015)

As established, national role conceptions (NRCs) include the perceptions, images, and beliefs of foreign policy decision-makers. Their image of suitable actions and decisions of their state concerning the external environment is of influence on the behavior of states. Altogether, national role conceptions and role theory are focused on foreign policy behavior and, therefore, should be able to explain the expression of foreign policy behavior such as voting behavior. And so, the empirical analysis will show if national role conceptions can be a contribution to the understanding of Ethiopia's voting behavior.

Having said so far, most of the above-stated theories are expected to frame and guide the analytical sections in the next chapters. Above all, the national role conceptions are essentially employed to examine Ethiopian foreign policy-makers and decision-makers level of consistency in protecting the national interest, promoting continental agenda as well as interests of the international community. Their perceptions, images, and beliefs of suitable decisions and actions of their state concerning the external environment are expected to reveal the country's voting behavior in the UNSC. While the liberal and rationalist theories are used to analyze Ethiopia's foreign policy cooperation with other members of the Security Council for common interests.

The many theories about how this happens can be divided into three categories: '*voter conformism*,' '*strategic voting*,' and '*participation/abstention*' (Lee, 2008, p. 1). Among others, the belief that states will ally with dominant power, as opposed to balance against it, has been a common feature among foreign policy practitioners. Especially, a notable alternative of small states policies is to seek allies. Generally, two different ways are employed; bandwagoning and balancing (Choi, 1995, p. 35).

A well-known example of voter conformism is the bandwagon effect, Koga (2018) defines bandwagoning as an alignment with the source of danger to gain benefits and ensure security at the expense of autonomy and opportunities to cooperate with other powers (p. 637). Bandwagoning behavior in international relations occurs when a state aligns with stronger or dominant power, either to appease it or in the hope of profiting from its victory (Gangale, 2003, p. 3).

According to Gunasekara (2015), the bandwagoning response is more likely to occur when small states recognize that they can do nothing or little to influence the international system. Second, the availability of material support from the great powers, in particular, defense and military capability, guarantees that most small states choose to bandwagon with them. A key criterion in determining small states' decision to bandwagon, therefore, is how far military and defense capabilities of great power can assure the protection of small power. On the other hand, if a great power can mobilize resources on behalf of a small country, the small power, then, would be happy to pursue policies that please the great power. Third small states' growing concern about the international environment and the security issues in it decide its decision to bandwagon or balance (p. 218). Bandwagoning is opposed to balancing, which calls for a state to prevent an aggressor from upsetting the balance of power.

Traditionally balancing as a way of foreign policy had implied the balance against the emergence of a predominant power (Choi, 1995, p .36). According to Ian (2003) balancing refers to a strategy taken by a state to actively preserve security and advance interests by increasing its power vis-à-vis the most powerful and threatening actors to challenge and offset the dangers that the latter potentially pose (p.5). Balancing is opposed to the concept of bandwagoning, whereby smaller states seek to attain their interests by allying with the major power or a dominant actor.

By and large, this fixation on balancing, and its counterpart, bandwagoning, appears to lie in the almost unquestioned assumption that these two strategies represent the two main, if not exclusive, approaches to state security in world politics. Central to this line of thinking is that state actors bandwagon with the powerful and balance against the threatening to preserve security and promote interests. Discussions on the balance of power, for example, argue that states aim to reduce threats to security by attempting to affect the distribution of power through their alliance and domestic policy choices. When unable or unwilling to balance, actors tend to side or bandwagon with the powerful (Ian, 2003, p.1).

Some scholars criticize the balance of threat theory is designed to consider only cases in which the goal of alignment is security, and so it systematically excludes alliance driven by profit, in other words, "*bandwagoning for profits*". Accordingly, they have come to conclude that balancing is driven by the desire to avoid losses, and bandwagoning by the opportunity for gain (Choi, 1995, p .38). Balancing and bandwagoning, however, may not fully account for the range of strategies state actors adopt to preserve and promote their interests.

In recent years, there have been some attempts to look beyond the balancing and bandwagoning paradigm in world politics scholarship, especially in response to the absence of balancing under unipolarity. For instance Ian (2003), taking the current unipolar system, argues that states respond to preponderant power with behavior that falls between balancing on one end, and bandwagoning on the other (p.2). Other scholars have also proposed alternative concepts to articulate this behavior, including "*accommodation*," "*buck-passing*," "*soft-balancing*," "*institutional-balancing*," and "*hedging*" (Koga, 2018, p. 634).

Among these concepts, "hedging" has drawn particular policy and scholarly attention in the literature because this concept seems to effectively explain secondary powers' behavior. Generally, hedging refers to "*an insurance policy against opportunism*". In his article Koga (2018), argues that the concept of "*hedging*" should be understood in the context of the "*balancing-bandwagoning*" spectrum within the "*balance of power*" theory, in which hedging is located between balancing and bandwagoning as the state's third strategic choice. States, particularly secondary powers, attempt to calculate the risk of balancing, bandwagoning, and hedging, adopting an optimal strategy. More specifically, through hedging, the state conducts a counteracting policy, strengthening economic cooperation while preparing for diplomatic and military confrontation by increasing military capabilities to temporarily avoid an explicit confrontation with a potentially adversarial state (pp. 633-634).

So far, conceptualization has been carried out by placing hedging somewhere between or on the same level as balancing and bandwagoning. First, the clarification provides a more rigid conceptual foundation of hedging as the third strategy. Because hedging generally aims to leave strategic options open without the need to choose balancing or bandwagoning, this concept contributes to explaining variations in state behavior, particularly among secondary powers, thus honing the analytical edge of the balance of power theory. As such, scholars tend to define

hedging as a strategic choice that the state makes by not taking sides, either temporarily or permanently. Scholars thus use the term as the third choice in addition to balancing and bandwagoning (Koga, 2018, pp. 634-637).

In general, balancing and bandwagoning behaviors are the basic indications of a state's overall strategic behavior. However, to identify such behaviors, it is necessary to examine policies and actions in specific areas, such as the military, economic, and diplomatic fields. While the conventional means of pursuing hedging involve economic bandwagoning and military balancing (Koga, 2018, p. 640). The use of this conceptual or theoretical framework intends to examine whether Ethiopia's foreign policy behavior has been mainly bandwagoning, balancing or hedging vis-à-vis the permanent members, elected members as well as African representatives in the UN Security Council. Besides, attempts will be made to assess the level of consistency of the country's voting behavior on protecting the national interest, promoting the African agenda, and the interest of the international community in relation to its declared foreign policy.

When all is said and done, most of the existing literature revealed that Ethiopia has always been at the forefront of the countries that positively and immediately respond to calls by the UN for troop contributions ever since the UN's formation. Besides, its role in various UN-led Peace Support Operations was said to be successful and highly commendable (Haile, 2006; Haile, 2012; Muluken, 2011). In contrast, Ethiopia has also been part of the United Nations multilateral diplomacy, particularly as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council several times. The question is what was its role, the basis of its voting behavior and how is it dealing with the proposed reform of the Security Council. Finding relevant answers for such questions is what this thesis is all about.

Lastly, it could be said that Ethiopia's role in the United Nations Security Council was not given due attention or has not been adequately studied, and hence it is not plainly known. Accordingly, this thesis sets out to analyze the history, practical experience, voting behavior, policy implications and overall diplomatic role of Ethiopia in line with the concepts of multilateralism and collective Security in the United Nations Security Council.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents an outline of the methodologies that were applied for undertaking the study: it includes the choice of particular research designs, data type, and source of data, data collecting technique and instruments, sampling and sampling techniques and data analysis techniques and other aspects of the research along with an appropriate justification associated with each approach.

3.1 Research Design

The broad objective of the thesis is to explore the overall role of Ethiopia in the UN Security Council. Having this in mind, this research was intended to be exploratory. In view of that, the study followed an exploratory research design to explore the role of Ethiopia in the United Nations Security Council, which is a new and less explored research area in the context of Ethiopia. According to Kothari (1990), the major emphasis of exploratory approach is on the discovery of ideas and insights; it helps to apply flexible approaches and provides opportunities to consider different aspects of a problem under study. Hence, an exploratory research design was employed to use flexible strategies that could enable to develop better insights about Ethiopia's involvement in the United Nations Security Council. Therefore, a qualitative research approach was used to explore knowledge or information about the role of Ethiopia in the UN Security Council, related issues and implications. The qualitative approach which is more flexible and holistic provides more chances go to deeper into the research questions.

3.2 Sampling Technique

The populations of the research are mostly the officials, employees, and experts of the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Peace and Security Directorate. The researcher jointly used three types of non-probability sampling. First of all, the researcher employed a snowball sampling to identify the potential participants of the research. Then, Quota sampling was used to measure the number of participants. Once the number of participants was specified, purposive sampling was employed to select the units and the participants from each unit. Bernard (2002) suggests that purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses; the researcher simply decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the

information by virtue of knowledge or experience. The rationale is, the researcher finds and discerns individuals with knowledge and experience about the study, such as former and active ambassadors, diplomats and other representatives of Ethiopia into the UN Security Council.

3.3 Data Collection Methods

The data used for this study were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through discussions and semi-structured in-depth interviews with focused target interviewees. Whereas, the secondary data were obtained from a review of relevant documents (records); mainly from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs database. In general, the following instruments were employed to collect data from these various sources.

a. Interviews

Key informants interview: key informants interviews were conducted by the researcher to gather reliable data from six target interviewees. Having prepared semi-structured interviews that were recorded by audio recorder tools, the views, experience, belief or motivation of the interviewees were collected in a specific manner regarding their insight on Ethiopia role in the UNSC, their perspective on the Security Council's reform and Ethiopia's eligibility for permanent membership in the Council.

b. Focus Group Discussions

On the other hand, to fill the gap and compare the data gathered through interviews, the researcher conducted informal focus groups discussion, with six participants. Some of whom were constituted from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Peace and Security Directorate Office and former Ethiopian diplomats to the UNSC. Some others included senior peace and security analysts, UN representatives, experts and others who have proximity and interest to the issue under study. Participants for focus group discussion were selected in a purposive sampling technique considering their career history, involvement, experience, and roles played in multilateral diplomacy, particularly in the United Nations Security Council.

c. Document analysis

In order to cross-check the data obtained through interviews and focus group discussions the researcher examined the available documents on the issue from national and international offices. For example, documents like *The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign*

Affairs And National Security Policy And Strategy (2002), other related policy manuals, strategic plan documents, resolutions, and several press report releases were critically analyzed.

3.4 Data Analysis Techniques

The data collected for this study were analyzed using a qualitative approach. The interview and document evidence data were interpreted and analyzed to explain the overall role of Ethiopia in the UN Security Council. This was carried out by applying a pertinent approach to the qualitative method. By the same token, a comparative analysis was predominantly used to compare and contrast the data obtained from different sources descriptively. Then, the contents, which have similarities, were organized into categories and subcategories. This was followed by further clustering of different contents and then, the researcher coined the most descriptive topics that capture the content or the essence of each theme.

The researcher identified Ethiopia as the primary focal state of the study, and in order to determine its eligibility for UNSC permanent membership, the country was measured against each criterion's indicators. The analyses collated the criteria from three notable proposals, and then the researcher constructed a final list of criteria to assess its level of eligibility. Upon completion of the proportional analyses, Ethiopia's scores on the criterion were measured in comparison to a selected reference group, to determine its eligibility for either of the two aspired African permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

The major ethical issue that could have been raised in this study was the confidentiality of the information that was collected from the respondents. Having fully introduced himself, the researcher has notified the purpose of the study, then the informants were assured that the objective of the research was only for academic purpose and they were assured the protection of their identities and the guarantee of their safety of whatever information to be received in the course of the research. Hence, for the sake of privacy, the researcher has kept the identity of some participants in secret.

In addition to this, they were informed that their participation in the study was based on their consent. The research has not personalized any of the respondent's responses during data presentations, analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, all the materials that were used for this research were fully acknowledged.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The previous chapter discussed the appropriate methodologies that were applied for undertaking the study. This chapter deals with data analysis, presentation, and interpretation of the findings. The information made available for this purpose was collected using in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Besides, several secondary sources were also accessed. The results of the study are discussed by triangulating these different source results. Specifically, the chapter is arranged and analyzed under the following four broad themes: the status of the United Nations Security Council in the larger context of Ethiopia's foreign policy, followed by a critical analysis of Ethiopia's voting patterns on Security Council resolutions, Ethiopia's perspectives on Security Council Reform as well as its level of eligibility for permanent membership in the UN Security Council.

4.1 The United Nations Security Council in the Larger Context of Ethiopia's Foreign Policy

The desire to participate more actively and meaningfully in world affairs might motivate countries to strive for a spot in the Security Council (Kuziemko & Werker 2006, p.2). As it happens, membership on the Security Council gives a state the opportunity to participate in the Security Council on binding resolutions, advance its national position in conflict and enhance its status and prestige in the international community (Lai & Lefler, 2009, p. 3; Lundin, 2017, pp. 7-9). Many of Africa's policies concerning the Security Council can best be viewed as a microcosm of their broader, fundamental foreign policy goals. While this is true for most, if not all, states, the combined effects of their ambitions on the international stage and their obvious material constraints create a distinct and complex approach to the Council (Serrão, 2011, p. 4). In spite of this restraint, it would be a privilege joining the UN Security Council. In this respect Ndiaye, M., African Peace and Security Program Director, claims that almost every country in Africa has an aspiration of joining the United Nations Security Council:

Every country in Africa aspires to become a member of the UN Security Council; not only for the interest but also for Collective Security (personal communication, April 29, 2019).

Membership in the UN Security Council is part of a country's foreign relations activities. Ethiopia is one of the countries that have long experience in multilateral diplomacy and collective security. Especially, the principle of collective security is very important to Ethiopia (Fortuna, D., personal communication, February 27, 2019). Ambassador Tekeda Alemu, former Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations, claims that his country fully recognizes the legitimacy of the United Nations Security Council by stating "*We [Ethiopia] respect the principles embodied in the UN Charter*" (personal communication, April 15, 2019). The Ambassador further stated that Ethiopia joins the Security Council to fulfill its international responsibility;

We [Ethiopia] are part of the international community, the UN Security Council has a responsibility for international peace and security and we join the Security Council not merely for pursuing our national interest, but to maintain international peace and security as well (personal communication, April 15, 2019).

In order to discharge this international responsibility decisively, a country needs to be a member of the UN Security Council. In addition to this, since most of the issues discussed in the Security Council are mainly about Africa in general and the Horn of Africa in particular, Ethiopia, as a symbol of pan Africanism and seat of the African Union, joins the Council to pursue this continental responsibility. Above all, the country joins the Council to protect its national interest (Bantihun, G., personal communication, February 4, 2019). According to most of the key informants, the main principles guiding Ethiopia's involvement in the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular are:

- Responsibility towards the national interest, the African continent and the international community as a whole.
- To promote world peace and security through the peaceful settlement of disputes.
- To advocate for the prevention of conflicts and the strengthening of all available tools of the United Nations.
- To give inputs to the UN Security Council members as a key partner to Collective Security.

- The encouragement of greater cooperation between the United Nations and regional and sub-regional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security.
- Enhance the role of regional and sub-regional arrangements in improving collective security.
- A commitment in a globalized world, for Ethiopia's socio-economic development in the multilateral platform through regional and international economic cooperation.
- Contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations Peace Support Operation by addressing the multifaceted challenges they face in the changing global security environment.

In general, most African countries believe in the authority of the UN Security Council, and they perceive it as a good platform for international peace, security, and development (Dawit Yohannes, personal communication, May 17, 2019). In the process, they would have a better opportunity to promote their national security interest, and when they become a member of the UNSC they will ensure to overhaul whatever is inimical for their security interest that may be addressed. Thus, several African states are intensely competitive for seats within their respective regions. Likewise, having a long historical experience and being in one of the volatile regions in the continent, Ethiopia, like most of the African countries, joins the UN Security Council with a priority of protecting its own national interest by aligning with African interest and to carry out its responsibility for the international community (Tekeda, A., personal communication, April 15, 2019).

