

Challenges for Security Threat of Ethiopia in Using Subaltern Realist Security Theory Perspective

Tagesse Abebe Sugebo¹, Addisalem Tadesse Bogale^{2*}

¹Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, Wachemo Branch, Hossana, Ethiopia

²College of Business and Economics, Ambo University, Woliso Campus, Oromia; Ethiopia

SUMMARY

Subaltern is the postcolonial approach to study international relation from the weak states' perspective. It is the offspring of realism which focuses on internal vulnerability is a major source of insecurity. The paper is applied as a framework to explain security threats in Ethiopia and reviewed papers that are writing on Ethiopian national security. This term paper reviewed and classified the Ethiopian security threats as internal and external. By consulting the bulk of literature and my daily academic talk with colleagues; Poverty, famine, recurrent and drought, National integrity (consolidating Ethnic conflict federalism), The danger of succession and state failure, Democratization and election issues are identified as Internal security threats. On the other hand Terrorism, Proliferation of arms, Fragile Relation with Neighboring governments, Nile politics and neighboring countries' spreading civil wars are claimed to be External security threats. To sustain the sparkle of democracy and development achieved throughout the last decades, it is imperative to work aggressively and focus on the country's internal vulnerability.

*Corresponding author

Addisalem Tadesse Bogale, College of Business and Economics, Ambo University, Woliso campus, Oromia; Ethiopia. E-Mail: tade92539@gmail.com

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Introduction

Back Ground of the Paper

The question of security in general and internal security in particular has long since preoccupied the field of International relation and security studies [1]. The field of security studies for long period represents the center of the international relations, mainly concerned about the issues of peace and conflict. The realist understanding of security, which view state as the main referent has been up for debate? For long, the traditional conception of security put the idea of security to a mere synonym for power. This concept could be seen as relevant during the period of the World Wars, where states seemed to be in a fierce struggle for power. However, after 1990s, with the growing complexity of actors in international relations' agenda and emergence of the new security concerns, the concept of security has become much more multifaceted [2].

However, since 1990s a scholar like Barry Buzan has challenged the traditional (state centered) conception of security by making security studies agenda more wide and deep. Buzan note that since 1990s the conception of security has expanded from narrowly military centered onto political, economic, societal and environmental sectors and he suggest that the altered security concept should also be open to referent objects like individuals, social groups and humanity as a whole. For Wolfers, security is like 'value', from which a state can get more or less and which

it can seek ambitiously to have in greater or lesser measure. Nations and other social actors have many 'values' like economic welfare, safety, psychological well-being and so on. The idea of state security has conventionally contained territorial integrity and political independence as values to be protected; but based on contexts and conditions other values are sometimes added [3]. Security also has many dimensions. In terms of internal security, terrorist threats or major crime may pose a life-threatening danger. Other risks can likewise threaten the functioning of society or parts of a society. For the past ten years, Ethiopia is experiencing rapid Economic transformation and population growth. Ethiopia has been among Africa's most impressive performers over the past decades averaging 10% annual growth. IMF ranks Ethiopia as among the five fastest growing economy in the world. However Ethiopia has faced with both dimension of security threats, external and internal, which put strong challenge on the legitimacy of the state and regime. Due to this, the issue of security and insecurity are high concern both in connection to these wave of change and to the risks of violence and instability pose for the process of economic growth and poverty reduction. Thus, this is to determine the main challenges that hinder sustainable security situations in Ethiopia by applying the subaltern realism security theory.

Statement of the Paper

The end of cold war marked the development of new dynamics in the field of international relation in general and security studies in particular. During this time the long existed traditional international relation concept (realism and neo-liberalism) faces

many challenges from post-cold war authors in the field security studies. They started to question about the need of redefining security, its meaning, changing its reference object and so on [4]. These scholars (Ayob, Holistic and Steven) also agree that the traditional theories are not relevant to explain third world because of their Eurocentric nature.

In this regard note that the concept of national security in western states is not applicable to third world because the major characteristics of security notion are absent in third world states. [5,6] also points out that most of conflict in third world take place within a state that is why traditional international relation theory can little understanding of conflict taking place in third world states.

Steven also expressed that realism is not able to explain internal wars because its main assumption is that anarchy exist in relation between the states while inside state there is an order [4]. Basing on criticisms towards traditional approach to security from the third world perspective, the scholars propose new theoretical lens, which can help to understand better third world security.

In this respect, Mohamed Ayob proposed theoretical perspective of subaltern realism, based on three main assumptions of realism i.e. state, survival and self-help [7]. Ayob formulate subaltern realism with the assumption that, domestic and international orders are extremely interconnected, especially in the area of conflict.

