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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTER FOR AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES**

**ETHIOPIA’S PERSPECTIVE ON FOREIGN POLICIES AND
STRATEGIES OF THE US TOWARDS THE HORN OF AFRICA:
THE CASE OF ETHIOPIA POST-2018**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO CENTER FOR AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES, ADDIS
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work, prepared under the guidance of Samuel Tefera (PhD), and all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged. I further confirm that the thesis has not been submitted to any other higher learning institutions.

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Abstract

The research examines Ethiopia's perspective on the US foreign policy and strategy towards the Horn of Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular. Though the scope of the study is limited to post-2018, the study examined prior periods of relations to see the trend. The research investigates the realism theory on which US foreign policies and strategies are based. The study also analyzes the foreign policy and strategy of the US from the idea of Realism perspective. The paper could spark a frank discussion among scholars and professionals on some possible faulty historical events that occurred in the countries' relations and make this research a springboard for further study in enhancing the cooperation between the countries. The researcher used a qualitative approach. The research design is descriptive and exploratory. The data are gathered from books, articles, websites, and data from selected people through questionnaires. As per the research, both countries enjoyed an excellent relationship in the first one-and-a-half years of post-2018. However, after the occurrence of the Tigray conflict and the failed attempt of the US-brokered GERD negotiations, the two countries' relations deteriorated. The research also suggests ideas that Ethiopia shall cultivate the trust of the US and that it has no other agenda other than alleviating poverty and exerting effort for its people's betterment. Democratization and respecting human rights shall also be top on the agenda.

Keywords: Foreign policy, Strategy, Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, USA

List of Acronyms

AGOA	Africa Growth Opportunity Act
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CFR	Council for Foreign Relations
EFFORT	Endowment Fund for the Rehabilitation of Tigray
ENDF	Ethiopian National Defense Force
EPP	Ethiopian Prosperity Party
EPRDF	Ethiopian people Revolutionary Democratic Front
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
HoA	Horn of Africa
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WWII	World War 2

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Background

When colonized nations gained independence after World War II, the concept of foreign policy entered the picture. When the League of Nations was established, these nations had to deal with the concept of nation building and foreign policy were at the heart of this endeavor. Nations without a foreign policy can be compared to a ship cruising in the middle of the sea without a compass; which signifies that the captain and all passengers have no idea where they are going. It depicts a nation's inability to predict the outcome of its relationships in the absence of a foreign policy. A foreign policy is a vision of the desired outcome or set of interests in interacting with another state/actor, the strategies and ideas used in achieving these goals, and the available resources at a state's disposal, in guiding its interaction with other states (Bojang, 2018).

There are different international relations theories, which are set of principles that guide the practice of foreign relations. Many foreign policies are guided by theories that suit the interests of countries to execute their foreign relations activities. The study examines America's foreign policy based on an international relation's theory called realism. If great powers like US are dealing with peer competitors, great powers should balance—they should build up their capabilities and make it clear to actual and potential great power rivals that they will oppose their attempts at expansion. At the same time, they should take a relaxed view toward developments involving minor powers and, at most, should balance against hostile minor powers that inhabit strategically important areas of the world (Rosato & Schuessler, 2011).

Realism is a school of thought that emphasizes the competitive and conflictual side of international relations. Realism's roots are often said to be found in some of humankind's earliest historical writings, particularly Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War, which raged between 431 and 404 BCE. (McGlinchey et al, 2017).

When Condoleezza Rice, the 66th United States Secretary of State from 2005 to 2009, stated how the theory of realism has been incorporated into the foreign policy of the United States of America. According to Rice, the U.S has long tried to marry power and principle-realism and idealism. At times, there have been short-term tensions between them. But Americans have always known where their long-term interests lie. Thus, the United States has not been neutral about the importance of human rights or the superiority of democracy as a form of government, both in principle and in practice. This uniquely American realism has guided them over the past eight years, and it must guide them over the years to come (Rice, 2008).

Though the US is mentioning human rights and democracy as pillars for its foreign relation activities, there are times when it deliberately ignored those principles if specific situations do not serve its own interest. Even though U.S puts itself as a beacon of democracy, it is evident that it was against the administration of Mohammad Mursi. The election produced Egypt's first democratically elected civilian president, Mohamed Mursi — a significant milestone in the wake of the January 2011 popular uprising of Egypt (The Carter Center, 2012). Then, the U.S becomes a close ally of the military which removed President Mursi by force.

During the 2016 U.S presidential campaign, then-candidate Trump attempted to differentiate his approach to Egypt from predecessor, Barak Obama, by personally praising Sisi and vowing to strengthen the bilateral relationship if elected. Some observers express concern that any

improvement in U.S.-Egyptian ties may come at the expense of human rights in Egypt. (Sharp, 2017)

There is one common phrase in bilateral or multilateral relations of states that ‘there is no permanent friendship but permanent interest.’ All countries’ interests are the bases for their external relations. There is no generally accepted definition of national interest by scholars. ‘National interest’ is a singularly vague concept. It assumes a variety of meanings in the various contexts in which it is used and, despite its fundamental importance, these meanings often cannot be reconciled; hence, no agreement can be reached about its ultimate meaning (Frankel, 1970). Among many definitions, the following definition is taken as it has critically examined the concept. In its simplest form, the national interest is the perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other sovereign states comprising the external environment.

There are four basic national interests which have meaningful (wide range of) influences on one’s foreign policy. These basic national interests may be described as follows:

1. *Defense interests*: the protection of the nation-state and its citizens against the threat of physical violence directed from another state, and/or an externally inspired threat to its system of government.
2. *Economic interests*: the enhancement of the nation state’s economic well-being in relations with other states.
3. *World Order interests*: the maintenance of an international political and economic system in which the nation-state may feel secure, and in which its citizens and commerce may operate peacefully outside its borders.
4. *Ideological interests*: the protection and furtherance of a set of values, which the people of a nation-state share and believe to be universally good. (Nuechterlein, 1976, p. 247-248)

The realist and the chief theorist of the national interest (Morgenthau, 1951) relates interests with power. As he defined it, interest, or national interests, must be defined in terms of power. In addition, the national interest of a particular state's foreign policy must, therefore, be determined primarily, if not exclusively, by the technical considerations of power.

Of course, national interest is not the only determinant factor to shape one's foreign policy. External factors also affect the relationship of nations that interact with others. The interest of other nations could determine how the relationship is going. Foreign policy decisions are typically made in a strategic setting. Thus, behavior of adversaries and allies affects foreign policy decisions in an interactive sequential setting. For example, U.S. foreign policy during the Georgian crisis in the summer of 2008 was implemented in response to Russia's actions in Georgia. U.S. policy on missile defense in Europe affects Russia's decisions as well as Polish, Czech, and other European leaders' decisions. U.S. foreign policy goals and actions influence Israeli policies toward its enemies and friends. Factors such as the arms race, deterrence, the regime type of the adversary, strategic surprise, and of course, alliances affect foreign policy decisions. (Mintz et al, 2010)

The main external factors that determine the foreign policy of a state are but not limited to the international system or power structure, international law, international organizations, alliances, and military strength or arm race. (Bojang, 2018)

The countries' external relations would sustain if the relation could serve the interest of the respective countries. Otherwise, the relation will not be sustainable and long-lasting. Countries, which want to establish relation with other countries should always find an area that, converge

their interests. The feasible mutual interest can only be a good reason for a sustainable relation between nations.

The researcher tried to see the fact that the foreign policy of the U.S. is dictated by the theory, realism and how democracy and human rights could be compromised if the specific situation is vital for its interest.

When it comes to Ethiopia - US relations, the official diplomatic relation between Ethiopia and the US was established in 1903. King Menelik II of Ethiopia was known for his diplomatic skills in dealing with foreign powers of his time. It came as no surprise when he decided to welcome the enthusiastic overtures from the United States to send its first diplomatic mission to the Ethiopian court in 1903 (Mehretu, 2014). Even though different governments and their ideologies passed through various challenges and difficulties throughout their history, the two countries' relationship has continued until today. Along their historical path, their relation has faced ups and down during a 120-years long history. After the end of World War II, US foreign policy toward to the Horn of Africa (HoA) was dominantly geared by the cold war. US was focusing on how it can deter the Soviet Union's influence in the horn rather than focusing on mutual political and economic interest of the nations of the region.

