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**Engagement of the Ethiopian Army in Civil Disturbances to
Restore Law and Order: Implications for Human Security**

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Table of contents

Contents	Page
Table of contents.....	ii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms Used.....	vi
Acknowledgement	vii
Abstract.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 Research Questions.....	6
1.4 Objectives of the Study	6
1.4.1 General Objective of the Study	6
1.4.2 Specific Objective of the Research.....	6
1.5 Significance of the Research.....	7
1.6 Limitation of the Research	7
CHAPTER TWO.....	8
LITERATURE RIVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	8
2.1 Introduction.....	8
2.2 Conceptualizing Human Security and Military Intervention	8
2.3 The Concept of Military Intervention	9
2.4 Military Intervention and the Principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P).....	10
2.5 Roles of the Military	11
2.5.1 Peace Time Roles of the Military	11
2.5.2 The Roles of the Military in Civil Disturbances.....	12

2.6 HUMAN SECURITY AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL and THE MILITARY’S EXPERIENCE	13
2.6.1 Westphalian Model of Statehood	13
2.6.2 The Emergence of the Concept of Human Security	14
2.6.3 Human Security and Human Rights	16
2.7 Human Security and the Military	19
2.8 Critiques on the Military’s failure to Protect Human Security	22
2.9 Conceptual Framework on the Role of the Military in Guaranteeing Human Security	24
2.10 Challenges of the Military in Protecting Human Security	25
2.10.1 Institutional Challenges	25
2.10.2 Legal Challenges	26
2.10.3 Operational Challenges.....	27
2.11 Implications of the Literature Review for the Research	27
CHAPTER THREE	28
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH.....	28
3.1 Research Methodology.....	28
3.2 Research Approach, Philosophical View and Design.....	29
3.3 Population, Sample and Sampling Technique.....	31
3.4 Data Sources and Methods of Data Collection	31
3.4.1 Primary Data Sources	32
3.4.1.1 Interview	32
3.4.1.2 Focus Group Discussion.....	32
3.4.1.3 Document Analysis.....	33
3.4.2 Secondary Sources of Data.....	33
3.5 Variables of the Study	33

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis	33
3.7 Ethical Consideration	33
CHAPTER FOUR.....	35
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ETHIOPIAN ARMY ESTABLISHMENT AND INTERVENTION IN CIVIL DISTURBANCES	35
4.1 Early and Modern Historical Development and Roles of the Ethiopian Army	35
4.2 Historical Development of Military Intervention in Civil Disturbance	40
CHAPTER FIVE	47
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	47
5.1 Introduction	47
5.2 Instances and Frameworks that led to Military Intervention.....	47
5.3 State and Military Relation on Security	50
5.4 The Military and its Place in Ethiopian Security Structure.....	53
5.5 Relation between the Military and the Public	54
5.6 Challenges, the Army face in discharging its Duties of protecting Human Security.....	58
5.6.1 Challenges of Economic Nature	58
5.6.2 Social Challenges	59
5.6.3 Institutional Challenges	60
5.7 Is the Military Protecting Human Security during Civil Disturbances?	61
Conclusion and Recommendations.....	63
Conclusion.....	63
Recommendations	64
References.....	65
APPENDICES	72
Continued.....	73

Appendix II: Profile of FGD I Participants.....	74
Appendix III: Profile of FGD IV Participants	75
Appendix IV: Profile of FGD II Participants.....	76
Appendix V: Profile of FGD III Participants.....	77
Appendix VI: Guiding Interview Questions and Discussion Guiding questions for Key informants.....	78
Appendix VII	80

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms Used

APDO	Amhara Peoples’ Democratic Organization
CCOE	Civil-Military Cooperation of Excellence
CMR	Civil Military Relation
CHS	Commission on Human Security
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU	European Union
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IPSS	Institute for Peace and Security Studies
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KI	Key Informant
OPDO	Oromo People’s Democratic Organization
PDRE	People’s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
PSC	Peace and Security Council
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SRoE	Standing Rules of Engagement
TPLF	Tigray People’s Liberation Front
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN	United Nations
US	United States

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Abstract

This thesis examines whether the military is protecting Human Security during intervention to calm down civil disturbances or not. While permitting the military to be deployed during a civil disturbance, the FDRE constitution (1995) and the FDRE foreign affairs and security policy and strategy (2002) are primarily focused on state security; nonetheless, such a deployment should also focus on human security, as the military is one organ in the realization of Human Security. By disregarding Human Security, which is a fundamental issue that requires a solution, Ethiopian law, policy, and practice regarding military deployment during a civil disturbance demonstrate their preoccupation for state security. Based on this problem, the thesis explores how Human Security considerations guide military intervention during civil disturbances and the corresponding reasons for the failures of the Ethiopian Army in discharging its Human Security protection obligations stated under the constitution, with identification of the roles of the Army and the legal, policy and practical problems of the same. After identifying the problem and setting the objective, qualitative research methodology with mainly exploratory design is employed to investigate and give in-depth analysis of the problem. The study is significant in showing the gap both in the literature and empirical aspects, where as a pioneer study, it can inspire researchers to do further study on problems related but uncovered in this study and awaken political and military decision makers on the problems attached with Human Security and military intervention during civil disturbances. The findings of the study corroborated that the military is not protecting Human Security during civil disturbance intervention operations and mostly focus on state security. The study concludes; the complementarity of state security and Human Security is underlined. But, Self-contradicting constitutional rules, other pertinent legal documents and the country's State Security policy focus along with the military's unawareness on Human Security issues and Economic, social, and institutional challenges dragging the military from protecting Human Security are the core problems.

Key Words: Human Security, State Security, Military intervention, Civil Disturbance.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Engagement of the Military during civil disturbances is not a new phenomenon and everywhere in the world with different circumstances, countries deploy their armed forces to calm civil uprisings whenever the law or the practice allows them to do so. Civil disturbances can occur in any form, time, and intensity, which push the government to think of military deployment and move for practical application. The purpose of the whole deployment is the restoration of order and peace to the situation they were. In the meantime, the issue of Human Security needs paramount attention.

Mahbub (1995: 115) described the paradigm change as

...the world is entering a new era in which the very concept of security will change – and change dramatically. Security will be interpreted as the security of people, not just territory. Security of individuals' not just nations. Security through development, not through arms. Security of all the people everywhere – in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment.

The change gets momentum after traditional state security is losing ground for various reasons and the idea of 'state security cannot be assured unless personal security is safeguarded' has become the dominant thinking.

If everything in a country must be in a state of normal affairs, peace and order are highly necessary; otherwise the whole country will cease to function to the required degree. When we see military intervention during civil unrest, it is due to the absence of both Negative and Positive peace. As Johan Galtung (1967:12) stated, the meaning of peace also encompasses the 'law and order' concept. This concept is one which is the perceived social order before the turmoil occurred and this kind of peace can even be brought about by violence or the threat of violence. Once the State is established, it has the monopoly of violence in exclusion of others,

thus it is not a surprise when we see the State exercising its monopoly power to restore law and order. But, the major concern for the State during civil unrest is traditional State Security and Human Security is second in line or has no attention of the State at all.

When Galtung (1995:1) relates the idea of peace with medication, health and disease are one side of the coin, and peace and violence are the other side of the coin. It is not only violence, but peace also needs treatment or analysis. In a stable and peaceful country, we cannot be sure when and how its peace can be disrupted like the health of an individual, where his healthy-looking condition can be overturned to that of a disease spontaneously. If Human Security during civil disturbances is not given due attention, we cannot say that the deployment of the military has ensured peace and the relative peace brought by the intervening army needs further analysis in line with Human Security.

Nations follow contemporary efforts to bring peace during civil disturbances. For conflict resolution, as Daley (2006) explained, Nations follow universal conflict resolution models with the standard formula of peace negotiation having a variety of phenomena, and governments deal with civil unrest using negotiation and/or deploying the military as the case may be. When they choose to deploy the army, rules and procedures that govern every step of the deployment must be respected, but the problem arises when these rules and procedures are not meant to ensure Human Security.

One of the contemporary efforts to bring peace during civil disturbance in Ethiopia is military deployment. The recurrence of civil unrest in Ethiopia is obvious to everyone who inquires and the government has tried to bring tranquility using military force, negotiations, an incentive for the demonstrators, political responsibility for the causes and, others. Demonstrations were intensified in recent years, although sporadically happening in the past sixteen years and we have noticed deadly violent uprisings in different parts of the country. The turmoil has different facets where; two ethnic groups can be conflicting; it can be public anger against the government for various reasons; pastoralists fighting...etc.

Although FDRE constitution (1995) under Articles 51/14/ and 62/9/ provides initiation for military intervention and forced intervention respectively, these Articles alone cannot govern the whole military intervention because of their generality. These Constitutional articles, besides

failing to adequately govern the military intervention, they did not mention Human Security issues during the military intervention that follow civilian turmoil.

Human Security starts dominating the focus on security matters after the end of the cold war; since States are no more under the threat of nuclear devastation, arms race, and war between states. When the traditional state security threats are decreasing, the Human Security threats start increasing due to civil wars, crimes, economic, political, and social, and other triggering factors. Thus; scholars and politicians tend to strengthen the idea that ensuring Human Security is in turn guaranteeing the security of the state or Human Security is a complement to state security.

After Human Security gained momentum in security approaches, it was accompanied by three leading theories; 'freedom from fear', 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from indignity. The 1994 UN Human Development Report is the major conceptually coherent document on Human Security and outlined that the concept of Human Security; is a universal concern, and its components are interdependent, prevention-oriented, and people-centered. Based on the Report, Human Security threats are grouped into seven categories namely; economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political.

This thesis aims at exploring the outcome of military intervention on Human Security during civil disturbances by focusing on the main Human Security theories, where Ethiopia's policy; concerning laws and practical military intervention in such circumstances shows the focus is on state security than Human Security.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The prevailing literature on Human Security reiterates the primary obligation of the state to protect its citizens from the threats of daily life and the need for a combined effort of multiple organs in the realization of these protections among the organs, the Army is considered one of them and State sovereignty is redefined as responsibility (UN General Assembly, 2005). When a civil disturbance occurs in a country, there are legal and practical instances that led to the intervention of its Army aimed at calming the disturbance and when the Army's intervention materializes to this effect, the operation can be questioned from the viewpoint of Human Security.

Theoretical discussions on military intervention targeted at executing the responsibility to protect the people found that the concerned state has to protect its population from fear and the possibility of the shift of this duty to the international community when that state is unable or unwilling to provide the necessary protection (Badescu, 2011: p. 42). These discussions also stressed that the threat to the public can be directed from the state itself or non-state actors. Since most of the civil disturbances are directed against the government, the threat comes directly from the state (Padmi, 2015: p. 99) when it orders its Army to calm the disturbance, but the primary goal of such an Army is the protection of the state from external aggression and the public as a whole. When the Army intervenes to calm the civil disturbance, it uses force even to the maximum extent on the people indiscriminately.

Empirical findings also argued that the concerned states and the international community failed to protect Human Security during violent times, using military intervention. When the state orders military intervention to calm the violence, from the outset the threat is considered to be a threat to the state and thus the focus is on protecting its security. The intervening military mainly emphasizes controlling the protestors or the conflicting organs and in the meantime, both the participants of the violence and the general public will be indiscriminately affected by the operation which is aimed at securing the state and the state inevitably fail to implement its protective responsibility (Okolo, 2008: p. 53).

The state's responsibility to protect Human Security at any time using various organs is the consensus among the works of literature on the subject by focusing on four major atrocities;

Genocide, Crimes against Humanity, War crimes, and ethnic cleansing, but there is a gap in the literature that the role of the Army in protecting Human Security, especially when a state orders its Army to calm civil disturbances and harmed its citizens with atrocities not as grave as the above four is not covered. Some of the literature deal with how to control a civil disturbance, what kind of force must be employed in the operation, or the extent of such force, but besides mentioning ways of controlling the civil disturbance, there is a gap in mentioning ways of protecting Human Security for both the participants and the public. In addition to the literature's gap, there are legal and practical problems that created the failure on the part of the state to protect Human Security.

The main duties of the Ethiopian Army or the armed forces, as per Article 87 of the FDRE constitution (1995) and preamble of the Defense Forces Proclamation (2019) are; the protection of the Sovereignty of the country and execution of duties entrusted to it during a state of emergency declared following the constitution. This gives the basic highlight on the focus of the constitution being state security when it comes to duties of the army, in disregard of Human Security. But at the same time, the constitution obliges the Army to operate impartially from any political affiliation. Although this constitution obliges the military to act impartiality from political affiliation, the ethnic sentiments of some members of the military and politicians, since they were ethnic based liberators once is one factor for ethnic affiliation or partiality. The policy, practice, and law seem to disregard this basic security issue.

Almost all the wordings of the constitution imply a great concern for state security than Human Security. Military intervention during civil disturbances requires supreme attention to Human Security because there is a high possibility of endangering Human Security, where civilian disturbances are likely to affect the security of individuals or targeted groups. The Ethiopian security policy also quotes state security as the 'Alpha and Omega' of security issues.

Since the constitution and the policy are mainly concerned with state security while allowing the deployment of the military during a civil disturbance, such deployment should also focus on Human Security. The law, policy, and practice of military deployment during a civil disturbance in Ethiopia show the concern for state security by ignoring Human Security, which is the basic problem that needs a solution.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How do Human Security considerations guide military intervention?
2. What roles and responsibilities the military officers have in protecting Human Security during civil disturbances?
3. What are the legal, policy and practical problems attached to military intervention during civil disturbance in connection with protecting Human Security?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective of the Study

The general objective is exploring; how the Ethiopian Army operates during civil disturbances in connection with Human Security by showing the reasons for the failure to give concern for Human Security during these operations.

1.4.2 Specific Objective of the Research

The specific objectives of the study are;

- To examine how Human Security considerations guide military intervention.
- To identify the roles of the Army in protecting Human Security during civil disturbances.
- To analyse the legal, policy and practical problems attached to the Army's failure to protect Human Security and provide plausible recommendations.

1.5 Significance of the Research

Literature review on the subject shows the existence of a limited number of literary works that are concerned with military intervention aimed at protecting Human Security during civil disturbances in Ethiopia; however, there are some at the international level, mainly based on the responsibility to protect (R2P). Therefore, the research will have significance in multiple facets. It will be pioneer research on the subject matter, thus inspiring the conduct of further research on the issues that are not covered by this research or to strengthen it. Second, it will enlighten the policymaker and the legislature by showing the legal gap and the practical problems to devise a solution. Last, it will advise military commanders by showing the theoretical and practical problems to come up with a civil-military tuned solution by giving primacy to Human Security.

1.6 Limitation of the Research

To begin with, there are very few literary works on the specific subject matter, where most of the pieces of literature focus on the general responsibility to protect (R2P) and this factor is the biggest limitation in showing the gap intended to be filled. In addition, the study will only focus on military deployment during civil disturbances and it will not cover any engagement of the military in war-like situations or external deployments. Although the study addresses historical military intervention incidents and the corresponding outcomes in Ethiopia, the main focuses are such interventions happened after Human Security gained the momentum in 1994, following the official UNDP report on the same year since the report officially created the Human Security approach on security discourses.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Reviewing the available literature is one of the fundamental tasks in a study. Kumar (2011) states that; reviewing the literature can be time-consuming, daunting, and frustrating but it is also rewarding. For this study, I looked at some of the literature available on the issue at hand. Most of the literature I explored is from abroad and there are limited numbers of kinds of literature in Ethiopia directly linked to military intervention during civil disturbances and protecting Human Security, where almost all the literature from Ethiopia touch the subject in connection with the federal system.