He also note that the issue of domestic order must be given analytical priority and domestic order are subject to international influencer and the linkage between internal and external variables is able to explain the connection between intrastate and interstate conflict in his other work points out that in contrast to the western understanding of security, which based on external linkage, the third world security threats come mainly from inside the state [5, 4, 8]. Thus Steven stress that the need to look inside state and take domestic factors since only in such a way it's possible to understand third world security problem [4].

Both external and internal security is a highly controversial concept of security and relatively in famous area within the discipline of security studies. For it is mainly focus on the protection of territorial, sovereignty, institution and government elite of a state from threats posed by domestic issues [5]. Any threat that threatens the above referent object is security threat for the survival of that state. For the advocators of subaltern realism security theory, number of developing counties in today world is vulnerable to threats posed by domestic and international security issues. In this states the issue of security or insecurity is seen in relation to vulnerabilities, both internal and external, that poses a danger to, or have the possibility to, bring down or consequentially weaken state structures, both territorial and institutional [7]. Therefore, the main intention of the paper was examined to analysis the root causes for security threats in Ethiopia.

Objective of the Study

General Objective

The general objective of the paper was to examine the challenges that have led security threat in Ethiopia.

Specific Objectives

Specifically, the Term Paper was Intended to:

- Determine the challenges that have led to the internal security threats in Ethiopia;
- Investigate the factors that have led to the external security

threats in Ethiopia;

- Analysis possible ways that helps for the realization of sustainable security in Ethiopia;

Research Questions

In order to fulfill the objective and purpose of this assessment, the paper would attempt to answer the following questions:

- ✓ What are the main challenges that have led to the internal security threats in Ethiopia?
- ✓ What are the factors that have led to the external security threat in Ethiopia?
- ✓ How to analysis the possible ways that helps to build sustainable security in Ethiopia?

Methodology of the Study

The study is an explanatory type of research design that has been conducted in qualitative approach. Secondary sources have been used for data collection which is based on content analysis. Journal articles, published and unpublished researches, record of government and nongovernment organizations reports from web site, media (newspaper and television reports are the-sources-of-data.

Literature Review

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Conceptualization of Security

Security is a fragile and significant issue which conveys different meanings to scholars, analysts, policy makers and organizations across the globe. Fundamentally, security has to do with the presence of peace, safety, gladness and the protection of human and physical resources or absence of crisis or threats to human dignity, all of which facilitate development and progress of any human society. The concept of security has become a preoccupation for the decades following the end of the Cold War which could also be referred to as landmark for diverse school of thought with security studies. Security, as a concept, has diverse dimensions. It is aptly used in psychology, finance, information access, public safety, defense and military matters.

The meaning of security is ambiguous fast its scope continues to expand every day. The elastic nature of the concept of security attracts different meanings and different views. Security is an important concept that every human person desires and it has one or two meanings though it defies precise definition. These accounts for the position of who describes security as an ambiguous and multidimensional concept in which military factors have attracted misappropriate attention [9]. This chapter therefore examines the concept of security taking into cognizance diverse views of different scholars. It equally covers the notion of national security, international security and the concept of human security, which is the basis of all other forms of security.

What is Security?

Security has to do with the process connected with assuaging any kind of threat to people and their precious values. This is why Buzan asserts that security is about freedom from threat and ability of states to maintain independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile while its bottom line is survival. From the foregoing, security is generally agreed to be about feeling of being safe from harm, fear, anxiety, oppression, danger, poverty, defense, protection and preservation of core values and threat to those values.

Equally submits that security is most commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherish values, especially those threats

which threaten the survival of a particular reference object [10]. In line with the above, Imobighe states that: Security has to do with freedom from danger or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest and enhance the well-being of its people.

Thus internal security could be seen as the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies, which could undermine internal cohesion, and the corporate existence of a country and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people. It could therefore be inferred that security, be it classical, state-centric and traditionalist or non-traditionalist, is all about protection of assets including living and non-living resources against loss or damage.

Major School of Thought to the Concept of Security

There are two major Schools of Thought to the concept of security:
- Traditional and Non - Traditional.

Traditional Schools of Thought to the Concepts of Security

Traditional School of Thought favors the maintenance of the Cold War conception of security. This school of thought defines security in this sense to mean safety from danger and from external attack or infiltration. Traditional security paradigm is a realist construct of security in which the referent object is the state. It equates security with peace and prevention of conflict through military means i.e. deterrence policies, non-offensive defense and the like. This is why Walt defines security as a study of threat, use, and control of military force.