Hence, the relationship among Ethiopia and [US] America was not isolated case. Like any other countries in the region, the Ethio-America relationship had been predominantly influenced by the cold war. America was highly committed to stop communist ideology and trying to deter the expansion of this ideology in every corner of the world. Its foreign policy and strategy were designed incorporating this fundamental idea that capitalist ideology is the only way for betterment of nations. While the last leader of Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev introduced

Perestroika and Glasnost, the cold war was over. This action of Gorbachev fundamentally changed the world order and it is marked as the end of the cold war era. Those countries who were following communist ideology immediately adjusted themselves and joined the capitalist camp.

Ethiopia was one of the countries, which were in the communist camp. The country was under a military regime from 1974 to 1991, which was a period when its relationship with America was at its lowest level. The relation was revived after 1991 when Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) ceased power. "Instead of being dominated by Marxism, political dialogue in Ethiopia was characterized by a strong interest in Western democracy, federalism and open economic system" (Henze, 1991, p. 3).

1.2. Problem Statement

The globe is dictated by superpowers. Those who have the power set standards. Countries that are developing and running subsistent economies are under the influence of those superpowers. Superpowers generate a power hierarchy between core and periphery regions, in which powerful and wealthy core nations dominate and exploit weak peripheral areas. In particular, the role of superpowers is driven by dominant capitalist classes that want state protection for their control of international trade, to take advantage of important opportunities, and to maximize profit of firms (Coccia, 2019). In this process, the people of the countries, which have no big economy, may suffer due to unfair relations made between the superpowers and their submissive governments.

Mutual benefits should be a base for the relations of countries. Well-developed and technologically advanced countries sometimes take more advantages over other sovereign nations. So naturally, there might have benefits to be taken by developed countries in a trade

relation with developing countries. It is because the probability of occurring a trade deficit in developing countries is high while they are trading with developed countries. This trade deficit happens because developing countries import high-value machinery, manufacturing goods, and technological products while exporting low-value agricultural products. This trade imbalance obviously will lead those developing countries to face a trade deficit as the overall trade activity goes on in favor of the developed nation. In terms of theory, increased trade is shown to have both positive and negative impacts on inequalities. In terms of global inequalities, increased trade can widen or reduce the gap between developing and developed countries, while within countries increased trade can improve or worsen inequalities in income, wages, and regional income disparities (Urata, 2017).

The aforementioned problem might be natural and expected outcome of any economic activity. However, when a country wants to impose its ideology on another country and try to install a system that outside actors can remotely control, it is unfair in a globe where all countries are supposed to gain equal sovereign status regardless of their economic level. US relations with other countries especially developing countries, seem to be a unidirectional relationship where the US tends to like to impose its political ideology in a way that primarily maintains the national interest of the US.

Ethiopia is still struggling to get out of poverty. The country is still demanding foreign aid to cover a sizable portion of its fiscal budget. In Ethiopia, the government is the main source of the budget deficit. The inadequacy of the domestic economy to expand domestic revenue sources to finance the deficit by itself also makes inflows of foreign capital an important source to mitigate the challenge. Thus, the presence of these resource gaps in one way or another shows that the domestic economy is not capable of generating enough finance to close these gaps and make the

country's reliance on foreign capital inflow compulsory (Tadesse, 2011). This also exposes the country to being influenced by foreign actors.

There are incidents in the history of Ethiopia-US relations that spark questions about whether the countries' cooperation is based on mutual benefits. Significantly, the post-2018 political reform has surfaced the relation's odds. Therefore, the cause of the countries' relations turbulence shall be carefully studied. So far, no study has been conducted in this regard, and this research might open the door to seeing the possible causes of the challenge. Moreover, it shall also open a door for further study in finding a better way for their future cooperation.

Ethiopia is under political and economic reform since 2018. It could be an opportunity for international actors and strategic partners like the US to help Ethiopia out in the process of achieving its goals. Was the US in a position of doing that? For a better understanding of the Ethiopia – US relation, the following research questions should be addressed:

1. Does America need submissive governments in the HoA, which serve America's interest? Why?
2. From Ethiopia point of view, Does US believe in Ethiopia-US relation in which both parties mutually benefit? Why?

1.3. Objectives of the research

There were different historical incidents that shaped America's engagements to countries in the HoA. Those engagements were expected to be based on the interest of the countries and the regional and international political environment. Understanding the pattern and the bases of the relation that America has with different countries in the HoA especially with Ethiopia will make

the concerned officials to redesign the policy in a way that both Ethiopia and US relation could genuinely yield mutual benefits.

Whenever there is a clear and understandable foreign relation between countries, the people of the countries are the first to be benefited. In addition, the predictability of the relation will help the officials and technicians on the field to be clear on the matter what they are doing. In this regard, the research will have the following objectives:

1. To examine Ethiopia's perspective of America's policies and strategies toward the HoA post 2018.
2. To examine Ethiopia's perspective of America's policies and strategies toward Ethiopia post 2018.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The study focuses on whether the U.S foreign policy towards the HoA is based on the narrative that democracy and human rights should be pillars for the common good and, using its long historical relation with the region, establishing concrete relation which could yield mutual political, economic and cultural benefits for the countries or an issue of keeping the status of 'we are second to none' attitude by making unnecessary interventions in the domestic affairs of the countries which might test the freedom of sovereignty of nations.

In this regard, the research finding is essential to learn the background of the relation between the two countries from Ethiopia's perspective. Furthermore, it will give a chance for debate and discussion among professionals and scholars so that those debates and discussions might yield a better way of how this relation will benefit the countries.

1.5. Limitation of the Study

This study has some limitations. Since the study has focused on the post-2018 US foreign relation toward the horn region, enough books are not available in this regard. In order to fill the gap, articles and media outlets on the fact on the ground are reviewed to minimize the adverse effect on the quality of the study. The busy schedule of the respondents and the time difference between the two countries (Ethiopia and the US) are also other challenges in the collection of data. The researcher had to consistently follow up the distributed questionnaires to be completed by the respondents.

1.6. Organization of the research paper

This research paper is organized into five chapters. The first chapter includes an introduction that contains the study's background, problem statement, objectives, and significance. The second chapter is devoted to the review of related literature. The third chapter deals with the methodology part of the study. The fourth chapter gives findings and analysis coverage, while the last and fifth chapter covers the research's conclusion, recommendation, and reference sections.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1. Theoretical Framework

The foreign policy of the United States of America was based on a theory called Realism after WWII. This theory was highly helpful for the US to deter the expansion of the Eastern Bloc during the cold war.

Realism is based on the basic pillars of thoughts. Those thoughts justify realism as the only way out to protect states from a chaotic world. As realists say, there is no upper body above states who have the power to lead or control states during bad times. There is no hierarchy in the world order to control anarchism.

The first assumption of realism is that the nation-state (usually abbreviated to 'state') is the principal actor in international relations. Other bodies exist, such as individuals and organizations, but their power is limited. Second, the state is a unitary actor. National interests, especially in times of war, lead the state to speak and act with one voice. Third, decision-makers are rational actors in the sense that rational decision-making leads to the pursuit of the national interest. Here, taking actions that would make your state weak or vulnerable would not be rational. Realism suggests that all leaders, no matter what their political persuasion, recognize this as they attempt to manage their state's affairs in order to survive in a competitive environment. Finally, states live in a context of anarchy that is, in the absence of anyone being in charge internationally. The often-used analogy of there being 'no one to call' in an international emergency helps to underline this point. Within our own states, we typically have police forces, militaries, courts, and so on. In an emergency, there is an expectation that these institutions will

‘do something in response. Internationally, there is no clear expectation of anyone or anything ‘doing something as there is no established hierarchy. Therefore, states can ultimately only rely on themselves (Antunes & Camisao, 2018).

The link between realism and international theory is especially strong in the twentieth century. International relations first emerged as an academic discipline before and immediately after World War I, largely in reaction to the realist balance of power politics. Self-identified realists such as E. H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau then reshaped immediately before and after World War II the discipline. Prominent scholar-practitioners, such as George Kennan and Henry Kissinger, have called themselves realists. For most of the post-World War II era realism has been the dominant paradigm in the Anglo-American study of international relations. Even in our post-Cold War era of globalization, realist theories, although much less dominant, still provide a context and motivation for many of the most important theoretical debates in the field. (Donnelly 2010)

After the end of WWII, there was some sort of difficulties to understand the way how the United States could approach Soviet’s Stalin. At this moment, a diplomatic message came from the Embassy of the United States of America in Moscow to the State Department. This message is known as the ‘long telegram’ and was written by a relatively then junior diplomat and expert on Russia, George Kennan. This document cleared the air of confusion in the United States that there is faulty communication between Moscow and Washington that led the Soviets to go hostile rather it is the result of the Soviet’s foreign policy itself which is made up of an amalgam of communist ideology and old-fashioned tsarist expansionism. This document shaped the view of the U.S. of America to the outside world.

