CHAPTER-TWO
2.Understnding State & Government

2.1. Definition and Characteristics of Society

- The term society is derived from a **Latin word socius**.
- **Socius means :-**
  - ✓association, togetherness, living in group, group life.

2. 1.1. Elements of Society

i. Common Geographical area/defined territory

ii. society is usually a **relatively large** grouping of people in terms of size.

iii. Have **Common Culture**: language, identity,

iv. Have the **feeling of identity** and **belongingness**.

v. A society is **autonomous** and **independent**

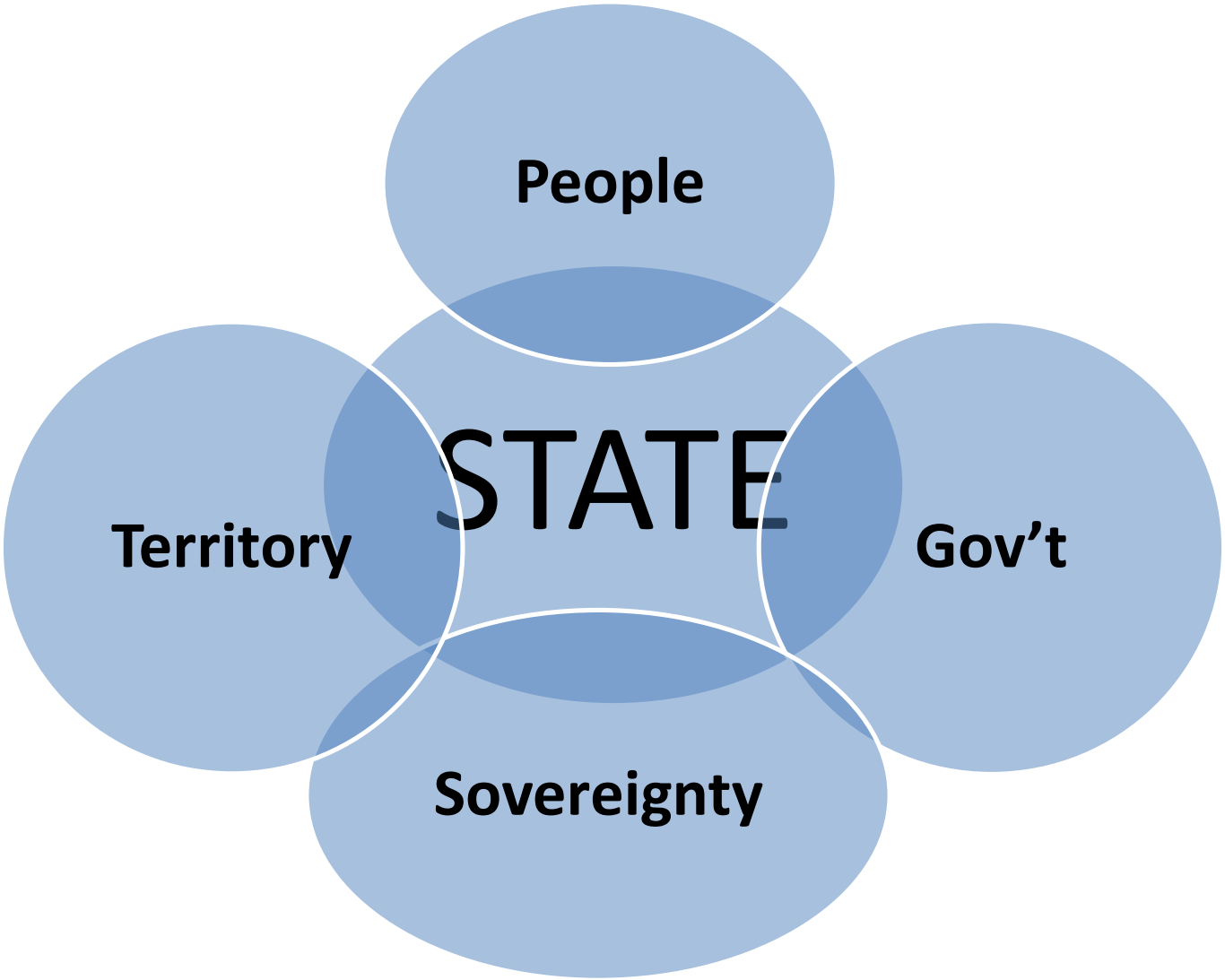
2.2. Defining and Understanding of State

2.2.1. Conceptual Discourses

- There is **no** **commonly agreed definition** regarding the concept of the state.
- The State is a **political organization**.
- The state **is rooted in society**.
- When society politically organized, the make state.