4.2 A critical analysis of Ethiopia's voting patterns on resolutions in the United Nations Security Council.

The act of voting is symbolic because it is a succinct statement of state position on a matter, and voting at the UN is important for demonstrating how world politics is reflected in that organization. As noted previously, voting in the UN is also significant because it is the official method of recording which resolutions are passed or fail to be passed and more importantly it can be used as an indicator of state's foreign policy and voting behavior (Graham, 2013, p. 11)

Ethiopia's voting behavior in international institutions emanates from its Constitution and the Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (2002). In view of that, its voting pattern is essentially expected to be in compliance with these documents and reflect its provisions as much as possible. According to most of the key informants, some of the principles guiding Ethiopia's voting pattern in international institutions are listed below:

1. Advocacy of multilateralism (Bantihun, G., personal communication, February 11, 2019)
2. In compliance with its constitution and declared foreign policy document (Fortuna, D. personal communication, February 27, 2019).
3. In line with the UN Charter, International Law and African Union positions (Dawit Yirga, personal communication, March 28, 2019).
4. Pragmatism (analyzing issues from a realistic standpoint) (Bantihun, G., personal communication, February 11, 2019)
5. Impartiality (non-aligned) (Tekeda, A., personal communication, April 22, 2019)

In addition to these principles, Tekeda (personal communication, April 22, 2019) affirmed that Ethiopia's voting pattern is for all intents and purposes “*without siding with any party*”:

Ethiopia has always tried to maintain its neutrality. The guiding principle was to take positions on the merit of the case; this would mean that you adopt a resolution (position) that is not based on favoring this or that country.

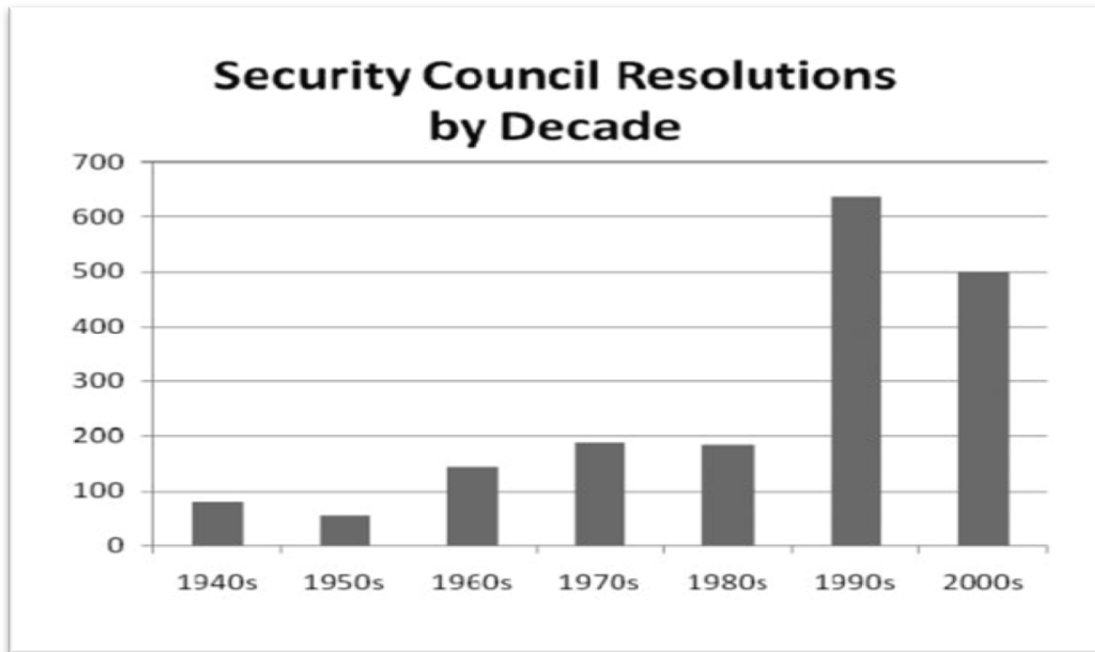
In line with this, the Ambassador added the following when asked about the rationale behind the above stated guiding principle:

The rationale was to be true to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the position of the African Union (Tekeda, A., personal communication, April 22, 2019).

Affirming to the above stated guiding principles, Dawit Yirga, the political coordinator of the Ethiopian UNSC team of 2017-2018, stated that these principles were directly applied when they cast votes in the Council saying ‘*We don't proclaim something and say other things*’ and ‘*Since we are consistent we are very predictable ... and justified even when we abstain ... hence, countries know where we stand on issues*’ (personal communication, March 25, 2019).

In general, since its foundation in 1945 the Security Council casted heaps of votes on numerous issues. Though relatively inactivated up to the end of the cold war, the votes casted in the Council have been increasing afterward as illustrated in the graph below:

Figure 4.1: Security Council Resolutions by Decade



Source: (Gruenberg, 2009)

As seen in the above graph, it was after the cold war (after the 1990s); the Council began to actively take part in world affairs (Moeckli & Fasel, 2017). So as in order to critically examine Ethiopia's voting behavior in the Security Council and its level of congruousness with the above-stated guiding principles and declared foreign policy, its voting record in the course of its third stint in general, and the year 2017, in particular, are essentially analyzed next.

In the year 2017, the Security Council adopted 61 resolutions. Except two resolutions, all of them were adopted unanimously. The first one is resolution 2393 (2017) renewing authorization for cross border, cross line humanitarian access in Syria, which was adopted on 19 December 2017 with 12 votes in favor and three abstentions. The second one is resolution 2385 (2017), extending the Somalia-Eritrea sanctions regime, which was adopted on 14 November 2017, with 11 votes in favor and 4 abstentions.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN 2017**Table 4.1** Ethiopia's Voting Pattern on Security Council Resolutions in 2017

1.	S/RES/2397 (2017)	22 December 2017	Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Adopted unanimously
2.	S/RES/2396 (2017)	21 December 2017	Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts	Adopted unanimously
3.	S/RES/2395 (2017)	21 December 2017	Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts	Adopted unanimously
4.	S/RES/2394 (2017)	21 December 2017	The situation in the Middle East	Adopted unanimously
5.	S/RES/2393 (2017)	19 December 2017	The situation in the Middle East	Adopted with 12 in favor, none against and 3 abstentions (Bolivia, China, and the Russian Federation).
6.	S/RES/2392 (2017)	14 December 2017	Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan	Adopted unanimously
7.	S/RES/2391 (2017)	8 December 2017	Peace and security in Africa	Adopted unanimously
8.	S/RES/2390 (2017)	8 December 2017	The situation concerning Iraq	Adopted unanimously
9.	S/RES/2389 (2017)	8 December 2017	The situation in the Great Lakes region	Adopted unanimously Ethiopia jointly with Egypt and Senegal tabled the resolution
10.	S/RES/2388	21 November	Maintenance of international peace and security	Adopted unanimously

	(2017)	2017		Ethiopia co-sponsored the resolution.
11.	S/RES/2387 (2017)	15 November 2017	The situation in the Central African Republic	Adopted unanimously
12.	S/RES/2386 (2017)	15 November 2017	Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan	Adopted unanimously
13.	S/RES/2385 (2017)	14 November 2017	The situation in Somalia	Adopted with 11 in favor, none against and 4 abstentions (Bolivia, China, Egypt, Russian Federation)
14.	S/RES/2384 (2017)	7 November 2017	The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina	Adopted unanimously
15.	S/RES/2383 (2017)	7 November 2017	The situation in Somalia	Adopted unanimously
16.	S/RES/2382 (2017)	6 November 2017	United Nations peacekeeping operations: Police Commissioners	Adopted unanimously
17.	S/RES/2381 (2017)	5 October 2017	Identical letters dated 19 January 2016 from the Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council (S/2016/53)	Adopted unanimously
18.	S/RES/2380 (2017)	5 October 2017	Maintenance of international peace and security	Adopted unanimously
19.	S/RES/2379 (2017)	21 September 2017	Threats to international peace and security	Adopted unanimously

				Ethiopia co-sponsored the resolution
20.	S/RES/2378 (2017)	20 September 2017	United Nations peacekeeping operations	Adopted unanimously Ethiopia tabled the draft resolution and it was co-sponsored by all the fifteen members of the Security Council Altogether 61 countries co-sponsored it
21.	S/RES/2377 (2017)	14 September 2017	Identical letters dated 19 January 2016 from the Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council (S/2016/53)	Adopted unanimously
22.	S/RES/2376 (2017)	14 September 2017	The situation in Libya	Adopted unanimously
23.	S/RES/2375 (2017)	11 September 2017	Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Adopted unanimously
24.	S/RES/2374 (2017)	5 September 2017	The situation in Mali	Adopted unanimously
25.	S/RES/2373 (2017)	30 August 2017	The situation in the Middle East	Adopted unanimously
26.	S/RES/2372 (2017)	30 August 2017	The situation in Somalia	Adopted unanimously
27.	S/RES/2371	5 August	Non-proliferation/Democratic	Adopted

	(2017)	2017	People's Republic of Korea	unanimously
28.	S/RES/2370 (2017)	2 August 2017	Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts - Preventing terrorists from acquiring weapons	Adopted unanimously
29.	S/RES/2369 (2017)	27 July 2017	The situation in Cyprus	Adopted unanimously
30.	S/RES/2368 (2017)	20 July 2017	Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts	Adopted unanimously Ethiopia co-sponsored the resolution
31.	S/RES/2367 (2017)	14 July 2017	The situation concerning Iraq	Adopted unanimously
32.	S/RES/2366 (2017)	10 July 2017	Identical letters dated 19 January 2016 from the Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council (S/2016/53)	Adopted unanimously
33.	S/RES/2365 (2017)	30 June 2017	Maintenance of international peace and security: Mine action	Adopted unanimously
34.	S/RES/2364 (2017)	29 June 2017	The situation in Mali	Adopted unanimously
35.	S/RES/2363 (2017)	29 June 2017	Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan	Adopted unanimously
36.	S/RES/2362 (2017)	29 June 2017	The situation in Libya	Adopted unanimously
37.	S/RES/2361	29 June	The situation in the Middle East	Adopted

	(2017)	2017		unanimously
38.	S/RES/2360 (2017)	21 June 2017	The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo	Adopted unanimously
39.	S/RES/2359 (2017)	21 June 2017	Peace and security in Africa	Adopted unanimously
40.	S/RES/2358 (2017)	14 June 2017	The situation in Somalia	Adopted unanimously
41.	S/RES/2357 (2017)	12 June 2017	The situation in Libya	Adopted unanimously
42.	S/RES/2356 (2017)	2 June 2017	Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Adopted unanimously
43.	S/RES/2355 (2017)	26 May 2017	The situation in Somalia	Adopted unanimously
44.	S/RES/2354 (2017)	24 May 2017	Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts	Adopted unanimously Ethiopia co-sponsored the resolution
45.	S/RES/2353 (2017)	24 May 2017	Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan	Adopted unanimously
46.	S/RES/2352 (2017)	15 May 2017	Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan	Adopted unanimously
47.	S/RES/2351 (2017)	28 April 2017	The situation concerning Western Sahara	Adopted unanimously
48.	S/RES/2350 (2017)	13 April 2017	The question concerning Haiti	Adopted unanimously
49.	S/RES/2349	31 March 2017	Peace and security in Africa	Adopted unanimously

	(2017)			Ethiopia co-sponsored the resolution
50.	S/RES/2348 (2017)	31 March 2017	The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo	Adopted unanimously
51.	S/RES/2347 (2017)	24 March 2017	Maintenance of international peace and security	Adopted unanimously Ethiopia co-sponsored the resolution
52.	S/RES/2346 (2017)	23 March 2017	The situation in Somalia	Adopted unanimously
53.	S/RES/2345 (2017)	23 March 2017	Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Adopted unanimously
54.	S/RES/2344 (2017)	17 March 2017	The situation in Afghanistan	Adopted unanimously
55.	S/RES/2343 (2017)	23 February 2017	The situation in Guinea-Bissau	Adopted unanimously
56.	S/RES/2342 (2017)	23 February 2017	The situation in the Middle East	Adopted unanimously
57.	S/RES/2341 (2017)	13 February 2017	Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts	Adopted unanimously
58.	S/RES/2340 (2017)	8 February 2017	Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan	Adopted unanimously
59.	S/RES/2339 (2017)	27 January 2017	The situation in the Central African Republic	Adopted unanimously
60.	S/RES/2338 (2017)	26 January 2017	The situation in Cyprus	Adopted unanimously
61.	S/RES/2337 (2017)	19 January 2017	Peace consolidation in West Africa	Adopted unanimously

Source: (United Nations, 2018; Permanent Mission of Ethiopia, 2018).

In general, from the above resolutions, Ethiopia submitted prominently the text on reform of UN peacekeeping, which was unanimously adopted on 20 September 2017 as resolution 2378 (2017). It also submitted the text on the peace, security and cooperation framework for the DRC and the Great Lakes Region together with Egypt and Senegal, which was unanimously adopted on 8 December as resolution 2389 (2017). Moreover, Ethiopia co-sponsored six other resolutions in the year 2017 (Permanent Mission of Ethiopia, 2018).

On the other hand, six draft resolutions tabled for a vote could not pass owing to a negative vote by the permanent members of the Council. Five of these resolutions were vetoed by Russia, China vetoed one of these five resolutions together with Russia and the United States vetoed the remaining one. While Ethiopia voted in favor of four of these draft resolutions, it abstained on the other two.

Security Council – Veto List 2017

Table 4.2 Ethiopia's Voting Pattern on Vetoed Security Council Resolutions in 2017

Date	Draft	Agenda Item	Permanent Member Casting Negative vote	Voting by others
18 December 2017	S/2017/1060	Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question	USA	Bolivia, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine, United Kingdom, and Uruguay voted in favor.
17 November 2017	S/2017/970	Middle East	Russian Federation	Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine, UK, US and Uruguay voted in favor, Bolivia voted against, and China abstained.
16 November	S/2017/962	Middle East	Russian Federation	Ethiopia, France, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Senegal,

2017				Sweden, Ukraine, UK, US and Uruguay voted in favor, Bolivia voted against, China and Egypt abstained.
24 October 2017	S/2017/884	Middle East	Russian Federation	Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Japan, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine, UK, US and Uruguay voted in favor, Bolivia voted against, China and Kazakhstan abstained.
12 April 2017	S/2017/315	Middle East	Russian Federation	Egypt, France, Italy, Japan, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine, UK, US and Uruguay voted in favor, Bolivia voted against, China, Ethiopia, and Kazakhstan abstained.
28 February 2017	S/2017/172	Middle East	China Russian Federation	France, Italy, Japan, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine, United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, USA and Uruguay voted in favor, Bolivia voted against, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Kazakhstan abstained.

Source: (United Nations, 2018; Permanent Mission of Ethiopia, 2018).

Summary of Ethiopia's voting from Table 4.1 and 4.2, out of 67 votes in 2017, the country:

- **Supported**
 - 65 Resolutions
- **Opposed**
 - none
- **Abstained**
 - 2 Resolutions (S/2017/315 and S/2017/172)

For clarity, this study will focus only on resolutions, not decisions. Bearing altogether in mind, particularly Ethiopia's vote on the above-listed resolutions; its voting pattern on several thematic areas and its positions with the elected and permanent members of the Security Council are presented below.

4.2.1 Ethiopia's Voting Pattern on specific thematic areas in the UN Security Council

4.2.1.1 National Interest

In the past, Ethiopia used to pursue its foreign relations from external or outsiders' points of view and this did not go well with its very national interest. The Ethiopian *Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (2002)* explain this as:

Former governments pursued external relations and national security policies that disregarded internal problems that were fundamental to our national condition. Rather, the effort was to focus on the outside world and to look in from the outside, as it were. Such an approach could not adequately protect our national interest and security (para 2).

Since 1991, Ethiopia's national interests have been completely redefined to focus on the country's internal vulnerabilities and problems, political and economic (Chatham House, 2015, p.2). In the interim, things were changing; especially after the adoption of the 2002 foreign policy its focus has been shifted from external towards internal. Regarding this, the FANSPS (2002) states "The external environment is viewed from the prism of our national situation and condition, and this ensures that the policy and strategy have relevance to our national security and survival." (para. 3). In view of this, unlike the previous regimes, the current policy document underlines that protecting national interest as the ultimate goal to be achieved as follows:

We proceed from one and only one premise as we cooperate with others - the protection of our national interest, and security. We will not be led by any other objective. There is no other goal to be achieved (para. 2).

Supporting this Fortuna, D., Director General of International organizations at the Ethiopia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated the following:

Every country gives priority to its national interest, likewise, Ethiopia's National Interest comes first, especially in circumstances (contexts) involving its state of affairs (personal communication, February 27, 2019).

Moreover, Tekeda, A., stated that matters related to national interest were first to be considered during Ethiopia's third tenure in the Security Council:

First of all, we see what implications are there to our national interest, irrespective of other superpowers' interests (personal communication, April 22, 2019).