This 'long telegram' has been polished, changed to operational foreign policy, and submitted to an interagency committee on April 1, 1946. State Department Official H. Freeman Matthews drafted it. This is the time when the U.S has a clear foreign policy toward the Soviet Union for the first time. As Kissinger stated in his book entitled 'Diplomacy' the way to tackle the Soviet influence, "The way to defeat Soviet strategy was by 'a policy of self-containment designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world.'" (Kissinger, 1994, p. 454)

Here we can clearly see that the US foreign policy post-WWII is based on the containment of the East ideology, which was led by the Soviet Union. The only way out of the then fear of being swallowed by the rivalry was to be powerful in every aspect. The hard and soft power competition was highly demonstrated by the two actors. In absence of a hierarchy in the world and when there is nobody who can be heard by nations, building muscles was taken as an option by the USA. The result of this policy was the marshal plan and the peacetime military alliance ever made in America's history called NATO. These helped America to ground its feet on Europe soil to contain the expansion of the communist ideology. The post-WWII world was a bipolar world led by the USA and the Soviet Union. These two big powers defined the world order and split the world into two conflicting spheres, which is called the era of the cold war. The two powers have almost shaped the entire world order post-WWII. Almost all nations' foreign policies considered these facts of world politics.

Realism is the theory that is the base for US foreign policy after WWII. This theory is fully applied until the end of the cold war. Many scholars in the field agree that realism is good at explaining what happened but too weak to predict what will happen. This critical opinion has been witnessed during the fall of communism in 1990. John A. Vasquez debating the same

issues noted, “the great virtue of realism is that it can explain almost any foreign policy event. Its great defect is that it tends to do this after the fact, rather than before.” This point of view was backed by the events of the 1990s. Endemic wars raged in the decade proved that although certain great powers have gone into the background, the capability of members of the international system to wreak havoc has increased exponentially. Rising China, the resurgence of Russia, and Putin’s proactive policies to materialize his dreams of achieving a position unrivaled in the history, assertive policies of the rest i.e. BRICS; are some of the factors which point toward the fact that the international system is still anarchic and great powers are still very much relevant. Besides, horizontal as well as the vertical proliferation of thermonuclear weapons proves that great power struggle to outsmart each other will continue, establishing the enduring legacy of realism. (Mirza, 2018)

Post-cold War, with some adjustments to the theory of Realism, it is continued as a pillar of the foreign policy of the US. Although the fall of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s had brought the U.S. to a position unrivaled in contemporary history, these were the catastrophic events of 9/11 and the subsequent launch of the war on terror gave it a chance to strengthen its position in the international political hierarchy. Since then it is using all the possible means available to assert its dominance and to achieve that end it has even challenged the norms and institutions established not only after the Second World war but also those which have been working since the establishment of the Westphalian Order - the most important elements the Westphalian Order was the establishment of state system, and concept of sovereignty; the U.S. in the post-cold war era has challenged both. Its behavior in the post-cold war era not only alienated its allies but also made the world more insecure to live in. A Former US Ambassador Chas Freeman once noted, the United States is a City on a Hill, but it is increasingly fogged in. (ibid)

To contain the communist ideology and to strengthen NATO's camp, the U.S. had been intervening in the internal affairs of nations. During the cold war, there have been many direct interventions in the internal politics of nations.

The book "Giant" has the following to say about "CFR". The Council of Foreign Relations is the premier policy group for international affairs in the US. CFR has a long history of promoting U.S. expansionism, with the goal of solidifying the United States' global hegemonic power. CFR has historically viewed international affairs from the perspective of US interests. Moreover, U.S. foreign policy is and has been very violent and aggressive. Since the end of WWII, the U.S. has:

- Attempted to overthrow 50 foreign governments, most of which were democratically elected
- Dropped bombs on people of more than 30 countries
- Attempted to assassinate more than 50 foreign leaders.
- Attempted to suppress a populist and nationalist movement in 20 countries.
- Grossly interfered in democratic elections in at least more than 30 countries. (Silver, 2020)

US interventionism is reached the highest of all time. This dominance is needed by the US to take economic and political advantage of the globe. The U.S. power is rigorously applied (e.g., to impose IMF programs, to bomb the former Yugoslavia, for "peacekeeping" and "humanitarian" interventions, and so on) in order to sustain and defend global capitalism. The U.S. state is a key point of condensation for pressures from dominant groups around the world to resolve problems of global capitalism and to secure the legitimacy of the system overall. In this regard, "U.S." imperialism refers to the use by transnational elites of the U.S. state apparatus to continue to attempt to expand, defend, and stabilize the global capitalist system. We are witness less to a

"U.S." imperialism per se than to a global capitalist imperialism. We face an empire of global capital, headquartered, for evident historical reasons, in Washington (Robinson, 2014).

2.2. The US and the quest for regime change

Some issues could be dealt with whether the US really needs regime change. For instance, the US did not officially release a statement to recognize the 2020 General election that hailed the ruling party (EPP) to win the election that eventually gave PM Abiy to be the leader of the country. In the meantime, most of the statements released by the US government, particularly the Department of State over the two-year-long civil war look in favor of TPLF. The US has never been seen denouncing the gross human right violation allegedly committed by TPLF while the rebel group was invading Amhara and Afar regional states (Aberra, 2021).

The Biden administration claims to oppose dictatorship and to support democracy throughout the world, but in Ethiopia, it is supporting an armed insurrection by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) against the democratically elected government of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. The TPLF, a political group that claims to represent less than 6% of Ethiopia's population, controlled the Ethiopian army, security apparatus, and the economy for almost three decades from 1991 to 2018 (ibid). It ruled Ethiopia with an iron fist through a coalition of four ethnic parties it created. Under TPLF rule, Ethiopia was one of the most inhospitable places in the world, bearing the hallmark of crimes against humanity", according to Human Rights Watch. Similarly, the UN says "Ethiopia was the second-worst jailer of journalists in Africa when the TPLF was in power (Hasen, 2021).

When the previous prime minister, who was really a figurehead while the TPLF held real power, resigned in February 2018, amid popular unrest, power struggle ensued within the TPLF-

dominated ruling coalition. The TPLF wanted to continue its domination and nominated a surrogate, but representatives of the two largest ethnic groups within the coalition, the Amhara and Oromo, nominated Abiy Ahmed to be the leader of the coalition. He won by a large majority and was elected Prime Minister by parliament in April 2018. The TPLF, fearful that Abiy Ahmed poses a serious threat to its continued domination of Ethiopia's polity, has opposed him ever since (Aberra, 2021).

Once he became Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed introduced political and economic reforms that were designed to reduce corruption, rent seeking, and privileged access to resources; and to remove the strong link between the TPLF and the bureaucracy, the army, and the intelligence and security agency. He released thousands of prisoners and allowed exiled political parties to return to Ethiopia (Badwaza & Temin, 2018). The political reforms were intended to pave the way for a democratic transition in Ethiopia.

He laid out a plan to privatize state-owned enterprises, deregulate certain markets, and allow foreign investment in sectors that were previously restricted to Ethiopians (MoFED, 2020). Although these "homegrown" economic reforms do not incorporate all of the policy recommendations of the IMF and the World Bank, they were endorsed as policies that promote economic growth, improve standards of living, and reduce poverty in Ethiopia by these institutions and by extension the US government (Aberra, 2021). His policy can be described as a new liberal policy; Aberra argues adding that the Biden administration's hostile attitude towards the Ethiopian government does not emanate from policy differences.

These reforms threatened the political and economic domination of Ethiopia by the TPLF. The TPLF controlled all sectors of Ethiopia's economy through its conglomerate called EFFORT.

The TPLF, using its dominant political position, facilitated the transfer of loans from state-owned banks, foreign exchange from the National Bank of Ethiopia, land from the state, and various assets from government ministries and agencies. It enabled EFFORT companies to buy state-owned enterprises at low prices. Employing shabby accounting tricks with the various EFFORT companies, it embezzled a significant amount of resources from the various public institutions. According to a UN report, since the TPLF came to power in Ethiopia in 1991, it embezzled US USD 30 billion and took it out of the country (Stainman, 2017).