Major Elements of State

❖ '**Pillars**' of the modern state are



i. People

- ✓ State is **not create without peoples**.
- ✓ The question is **how much people** constitute state?
- ✓ Size (It cannot be fixed)
- ✓ There is **no standard** with regard to the number of people in a state.

ii. Sovereignty

- ✓ It is **supreme power/authority** of the State to make any decision regarding with internal and external matters of the country.
- ✓ It is internal supremacy and external independence.
- ✓ It is free to make its own foreign policy decision without any **external pressure**.

iii. Territory

- ✓ There can be no state without a fixed territory.
- ✓ People need territory to live and organize themselves **socially and politically**.
- ✓ Territory is necessary for **citizenship**.
- ✓ Territory of the state includes **land, water and air-space**.
- ✓ The **size, location and shape** of a state **do not put impact** for its survival, yet it may have an **impact on its development and security.**

iv. Government

- ✓ It's the **political organization** of the state.
- ✓ It is the **machinery or the arm/**brain of the state.
- ✓ The **state cannot exist** without government.
- ✓ It is the **working agency of state** that responsible for the overall administrative affairs of the country.

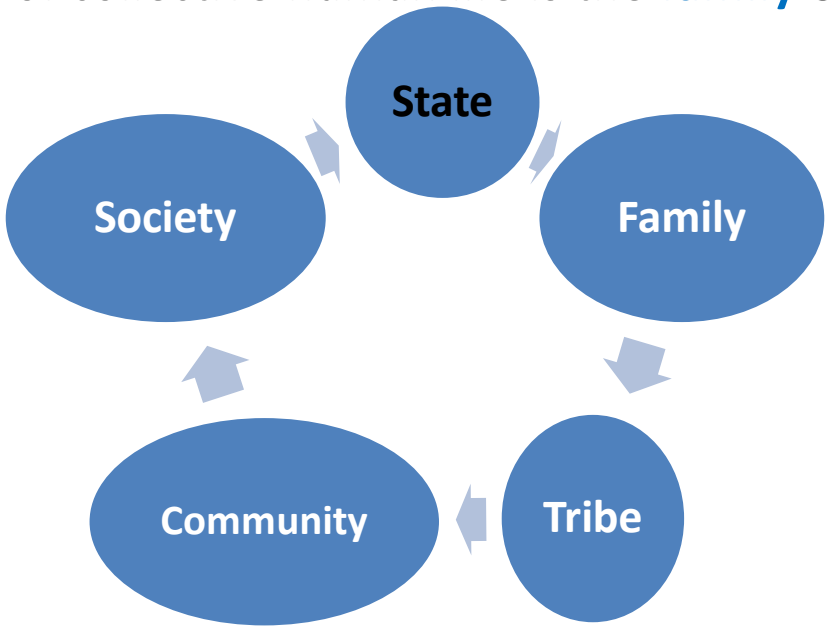
v. **Recognition:-**

- ✓ It is **not** compulsory or necessary element.
- ✓ It is **supplementary** element of the state.
- ✓ An external acceptance of a newly emerging independent state by other states in the world is called International recognition.
- ✓ Recognition is a **political act**; to mean it depends on the interest of a recognizing state.
- ✓ It is very important to be recognized, but it **cannot determine the legal existence of a given state** in this real world.
- ✓ State **can exist** without getting international recognition.

2.2.2. Origin and Historical Development of State

A. Genetic or Natural or Evolutionary Theory

- ✓ **State gradually and slowly** evolved out of earlier forms of **settled human communities**, such as the **family**, the **clan** and **tribe**.
- ✓ Aristotle says "state is the product of the **natural** or **gradual** expansion of the family".
- ✓ The **first** group of collective human life is the **family or the household**, the **last** is the **state**.



B. Theory of Divine Origin

- ✓ **The State, is advocates maintain was created by God and governed by his deputy or vicegerent.**
- ✓ The ruler was a **divinely appointed agent** and he was **responsible for his action to God alone**.
- ✓ some are **born to rule** while others are born to be ruled
- ✓ Power is **Hereditary,**
- ✓ As ruler was the deputy of God, **obedience to him was held to be a religious duty** and Resistance to lawful king is **sin**.