Table 4.3 Ethiopia's Voting Behavior on National Issues

Ethiopia's voting behavior on national issues and its level of congruousness with its declared foreign policy in the UN Security Council.	
Inconsistent	
Partially consistent	
Consistent	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<p>Explanation: almost every country in the world pursues their external relations with the main concern of protecting their national interest. Likewise, never in its history has Ethiopia ever cast a vote against, abstained or fall behind on issues that have direct or indirect implications to its national interest. The most notable resolution regarding Ethiopia's national interest in its recent stint in the Security Council is resolution 2444 (2018).</p> <p>According to Fortuna, D., one of the main reasons Ethiopia joined the Security Council in 2017 was to maintain the sanctions imposed on Eritrea for its destabilizing role in the Horn of Africa. As a result, the sanctions regime was renewed in 2017. However, when the situations in the region changed dramatically, the Ethiopian government changed its mind and its new objective was to get the sanctions imposed on Eritrea lifted (personal communication, 27 February, 2019). Eventually, taking into consideration the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Council lifted the Sanction by unanimously adopting (S/RES/2444 (2018).</p> <p>Ethiopia, worked with all the 15 Council members to realize this objective. Most of all, since the underlined issue had a direct as well as an indirect implication to its national security interest, Ethiopia took the lions share in the entire process. Finally, the Council recognized the changes that have occurred in the region and appreciated the leading role Ethiopia played, which resulted in far-reaching positive consequences for the Horn of Africa and beyond.</p>	

In general, Ethiopia has supported and co-sponsored most of the resolutions that have direct or indirect implications to its national interest. And when we see this in line with its foreign Policy guiding principles, which gives primacy to the mission of ensuring and protecting its national interest, security, and well-being, it is more or less "consistent". This shows a fairly high degree of congruence between Ethiopia's voting behavior and its declared foreign policy.

4.2.1.2 Continental (African) Issue

When the three African countries (A3) join the UN Security Council, they represent not only their national interests but also the interests of their continent. After their selection through the final decision of the AU Executive Committee, the Council's African members often uphold AU positions in their dealings in the Council (Iwanami, 2011, p. 11). In this respect, Ndiaye, M, further stressed that "*they have to always make sure that they represent both of them*" (personal communication, April 29, 2019). Moreover, to organize the A3 work, every four months one of the three countries takes up a coordination role to make sure that, as far as possible, Africa's positions in the Council are in line with previous agreements reached at AU level (Rivera, 2018).

Ethiopia is the host of the African Union, and as the FANSPS, this naturally means that Ethiopia carries a special responsibility for Africa and the region. Tekeda, A., upholds this claim saying "*We have a special responsibility of Africa as a member and seat of the AU*" (personal communication, April 15, 2019).

In the past, Ethiopia extended enormous political and military support for various anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles in Africa. Such support included military training and diplomatic support for liberation movements in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. Regarding this, the FANSPS (2002) compliments, unlike to their counter-productive record to the national interest, the positive role its past governments have played for Africa as follows:

It is worth mentioning that the policy and practice pursued by past Ethiopian governments in this regard must be seen in a positive light because their policies enabled our country to discharge its African responsibilities and to gain the respect of our African brothers and sisters. (para 2)

In its times in the Security Council, besides the issues in the Horn of Africa, all other African issues were also priorities for Ethiopia. Especially in the Year 2017-2018, Ethiopia considered it an obligation to defend Africa's positions on matters of peace and security on the continent, based on the relevant decisions of the African Union and its regional mechanisms (CDRC Digest, 2019, p. 10). Dawit Yirga affirms the above statement saying:

The main agenda of Ethiopia's third tenure in the Council was to be vocal for Africa in general and the Horn of Africa issues in particular (personal communication, March 25, 2019).

Normally, the African representatives (A3) are essentially expected to protect African interest by aligning it with their respective self-interest in the high table. For that reason, they are usually perceived and perform as regional representatives in the UN Security Council. But this is not always true, at times some African countries tend to deviate or even go against the interest and position of Africa and the African Union. To cite one example, when the three African representatives' (Gabon, Nigeria and South Africa) vote in favor of the no-fly zone in Libya (resolution 1973/2011), put the countries (A3s) at odds with other African member states, particularly as the vote went against existing AU views (Carvalho, 2018, p.16). Most of the African representatives (A3s) are very careful since the Libyan case, and Ndiaye, M., further noted that "*The case of Libya was a big mistake, and it is a big lesson for all African countries*" (personal communication, April 29, 2019).

However, in the case of Ethiopia, most of the key informants declared that "*Ethiopia has always been the strong voice of Africa*". By the same token, Dawit Yirga stated that "*Ethiopia has been very vocal on African issues, guided by the decisions of the African Union and its regional mechanisms*" (personal communication, March 25, 2019). Similarly, Ndiaye, M., having underlined that "*Ethiopia was very consistent in African issue*", stated the following:

Ethiopia's voting pattern has never deviated from the principles and positions adopted by the African Union (personal communication, April 29, 2019).

What is more, Tekeda (2019) summed up Ethiopia's continental responsibilities and declared it as the champion of the Security Council in its third stint in the Council as follows:

It is also widely recognized that Ethiopia has been second to none in aligning its positions on all issues with those of the African Union. In this regard it was a champion in the Security Council in 2017 and 2018, mobilizing support for objectives that the AU wanted promoted. Ethiopia has never allowed the African Union to be marginalized on issues that fall within the purview of the organization. Africa has also thus been a priority for Ethiopia's foreign policy. While zeroing in on Ethiopia's national interest as we conducted our foreign policy, we also made sure that Ethiopia paid attention to the interest of Africa and the common positions adopted by the organization. (p. 4).

Table 4.4 Ethiopia's Voting Pattern on African Issues in the UNSC

Ethiopia's voting behavior on African issues and its level (degree) of congruousness with its declared foreign policy	
Inconsistent	
Partially consistent	
Consistent	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<p>Explanation: Ethiopia has long been playing an affirmative role concerning African issues, ever since its first tenure in the Council, without any deficit. To cite an example, in its first stint in the Council (1967-68), Ethiopia was credited for its vibrant contributions in promoting the interests of the weak and the vulnerable, from Africa or elsewhere. Most of all, it was very vocal in the decolonization process of its fellow Africans (Dawit Yirga, personal communication, March 25, 2019). For instance, UN archives attest that Ethiopia co-sponsored the resolution on <i>“The Question of Southern Rhodesia”</i> together with Algeria, India, Pakistan and Senegal and Lij Endalkachew presented the draft resolution representing these countries (Esayas, 2016).</p> <p>During the second tenure in the UNSC from 1989-1990, Ethiopia rallied Africa in the struggle to mobilize Africa, increasing pressure to be exerted on the apartheid regime. One of the most important issues was the longstanding task of ending apartheid South Africa's illegal occupation of South West Africa (Namibia), which in the earlier decade or so Ethiopia and Liberia had taken to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) (Keffyalew, 2016). Yet again, on 29 August 1989, at the Council's 2882nd meeting, Ethiopia submitted a draft resolution, which represented a compromise between several strongly held positions about Namibia, along with Algeria, Colombia, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal, and Yugoslavia. The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 640 (1989).</p> <p>And during its third tenure 2017-2018 in the Council, Ethiopia discharged its continental responsibilities so magnificently, which termed it as the champion of the Council in this regard by its UN ambassador.</p>	

In general, as discussed above, Ethiopia has assured its commitment to issues pertaining to Africa in general and the Horn of Africa in particular, with a high sense of responsibility. In 2017, it supported all the 27 resolutions dealing with issues that fall within the African purview and co-sponsored the resolution on DRC. This could be assumed as consistent with the special African responsibilities the country claimed to have under its declared foreign policy.

4.2.1.3 International issues

Membership in the UN Security Council is not primarily about self-interest, but first and foremost about the others. And the others, that is the UN-membership at large that a respective country is supposed to represent, on whose behalf the Security Council acts (UN Charter, Art. 24) and who are bound by its decisions (Art. 25). So, beyond one single country's interest in the Security Council; the agenda is set by the others and by events in the outside world.

In line with this, the Ethiopian constitution (Article 86) as well as its existing Foreign policy (2002) promotes and paves the way for the country to fulfill its cooperative responsibility in the international system. From the outset, the FANSPS (2002), was arguing for integration with international system when stating “*we should adopt a foreign and security policy which can promote our interests and security in the framework of globalization...a policy that can effectively integrate us into the international system*” (para 1). Furthermore, the policy document refers international organizations like the United Nations as a platform that provides a forum where Ethiopia seeks to play by the rules in the world of globalization.

Among other things, voting on international issues is open to competing interests of the superpowers and other concerned bodies. In 2017 - 2018, some of these issues were very sensitive and they involved the strategic interests of major powers and as an elected member of the Security Council, Ethiopia was required to express its opinion and vote on matters that were not amenable to being handled by consensus. However, CDRC Digest (2019) stated that Ethiopia took principled positions on such issues as follows:

Ethiopia took its positions based on a careful examination of the merits of each case and by upholding its principles. As much as possible, it tried to be a voice of reason, calling for unity and consensus in responding to some of the most difficult and complex peace and security challenges of this era. (p. 13).

Table 4.5 Ethiopia's Voting Behavior on International Issues

Ethiopia's voting behavior on international issues and its level (degree) of congruousness with its declared foreign policy	
Inconsistent	
Partially consistent	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Consistent	
Explanation: Ethiopia has been exerting efforts to fulfill its international responsibility, through contributing thousands of troops, police officers and civilians to peacekeeping	

missions as well as via round table negotiations based on international law. Especially, in the course of its three tenures in the UN Security Council, it was able to exercise its international responsibilities in wider and high-level platform. However, the wide-reaching competition and highly polarized state of affairs in the Council regarding international issues was not an easy task to handle for its members, including Ethiopia.

Ethiopia's voting pattern on international issues in the Council, unlike its national or continental ones were subject to divergent arguments from several directions. During its third stint, the serious disagreement on the Syria file was emblematic of the deep divisions prevailing in the council. As regards, Antonio Gutierrez, Secretary-General of the UN, said that Syria at the moment represented the most serious threat to international peace and security, featuring proxy wars, national and international militia, foreign fighters from around the world and various terrorist groups, as well as violations of international law, international humanitarian law and the United Nations Charter (Security Council 8233rd Meeting, 2018).

On top of this, the moment Ethiopia abstained on a resolution to condemn the chemical weapon attack in Syria, very quickly, interested observers around the world expressed disillusionment over the country's vote, essentially casting doubt on the consistency of the country's foreign policy choices in the UN Security Council (Tadros, 2018).

The situations of Syria had three main issues concerning chemical weapons, humanitarian and political matters. When the draft resolution, tabled by France, the UK, and the US, was placed for a vote, nine of the Council's 15 members voted in favor, Bolivia joined Russia and China in rejecting the text, as Egypt, Ethiopia, and Kazakhstan abstained (Resolution 315/2017). With the draft resolution failing to pass through, the UNSC once again failed to adopt a resolution that would have condemned the reported use of chemical weapons in Syria and called on the government to cooperate with an investigation into the incident.

Following the vote, some speakers expressed their frustration, in the failure of the Council to act on the issue. Inter alia, Ethiopia's representative (Tekeda Alemu) expressed his regret that the Council had been unable to respond to the reported use of chemical weapons in Syria. He said *"No one disagreed with the thrust of the draft, which was to investigate reports of a grave violation of international law, but in failing to adopt the text, the Council had lost an opportunity to send a powerful message on the use of chemical weapons"* (Security Council 7922nd Meeting; Resolution 315/2017).

In its preamble, the United Nations Charter does give brief and brilliantly summed up four areas of action (Peace and Security, Human rights, the rule of law and Development), which over the years have been translated programmatically and institutionally. Regarding human rights, it is written as “*to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small*” (UN Charter). And in the course of the Syrian crises, the serious violation of human rights was a matter of concern for the international community.

In concrete terms, any Security Council member state has a commitment to the objectives of the United Nations Charter, the various international instruments the Organization applies and the nation’s laws and its international obligations, especially the human rights instruments it has signed and voluntarily ratified through its legal mechanisms.

Ethiopia is a party to six of the seven core international human rights instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The seven core international human rights treaties create legal obligations for state parties to promote and protect human rights. When a country accepts one of these treaties through ratification, accession or succession, it assumes a legal obligation to implement the rights set out in that treaty (Abiyou, 2015). Moreover, since all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land of the country (FDRE Constitution, Art 9) and as a member of the UN as well as part of these human rights treaties has the obligation to implement the treaties.

What is more, based on the newly ratified proclamation no. 691/2010 under article 15 (4) and previously based on proclamation no. 471/2005 article 25 (9), The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia has the power and duty to ‘*ensure the enforcement of rights and obligations arising from treaties signed by the Ethiopian Government except in so far as specific power has legally been delegated to other organs*’ (Abiyou, 2015).

Bearing all this in mind, Ethiopia’s abstention in the chemical attacks of Syria that followed by a series of human rights violations by several parties cannot be regarded as consistent either with its constitution, foreign policy or the international conventions it has signed. Explaining its abstention, some of the key informants have stated that it addressed the Syrian chemical weapons issue in an honorable manner but without unduly “*offending*”, “*antagonizing*” or “*angering*” others. This gives the impression that Ethiopia was giving more emphasis towards maintaining its balanced relationship with others, sidelining the human

rights violations in Syria. And, it was out of this frustration that Tadros (2018) condemned Ethiopia's abstention on the issue of Syria, as a vote history will not forget, above and beyond for the dangerous precedent it has set for human rights at the Security Council.

Yet again, Ethiopia abstained on a draft resolution by the Russian Federation to condemn the arbitrary aggression of the United States and its allies over suspected chemical weapons use in the country against the tenets of international law. This draft resolution which was defeated by a recorded vote of 8 against (Côte d'Ivoire, France, Kuwait, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States) to 3 in favor (Bolivia, China, Russian Federation), with 4 abstentions (Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Kazakhstan, Peru) would have demanded the United States and its allies immediately cease such actions and refrain from any further use of force in violation of international law (Security Council 8233rd Meeting, 2018)

In addition to the recurrent human right violations, this time there was also a violation of sovereignty by an arbitrary use of power, with the Syrian representative (Ja'afari) stating that a third of his country was under direct United States military occupation, and its sovereignty had been violated by a permanent Council member. Even if the draft had received 9 votes, Ethiopia's representative (Tekeda Alemu) said he had abstained in the vote on pragmatic grounds, wishing to play a constructive role in diffusing tensions and preventing the situation from spiraling out of control.

However, when Ethiopia's abstention on the underlined issues of sovereignty and arbitrary use of power is viewed in line with its domestic legal provisions and its previous voting patterns, it is more or less inconsistent. For instance, Art. 39 of the FDRE Constitution is an indication of the country's commitment to self-determination and sovereignty; besides the international conventions, it has signed having similar implications. What's more, during its second tenure in the Council (1989-1990), Ethiopia voted against the invasion of the State of Kuwait by Iraq by citing Art. 2 of the UN Charter, which deals among other things with sovereignty of states as well as use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. But, in the case of Syria, Ethiopia failed to replicate this position and preferred to keep its hands off from the rivalry of superpowers and regional proxies.

Formally, in its official documents, Ethiopia could be said to commit itself to human rights, however, as a summary of the situation of human rights expressed in Table 4.5, Ethiopia

has not always voted against the condemnation of human right violations in Syria, among others, and therefore has not consistently supported the promotion of human rights as declared in its legal documents and correlated instruments.

In general, Ethiopia's voting behavior in regard to international issues, especially based on the sensitivity of human rights violations, UN sanctions or intervention, and to resolutions that appear to undermine the sovereignty or the territorial integrity of the target state, were inconsistent with its constitution and foreign policy of human rights, democracy and sovereignty promotion. Against this argument, Ndiaye, M, contested that Ethiopia's voting behavior on international issues is context-based as follows:

When it comes to Ethiopia's voting pattern on international issues, I do not call it 'inconsistent' but based on context and implication of interest (personal communication, April 29, 2019)

On the other hand, most of the key informants described Ethiopia's vote and contribution to other international issues as commendable. Among others, for advocating roundtable negotiations for the peaceful resolution of disputes in many international issues including Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, Myanmar, North Korea, Palestine, and others. In this regard, CDRC Digest (2019) stated that *"Those in the Council as well as those in the wider membership of the UN who closely observe the work of the Security Council appreciated its balanced and principled positions, especially at a time when the membership of the Council has been polarized"* (p. 10). Finally, considering all this, it would be reasonable to categorize Ethiopia's voting behavior concerning international issues as "Partially Consistent".