Between 2018 and 2020, the TPLF took a series of obstructive, provocative, and subversive actions. It withdrew from the coalition government and retreated to Mekele, the capital of Tigray. The TPLF blocked the federal police from serving court warrants to the accused former TPLF officials in Mekele (FBC, 2020).

Most importantly, the TPLF moved to overthrow the Ethiopian government through an armed insurrection and attacked the Northern Command bases in Tigray on November 4, 2020. Once the war started, the TPLF launched rockets at Asmara, the capital of Eritrea on November 10, 2020 (France24, 2020).

The Ethiopian government, supported by the Eritrean army and regional paramilitary forces, responded to the attacks decisively, removing the TPLF from power in Tigray, but facing resistance from the Tigrayan population and pressure from the US, the EU, and other Western governments, the government withdrew from Tigray in June 2021 (Aberra, 2021). The government says that it withdrew its army from Tigray for humanitarian reasons, while the TPLF maintains that it kicked out the army from Tigray. The TPLF regained control of Tigray and

expanded the conflict beyond Tigray, with the aim of overthrowing the government, as it had originally planned.

Beginning in June of the year 2021, the TPLF invaded the neighboring regions of Amhara and Afar, where it destroyed schools, hospitals, churches, and mosques, and killed hundreds of civilians. According to a USAID official in Addis Ababa, in every town they have gone into, they looted the warehouses, they have looted trucks, and they have caused a great deal of destruction in all the villages they have visited (USA Embassy, 2021). The TPLF has burnt down the homes of farmers in the Amhara region.

In August, the TPLF took the town of Lalibela, a World Heritage site and home to the famous 12th-century rock-hewn churches. Many Ethiopians are worried that the revengeful TPLF may destroy these churches, just as al-Qaeda, ISIS, and the Taliban have done elsewhere (Aberra, 2021). The TPLF has looted invaluable artifacts, relics, and treasures from these historic national monuments. It has partially destroyed one of the 3rd-century churches. A recent report by Amnesty International reveals that the TPLF has engaged in gang rapes, extensive looting, and mass killing of civilians in the Amhara and Afar regions: war crimes (Amnesty, 2021).

2.3. US Pressure on the Ethiopian Government

No sooner had the Biden administration taken office than it started issuing orders to the Ethiopian government. Antony Blinken on February 27, 2021, ordered the Ethiopian government to immediately remove Eritrean troops and the Amhara militia from Tigray. He reiterated the same demand on March 2, in a telephone conversation with Abiy Ahmed, according to a State Department spokesperson. Blinken also pressed the issue with the UN Secretary-General, Antonio Gutierrez, on March 12 and appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee,

where he repeated the same demands. In May, he demanded that the western part of Tigray be under the administration of the provisional government in Tigray, ignoring the historical circumstances under which this region was incorporated into Tigray (State Department, 2021).

In addition to issuing orders on troop withdrawal from Tigray and the keeping of Tigray's territory unchanged, the US has also demanded that the Ethiopian government provide unfettered access to humanitarian aid for the people of Tigray, end "ethnic cleansing" in Tigray, establish an independent, international, and credible inquiry into the abuse of human rights in Tigray; unilaterally end all hostilities, pursue a negotiated settlement to the armed conflict, and include all parties in the political process (Anadolu, 2021). The Ethiopian government has accepted most of these demands by the Biden administration, and yet the US pressure continues.

However, on May 23, 2021, the US imposed travel restrictions on Ethiopian officials allegedly involved in humanitarian abuses (State Department, 2021). Meanwhile, on September 17, 2021, President Biden signed an executive order authorizing the Treasury Department to impose economic sanctions against selected government officials, saying that Ethiopia poses a "national security" threat to the US. Ethiopia has neither the capacity nor the intention to undermine US national security either in the US or elsewhere in the world (Aberra, 2021). The President's statement that Ethiopia poses a national security threat to the US is a pure fabrication to justify his administration's actions.

The White House is withholding US USD 272 million in security and development aid appropriated by Congress for Ethiopia. On November 2, Biden threatened to withdraw Ethiopia's duty-free access to the US market under the AGOA at a time when the TPLF was claiming that it was ready to march on Addis Ababa.

According to Reuter's report, Biden said Ethiopia was not in compliance with the African Growth and Opportunity Act's (AGOA) eligibility requirements for gross violations of internationally recognized human rights. (Reuters, 2021).

The removal of Ethiopia from AGOA, while inflicting considerable harm on thousands of workers, farmers, and their families, would have little impact on the Ethiopian government's resolve to fight the TPLF.

2.4. The Biden Administration's Plan for Regime Change

Biden administration officials, particularly those in the US State Department, are well aware of the nature of the conflict between the Ethiopian government and the TPLF. Tibor Nagy, the former US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs and former US Ambassador to Ethiopia under the Trump administration says it seems like they [the TPLF] were doing this more to depose the prime minister from power and to reassert themselves into the prominent position that they had atop the Ethiopian political spectrum for the last 27 years (Yewondwossen, 2021).

According to Graversgaard (2021), all parties to the war have made abuses, but the TPLF surpasses all with their ethnic killings of innocent civilians in both Tigray and the neighboring provinces of Amhara and Afar. It caused a shock in the Ethiopian public, but was not the subject of publicity in the global media. On the contrary, Joe Biden imposed sanctions, and the European Parliament expressed support for the rebels in a resolution. It was widely seen in Ethiopia as a neocolonial policy.

2.5. Orchestrated Campaigns like what the western seems doing

Western governments and Media were working hand-in-hand while they exert serious campaigns with biased reports regarding the civil war.

In its report published on November 3, 2021, Cable News Network (CNN, 2021) published a news story headlined Rebels threaten Ethiopian capital as UN slams atrocities committed in Tigray conflict. A day after the news, (ibid) once again came out with similar but non-factual news which reads as “Ethiopian rebels edge closer to Addis Ababa, as fears grow over all-out war”

Reuters /AP/BBC has reported similar news, which is, in fact, the real story on the ground was too far from the prevailing fact.

According to a Danish political activist, (Graversgaard, 2021) in the media, we see one-sided media campaign against Ethiopia, where armed war has broken out between the central government and rebels in the northern province of Tigray.

Graversgaard (2021) further argues that in the absence of knowledge of the content of the conflict, Western governments and the media choose to support the rebels’ narrative. Rebels who have strong friends in Washington. One is tempted to say – as usual. If you take a closer look at who advises Joe Biden in Washington, you had better understand the confusion. These are people who were closely linked to the old regime in Addis Ababa, a regime dominated by the TPLF.

TPLF have orchestrated a targeted propaganda in global media in a regular cyber war that has affected world public opinion in a way that made it as important as their warfare on earth (ibid).

This meant that media outlets such as CNN, the New York Times, and the Daily Telegraph

broadcast news based on TPLF propaganda. For example, New York Times referred to child soldiers as “highly motivated young recruits” and then immediately removed the news.

Through a narrative that the TPLF were the victims and were subjected to genocide and starvation, it managed for a period to influence the Western media and politicians. The government of Addis Ababa declared a unilateral ceasefire in June 2021, but the TPLF continued its mass killings and ravages. However, the large amount of information about their atrocities and war crimes, not least the brutal ethnic violence in the neighboring provinces, has meant that their image is crumbling (ibid).

As the western government intensified their pressure against the Ethiopian government there are some media monitoring. (Abera, 2021) claims that there have been various western media outlets who on their part have intensified false propaganda against Ethiopia in an attempt to enhance their hidden agenda of destabilizing the country.

According to (Abera, 2021), this is part of the ongoing Western pressure exerted on Ethiopia in order to force the country to bow to external interest.

Some media houses are bent on disseminating gloomy pictures and false narratives and creating hysteria with their offensive propaganda machine through their media outlets.

The motive of these western media has become much clearer since the conflict in the Tigray region began. Most dominantly their contents portray the terrorist TPLF as a victim and the central government is about to fall. They have also been attempting to create mistrust among government leaders and the military as well as terrorizing the foreign communities based in Addis Ababa to leave the country.

The media contents also aim at intensifying the unjust pressure on the government of Ethiopia.

In general, the contents are all about creating insecurity in Ethiopia and strong psychological instability among the people of the country.