2.2 Conceptualizing Human Security and Military Intervention

The main concepts in the research will be peace, Human Security, and military intervention during civil disturbances. Civilian unrest will jeopardize the peace that ensues around the area in question. Peace and military intervention have a direct relationship because; unless there is a disturbance of peace in a civilian area of living, there will be no military deployment aimed at restoring law and order, which assure peace.

Various scholars have tried to define peace, but they failed to reach a consensus. Galtung, (1967) argued that the scope of peace ranges from the termination of organized collective violence or negative peace to the integration and cooperation of the society or positive peace by overcoming structural and cultural violence. In line with Galtung's view, the focus of the research will be negative peace, where organized and collective violence is involved during civil disturbances which require the deployment of the military to pacify the situation. When the military is deployed for internal affairs, one of its tasks will be ensuring people's freedom from fear by addressing negative peace and this military can contribute to positive peace by protecting individuals' freedom from indignity.

But if this military deployment primarily focuses on state security by disregarding Human Security, the outcome might further deteriorate the relative peace. Unless the people are

protected from the threats brought by civil disturbance, protecting the state alone will not ensure lasting peace in the country.

Hummel (2001) on his part stated that "...peace may be defined as theabsence of hostilities and ... the condition of lasting suspension of rivalry." There are various reasons which trigger civil disturbances tuned by hostilities and rivalries. When the hostilities develop into violent civil disturbances, the military can be called to suspend the rivalry and ensure peace. Practical and legal questions related to ensuring Human Security through the deployment should be answered as soon as possible.

2.3 The Concept of Military Intervention

Military intervention during civil disturbances is mainly attached to the intention of the government to protect the state with the use or threat of force, whereas civil uprisings are usually aimed at attacking government institutions and officials alike. There are proponents and antagonists of military intervention at times of civil unrest. Therefore, the need for the military intervention itself is debatable based on whether the focus of the intervention should give priority to human security or state security or why do we need military intervention during civil disturbances at all?

The proponents argue that (Merutka, 2013: p.1) the training and material necessary to easily disband participants of the civil unrest, disciplined manpower, operative command and control, deployment at short notice, preexisting legitimacy and prestige, civilians being more afraid of the military than police or other law enforcement organs, its ability to create the platform for peace and development which eventually pave the way for protecting the society (Engdahl, 1983: p. 78), and the Army is the most effective at hand to deal with emergencies the executive cannot disregard; can be the main reasons in support of military intervention. But, these proponents only deal with the effectiveness of the military intervention without relating its role to the protection of Human Security.

On the other hand antagonists of the military intervention (Mani, 2020 and Lee, 2005) state that; deploying deadly force during civil unrest can result in further escalation of the civil unrest with the military using lethal force, and the military's focus on state security can make it strive to the

regime by disregarding the public, it's training in killing than arresting can be more fatal to civilians, and other triggering problems attached to the profession and operation are likely to cause a detrimental effect on the civilians and the intended peace. If the very fact of the military intervention is doubted then we cannot expect these anti-military deployment writers to relate the intervention to protecting Human Security.

With all the pros and cons of military intervention during civil disturbances, many countries of the world deploy their military to quash civilian unrest, as the case may be. Since this military deployment has worldwide applicability, to what end should the army be deployed during civil disturbances remains a question. The military deployment is important to restore law and order, but for me it should also be guided by contemporary Human Security considerations than only focusing on State Security.

2.4 Military Intervention and the Principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

It is argued that effective protection of territorial security of the state is not inherent to the security of the people who resided in that state (King and Murray, 2000), and thus since the state is responsible for the security of the people, it has to provide a tangible means of securing life and dignity of the people. One of the contemporary frameworks for the state to protect the people is 'the responsibility to protect, which puts the obligation of protection on the state and the international community at times of failure or unwillingness of that state (Badescu, 2011). R2P was first designed by the Canadian government with the establishment of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) to pave the way for the 'right to humanitarian intervention' (Trent, 2007, p. 213). R2P was adopted by the 2005 UN summit document and later in 2006, it was confirmed by the Security Council's Resolution 1674 (Davies and Glanville, 2010, p. 137). Based on this responsibility to protect principle, the state or the international community can use military force to avert the danger posed to the people, which is evidenced by the various local and international military deployments. Before the intervention of the international community materializes, the state's unwillingness or inability will be tested by different mechanisms. For example in 2011, the Security Council requested the Libyan government to 'meet its responsibility to protect its population' (Goodhart, 2013: p. 53), but the request was rejected by Muammar Gaddafi (Dekker and Hey, 2012: p. 217).

The military's intervention aimed at applying R2P, both at the national and international level, must be questioned from the outcome or the end goal. The use of military force, even in the name of humanitarian intervention will ultimately put danger to the public in due to its deadly nature. But the literature cited above explains only the use of military force to protect the public and they do not deal with issues like what if that force by itself is a danger to the survival of some part of the population and what must the intervening military do to protect the personal, political and communal security issues of the people living in the area of intervention.

2.5 Roles of the Military

Many countries' military personnel have peacetime and conflict situations (war or civil disturbance operations) roles and are executed according to the order. The two roles of the military are presented as follows.

2.5.1 Peace Time Roles of the Military

The military is not idle during peacetime and its' personnel performs varied types of tasks entrusted to it, and these types of tasks are important to the state's interests. Kingseed (1992: 97) defines peacetime military operations as the execution of national security policy with an organized application of political, economic, and military means to reach stability and deter hostilities. Since civil disturbances are more considered peacetime operations of the military because deployment to calm civil disturbances is not the main task of the military or it is considered an auxiliary function; these political, economic, and military means are vital in protecting human security during civil disturbances, where; political means like negotiating with the protestors and offering amicable solutions, economic solutions like providing development opportunities for the public at large, and military solutions like using means and methods of calming civil disturbances which the soldiers are already trained, although Kingseed did not mention the issue of human security.

Peacetime operations of the military gained momentum after the cold war, just like the issue of human security, which paved the way for engaging the military for human security protections. Former US vice president, Dick Cheney on 19 February 1991 briefed House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee that, peacetime engagement of the military deters low-intensity conflicts

and promotes stability. Unless human security is assured in Third World countries, stability is difficult to achieve and the military can play a spirited role in protecting human security and bringing the desired stability.

The Ethiopian military, like its counterparts, has peacetime roles; especially the manufacturing sector is the basic area of engagement and there are activities of the military during civil disturbances aimed at calming the turmoil. But, is calming the turmoil and securing the state should be the major task of the military during civil disturbances remains the main question that needs to be answered.

2.5.2 The Roles of the Military in Civil Disturbances

When civil disturbances happen, the literature shows that states deploy their military subject to practical and legal constraints. The most common incident for military intervention during civil disturbance is when the local law enforcement agencies are unable to control the situation and a request for such is presented by the competent authority (US Department of the Army, 1985). This kind of intervention in the USA was only aimed at quelling the civil unrest (Keenan: 2021), but now it is directly linked to protecting the rights of individuals to protest peacefully (Biden, 2021: 18).

In Africa (Harkness: 2021), the military plays an important role in the outcome of civilian protests, in the form of silencing demonstrations quickly and effectively. Military officers receive sufficient financial benefits that democratically accountable governments can revoke, from high-paying and private-sector opportunities to privileged access to scarce consumer goods and health care. The military can use its political power during the transition to stall reform efforts and protect future interests by institutionalizing special privileges (such as reserved seats in courts and parliament). Citizens no longer trust the military and other transitional agencies to drive social and political change without sustained pressure from below. Recent large-scale protests in Africa are thus characterized by direct military intervention (Ibid: 2021).

One of the reasons the military focused on state security is its involvement in economic investments; initials derived from military sources. When the military generals are earning economic benefits, they are more in favor of maintaining state security than focusing on human

security. In Algeria, for instance, the generals were involved in their own business and make millions, using their political and business tycoons' connections; this resulted in hijacking the interests of civil protesters and securing the government at the life cost of the civilian population (Ghanem: 2021). Therefore, during a civil disturbance, the role of the military is primarily tuned on protecting state security.

Ethiopian military is no different from its counterparts in other African states, and the law and practice of military intervention during civil disturbances show the focus on state security. Proclamation No. 359/2003, which is more specific on military intervention than the FDRE Constitution (1995) provides that military intervention in principle, can be ordered when there is a deteriorating security situation that disrupts the peace and safety of the ‘public’ and local law enforcement agencies are unable to arrest the peace disturbance. This proclamation did not define what the word ‘public’ constitutes, rather it only defines ‘person’, meaning natural or juridical. Therefore, because the protesters are individuals in mass, for me the word ‘public’ only refers to the state and this can be evidenced by the cumulative reading of other articles of the proclamation, where the main task of the intervening force is taking legal measures against those who took part in deteriorating the security situation. Under this proclamation though, there is little room for human security, where military intervention can be ordered in case of violations of human rights. These violations are against the human rights enshrined under the constitution or other laws of the country and when the concerned Region is found in violation of these human rights, the federal government can order military intervention to stop it. But, since human security is not only about human rights; the intervening force, as per the proclamation, is not considering other aspects of human security which are not covered by human rights approaches and the order for military intervention should also give attention to other infringements of human security.

2.6 HUMAN SECURITY AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL and THE MILITARY’S EXPERIENCE

2.6.1 Westphalian Model of Statehood

The ‘International’ system is constructed by the principle of state sovereignty, which was designed by the Westphalian model of Statehood. Based on this model (Hassan, 2006), states

have an equal stance at the international level and their relationship is tuned by the respect for sovereignty. The importance of state self-government is the core of this system where; states can determine their laws/political system or other manifestations of sovereignty, which is enshrined under international law as in the UN Charter, and they have a monopoly over the legitimate use of force. The security threats are conflicts between states and to avoid such threats, states were constantly immersed in building and financing their army and spying on the military capabilities of other states. The continuation of this model was reaffirmed by the UN Charter Article 2 (7), which provides ‘Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the UN to intervene matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.’

These principles, which directed the focus on state security lasted for a long, but the Cold War witnessed the need for a new perspective on security as state security backed by Military might cannot effectively guarantee the desired security of states rather it becomes a threat of mutually assured destruction.

2.6.2 The Emergence of the Concept of Human Security

The 1992 UN report on ‘‘An Agenda for Peace’’ introduced the need for an integrated approach to Human Security, where the challenges of security are changed after the end of the Cold War and a paradigm shift is considered necessary towards individual security, although the concept was in one way or another incorporated in different international instruments like establishing document of The League of Nations (1919), the United Nations Charter (1945), the Atlantic Charter (1941), the Genocide Convention (1948), and others. In 1994, the UN specifically addressed the Human Security issue with its ‘‘Human Development Report’’. In this report (UNDP: 1994), the UN acknowledged that the overall understanding of security needs a different perspective along with the coming to an end of the Cold War and impending security threats. The perception of security should not be evaluated from state security only or conflicts among states, and future chronic and sudden threats that endanger the livelihood of humans should be the center of security issues too, and given equal primacy to state security.

UN’s acknowledgment of the new Human Security approach witnessed the shift from the realists’ approach to the notion of security, where states with the monopoly of violence are considered the only players of security, but new players and approaches that spin on putting

individuals at the center with protection and empowerment are added to the old security approach. The Human Development report outlined two main constituents of Human Security, which are (UNDP: 1994); freedom from fear (protection from physical violence) and freedom from want (alleviating poverty) having a direct effect on peace. UN Agenda 2030 later incorporated freedom to live in dignity (CCOE: 2). For the realization of these three new paradigms of security, the need for universal concern and interconnectedness of the components of Human Security was agreed upon. Additionally, preventive strategies and empowering the public were regarded as ways for the realization.

After the UN's acknowledgment of Human Security; states, international organizations, and national stakeholders start appreciating the concept and some integrated it into their operations. For instance, Japan was the first country to promote Human Security internationally and it has made the realization of Human Security as JICA's core mission. The October 2019 JICA report argues that the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) approach is not working effectively to give solutions to today's human challenges and therefore the bottom-up approach to Human Security is the only way to build peace. Canada and Norway have also included Human Security in their foreign policy because after the end of the cold war, new security challenges are threatening human beings all over the world (Axworthy: 1997). British Defence Doctrine points out issues of Human Security inadequately, but its national defense doctrines make no citation and commitment to individuals as the new referent objects concerning security (Gilmore, 2015: 51). These doctrines do not consider Human Security as complementary to state security and the traditional state security is still the sole concern of British National Defence Doctrines.

European Union has included several components of Human Security in the European Security Strategy, but notably, the 2004 Barcelona Report of the study group on Europe's Security Capabilities offered a Human Security doctrine for Europe. Legal framework and The Human Security Response Force, with civil and military enforcement mechanisms (Albrecht, et.al: 2004) was established, but none has been operationalized.

The UN Commission on Human Security in its 2003 (p. 4) report outlined:

Human Security seeks to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human Security means protecting

fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military, and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood, and dignity.

Human Security therefore touches every corner of human lives and every sector is a stakeholder in the realization.

Human Security is applicable in modern conflicts because; most conflicts today are within states – not among states, most casualties are civilians, and conflict both causes and is both caused by state failure and fragility. Human Security Now (2003) has proposed; placing Human Security on the security agenda, strengthening humanitarian action, respecting human rights and humanitarian law, disarming people and fighting crime, and preventing conflict and respecting citizenship as policy recommendations for the stakeholders. When it comes to the military, as one important stakeholder with the capability to use violence and other peaceful techniques, it has much more responsibility for the realization of Human Security than other stakeholders.

2.6.3 Human Security and Human Rights

Human rights are widely accepted normative concepts for state relations and foreign policy. The inherent nature of particular rights in human history is not new, which can be reiterated from various narrative books. For example, the universality and moral power of human rights are cited in the writings of Hugo Grotius and also enshrined in the 1789 French Declaration of Human Rights. Despite the opposition of those who doubt the universality of human rights, the issue of public human rights is often not about whether human rights concerns have ever been applicable, but about "which rights" deserve emphasis (Alkire 2003: 38). How are human rights related to human security? How can institutions and agents work together more effectively are the concerns.

Human security and human rights are inextricably linked in terms of inspiration and apprehension. First, some of the projects in the human rights community are a set of universal and basic claims that apply even if they are not respected by state authorities or others. It was to

create consensus and public awareness about human rights. Human security also promises to address many rights and freedoms that cannot be ignored. One of the motives for human security is to deal with what is considered to be the most basic human rights available. Second, human security and human rights address both violence and poverty. The International Human Rights Charter (UDHR) includes basic needs such as work, education, nutrition, self-determination, and health care. This document also prohibits torture, slavery, religious or racial persecution, forced disappearance, and unlawful killings, while another treaty (Genocide Convention) prohibits genocide. Therefore identifying, protecting, and promoting the central aspects of human life from "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" are the goals of human security and human rights. The civil and political rights of the "first generation" and the economic and social rights of the "second generation" at the time of adopting UDHR and the subsequent third and fourth generation rights, such as collective rights and rights to peace (Donnelly, 1998) has created separation on human rights, which was deep and reflected the idealistic priorities. The post-Cold War human rights community, with the introduction of the new Human security concept, reunites the indivisibility of various types of human rights. The distinction between human security and human rights is thus not their motives or themes.