It explores the situations that make use of force more likely, the ways the use of force affects individuals, states, societies and the specific policies that states employ in order to prevent or engage in war. This school of thought is strongly tied to the military and that is why Barry Buzan regards security as underdeveloped and needed to be rehabilitated. Nwolise opines that the Cold War period gave the high level domination to the conventional security doctrine to the extent that security rest on the believe that only a military system can efficiently deter attack and threat of force. This also tallies with Ken Booth position when he asserts that: One of the themes of the new thinking is the idea that security policy should have political accommodation as a primary and persistent aim. The negative effect of identifying security almost exclusively with military was evident throughout the cold war. This approach can be described as strategic reductionism which is conceiving security in a technical and mechanistic military way as manifested in an obsession with military balance and the use of state-of-the-art technology.

Non-Traditional Schools of Thought to the Concept of Security

The second school of thought on the conceptualization of security is non-traditional school. This school attempts to widen and deepen the definition of security. It argues that other issues like environment, political, economic and social threats endangers the lives and properties of individual rather than the concentration on the survival of the state. It does implies that a predominantly military definition does not appreciate the fact that the greatest threat to state survival may not be military but environmental, health, political, social and economic. The contemporary ideas and opinion about security are all-encompassing as rightly observes by Sola Ogunsanwo:

Security is more than military security or security from external attacks. For many inhabitants in the developing countries, security

is conceived as the basic level of the struggle for survival. Therefore, in order to provide an integrated African Security Assessment, the non – military dimension of security should be added. Henceforth, security as a concept should be applied in its broader sense to include economic security, social security, environmental security, food security, equality of life security and technological security.

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

Barry Buzan gives a theoretical insight to the understanding of the concept of security and he identifies three levels of analysis which are the individual level, national level and international level. He is of the opinion that individual security which other scholars called personal security involves those values people seek to secure which include life, health, status, freedom and wealth [9].

Some of the threats which individual person endeavor to secure themselves from is what is referred to as social security. This captures physical threat, economic threat and human rights abuse. Examples of these are pain, injury, death, seizure and destruction of properties, inaccessibility to work or resources for human sustenance, injustice, unjust imprisonment and the denial of normal civil liberties as well as threats to human dignity. Therefore, this paper is intended to conceptualize the concepts and dimensions of security and security threat.

Theoretical Framework

Subaltern Realism Security Theory

The end of cold war marked the development of new dynamics in the field of international relation in general and security studies in particular. During this time the long existed traditional international relation concept (realism and neo-liberalism) faces many challenges from post-cold war authors in the field security studies. They started to question about the need of redefining security, its meaning, changing its reference object and so on [4]. These scholars (Ayob, Holistic and Steven) also agree that the traditional theories are not relevant to explain third world because of their Eurocentric nature.

In this respect, Mohammed Ayoob's approach of subaltern realism mainly and or differently focuses on international relations of the weak and poor states that are not yet part of international system beyond the legal sense. He begins with the premise that international inequality lies in the heart of theorizing IR theories, policy making process and state practice. To break this vicious circle problem he suggests an alternative theory which could effectively explain the origin of major conflicting international system and variable which determines the behavior of most postcolonial states domestically and externally by constituting the tradition of classical realism, historical sociological literature and order of international society (ibid).

Mohammed Ayoob gives substantive theory which fills the gap that neorealist and neoliberalism fail to collect inadequate data historically and geographically fit to the context in theorizing the third world conflict. For him, the third world states in general and in Ethiopia in particular security and state behavior is

rooted and need to be analyzed in to two important historical and contemporary contexts. These are: (1) rapid decolonization and state formation, and (2) physical and normative intrusion of outsider in the name of international law. Based on this perspective Ethiopia has both internal and external threats that have to be analyzed in Ayoob's subaltern realism. As explained by Buzan and Weaber in their work "Regions and powers; The structure of international security" Ethiopia as the pre-modern state she suffered from low levels of sociopolitical cohesion and poorly developed structures of government with the threat of being neglected and allowed to fall in internal chaos and vulnerability before-1991 and after 1991 (www.cambrig.org/9780521814126). This long lasting internal and external security threat faces the country could not explained by Eurocentric theories because of their limitation mentioned above. In the following pages the study going to illustrate how Mohammed Ayoob's subaltern theory is applicable to those cases.

Before 1991, Ethiopia as a third world state, the international phenomenon (two world wars, bipolarity, cold war and end of cold war) that has been happening in the last half century affect its behavior which is reflected on her domestic and external threat. As mentioned above the rapid decolonization and state formation however not applicable to Ethiopia, she was in equal trend of nation (state) building stage with associated setbacks after several internal ups and downs under different monarchical rule.