2.6. China's Rising Influence

China's involvement in Ethiopia is more visible to the Ethiopian public than that of America. Chinese investment in Ethiopia is much higher than US investment; there are many more Chinese businesspeople, engineers, investors, and even ordinary workers who are involved in the economic transformation of Ethiopia than Americans. China's extensive influence in Ethiopia has worried the Biden administration.

In a futile attempt to reduce China's growing influence in Ethiopia and the rest of the African continent, the US has demanded that the Ethiopian government reduce its economic ties with China, according to an Ethiopian government official (Sany & Sheehy, 2021). Considering China is rising economic, military, and political power in the world, the Ethiopian government is justified in rejecting the US demand that Ethiopia reduces its economic ties with China. According to (ibid), to obtain the most benefit from the two major economic powers, Ethiopia, like most of the African countries, would like to maintain a good relationship with both the US and China. It is not in the best interest of Ethiopia to reduce its economic ties with China or to become more dependent on the US, but the attempt by the Biden administration to undermine the Abiy government has in fact pushed Ethiopia even closer to China than ever before (Toolsi, 2021).

The US has been conspicuously silent about the war crimes of the TPLF. If indeed the Biden administration were genuinely concerned about human rights violations in Ethiopia, it would have condemned the TPLF's war crimes in the Amhara and Afar regions, but the US is tolerating

TPLF human rights abuses as it has always tolerated abuses by its allies in developing countries. Its silence has led many Ethiopians to conclude that the US is ethnically biased and that its selective condemnation of human rights violations in Ethiopia rings hollow and exposes its real motivation: punishment for disobedience.

By supporting the TPLF, the Biden administration has alienated the majority of the Ethiopian people, both in Ethiopia and in the diaspora. In Ethiopia, the favorable public opinion towards the US is the lowest it has ever been, but by contrast, support for China has reached its highest level, primarily because of China's refusal to impose economic and military sanctions on Ethiopia by the UN Security Council, as proposed by the US and its allies (Khaliq, 2021).

Ethiopia-Americans are upset with the Biden administration and have abandoned the Democratic Party in droves; many have decided to vote for the Republican Party for the first time. The Ethiopian diaspora in the US, albeit numerically small, can be politically crucial. In the states where Biden won by a narrow margin such as in Georgia, Michigan, and Nevada. Ethiopian immigrants could play a decisive role in whether the Democratic Party retains its majority in the House and in the Senate in the 2022 mid-term elections. As the recent victory of the Republican candidate in the gubernatorial race in Virginia indicated, many Ethio-Americans switched their support to the Republican Party. That should be a clear warning for the Democratic Party (Armus, 2021).

The US government should realize that the Ethiopian people will not allow the TPLF to come to power again, on its own or as a member of a transitional government. The US should note that millions of people are currently demonstrating against the TPLF throughout Ethiopia. The US attempt to impose the TPLF on the people of Ethiopia once again, in one form or another, is an

anti-democratic fruitless exercise. US support for the TPLF can only prolong the destruction, bloodshed, and suffering of innocent Ethiopians while damaging the international reputation of the US as a defender of democracy. The sooner the US realizes this fact, the better it is for all concerned (Aberra, 2021).

2.7. The Horn of Africa

As in any other part of Africa, the US's view of the horn has been shaped through time. Especially, post-WWII, the US was one of the two most powerful countries in the globe, which had shaped world politics. The lack of substantive knowledge of Africa is especially acute at the level of the mass public in the US, which maintains what can be called a National Geographic image of the continent. Many citizens /of the US/ seem quite surprised to learn that Africa's jungles comprise only approximately 4 percent of the continent and that, each and every business day, African businesspersons dressed in Western-style suits report to offices in financial hubs, such as Nairobi. This National Geographic image is reinforced by the nature of US media programming and the safari tradition of US journalism. Media programming, when it does focus on Africa, usually concentrates on the sensationalistic and often negative aspects of the continent. Hodding Carter, narrator of *Assignment Africa*, a Public Broadcasting System (PBS) documentary on the role of the press in Africa, notes that there is a difference between "the Africa you read about or see on your TV screen, and the other more complex Africa that is hidden from you. (Schraeder, 1994).

Though the above image was in the minds of the public in the US, the policymakers and people around the decision makers were recognizing the importance of the continent in general and the horn in particular.

The economic ties to the continent, though not quite strong, have led the US in being keen on the political atmosphere that is present on the continent. A profitable market for the US is one that is liberal and allows free markets. Liberal markets and a globalized way of thinking can only thrive in a democratic space in which Capitalist proponents such as the US firmly believe. The key to establishing a working democracy, and in particular the institutions of liberty, has been the free-market economy. The institutions, skills, and values needed to operate a free-market economy are those that, in the political sphere, constitute democracy.

When the political system breaks down, all US interests are compromised. It deters economic development, destroys peace, and opens the avenues of great power intrigue. The political dimensions of US Foreign Policy in Africa will be analyzed in three main categories, Instability versus Governance, Civil Strife, and Western Ideology (Mpondo et al, 2017).

The HoA has been considered strategically important because of its location near the Middle East oil fields, the Indian Ocean oil route, and the Red Sea passage to the Mediterranean. For these reasons, the US has considered it to be in its interest to be in a position to exert influence in that region, to have access to ports and airfields in the area, and to work toward regional stability.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 Research design and Methodology

Research design is a reflection upon a researcher's ideas. It helps prevent frustration by binding the research together through a structured plan that shows how all the major parts of the research work in unison to try to address the research questions (Asenahabi, 2019). This research is designed in a way to properly addresses the research questions. The behavior of the research is highly dependent on a qualitative approach.

The researcher tries to gather opinions from 31 respondents. The respondents are composed of different organizations and disciplines. Those are: 2 Ethiopian Ambassadors, 3 Ethiopian parliamentarians 12 Ethiopian diplomats, 6 Ethiopian journalists and 8 Ethiopian diasporas residing in America. Out of the 31 respondents 11 of them are women. WhatsApp was the main media the researcher used to distribute and collect the questionnaires. The research is descriptive and exploratory and non-probability/purposive sampling techniques is used for the study.

The sources of data collection are primary and secondary data.

3.2 Sources of data collection

3.2.1 Primary Data

Primary data is basic to fulfill the necessary data, which is important in reaching the research objectives. After preparing the questionnaire, it is distributed to respondents. Those respondents who are involved in the process are people from Governmental and non-governmental

organizations, Journalists, and the Ethiopian diaspora in the US. They are in different age groups and have different experience levels. The questions designed on the questionnaires were similar, and a mix of structured and unstructured, which gave the respondents a chance to provide information that would be important for the study.

3.2.2 Secondary Data

Concerning the secondary data collection, the researcher gathered and reviewed books, journals, publications, newspapers, and websites that are relevant to the research. Those materials are primarily examined whether they are relevant to the topic this research has initially raised. Due to a shortage of books on the research topics on post-2018 Ethiopia-America relations, the researcher used newspapers, and media outlets in addition to very few records to fill the gap of knowledge and to minimize the adverse effect on the quality of the research.

3.3 Methods of Data analysis

After the data collection, the data have been edited and structured for analysis and interpretation purposes. In the end, interpretation of data was conducted using a combination or hybrid method to follow a pragmatic approach than a pure system.

3.4 Ethical Consideration

All the data collected from books, journals, and newspapers are duly acknowledged. The data collected through questionnaires are taken with the consent of the informants. Prior to the collection of the data, it is clearly stated to the informants that the information provided by them is going to be used only for this research purpose only. During the data collection process, the researcher came to an understanding that no informants want their identities to be exposed. In this regard, the researcher has an obligation to keep all the informants' identities anonymous.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings and Analysis

4.1 Data Analysis

As one of the data collection strategies, this research paper has sought and employed questionnaires for at least 37 respondents. It has been brought a total of 20 questions to collect their opinions and views on issues vis-a-vis the strategic and historical relationship between the US and Ethiopia. Of the 37 individuals given the questionnaire, 31 were able to submit their responses. They were required to submit their responses; however, the remaining six respondents failed to return the questionnaires. The Ethiopian diasporas who participated in the survey have a close connection to their country in defending Ethiopia's national interest. This doesn't mean that they are a pro-governing party because there were incidents where they were voicing against government's action when they felt that it was not proper.

Despite the researcher's extensive effort to manage all individual respondents' answers, he achieved 86.1% of the target responders. However, despite the limitation of attaining 100% of respondents' views and opinions, the actual achievement is believed to support the researcher's efforts to analyze data that prompt to reach the findings and conclusion this study intends to achieve.