C. Force Theory

- ➢ State is created by the use of **physical force**.
- ➢ Through the process of **conquest, subjugation and coercion** of the weak by the strong.
- ✓ The state is born out of force.
- ✓ **Exist** in force and **die** in the **absence of force**.
- ✓ Military strength or physical strength has paramount importance for **consolidation of state**.

D. The Social Contract Theory

- ✓ It postulates a state of nature as the original conditions making and a social contract.
- ✓ State is the results of **consent (will)** of the people.
- ✓ The main purpose of such state is to **protect and safeguard** the **inalienable rights of the people such as the right to life, liberty, and property.**
- ✓ This theory argued that state is an **artificial creation** based on the contract or agreement the **people at large**.

E. The Marxist View

- ✓ State evolved gradually and steadily as a result of **disappearance of primitive communities**.
- ✓ The formation of social classes is associated with emergence of **private property**.
- ✓ State originated from the **split of society into social classes.**
- ✓ The formation of **socio-Economic** paved the way for foundation of state.

2.3. The Differences between Society and State

No	State	Society
1.	State came into existence after the origin of the society.	Society is prior to the state.
2	The state exists for the society as a means for its end	Society is an end by itself
3	An **artificial institution**-it was made when it was needed	A natural and an innate institution
4	State is **not broader** and narrower. Or State has fixed territory.	Society is **both broader and narrower** than the State. Or Society has no fixed territory.
5.	State is a political organization.	Society is a social organization.

2.4. State structure

❖ There are many states in the world.

➢ States can also be differentiated by the **structures** of government they have.

➢ The are **three state structure** in the world.

1. **Unitary state Structure**
2. **Federal state structure**
3. **Confederal state structure**

❖ The criteria to categorized these:-

✓ **Power division/ degree of power shared**/_ between the **central government** and **regional government.**

Major characteristics of Unitary State Structure	Major characteristics Federal State Structure
❖ Centralization of power ✓ **Indivisible** of power	❖ Decentralization of power ✓ **Devolution** of power
✓ The central government has full legal right to **over-rule** Local governments. ✓ The right to make **decisions on all political matters** rests with the national government	✓ **Both the center and regions have certain independent** spheres of authority to **make decisions independently** of each other. ✓ There is self rule and shared rule. ✓ It is agreement of two (or more) levels of government /political entity. ✓ There are **formal division** of powers between two levels of government.
✓ There is **no self rule** and shared rule ✓ All administrative policies and principles originate only from the center.	

Major characteristics **Unitary State structure**	Major characteristics Federal State Structure
✓ Allocated powers by the central government ✓ There is **one** constitution ✓ There is only one legislator ✓ The regional or local units are highly **subordinated or subservient** to only the will of the national government. ✓ The local governments are created by the center, their existence is **depend the interests of the central** government and they are **subordinate** to the national Government	✓ Power of federating units and federal are clearly stated by **constitution.** ✓ There is **two** constitutions ✓ Bicameral legislature ✓ "Neither the **central nor regional** governments are **subordinate** to each other, but rather the two levels of government are **coordinate and equal**." ✓ Each has some genuine autonomy, neither level can unilaterally abolish the other.

2.4.2. Advantages and Disadvantages of unitary state Structure

Advantages of Unitary State Structure	Disadvantages of Unitary State Structure
✓ Uniformity of decisions ✓ Uniformity of laws, rules and policies ✓ Power organization in unitarism is relatively simple ✓ Conflict of jurisdiction is easily avoidable or manageable ✓ A unitary state structure is suited for as small country with a homogeneous population. i.e. uni-lingual, uni-national state	✓Effective administration may be difficult; ✓Doesn't encourage participation at the grass root levels; ✓Not effective in managing cultural diversities; ✓Inter-regional competition may not be encouraged; ✓Due to centralization of power at the center there may be misuse of power…

2.4.2.Advantages and Disadvantages of Federal state Structure

Advantages of Federal State Structure	Disadvantages of Federal State Structure
✓ Its ability to manage diversity, Flexibility ✓ Recognizes local interests and differences ✓ Prevents secession (usually) ✓ Check federal government power ✓ Managing large country, Innovation ✓ Promotes competition among jurisdictions ✓ Citizen participation ✓ Local autonomy	✓Conflict of jurisdiction ✓Policies are not uniform ✓Protects powerful local interests ✓Lack of Accountability ✓harmful spillover effects ✓It can make for weak parties ✓Can lead to a parochial Congress ✓Weakened nationalism