In 1974 the imperial regime dethroned the leftist militant and joins the communist camp. The domestic threat by then was create a legitimate government, effective control over the state, economic self-reliance (sustainable economic development), the problem of rule of law, the use of balanced violence, potential state failure and a danger of secession.

The Dergeau regime responds to those problems aggressively in the name of protecting the fruit of socialist revolution. The economy was highly dependent on the aid of socialist country like USSR and China. This economic aid was accompanied by nationalization and command fiscal and financial policy which leads to ineffective control of the economy at all. Above all to suppressed opposition that mushroomed here and there because of the military regime use excessive force in the form of summary execution.

The arbitrary rule of the regime finally lead the Ethiopian people to inter in armed struggle. Among the armed group some were in need of succession like TPLF, ELF, EPRP, EDU and OLF (<http://www.ethiopiantreasures.co.uk/pages/derg.htm>). This was happened under the great international pressure ideological intervention/aid by east-west rivalry by then. This international pressure fueled by boarder clash with Somalia and neighboring sponsored sporadic guerilla fighters like Sudan Republic and Egypt were the major countries who support the armed groups in response to Ethiopians support for south Sudan movement and regional hegemony over the red sea respectively for Sudan and Egypt.

In Ethiopia after 1991, EPRDF came to power by overthrowing the military Dergeau regime with many political, ideological, and geographical changes than the previous Ethiopia. The EPRDF transitional government gives recognition to the independence of Eritrea and such recognition left Ethiopia landlocked country. The Eritrean independence was easy and not procedural except the bloodshed that happened during the civil war it was because the time of independence (binging of cold war).

Because of the destruction of the camp of communist camp in 1989 the country's orientation become to the free market economy which is associated with privatization and then fashion of economic liberalization as Ayoob explained it. After this transitional period the Ethiopian security threats are still both external and internal, was historical and contemporary. Internal threats Ethiopia are more imminent than the external one. The study selects some of them to discuss. The internal security threats are: Poverty, famine, recurrent drought, National integrity (consolidating Ethnic conflict federalism), the danger of succession and state failure, Democratization and election, and the external security threats are: Terrorism, Proliferation of arms, and Fragile Relation with Neighboring governments and Nile politics.

A) Poverty, Famine-and consistent Drought

Poverty is a deep national threat that endangers the security of the state and security of a society in general. Even if the government gave promise to help the people of Ethiopia to escape the trap of poverty, it was not easy to fulfill it. It was because, the long lasting environmental degradation, recurrent drought and the neoliberal pressure to privatize the national companies owned by the state which causes a number of social chaos like unemployment and lose of state revenue. The late Ethiopian premium Melese argued the forced privatization of market for multinational firms also dominate the infant national companies.

But because of selective privatization policy and developmental state approach saved Ethiopia from total destruction like other sub-Saharan states. In this policy option Ethiopia suffered from absence of sufficient aid and loan for development project. But the rise of China and India save Ethiopia from this disastrous effect of normative intrusion of neo-liberal countries effect of normative intrusion of neo-liberal countries (<http://www.search.ask.com/search?q=speech+of+meles+in+colombia+u>) Step by step Ethiopia scored around 11% economic growth for in the past five consecutive years. But still Ethiopia is suffering from trade deficit because of the Ethiopian agricultural products (coffee and chat) including hide and skin price determined by the importer. That is why the Mohammed Ayoob's theory of subaltern says cooperation under anarchical international system hurts the poor and weak cause domination by the rich and developed countries.

B) National Integrity (Consolidating Federalism)

The other big security issue is national integrity (state building). State building in Ethiopia is a big concern to federalism and ethnic conflict. Historically, the major causes of conflict in Ethiopia are related to access to state power, competition over scarce resource and others. The misguided policy of Ethiopian regime and geopolitical condition of Horn of Africa has implications with Ethiopian ethnic group relation. Despite the adoption of federalism since 1991 the status of ethnic conflict management is still weak because of different reasons. The following are among others Weak participation of civil society, inadequate procedure such as early warning and conflict prevention, and Lack of democratic culture.

In addition to this, many opposition scholars of EPRDF warned Ethiopian federalism is very similar to the former Yugoslavian federalism. For example of Ethiopian and the former Yugoslavian federalism is characterized by one dominant party (TPLF/ EPRDF and LCY), contradictory events, socialist oriental and federalism, blurred line between party and state and centralized federalism, and absence of separation of power between the three branches of government. Divide Turton also indicated that Ethiopian ethnic federalism is at a greater risk of failure because of non-sufficient federalism.