The respondents who meet the researcher's request are driven from various sectors and occupations familiar with Ethiopia's diplomatic sectors, current affairs, and regional politics.

Hence, here is a graphical illustration of respondents' replies followed by detailed explanations and analysis of the data collected via questionnaires.

No	Questionnaires for Respondents	No. and % of R*		Remarks
		Yes/Agree	No/Disagree	
1	Is Ethiopia and America's relation deteriorating? <i>Yes/No?</i> If your answer is "Yes", then what is the reason behind that?	27 (87.1%)	4 (12.9%)	
2	Do you think that Ethiopia should currently compromise its national interest for the betterment of the relation it has with America? <i>Yes/No?</i> If your answer is "Yes," how can the government absorb the pressure of the domestic reaction_from Ethiopian, Ethiopian diaspora, and CSOs?	2 (6.45%)	28 (90.32%)	One respondent has given Neither "Yes" nor "no" response
3	Do you think America has gone beyond the observer's role in the trilateral GERD negotiation? <i>Yes/No?</i> If your answer is "Yes," then kindly explain.	28 (90.32%)	3 (9.68%)	
4	In the negotiation process of GERD, do you think America is siding with Egypt? <i>Yes/No?</i> If your answer is "Yes," then what is the reason?	27 (97%)	4 (3%)	One respondent declines to give neither a "Yes" nor "no" response
5	Is the Horn of Africa exposed to a conflict of geopolitical interest between the Eastern and Western blocs? <i>Yes/No?</i> If your answer is "Yes," kindly explain how it is demonstrated.	31 (100%)	0	Unanimous agreement
6	Do you think the increasing military presence of superpowers at the red sea affects Ethiopia? <i>Yes/No?</i> If your answer is "Yes," can you briefly explain how?	31 (100%)	0	Unanimous agreement
7	Do you think that Ethiopia could tackle the pressure that comes with the increasing military presence of those superpowers at the red sea? <i>Yes/No?</i> If your answer is "Yes," kindly explain how Ethiopia could tackle the pressure.	26 (83.87%)	5 (16.13%)	
8	Do you think the expansion of China's trade and investment that it has with countries in the Horn of Africa could be taken as a threat to America? <i>Yes/No?</i> If "Yes", explain how?	16 (51%)	9 (29%)	20% of them decline to give neither "Yes" nor "no" response
9	From the human rights aspect, are aid and financial support that come from the United States of America, which are associated with human rights records of the recipient countries, genuine? <i>Yes/No?</i> If it is not genuine, what is the primary motive for the flow of those aids and support to those countries?	31 (100%)	0 (%)	Unanimous agreement
10	America's political and economic interventions in the Horn of Africa tangibly helped countries in the region. Agree or Disagree Could you briefly explain?	25 (80.6%)		6 them have given neither a "Yes" nor "no" response
11	America's political and economic interventions in Ethiopia helped Ethiopia to uplift its people's life. <i>Yes/No?</i> If your answer is "No" then what is the reason?	0 (%)	26 (87%)	5 them have given neither a "Yes" nor "no" response

* R - Respondent

The researcher tried to present the rationale given by the responders based on the follow-up questions. According to the above reactions, there are different reasoning behind those responses. It is discussed as under:

Most respondents agreed that the Ethiopia-American relationship was good soon after 2018 then it becomes deteriorated. The researcher found that GERD is the main reason behind the deterioration. The US interference in the issue of GERD has dominated the respondents' rationale. The respondents who agree on the decline of the relationship believe that the US pressured Ethiopia to agree on terms that might favor Egypt. In addition to GERD as a primary reason for the faulty relation between the two countries, the expansion of China's influence in the region and the renewed Ethiopia-Eritrea relation also takes its part as a reason for making the US unhappy, according to the respondents. Those three reasons are well discussed by the respondents in the follow up questions why the relations of the country is deteriorated. After the war was started between the TPLF and the Federal gov. of Ethiopia, the US dissatisfaction was manifested by its action of supporting TPLF in many ways. These responses are also supported by the secondary data collected from different media outlets that there was orchestrated media campaign against the gov. of Ethiopia.

One of the queries forwarded to the respondents was whether the US has gone beyond the observatory role in the trilateral negotiation on GERD. Almost all respondents agree on the issue. Though the US has had a clear role in the negotiation process, it goes beyond its mandate and wants to dictate terms that favor Egypt/US interests. The majority of respondents who agree with the claim of the US taking sides with Egypt have mentioned that the US fiercely intervenes in the trilateral negotiations to protect its interest in the Middle East which is directly related to Israel. the US's position that it showed a biased position that pushed Ethiopia to accept Egyptians'

positions. They support their argument by noting that the US has been pushing and even sometimes intimidating Ethiopian negotiators to sign the one-sided deal as well as Trump.

One of the questionnaires deals with the current situation of the HoA sub-region that was believed to be the center of attraction to the interest of the western and eastern blocs of the world. Hence, respondents have given their opinion. They were asked whether the Horn of Africa is already exposed to a conflict of geopolitical interest between the Eastern and Western blocs. According to aggregates responses collected from those respondents, the entire respondents unanimously agreed that this sub-region of the horn is exposed to conflicting geopolitical interests of both the eastern and western blocs of the world.

Concerning the above issues, the military presence of superpowers at the red sea has impacts that could affect region. Though it might look invisible because they are not involved in active proxy wars like during the Cold War, their presence brings some effects to the region. According to typical responses replied by respondents, however, in the future, if the Super Powers engage in serious military confrontations and become involved in fierce proxy wars in the Horn region, the security and overall peace and security of the region will be highly endangered. Similarly, the Red Sea is Ethiopia's only access to the sea; its militarization would affect its presence and influence. Its national security will be seriously affected as it would also force countries in the region to choose allies or friends, which will affect Ethiopia's decision-making on the matter.

Of course, the presence of foreign military power in the Horn region or Red sea area may affect Ethiopia in one way or another as far as Ethiopia's national security and economic interest is concerned. China and the US are in fierce completion to be a dominant power in the region. It seems that China is leading in economic investment in the region.

Ethiopia is a landlocked nation; the presence of foreign power will affect Ethiopia's sea port service. The country mainly uses Djibouti port and other neighboring nations' port infrastructure, including Berbera port. For instance, Egypt's expansion attempts in Somalia and Somaliland are also one example that would affect Ethiopian security and economic interest. Similarly, Egypt's repeated military training in Sudan and South Sudan has posed some concern for Ethiopia. In addition, many western countries and others like Egypt who tried to possess military bases in Djibouti are also an area of concern for Ethiopian sovereignty.

Some of the respondents further argue that as Ethiopia is a landlocked country in the region, its trade transaction is highly hinged upon the ports of its neighboring countries. Therefore, the military presence of the superpowers in the region will affect the nation's commercial transactions if the country fails to fulfill some of the big power's demands.

About the presence of foreign power in HoA, another follow-up question that was forwarded to respondents was what they think about Ethiopia's capability to tackle the pressure that comes with the increasing military presence of those superpowers at the red sea. The majority have responded with a "Yes" answer, agreeing that Ethiopia is capable of tackling such pressure that emanates from the presence of foreign powers in the Horn of Africa region. The respondents who share a trust in Ethiopia's ability to tackle the stated pressure have in common mentioned that whatever varied interests the superpowers have in the region; they can only easily achieve their interest with the cooperation of Ethiopia. As Ethiopia is one of the key members of the sub-region, its importance and influence cannot be undermined, according to the majority of respondents.

The growing expansion of the trade and investment of China with countries in the Horn of Africa is one issue distributed to the respondents. With this questionnaire, the respondents were asked what they thought of Chinese expansion in the region and if that could be taken as a threat to America. The higher proportion has given a "Yes" categorical answer that infers China's presence in the region with trade and investment has already posed a threat to the interests that the US has had in the region. In contrast, 35% percent responded with a "No" that downplayed China's presence which impacts US interests.

With the perspective of human rights issues, a question was also provided to respondents on how genuine the American aid is given that associated its assistance with human rights records of the recipient countries. In their response, all respondents believed that the US aids given to recipient countries are not genuine, despite the aid that America claimed is associated with human right records of accomplishment. Respondents were also asked whether America's political and economic interventions in the Horn of Africa tangibly helped countries in the region.