2.4.4. Division of Power in Federal Structure

1. **Exclusive power**
2. **Concurrent power**
3. **Residual power**

1. Exclusive power		2. Concurrent (shared)
Federal Government (Art51)	**Regional Government (Art52)**	
✓ It shall establish and administer national defense and a federal police force ✓ Administer the **National Bank**, print and borrow money, ✓ It formulate and implement foreign policy ✓ It administrate and regulate of air, rail, waterways and sea transport and **major roads linking two or more States**, as well as for postal and telecommunication services ✓ It negotiate and ratify international agreements	✓ To enact and execute the **state constitution** and other laws ✓ To formulate and execute economic, social and development policies, strategies and plans of the State ✓ **To establish and administer a state police force** ✓ To enact and enforce laws on the State civil **service and their condition of work; like educational; health, pure water supply, road construction, expansion of electric service etc.**	✓ To levy and collect tax ✓ Protect the security of the state ✓ Cultural development ✓ Sports development ✓ Environmental protection ✓ Tourism

3. **Residual power:** the power that is left to the regional governments, except India.

3.5. Confederalism

- ✓ Voluntary association of **independent states**.
- ✓ **States are sovereign**
- ✓ Central government is **weak but state governments are strong.**
- ✓ The **loose alliances** of countries.
- ✓ Withdraw from the confederation at any time is possible.
- ✓ It established for common purpose.
- ✓ Confederalism is more observable in regional, continental and global organizations.

2. 6. Government

2. 6.1 Definition and Functions

❖ **Government is:-**

- ✓ **Institution** through which determining, formulating, and implementing the policies of the state.
- ✓ Government is an organization people set up to protect the community and make rules.

Functions of Government:-

1. Maintenance of law and order in society
2. Protection the security of citizens and territory from internal and external threats.
3. Providing and Distribution of Resources Or Good and Services to the citizens of the state.

2. 6. 2 Organs: refers to branches of government:-

A. Legislature

B. Executive

C. Judiciary

- **What is the functions of Legislative, Executive and Judiciary?**

Legislative	Executive	Judiciary
✓ Formulate law ✓ Propose constitutional amendments, ratify treaties ✓ Control tax (revenues) or **Pass the budget** ✓ **Act as check** and **balance** on the other branches of government ✓ Hear public grievances.	✓ Enforce &administer the law ✓ **Collect taxes** , provide social services ✓ **Control of military** forces and Conduct of foreign relations. ✓ Maintaining peace and order; defending country from enemy	✓ Interpret law ✓ It detached from politics and act in **neutral manner.** ✓ They are a **guardian**, **defender** and **safeguard** for individual rights protection. i.e. It is expected to render **impartial decisions**.

2. 6. 3 Systems and Types of government

- Government may classify democratic and the non-democratic or unlimited or non-constitutional governments.
- Based on **haw to come to power** and **how to rule the society** types of government divided in to Democratic and undemocratic one.

Democratic	Undemocratic
Presidential	Authoritarian,
Parliamentary	Totalitarian,
Hybrid	Dictatorship, Military, Tyranny
	Aristocracy,
	Monarchy,
	oligarchy
	Feudalist

❖Based on the relationship existing between the **legislative and executive branches** Democratic **types of government** classify in to **three** (In principle Judiciary should be neutral in all systems).

- ✓**Parliamentary,**
- ✓**Presidential** and
- ✓ **Hybrid**.

❖**The relationship between Presidential and Parliamentary Systems**

Based on	Presidential	Parliamentary
Relationship between Executive and Legislative	Separation of power	Fusion of Power
Head of State /Government	Same Person	Different Persons
Term of Office	Fixed (Predictable)	Less Predicatable
Cabinet	From outside Legislature	Either from Legislators or outside of them
Executive's Question Period	Irregular (primarily responsible to the people)	Regular (primarily responsible to parliament)
Government Coalitions	Less Likely	More Likely
Election of Chief-Executive	Normally Direct	Normally Indirect
Legislation	More Gridlock, More Independence from Party	Easier to pass Legislation, Party control more disciplined

C. Semi-presidential/Hybrid:

- ✓ This is an alternation between presidential and parliamentarian phases which **solves both executive-legislative dead lock of presidential** and legislature's uncritical support of government in parliamentarianism.
- ✓ Separation of power in hybrid system is **not as clear as presidential** and **not as fused as parliamentary.**

2.8. The Difference between State and Government

State	Government
State is wide	Government is smaller
Abstract	Practical & concrete organization
State continue to exist	Temporary/ it changes frequently
The state is a composition of all citizen	All of the citizens are not members of government
Membership to the state is **compulsory**	Membership to the government is an **optional** matter
Are not of various kinds	Various kinds

Chapter Three

3. What is Citizenship?

- States **cannot be understood** in the absence of Citizens and Citizenship. In the same way, **citizenship cannot be explained without the state.**
- A "citizen" is the **position or status** of being a citizen of a particular country. i.e. **inhabitant** of a country or member of the state.
- **Citizenship** represents a **relationship between the individual and the state**, in which the **two are bound together by reciprocal rights and obligations**.