4.2.2 Ethiopia's Voting Pattern vis-à-vis member countries of the UN Security Council

4.2.2.1 Ethiopia's Voting Behavior in relation to the Permanent Members (P5)

The history of Ethiopia with superpowers has been variable. Between 1945 and 1974, it was mainly pro-US, and hosted one of the most important listening posts at Kagnaw Station (Asmara). And, from 1974 to 1990, it was pro-Soviet, expelled the US from Kagnaw, downgraded bilateral relationships, forced out the US MAG, USIC and later joined the "anti-Western Imperialism" bandwagon (Belete, 2014; Berouk, 2012). However, since 1991 it did not have a much-sided position specifically with permanent members of the Security Council (Fortuna, D., personal communication, February 27, 2019). The FANSPS (2002) also underlines

that “*We [Ethiopia] should not follow a policy to please one and anger the other*”. Supporting this Bantihun, B., pronounced Ethiopia’s loyalty to its principles in the following manner:

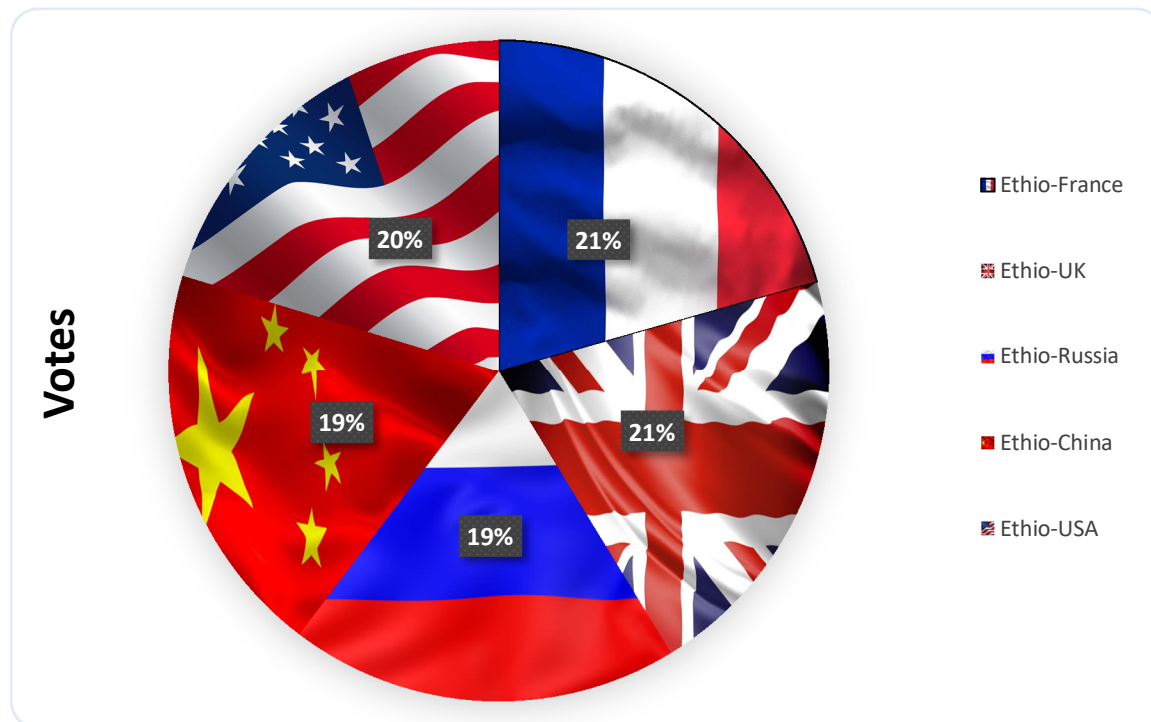
Some countries are loyal to their former colonizers, allies or partners, but Ethiopia is loyal to its principles, and this has got it to be termed as the ‘Trusted ally’ (personal communication, February 11, 2019)

In addition to this, Tekeda, A., after claiming “*You may find some countries following this or that country, but in the case of Ethiopia you will never find following this or that country indiscriminately*” stated the following concerning Ethiopia’s voting behavior in relation with the permanent members of the UNSC:

We might try not to antagonize major powers that consider a given issue vital to their national security interest, but we will never blindly follow the positions taken by this or that super power (personal communication, April 22, 2019).

Moreover, the number of votes the country has casted with the permanent members in the year 2017 strengthens the above claims of the foreign relations experts.

Figure 4.2: Ethiopia’s voting pattern with the Permanent Members of the UNSC in 2017



Source: Own construction from (United Nations, 2018; Permanent Mission of Ethiopia, 2018)

As shown in the pie chart, Ethiopia's voting record with each of the permanent members of the Security Council is relatively similar, hence implying its balanced position with five of them. And according to CDRC Digest (2019), during its third stint in the Security Council, Ethiopia was required to express its opinion and vote on highly polarized issues; yet again it explained how the country advanced a balanced position as follows:

In the year 2017-2018, Ethiopia also advanced balanced and principled positions on international issues around the world, aiming to contribute positively and constructively to the search for peaceful resolution of conflict and crisis situations through political dialogue and negotiation. (p.13)

Table 4.6 Ethiopia's voting behavior with the Permanent Members of the UNSC

Ethiopia's voting behavior with the Permanent Members (P-5) of the UNSC	
Bandwagoning	
Hedging	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Balancing	
Aligning	
Cooperative	
<p>Explanation: While an elected member of the Security Council, Ethiopia was required to express its opinion and vote on some global issues that were not amenable to being handled by consensus. No doubt, some of these issues were very sensitive and they involved the strategic interests of major powers, but, according to the key informants from New York, Ethiopia took its positions based on a careful examination of the merits of each case and by upholding its principles. As much as possible, it tried to be a voice of reason, calling for unity and consensus in responding to some of the most difficult and complex peace and security challenges. This was possible because of Ethiopia's predictability and determination and the effort made to explain its position coherently and logically (CDRC Digest, 2019, p. 13).</p>	

In line with this, Tekeda, A., summed up Ethiopia's balanced position in relation to the permanent member saying "All African countries can witness the role Ethiopia played, even the International Community will confirm that Ethiopia was following its principles without any alliance with the superpowers" (personal communication, April 22, 2019). And also Dawit

Yohannes, a researcher at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), expressed his argument about Ethiopia's balanced position with the five permanent members in the following manner:

Ethiopia is a strategic security partner of the United States in the Global War on Terrorism and one of its top aid receipt country; it is also one of the largest China's investment destination in Africa. Moreover, it has strong historical and cultural ties with the Russian Federation. Likewise, it has built a longstanding friendly relationship with France as well as the United Kingdom (personal communication, May 17, 2019)

Most of the key informants have also expressed similar concepts that support the above statement in one or another way. As a whole, the reason why Ethiopia most probably abstains when a country-specific resolution comes into the attention of the high table could be the strategy it follows to advance a balanced position with the Council members, especially with the permanent ones. Hence, the overall voting pattern of Ethiopia with the permanent members, especially in the course of its third stint indicated that it pursued a "Hedging" position.

4.2.2.2 Ethiopia's Voting Behavior in relation to the Elected Members (E-10)

At times, the elected members play an important role in the efforts to break deadlocks and build consensus in the UN Security Council. What is more, these non-permanent members of the Council cooperate to challenge or resist the permanent members. However, this does not mean that the E-10 shares the same position on issues. Likewise, Ethiopia, in its time in the Council, tried to cooperate and bring the E-10 together into some ends. In this regard, CDRC Digest (2019) explains Ethiopia's cooperative role with elected members of the Council in the following manner:

Ethiopia tried to play an active role in the context of the cooperation among elected members of the Council (E-10). The joint meetings of subsidiary organs Ethiopia started between the Ad-Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa and the Informal Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations have expanded to other subsidiary organs and have become a matter of practice. (p. 13). (Emphasis added)

Table 4.7 Ethiopia's voting behavior with the Elected Members of the UNSC

Ethiopia's voting behavior with the elected members of the UNSC	
Bandwagoning	
Hedging	
Balancing	
Aligning	
Cooperative	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<p>Explanation: In the course of its three tenures in the Council, Ethiopia was cooperating with elected members for various reasons. Particularly, in its third stint, there has been some positive development that has great significance to the work of the Council and that is regarding the role of the elected members of the Council (E-10), which have shown that they can indeed play an important role in the Council. Though they might have different positions on a range of issues, what essentially unites them is the need to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the Council and forge the necessary consensus in responding to crisis. Ethiopia has played its part by contributing ideas on enhancing the role of the E-10 as well as the cooperation among its members. For instance, during the discussion following the April 4 chemical attack in Syria, Ethiopia prepared a compromising proposal to bridge differences within the Council which essentially became the E-10 draft Resolution. Even though the draft was not tabled for a vote, it certainly raised the profile of the E-10 as a group (Dawit Yirga, personal communication, March 28, 2019). What is more, ensuring horizontal cooperation between the various subsidiary organs chaired by elected members was one of the ideas raised by Ethiopia and it has become a regular practice in the Council where two or more subsidiary organs hold joint meetings on issues that are common interest and concern to all of them (Permanent Mission of Ethiopia, 2018).</p>	

In this regard, Dawit Yirga further stated:

Ethiopia has played its part by contributing ideas on enhancing the role of the E-10 as well as the cooperation among its members (personal communication, March 28, 2019). [Emphasis added]

In addition to the claims of the foreign relations experts, Ethiopia's voting record has also shown its accommodating affiliation with the non-permanent members of the Security Council, and this leads to the conclusion that it advocates "Cooperative" relationships with the elected members of the Council.

4.2.2.3 Ethiopia's Voting Behavior in relation to the African Representatives (A3)

As noted earlier, in the African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC) configuration, member states are selected by their regions, and largely represent them in line with themselves. Moreover, the AUPSC reiterates “*the need for the A3 to respect, protect, promote in all circumstances, the decisions and positions of the AU on all matters of peace and security in Africa and urges them to redouble efforts, and do everything possible to strengthen the cohesion and coordination within the A3 and with the Council*” (Aggad & Desmidt, 2017, p. 16). Consequently, the African members in the UN Security Council often uphold AU positions in their dealings in the Council.

In regard to Ethiopia's position, after reminding that African countries have a common destiny with African position, Fortuna, D., said: “*As an African voice Ethiopia aligns with the A3, in regard to the African Union positions*” (personal communication, February 27, 2019). Furthermore, Tekeda (2019) summarized Ethiopia's voting pattern in relation to the African representative as follows:

Ethiopia worked with the other African members to reactivate the A-3 mechanism and establish good working relations with the other African members. Accordingly, the A-3 spoke with one voice on a number of occasions, jointly tabled draft resolutions and coordinated as much as practically possible in aligning their positions on a range of issues” (p.12) [Emphasis added]

Table 4.8 Ethiopia's voting behavior with the African Representatives (A3) in the UNSC

Ethiopia's voting behavior with the African Representatives (A3) in the UNSC	
Bandwagoning	
Hedging	
Balancing	
Aligning	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Cooperative	
Explanation: During its third stint, Ethiopia worked in close coordination and collaboration with African members of the Council (Egypt and Senegal). The two members were not working together before and the A-3 dynamics was not as such very effective. Meanwhile,	

Ethiopia tried to serve as a bridge to reactivate the A-3 mechanism and established good working relations with both Egypt and Senegal. Although there were issues of divergence with them, Ethiopia worked with both countries in advancing Africa's interest. Accordingly, they were supporting each other in negotiations, specifically, the A-3 coordination was instrumental in facilitating the adoption of the resolution on the Gambia, the first resolution on the Lake Chad Basin, the resolution on reform of UN peacekeeping proposed by Ethiopia, to name but a few. Bearing this in mind, the AUPSC through its communiqué adopted on 5 October 2017, commended the A-3 for their closely coordinated collective efforts in defending and promoting common African positions within the UN Security Council (Carvalho, 2018, p. 8; Permanent Mission of Ethiopia, 2018).

In general, most of the African representatives were becoming more collaborative from time to time, especially after the Libyan case and hence they were expected to harmonize African interests (Dawit Yohannes, personal communication, May 17, 2019). As to the rationalist view, the A3 are expected to coordinate their positions in the United Nations Security Council, as long as the perceived gains of doing so prevail over the potential costs of overriding their national policy preferences. In view of this, Dawit Yirga, stated that Ethiopia took the lions share during its third stint saying "*Ethiopia contributed to ensuring greater coordination and collaboration among African members (A3) of the Security Council*" (personal communication, March 28, 2019). Considering all this, it would be realistic to acknowledge that Ethiopia's voting pattern "Aligns" with African representatives' position in the Security Council.

By and large, Ethiopia is a kind of country, among other things, that could be characterized as a very conservative to the principles it is bounded. With exception to some resolutions, Ethiopia advocated positions that go in line with its Constitution, foreign policy, UN Charter and other international instruments it has signed. Confirming to this, Dawit Yohannes, said "*I do not see much divergence between Ethiopian Foreign Policy and its voting behavior in the UN Security Council, because I believe its voting pattern is more or less consistent with what is stated in the policy document*" (personal communication, May 17, 2019).

4.3 Ethiopia's Perspectives on the UN Security Council Reform

4.3.1 Reform of the UN Security Council

“No reform of the United Nations will be complete without the reform of the Security Council”. -Former Secretary-General of the UN Kofi Annan. (Gould & Rablen 2017)

Since the inception of the United Nations in 1945, the geopolitical realities of the world have changed significantly, but the Organization in general and the Security Council, in particular, has changed very little. Established by 51 countries some 75 years ago, the United Nations has now grown to include 193 member states that coexist, compete and cooperate in a world that is very different from the situation in 1945 (Cilliers, 2015). As a result of these changes in the world, various calls have been coming about to reform the United Nations. In view of that, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, once called up for reform in the UN to come across the changes happening as follows:

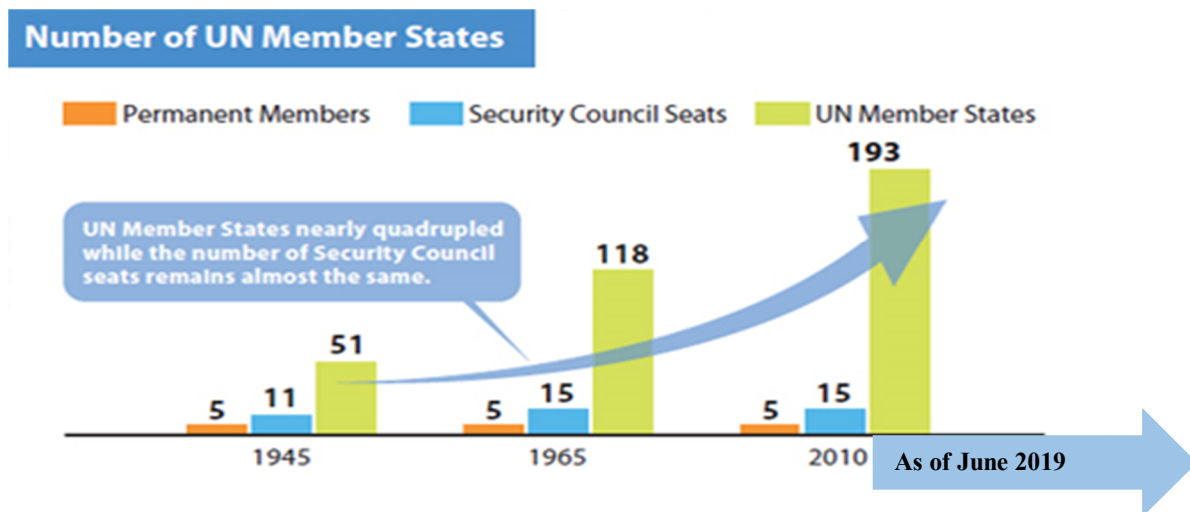
Much has changed since the United Nations was established in 1945. New challenges confront the organization including global warming, global diseases and global terrorism. Responding to these challenges requires continual change, adaptation and learning. (Ramesh, 2004)

As the international context has changed in various ways after WWII, and as new independent states were created, it was apparent that the international composition of states was changing. As a result, the UN has felt institutional pressure to adapt itself to new needs, challenges, and demands, but these generally cannot be met with formal changes to the Charter. Moreover, it is well known that the Charter is difficult to amend. Changes require the support of two-thirds of the membership including the support of the permanent members. And so, there have been only two instances of formal amendment in the UN's history, both taking place in the 1960s. These increased the size of the UNSC and ECOSOC (Hurd, 2014:10; Okochi, 2017:50).