C) Democratizations or Good Governance

Merera explained in his work published in the book "The Quest for Peace in Africa" under the title "Ethiopia: Constraint democratization process" in 1991 TPLF/ ERDF took power by giving promise to bring about durable peace, democratic governance, and economic development by creating egalitarian nation state. This time was dual transformation for Ethiopia, i. e. transformation from ethnically dominated empire to nation state and from authoritarian to democratic governance.

The leader proclaims that it was the end of hundred years suffering of under oppressive feudal system and brutal military regime which was seen as the advent of new history for its habitants.

Despite those premises, there are great discrepancies between what was promised and reality on the ground. Our election has been held, various policy initiatives has been taken but the state of Ethiopia is still centralized. So, groups take gun by quoting the radicalism quote, the true independence was came through the barrel of gun. Now a days, eight armed groups fight Ethiopian government.

Generally the Ethiopian foreign affairs and national security policy and strategy clearly lay down that the country's main security threats internal, that is poverty which leads the state to collapse or absence of democracy and good governance which will increase vulnerably to external threat. This is what Mohammed Ayoob wants to indicate. Internal security needed to give priority. The more the country internally coherent, the more externally secured. The country's relation with other states primarily based on economic relation either the state is hostile or friendly. The government is aware of the consequence coming from economic success and failure [7].

D) External Threats

As stated above Ethiopia indeed faced external threaten like terrorism, proliferation of arms and spillover effects of neighboring country conflict and boarder issues. The achievement of withstanding domestic threat, poverty, shelled the country from setbacks that face in regional relation, bilateral relation and multilateral relation. For example, Ethiopia plays a pivotal role in IGAD. First international transformation of IGAD is a hand craft of Ethiopian leaders in high percentage Ethiopia participate in building forum of Somalia, peace talk in south Sudan and making an effort to bring back Eritrean in regional responsibility to rejoin IGAD. Ethiopia tries to make IGAD the building block of future USA. Ethiopia behaves hostile towards extremist tendency of nation building around her boundary. Example, Ethiopia she sponsored armed struggle in Eritrea, transitional government in Somalia.

To sum up, Ayoob's subaltern realist gives explanation historically and geographically fit theory in understanding Ethiopian behavior towards domestic and external threats. As his explanation there is high need to respect the international norm and Westphalia system to protect them from unwanted intervention [7]. Ethiopia exactly did it to maintain here relationships with the "international police".

Data analysis and discussions on the challenges that have led to the internal security threats in Ethiopia.

Poverty, Income Inequality and Uneven Development.

Due to its double digit economic growth Ethiopia has attracted global attention. It made significant effort in reducing poverty, improving life expectance, and rising per capita income. Though, this gain has come with rising income inequality and inflation. As

notes that economic vulnerability become threat of security only if they become acute enough to take on overtly political dimensions and challenge the most important tenets of state- boundaries, institutions and/or regime survival [8]. In Ethiopia case income inequality also poses a serious threat to state internal security, especially to the extent that it breeds and abets rebellion, crime and dissidence. Despite the fact that the country is registering economic growth, urban Ethiopian families nationwide are affected by poverty.

Consequently, the distribution of wealth has been skewed in favor of a wealthy minority. As certain segment of the society benefit from the economic growth before others, the resulting income inequality produces great tension between social classes.

The rise of domestic unrest might be fruitfully examined from the perspective of developmental economics. in the initial stage of economic expansion, traditional form of production (e.g. subsistence agriculture) are disclosed by the process of industrialization and migration to urban centers. as certain segment of the society benefit from the economic growth before others, the resulting income inequality produce great tension between social class. More sever this form of internal security threat create favorable condition for insurgence group and external enemy to challenge the incumbent regime.

Lack of Good Governance and Weak Democratic Institutions

Also identified that Lack of good governance and weak democratic institutions has become another challenge to Ethiopia's national security. By virtue of the huge scale by which it saps public resources, Lack of good governance and weak democratic institutions undermines the morale of the civil service and affects the delivery of quality basic services.

Found that bad governance, corruption, human rights violations, poverty, ethnic marginalization, small arms and light weapon proliferation as triggers and drivers of violent conflicts. On the other hand, mentioned that ethnic rivalries, polarizations, economic underdevelopment and inequalities, poor governance and past experiences as factors. In line with this theme , reported that border issue, ethnic composition, poor leadership, corruption, negative effects of external debt burden and poverty are causes for the conflicts.

Ethnic-Based Federalism

The driving causes for the conflicts are struggle for power, misjudgment, and competition over natural resources, misconceptions, development inequality, blood feuds, and lack of well-defined borders, marginalization and discrimination [1]. Studies by Institutes for Peace and Security (2010, 2011, 2012), also note that demand for greater share of various resources (political, economic and natural) seem to be the major pushing factor for interethnic conflicts.