- Citizenship is a **legal status** and an **instrument** identity.
- The **criteria exist in different states** in terms of **rules, laws or principles**.
- Therefore, different countries can follow **different laws in granting and denying citizenship status or who its citizens are and who are not** or even the same country can have **different laws** depending up on the prevailing political conditions of that state.

3.1. **The Genesis of Citizenship: Normative and Historical Evolution of Citizenship**

- While there is disagreement about when citizenship began, many thinkers point to the early **city-states** of ancient Greece.
- In the ancient Greek city state **Athens-** the people were divided into **two classes- citizens and slaves**.
- But in modern times the distinction between people are made- Citizens and aliens/foreigner.
- While in a dictatorial or authoritarian political system, the rights and privileges of citizenship are enjoyed by a **small group** of the society but the **majorities are merely required to fulfill their responsibilities or duties as members of that country**, in a democratic systems, however, citizens are expected to express **their allegiance to their nation** and **obey the laws** and reciprocally they are **treated equally without any discrimination**.

❖ The concept of citizenship has raised **fierce controversies** over the issues of

i. The relationship between the **state and individuals**,

ii. Factors hinder the **equal treatment of individuals**,

iii. Above all the issue of is **citizenship an individual or collective** issue?

➢ In regarding to this, we examine four **Approaches/theories** on citizenship:

1. Liberal Citizenship Approach
2. Communitarian Citizenship Approaches
3. Civic Republican Citizenship Approaches
4. Radical Democratic

3. 2. Ways of Acquiring and Loosing

3. 2. 1. Major Ways of Acquiring

- The process of acquiring citizenship **varies from country** to country depending up on the **existing specific laws** of each country.
- There is no clear cut uniformity in acquiring citizenship status as there is no common standard that govern all state of the world.

❖ The are **Three Ways** of Acquiring of Citizenship

1. Citizenship by Birth

✓ It is the **natural aspect** since it is obtained through birth.

✓ **Involuntary** way of acquiring citizenship

2. Citizenship by Law (Naturalization)
3. Citizenship by mixed (dual) system

1. Citizenship by Birth		2. Citizenship by Law (Naturalization)
❖**Jus soli** ✓***jus soli*** = *a Latin phrase the* ***right of soil.*** ✓which means the law of soil (by place of birth) E.g. U.S.A, Britain, Canada ➢Exception:- Babies born from: ✓Babies born from **diplomat** ✓Babies born from International organization representatives/ workers, ✓Babies born from **refugees,**	❖**Jus sanguine** ✓**Jus Sanguineous** a Latin phrase the **right of blood or** The law of blood ➢What matters is the **lineage**, **descent** or blood relationship, **not the place of birth**. ➢E.g all most all the world state follow this. Ethiopia, Canada, France, U S A	✓Is the legal process by which **foreigners/alien** become citizens of another country. ✓It is **purely under the authority of the state.** ✓ To gate this individual should **fulfill the specific criteria** set by the state ▪ Political case (secession, merger and subjugation), ▪Grant on application, ▪Marriage, ▪Legitimatization/adoption, and ▪Reintegration/restoration.

- The nationality act of 1930 was repealed by proclamation No. 378/2003 called Ethiopian Nationality proclamation.

- **The Modes of Acquiring and Loosing Ethiopian Citizenship**

Ways of /Modes of Acquiring	**Ways/Modes Loosing**
a. Grant on Application (registration) b. Cases of Marriage c. Cases of Adoption (Legitimating) d. Citizenship by Special Cases e. Re-Admission to Ethiopian Nationality (Reintegration/Restoration)	a. Renunciation (Expatriation) b. Deprivation c. Substitution d. Lapse

3. Dual Citizenship

- There are times when a person finds himself/herself with **multiple citizenship status**.
- **Dual citizenship** is when a person has citizenship status of **two countries**.
- This might be due to an overlap of **countries' citizenship laws.** i.e a person may have one because of his /her place of birth (jus soil) and another because of his/her parent's citizenship by blood (jus sanguinis).
- Similarly, when a person has citizenship status of **more than two countries** it is termed as **multiple citizenship**.
- Some individuals have more than two citizenship status as a result of **jus soil, jus sanguinis or naturalization laws**.