Apart from these changes, most of these pressures have been managed through less formal means, either by changes to the working methods of the organization or by interpreting the formal rules in new ways that suit new needs (Hurd, 2014:10). However, the need for reform of the United Nations was mounting greater than before. In the last 74 years of its existence, the Cold War strategic influences have declined; the membership of the UN has increased almost fourfold; and hence the expectations of what the UN might do have widely grown.

As mentioned earlier, at its founding, the UN had 51 members and the Security Council consisted of the same five countries that serve as permanent members today, plus six nonpermanent members. In 1966, the number of nonpermanent members was increased from 6 to 10. Since then, the overall membership of the UN has nearly quadrupled to 193, but there has been no further expansion of the UNSC (Gould & Rablen, 2017, n.p.; Martini, n.d., p.2).

Figure 4.3: UN Member States throughout the last 74 Years



Source: Developed by the researcher from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2011

Many critics, including member states from the developing world, charge that the Council's structure does not reflect current geopolitical realities. The major criticism of the UNSC from several countries has been that a few powerful members have dominated its policy-making process and frequently used the veto power to enhance their interests. This has been deemed undemocratic, as a whole reforming the institutional structure and core decision-making procedures of the United Nations Security Council remains one of the most difficult challenges of UN reform (Hosli & Dörfler, 2017: p. 1-12). What is more, others critique the Council as outdated, and among others, Richard Butler, Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations, states that the Council reflects a bygone era as follows:

The Security Council we have today is yesterday's Security Council. It cannot do the job we need done today and will certainly need in the future. (As cited in Kuzma, 1998)

The other significant deficiency in this regard is the Council's lack of legitimacy and this has motivated calls for reform to improve the representativeness of the Council. According to Lai and Lefler (2009), the Security Council is dominated by the Western states, including the

United States, Great Britain, and France along with the two nonpermanent Western European and Others Group (WEOG) seats. The Western states make up one-third of the Security Council while these states only make up 14 percent of the number of states in the United Nations. No other regional grouping is as over-represented on the Security Council as the WEOG. On the other hand, Eastern Europe is almost perfectly represented with respect to proportionality. With one seat, plus the Russian Federation, Eastern Europe makes up 13 percent of the Council while accounting for 12 percent of the Member States. All of the other regions are well under-represented in comparison to their relative membership: Africa, with three seats, makes up 20 percent of the Council, yet 28 percent of the total membership. Asia, including China, has three seats, making its descriptive representation equivalent to Africa's. And, the Latin American and Caribbean group makes up 17 percent of the membership while only occupying 13 percent of the seats in the Council. This mismatch between the membership of the United Nations and its descriptive representation on the Security Council supported by the interpretation of the “*equitable geographical distribution*” clause has been the basis of reform recommendations to increase the size of the Security Council by groups most disadvantaged by the current configuration, the African and Asian groups (p.11).

What followed were calls by different countries, regional groups, and alliances for greater representation within the permanent seats of the UNSC. Historically the issue of increase in the membership of the Security Council dated back to the early days of the UN. Except the initial increase in the non- permanent members following an amendment of the UN Charter in 1960s, no other change took place yet. But, the issue was raised at different times since then. The issue of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council has been on the agenda of the General assembly since its 34th session in 1979, with very little progress made to date (Niguse, 2011, p. 25; Schaefer, 2017).

The UN Security Council reforms became an international agenda with the UN General Assembly adopting in 1992 the Resolution 47/62, titled, “*The Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council*” (Dabhade, 2017). In 1993, following postponements in considering this issue, the General Assembly established the ‘Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council’,

requiring it to report to the Assembly. As the committee's name attests, it aimed was to consider two overarching issues: the composition of the Security Council, and the workings of its decision-making process (Baccarini, 2018).

As a whole, the reform of the United Nations Security Council encompasses five key issues (Martini, n.d., p. 5). These are:

1. Categories of membership
2. The question of the veto held by the five permanent members
3. Regional representation
4. The size of an enlarged Council and its working methods
5. The Security Council - General Assembly relationship

The primary focus of these reforms has been on the membership and composition of the Security Council, with an emphasis to make the Council more “*credible, effective, and representative*” (Lai & Lefler, 2009, p. 3). There are several options to make the Council more representative including regionalism, population distribution, economic weight, religion, and democracy. The largest challenge is the absence of representation for Africa and Latin America. Currently, the likes of Brazil, India, Japan, and Germany have strong claims, and also some candidates from Africa (Ramesh, 2004).

Though many states favor the reform of the UN Security Council, there is no convergence of views on the modality of the reform package, yet (Martini, n.d., p.2). That is because there are sharply conflicting views on how the reform, particularly membership reform, should be carried out. A handful of states aspire to permanent status for themselves, while many other countries reject such claims.

Since the 1990s several reform proposals have been presented for a second reform of the UNSC and to make it more representative of the distribution of influence of states in the current global order. Especially, after the UN General Assembly began debating about Security Council reform in 1993, several models have been put forward as viable options and several countries have put themselves forward as candidates for permanent membership (Global Policy Forum, 2018). The following section now highlights the three leading proposed models that call for the Security Council reform.

4.3.2 The United Nations High-Level Panel Report (UNHLPR)

The United Nations High-Level Panel Report (UNHLPR) proposal is the most cited in reference to the Security Council reforms (Okochi, 2017). In 2004, former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, constituted a High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change to ultimately make recommendations for strengthening the world body to provide collective security for all in the 21st century (Gould & Rablen, 2017). The panel found that enlarging the Council had become essential and developed two reform proposals. Model “A” involved six new permanent seats without veto powers and two new non-permanent seats. Model “B” involved one new non-permanent seat and eight semi-permanent seats with four-year terms, which were renewable (Baccarini, 2018).

The panel proposed these two models for UNSC reform, both of which suggested for an expansion of the Council to 24 members to allow for a more up-to-date representation of member states in the UN. As a whole, Model A proposes adding six new permanent seats into the Council, with no veto, and three new two-year term elected seats, divided among the major regional areas (Okochi, 2017). Africa would have 2 no-veto permanent seats and 4 two-year non-renewable seats. The balance of power would still tip in Europe’s favor as the UK, France and Russia would retain their veto powers as would the US and China. Africa would still be the only region without veto power (Okumu, 2005).

Table 4.9 Model “A” of UN High-Level Panel’s Proposed UN Security Council Reform

Regional Area	Number of States	Permanent Seats (Continuing)	Proposed New Permanent Seats	Proposed Two-Year Seats (Non-Renewable)	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	1	2	6
Americas	35	1	1	4	6
Totals	191	5	6	13	24

Source: United Nations General Assembly (2005)

As seen in Table 4.9, Model A’s proposition, which calls for a balanced regional representation, could relatively lead to broader accountability. Be that as it may, Model A calling for six new permanent seats on the UN Security Council without the extension of veto powers to them is likely to build a rift between veto and non-veto-wielding permanent members, and creating a lack of correspondence on top (Okochi, 2017).

On the other hand, Model B provides for no new permanent seats but creates a new category of eight seats, renewable every four years, and one new two-year non-permanent (and non-renewable) seat, divided among the major regional areas (Global Policy Forum, 2019).

Table 4.10 Model B of UN High-Level Panel’s Proposed UN Security Council Reform

Regional Area	Number of States	Permanent Seats (Continuing)	Proposed four-Year Renewable Seats	Proposed Two-Year Seats (Non-Renewable)	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	2	1	6
Americas	35	1	2	3	6
Totals	191	5	8	11	24

Source: United Nations General Assembly (2005)

As seen in Table 4.10, Model B would leave the permanent membership unchanged. It only creates a new category of four-year term seat comprising eight members, which is renewable and it adds one non-permanent member of two-year term, on non-renewable basis, divided among the major regional areas (Niguse, 2011, p. 28). In this regard, all the regions would get 2 four-year renewable-term seats. Although Africa would get the most (4) of the two-year non-permanent seats, Europe and the Americans gain most, as they each get two four-year renewable-term seats. Additionally, all regions will have at least one member with veto power, except Africa (Okumu, 2005).

4.3.3 The Group of Four (G4) proposal

After the Cold War, developing countries as well as Japan and Germany, which were major contributors to peacekeeping operations and recognized economic powers, began to demand greater participation in the UNSC. Furthermore, some countries began to form a particular working group and develop their proposals; most of all, there has been a discussion about increasing the number of permanent members. The countries that have made the strongest demands for permanent seats were Brazil, India, Japan, and Germany (Baccarini, 2018).

In September 2004, the influential middle powers namely Brazil, India, Japan, and Germany all interested in obtaining permanent seats on the UNSC, formed the G-4 to launch an initiative to actively engage with other Member States with a view to expanding the Council in both the permanent and non-permanent member categories (Niguse, 2011, p. 23). According to

the G-4 proposal, the new national permanent seats would be assigned by choosing among the economically strongest and most influential countries of the international community. In this regard, Japan and Germany, the main defeated powers in WWII, are now the UN's third and fourth-largest funders respectively (United Nations, 2018), while Brazil and India are among the largest contributors of troops to UN-mandated peace-keeping missions (United Nations, 2019). Therefrom, in its 2005 official proposal, the G-4 members put themselves forth as the main candidates for these seats together with unspecified African countries (Martini, n.d., p. 4).

In the main, the G-4 proposal intended the expansion of permanent members without veto power. At the same time, the G4 calls for amendments to the UN Charter to allow for expansion of the permanent membership. However, the new permanent members shall not exercise the right of veto for at least fifteen years until the question of the extension of the right of veto to new permanent members is decided by amendment of the UN Charter (Niguse, 2011, p. 23).

In general, on the heels of the UN's inability to achieve consensus on reform proposals by the Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change, the group of four came with an alternative draft proposal. The reform draft called for an expansion of the Council by adding six permanent seats and four non-permanent seats. The permanent seats were to be distributed as follows: two seats each for Africa and Asia, one for Western states and one for Latin America and the Caribbean states. The non-permanent seats would be one each for Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America and Caribbean states as outlined in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 the G-4 (Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan) proposal: enlarging the Security Council to 25 members

Regional Area	New Permanent members without veto power	New non-permanent members
Africa	2	1
Asia	2	1
East Europe	0	1
Latin America and the Caribbean	1	1
Western Europe and other Sates	1	0
Total	6	4

Source: United Nations General Assembly (2005)

In response to the High-Level Panel and the G-4 proposals, the Coffee Club, comprising Argentina, Algeria, Kenya, Mexico, Pakistan, and Spain adopted a document entitled ‘Uniting for Consensus’ (which also became the group’s name), which favored broad negotiations. Primarily created to counter the G4 proposal, the Uniting for Consensus (UFC) is a group of approximately 40 States, whose leaders include Italy, Pakistan, South Korea, and Colombia. The reasons underlying this opposition are easily understandable since these states are fiercely opposed to what they call an unjust reduction of their international political relevance. After having agreed with the need to increase the representativeness of the Council, in 2005 the UFC made a proposal that centers on an enlargement of the number of non-permanent members from ten to twenty. The nonpermanent members would be elected by the General Assembly for a two-year term and would be eligible for immediate re-election, subject to the decision of their respective geographical groups (Martini, 2009, n.p.).

4.3.4 African Union proposal

As noted previously, though Africa is the largest regional group in the United Nations, it is not properly represented on the Security Council. In the present composition, three of the Council’s five permanent members are from Europe and one each from the Americas and Asia (Okochi, 2017, p. 2). Whereas, the continent Africa that accounts for more than one fourth of the UN Member States and for over 60 percent of the agenda of the Security Council, is the only continent that is not represented by a permanent member and only three non-permanent seats in this world body (AUPSC, 307th Meeting Report, 2012, p.35).

The UN Charter was drafted in an era when virtually all of Africa, along with large parts of the rest of the world, was still under colonial rule, and as such their opinions and aspirations were not reflected in the global architecture that was crafted in 1945. Members of the African group, except for the founders Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and the former Union of South Africa, gained UN membership from 1955, and the continent has been represented in the UN as a region since 1963, with the creation of the Organization of Africa Unity (Niguse, 2011).

The global decolonization movement from the mid-20th century onwards increased pressures for reforming the UN Security Council (Baccarini, 2018). Particularly, the transformation of the OAU to the AU in 2001 was a turning point in terms of the UN Security Council reform. Like its predecessor, the AU assumed the responsibility of pursuing Africa’s

interests in all matters and has continued to seek reform of the Council and better representation of African states (Silva, 2015). However, UN member states have not yet come into consensus on the reform issues and the continent remains unrepresented in the Security Council to this day.

On the whole, the African Union argues this situation is historically unjust and contributes to a lack of balance of the Council (Okochi, 2017). In addition to this, some African leaders have also expressed their objection, dissenting the present structure of the Council. For example, President Robert Mugabe made an overwhelming speech amassed with a round of ovation at the 26th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union regarding the United Nations reform as follows:

We cannot continue to be artificial members of the United Nations, if the UN is to survive, we must be equal members, a member that is understood, respected and honored otherwise denial of rights will cause us to boycott it. We do not want to give empty and hollow speeches each year in New York as it is good for nothing.

As mentioned earlier, the UN Security Council is at the top of the African Union (AU) agenda because of its crucial role in peace and security on the African continent. And being unrepresented in the Security Council, it has been leading the calls for reform of the UN system. Already not satisfied with any of the proposals discussed above, the African Union designed and presented its own position regarding the need for reforming the Council (Baccarini, 2018; Okumu, 2005).

In January 2005, the AU Committee was formed to propose a common African response, in reference or consideration of other proposals, to the reform of the UNSC. For this purpose, a committee of 15 foreign ministers was delegated to elaborate on the existing African common position, and a month later they presented their joint reform proposal commonly known as the “*Ezulwini Consensus*”, which was later signed by its entire membership, as an African common position (Niguse, 2011, p. 24; Okumu, 2005; Silva, 2015).

The common African position on the proposed reform of the United Nations as contained in the Ezulwini Consensus was formally endorsed by the AU summit in July 2005 called the Sirte Declaration on the Reform of the UN and was presented to the UNGA that same month as

the official African position. In essence, the Ezulwini Consensus insisted that Africa has a claim to no fewer than five non-permanent and two permanent seats, and if offered would take up the permanent seats only if granted exactly the same prerogatives and privileges, including the right of veto, as the permanent five as a matter of common justice (Niguse, 2011, p. 24).

As a whole, the African appeal for real reform requests to enlarge the UN Security Council in both the permanent and non-permanent categories and improve on its working methods. The proposal consists of an expansion of 11 additional seats, creating two permanent and two non-permanent seats for Africa; two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for Asian States; one non-permanent seat for Eastern Europe; one permanent and one non-permanent seat for Latin America and the Caribbean; and one permanent seat for Western Europe and other states, altogether expanding the Council's members to 26 as seen in Table 4.11 below (Martini, n.d., p. 5; Silva, 2015)

Table 4.12 African Union proposal: enlarging the Security Council to 26 members

Regional Area	New Permanent members with veto power	New non-permanent members
Africa	2	2
Asia	2	1
East Europe	0	1
Latin America and the Caribbean	1	1
Western Europe and other Sates	1	0
Total	6	5

Source: United Nations General Assembly (2005)

As seen above, 6 of the extra seats were foreseen to be permanent and 5 nonpermanent. However, the key demand of the AU was a veto right for all permanent members. In this respect, the African group insisted that the new permanent member countries should also have all the rights and privileges as the P5. Additionally, the two new members from Africa would be representing the continent as a whole, unlike the G4 proposal where Brazil, India, Japan and Germany would represent themselves and not necessarily their respective regions (Okochi, 2017).

Lastly, it is well-known that the United Nations Security Council is critical to global peace and security, yet more than 20 years of negotiations over its reform have proved fruitless (Gould & Rablen, 2017). The P5 generally opposes any expansion of membership of the Council that would diminish their power though they occasionally support some countries bids (Grieger, 2013). As negotiations are currently stalled over membership expansion, P5 countries have supported bids for membership to some countries. Most recently, the US gave its support to India; the UK also welcomed the request of permanent membership for Brazil and India. France has backed Africa for a permanent seat (Global Policy Forum, 2018). The UK and China have also supported permanent membership for Africa but never believed, that the extension of the veto beyond the current five permanent members is neither necessary nor would it be in the wider interests of the UN (Grieger, 2013; Niguse, 2016, p. 58).

4.3.5 Ethiopia's stance on Initiatives to reform the UN Security Council

As mentioned previously, since the UN was formed when most African countries were under colonial subjugation, they do not perceive it as either fair or representative. Similar to the views of other African Countries Ethiopia does not believe the current Security Council structure is fair. In view of that, Bantihun, G., said: *"We [Ethiopia] do not believe it is fair, Africa as whole agreed and signed the Ezulwini Consensus"* (personal communication, February 11, 2019). For that reason, Ethiopia remains strongly supportive of UN reform, including the structural reform of the Security Council.