Most respondents do not agree that the US intervention in the horn brings any help in the region, while no respondent has replied that they agree with the possible help the US brought to the region. According to respondents, no single economy has been uplifted or leapfrogged by any foreign support/intervention or aid, irrespective of the motive of the intervention/ support or aid. But the political and economic interventions are mostly tied to the agenda of US national security. The US is less involved in investment and long-term economic cooperation in the Horn of Africa. Therefore, its focus on political and security intervention cannot be considered tangibly changing people's lives; instead, it aims to create favorable conditions for its strategic interest in the region.

Some practical cases mentioned by some respondents support the devastating impacts of the US intervention in some countries where the US has brought chaos and destruction instead of providing any help to the respective countries and their people. In general, the following statement could summarize the respondents' responses.

"This day, American intervention is almost seen as a curse in any part of the world." "Wherever the US intervention occurs, there is the worst scenario." "We can look at several countries' existing situation after the US intervention." "It is enough to see the present condition of a few countries that were once very prosperous and peaceful. For instance, Libya, Iraq, Somalia, and Syria were the cases who are the victims of US intervention." Are among the responses the respondents gave.

Again, a similar question was given to respondents if they think America's political and economic interventions in Ethiopia helped Ethiopia uplift its people's lives. Similarly, 87% of respondents believe that the US intervention in politics and economic affairs did not help Ethiopia in its effort to uplift its people's lives.

PART II - Non-Structured Questionnaires (from question 12 to 20)

In the second part of the questionnaires (Unstructured Questionnaires listed from question number 12 to 20), respondents have also been required to explain the United States of America's political and economic policy towards the Horn of Africa post-WWII

In their explanation, they have stated their own view on the US's policy toward the region from various perspectives. Out of detailed description, the following common points are shared by respondents.

It's evident that the US was engaged in fierce ideological competition with the Eastern bloc led by Russia following the end of World War II. The cold war era was characterized by this ideological competition which also negatively affected the Horn region. During this cold war era,

the US was involved in proxy wars in the region, mainly during the Ogaden war that had been fought between Somalia and Ethiopia. Post-Cold War era, the US hoped to have good relations with the newly independent Eritrea, aiming to have a strong military base on Eritrea's coastal areas of the Red Sea.

Following the end of the cold war, the main issue of concern was civil wars and their regional and global implication, mainly concerning illegal human, drug, and arms trafficking as well as the protection of sea routes. State failure had been the concern of the US vis-à-vis its national interest in the region. Following the bombing of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, the focus shifted to fighting terrorism and fundamental Islam.

The Horn's proximity to the Red Sea and the Middle East and new technologies with huge potential to change the Horn into the Energy-Hub of the world - these factors, among others, shape the foreign policy of major powers towards the Horn, including the US.

America's foreign policy towards the Horn of Africa post-WWII era was determined by different factors such as the cold war, terrorism, and globalization. During the cold war, the Horn was a proxy battlefield where the US and USSR backing countries of the region, mainly Ethiopia and Somalia. Therefore, the policy at this historical junction was crafted to neutralize the spread of Socialism as an ideology in the area.

Some of the respondents also suggested that the China's sphere of influence in the region is high over the past two decades

It is also evident that the US wants to grip its political interest in the region, which is also related to the US geopolitics interest in the Red sea area. It also us the Horn region to safeguard its existing interest in the red sea area in line with the geopolitics interest it owns in the Gulf region. Similarly, the US political and economic policy in the horn region is managed in line with the security policy it undertakes in the fight against global and regional terrorism.

As part of the unstructured question provided for respondents, one question deals with the United States of America's political and economic policies and strategies towards Ethiopia during Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I.

Most respondents replied to this question almost the same way they provided the earlier question.

Among key points raised by respondents are the following:

During the Imperial era of Haile Selassie, the US had strong relations with Ethiopia. Emperor Haile Selassie's vision of building a modern Ethiopia pushed him to seek US assistance. The US also responded with technical, financial, and military aid to the Emperor. Most Ethiopian government institutions built during that time had the contributions of the US government. The US assistance goes far to the extent providing policy advice to the Emperor.

The US aim was to make Ethiopia its strong ideological and geopolitical strategic ally in the region. It had also built a military base in Massawa, the then-main seaport of Ethiopia. However, the strong relations between the two countries ended following the overthrow of the Emperor by the Military Junta, which shifted its alliance to the Eastern Socialist Bloc led by Russia.

Both countries had a cordial relation in many sectors that considers Ethiopia's membership of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) and its strategic asset at the time-the Red Sea, as well as its role in Africa.

Emperor Haile Selassie – wanting to limit the influence of European Powers and the spread of communism in Africa, the US became a reliable partner for the Empire. The Emperor rewarded them by allowing the US to build a communication station in today's Eritrea.

Similarly, respondents have also reacted to the US relation with Ethiopia (political and economic policies and strategies towards Ethiopia) during the time of the Military regime (1974-1991).

Key points raised by respondents include:

The US overall policies towards Ethiopia during the Military regime were more supporting regime change attempts. The Military regime alliance with the Soviet Union and its socialist ideology made the US have an adversary approach towards the regime. Due to this, the US supported the Ziad Barre invasion war against Ethiopia due to its ideological adversity with the Military. That's why it supported Ethiopian rebels such as TPLF, OLF, and the Eritrea separatists

in its fight for the independence of Eritrea. Generally, the US policy towards the military regime can be characterized by adversity and supporting regime change attempts.

It was a relation between a Marxist regime in Ethiopia which turned its face towards the Soviets; hence the relation was not cordial. Accordingly, the US followed an approach that would dismantle the communist regime of Ethiopia. Its support to Somalia and rebel groups against the central government are manifestations. But there were also little cordial relations on humanitarian aid and issues pertaining to Ethiopian Airlines, as Ethiopia has been the major partner of Boeing.

The Military regime – the Military administration closed Radio Marina and declared Ethiopia a socialist state. The US started to work with the belligerent groups to undermine and eventually overthrow the Military regime. Cold War and Ethiopia's overt support for the Socialist Camp significantly affected the relations.

The relationship was negative as the US had considered the military regime pro-Marxist, and the US had been in opposition against the Military regime's command market-based economic policy. With the prevailing and tense cold war, the US had never seen the Military regime era of Ethiopia positively, as the regime had been considered to be in favor of the then USSR's socialist ideology

Similarly, respondents were asked questions about the time of EPRDF (1991-2018).

They, hence, describe the US the United States of America's political and economic policies and strategies towards Ethiopia during the time of EPRDF (1991-2018) in the following way: -

The US political and economic policy towards the EPRDF regime was more positive and geopolitical alliance. The US helped the regime with financial and technical support, including the structural adjustment program. It also tried to export some of its liberal thoughts to Ethiopia. Though there was some dissatisfaction by the US with the regime declining to open up the economy, they had good relations in other fields of cooperation.

The EPRDF also supported US security and geopolitical interests in the region. They had a strong alliance of war on terror in Somalia against Al Shabab. Both had a similar policy of

weakening the regime of Eritrea. Therefore, the US mainly had a friendly approach towards the EPRDF regime of Ethiopia.

Mixed feelings and approaches characterize the two countries' relation. There was an excellent relationship considering economic, political, and regional issues. But at the same time, there was ideological difference mainly concerning what type of development model Ethiopia should follow. In fighting terrorism, however, the two had an excellent relation.

Ethiopia had been receiving aid from the US while the two countries had strong ties, especially in areas of peace and security, including in the fight against regional and global terrorism.

How do you explain the United States of America's political and economic policies and strategies toward Ethiopia post-2018? This is a question that was forwarded to the respondents. The key points raised by respondents are the following.

Post TPLF-led EPRDF era and the coming into the leadership of PM Abiy Ahmed, the US hoped to have more influence and partnership with Ethiopia. The PM policy approach of liberal democracy and open economic vision attracted the US to work with the new reformist leader of Ethiopia. Due to this, in the first one and a half years, the US has shown a friendly approach towards the leadership of the Prime Minister. The multifaceted liberal reforms were much recognized and appreciated by the US government. They envisioned substantial leverage in the reform and securing their geopolitical interest. However, things started to change following the strong rapprochement between the leadership of Ethiopia and Eritrea and then deteriorated following the TPLF-ignited war erupted. The US took TPLF as a regional stabilizer force, which is why much support was provided to pressure the central government of Ethiopia. The relation was worsened by the enormous undue pressure of the newly elected Biden Administration, whose influential senior government officials are old friends of the TPLF clique. They played a catalyst role in the administration's misguided policy towards the PM Abiy government.