Another relationship between human security and human rights is a matter of enforcement responsibility. The various human rights theories attach this obligation to different agents, yet practically no agent had the authority to enforce human rights obligations at the international level. But, Human rights violations can be put to an end with the act of national or international agents, which is evidenced by the practice of military interventions ordered by the national or international coalition.

What are the types of obligations related to human security? At first glance, it has the impression; human security is an extension of national security, which has been established and adopted to some extent voluntarily by the relevant governments. In contrast, the driving force of human rights always depends on the corresponding obligations of other parties. But if human security is to provide a common platform for national and international and local groups to coordinate their efforts, human security must also contribute an important core of the population. In this sense, when human security concerns are "related to the vocabulary of human rights," they are enriched with an automatic sense of moral obligation. Therefore, to some extent, human

rights provide a more basic framework for universal obligations. To be very pointed out, human security refers to a particular section of such obligations. In this case, how can human security be secured to greater means of human rights? Of course, this also has a positive effect.

The language of human rights was strongly influenced by idealism during the Cold War (Donnelly, 1998), but its remnants remain. Due to its institutional form in the legal community, the concept of human rights can convey a carefully identified and sometimes weak set of legal obligations rather than convey a substantive moral message. Human security terms can be fascinating because they can be used in social contexts where human rights terms face deep-seated opposition from various groups.

A very last and now no longer uncontroversial statement concerns the indivisibility of human rights. The number one clear distinction between human rights and human security is that human security explicitly recognizes the want for on-going prioritization and dialogue of factors of human security. Human rights activists will argue that every human right is similarly essential and indivisible and that no organization can legitimately `choose and choose` (Alkire 2003: 39). If human security tasks had put in force that view, then the factors of the important core should be the complete set of human rights for all international locations everywhere. Specifying human security does entail the explicit, open-ended prioritization of freedoms and rights that modern human rights theories studiously avoid. The confrontation of `*identical priority*` of all human rights might also additionally appear to pressure the processes apart, it's far definitely pretty beneficial to have each process.

The human rights method defends the incommensurable cost of a listing of human rights, which encompasses freedom from torture and genocide, and others. The human security method always addresses concrete protection threats and human rights threats. It recognizes that a few human rights battle with one another and that during actual scenarios political constraints would require tough alternatives among priorities within the set of human rights to be made. Both processes usefully supplement each other. The idea of human security might also additionally, like human rights, entail those factors of human security that are similarly essential.

Possibly the maximum important divergences between human security and human rights are however no longer conceptual. The variations lie within the methods and institutions that will put

human security in force. For instance, human rights activists typically have used legal methods to save human rights abuses, or to punish transgressors; human security will use economic, political, social, and possibly armed forces for effective realization as the same commitment to realize national security. The protection of human security is the safeguarding of human rights and vice versa. Since human security is wider than human rights, the question is how the processes can toughen and supplement one another.

2.7 Human Security and the Military

“The world can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives.” – Human Development Report (UNDP, 1994: 1)

Human Security is a contemporary issue and it started to get momentum after the end of the cold war (Johns: 2014), where during that time states were constantly engaged in; protecting their security from external aggression, nuclear proliferation, maintaining Sovereignty, political stability, giving priority to state agents and instruments. The end of the cold war brought a dramatic change in terms of a security issue and the thinking of security started shifting from state security to Human Security.

The shift to Human Security itself has its own reasons attributable to civil wars, pandemic, violent protests, criminal activities, genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, internal military operations and others. Thus placing people security at the center has become the dominant security matter internationally. The UNDP’s 1994 Human Development Report has cleared the vagueness of the Human Security issue and still it is the comprehensive and widely cited report on Human Security. The two principal approaches to Human Security, according to the report are; "It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life - whether in homes, in jobs or in communities." It has also categorized Human Security matters into seven classifications namely; economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political. These categories are derived from Human Security theories of ‘freedom from fear’, ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from indignity’.

Human centered attitude towards security with new look on how the public is affected by the unpleasant changes happened due to external forces, which can be natural or manmade. United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 66/290 gave recognition to the relationship between peace, development and Human rights. The resolution also provided for equal recognition to civil, political, cultural, economic and social rights of all human beings living in every nation at all times of conflict and peace. These interlinked human needs will be at high risk of infringement when internal conflict is occurred or a civil disturbance started, which in turn will affect the security of individuals and groups. When the civil disturbance materializes, the need for military intervention will arise, as the case may be, and the intervening military will be faced with two security issues; state security and human security. To which security issue the intervening military should give priority depends on the mission it aimed to accomplish. Pragmatic approaches of the Ethiopian military during civil disturbances and the legal frameworks on military intervention show primacy given to state security over human security.

United Nations Commission on Human Security, which was established in January 2001 is the one that provided widely convincing definition to the issue as;

... to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. (CHS: 2003: 4).

This definition pushes for (UN Trust Fund for Human Security); the shift from state security to Human Security (individuals' protection from the above seven categorical threats, and empowering them to be part of the solution), giving concern to the border between security, development and human rights, and a new paradigm for integrating development, peace, and security.

The United Nations 1994 Human Development Report has outlined four basic characteristics of Human Security (UN, 1994: 22-23). First, the nature of Human Security is of universal attention,

where; the certainties of the threats and worldwide existence of the threats with a varying degrees are its universal features. Second, the seven components of Human Security interdependently exist and invite the involvement of other nations when Human security is threatened somewhere. Third, prevention of Human security threats is the primary concern than trying to control them after they happened. Fourth, it is a people-centered approach; "It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have they have to market and social opportunities -and whether they live in conflict or in peace."

Since military intervention during civil disturbance is likely to affect one or more of the seven components of Human Security especially; personal security, Community security, and Political security, the need for protecting people from such threats, with equal concern for state security is uncontroversial. The State is obliged under national and international legal deeds to protect Human Security and that creates the nexus between the State and protection of Human Security. The FDRE Constitution (1995), while dealing with military intervention is mainly concerned with state security than Human Security, but the two are complementary or state security cannot be ensured without Human Security, thus both the law on military intervention during civil disturbances and the practical military operation should also focus on Human Security.

There are few literary works of Ethiopian writers on the issue of military intervention and Human Security as far as my literature review reached. Writers from abroad have a more detailed explanation of the issue and stressed the importance of military intervention during civil unrest. Franke (2006) provides that the military is an ideal partner for civilian law enforcement authorities and further argued "Civil-military cooperation can effectively bridge the gap between the intervention force and the relief organizations and civil institutions." After the military is deployed in civil disturbances, it will inevitably provide for the protection of peace and control of further disturbance of peace and the civil-military relation will result in protecting Human Security. But Franke has not stated that this civil-military relation is primarily intended to protect Human Security and the cooperation seems to be intended for smoothening the difficulties of the intervening force.

In western countries, the army use organized and regulated violence to accomplish objectives set by democratic governments (Minear et al. 2000). Along with the objectives set by such governments, most Western Nations have a legal framework that regulates military intervention during civil disturbances, and this kind of interventions focus on Human Security, besides the traditional security approach.

Civil-Military Relation (CMR) by itself is not adequately regulated in Ethiopia, which needs special attention while dealing with Human Security, and this fact contributed to the state's failure in focusing to protect Human Security primarily concerned with State security.

In the United States, the 1967 Kernel Report and the 2021 Interim National Security Strategic Guidance (White House, 2021) provided that the US government can deploy the military to quell civil unrest and protect citizens' rights to demonstrate peacefully. Both the report nor the strategy have not outlined the importance of protecting Human Security. The government's commitment to safeguarding citizens' right to demonstrate peacefully alone cannot be considered as full protection of Human Security and this shows that even developed nations have drawbacks in protecting Human Security during the military intervention in civil unrest, let alone developing states like Ethiopia.

As we know civilian disturbances in Ethiopia have unique features from the Western Nations, copying rules and procedures from civilized countries will not be effective in our country. We have to find a solution that can fit the Ethiopian scenario concerning military deployment to pacify civil disturbances and protect Human Security simultaneously.

2.8 Critiques on the Military's failure to Protect Human Security

The main reason military personnel are criticized is their focus on state security than human security during civil disturbances. The state, having the monopoly on violence retains the sole responsibility for organizing and ordering the Defense, unlike the police which can be organized and ordered by local governments. Salu (1995) stated that the police are duty-bound to maintain the rule of law and when the military intervened to control civil disorder it has no such burden and it only responds to the forces in front of it. But, is it what the military is expected to do? For those people who protest against the government and those who stayed neutral, their security as

human beings should be protected by the intervening military force or the military should not only focus on state security at the expense of individual security, where the vow soldiers take at the time of graduation (Regulation 460/2019), international and local rules oblige any soldier to take responsibility for the security of humans.

The US Civil Disturbance Operations manual (2005) provided that in modern times civil disturbances happen for reasons attributable to economic hardships, social injustices, ethnic profiling, objections to governments or organizations, political grievances, and so on. The protests range from non-violent acts to complete violent riots and US forces should never violate basic civil or human rights, according to the manual. If the reasons for public protest stated in the manual are those that are the focus of Human Security under the 1994 UN Human Development Report, the manual should have considered the intervening military's consideration of human security issues, but it only deals with how to handle and use force against those who are thought to be responsible for the riots. It is not only the security of those who are protesting should be protected, but the security of those individuals who can be directly affected by the riots without participation must be considered by the intervening force.

For instance 'The Guardian' reported on June 3, 2020, that soldiers from the 82nd airborne division and 3rd US infantry division were deployed in Washington DC, where there were demonstrations triggered by the killing of George Floyd and the root causes are police brutality and systemic racism predominantly affecting Black Americans. The intervening force have even has bayonets and some of them are not prepared to respond to riots. The presence of the military force exacerbated the intensity of the riot and the soldiers started violently ousting the peaceful demonstrators so that the President and his colleagues can have a photo shot outside the Whitehouse. It is known that the root causes of the protests were social injustices, but the intervening military failed to address the issues and acted in priority to the President, even with the threat to use bayonets. US Senate has called and questioned the commanders responsible for the ill-treatment of civilian protestors and those injured by the military's actions, but there is no mention of the Senate's question directed toward Human Security.

Human Rights Watch, after reviewing the continued protests in Sudan reported on March 23, 2022, that the military has applied deadly force to suppress the civil uprising against the

revolution. Shooting the protestors with live bullets, firing tear gas, and arresting leaders of the protest are common among the Sudan military deployed to quell the civil disturbance. The military leaders who orchestrated the Coup and ordered the intervention against the protestors killed 87 people, including women and children in the desire to weaken the protestors' demands. Before the revolution, the immediate cause for the protests was the sharp climb in the price of fuel and bread and after the revolution, the protestors were demanding an end to impunity and reform of abusive forces; which are directly related to Human Security. But, the intervening Sudanese military force has used even deadly weapons against those protestors who are demanding their Human Security.

In Ethiopia, there were mass rallies in Oromia and Amhara regions starting in November 2015 and July 2016 respectively. There are immediate causes that triggered the protests, but the root causes are (Menyecheh, 2016: 2); corrupt government, fragile economy, failed justice system, social inequality, and absence of rule of law during the years EPRDF stayed in power. Since the protests started, Human Rights Watch (2015) research showed that military force and other security forces; have used lethal force for summary killings during protests, arbitrarily arrested protestors and opposition leaders, enforced disappearances, and used other forms of abuse against the protestors. The root causes of the protests were Human Security issues, but the military acted only in response to state security.

2.9 Conceptual Framework on the Role of the Military in Guaranteeing Human Security

The Ethiopian military is a force recruited from the nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia. This force is trained and equipped with the techniques, tactics, weapons, training, and other necessary ingredients for; defending territorial integrity, public security, protecting the constitutional order, and defending the constitution and one of the four 'mottos' of the Ethiopian Defense force is '*keras befit lehizb*' which the service members vowed to execute (Regulation 460/2019). If defending the constitution, which is full of Human Security issues, is one of the duties of the military and if the military is obliged to execute its mission by giving priority to the public over its life, we can logically conclude that Human Security is the concern of the military while executing its mission. In the process of examining the role of the military in protecting

Human Security, this thesis enquires; about the legal basis of military intervention, if the legal basis has a concern with Human Security, and what is expected from the military in protecting Human Security when it intervened to quell civil disturbances. It also includes public and military personnel perceptions on the role of the military in protecting Human Security during civil disturbances and the challenges the military face in connection with Human Security issues.

2.10 Challenges of the Military in Protecting Human Security

The Ethiopian military has different challenges attached to its functions, as the roles of the military starting from initial hardship military training are challenges by themselves. When new theories like Human Security are added to the roles of the military, it can add to the existing challenges. But as a universal concept, Human Security is a vital concern for the Ethiopian military and no matter how it is challenging to protect Human Security, the military is believed to execute the protection with its adaptive behaviour to new challenges.

2.10.1 Institutional Challenges

Institutionally, the military is at the top led by the ‘Commander-in-chief’ (FDRE Constitution, 1995) who is also the head of government or Prime Minister. The day-to-day activities of the military are controlled by the leaders at every level of command within the army, but the very fact that the ultimate decision for military intervention and the cessation of this intervention during civil disturbance is made by the Prime Minister (Proclamation 359/2003, Article 5), although authorization from the House of Federation is needed, makes it difficult for the military to decide on Human Security protection. When a civil disturbance occurred, especially aimed at protesting against the government, logically the ‘Commander-in-Chief’ will do anything to protect the state and the intervening military will do as ordered by the Prime Minister.

Theories of Human Security push for human fulfilment and consider the military as one stakeholder in the realization, but when the military is institutionally controlled by the head of government – who want to ensure state security when a civil disturbance is directed against the government, such institutional control will finally affect the military if it decides to give primacy to Human Security.

2.10.2 Legal Challenges

The main legal frameworks that govern military operations are; Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1995), Standing Rules of Engagement (*መከ-ጸ002*), and Proclamation No. 359/2003. These three legal documents have their own perspectives on governing how and when the military will engage in different circumstances and they posed their own challenge to the military when it comes to protecting Human Security.

Once a political party holds government power, there are no operational or legal differences between the two and that party can assign functions to the military; intervention, or other. The FDRE Constitution (1995) clearly states that; the Federal Government establishes and administers a national defense force (Article 51), and orders federal intervention if any regional state endangers the constitutional order (Article 62). The constitution further declares that the Prime Minister is Commander-in-Chief of the National Armed Forces (Article 74), the armed forces shall carry out any responsibilities as may be assigned to them and they shall carry out their functions free of any partisanship to any political organizations and they shall all times obey and respect the constitution (Article 87). Being the head of government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces, creates the power opportunity for the prime minister to order the military to intervene and quash a civil disturbance aimed at the government, and this in turn push the military to obey the orders of the Commander-in-Chief and fail to protect the security interests individuals or creates disruptions in daily life of citizens in the concerned area.