Along with other countries of the global South, Ethiopia has shown concern over the imbalanced power arrangement in key UN institutions. Ethiopia has also advocated the democratization of the UNSC, for example by proposing a permanent seat for Africa. Moreover, in accordance with the Ezulwini Consensus, which Ethiopia is also a party; it wants to see reform in a manner that the continent is fairly represented in the UNSC (Atakilte & Adetula, 2017, p. 5).

Almost all of the AU member states have always been very strict on the parameters established by the African common position. From the very beginning of the African representation to the current AU activity in the debates, the countries have been emphatic in stating that no solution other than the one presented by the Ezulwini Consensus will be accepted. This could be perceived as an attempt to spoil the reform process, for the real interest of Africa to assume a more decisive position in the Council (Silva, 2015). By the same token, Fortuna, D., emphasized that Ethiopia does not have any individual position in regard to UNSC reform:

Ethiopia does not have any individual position; it supports the reform of the United Nations Security Council through the common Position of the African Union (personal communication, February 27, 2019).

Furthermore, she has underlined that the Ezulwini consensus has been the common position of Africa and Ethiopia subscribes to that position. By the same token, most of the key informants affirmed that the position of Ethiopia is governed by the position that has already been taken by the African Union.

As noted above, the discussion on reform has continued for nearly 20 years. If this continues any further without taking action, the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Council are put to question. The debate about expansion is often framed as a trade-off between legitimacy and efficacy. For example, Saudi Arabia took the unprecedented step of declining a Security Council seat in October 2013, announcing a day after it was elected to a 2014–2015 term that it would not serve in the absence of institutional reform (Worth, 2013).

In general, most of the key informants pointed out that the UNSC is well-motivated, but is erroneously put together in the face of today's world and has ceased to do the job it was intended to do. For that reason, they have suggested that the Council needs to be transformed to represent each region of the world. Though they have predicted that the reform may not be realized anytime soon, they have jointly called for a Council with universally accepted authority.

4.4 Ethiopia's level of eligibility for permanent membership in the UNSC

As mentioned earlier, many states favor Council reform to ensure a broader representation of the general membership. Clearly, there are several countries ambitious to accede to the Council mainly because of their population size, their economic power, and their financial or peacekeeping contributions (Hosli & Dörfler, 2017, p. 2). The African group is the largest regional group in the UN, with 54 members (28 percent of UN membership), yet no country in the continent has a permanent seat on the Security Council (Grieger, 2013, p. 2).

Although no one nation from Africa has formally been put forward as a candidate for membership on the Security Council, a number of countries have been identified as front-runners. Among others, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa are seen as the strongest contenders from their respective regions (Silva, 2015). Even if the Africa Union is yet to put forward any of its members for the UN Security Council, others given consideration include Algeria, Kenya, Ghana, Morocco and Senegal (Lala, 2018; Okumu, 2005).

In this research, an African case study was selected as the continent is missing a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Though a number of countries have been suggested as possible permanent members from Africa; this study shall be limited to Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa as they are currently the most likely contenders for Africa's permanent seats in the Council. While Ethiopia was selected as the main focus of the study, the three additional African nations were incorporated in a comparative manner.

The underlined candidates in this process, namely Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa each already represent the four geographic regions in Africa; the North, the East, the West and the South respectively. While workings of the UN Security Council are typically on the basis of individual merits, most of the Regional Economic Communities (REC's) interest in Africa is to ensure that they are represented in the UNSC. In this regard, Egypt is arguably the leading candidate in North Africa; While Ethiopia is estimated to get the full backing of the Eastern Africa constituency. Nigeria is likely to get the support of the giant regional Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); and Southern African Development Community (SADC) nations without no doubt are expected to cast their vote supporting the Rainbow nation South Africa, as it is the maker and shaker of the region (Abdulkadir, 2016; Okochi, 2017, p. 49; Uwimana, 2006).

This could be taken as an indication that these four nations are in the bid to secure either of the two aspired permanent seats. Into the bargain, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa have each expressed their interest in representing the continent with permanent member seats on the UN Security Council (Okochi, 2017, p. 49; Uwimana, 2006). In regard to Ethiopia's standing, Ambassador Tekeda Alemu declared that Ethiopia's candidacy for a permanent seat in the Security Council is understood by any objective observer as follows:

Ethiopia has not taken a position on the matter, but any objective observer would be inclined to consider the possibility that Ethiopia might be one of those African countries, who have a legitimate interest in being considered for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council (personal communication, April 22, 2019).

Most of the key informants have also shared the above statement, for instance, Dawit Yirga, Pronounced that “*There is not any reason that does not make Ethiopia a potential candidate for permanent membership of the Security Council*” (personal communication, March 25, 2019).

In the following section a glance of the four selected candidates (Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa) for the purpose of this study, is presented in view of assessing their eligibility for either of the two proposed African permanent seats in the UN Security Council.

Egypt: A UN founding member, Egypt has the biggest military in Africa and the second-largest economy on the continent. Having the third-largest population in the Continent (100,388, 073 according to World Population Review, 2019), it enjoys great influence in Africa as well as in the Arab world. Egypt has an extensive global diplomatic presence and hosts the headquarters of the Arab League. Egypt has been a member of the UNSC five times (1949-1950, 1961-1962, 1984-1985, 1996-1997 and 2016 to 2017) (Mahmoud, 2015; United Nations, 2019).

Ethiopia: A UN founding member, as well as one of the very few countries to sign the UN Charter at that time, Ethiopia has been participating in UN peacekeeping operations since the 1950s. It has the continent's second-largest population after Nigeria with over a hundred million people (112, 078, 730 according to World Population Review, 2019), and is one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. Ethiopia is regarded as the home of African Diplomacy and its capital Addis Ababa as political capital of Africa, as it is the seat of the highest continental organization as well as other bilaterally and multilaterally accredited missions, delegations and institutions. Ethiopia was a founding member of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and is a member of the Intergovernmental Development Authority (IGAD). In addition, its capital, Addis Ababa, holds the seat of the African Union Commission; and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, and is the third-largest UN duty station after New York and Geneva, which is a unique factor to Ethiopia in Africa (Atakilte & Adetula, 2017; Security Council Research Report, 2016, p. 2; Yonas, 2018, p. 370). Currently, Ethiopia has emerged as the largest troop-contributing country (TCC) to UN-led Peace Support Operations in the world (United Nations, 2019). And by virtue of being among the top five TCCs to UN Peacekeeping, the country is also a member of the UN Peace-building Commission (PBC). Ethiopia has served on the UNSC three times (1967-1968, 1989-1990, and 2017-2018).

Nigeria: A UN member state since 1966, Nigeria, is the most populous country in Africa (200,963,599 according to World Population Review, 2019), and has the continent's largest economy (Lala, 2018). Nigeria hosts the headquarters of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Moreover, the country has assumed a big brother role at various times in

Africa, with its foreign policy described as being afro-centric in posture. It is also one of the largest contributors of military and civilian personnel to UN peacekeeping missions. In addition, since 1966, Nigeria has served five two-year tenures as a non-permanent member of the UNSC (1966 – 1967, 1978 – 1979, 1994 – 1995, 2010 – 2011, and 2014 to 2015), and has served as the Councils' president 10 times (United Nations, 2019). Considering all the factors, Nigeria's continental and international influence is rising gradually and bearing this in mind, Nigeria's vice-president, Professor Yomi Osinbajo, has noted that Nigeria, in particular, deserves a permanent seat on the UN Security Council owing to its contributions to international peacekeeping, size of its economy and population (Lala, 2018; Okochu, 2017, p. 91).

South Africa: South Africa became a member of the United Nations on 7 November 1945. As a member of the BRICS, among the leaders in African peacekeeping, and an aspiring UN Security Council permanent member, South Africa plays a significant role in global governance and aspires to a greater role. South Africa has the third-largest economy on the continent, and according to the Global Innovation Index (2018), it continues to maintain the top spot among all economies in the region. The country is also ranked as the most technologically advanced nation in Africa, an indicator of the nation's smart power (Global Innovation Index, 2018; Lala, 2018). In the political realm, South Africa has been among the pioneers of African politics and diplomacy. The nation championed the African Agenda, promoting good governance, political stability, and economic prosperity on the continent. South Africa's determined efforts were paramount in erecting the current continental order as well as maintaining peace and security. South Africa dramatically expanded its diplomatic presence globally, especially in Africa, in the immediate years after the end of apartheid. Besides, South Africa was the first African nation to chair the African Union, setting the tone of its hegemonic power. The nation's focus and proactive engagement in the continent helped Africa to grease the wheels in global politics (Lala, 2018). Overall, South Africa has managed to serve on the Council three times (2007 – 2008, 2011 to 2012, and 2019 to 2020). Presently, South Africa is Africa's largest financial contributor to the UN (0.272 %), (although contributions are based on a UN formula which bases countries' assessments on their economic performance and ability) (Okochu, 2017; United Nations, 2019). And with regard to reform of the UN Security Council, South Africa has a direct interest in becoming a permanent member (Serrão, 2011).

There are numerous UN Security Council reform proposals addressing a number of issues, including the Council's membership and representation, its working methods, the P5, and the veto issues as well. The Global Policy Forum (2016) has gathered 52 statements from 1995 to 2011 (proposals, statements, and reform positions) proffered by world leaders and regional organizations (as cited in Okochi, 2017). However, it was impossible to analyze all these submissions thoroughly for the purpose of this thesis. In view of that, this research was limited to the following three main proposals:

- The United Nations High-Level Panel Report;
- The Group of Four (G4); and
- The African Union.

Most of the other reform proposals address one or more of the issues discoursed by the three selected proposals. Besides, while considering recent discourses on UNSC reforms, these selected proposals were among the most referenced and were often the first points of discussion in UNSC reform proposals. They were also highlighted by the Global Policy Forum (2012) and described by Toro (2008) as the most “*notable*” of reform proposals (as cited in Okochi, 2017).

As mentioned, though there have been several reform proposals put forward, it is impossible to scrutinize them all. Hence, bearing in mind the prominence given to them, this study has narrowed the list down to the three proposals provided above. In the following section, the selection criteria of each of these proposals were presented, to examine the level of eligibility of the four selected African Countries.

The United Nations High-Level Panel Report Criteria for UN membership

Table 4.13 shows the selection criteria based on this reform proposal.

Table 4.13 The UNHLPR selection Criteria for Additional Permanent Membership of the UNSC

S/N	Criteria	Description
1	Financial contributions	Contributions to United Nations assessed budgets; 0.7 percent of the gross national product to the UN's Official Development Assistance should be an important criterion for assessment.
2	Military contributions	Participation in mandated Peace Support Operations, as well as contributions to voluntary activities of the United Nations in the areas of peace, security, and development.

3	Diplomatic contributions	Diplomatic activities, e.g. mediation and peacemaking (building), in support of United Nations objectives and mandates.
4	Democratic enhancement	Any additions should increase the UN's democratic accountability, meaning decisions are arrived at with equal input from members
5	Expansion	Expansion to the council to allow for a more up-to-date representation of member states in the UN.
6	Increased representation	Every geographical region (as categorized by the report) would be represented at the permanent and non-permanent member level. Two models proposed to represent every geographical region (Model A & B) at the permanent and non-permanent member level (see Tables 4.8 and 4.9 above):
7	Regional representation	New permanent and non-permanent members would represent their continents and geographical regions, not just themselves.
8	Representation from the developing world	Representation would cover Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and the Americas. Besides, the report emphasizes the representation of the developing world. Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean would each have new permanent and non-permanent membership.
9	Geopolitical representation	All regions would receive additional representation on the Council.
10	Reflection of current UN membership	E.g., Africa currently has the largest number of UN member states and would be represented at the permanent and non-permanent level. So would the Pacific region.
11	Increased effectiveness	Any reforms should make the UNSC more effective, not less. This could mean no additional veto rights assigned or voting methods that could negatively impact decision-making

Source: Compiled and updated by the researcher from (Okochi, 2017, pp. 52-57)

Group of Four Criteria for UN membership

Table 4.14 shows the selection criteria based on this reform proposal.

Table 4.14: Group of Four criteria for additional permanent UNSC membership (permanent and non-permanent)

S/N	Criteria	Description
1	Financial contributions	Largest financial contributors (aside from the US and China which contributes the largest, 22 and 12 percent of the UN's budget), e.g. Japan, third-largest at 8.5 percent and Germany, fourth-largest at 6.09 percent) should have permanent membership (UN, 2019).
2	Contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security	Countries that provide the most contributions (finances, military troops) would be eligible for consideration.
3	Size of population	Countries with the largest populations (in the world and their regions) should be equally represented on the Security Council.
4	Increased representation	Improved representative character Membership should be expanded to countries with some of the largest populations, from a new continent, etc.
5	Regional representation	Regions that currently have no membership (e.g. Africa, Latin America) would have membership under the new proposal. However, the countries would represent themselves, not their specific regions.
6	Representation from the developing world	Africa would be allowed two permanent member slots, while Brazil and India would be allowed one each.
7	Reflection of current UN membership	Large populations (e.g. Brazil) and under-represented areas (e.g. Latin America) would be reflected through this proposal.
8	Geopolitical representation Regions	Regions, e.g. Africa and Latin America, would be represented on the Council – particularly regions currently with no representation.
9	Inclusion	Areas not previously included in the permanent membership structure (again, Latin America and Africa) would have the opportunity for inclusion, with this proposal.
10	Additional non-permanent membership seats	Four more from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean States. Support from other UN members At least 24 UN member countries support this proposal.

Source: Compiled and updated by the researcher from (Okochi, 2017, pp. 57-63)

The African Union Criteria for UN membership

The following Table 4.15 shows the selection criteria of the African Union's selecting criteria for expanded membership of the UN Security Council.

Table 4.15 showing the African Union criteria for additional permanent membership of UNSC (permanent and non-permanent members)

S/N	Criteria	Description
1	Increased representation	Better representation of regions both at the permanent and non-permanent member level in an inclusive manner as stipulated in Table 4.12 above.
2	Regional representation	New permanent and non-permanent members would represent their continents and geographical regions, as they would be selected by the continent. (The process for this is yet to be determined).
3	Representation from the developing world	Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean would each have new permanent and non-permanent membership.
4	Geopolitical representation	Large regions, e.g. Africa, would be represented on the Council.
5	Reflection of current UN membership	Yes. Africa currently has the largest number of UN member states and gaining permanent seats would reflect this.
6	Inclusion	Yes. Every geographical region would be represented at the permanent and non-permanent member level.

Source: Compiled and updated by the researcher from (Okochi, 2017, pp. 67-70)

In the next section, comprehensive lists of criteria for permanent membership of the UN Security Council are drawn from the three selected proposals reviewed above. To do this appropriately, the study employed a comparative qualitative analysis of the four selected African countries. In view of that, a comparison of Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa was made and examined against this list of criteria, to determine their positioning with regard to their level of eligibility for a permanent seat in the UNSC.

In view of the above, the main criterion for eligibility is a contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, often defined by troop contributions to peacekeeping operations or leadership on matters of regional security likely to appear before the Council. Commitment to peace is, indeed, the fundamental criterion for membership, and the UN Charter, Chapter V, article 23, section 1, specifically calls on all members of the UN General Assembly to elect UNSC members on the basis of their mere contribution to “*the maintenance of international peace and security*”. This can be elaborated further in terms of a nation’s contribution to UN peacekeeping missions, involvement in international disputes or civil wars (Esayas, 2016). The second underlined criterion is the financial contributions to the United Nations assessed budgets; which accounts 0.7 % of gross national product to the UN's Official Development Assistance. These contributions are based on a UN formula that bases countries' assessments on their economic performance and ability. The next important criterion is a diplomatic contribution, and in this regard, the UNHLPR proposal specifically indicates it as diplomatic activities in support of UN objectives and mandates. This would take in to account, among other things, countries that function as diplomatic centers for their respective regions as well as the United Nations. The other criterion is the size of country’s population, to expand the membership of the Security Council in respect of representation of the broader membership in decision-making. Expressly, the proponents of the Group of Four (G4) Proposal called for countries with some of the largest populations in the world and their regions to be equally represented on the Council to represent their regions better (Okochi, 2017, pp. 56-76).