Ethnic conflict could be worse by hatreds and resentments, which could be traced from ancestral, or/and owing to a recent clash of interest-that are attached to the markers themselves (Joan, 2012:05). This feeling open the door, implicitly or explicitly, for marginalization, Prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping. As have seen in the world, including Ethiopia, Putting people into groups and categories is a normal cognitive process [1].

What makes the situation wrest is the perception of the people about national identity, Ethiopia. The difference mainly related with the way elites interpret the historical road to modern Ethiopia

and the key they provide for countries contemporary challenges. Thus ethnic conflicts continue to pose a threat to security of the state. It is constantly aggravated by mass poverty, abuse of human rights, limited access to resources, and weak idea of national integration and identity.

Insurgence Group Currently

Various secessionist and ethnic faction group have raised arms and fighting the central government like, ONLF (Ogaden National Liberation Front), OLF (Oromo Liberation Front), Arebengce Genbar and following 2005 election Ginbot 7 insurgence organization and others form Oromia, Afar, Somalia, Gambela and Benishangul Gumeze regional states. The main internal security threat arises from these insurgency groups which, in open rebellion against the government, some of them have the objective of creating an independent nation.

The resentment against the government and risen militancy among this insurgency group will likely fuel conflict for many years to come. In state building of third world, insurgency group are created, and they pose much greater, and more immediate, challenge to the security of the large majority of nation than do external adversaries. The external adversaries are, however, likely in many cases to take advantage of internal strife. [8]. While the Ethiopian government has opened the door for constructive negotiations with some of insurgence groups, the armed struggle of the group continue to be a source of serious concern.

Natural Disasters and Environmental Issues

Concern for Natural disasters and environmental issues continue to dominate the global security agenda. Human activities like resource consumption, population growth, urbanization, industrialization, desertification pollution, and deforestation will highly impact on climate and patterns of weather, ecosystems, and create pressure on health and welfare support systems. Currently due to severe climate change, Ethiopia is facing serious food shortages which cause hunger, disease and deprivation for more than 18 million people. Over the past decades, the disaster impost stands at Billion worth of property destroyed.

Religious Conflicts:

Ethiopia is highly regarded for its secularism, mutual respect and religious tolerance. However, there is growing evidence of religious radicalization. Extremism in all its variant, constitutes both a cause and a consequence of conflict; deepening mistrust within and between communities can contribute to outbreaks of violence and acts of terrorism. Evidence from other countries suggests religious radicalism might be symptomatic of deeper levels of political and socio-economic discontent.

Unemployment, Propaganda, and Social Inequality

Ethiopia's population is growing rapidly. The fertility rate is 3.9 children per woman.⁸⁴ In 2017, 63% percent of Ethiopia's 105 million people are in the youth bracket (below 24 years of age). The country's population is expected to grow to 190 million by 2050 and 250 million by 2100 while the economy has seen (near) double-digit growth, it is unlikely to keep pace with the rapidly increasing population. Each year, the universities in Ethiopia produce an army of youth that joins the job market, many with unreasonable expectations of future employment and earnings. As yet, the number of opportunities available is not commensurate with the number of young people entering the job market.

Youth who do not have the opportunity to join higher education institutions or training centers – or even unable to complete high

school education – are even greater in number. Farm land is limited. Despite the transformation in Addis and regional capitals, the majority of Ethiopia's economy has remained rural and agrarian.⁸⁸ In recent years the economy has shifted slightly from agriculture towards manufacturing, including through industrial zones such as the Hawassa Industrial Park, and services, trade, and tourism, yet these sectors still have limited capacity to absorb the growing youth population.

Data Analysis and Discussions on the Factors That Have Led To the External Security Threats in Ethiopia As stated above in theoretical part, Ethiopia indeed faced external threaten like terrorism, proliferation of arms and spillover effects of neighboring country conflict and boarder issues. The achievement of withstanding domestic threat, poverty, shelled the country from setbacks that face in regional relation, bilateral relation and multilateral relation.

As Abebe Kifleyesus indicated, the relation between Eritrea and Ethiopia in his work perception of pacifism: good fences makes good neighbor that cross-border community of Eritrea and Ethiopia have long shared common culture and decent which bound them together. This is true that those traditions are ethical forces that the more powerful than any other legal order, administrative directives and impositions. It allowed to flourish and function the traditional institutions can be a positive force in establishing lasting peace.

In line with this challenges scholars such as suggest African problems by Africans. Peace building challenges of ethiopia are including genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, electoral violence, transitional justice, on- and off-shore terrorism, and the unlawful use of marine resources [4-6].