Had there been another way of ordering military intervention like empowering the military to decide on ordering intervention after identifying ways to protect Human Security without the direct order of the Commander-in-Chief, it would have been a solution to protect Human Security. Many parts of the FDRE Constitution are dedicated to democratic and political rights, which mostly encompass Human Security issues and the same constitution obliges the military to respect and obey the constitution. Therefore, the constitutional declaration giving the ultimate order of military intervention to the Commander-in-Chief, who is committed to giving priority to state security, makes it difficult for the military to act on its own to protect Human Security is a constitutional challenges to the military in protecting Human Security.

The Standing Rules of Engagement (SRoE, 2007) is a compiled rule which governs the operational activities of the military and it states that the regulation is put into effect with the decision of the Commander-in-Chief. It mainly deals with the extent of the use of force and execution of orders given by political leaders. Even though the regulation mentions discussion with the public after intervening to calm a civil disturbance, there is no mention of protection of Human Security and it gives priority to the execution of orders given by the political leaders, who are keen to protect state security. The same is true for Proclamation No. 359/2003.

2.10.3 Operational Challenges

Operational challenges which make the protection of Human Security for the military difficult while intervening during civil disturbances are derived mainly from the institutional and legal challenges mentioned hereinabove, but during specific interventional operations, members of the intervening military during civil disturbances are required to take and obey orders of their superiors for every action they can perform (SRoE, 2007). This strict subordination and the resulting administrative or legal sanctions for disobeying superior order are constraints for individual soldiers to act on their own in the execution of protection of Human Security.

2.11 Implications of the Literature Review for the Research

The above literature implies that states use their Army to quell civil disturbances per practical; legal and theoretical aspects each state adhered to. But, there is a gap in the literature regarding the role of the Army in protecting Human Security, especially when a state orders its Army to calm civil disturbances and harm its citizens with atrocities not as grave as Genocide, Crimes against Humanity, War crimes, and Ethnic cleansing. The consensus among the literature on the subject is that the state is responsible for protecting Human Security at any time using various organs. There is a gap in the literature when it comes to discussing strategies to ensure human security from the focal point of the Army, as one stakeholder. Some of the literature discusses how to regulate civil disturbances, what kind of force must be used in the operation, or the level of such force. In addition to the vacuum in the literature, both practical and legal issues contributed to the state's failure to defend human security during the Army's civil disturbance operations.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

3.1 Research Methodology

This research focuses on the intervention of the army during civil disturbances in the country and ontologically speaking, the reality on the ground shows that the military is seen deployed in every part of the country in most severe civil disturbance situations, but to what end needs to be thoroughly examined. Qualitative methods of gathering and analyzing the data that are collected from the informants and primary and secondary sources are employed in exploring the problem. Case studies are used to explain the thematic problems. Informants, focus group discussions, and primary and secondary data sources reveal the problem.

Ontology is all about the existence of the fact or the nature of the reality (Crotty, 1998 as cited in Hashil, 2014), and as Ormston et.al (2013) described it, "Key ontological questions concern whether or not there is a social reality that exists independently of human conceptions and interpretations", the reality in the research is the observable deployment of the military in civil disturbances and little or no concern is given to protecting Human Security through the deployment, existing without my conceptions and interpretations. While the Constitution provides two ways of military intervention in civil unrest, it mainly gives primacy to state security than Human Security.

After identifying the existence of the reality, how to know it is followed or epistemological inquiry is employed. Ormston et.al (2013) and Snape and Spencer (2003) described epistemology in social science research as ways of knowing and acquiring knowledge about the research we are doing and the possibility of inquiring about the world. Therefore, there are ways to know the subject matter like personal observation, interviews, FGD, and analysis of data collected. These methods provide the possibility of knowing about the legal, policy, and practical problems attached to protecting Human Security during military deployment in civil unrest.

3.2 Research Approach, Philosophical View and Design

There are three approaches in social science research namely; qualitative, quantitative, and mixed approach. Qualitative and quantitative approaches have their distinct features, but a mixed approach encompasses components from the two approaches (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). According to Kumar (2011), study designs in quantitative research are more abundant than in qualitative research, where the designs in the former approach are clearly defined and accepted while in the latter approach, these features are not present or available to a lesser degree due to the involvement of feelings, perceptions, values, beliefs and the like emotions of the participants, which cannot be reduced to objective standards.

Among the above three approaches, what I employed in my research is the qualitative approach. This research approach helps to inquire about and understands the social problem (Creswell and Creswell, 2018) at hand; with the emerging questions verified by the answers from the participants and inductive analysis of the data collected by making interpretations derived from the data. Participants with different qualitative designs gave their responses, having personal views and emotional explanations. Without the subjective responses of the participants, the intended research cannot be done because the responses on the legal, policy, and practical problems attached to protecting Human Security during military deployments in civil disturbances brought varied views, as the qualitative approach purports for.

The research has an exploratory design to discover new ideas and deep insights. The detailed designs I followed while using the qualitative approach are; case studies to illustrate arguments (not as a formal case study approach), participants' observation, and FGD. The objectives of the research are to explore and explain the legal gap and practical difficulties of ensuring Human Security during military intervention in civil disturbances, therefore the above three designs have provided sufficient data and validity to the research questions. When they validate the research question, it is easy to conclude and give recommendations.

As the title implies the research is about Human Security during military intervention in civil disturbances, case study research design is ideal. In every military intervention of as such, there are cases in which the military is deployed to tranquil. Kumar (2011) states that case study design is important to inquire about the research questions because it will be "...the basis of a

thorough, holistic and in-depth exploration of the aspect(s)...”, so the selected cases having practical military intervention has provided enough information for the exploration.

Interview (formal and informal) and FGD participants’ reflection is another research design in my study. Kumar (2011) explains the relationship between participants’ observation and the study at hand as a group of people who are ‘living’ in the state of affairs that is intended to be studied. Most of the participants are members of the army; who give a descriptive explanation of the facts because they have practical experience in military deployment during civil unrest. Members of the society who live in the case study areas also have provided their opinion on what they saw and experienced during the time the military was deployed concerning Human Security. What the participants observed was collected through informal interviewing, in-depth interviewing, group discussions, and documents prepared during the intervention along with explanations by those who knew about the documents.

Focus Group Discussion is the third valuable research design in my study. Views, perceptions, attitudes, and the like intentions of the participants gave tangible data on the issue at hand. Kumar (2011) argued the participants can be selected from high-level professionals or average residents, the groups in my research are composed of military members, participants in civil disturbances who saw military intervention, and legal scholars. Questions are forwarded to them and an open discussion of the participants followed.

After identifying the design, the researcher went on to detecting the right philosophical view and social constructivist philosophical view is found appropriate. This philosophical view is highly associated with qualitative design and because of the social nature of the subject; I chose to adhere to it. The social constructivist view provides that individuals seek to understand their surroundings and the subjective meanings attached to their experiences provide wider meanings due to complex views (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). I, as a civil servant in the Ethiopian military, experienced lots of military deployments during civil disturbances in different parts of the country, and this led to constructing the nature of the deployments, the problems the commanders and soldiers face after deployment in trying to protect Human Security, the legal issues attached to the deployment in connection with Human Security and other complex views.

The participants' views and the real situation on the ground lead to concluding the constructed theories I made in this study.

3.3 Population, Sample and Sampling Technique

The target populations are selected from; active members of the military, commanders with related positions to the study, army veterans, civilians in selected areas and legal scholars both from civil and military justice organs.

Sampling is a way of gathering data about the total population by selecting part of that population. Taking a sample from the population has many importances in research. Some of the significances listed by Kothari (2004) are; saving time and money, the impossibility of taking data from an infinite number of populations, and enabling to estimate the sampling errors and easily inferring information about the characteristics of the population. This study involves gathering data from a wide range of populations both in terms of variety and number, thus the need for sampling is inevitable.

The sampling technique is 'purposive sampling'. This technique is valuable because it provides an informed response from the participants. The number of respondents is not determined before engaging in data collection and it allows me to use additional participants (Kumar, 2011). An intensive study (Kothari, 2004) also requires collecting data from participants knowing the subject matter. Those who gave their response for this research are those know about military deployment in civil disturbances and the legal issues concerning the roles of the military during the deployment.

3.4 Data Sources and Methods of Data Collection

Primary and secondary data are the sources of data in this research, although primary data is the dominant source. Primary data are those which are firsthand information and they are original in character (Ibid, 2004). Secondary are those which are already gathered by someone and my role is mere compilation (Ibid, 2004). Those who provided information on the subject matter are the primary sources and the data which are collected by someone, already existing and concerned

with military deployment during civil disturbances are secondary sources. Books, journals, published or unpublished literary works and other secondary sources are considered.

Interviews of participants, prior observation of military deployments, Focus Group Discussions, and other relevant data collection methods are used.

3.4.1 Primary Data Sources

3.4.1.1 Interview

To collect data through an interview, the researcher performed an in-depth interview with members of the military ranging from higher commanders to lower officials, veterans who were deployed to calm past civil disturbances, legal practitioners from the military and civilian justice system, and members of the public in the selected areas. Therefore, in Addis Ababa eight, in Adama seven, in Shashamene seven, and in Bahirdar eight people; a total of thirty people, comprising civilians and military members were interviewed and responded accordingly. The interviewees specifically requested me to remain anonymous mainly due to the nature of the study focuses on military matters.

3.4.1.2 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions are in-depth interviews that take place in a group of meetings with characteristics defined in terms of suggestions, scope, composition, and interview procedures (Freitas et.al, 1998). The participants even raised additional issues based on the new ideas they explored in the discussion. In addition; it has high "face validity", is cheaper than other data acquisition tools, and provides rapid results (Freitas, et al., 1998). Other benefits of using focus group discussions include interview flexibility that created the possibility to proceed based on the interviewee's answers, facilitating dialogue, and exchanging ideas (Villard, 2000). Therefore, researchers also adopt Focus Group Discussions to triangulate and validate the data collected through interviews with key informants or a group interview by identifying informants with knowledge and experience related to the topic. In this thesis, a total of four FGDs were conducted comprising eight people in each group with varied personal statuses. FGD participants also specifically requested me to remain anonymous mainly due to the nature of the study focuses on military matters and other personal reasons.

3.4.1.3 Document Analysis

Strategic, technical and empirical documents (classified and unclassified, which are kept secret within the military and open to public, respectively) used by the military, the constitution, proclamations and other relevant legal deeds are used by the researcher as a third mode of primary data source.

3.4.2 Secondary Sources of Data

During the study; books, journalists' reports, articles, policy documents, reports, and documents in other formats that can be published or unpublished and deals specifically with military deployment during civil disturbances and Human Security issues are consulted.

3.5 Variables of the Study

The qualitative research approach involves value judgments, feelings, perceptions, beliefs, and other subjective understandings of the data providers. Perceptions or concepts that can be measured or capable of producing different value outcomes are variable (Kumar, 2011), thus the subjective understandings of the participants are measured using appropriate indicators. Cohen and Nagel (1966) state that '...Almost all human discourse would become meaningless if we took the view that every moral or aesthetic judgment is no more true or false than any of the views.', thus the participants' subjective feelings are valued without losing their meaning.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

According to Kumar (2011), a systematic content analysis method uses to accommodate all the data gathered using the various methods and especially while evaluating a process or procedure, we can use an 'interpretive frame of analyses.' Thus, the data collected is analyzed using scientifically verified qualitative methods by interpreting the subjective views of participants.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

Various ethical considerations were followed, starting from first phase until defending the research. Informing participants the whole purpose of the study, adhering to academic rules, following advisor instructions, how to analyze the data without altering the original content,

respecting the views of stakeholders and other ethical and moral values are the center of my study. All in all, as Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) explained it, treating those participating in the research and handling the data collection in a way that conform to any ethical and moral values are fundamental.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ETHIOPIAN ARMY ESTABLISHMENT AND INTERVENTION IN CIVIL DISTURBANCES

Ethiopian military has played important roles in the security and stability of the country since its early stages of establishment, although these roles are the continuations of the military's deeds before it is formally organized as modern military. Internal and external battles played significant roles in shaping the military, along with the modern trainings started by foreign aides. The establishment of the modern military helped the state to use it as a security apparatus to secure itself from the external aggression and internal civil disturbances. This chapter therefore explains how the modern Ethiopian military establishment took effect and the historical trend of the State's use of the military to secure itself from civil disturbances and gives clear background for the next data analysis chapter.

4.1 Early and Modern Historical Development and Roles of the Ethiopian Army

The exact time and place, formal military force was established is unknown, but different nations established their army to protect themselves from internal uprisings and external invasions, as the case may be. State security is seen as the inherent role of the military and deploying the military to calm civil unrest is one of its basic functions.

Ethiopian quasi-modern military establishment was started by Emperor Tewodros II who reunified and ruled Ethiopia from 1855 to 1868 (Kaleab, 2021) and tried to gather all of the warlords under a central national command. For Emperor Tewodros II, the role of the military is more vital than political power. Marsden (2008) wrote that War is in the minds and souls of Ethiopians and it is considered a way of life, thus enrolment in the military is like being powerful, and defending the state is considered worthy.

In the early times of the Ethiopian military establishment, the battle of Adwa played a significant role in mobilizing warriors from all over the country. King Menelik II, who ruled Ethiopia during the Italian invasion, which led to the battle of Adwa in 1896, was able to assemble

thousands of troops with a single declaration of war. They later defended the state from subsequent wars (Paulos, 1996).

When we observe the recent history of the Ethiopian military, the modernization started by King Haileselassie I, with the establishment of the Imperial Guard in 1917. The King wanted to establish an Imperial Guard, unique in its uniform, arms, discipline, organization, etc..., which will serve as an escort of the king. This shows the regime's intention to use the military to protect itself from threats like civil unrest, which was evidenced by the subsequent civil disturbances and involvement of the newly established Imperial Guard to calm the various unrests. Military trainers from Belgium train the recruits on; the disassembly and assembly of arms, targeted shooting, and basic combat techniques (Gesit, 2014). They dressed in modern European military attire. In 1917, the Imperial Guard was formed and this unveiled a new chapter for the realization of the dream to modernize the military, which was started during the time of Emperor Tewodros. The salary payment was also started for other members of the military (Gesit, 2014) to gain their support. This helped Crown Prince Teferi Mekonnen (later crowned "Haileselassie I") to deny the Dejazmaches ownership of military personnel and gave him the chance to assert command of the entire army.

It is clear that notable civil disturbances were started during the Reign of Emperor Haileselassie and thus the Emperor used his modern military to calm the various unrests. Ethiopia's first 1931 Imperial constitution declares that the Emperor has power over all military issues and the army is loyal and obedient to the Emperor. In the 1955 revised constitution, the Emperor still has all the power over the military.

In 1926, the idea of establishing a school for military officers was introduced, and 12 young people with foreign language skills were recruited (Gesit, 2014). They were sent to France to train as horsemen and pilots. Retirement payments to care for the former army began in 1926 (Gesit, 2014). The Swedish government sent military officers to train and advise at the local military academy, which was established in Holeta town. The training started with military engineering and ordinary fighters.