The rest of the criteria, including regional representation; geopolitical representation; increased representation; representation from developing countries; reflection of current UN membership as well as inclusion of areas not previously included in the permanent membership structure are altogether pertinent for the continent Africa, and hence are equally granted to all African countries so as to the four Africa countries being compared for a permanent seat in the UNSC for the purpose of the study. Also, either one of the eligible countries is expected to improve the effectiveness and democratic enhancement of the Security Council. Following the above analyses, this study has collated the ranking for each criterion, to ultimately determine the four African countries’ level of eligibility for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

Table 4.16 Showing the Four-Country Comparison

S/N	Criteria	Egypt	Ethiopia	Nigeria	South Africa
1	Contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security	2nd	1st	4th	3rd
		3023 troops (UN, 2019)	7052 troops (UN, 2019)	308 troops (UN, 2019)	1168 troops (UN, 2019)
2	Financial Contribution	3rd	4th	2nd	1st
		0.186 % (UN, 2018)	0.010 % (UN, 2018)	0.250 % (UN, 2018)	0.272 % (UN, 2018)
3	Diplomatic Contribution	4th	1st	3rd	2nd
4	Size of country's population	3rd	2nd	1st	4th
5	Regional Representation	1	1	1	1
6	Geopolitical Representation	1	1	1	1
7	Increased Representation	1	1	1	1
8	Representation from developing countries	1	1	1	1
9	Reflection of current UN membership	1	1	1	1
10	Inclusion	1	1	1	1
11	Effectiveness	1	1	1	1
12	Democratic Enhancement	1	1	1	1

Source: Compiled and tabulated by the researcher from Okochi (2017) and several UN sources

Based on the information provided in Table 4.16, the rankings were collated by assigning each rank a score (i.e. 1st = 4, 2nd = 3, 3rd = 2, and 4th = 1), and these values were summed to determine a final overall score. When examining the data presented in Table 4.16, these four countries were mainly compared through their troop, financial and diplomatic contributions as well as the size of their population. Regarding the financial contribution, as developing countries, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa did not contribute the required 0.7 percent to this internationally agreed upon the fund, and they were only ranked based on the amount of contributions for 2018.

In view of the other assessments, as all African countries meet the requirements of the rest criteria, as required by each of the three proposals, all the four countries were ranked equally as depicted in Table 4.16 above. Thus, the final ranking for this study is as depicted in Table 4.17 below:

Table 4.17 Showing Final Ranking of Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa

Country	Final Score	Final Ranking
Ethiopia	44	1 st
Nigeria	42	2 nd
South Africa	42	2 nd
Egypt	39	4 th

The final results of the comparative analysis, based on the selected three UNSC reform proposals criteria, showed that Ethiopia ranks highest and most favorably against the list of criteria, followed by Nigeria, South Africa, and Egypt. Based on these results, Ethiopia is hence the most eligible, for a permanent seat on the UNSC, amongst the African comparator group.

For all the above and other betterments, Ethiopia, the diplomatic capital of Africa and the world's third-biggest diplomatic hub, outshined Egypt, Nigeria, and South Africa in the competition for a permanent seat in the Security Council based on the study's defined criteria.

According to most of the key informants, Ethiopia's commitment to world peace is very distinctive. Historically, Ethiopia is the first to get priority, as it was a vital member of the League of Nations and one of the pioneer countries of the United Nations, as well as contributing a huge number of troops in several UN-led Peace Support Operations.

In continental wise, Ethiopia holds the seat of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now known as the African Union (AU). In the past, Ethiopia had in and its selfless contributions to the independence of several African countries from colonialism and apartheid; a legacy that, in his autobiography *"Long Walk to Freedom"* (1994), Nelson Mandela has honored, describing Ethiopia as *"the birthplace of African nationalism"* (p. 47).

Be that as it may, Ethiopia's financial capacity is the most notable drawback behind all these creditable statuses of the country. However, most of the key informants asserted that, even in the face of its existing economic capability, its historical precedence of Pan-Africanism and contribution for the maintenance of international peace and security give Ethiopia the edge above all others. As a result, most of key Informants stated that Ethiopia is highly expected to be presented with an opportunity of an elevated representation in multilateralism to affect real change in the lives of all Africans and the entire international communities.

The next favorite country, Nigeria, on the other hand, has played leading roles in the promotion of pan-Africanist ideals, security, stability, development and cooperation regionally, NEPAD and the AU (Okumu, 2005). Its large population accompanied by its big economic capacity makes it one of the possible African representatives in the UN Security Council permanently.

However, Nigeria's biggest minus is its corruption reputation. Corruption has not only stigmatized the country as untrustworthy but also earned it a third-ranking as the world's most corrupt nation on Transparency International's corruption index. What is more, some of the key informants have labeled Nigeria as a country with weak diplomacy that cannot even control itself and at times votes on pressure out of context or policies. Nonetheless, Nigeria has emotionally invested enormous hopes in one of the African permanent seats on the UNSC (Okumu, 2005).

South Africa is also widely seen as one of the favorites to fill either of the two permanent seats that are expected to be set aside for Africa at the UNSC. Away from this, South Africa has credibility among the G-8 nations that the other contenders do not have (Okumu, 2005). It has also played an active role in promoting Africa's development through the NEPAD initiative and heading the AU at its formative period. President Mbeki was the brain behind NEPAD and the first Chairman of the AU after hosting its inaugural summit in Durban in July 2002.

When it comes to multilateral diplomacy, South Africa, having failed in Libya and Chad among others, does not have a good record (Carvalho, 2018, p. 5). Notwithstanding, it was the first country to disarm its nuclear arsenal and has broken through the barriers to give Africa permanent access to the Group of Eight most industrialized countries (Okumu, 2005). Likewise, it has a high possibility of getting one of the African permanent seats in the UNSC.

Last, of all, Egypt, being one of the notable African frontrunners for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, has been ranked forth from the African comparators group. Among other things, Egypt's \$2 billion aid from the US has caused uneasiness on the continent as it is an incentive to kowtow to US agenda rather than promote Africa's interests, which are in many cases at odds with the principle of Pan Africanism (Okumu, 2005).

According to Okumu (2005), Egypt had a very strong Pan-Africanist orientation during Gamel Nasser's rule but has over the years paid more attention to Middle Eastern issues, particularly the Palestinian question, than to African problems. Many watchers of Egyptian African foreign policy have also noted that it is mainly driven by its interest in the waters of the

Nile. Overall, it has been sarcastically noted that were it not for Egypt's interest in the UNSC permanent seat, the leaders of the country would never have attended an AU Summit.

Many Africans also resent how Egyptians regard themselves as being non-Africans (Okumu, 2005). In line with this, some key informants have labeled Egypt, as shambolic, especially, when there is an Arab and African interest issue at stake.

By and large, in the AUPSC configuration, member states are selected by their regions, and represent them rather than themselves. According to Ndiaye, M., (2019), the role countries play in their region is the main determinant factor for their candidacy. In this regard, she further explained saying *"You might not represent anywhere if you are not a hegemon in your region; thus most of the countries that represent Africa in the UN Security Council are already a powerhouse in their region"* (personal communication, April 29, 2019). This could be among the reasons why many of them want to become a hegemon of their respective regions.

In North Africa, there are at least three hegemons (Algeria, Egypt, and Morocco), while Cote'divor, Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal are the likely hegemons from West Africa, whereas, South Africa is the clear hegemon from the Southern Africa Region. Though there are some arguments when it comes to the Eastern Africa Region, Ndiaye, M., declared that Ethiopia as the potential hegemon in the region by saying *"You want it or not Ethiopia is a regional hegemon in the horn of Africa"* (personal communication, April 29, 2019). As regards, only the countries in Central Africa are fighting on who comes out or first as hegemon of the region.

It can be generally said that all the contenders have contributed positively to emerging African values and practices in peace, justice, and governance. However, if their respective regions do not designate them, then the African Union might not appoint them. Based on this scenario, neither Egypt nor Nigeria gets the African permanent seat in the UNSC; because since they are already surrounded by strong countries (Ndiaye, M., personal communication, April 29, 2019). Having said this, Ndiaye, M., pointed out South Africa and Ethiopia as the only possible candidates for the two aspired African permanent seats in the UN Security Council as follows:

South Africa and Ethiopia are the only possible candidates, given the role they play in their respective regions and being surrounded by weak countries (personal communication, April 29, 2019).

Apart from others Ethiopia, the main focus of the study, is seeing its global image changing from time to time beyond recognition, contributing to its dominant position in regional politics and a crucial role in continental and global affairs. By and large, Ethiopia's historical legacy and experience accumulated through active engagement in the realm of global politics on behalf of Africa is much cherished across the continent. Accordingly, there is a huge expectation on Ethiopia to translate this diplomatic acumen into a useful tool at its disposal in promoting Africa's interests vis-à-vis the international community (Esayas, 2016), especially once it gets one of the aspired African permanent seats in the UN Security Council.

Altogether, it would not be unreasonable for Ethiopia to be one of the permanent representatives of Africa in the UN Security Council (Tekeda, A., personal communication, April 22, 2019). In line with this, Dawit Yirga believes that Ethiopia has done what it takes to be there as a permanent member of the Security Council saying "*We do not need to convince them because they know what we have done out there.*" He also added that Ethiopia is more qualified, while the likes of Nigeria, South Africa, and others, should they have Ethiopia's role and contributions, they would have been even more aspired for a permanent seat in the Council (personal communication, March 25, 2019). In regard to Ethiopia's economic capability, mostly mentioned as weak side of the country, Fortuna, D., having stated that the UN reform may not happen anytime soon, underlined that time is in favor of Ethiopia, in a sense that the country will develop, prosper and become the appropriate candidate through time:

Ethiopia's eligibility for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council has been growing and it is still becoming more eligible (personal communication, February 27, 2019).

As a final point, some of the key informants called that by voting in favor of Ethiopia, the member states of the African Union in particular and United Nations in general would put on the Council a dedicated member of the African continent and the international community which has both the strength and the know-how to be an advocate for pan-Africanism and multilateralism, and an international actor with a model and a vision.

In sum, the campaign for the proposed new permanent seats in the reformed UNSC, while producing fireworks around the world, has also opened up old historical wounds and heightened regional rivalries. Though the hottest rivalries are in Asia, mostly between India and Pakistan, and between Japan, South Korea, and China, Africa is also exhibiting deep divisions along regional and language lines as countries scramble for the coveted seats (Okumu, 2005).

So far, the inability to agree on countries with the capacity to represent the continent has been the main problem of Africa in terms of challenges related to reform. Some countries try to defuse the issue, saying that since resolution for a possible reform is not happening soon, there is no need to appoint the representative countries yet, but at the same time, some African powers including Egypt, Nigeria, and South Africa, present themselves as the most suitable candidates. While the discussion about which country should represent the group at the Council continues, other members have suggested different forms of representation, such as the establishment of a rotational form for permanent regional seats in the UNSC (Silva, 2015).

Then again, as the battle for permanent seats on a reformed UN Security Council heats up, Okumu (2005) treads the minefield of politics and internal dealings over the African contenders in the race. The battle ahead, he writes, is likely to be “*long, nasty and brutal*” and is sure to lead to increased tensions between African power brokers. Especially, it is precisely clear that the common African position is out to face stern resistance from the possible candidates even if the UN decides in favor of the long-awaited reform (Abdulkadir, 2016).

To put it in a nutshell, the United Nations Security Council plays an important role in ensuring global peace, which is the bedrock of macroeconomic, and Ethiopia reposes the UNSC as a good platform for realizing all-embracing peace, security, and development. In its last three tenures in the Council, it has contributed its share in maintaining international peace and security. Especially, in its first and second stints in the Council, it has played a notable role in the decolonization of its fellow African countries. Beyond this, the critical analysis of Ethiopia’s voting patterns on Security Council resolutions has revealed that the country’s voting behavior in protecting its national interest and promoting African agenda is more or less consistent, while it was found out to be partially consistent on global issues in relation to its declared foreign policy. Additionally, the study uncovered that Ethiopia pursues a hedging position with the permanent members, cooperates with elected members of the council, and aligns with the African representatives in the Council. Moreover, at a time where global security challenges abound and where the UN, and particularly the UNSC, needs structural reforms, Ethiopia also seeks reform of the Council through the African Union position. Finally, based on the study’s defined criteria, Ethiopia has been rated as the most eligible country, for an African permanent seat in the UNSC.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This particular chapter aims to provide a general overview of the whole study and make broad conclusions drawn from the findings of the results. The chapter is structured in four sections. Accordingly, the first section presents an overview of the thesis and its major findings, while the second one deals with conclusions, whereas the third section forwards some recommendations suggested for better adoption as a solution to problems that have been identified in the study. The study implications, as well as directions for further research, are also highlighted in this chapter.

5.1 Summary of Findings

In this study, attempts have been made to explore Ethiopia's role in the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular. And as stated in chapter one of this research paper the overall purpose of this study was to explore the wide-ranging status, achievements, aspirations, and prospects of Ethiopia in the UN Security Council. In line with this, the study set out to answer questions relating to Ethiopia's role and the rationale behind its voting behavior in the UNSC, and also its outlook on the prospective reform of the Council as well as its level of eligibility for an African permanent seat in the high table. In this section, a summary drawn from the overall process of the study, as well as the limitations of the research is highlighted.

In the introductory chapter the entire thesis was outlined; including, the background, prominence, and purpose of the research as well as the structure of all of the chapters. The second chapter provided a historical background of concepts like multilateralism, collective security, voting pattern, along with Ethiopia's commitment to these concepts in the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular. Following the presentation of methodologically relevant issues in the third chapter, the fourth chapter provided Ethiopia's perspective, recent positions, and roles in the United Nations Security Council. In line with that, the country's voting behavior; its outlook on the Security Council reform as well as its level of eligibility for an African permanent seat in the Council has been coherently analyzed.

Among others, this thesis tried to answer the research question concerning Ethiopia's voting behavior in the UNSC at various levels. The empirical analysis indicated that especially the country's voting pattern in relation to member countries of the council was influenced by its

pragmatic and legalist approach to the Council's issues. Additionally, the country's perception of the proposed reform of the UN Security Council has also been considerably scrutinized. Although nearly all countries support the expansion of the Council's membership, so far no expansion has taken place. Yet, the thesis has tried to examine Ethiopia's aspiration and level of eligibility for a permanent seat in the Council based on its own defined criteria.

In this thesis, three theories pertinent to countries voting behavior were presented to explain how and why countries behave on their votes on Security Council Resolutions. In the Ethiopian case, the national role theory was mainly used to examine its voting behavior and the rationale behind its votes on particular resolutions. It can generally be perceived that Ethiopia's pursuit for its national interest, promotion of African Agenda and international peace and security drives its voting patterns in the Security Council.

The data for this study were mainly obtained from both primary and secondary sources. The study has used primary data from Key informants and secondary data from national and international offices, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs documents database as well as Security Council resolutions. The evidence for the deeper analysis was directly obtained from relevant Security Council resolutions and vetoed draft resolutions as well as their accompanying United Nations press releases. In each case, this study attempted to use an objective indicator tracked from UN-related information, as a measure for each defined criterion.

Last, of all, this empirical study has been conducted to critically explore the role of Ethiopia in the United Nations Security Council. Above all, being a pioneer in its kind, the study has managed to collect heaps of firsthand data and analyzed them systematically. This study was only limited in the way the data were obtained from the focus group discussants. Unfortunately, the researcher could not conduct a formal focus group discussion as per the work schedule, due to the inconvenience of some discussants. Notwithstanding, the researcher conducted a series of discussions by distributing the focus group discussion questions individually and has incorporated it into the research in a possible way. Thus, it can be said that the thesis has met its goals remarkably. Finally, the present study showed that Ethiopia has accomplished significant achievements and has been the African frontrunner in global politics and multilateral diplomacy, implying that its solid record of continued contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security will certainly make a valuable addition to the UN Security Council and give a stronger voice to Africa on the world stage.

5.2 Conclusion

The primary objective of this thesis was to explore the overall role of Ethiopia in the United Nations Security Council and determine the possible position the country can secure once the envisioned reform of the Security Council is realized. As it has been dealt throughout the study, an overall exploration of the multilateral platform and especially Ethiopia's historical role in international organizations, for the most part in the UN Security Council has been comprehensively analyzed. Qualitatively designed, the study essentially enquired Ethiopia's voting behavior on Security Council resolutions, its outlook on the envisioned reform of the Security Council as well as its level of eligibility for an African permanent seat in the high table. In this regard, it found a number of interesting findings and brought to light some new discoveries at the national and continental levels. The lessons learned could be of practical significance to other fellow African countries with a view of maximizing Africa's influence in the multilateral fora. This section essentially summarizes the major findings of the study and discusses their implications.