To sum up, Ayoob's subaltern realist gives explanation historically and geographically fit theory in understanding Ethiopian behavior towards domestic and external threats. As his explanation there is high need to respect the international norm and Westphalia system to protect them from unwanted intervention [7]. Ethiopia exactly did it to maintain here relationships with the "international police".

Data Analysis and Discussions on the Possible Ways That Helps To Build Sustainable Peace and Security in Ethiopia, Institutional Framework

i) Ministry of Federal peace: One of the specific mandates of the Ministry of Federal peace is the task of preventing and coordinating the resolution of violent conflicts. Through the Business Process Reengineering (BPR) of the Ministry, focus has been on capacity development as one of the core processes under which the Directorate for Culture of Peace Building and Conflict Early Warning and Rapid Response has been established. In accordance with its mandate, the Ministry has undertaken several activities including capacity building supports for the regions, peace education, mass conferences and reconciliation sessions as well as management of violence in collaboration with the regions. However there is need to sustain and expand these activities. For example, the research capacity of the ministry and regional state ministries needs to be strengthened; the capacity of the Conflict Early Warning and Rapid Response Mechanisms at the local levels also needs to be improved.

ii) House of Federation (HoF): The constitution remits the HoF as the legislative governmental organ responsible for conflict mitigation. The House is responsible for issues relating to the rights of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples. It can decide on the right of self-determination, including the right to secession and it can identify solutions to disputes or misunderstandings

that may arise between states. The HoF can recommend federal interventions if any State endangers the constitutional order or violate the constitution. As part of its responsibilities, it can also determine the division of revenues derived from joint Federal State and State tax resources and the subsidies that the Federal Government may provide to the regional states. The House has launched a national conflict analysis, mapping and strategy development initiative that has to be supported. Whilst the mandate of the House seems to be limited to events of conflict, enhanced coordination and collaboration is needed with other government ministries and departments.

iii) Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Cognizance of the spillover of external conflict into Ethiopia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a central role in peace-building. In line with the Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy, the Ministry is deploying external efforts to address internal challenges -building.

iv) Regional States and local Authorities: Regional states have a major responsibility to address local conflicts. In line with this mandate, they have undertaken conflict prevention and peace-building activities. For example, in some instances peace committees or Joint Woreda Task Forces were established to manage conflict. However there is need for expansion of these activities especially with regards to capacity building.

v) Moreover, coordination/integration between basic local structures and intermediate (werda, zone and region) government hierarchies and the federal government should be strengthened.

vi) The Formal Justice System: Through the Comprehensive Justice System Reform Program, and the Business Process Reengineering, good progress has been made in conflict resolution and management by improving the independence, efficiency, quality and access to justice. Whilst the criminal justice system may prevent conflict through deterrence, peace-building through the criminal justice system is made difficult by: a population poorly informed of its legal rights and responsibilities; inadequate staffing of the judiciary and legal department; and the nature of the conflict and the relationships between the parties involved. Mostly, by pronouncing on legal rights and obligations, the outcome of litigation might reinforce animosity.

vii) Traditional Mechanisms: Traditional mechanisms are increasingly playing an important role in conflict management and peace building. The Guurti system of the Somali regional state.

Civil Society and Academia: Activism and Research

As has already begun, the government needs to break the barrier between itself and academia, which was very common during the previous EPRDF as well as military and imperial governments. This entails trusting academia and civil society, involving them in different policy issues, and using the research output for policy formulation. Such a stance will pave the way for academics as well as civil society organizations to contribute in preventing violent extremism. Civil society and academia would be responsible for conducting peace policy research, with both immediate and long-term impact. Academia need to engage in applied peace research, which can serve as input for peace policy formulation, including in the fields of ethnic extremism, conflict prevention and resolution, and peace building.

The People of Ethiopia: Stand United Against Ethnic Extremist

Extremism is predicated on hate and fear that are instilled in populations. To avoid empowering extremist voices, the Ethiopian

people should hold to their heart the age-old and precious values of peaceful co-existence, tolerance and mutual respect. They should take part in local activities and participate in identifying problems and coming to solutions through discussion, and engage in intra- and inter-communal dialogues. People will have to denounce the poisonous propaganda of “ethnically superior” ideologies that are widespread in Ethiopia today. This will mean promoting tolerance and mutual respect between political and ethnic groups – including on social media.