However, the Ethiopian military did not have a modern army until 1941. Emperor Haile Selassie I created a strong centralized professional regular army as part of his project to build a

centralized monarchical state. After World War II, the British took control of the army and the police and negotiated with the Ethiopian government (Gesit, 2014).

In 1936, the new Ethiopian army reached 13 brigades; although accountable to the Ministry of Defense, each battalion commander was a British officer. The command was later handed over to the Ethiopians. The army was not properly organized and the soldiers walk on foot to control the rioters (Gesit, 2014), which can increase the soldiers' anger and then inflict unprecedented attacks on the rioters. Despite the difficulties created by the British, Ethiopia's modern military might not have been firmly established without the support of the British (Gesit, 2014). Their contributions are greatly appreciated.

It was not only Sweden or Britain which supported the Ethiopian military and, in 1943, Ethiopia and US also approved Military Assistance Agreement (Gesit, 2014). The negotiation to reach an agreement was started long before the signing of the agreement due to the political intentions of the two nations, where their offers and demands were difficult to meet at that time. But finally, the US agreed to assist and Ethiopia gave a military base to US troops. Because of this assistance, even the successor of Haileselassie I, Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam went to the US for military training. Some people argue that Mengistu's experience abroad enlightened him on modern state structure and helped him to lead the revolution.

In 1946, the army was divided into two wings (Air Force and Land Force) and appointed Chief of Staff (Gesit, 2014: 176). A naval base was established at Masswa port as a coast guard. The Ministry of Defense starts organizing and administering the army following the directives and orders of the King. Armed Forces General Directorate was set under the Ministry of Defense (Gesit 2014: 184). The King's firmness to give direct orders to the army makes it clear that the main purpose of the army is to protect the state from any threats or state security is why the King is giving orders to the military.

Following the US military support in 1950, the Ethiopian army improved. At that time, considering the balance of power below sub-Sahara Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa, the Ethiopian army was one of the greatest (Gesit, 2014). Besides protecting the boundaries of the Ethiopian territory, what the military done to Human Security is the main question. The civil disturbances having diverse types and issues, staged on the streets of different parts of the

country following the establishment of the modern Ethiopian military were mostly calmed by the deployment of the army in addition to the police. Securing the state was the military's vital task during the final years of King Haileselassie. The newly formed Air force was later used to suppress the Bale uprising, by bombing the rioters (Gesit, 2014).

Derg (PDRE) came to power by overthrowing King Haileselassie and killing anyone who opposes the regime was one of its features. It promulgated a new constitution long after it took power. The 1987 PDRE Constitution stated that the military is responsible for various protective, unifying, and defending the country, and mobilization acts. Especially the Army is designed under the constitution to defend the territorial integrity of Ethiopia and safeguard the revolution (Article 24 /1/), without due mention of cases of Human Security. Derg's aim was mainly securing the revolution from internal and external intimidations and all the wordings of the constitution evidenced the unwavering use of the military to defend anyone who compromises the revolution, even the entire working people can be conscripted to serve as a member of the military. The constitution also provides for the establishment of civilian defense to overcome calamities of any kind. Besides the regular army, this civil defense helps the regime spy on the public, which further strengthens the security of the state and undermines human security.

The Derg era was full of military actions on civilians and armed groups, which make it lose the support of the public (Eyasu, 2002) and resulted in the strengthening of the armed groups. TPLF led EPRDF, a coalition of different armed groups overthrow the Derg and took political and military power in 1991. The armed group, after splitting its personnel into political and military officers, besides demobilizing some of its members, established a fresh Ethiopian army by combining recruits with those who were in the armed struggle. This armed struggle mentality of the army has resulted in focusing on regime/state security and suppressing individuals' and groups' interests. Different public riots during EPRDF's era were stifled by using the military and as Seye (2002) outlined, members of the military will be held internally accountable if they failed to kill or injure rioters.

As Seye (2002) described it; TPLF, as a political organization is built on military discipline and military centralism. This fact enabled TPLF to build an army of strong military competence and military discipline. This military discipline and centralism were crafted in the armed struggle

period and if the principles continued after holding political power, the military will only do what the political leaders say and the politicians in power are mostly interested in securing their power at the expense of public interest because they used the army to get to power and they will not hesitate to maintain their political power still using the military.

“Majority rule”, the principle which TPLF is adhered to, can be considered democratic by promoting the majority, but it is a major obstacle to democracy, especially in a minority context, as it violates the freedom and personality of the minority (Seye, 2002: 39). EPRDF, after establishing TPLF led army, the majority rule principle continued and some decisions made within the military were made by majority vote. Politics has a direct impact on the military than pure military science and doctrine. The 1995 constitution stipulates that any political party that has adopted peaceful struggle and registered can run for political office. Following this, the TPLF classified its army members as members of the National Defense Forces and the others as party members, and it was announced that most of the TPLF members had joined the Defense Forces and resigned from the TPLF. However, the TPLF's principle of democratic centralism, which was practiced by both the TPLF political party and the military, was maintained within the party. APDO and OPDO, which co-founded EPRDF were also in the same format (Seye, 2002: 54).

FDRE Constitution Article 87 “Principles for National Defense” states as follows:
The composition of the national armed forces shall reflect the equitable representation of the Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples of Ethiopia. The Minister of Defense shall be a civilian. The armed forces shall protect the sovereignty of the country and carry out any responsibilities as may be assigned to them under any state of emergency declared in accordance with the Constitution. The armed forces shall at all times obey and respect the Constitution. The armed forces shall carry out their functions free of any partisanship to any political organization(s).

This constitution is relatively neutral in defining the overall institutional and professional independence of the military, but certain deep insights remain doubtfully intact when this constitutional article is seen from state and human security perspectives.

The current Ethiopian Defense Forces Proclamation No. 1100/2019, Article 7 /5/ provides that, "...recruitment for military service as well as promotion for rank and position shall be merit-based, and it shall ensure the equitable representation of nation, nationalities, peoples, and women." However, as in most multi-ethnic states, this remains the main challenge in the army. Until the time TPLF loses political power, most of the core positions of the Ethiopian army were held by former TPLF fighters, who continued their military profession after the overthrow of the Derg. However, after EPRDF changed leadership following the public protests, there was huge uncertainty among the military leaders and most of the ethnic Tigreyan Generals retired or abandoned their position. Why do military leaders evade or retire their post for the mere fact that there is political leadership due to public unrest gives the sense that they are afraid of retaliation from the public or the new political leadership for their involvement in suppressing civil disturbances using deadly force.

Following its early and modern establishment, the Ethiopian military serves the regimes in protecting the state as its main role. Seye (2002) stated that one of the reasons for the political leaders' drift during the 1993 TPLF split was the question of whether the military should participate in politics as it did in the past. Seye and others argued it shouldn't and the late Prime Minister Meles insisted it should. At the EPRDF's General Assembly, the majority decided that the army should not participate in politics. Later, in March 1993, at a cadre meeting in Mekelle, Meles invited the military officers who were deployed in Mekelle. Some military leaders supported and others did not support the move. Later Meles invited military officers from Tigray, Amhara, Oromo, and other ethnic groups into politics. Once the army starts playing a political game, it will play the political game that the leaders say otherwise. These politically affiliated military members are keen to protect the ethnic-based politics which stir the state. One complaint of the public during the public protests staged against the EPRDF era was the army's political and ethnic partisanship.

4.2 Historical Development of Military Intervention in Civil Disturbance

Military intervention during civil unrest dates back to early civilizations, where civilian turmoil due to three main factors namely; economic development, regime type, or state ineffectiveness (Tiruneh: 2014) is one of the basic features of state making process and the states employ their

military might to calm this turmoil. In Africa, the degree and intensity of civilian protests against the government are higher than in other parts of the world (Harkness, et. Al: 2021) and this requires the frequent deployment of the military. But most of the literature is silent about the military's responsibility to protect human security when it intervened to calm civil disturbances or only discuss about peace and the right to peaceful demonstration.

Some countries like the US have a civil disturbance manual, which governs every aspect of military intervention, others like England decide military intervention case by case, and in Australia, the request for military intervention is considered as an aid to the local law enforcement organs, thus, such request is limited to 'assist in keeping the peace' (Salu, 1995: 9). The famous US Civil Disturbance Operation Manual (2005) is a comprehensive US army manual on handling civil turmoil. The manual discusses; causes of civil unrest, planning, training, doctrine, tactics, techniques, procedures of military deployment, and others in detail to quell riots and restore public order using lethal or non-lethal weapons as the case may be. This manual and other countries' military intervention procedures during civil unrest mention only how to quell civil unrest and restore public order, there is no mention of the army's use of its force to protect human security.

These show it is internationally practicable to deploy the military during civil disturbances, but the intentions of the governments ordering the military deployment are focused on state security than human security. When we look at Ethiopia's experience, it is not different from the international trend, and from early to modern times, the military is seen deployed to quell civil unrest mainly to protect the state. Proclamation No. 359/2003, which deals with the system for the intervention of the Federal Government in the Regions, is the law the Federal Government uses to deploy the military in the Regions when; the regional state authorities are unable to prevent human rights violations within their jurisdiction or a regional state endangers the constitutional order. This proclamation also focuses on state security with little attention to human rights, as one wing of Human Security.

The recurrence of civil disturbances and military deployment in Ethiopia has mainly occurred during King Haileselassie's reign in an organized manner, but before King Haileselassie's

regime, it was common for the Kings' to deploy the military when public uprisings occur and when the deployment materializes, it is meant to protect the state.

Tekletsadik Mekuria wrote that; because Dejazmach Tedla Gulu, Governor of Gojjam was fighting with Atse Tewodros and the Gojjam people rise against him, Atse Tewodros killed and amputated many people. His army kept men, women, and children in a house then locks the house and burn them. Farmers found plowing were also beaten. Atse Tewodros ordered his soldiers to commit the atrocities to save the regime from public uprising and those soldiers do as they told without any hesitation.

During the Reign of King Menelik II, the state-making process was at the highest level and the King's soldiers quell any popular uprising upon their arrival, besides regular fighting with rebels. Although Dejazmach Woldegabriel (who was one of King Menelik II's commanders) had taken control of Arusi province, the Arusi Oromo did not want to be ruled by the government (Paulos, 1984: 29). Thus Menelik II marched to Arusi in 1874 and his army had imprisoned a large number of the population in serving the state.

King Menelik's army marched to Wolayita in 1887 and by killing and arresting, put the revolting people under his rule (Paulos, 1984). In 1879, the people of Harar and King Abdullah protested against king Menelik due to his intention to rule Harar. King Menelik's army, by killing and arresting, put the revolting people under his rule (Paulos, 1984). The overall operation of King Menelik's army is in fulfillment of the quest for making a state and the intervening soldiers have no concern for human security.

Organized and informed public protest was started during King Haileselassie's era, where public uprisings with the participation of students, workers, farmers, and other members of society protested against the government for various reasons. Modernization of the military was also started by the will of the King. The king wanted the whole nation to obey him and the army obeyed his orders without question (Gesit, 2002: 213) until the time the soldiers themselves rebelled against him. The soldiers were being ordered by the government to intervene in each intensified protest that threaten the state, especially in those that are beyond the control of the local police and there are notable civil disturbances in the literature that the military was called to quell to protect the state.

In 1956, Wako Gutu; who wants to establish Islamic State, revolts against the government and led the Bale farmers and herders to a civil riot. The matter was beyond the control of the police and the nearby 4th Battalion was ordered to quell the riots and dismantle Wako Gutu (Gesit, 2002: 293). Wako Gutu surrendered and the intervening soldiers used any means at their disposal against the protestors because the rioters endangered the very establishment of the state. The soldiers executed the orders without due regard for human security.

Gojjam Farmers' riots threaten the government and the National Security Council convenes in search of a solution. Gojjam Provincial Commander Dejazmach Dereje Mekonnen described the situation as "the province is in a big riot; unless the military is ordered and kills the rioters, it is difficult to calm the situation." National Army Commander Dejazmach Alula Bekele proposed to send a force comprising of personnel from the police, military, and national reserve army, but Maj. Gen. Debebe H. Mariam, commander of Imperial Guard partially opposed the plan and he was interested in sending the military only (Gesit, 2002: 298-299). No member of the council has asked what the root cause of the riots was or proposed a fundamental solution to the problem. All they said was that the riot should be controlled by a military force. A force of one thousand troops was sent to the area; however, the farmers of Gojjam resisted the military action. Finally, Air force backed military force was sent and the farmers could not withstand the air strikes and the ground operation.

There is no consensus as to who was the main driving force behind King Haile Selassie's ouster. In particular, the student movement is considered the instigator and creator of riots across the country; they took to the streets and marched for various reasons (Kiflu: 2008: 75), which triggers the government to order the intervention of the military. In the 1930s there were widespread uprisings; in Tigray over tax and self-government and in Eritrea due to the dismantled federation ratified by the UN. Students in urban areas, workers, and others rise against the government.

The Gojjam Patriots, who were fighting during the Italian invasion, staged a protest in the 1930s because when Ethiopia gained full independence, they were denied a place of honor and responsibility. The king sent an army under Colonel Mengistu Newai to take action against the rioters. In 1943, riots erupted in Gojjam against the land tax and the appointment of Dejazmach

Kebede Tesema (Kiflu, 2008: 77), and the government suppressed the protests. The Bale Farmers and Pastoralists also protested against the government in the 1930s and the King used similar tactics of military intervention to suppress the rioters. The military is one of the main tools used by King Haile Selassie to keep him in power for over 40 years.

The deteriorating living conditions in the cities have led to growing resentment in the community. Unemployment, inflation, the loss of essential commodities, and the ever-declining living conditions made it difficult for the low-income city dweller. Massive riots erupt in Jimma town in 1968, and people were arrested and killed (Kiflu, 2008: 160) by the military since the riots were beyond the control of the local police.

In 1958 the students of Addis Ababa University, for the first time raised the issue of '*land to the tiller*' by rioting and security forces striking students. Student unions were suspended for the first time and some students were suspended indefinitely (Andargachew, 1992: 6). In September 1961 students in; Dessie, Nazareth, Debre Berhan and Mekelle protested against inflation following a series of inflationary measures taken by the government to alleviate the financial crisis and reduce the number of young people seeking employment and higher education (Andargachew, 1992: 31) and the government was able to control the riots after the deployment of armed forces in addition to the police.

University students protest in March 1961 with the motto '*at gun point*' as they were willing to die with a bullet than giving up until their questions are answered (Andargachew, 1992: 32), by the same token the military was called to the scene and implemented its orders as required by the government. King Haile Selassie's government was preparing for even more violence after the uprising and the following action taken by the military witnessed this truth.

On December 19, 1962; the famous Addis Ababa University students' leader, Tilahun was assassinated. The next day, University students, in a peaceful demonstration went to the hospital and said, "We have the right to bury our friend, we will take the corpse", but the Imperial Guard killed and injured the students with automatic bullets. Then the Imperial Guard entered the University and without using proportional force, they killed and injured the students and teachers with bayonets and bullets (Andargachew, 1992: 43). In the cities in February 1966; Students,

workers, soldiers, and unemployed youth revolt against King Haileselassie's regime (Bahru, 238). The government established National Security Commission to quell protests and it also tried to take the army by its side. The intervention of the military resulted in a bloodbath for the sole reason of state security, but the intervention has not entirely protected the state from being overthrown, it only recorded the failure of the military to protect human security.