The finding of this study revealed that countries join the UN Security Council, among other things, for active participation in world affairs and collective security as well. In the course of the study, it was clear that Ethiopia joins the Security Council to protect its national interest, promote African Agenda, and most importantly to fulfill its international responsibility. Furthermore, the study found out that Ethiopia's commitment at all these three levels has been more or less sound.

This study has also examined Ethiopia's voting pattern at the United Nations Security Council in its last three tenures in relation to its national interest, African agenda as well as the interest of the international community. In view of that, the result showed that Ethiopia's voting pattern, guided by its constitution, foreign policy document, UN Charter as well as the position of the African Union; is fairly consistent in regard to protecting national interest as well as promoting the African agenda. As regards international issues, its voting pattern has been found out to be partially consistent with its declared foreign policy, among others, for its controversial abstention in the face of clear sovereignty and human rights violations in the case of Syria.

Additionally, the finding of this study further disclosed Ethiopia's voting behavior vis-à-vis its fellow member countries of the UNSC. Accordingly, the results of the study uncovered that Ethiopia pursues a hedging position with the permanent members, cooperates with elected members of the council, and aligns with the African representatives to promote the African agenda. Though some existing literature has claimed that some countries trade aid for a vote; this has not been found out to be true in the case of Ethiopia.

These days, many countries are frequently calling for the reform of the UN Security Council, as one of the most important multilateral platforms, to make it more representative and accountable. In view of that, several reform proposals have been presented both from individual countries and multilateral organizations. In respect to Ethiopia's stance on initiatives to reform UN Security Council, it was found out that the country does not have any individual position and it supports the reform of the Council through the common position of the African Union.

One of the most significant findings to emerge from this study is concerning Ethiopia's level of eligibility for one of the aspired African permanent seats in the UN Security Council. Though the Africa Union is yet to put forward any of its members for the UN Security Council permanent seat, in the study four prospective African Countries were selected to examine their level of eligibility for either of the aspired two seats. The four selected African countries for this purpose were Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa, which already represent the four geographic regions in Africa; the North, the East, the West, and the South respectively. Thus, the analysis based on this study's defined criteria shows that Ethiopia stands first among the African comparator group, followed by Nigeria, South Africa, and Egypt.

Finally, the findings in this paper have a number of implications. First, the paper finds that the UN Security Council is regarded as a good platform for international peace, security, and development in the larger context of Ethiopia's Foreign Policy. Hence, having committed itself to the relevant principles, Ethiopia has adopted a strict legalist approach to the Council's affairs. Second, the paper emphasizes that Ethiopia's chances of getting an African permanent seat in the UNSC might be imperiled by the ongoing political games together with the lesser attention being given by the country itself. Though the country is said to have a noticeable potential, at least as the findings of this study indicate, there is a lack of actual aspiration by the state government.

Largely, the study has considerable contributions to the concepts of multilateralism and collective security in general and the state's voting pattern in particular. It has also a policy implication in terms of formulating a legitimate international legal behavior as well as establishing an independent government department devoted exclusively to this purpose.

5.3 Recommendations

This section provides some recommendations that are suggested by the researcher in line with the findings of the study. Thus, based on the key findings of the study the following recommendations are forwarded to be adopted and improve the future performance and contribution of Ethiopia in the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular.

- **Internal Stability:** The works done domestically are believed to be the basis for a given country's foreign relations. Nevertheless, the contemporary internal politics of Ethiopia is a cause for concern. For the most part, its profound poverties coupled with ethnic divisions co-occurring with occasional instabilities are causing internal chaos and displacements. Hence, it is suggested that work be done to overhaul a national political consensus and promote the unity of its citizens. Moreover, to consolidate its regional power position and receive more recognition and credibility, Ethiopia needs to improve its internal political condition and increasingly play a more constructive role in the Horn of Africa. However, if it cannot manage these local or regional challenges aptly, it might not be in a situation to handle whatever is happening at the international level. How Ethiopia addresses its domestic challenges could be a test for the country on the global stage. It is, therefore, imperative for the Ethiopian government to address its domestic challenges and made it a priority to deepen democracy, accountability and good governance.
- **Regular Membership:** Ethiopia is one of the founding members of international organizations such as the League of Nations and the United Nations as well as one of the foremost African countries to be selected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, following the expansion of the council in 1966. Furthermore, it is a seat of the Organization of African Unity, now the African Union, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and the third city for international affairs after New York and Geneva. Against this backdrop of Ethiopia's extraordinary legacy in promoting Pan-Africanism and giving global leadership, it appears queer to learn that Ethiopia made it to the

membership of UNSC only three times in its history. In nearly 75 years of the Organization's history, Egypt that received its independence from Britain in February 1922 was Council member for five terms; Nigeria that became independent in October 1960 has joined the Council five times, while South Africa has managed to serve in the high table three times in the last twelve years only. Therefore, given its diplomatic centeredness and being in one of the most conflicted regions in the world, it would not be unreasonable for Ethiopia to join the UN Security Council at least once every five or ten years.

- **Documentation:** Keeping a record of the roles, accomplishments, challenges, and votes cast as well as the experiences gained during a country's presence in the Security Council is very crucial. Some countries focus almost entirely on the period they are in the Council, whereas other countries use their membership to enhance their ongoing influence in certain areas after they have left as well. Not only this, but well-documented files can also be valuable inputs for a country intending or rejoining the Council as well as to explain its progress and even norms relatively. Most of the key informants, who have represented Ethiopia in its third stint, utterly stated that they began their term out of the scratches and this has its own adverse effects. Henceforth, well-organized documentation of files is imperative and the next term of Ethiopia also needs to be put into consideration regarding its past practices in the Council.
- **Foreign Policy:** Several world countries have had a long history of external relations and they use foreign policy as a tool for their foreign affairs. Then, in this dynamic world, the foreign policy document needs to be revised and updated accordingly. The current foreign policy of Ethiopia had set various strategies in implementing the core objectives of the external relations, yet it has never been revised since its introduction in 2002 (until August 2019). Meanwhile, many significant changes have been noticed, and hence it is suggested to be dynamic in line with these global changes. Among others, even though Ethiopia has been a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for about three times, the foreign policy document does not mention it. There is not even a single phrase talking about its role, aspirations, guiding principles or prospects in the Security Council. Henceforth, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs needs to revise its policy, taking in to account all these and other internal as well as external situations, in an all-inclusive manner.

- **Expertise:** Having well-organized staffing and highly experienced experts can take a country far in the UNSC. In the same way, Ethiopia, given its large-scale and multidimensional responsibilities, needs to assign highly qualified experts and well-trained diplomats who are loyal to the rule of law and the constitution for the UN mission. Then again owing to the prospect reforms and growing responsibilities, the mission in New York is expected to increase in size; hence it is important to ensure that there are enough well-qualified, veterans as well as young diplomats to cover the intensive workloads. In view of that, there should be an independent office, focusing particularly on an effective division of labor exclusively devoted to the UN mission as well as the ever-broadening Security Council agenda.
- **Voting Pattern:** The votes cast on UN Security Council resolutions are one means of ascertaining a given state's foreign policy behavior. In the case of Ethiopia's voting pattern, although it is mostly balanced and cooperative, it should always be guided by the Constitution, Foreign Policy, International Law, UN Charter as well as African Union position on the merit of cases, not by any other influenced mechanisms or bodies. Even though its votes are found out to be fairly consistent at national as well as continental levels, this was not true at the global level to a certain extent. Hence for all intents and purposes, framing a uniform international legal behavior, well-articulated guiding principles and strategies at all levels are necessary. In addition, Ethiopia needs to invest considerable energy in both explaining and justifying its voting decisions in the Security Council. In this regard, a targeted communication approach could ensure Ethiopia's position on issues is clear.
- **Aspiration:** Ethiopia is gradually described as a regional powerhouse in the Horn of Africa, in consideration of its military, diplomatic power and demographic size. Its increasing engagement in regional peace and security issues further indicates that it has the will to lead and influence the region. What's more, Ethiopia, as indicated in the present research, is also a clear favorite to permanently represent the continent of Africa and play a meaningful role in the UNSC. However, its aspirations are neither explicitly acknowledged by the government, nor defined in its official foreign policy document. Especially, the country has not taken any position neither has it an aspirational target for an elevated position in the envisioned reform of the Security Council. Hence, given its enormous potential, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs needs to set a clear objective, strategies, and declare its explicit aspirations with regard to permanent membership in the UN Security Council.

- ***International Image:*** In the multilateral platform, how a given nation is perceived by the international community matters most. Most notably, the Security Council member state's commitment to the objectives of the UN Charter, the various international instruments and a nation's respect for its citizens and the nation's laws and its international obligations, especially the human rights instruments it has signed and voluntarily ratified through its legal mechanisms are highly acclaimed. Ethiopia has long been regarded as a symbol of drought and poverty, though it is the only African country to have successfully resisted colonialism and despite having an ancient and proud civilization, it is still hanging back when it comes to peace, security, and development. And this could heavily damage its image and progresses internationally. It is, hence, necessary that for a country allegedly expected for a permanent UNSC seat, the state of its security and development affairs be improved remarkably and the rights, welfare as well as prosperity of its citizens be fully respected in reality.
- ***Diplomatic Works:*** For a country to be elected to the UN Security Council, it has to have the support of a large part of the international community. The other UN members have to regard the state in question as capable of participating in the Council's work, presenting its positions and views, and representing other states' or actors' interests. Especially, if the country is seriously pursuing to be designated as permanent Security Council member, then it matters on how many countries it put behind it. Ethiopia's recent impressive economic growth and political advancement have got it respect and trust across many countries. Among others, Ethiopia may easily get regional backing, but it needs to fight and do more diplomatic works with other African and world countries.
- ***Political Resistance:*** In the course of selecting the two African permanent representatives to the UN Security Council, some challenges may well occur when countries encounter for the coveted seats. On top of this, some African countries could form strategic partnerships with countries from other regions or even conspire including with the permanent members of the Council. What is more, other African countries may still work informally with other groups to thwart the ambitions of the most likely candidates for a possible permanent seat on the high table. The whole thing may create deep divisions along with regional competitors and could give rise to undesirable political agonies. Bearing this in mind, the Ethiopian government should make early preparations to counter such political intrigues, while demonstrating its worthy commitment to the rest of UN member states.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Study

The findings will have notable implications and are believed to be helpful for future studies on multilateral diplomacy, precisely on the UNSC. While this study has revealed some interesting results, one should be careful of its limitations related essentially to its sample size and scope of the study. Although the researcher believes that this study is deep, it is still believed that it can be further extended to include more participants or countries from external to make it more realistic and reliable. In view of the identified limitations above, this thesis recommends several opportunities for further and future studies. The researcher encourages further research to extend the results of this study and improve the results by minimizing the limitations of the study. Therefore, the researcher put forward the following areas for further research:

1. Replicating this study in another setting (in different regions and countries) will make this study conclusion validate.
2. Replicating the study with consideration of other reform proposals of the UN Security Council in an all-inclusive manner.
3. Taking into account, the increasing efforts and imminent possibility of the Security Council reform, new research areas may arise and more empirical works can be conducted therefrom.

The author further suggests future researches to replicate these findings in more desirable attributes in different populations. For instance, other researchers can conduct the role of the African representatives (A3) or the African continent as a whole in the UN Security Council. It is also suggested that other researchers can expand the scope of the study's or sample size and include other African countries, to determine their eligibility for permanent membership in the UN Security Council. Examining the eligibility of other under-represented regions could also be another area that needs research.

What is more, the AU is yet, to define its own new selection criteria for the aspired two African permanent seats in the UN Security Council, hence there could be a room for further research, once these new criteria are drawn. Likewise, further reform proposals may be presented, that may be a better representative of, and accepted by UN member states. Hence, further study of other UNSC reform proposals may be made, to get a better insight and identify other criteria for Security Council permanent membership. Lastly, the findings from this research can be useful inputs for future researches on multilateral relations, especially for the continent Africa as well as its representatives in the UN Security Council.

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As is the tradition in Ethiopia in general and at Addis Ababa University in particular, Ethiopian authors are cited by their first names.

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Appendix I

Questions for In-depth Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Interview Schedule

Name of Researcher: Tesfaye G/Michael

Institution: Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University

Study: Master of Arts Degree: Peace and Security Studies.

Topic: ETHIOPIA'S ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

General Introduction:

The purpose of this interview is to gather information for an academic thesis for the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University. The thesis intends to explore "Ethiopia's Role in the United Nations Security Council". Therefore, the data to be collected from the interview will be used only for an academic research purposes and the identity of the informant will be kept confidential except for explicit consent from the informant's side.

Background information on interviewee

Name _____ **(if willing)** **Level of Education** _____

Gender _____ **occupation (Position)** _____

Time and date _____ **Venue** _____

Questions for Interviews with Key Informants

- 1) What is Ethiopia's foreign policy, guiding principles and perspective towards the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular?
- 2) What are the major reasons for Ethiopia's involvement in the UN Security Council?
- 3) What is Ethiopia's view of Sovereignty, Non-interference, and Role of the UN Security Council?
- 4) What are the main roles, aspirations and achievements of Ethiopia as a non-permanent member of the Security Council?
- 5) What are the main focus areas of Ethiopia, during its monthly presidency of the UNSC? Which thematic areas or debates are mostly proposed by the country?
- 6) How do you describe Ethiopia's voting patterns and the rationale behind it in the Security Council?
 - a. Is there congruousness between Ethiopia's declared foreign policy and its UNSC voting behavior?
 - b. In its voting record does Ethiopia take the middle road or align with others (either with its counterparts or superpowers)?
- 7) Taking in to consideration its foreign policies and actions, is Ethiopia a Status Quo or a Revisionist State as regards to the international order?
- 8) What is Ethiopia's position on the prospective reform of the UN Security Council?
- 9) In regard to the proposed expansion of the UNSC permanent memberships, how are Ethiopian government and policymakers intending and is the country eligible for a permanent seat in the Council, based on the defined criteria?
- 10) How prepared is Ethiopia to convince its African counterparts; considering the objective and subjective conditions; that it can genuinely and aptly represent African interests?

Interview Schedule

Name of Researcher: Tesfaye G/Michael

Institution: Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University

Study: Master of Arts Degree: Peace and Security Studies.

Topic: ETHIOPIA'S ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

General Introduction:

The purpose of this focus group discussion is to gather information for an academic thesis for the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University. The thesis intends to explore “Ethiopia’s Role in the United Nations Security Council”. The data to be collected from the discussion will be used only for an academic research purposes and the identity of the discussants will be kept confidential except for explicit consent from the discussants’ side.

Questions for Focus Group Discussion

- 1) What are the major reasons for Ethiopia’s involvement in the UN Security Council?
- 2) What are the main roles, aspirations and achievements of Ethiopia as a non-permanent member of the Security Council?
- 3) How do you describe Ethiopia’s voting patterns and the rationale behind it in the Security Council? Bandwagoning, Hedging or Balancing?
- 4) Is Ethiopia a Status Quo or a Revisionist State and what are its position on the prospect reform of the UN Security Council?
- 5) If there is a case for expansion of the Security Council permanent memberships, is Ethiopia aspiring to become a permanent member? What is Ethiopia’s level of eligibility, based on the defined criteria?

Appendix II

List of Key Informants

No.	Name of Key Informant (s)	Profession and Affiliation	Date and Place of interview
1.	Dr. Tekeda Alemu (Ambassador)	Former Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the UN	15 & 22 April, 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia
2.	Ms. Michelle Ndiaye	Director, Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP)	29 April, 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia
3.	Ms. Fortuna Dibaco	Director General, International Organizations, Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs	27 February, 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia
4.	Mr. Dawit Yirga	Senior Diplomat	25 & 28 March, 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia
5.	Mr. Bantihun Getahun	Senior Diplomat	4, 9 & 11 February, 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia
6.	Dr. Dawit Yohannes	Senior Researcher	17 May, 2019 Addis Ababa , Ethiopia

Statement of Declaration

This thesis is the original work of mine and has not been presented for the award of any degree or diploma in any other institution and the best of my knowledge and belief, this research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made.

Declared by: Tesfaye Gebremicheal

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Statement of Certification

This is to certify that Tesfaye Gebremicheal has carried out his research work on the topic entitled “**Ethiopia’s Role in the United Nations Security Council**”. The work is original in nature and it is suitable for submission in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Master’s Degree in Peace and Security Studies.

Advisor’s Name: Yonas Tariku

Signature: _____

Date: _____