❖ **Statelessness:-** is lack of citizenship or a person is not a citizen/national of any country. This can happens if:

- ✓ The homeland of a person denies him/her citizenship as punishment,
- ✓ A person renounces citizenship of his/her country but does not acquire another citizenship.
- ✓ A person's homeland has been destroyed by another country.

Chapter Four

4. Constitution, Democracy and Human Rights

4.1. Meaning of Constitution and Constitutionalism

❖ What is Constitution?

- ✓ The fundamental/ supreme laws of a country/ the land.
- ✓ The basic law of a state which sets out how the state will be organized, the power and authorities of government between different political units, and by stating and the basic principles of the society.
- ✓ The fundamental and organic law of a state that **establishes the institution** and **system of government**, defines the **scope of governmental sovereignty powers**, and grantees individual civil rights and civil liberates.
- ✓ It includes basic rules, regulations, values, beliefs, traditions, norms, customs, standards and aspirations country and give direction to country's foreign relation.

❖ What is Constitutionalism?

- A doctrine that government should be **faithful** to their constitution.
- It means that every action of the government should be accordance with constitution.
- A country may have a constitution, but that country constitutionalism may not necessarily exist.
- Protect and respect for human rights/ dignity as its central principle.

❖**The major characteristics of constitutionalism:**

- ✓When the government and its officials are **accountable and responsible** for their actions.
- ✓The constitution should, moreover, be considered **superior to other laws** and be enforced within a legal system with independent courts.
- ✓It has constitutionally limited government
- ✓The power of the legislature and executive under some restraints
- ✓There must be decentralization of power
- ✓There must be prevalence of law
- ✓when there is check and balance between the three organs of government.

4.2. Purposes and Functions of Constitution

A. Serves as a framework for government:

- ✓ constitution is a plan for organizing composition and structures of a government.
- ✓ It establishes foundation for government.

B. Grants powers to government:

- ✓ constitution provides authority to government to accomplish its tasks and to make different decisions.

C. Constitution limits government powers:

- ✓ constitution determines what public authorities must do and must not do.
- ✓ It restricts extent or degree of officials' power. Government authorities should not do whatever they wish to do but according to their constitution.

D. Constitution as the supreme law of a country

- ✓ Constitution is the source of all specific laws.
- ✓ All other laws are derived from the constitution.
- ✓ All laws in the country must **confirm** to the constitution.
- ✓ Any law that contradicts with the constitution will not be valid as a law in the country.
- ✓ Thus, constitution serves as a binding instrument of all other laws in a country.

4.3. Formulation, Content and Validity of Constitution

- ✓ **Formulation:-** It is a matter of making the laws that are going to govern the over all aspects of life in society.

A. In non-democratic System of Government

- ✓ **few who are in power.**
- ✓ It would **not reflect the interests** and needs of the people at large.
- ✓ Majority citizens have **little chance** to contribute and shape the constitution.
- ✓ Thus, it is characterized by **instability and unrest** in the rule of dictatorship.

B. In the Democratic system of government

- ✓ Constitution involves **active participation of majority of citizens.**

- ✓ Citizens give their comments, advises and suggestions in order to improve the draft.
- ✓ This creates opportunity for interests and needs of the people to included in the final the document.

❖ **Such constitution is called**

- Law made by citizens,
- It can easily get public support or approval and
- It can gate public legitimacy or validity.
- It help the progress and development of a country and the betterment of the lives of citizens.
- It also helps to maintain internal peace and stability of the nation.

➢ All constitutional provisions are **not eternal or not remain acceptable forever**.

4.4. Classification/types/forms of Constitution

A. Based on its form

1. Written Constitution
2. Unwritten Constitution

B. Based on amending process

1. Rigid and
2. Flexible

C. Based on degree of practice

1. Effective Constitution
2. Nominal constitution

D. Based on the kind of state structure

1. Federal Constitution
2. Unitary Constitution

❖ What is written Constitution

- The basic principles and rules specifying the rights and duties of citizens found compiled together in a **single legal, handy and readable** document.
- Most constitution of states of the world is written constitution.
- **Advantages of written constitution:**
  - clear and definite.
  - people have a clear understanding about the powers of the government.
  - rights of the people are secure.
  - citizens have easy access to their constitution and make reference to it in monitoring the behavior to their government
- **Disadvantages of written constitution:**
  - It fails to adapt itself to changing conditions easily.
  - It is rigid and may hinder the growth of the country.