Protests, both from the civilian public and the military pressured King Haileselassie and finally, in 1966 the military's coup d'état ended the King's regime. A military government by the name of 'Derg' took control of political and military power, which exerted more military actions and civilian killings. Derg introduced '*Edget Behibret*'; a public service, which aimed at redefining work and knowledge attitudes of the society and execution of land to the tiller proclamation. Students, workers, and the Military were direct participants in the service. 110 service participants were killed by antagonists of the service and the military took direct action against the rioters (Gesit, 2002: 355-357), who want to abolish the public service.

Riots following the Derg revolution expanded their scope and their political solution was lost. The army was dispersed throughout the country to quash the riots and the army's performance was becoming more and more difficult. Therefore, in mid-1968, a military battalion called "Nebelbal", which is trained as a commando and aware of the merits of the revolution was established. It was equipped with light weapons, which make it capable of moving swiftly and hitting rioters. Nebelbal was deployed in; Addis Ababa, Mekele, Shree, Axum, Eritrea, Gondar, and Bale. They crushed the rioters as ordered (Gesit, 2002). Arrests, killings, torture, and other inhuman treatment of the public by the Derg has only hastened its defeat by the rebels, and the various military interventions ordered by the Derg to protect the revolution by suppressing rioters resulted in the demise of the government.

The rebel groups led by TPLF, which were fighting with the Derg, controlled the capital city in 1991 and formed a government. Like the previous governments, this one has also seen varied types of civil disturbances in the years it has stayed in power and it has ordered the military to quell the disturbances, aimed at securing the state.

The 2005 massacre in the places civil uprisings happened following election results, especially in Addis Ababa was the biggest civil rights abuse by the government and it was the military that conducted the mass killing, arrest, abduction, forced disappearance, and other forms of abuse that can be directed against human security. As Daniel (2010) illustrated in Dandi, Negaso Gidada's memoir book; Dr. Negaso is deeply saddened by the massacre in June 2005 and it is a disgrace that the late Prime Minister Meles issued a temporary emergency order without following the constitutional order, which prevented the public from demonstrating and convening. This was an act that violated the rights of the people and violated the Constitution. In particular, the PM himself declared a provisional proclamation in violation of the Constitution, even without declaring a proclamation to protect human rights, where the state of emergency proclamations should declare which human rights are suspended and which are not. The government deployed more than 3,000 military forces named 'Agazi' and opened fire on alleged violators of the provisional proclamation on the streets (Daniel, 2003: 283). Many innocent people were killed and arrested in June and October 2005. Even a mother, who was in bed after giving birth, was beaten. No one from inside the establishment told the government to stop the unlawful killing and arrest.

Seye (2010) also stated that; following the 2005 elections, the EPRDF waged a deadly struggle and crushed the movement, and arrested the main opposition leaders. Meles has said in his own words that he has set up a command post to coordinate the leadership of the police and defense forces to carry out "martial law" operations. It is sad and embarrassing to set up a command post and deploy an army to strike unarmed youths. Killing a baby and mother was considered an adventure (Seye, 2002: 190-191). With the martial law operation, the military had been violent against civilians while the military is meant and vowed to protect the people in primacy to its interest.

As the literature shows, military intervention to quell civil disturbances in Ethiopia is a common trend for the various governments that stayed in power and there is no mention in the literature of such military interventions addressing the issue of human rights, let alone Human Security.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the empirical data collected from the various informants using different data-gathering methods; focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, case studies are used to explain the themes, and document analysis in a way that can answer the research questions and explain the general objectives. The presentation and analysis of the data mainly focuses on empirical data collected from informants and primary documents prepared for the establishment of the military and the rules and regulations of the Ethiopian army. The literature available from related studies is used for comparison and triangulation with data obtained from participants, and for primary document analysis. The researcher presented the analysis by comparing the literature with the informant's perspective and made his recommendations on the results of the analysis. To reach the results, the researcher went through questions designed to achieve the purpose of the study.

5.2 Instances and Frameworks that led to Military Intervention

Although the Constitution (1995), the proclamation for federal intervention in the regional states (359/2003), and the standing rules of engagement regulation (classified) deal with military intervention insufficiently, the state orders the military to intervene during civil disturbances along with the legal, practical, and policy gaps which resulted in the military's failure to protect Human Security.

The constitution states that the main duties of the Ethiopian Defense Forces are; the protection of the Sovereignty of the country, execution of duties entrusted to [by the political or military leaders], and obeying the constitution along with operating impartially from any political affiliation. If the political leaders are giving orders to calm civil disturbances, especially those aimed against the government, the question of how the army can operate impartially from the state's political affiliation and at the same time protect the personal, communal, and political

security of individuals given the obligation to obey the constitution is a big challenge for the military.

For the foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy (Ministry of Information, 2002: 10) of the country, state security is the ‘alpha and omega’ of security matters, and the army is required to execute this policy when intervened under the order of the politicians and thus it will be unable to protect individuals personal, communal and political security because of the politicians focus on the ‘alpha and omega’ state security.

The federal intervention proclamation also deals with the intervention of the army when ‘*public*’ security deteriorating situations, which are beyond the capacity of the local law enforcement agencies happen and while mentioning ‘*public*’, which directly implies the state as the state is comprised of nations, nationalities, and people under the FDRE Constitution (1995), this proclamation does not refer to individuals; whose personal, communal or political security can be affected by the security deteriorating situation.

As a UN member, the Ethiopian government has to protect its people based on the ‘responsibility to protect’ principle, which is ratified by the Security Council (Res. 1674). This principle can be executed by deploying the army (Trent, 2007) and when a deteriorating security situation like a civil disturbance happens, the state is under an international obligation to order the intervention of its army for protection. But, this intervention is seen further deteriorating the personal, communal, or political security of individuals, as demonstrated by the interview and FGD respondents.

Among the cases of army intervention during civil disturbances, Shashamene and Bahirdar cities’ army intervention cases are worth mentioning here to explain the instances and outcomes of the intervention.

Following the murder of the famous singer Hachalu Hundessa and the arrest of some opposition leaders in June 2020, civil disturbances started in many parts of Oromia region and one of the areas was Shashamene town. Two of the interviewees explained the process of the disturbance, the victims, the response from political and army perspectives, and the outcome of the civil disturbance.

Shop owner and prosecutor in Shashemene [KI 27 and KI 29, interview made on 15/08/2022 and 16/08/2022 respectively], were in town on the night of 29 June 2020. Their response to my phone interview is summed up as follows. Some of the town's youth started protesting with road-blockade and relatively minor violence and a few hours later accompanied by the suburban/rural youth. The following day the violent protest continued and the youth started attacking non-Oromo ethnics who do business in the town or targeted attacks have become the ramification of the violence. Many innocent civilians were killed because of their ethnic background and their property was destroyed. According to one informant [KI 27], the local police are complicit in the violence, have done nothing to protect the individuals being attacked and the property destroyed, and above all the army regiment residing in the town watched the killing and destructions as if they have nothing to do with such incidents. Late in the afternoon of 30 June 2020, after many lives were lost and property destroyed, Oromia Special Forces and army members started to take action against the violent protestors and even used deadly force that claimed the lives of the protestors.

In Bahirdar, four interviewees of this research [KI 17, KI 20, KI 21, and KI 22, KI 27 and KI 29, interview made on 05/08/2022, 10/08/2022, 11/08/2022, 15/08/2022 and 16/08/2022 respectively] have seen the violent clashes between protestors and security forces that includes the army's commandos' on June 8, 2016, and sporadically continued the following months, explained the intervention as follows. The main issues raised by the protestors were; political reform, freedom, and identity issues in Wolqaita; which were directed against the government. The local government first tried to calm the incident using Amhara Special Force, but the protestors increased in numbers with the gathering from the suburban areas. The fact that the civil disturbance in Bahirdar was a continuation of the protests in the Oromia region, the intensity and vastness forced the Federal Government to deploy its elite commandos' known as 'agazi', who used snipers and other lethal weapons directly against the protestors. Thirty to fifty unarmed people were killed by security forces, notably by the commandos on June 8, 2016, alone. One informant specifically said that a bullet aimed at the protestors hit a lady on her shoulder which makes her disabled and unable to find a job for a long period even after her wound. Another informant from the same area also said that those protestors who want to hide in St. George Church at the center of Bahirdar city were forced to jump the back fence of the Church and those unable to jump were indiscriminately hit by the soldiers and taken to custody.

The other two army intervention incidents; in Addis Ababa and Adama are explained by key informants 1-15 and the four FGDs' and used to illustrate sub-topics 5.3 and 5.5 to 5.7 in this chapter and I intentionally evade from citing them here so as to avoid redundancy.

5.3 State and Military Relation on Security

The state and the military are highly intertwined in matters of security, where the latter is the security backbone of the former. Theoretically, the traditional school of thought believes that the threat of insecurity for the state emanates from external invasion, but the critical and constructivist schools of thought argue that there are 'alternatives' for security and challenge the rhetoric of the traditional state-centric security. New security challenges, especially after the Cold War evidenced the need for an alternative way of looking at security, and making individuals the referent objects of security which is accepted as one alternative.

Gilmore (2015) argues that contemporary defense doctrines put the state as the main security referent object. The defense doctrines of major world powers provide for the role of their military as winning War, defending the state, maintaining the freedom and integrity of the national territory, or using similar terms that strengthen state security. Therefore, threats, vulnerabilities and security strategies interpretation and analysis focus on the state, in disregard individuals.

By the same token, the Ethiopian security policy functions in the same way, where ensuring national survival is the utmost concern of the policy. Ethiopia's foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy (Ministry of Information, 2002) clearly state that:

In a fundamental sense, security policy is a matter of ensuring national survival. The alpha and omega of security is the ensuring of national survival. Other national security issues may be raised only if national existence is ensured. Foreign affairs and security policy must be formulated first and foremost to ensure national security. Issues of prosperity, sustainable peace, and stability and other related concerns then follow. In order to formulate a foreign affairs and security policy that addresses these issues, it is important to identify and examine the sources and basis from which the policy springs.

There is no other security room for this policy – other than the ‘alpha and omega’ national survival and even it made it clear that security issues like sustainable peace and prosperity, which are part and parcel of Human Security, may be raised after national survival or may not be raised at all. To this effect, data gathered from FGD 2 and 3 participants shows that the state has increased its military budget and personnel, especially after the Ethio-Eritrean border dispute. These participants also added that the Ethiopian security policy has no place for Human Security and their job is primarily securing the border integrity of the country and defending the constitution. Even though the socio-economic agendas cited on the policy document can address some factions of Human Security agendas, they are not fully in line with the contemporary Human Security requirements stated under UDHR (1994) report. Therefore, the organization and maintenance of the military are dominated by the security policy of the country and the soldiers are keen on securing the state in disregarding other security matters FGD participants 2 and 3 are active and retired members of the Ethiopian Military.

The data obtained from the first three key informants [KI 01, 03, and 04 interview made on 08/02/2022, 09/02/2022 and 11/02/2022 respectively] evidenced that because the state regards itself as the only referent object of security; its policies, way of organizing the military and necessitating the establishment and institutionalization of the military blinded it from looking at alternative referent objects and therefore the military failed to protect Human Security when it is ordered by the state to calm down civil disturbances.

Two of the first five informants also argued that the state’s interest in giving primacy to its security is because of the politicians’ behaviour of wanting to stay in power for long and they do not want to get involved in complex and new Human Security issues; which, failure to fulfill can result in shaking the very base of the political power, and especially when the civil disturbance is directed against the government, the state is not willing to order the intervening military force to protect Human Security. Two informants have a different view from the above and state that there is no difference between Human Rights and Human Security and added they see no difference between the two from my briefing and that the military protects Human Rights whenever ordered to intervene during civil disturbances. This shows the need for extended training for the military on Human Security issues.

Most of the military informants responded that security issues during Army intervention at times of civil disturbance are characterized by the execution of superior and political leaders' orders because such disturbances are usually made against the government, whatever the root causes can be and it is the intervening Army's responsibility to calm down the civil disturbance by using force as the intensity requires and as ordered. They also added that there is a strong relationship between the state and the military, it feels natural for the military to execute any orders from the state and every soldier's responsibility is the execution of superior orders, therefore the military is a security apparatus for the state. Two of the Army informants specifically stated 'as a soldier, it was one of their duties to order their subordinates to intervene and calm a civil disturbance (after receiving an order from their superior command) and all the efforts of the intervening force are directed to suppressing the civil unrest without any concern for personal, community or political security interests of individuals who are protesting or not.

Everyone seen on the streets at the time of the civil disturbance will be regarded as a protestor and thus even deadly force can be used against those people. When they take control of the disturbance, military and political leaders appreciate those members who used violent force on individuals and condemn those who are reluctant to apply such force. If there are no civil disturbances or if a civil disturbance happened is put under control, that's what the political leaders concern. They are not worried about the personal security matters of individuals and that is why they order the military to suppress the civil disturbance at any cost.' One informant [KI 15] presented an opposing idea to this argument and responded that the state has to restore law and order, so the strong security relationship between the state and the military should be able to respond to law and order interrupting incidents like civil disturbances at any cost. Another informant from the Army added that, as a member of the 32nd Infantry, she has seen a civil disturbance incident in Adama town and at that time the military commanders were directly contacting the political leaders and both were devising mechanisms to suppress the unrest. One of the mechanisms was recruiting local youth who can give information to identify the main leaders of the civil disturbance. This scheme was somehow productive from the view of the intentions of the political and military leaders but it was also counter-productive for those youth who were giving espionage service, where in the middle and after the civil disturbance they were identified by the community and then attacked or outcasted. To her knowledge, the political or military leaders, after using those youth for their benefit, have done nothing to protect these

youth. Therefore, the data shows the state's dependence on the military for its security by suppressing individuals' security concerns and the problem this poses for Human Security.

The relationship between the state and the military on security matters is so strong that it is backed by unchanging policy. Ethiopia's security policy stated hereinabove obliges for designing security policy tuned by the source and basis of the policy, which is national survival, and thus it is mandatory to craft a defense policy, which revolves around securing the state and ensuring national survival. Therefore, the ultimate obligation of the military is securing the state and when the military is called to calm a civil disturbance, the operation will focus on calming down the civil disturbance in a way it cannot be a problem for the state and issues of protecting Human Security are not considered by the intervening military.

5.4 The Military and its Place in Ethiopian Security Structure

Since early times and after the modern establishment, the Ethiopian military is highly involved in maintaining state security and various literatures on the functioning of the Ethiopian military witnessed this fact. Different civil disturbances that happened over the years were calmed by the military with orders given by the governments of the time besides the military's main role of securing the territorial integrity of the country and safeguarding the constitution. Especially during the Haileselassie I Imperial regime, the spread of civil disturbance overwhelmingly dominated different parts of the country and the local police were not in a position to control the situation (Gesit, 2006: 202-205), which triggered the involvement of the military aimed at restoring law and order and eventually peace. But instead of lowering the intensity and spread of the civil disturbance, the intervening military scaled it up with the deadly force it used and the hatred it created in the minds of the public. The same is true for the governments that came later to the Imperial regime (Daniel, 2010).