They need to observe what is happening in the Middle East and remember what happened in Rwanda, and take lessons from that to continue dialogue on the issue of extremism and its costs. “Peace by peaceful means” must be the guiding value! This entails saying “no” to violent extremists in their communities and regions, working with the government in order to entrench a culture of peace in the community, and engaging directly in peace building activities in their own localities. It also means using cultural mechanisms to prevent violent extremism and help the government to widen the democratic political system without encouraging hate speech. Violent extremists are very few in numbers in Ethiopia and the world at large; the problem has always been that the general populace who love peace are very large

Conflict Early Warning and Early Response

The capacity of the early warning mechanism needs to be improved. Also should strengthen its analytical capacity and make better use of available research and insights on the links among peace, security, and development. Translating early warning into early response requires widening the scope of end-users to include other government department and structures such as parliament. Moreover, the capacity of religious and community leaders should also be strengthened to enable them use early warning to prevent and management emerging crisis situations.

Culture of Peace Justice and Reconciliation

Justice and reconciliation are critical for peace-building as a measure to transform conflict. Whatever policy action or methodology is adopted by government is informed by the imperative of how to balance the needs for different types of justice and reconciliation. Emerging practice suggest that legal accountability is conceived as an integral part of the reconciliation process, thus there can be no reconciliation without justice. Thus whilst it is important to pursue retributive justice (punishment), attention should also be on the needs of the victims and the offenders, as well as the involved community, instead of satisfying abstract legal principles. However, economic empowerment as a means of restorative justice should not replace impunity. In transforming ethnic conflicts, some countries have pursued the twin goal of reconciliation and justice through the cohabitation of formal and traditional justice mechanism. Traditional justice mechanism has taken the lead on reconciliation and restorative justice whilst the formal justice system has pursued retributive justice.

Peace Education

Building social capital through a culture of peace necessitates the design and implementation of activities that generate knowledge, enhance leadership skills and inculcate attitudes that will allow people of all ages, and at all levels, to develop the behavioral changes that can education should incorporate the wider government policy on expanding access and improving quality of education.

For peace education to optimize its positive role in building social capital, it needs to adopt a holistic approach that addresses multiple

actors and multiple methods that link the wider policy environment to the local context and vice versa. Experience suggest that beyond the narrow objective of raising awareness, peace education should empower and encourage ownership of local initiatives which bring positive change in communities. For example, by focusing on community-based learning and learning in communities the capacity of Peace Clubs should be enhanced in various topics such as managing micro project of peace, reconciliation mechanisms, leadership, human rights, local governance.

In some countries, besides the organization of events and forum such as peace forum and peace clubs, government have taken the lead in designing a manual to assist formal, non-formal and grass-roots educators and educational planners by providing ideas and tools for the development of community based peace education learning projects that might contribute to the reduction of violence at all levels of the global social order. Such a manual should be clear on those conditions in society which educational planners and authorities seek to influence, maintain or change through the education they design and deliver. Such a manual could help in developing specific curricula to incorporate issues of communalism to eliminate negative stereo-typing; revise history text books to accurately reflect history of all groups and all nations and nationalities.

Experience Sharing and Networking for Peace/Community of Practice

Many organizations are currently engaged in carrying out peace building, conflict management and development tasks with different communities across Ethiopia. While many are undoubtedly doing commendable work, still there is often very little collaboration or networking among them, which sometimes leads to duplication of efforts and less effective utilization of resources. There is need therefore to cultivate better networking and collaboration among peace-building and development partners in the country. Radicalization of Religion: Inter-religious dialogue and co-operation are fundamental to curbing religious intolerance.

However, a conflict that manifests at the religious level of a constitutionally secular state cannot be solved only at the level of the inter-religious dialogue or repression. Issues of socio-economic justices and deprivation must be addressed in government responses. To complement and support religious and inter-faith dialogue, there is need to provide and expand training coupled with mediation and negotiation skills to religious leaders.

Stable, Equitable and Inclusive Growth

Experiences from other countries suggest that the provision of basic services and opportunities for employment especially targeting the youth is critical to enhance peace-building and sustainable development. In this regard, government could explore the implementation of policies and programmers that address past grievances such as the need for equitable access to and management of common resources; provide support to traditional economic activities that employ relatively large numbers of the population with a view to enabling their modernization and sharing economic progress.

Conclusions on Data Analysis and Discussion Findings

The main finding of the paper show that currently Ethiopia is facing internal security threats namely, ethnic conflicts and lack of coherent idea of national identity, income inequality and uneven development, insurgence group, environmental problems and natural disasters and lack of institution . The study further

found that intra-Party Straggle within the ruling party (EPRDF), religious fundamentalism and weak democratic institutions challenges Ethiopia's security. The research conclude that unless this domestic security challenges are not handle in a diplomatic way they would have open the door for external security challenge and lead to collapse of the state.

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