❖ Unwritten Constitution

- ✓ Is a set of rules, regulations declarations and laws passed by either a parliament or other competent bodies at different time that are **not collected in a single document.**
- ✓ Instead these exist in a **number of documents, customs and provisions**.

➢ **Advantages of unwritten constitution:**

- ✓ Adaptability to changing circumstances and situations.
- ✓ Ensures smooth running of government in accordance with various customs.
- ✓ It recover from shocks that may destroy a codified constitution;

➢ **Disadvantages of unwritten constitution:**

- ✓ It is not accessible to ordinary citizens.
- ✓ It can be changed without the consent of the stakeholders since there is no legal restraints;
- ✓ It is difficult to create awareness through education; and
- ✓ Unsuitable to democracies.

➢ Countries like Great Britain, Israel and New Zeland have unwritten constitutions.

i. **Rigid constitution** which set-up complex and special amendment procedure.

✓ it is difficult to amend **immediately, quickly**,

- Rather amendment procedure relatively complex and difficult.
  - » Example:- USA, it needs 2/3 majorities in both houses
  - » Ethiopia-requires majority support from regional states and 2/3 from both house

Advantages of rigid constitution:

- Rights properly safeguarded;
- Suited to all kinds of people;
- Commands the confidence of the people.

Disadvantages of rigid constitution:

- Conservative in character;
- Undue importance to judiciary;

❖Flexible Constitution:-

- ✓Amendment procedures are relatively simple.
- ✓UK; Israel and New Zeland in which the central legislature can easily amend the constitution
- **Advantages of flexible constitution**:
  - adaptability
  - country may be saved from revolutions
- **Disadvantages of flexible constitution**:
  - unstable
  - It may not be suitable for democracies.

4.6.1. Constitutional Experience of Ethiopia: Pre and Post 1931

4.6.2. pre 1931 Traditional Constitutional Documents

- ✓ There are also some legal documents that are mostly derived from religion, particularly recognized by rulers. These are:

A. Kibra Negast

B. Fetha Negast

C. Seriata Mengist

A. Kibra Negast:

- ✓ Glory of Kings
- ✓ Written in 13th Century.
- ✓ It was myths of the solomonic dynasty.
- ✓ Solomonic dynasty revolve around the ideas of the divine rights of kings.
- ✓ They claimed to be the chosen people of God to rule.
- ✓ Monarchs elected of God/ born to rule.
- ✓ They could not be accountable to any power, but to God only.
- ➢ This way of justifying king's political power had been used almost by all Ethiopian rulers from 1270-1974.

B. Fetha Negast:

✓ This is legal code which has set religious and secular provisions .

C. Seriata Mengist:

✓ This has provided administrative and protocol directives since 19th c.

5.6.3. Written Constitutions

A. The 1931 Written Constitution

✓ Ethiopia has the **first written** constitution.

✓ It was a gift by the Emperor to the people.

✓ It was a formal agreement between the monarchy and the feudal lords.

✓ The Constitution consists **seven chapters** and **55 articles**.

✓ More power of the state were **given to the emperor**.

✓ i.e **Absolute power by the principle of Divine Rights of Kings.**.

✓ **The two major reason** for the foundation of the 1931 constitution is:-

1. Domestic Factor:- the emperor was intending to use the constitution as a **legal weapon to centralize** all power under his hand **(Centralization).**

2. Foreign Factor:-to give Ethiopia the **image of modernity** in the views of westerners(Italy).

➢ **The innovations of the 1931constitution**

1. **Bi-cameral parliament**
   a. Chamber of senate
   b. Chamber of deputies
2. **Ministerial system**
3. **Judiciary system**
   a. Regular court- regulates civil and criminal cases
   b. Administrative tribunal courts- responsible to handle administrative cases
   c. Imperial Zufan chillot

4. **Financial system**-Fixed annual budgetary system

B. The 1955 Revised Constitution

- Similar to its predecessor the revised Constitution **solidified the absolutism of the monarchy**.
- However, the revised constitution was a much more detailed document containing **8 chapters** and **131 Articles**.

✓ Why Emperor Haile Silasse revised the 1931 constitution in 1955, after twenty-four years later?

❖ **Reasons for the 1955 constitution**

i. The federation of Eritrea under the sovereign of Ethiopia in 1952

ii. The emperor's desire to settle peace with the then socio-economic and political turmoil of the state.

iii. The strong pressure came from Ethiopian young intellectuals.