Almost all the works of literature on the army's intervention during civil disturbances in Ethiopia provided that the governments' reign over the years used the army to kill, abuse, or inhumanely treat the protestors to protect their interest, but with no indication of how the army can protect the personal, communal or political security of individuals.

Human security theories regard the military as on stakeholder in the realization of human fulfillment and therefore the military has a great responsibility in protecting Human Security. In Ethiopia, heads of state or governments are the ‘commander-in-chief’ of the armed forces, which gave them the authority to order the intervention of the military during civil unrest and execute it in their willingness to protect state security. Many people were killed, abducted, forcefully displaced, unlawfully detained, or otherwise, their human fulfillment is obstructed or perished by the acts of the intervening military force (Daniel: 2010) during civil disturbances for the cause of maintaining state security.

5.5 Relation between the Military and the Public

FGD participants 1 and 4 witnessed the overall positive attitude of the public towards the army, especially at times that shake the very establishment of the state, the army is taken having salvation power. But when it comes to the military’s intervention to calm down civil disturbances; the participants responded that the intervening army use brutal force against the protestors and the positive or negative attitudinal answer for the question of civil-military relation is dependent on the time, therefore; if it is asked around the time of intervention, the answer is ‘negative attitude’ because of the excessive force the military used to quash the civil disturbance and if it is asked in the peaceful time, the answer will be ‘positive attitude’. This shows; when the military is called to calm civil disturbances, it uses oppressive force aimed at protecting the state and this excessive force will result in infringing Human Security, let alone protecting it. Therefore, the data gathered indicate that, since the study’s focus is on civil disturbances, there is negative attitude of the public towards the military when it intervened to calm such disturbances.

The literature also shows that one of the challenges for civil-military relations is the dependence of the political leaders on the military for the protection of their power and they use the army to coerce the public for the sole reason of staying in power. This is not only prejudicial to the public because such rights infringements of the military result in Human Insecurity at large, but it can cause a fracture in the army – where some faction of the military will be insubordinate when ordered to brutally attack protestors to favor the state (PSC: 2022). Thus, the political leaders who want to retain power using the military for the same cause whenever civil disturbances

happen and state security is the only concern for the intervening army, without protecting Human Security.

FGD 1 participants provided that during the ‘Oromo protests’ (widespread civil protests across the Oromia region for freedom and opposing authoritarianism (HRW: 2016)) held between 2015 and 2018 in different parts of Oromia region, the military was frequently ordered to calm the civil protests staged in Adama town and it has used deadly force on both violent and non-violent protestors. They added, some people participated in the protests whose whereabouts are unknown to this day. These participants also said that the intervening military has used violent force against the protestors and also some of the protestors had started attacking non-Oromos and government offices, which gave the military a green light to use that excessive force.

FGD 4 participants, who saw the civil disturbance after the killing of artist Haccalu Hundessa, specifically reflected that both the civil disturbance and the military intervention that followed had happened suddenly and all the intervening military was doing was trying to control the angry protestors. These protestors were attacking public and private property and the soldiers alike, thus the intervening military used even deadly weapons to confine the protest. There were peaceful protestors, but the military has no concern for these protestors and thus every protestor for the military was a troublemaker, so they force the protestors to get back to their homes, or otherwise, the repercussions were even fatal. The military has not tried to talk to the local community leaders to peacefully calm the situation or identify and detain those violent protestors; the nervous soldiers were hurrying those protestors who can be easily dispersed and abused those who confronted them. Any individual who wants to pursue his daily needs during the disturbance or who seeks protection from the criminal activities of the violent protestors was not able to receive protection from the intervening military because everyone on the streets was regarded as a protestor.

One civilian informant who is a resident of Adama town and used to be an active participant in the ‘Oromo protests’ specifically said;

There was a protest in Adama town on February 10 and 11 of 2018, demanding the release of political prisoners and local freedom activists, which is the extension of the protests all over Oromia. The residing 32nd brigade of the Ethiopian military in Adama town arrived

at the scene and started firing to the sky at first, but the protestors started attacking the soldiers and buildings in front and the soldiers start responding. There was also burning of tires on the streets to block the intervening militarily and to show their resistance. The soldiers went angry and start shooting directly at the protestors and torturing detainees. Unknown numbers of protestors to his knowledge were killed and detained. Boycotts all over the town followed, which pressured the government to release opposition leader Bekele Gerba and more prominently, Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn resigned. The tension within the government grew and a nationwide state of emergency was declared. The protests were the major cause of the political leadership change and finally the ousting from power of TPLF. What the soldiers were doing was calming the protests by any means necessary.

The data obtained from another civilian informant (Interview 2022), who currently lives in Addis Ababa, but used to live in Ginchi town and saw the first ‘Oromo protest’ in November 2015, provided that the government’s intention to allocate land to investors was the immediate cause, but there was a fermenting issue in the minds of the Oromo people, instigated by the federal government’s intention to integrate the surrounding Oromia localities into Addis Ababa Master Plan, thus on fear of farmers displacement the local people got angry. Members of Ginchi city residents, starting from school children went out on the streets to protest against the government. Armed soldiers arrived instantly and started firing indiscriminately at the protestors, which resulted in the deadliest protest crackdown in her entire life. The deadly military intervention was heard in many parts of the Oromia region and thus it widened the intensity and frequency of civil disturbances throughout Oromia, finally resulted in the ousting of TPLF from leading EPRDF coalition. That is why the government is wary of public protests and automatically sends deadly military force to suppress the protests. At that time, the intervening soldiers have not even warned the protestors before shooting and they were not willing to let the protestors for peaceful demonstration. They have not tried; to consult community representatives and protect any individual.

The informant [KI 11, interview made on 06/03/2022], who lives in Adama city and saw a deadly civil disturbance in February 2018, responded to the civil-military relation question that soldiers were on the streets of Adama at that time; they killed and imprisoned protestors

indiscriminately. It took three weeks to find the whereabouts of her brother who was detained by the intervening military and her cousin fled to Metehara town where their Uncle lives, for fear of the military's persecution. The 32nd infantry which resides in Adama City used to have peaceful and productive relations before the incident, where the soldiers highly interact with the local community in different aspects and the military leaders provide development support for the city administration. But after February's fatal civil turmoil, all changed and many remained hateful towards the military. When I ask her if she saw the military doing any kind of protection to the public, she replied that the abuse on the streets was immeasurable, but the soldiers were not harming those who stayed in their homes during the civil disturbance while they search houses and arrest those who are thought to be participants of the civil disturbance.

The data collected from the above three key informants show the government's unwavering demand to send its army when it believes that the civil disturbance is a threat to state security. Thus we can say, this demand will also go further and result in the killing, abducting, torturing, and other inhuman treatment of the protestors. Therefore, the government's intention of cracking down on the civil disturbance is so high that it gives the intervening military firm orders, which makes the military not considerate of Human Security issues.

Three Army informants [KI 08, 09, 14, and 15] (Interview 2022) on their part stated that the protests in Adama in February 2018 against the government, in the quest for freedom and political power change were one of the most brutal and deadly in their military life. Two of them blame the government for maladministration, which is the cause of the protests and one blames the public for using violent methods to fulfill their demands, which cannot be the basis for failing to protect Human Security. All argue that the intervening military has acted as ordered by the political and military leaders and all they were doing was trying to protect the state from the demands of the protestors. Human Security issues were not their concern at that time because all the orders from the leading commanders were '*control anyone protesting*', and there was no single order aimed at securing individuals. One among the above informants [KI 09] strongly argued that there should not be any compromise from any soldier who is ordered by the political leaders to calm civil disturbances whatsoever and the only job of a soldier is obeying orders without question.

The brutal nature of the intervening military and its commitment to protecting the state from threats that are directed at the public are the basic features of the military when it is called to calm civil disturbances. Therefore, we can safely conclude that public and military relation at the time of military intervention to calm civil disturbances is one of the worst and this resulted in the military's failure to protect Human Security during those operations, which triggered the need for repairing mechanisms.

5.6 Challenges, the Army face in discharging its Duties of protecting Human Security

FDRE Constitution (1995) has given Human Security issues wide coverage, where Articles 10 to 44 cover specific Human Security concerns and the rest of the Articles touch on the same issue one or the other way. The same constitution makes the military duty bound to obey and respect the constitution and carry out its function impartially to any political party (Article 87), which includes the party that forms the government. The constitution also declared that the Prime Minister is 'Commander-in-chief' of the armed forces, which gave him the authority to order the military at any time including intervention during civil disturbances also this military is obliged under the constitution to carry out functions assigned to it. The data gathered for this study and the literature also proved that the government is keen on protecting state security during operations to calm civil disturbances; orders the military for the same and state security is the 'alpha and omega' of security issues in Ethiopia. Therefore, the military faces different challenges when it tries to protect Human Security, attributable to external factors along with internal challenges. There are also other challenges besides the above main one.

5.6.1 Challenges of Economic Nature

The data collected from FGD 2 and 3 participants and the significant number of informants provided that members of the Ethiopian military get very low salaries compared to other professions, where a senior colonel gets a maximum of 10,802.00 birr salary and a junior private soldier gets 3,293.00 birr salary. This amount of salary makes it difficult for all soldiers to maintain themselves and their families. But one informant said that the economic interest of individual soldiers has nothing to do with obeying or disobeying superior orders and irrespective of economic interest, every soldier is required to obey superior orders.

In fear of losing their job and exposing themselves and their family to economic deprivation, they do not want to disobey the orders of their commanders or political leaders when such orders during civil disturbances focus on state security by disregarding Human Security. This implies economic challenges for individual soldiers are cumbersome for the military's failure to protect Human Security during the intervention to calm down civil disturbances. This challenge is attributable to individual soldiers and it also can be reviewed from the perspective of the institution itself.

5.6.2 Social Challenges

As discussed in sub-topic 5.4 'Relation between the military and the public, the data gathered described that there is a negative impression on the part of the public towards the military when the military intervened to quash civil disturbances. During such intervention then, members of the public especially the protestors want retaliation against the intervening soldiers and attack them by any possible means. This makes the soldiers use brutal force on the protestors, which creates more loathing of the intervening military. Therefore, we can conclude that the hatred from the public is a social challenge that prevents the intervening military from trying to protect Human Security at times of civil disturbance operations.

The claim from the public, the intervening military's partisanship to one or the other ethnic groups, when the civil disturbance is associated with ethnic violence is also a challenge. The data collected from FGD participants and the informants proved that when the military is operating in civil disturbance areas, which is caused by ethnic tensions; no matter what the military does to calm the protests or protect individuals, will automatically be construed by the other ethnic group to mean favouring one of the ethnic groups involved in the disturbance. Half members of FDG 2 and three informants [KI 02, 05, and 12] responded that it is not members of the ethnic group that label the military with ethnic partisanship, but it is the political elites who give the labeling. The other half of participants of FGD 2 argued that there is no ethnic labeling of the military and the accusation of the military is only on the brutality of the force it uses to calm the civil disturbance. Four civil informants from Shashamene also provided that the civil disturbance in the town that happened from 29 June 2020 to 2 July 2020 was mainly driven by ethnic agenda and that is why the local police were afraid to stop the violence for fear of being labeled as anti-Oromo and the same is true for the army, but two informants from the same town responded they

know nothing about this kind of army labeling and one informant, who is Zone administration at the time said that as a political leader, she knew the army can only intervene when the political leaders decided and once the decision is made the army functions on equality principle to avoid ethnic partisanship labeling. Therefore, we can say the intervening army members, mainly the commanders; in distress of partisanship labeling, fail to protect individuals or groups from the dreadful outcomes of the civil disturbance and focus on state security by harming anyone without any distinction, who is considered to be participating in the civil disturbance.

5.6.3 Institutional Challenges

Division within the military based on ethnic lines is one institutional challenge testing the military. Here, the questions were only forwarded to army member participants and interviewees for institutional knowledge-based responses. FGD 2 participants, five out of eight FGD 3 participants, and a large number of Army interviewees responded that there are ethnic issues within the military, which are dividing it by way of creating a lack of trust. But, two participants of FGD 3 and one informant, who is a leader in the Army in a Captain rank provided that there are no ethnic concerns within the military and another Army informant stated that he is not sure about the existence of the issue.

The respondents in favor of the issue elaborated their argument and summed up as; when a civil disturbance occurs in one ethnic area, members of the military belonging to that ethnic group are somehow considered to be supporters of the cause of the civil disturbance and deploying these military members in such areas creates suspicion of mission accomplishment. The respondents further argued that high-level military ranks are mostly awarded to members of the ethnic group dominating the final decision-making body of the military, which creates agony for other ethnic members of the military. All these challenges are difficult for the decision making of the intervening military, where peer evaluation is based on mission accomplishment. Therefore when the intervening army tries to protect the state, it will be blamed by some members of the military for attacking their ethnic group and when it attempts to protect Human Security, the blame revolves around partisanship to that ethnic group. What we can conclude from the above data is multi-faceted ethnic divisions are institutionally challenging the military from acting in the right protective way, especially this contributed to the failure to protect Human Security.

The politicization of the entire military is also one institutional challenge of the military. FGD 2 and 3 participants unanimously agreed that state affiliation with the military is taken for granted by the government and by the same token the opposition and some members of the public consider the military inseparable from the state. They support their argument by saying that the military is involved in abducting opposition party members and suppressing civil disturbances in favor of the government. The reasons for these are the direct control of the state over the military through orders and fear of members of the military – the results of non-obedience (being court-martialed or suspended). The majority of the Army interviewees also supported such politicization by adding that some members of the military overtly show partisanship to the state, which contributed to the cause. On the other hand, a minimum number of interviewees from the Army responded that the claim of politicization is only unsubstantiated rhetoric that does not create operational difficulty. Two Army member informants provided they do not know the existence or inexistence of army politicization. Therefore, we can conclude that the politicization drags the military deep into politics, in this manner it will be deprived of its liberation from the neutrality of political power and this will in turn prevent it from protecting Human Security during civil disturbances because of the state's firm intention of giving priority to state security during these times.

5.7 Is the Military Protecting Human Security during Civil Disturbances?

In today's world, personal insecurity arises mostly from daily life fears than the outcomes of nuclear disaster. As per UNDP (1994) report, security for individuals is construed to mean safety and protection from the disease occurrence, hunger, unemployment or fear of loss of job, crime incidents, social conflict, political repression, and environmental dangers.

Among the above seven security threats; personal security, community security, and political security directly concern the military because, during civil disturbance operations, these security interests are more likely to be affected, either by the intervening military (more often) or the protestors themselves (they may attack peaceful citizens or property for different reasons). Civil disturbances entail crime, social conflict, and/or political repression, which can be the intentions of some of the protestors and political repression can be the intention of the military as ordered

by the state. Either way, there will be a breach of peace and contravention of the security rights of individuals.

The rest four may or may not be affected during civil disturbances and they need sustainable protection because whether the time is a peaceful or civil disturbance, infringement of these Human Security interests can happen or their protection is not dependant on the time of fulfillment. Besides this, they are better protected by the coalition efforts of political, social, cultural, economic, and other stakeholders; therefore the military has little or nothing to do with the protection of these security categories.