The US was eager to see a change in Ethiopia in mind that the latter could follow a different development model, and it would be opening up its markets and liberalizing its state-owned companies. However, later concerning the GERD negotiations, their relations deteriorated when their positions swerved, and the crisis in the Tigray region occurred because of the treasonous acts of TPLF.

The US saw another potential of establishing a pro-US regime in Ethiopia. However, the geopolitical turmoil following the Covid-19 pandemic has created more challenges than opportunities.

One respondent said in this regard, I don't see any smooth political and economic policies and strategies the US is undertaking under the current and incumbent administration of Ethiopia. As far as the respondent's knowledge is concerned, the US's overall relationship with Ethiopia has deteriorated since 2018. The respondent mentioned the following to substantiate his point:

- The case of GERD Negotiation
- The Civil war in Northern Ethiopia.
- Grievance of Ethiopian relations with China and Russia.

Respondents also provided a question to explain the key defining moments of declining Ethiopia- USA relations.

Some of the key responses are:

In the current relation between Ethiopia and the US, the key defining moments of decline are the conflict in Tigray and Ethiopia's government alliance with the Eritrean government against the TPLF-instigated war. These two conditions led the US to shift its approach toward PM Abiy's government and go far to follow the regime change policy. The US tends to exert pressure against Ethiopia in connection to GERD and Tigray Conflict. Declining of diplomatic relationship is also the manifestation. Ethiopia's export to the US market has declined as the US scraps Ethiopia from AGOA privilege

The respondents were also asked about the key defining moments of rising Ethiopia-USA relations and they gave the following responses.

Most respondents believe that nothing except the US's intention to intimidate the current government.

In the following points, respondents have responded to a question about how the conflict in North Ethiopia affects Ethiopia-USA relations.

The conflict in Northern Ethiopia has tremendously affected the relations between Ethiopia and the US. The new Biden Administration of the US is unhappy with the alliance of Ethiopian and Eritrean governments in the Tigray conflict, which put undue pressure on both. Claims of human rights abuses in Tigray by the Ethiopian forces, lifting blockades, and cessation of hostilities has the center of the US issues with the government of Ethiopia. The administration has openly expressed its dissatisfaction with these concerns. It affects the relation negatively and has diverged the attention of both countries from discussing and working on their strategic interests.

US repeatedly shows reluctance to denounce the Tigray rebels for their violence and war instigation. The US takes a biased position towards the civil war. Moreover, It instead imposed travel restrictions against Ethiopian government officials. One of the respondents believe that the US is behind the intensified fake news regards to the war and it tries to institute covert government.

Finally, respondents also explain a question about how the #NoMore Movement affects USA-Ethiopia political and economic & diplomatic relations.

The #NoMore movement has also contributed to some extent to the deterioration of the relations between Ethiopia and the US. The US seems to believe as it ignited anti-American sentiment among the Ethiopian diaspora and the larger people of Ethiopia. This sentiment is also growing among Africans who oppose US policies.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

From Ethiopia's perspective, it is good to understand the pattern and the bases of America's relationship with different countries in the HoA, especially with Ethiopia. Understanding the situation could help the concerned officials assess the relations and might be used to redesign the policy so that both Ethiopia and US relations could yield mutual benefits. The research objective is to assess Ethiopia's perspectives of America's foreign policies and strategies toward the Horn in general, Ethiopia in particular post-2018. The researcher employed a mixed approach to address the research questions. The researcher also designed a questionnaire so that he could grasp enough data from different individuals close to foreign relations issues.

When it comes to Ethiopia and the US relation since the establishment of their official diplomatic relations, the countries have gone through a long historical path. This historical path had different ups and downs. The trend of the relation was seen as good during the Majesty Hailessilassie's era, and then it became utterly opposite during the military regime. The cold war ideology dictated both periods. Post-cold war was demonstrated in Ethiopia by the fact that the military government was removed from power by the EPRDF. After EPRDF controlled the central power, the relation with the US continued. The two countries enjoyed good cooperation in peace and security in the region. After the reformist party EPP led by Abiy Ahmed came to power in 2018, the US had hoped to continue its relation as it had with EPRDF.

Due to regional dynamics like Ethiopia's assertiveness on GERD and the influence of China on the region did not get the US's blessing. Instead, the US stood against the new government of

Ethiopia. Since the research focuses on Post-2018, the researcher found that the relation between Ethiopia and the US is deteriorating. The leading causes of the deterioration of their relations are The US interference in GERD talks that Ethiopia has been in dispute with Egypt and Sudan. The US has gone beyond the observer's role in the trilateral negotiations, and the US intends to force Ethiopia to compromise its right to develop the dam in favor of Egypt's interest. The US's unfair support of TPLF following the war in Tigray also manifests the US's dissatisfaction with Ethiopia.

The US political and economic intervention didn't help Ethiopia on its road to building a self-reliant economy. Aid has little help to the economy grow. No single economy has been uplifted or leapfrogged by any foreign support/intervention or aid, irrespective of the motive of the intervention/ support or aid. But the political and economic interventions are mostly tied to the agenda of US national security.

Regarding the increasing military presence in the Horn, it is a concern for the region in general and Ethiopia in particular. Ethiopia is a landlocked nation; the presence of foreign power will affect Ethiopia's sea port service. The country mainly uses Djibouti port and other neighboring nations' port infrastructure, including Berbera port. Its trade transaction is highly hinged upon the ports of its neighboring countries. Therefore, the military presence of the superpowers in the Horn region will affect the nation's commercial transactions if the country fails to fulfill some of the big power's demands.

Likewise, the military presence of superpowers at the red sea has impacts that could affect the region. Though it might look invisible because they are not involved in active proxy wars like during the Cold War, their presence brings some effects to the region. However, in the future, if the Super Powers engage in serious military confrontations and become involved in fierce proxy

wars in the Horn region, the security and overall stability of the region will be highly endangered. From the economic point of view, the US is less involved in investment and long-term economic cooperation in the Horn of Africa. Therefore, its focus on political and security intervention cannot be considered tangibly changing people's lives; instead, it aims to create favorable conditions for its strategic interest in the region.

5.2 Recommendations

The US is economically well advanced. Its military is modernized, and it is also one of the global superpowers with a visible and influential role in the international arena. Therefore, having an excellent relationship based on mutual benefit with this country is worthwhile.

5.2.1 Cultivating the trust of the US parallel to the effort to alleviate poverty

Ethiopia is struggling to alleviate poverty and improve its people's self-sufficiency. Without economic advancement and strength, the gov. of Ethiopia could not realize the betterment of the people. Interventionists always need a springboard. One of their springboards is our economic dependency. The government of Ethiopia shall understand this idea and redouble its effort towards economic independence.

Similarly, Ethiopia has to convince the US and assert that the ultimate goal of Ethiopia's efforts is to address the basic needs and betterment of its people. Other partners should also be convinced that Ethiopia has no intention other than the above-stated motive. So its partnership with the country should be based on this pillar idea. Our international relations should be tuned in this regard.

5.2.2. Closing the doors to invisible hands

Democratization of the system and respecting human rights are fundamental for sustainable and reliable development. These are respected not because others dictate to us but because it is compulsory for our peace and development. Therefore, we have to redouble our effort toward democracy and human rights. If we do not address issues democratically in societies, our doors will be opened to external interventions.

The US should be convinced that the democratic system that we have now is on an infancy stage and needs time to advance. In addition, our people's culture and psyche should be considered in the process. It should also incorporate our indigenous knowledge rather than taking prescribed thoughts.

5.2.3. Making Ethiopia relevant to the region

Ethiopia is located geopolitically important place in the continent of Africa. The dynamism of the region directly affects our peace and development. Therefore, we have to reaffirm our active participation with the US for the region's peace and security. As Ethiopia is the home of the African Union, we have to perform our fair share of responsibility with regard to economic and political integration of the region.

5.2.4. The African Union shall play a better role in protecting the region's interest.

The economic independence of all African countries cannot come without real unity. All countries in the continent should come up with a clear strategic path to economic independence. Political and economic problem of the continent in general the region in particular will be solved with the real commitment of countries of the continent. Strong institution matters on the fate of the continent. In this regard, the role of the countries in the continent in strengthening the African Union is immense. In that case, a strong African Union could play its role on the road to emancipating our mother continent, Africa.

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