The data gathered from the four FGD participants and all of the key informants but two Army member informants showed that the intervening military should protect individuals or groups from the evils of civil disturbance and this include peaceful demonstrators. Individuals and the public must be protected from; crimes that come along with civil disturbance, social conflicts (having inter-communal nature of varied causes), and political repression, but the intervening military is not practicing this for various legal, political, social, and institutional challenges and unawareness of the military on Human Security issues.

The respondents also added that during normal and peaceful times, there are; common crimes, social conflicts that can be easily controlled by the community or local police, and outspoken individual politicians can be repressed with little notice, but when a civil disturbance erupts – the scale and intensity of encroachment of these security interests are very high and the intervening military for obvious reasons of protecting state security and other challenges it faces, is not acting in protection of personal, community and political securities during civil disturbances. One of the civilian informants, who is a Bank teller in Addis Ababa clearly stated that when the civil disturbance had happened in his locality; the intervening military killed or abducted individuals, imprisoned political and community leaders, and impeded almost all movements of the community. Thus, we can conclude that the intervening military during civil disturbances is not protecting the personal, communal, and political security of those individuals and groups it is legally and professionally required and expected to protect.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

Placing the individual as the central point of reference has become a common trend after Cold War because of the need for a new security dimension, where the security threats are those challenging the daily lives of human beings. Therefore a new security dimension – Human Security is needed that complements state security, where ‘freedom from fear’, ‘freedom from want’, and ‘freedom from indignity are the spinning theories of Human Security by changing and highlighting the question of ‘*security from what*’ to ‘*security for whom*’.

FDRE Constitution (1995) and the Federal Intervention in Regions Proclamation (2003) allow the state to order military intervention in cases of civil disturbance and the state’s foreign and security policy gives ultimate primacy to state security, thus when the state orders such military intervention it will undoubtedly focus on state security and the intervening military will execute the orders of the state. The available literature shows that Ethiopian military history is also full of military operations aimed at securing the state during civil disturbances.

The UN Human Security approach explains that governance and development are the core ingredients in the realization of Human Security, but excludes the military as a stakeholder in the realization, but some scholars consider the military as one stakeholder and the UN itself integrates the military into Human Security realization activities. Therefore, the military plays a vital role in protecting Human Security during the intervention at times of civil disturbance.

The data collected proved that even though the Army is one stakeholder in the realization of Human Security, it is not acting under this responsibility for various reasons when it intervened during civil disturbances. The contradicting constitutional obligations, the state’s policy focus on state security and ordering the military for the same during civil disturbances, legal, institutional, social and other challenges are the basic factors for the resultant Army’s failure to protect Human Security during civil disturbances.

Recommendations

To begin with, the research findings showed that the first problem for the Army's failure to protect Human Security during civil disturbance operations is the non-existence of awareness of Human Security issues on the part of the Army. Ministry of Defense in collaboration with Human Security Organs should facilitate training on Human Security for the Army, especially a kind that can shed light on the difference between Human Security and Human Rights is the first, although short-term solution.

Furthermore, the Ministry must integrate Human Security considerations into the Army's civil disturbance operations. As far as it is a constitutional rule for the military to protect Human Security, it has to involve Human Security protection tools before or during civil disturbance intervention operations by using its impartiality rule stated in the same constitution.

Last but not least, a policy change by the state is a long-term solution to the problem, as the state's security policy is one of the contributing factors to the Army's failure to protect Human Security.

In addition, the impartiality of the Army stated in the constitution should be given primacy to the power of the state to give orders to the military on the same constitution, which should be done by all the concerned military and political leaders.

On top of that, Ministry of Defense should involve local Human Security groups, which can propose ways on harmonizing military operations during civil disturbances and Human Security considerations, at least to mitigate the least concern for Human Security.

To add with, the Ministry should focus on resolving the economic and institutional challenges of the Army. The economic interests of individual soldiers must be met to align their livelihood with the current living standards to assist the soldiers to think of Human Security besides state security, without fear of economic deprivation that can follow as a punishment for insubordination in favor of Human Security.

Finally, the cases used to illustrate the arguments in this thesis can lead future research on the subject to focus on detailed case studies to identify the specific nature of the intervention peculiar to those cases and present special findings in addition to those stated in this thesis.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Profile of Key Informants for the Interview

S/N	Code	Sex	Education	Occupation	Rank	Date of Interview	Place of Interview
1	KI 01	M	BA	Army Commander	B/General	08/02/2022	Addis Ababa
2	KI 02	F	BA	Army Commander	Colonel	09/02/2022	Addis Ababa
3	KI 03	M	LL.M, MA	Army Commander	Colonel	11/02/2022	Addis Ababa
4	KI 04	M	MA	Staff Officer	Major	11/02/2022	Addis Ababa
5	KI 05	F	BA	Operations Officer	L/Colonel	16/02/2022	Addis Ababa
6	KI 06	M	MA	Army Commander	Colonel	17/02/2022	Addis Ababa
7	KI 07	M	BA	Army Commander	Colonel	17/02/2022	Addis Ababa
8	KI 08	M	LL.M	Staff Officer	Captain	04/03/2022	Adama
9	KI 09	M	BA	Military Police Officer	Lieutenant	04/03/2022	Adama
10	KI 10	M	BA	Bank Teller	Mr	14/03/2022	Addis Ababa
11	KI 11	F	Diploma	Secretary	Mrs	06/03/2022	Adama
12	KI 12	M	BA	Army Commander	Colonel	04/03/2022	Adama
13	KI 13	M	Diploma	Self employed	Mr	06/03/2022	Adama
14	KI 14	F	BA	Military Police member	Sargent	05/03/2022	Adama
15	KI 15	M	MA	Veteran	Major	05/03/2022	Adama

Continued

S/N	Code	Sex	Education	Occupation	Rank	Date of Interview	Place of Interview
16	KI 16	M	MA	Army Commander	Maj./General	05/08/2022	Bahirdar
17	KI 17	M	B.Sc.	Veteran	Lt./Colonel	05/08/2022	Bahirdar
18	KI 18	M	Degree	Military Police Officer	Colonel	08/08/2022	Bahirdar
19	KI 19	F	Degree	Staff Officer	Captain	08/08/2022	Bahirdar
20	KI 20	M	Theology	Priest	Priest	10/08/2022	Bahirdar
21	KI 21	F	Diploma	Handicapped Association	Ms	10/08/2022	Bahirdar
22	KI 22	F	BA	Tourist Guide	Mrs	11/08/2022	Bahirdar
23	KI 23	M	Police Science	City Police staff	Assistant Inspector	11/08/2022	Bahirdar
24	KI 24	M	Degree	Army Commander	Colonel	05/08/2022	Shashamene
25	KI 25	F	Degree	Zone Administration Member	Mrs	13/08/2022	Shashamene
26	KI 26	M	Illiterate	Local Militia member	Mr	15/08/2022	Shashamene
27	KI 27	M	12 Grade	Shop Owner	Mr	15/08/2022	Shashamene
28	KI 28	F	8 th Grade	Mother	Mrs	16/08/2022	Shashamene
29	KI 29	M	Degree	Prosecutor	Mr	16/08/2022	Shashamene
30	KI 30	F	Auto Diploma	Military Vehicles Maintenance member	Sargent	17/08/2022	Shashamene

Appendix II: Profile of FGD I Participants

Profile of FGD Participants I at Adama City (Local Residents)

S/N	Code	Sex	Education	Occupation	Rank	Date of FGD	Place of FGD
1	FGD 1 P 1	F	MA	Sales Agent	Mrs	07/03/2022	Adama
2	FGD 1 P 2	M	10	Broker	Mr	07/03/2022	Adama
3	FGD 1 P 3	M	8	Unemployed	Mr	07/03/2022	Adama
4	FGD 1 P 4	M	Diploma	Health Worker	Mr	07/03/2022	Adama
5	FGD 1 P 5	F	BSC	Agricultural Adviser	Ms	07/03/2022	Adama
6	FGD 1 P 6	M	12	Guard	Mr	07/03/2022	Adama
7	FGD 1 P 7	M	BA	Zone Admin. Officer	Mr	07/03/2022	Adama
8	FGD 1 P 8	M	LL.M	Lawyer	Mr	07/03/2022	Adama

Appendix III: Profile of FGD IV Participants

Profile of FGD Participants IV at Addis Ababa City (Local Residents)

S/N	Code	Sex	Education	Occupation	Rank	Date of FGD	Place of FGD
1	FGD 4 P 1	M	Illiterate	Day labourer	Mr	10/03/2022	Addis Ababa
2	FGD 4 P 2	M	12	Security	Mr	10/03/2022	Addis Ababa
3	FGD 4 P 3	M	LL.B	Attorney	Mr	10/03/2022	Addis Ababa
4	FGD 4 P 4	M	BA	Logistics officer	Mr	10/03/2022	Addis Ababa
5	FGD 4 P 5	M	BA	Telecom Officer	Mr	10/03/2022	Addis Ababa
6	FGD 4 P 6	M	12	Shop Owner	Mr	10/03/2022	Addis Ababa
7	FGD 4 P 7	M	BSC	Laboratory Technician	Mr	10/03/2022	Addis Ababa
8	FGD 4 P 8	M	4	Self employed	Mr	10/03/2022	Addis Ababa

Appendix IV: Profile of FGD II Participants

Profile of FGD Participants II at Addis Ababa City (Military Members)

S/N	Code	Sex	Education	Occupation	Rank	Date of FGD	Place of FGD
1	FGD 2 P 1	M	LL.M	Military Judge	L/Colonel	15/03/2022	Addis Ababa
2	FGD 2 P 2	M	LL.B	Military Lawyer	Major	15/03/2022	Addis Ababa
3	FGD 2 P 3	F	BA	Accountant	Captain	15/03/2022	Addis Ababa
4	FGD 2 P 4	M	BA	Instructor	Captain	15/03/2022	Addis Ababa
5	FGD 2 P 5	M	Diploma	Prosecutor	Master Sargent	15/03/2022	Addis Ababa
6	FGD 2 P 6	M	Diploma	Technician	Corporal	15/03/2022	Addis Ababa
7	FGD 2 P 7	M	Military Science	Military Adviser	Major	15/03/2022	Addis Ababa
8	FGD 2 P 8	M	Military Science	Veteran	Colonel	15/03/2022	Addis Ababa

Appendix V: Profile of FGD III Participants

Profile of FGD Participants III at Adama City (Military Members)

S/N	Code	Sex	Education	Occupation	Rank	Date of FGD	Place of FGD
1	FGD 3 P 1	M	BA	Army Commander	Colonel	08/03/2022	Adama
2	FGD 3 P 2	M	LL.B	Military Attorney	Lieutenant	08/03/2022	Adama
3	FGD 3 P 3	M	10	Accountant	Sargent	08/03/2022	Adama
4	FGD 3 P 4	M	12	Instructor	Staff Sargent Major	08/03/2022	Adama
5	FGD 3 P 5	F	8	Military Police	Sargent	08/03/2022	Adama
6	FGD 3 P 6	F	Military Science	Inspector	Captain	08/03/2022	Adama
7	FGD 3 P 7	M	Diploma	I.T officer	Second- Lieutenant	08/03/2022	Adama
8	FGD 3 P 8	M	Crimes Investigation	Military Investigator	Captain	08/03/2022	Adama

Appendix VI: Guiding Interview Questions and Discussion Guiding questions for Key informants

I would like to introduce myself and the contents of the research along with a brief about state security and Human Security. My name is Abraham Gelaw. I'm a graduate candidate of Institute for Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University. Since research thesis is a requirement for graduate students, I'm doing my study on "ENGAGEMENT OF THE ETHIOPIAN ARMY IN CIVIL DISTURBANCES TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER: IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN SECURITY." Your knowhow about military intervention and civil disturbances urged me to select you for gathering data through interview/FGD. You will be forwarding your thoughts based on the guiding interview questions or discussion guiding questions as the case may be.

The purpose of the research is purely academic and the final findings of the research can and will be used for future researches as a source. You are expected to give reasoned answers for the guiding questions and you can also forward anything attached to the subject that is not covered by the questions. I like to thank and appreciate your willingness and reflections on the subject matter. The interview will not take more than thirty minutes and the FGD is expected to take one and half hour. State your name, current position and how you get familiar with military intervention during civil disturbances. The guiding questions are attached as follows.

A. Guiding interview and FGD questions for military interviewees/participants

1. Have you ever been deployed to intervene during civil disturbances?
2. Is protection of Human Security the primary role of the military among its roles?
3. Is protection of the State the primary role of the military among its roles?
4. Is there failure or fulfilment on the part of the military to protect Human Security during intervention to calm civil disturbances?
5. Is the failure of the military to protect Human Security during civil riot is due to non-existence of awareness on Human Security on the part of the military?
6. Is the failure of the military to protect Human Security during civil riot is due to non-existence of training on Human Security?
7. Is the failure of the military to protect Human Security during civil riot is due to non-existence of resources?

8. Is the failure of the military to protect Human Security during civil riot is due to failure of commanders to give order to protect Human Security?
9. When the military intervened to quell civil riots, has it has the willingness and capacity to discuss with community representatives?
10. Is the failure of the military to protect Human Security during civil riot is due to non-existence of advisors on Human Security issues?
11. Is protection of Human Security important?
12. Does Human security only means Human Rights?
13. Is the concern of military intervention during civil disturbances mainly state security?
14. Is the military expected to protect Human Security when intervened during civil disturbances?
15. Are Human Security and State Security complementary or one precedes the other?
16. Does the military ever protected Human Security when intervened during civil disturbances or the mission is only to quell the civil disturbance?
17. When ordered by the state to intervene in civil disturbances, the military's focus is on state security and this is making it disregard human security?
18. Are there any legal frameworks to protect Human Security when the military intervened during civil disturbances?

B. Guiding interview and FGD questions for civilian interviewees/participants

1. Have you ever seen military intervention during civil disturbances?
2. What was the primary concern of the military during these interventions?
3. Which security issues did the military rush to protect during these interventions--state security or Human Security?
4. Is the military expected to protect Human Security during these interventions?
5. Is the military fulfilling or failing to protect Human Security during these interventions?
6. Are there any reasons for the military's failure to protect Human Security during these interventions?
7. Are Human Security and State Security complementary or one precedes the other?
8. Have you ever seen the military protecting Human Security when intervened during civil disturbances?
9. The military receive the intervention order from the political leaders, is this fact one of the main reasons for failure to protect Human Security?
10. Are there any legal frameworks to protect Human Security when the military intervened during civil disturbances?

Appendix VII

Declaration

This study is my original research and it has not been presented, for any reason, in any other universities or research institute for any degree or scholarly work. All the material sources used here are properly cited and acknowledged.

Name: Abraham Gelaw Esayas

Signature

Date December 2022

Adviser Name: Yonas Adaye Adeto (Ph.D.)

Signature

Date December 2022

Statement of Certification

I certify that, Abraham Gelaw Esayas has conducted his research work under my guidance on the title ‘Engagement of the Military in Civil Disturbances to Restore Law and Order: Its Implications for Human Security’. This work is suitable for submission as partial fulfillment for the requirements of the award of Master of Arts in Peace and Security studies.

Adviser: Yonas Adaye Adeto (Ph.D.)

Signature

Date December 2022