➢Change and continuities:-

- ✓ R**ight to elect deputies**-which was previously done by the **emperor and nobilities**
- ✓ At least there is a textual recognition of the **rights and liberties of the people.**
- ✓ **Independence of judiciary**

But,

- ✓ Constitution nowhere mentions of the federal arrangement.
- ✓ There was no the idea of division and sharing of power.
- ✓ There was no constitutional supremacy and popular supremacy.
- ✓ Imperial Veto power

C. The 1987 PDRE Constitution-Durge

- ✓ February 1974 demise the **monarchy** system of government and replaced by **military Marxism**.
- ✓ After the overthrow of the emperor from his throne in 1974, Ethiopia was led without constitution by a serious of **decrees and proclamations**.
- ➢ However, **13 years later** the military junta came up with the 1987 constitution.
- ➢ The document consisted of **17 chapters and 119** articles.
- ➢ Political Ideology of the State was ***socialism.***
- ➢ **Article 2, sub1,** which declared PDRE as **Unitary state.**
- ➢ Accordingly, the country administrative structure was divided in to 29 regions, few of them given autonomous status.

❖The new innovations of the 1987constitution

a. National shengo (The legislature)

- ❖The national "Shengo" (Parliament) was the **supreme organ** of the state power in the country.
- ❖The Constitution starts by making "the Working People of Ethiopia" **owners** of the Constitution.
- ❖Local *Shengos* they establish by **election, and referendum**.
- ❖Candidates to the National *Shengo* were nominated by **organs of the Workers' Party** of Ethiopia, mass organizations, military units and other bodies.

- ✓ The legislature consists of **835-members**
- ✓ The members in the *Shengo* were elected from their **electoral districts** in the country.
- ✓ Its members were **elected to five-year terms**.
- ✓ Sovereignty lies on the **workers party** of Ethiopia and exercised through the National *Shengo*.
- ✓ The constitution created the first republic (PDRE).
- ✓ **President** of PDRE was elected by the National *Shengo* and answerable to it.
- ✓ He was the head of state

D. The 1991 Transitional Charter

- ✓ May 20, 1991, overthrown by a coalition of liberation forces.
- ✓ The new Ethiopian governors, led by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF).
- ✓ The ethnic based liberation movements came together immediately at a conference and drafted and approved an **interim constitution** or the **Transitional Charter**.
- ✓ The Charter a document with only 20 articles, 5 chapters.
- ✓ Decentralization process initiated by the Charter was further elaborated by National/Regional Self-Government Establishment Proclamation No.7/1992.
- ✓ Accordingly, 14 National/Regional self-governments, whose boarders were determined, based on settlement structure of nations, nationalities and peoples were established.
- ✓ The division was based on **ethnic and linguistic** criteria.
- ✓ The charter allowed the creation of several centers of power and authority.

E. The FDRE Constitution

- ✓ It came into force in August 21, 1995
- ✓ It has **106 articles** and in 11 chapters.
- ✓ Constitution which gives the ownership "Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia"
- ✓ Established a **federal state**
- ✓ **Dividing** and sharing power between the federal and state governments.
- ✓ Two layers of legislative, executive and judicial organs.
- ✓ With **bi-cameral Parliament**, the upper chamber is the **House of the Federation** and the **lower chamber is the House of People's Representatives**.

- ✓ Members of the upper chamber are elected by the **states' parliamentary** assemblies, whereas members of the **lower chamber** are elected by popular vote.
- ✓ All recognized national groups are **guaranteed representation in the upper house**;
- ✓ Representation in the lower chamber is on the **basis of population**, with special set-asides for minorities.

❖ **<u>The major fundamental principles of the 1995 constitution</u>**

1. Sovereignty of the peoples (*Article 8)*;
2. Supremacy of the constitution (*Article* 9*)*;
3. Promotion and protection of human (*Article* 13);
4. secularism (*Article* 11) and
5. Transparency and accountability of government *(Article* 12).

4.5. Democracy and Good Governance

4.5.1. Meaning of Democracy

- ✓ May **not find** exactly one accepted definition or meaning.
- ✓ There is **no universally agreed definitions** of the term democracy.

❖ **Democracy is defined in different ways**

- ✓ Democracy refers to a political system in which government is from by the people, exercised either directly or through elected representative.
- ✓ Right to give the people to elect their representatives. I.e. considered as the primary source of political power is the people.
- ✓ The **government of the people, by the people, and for the people (Abraham Lincoln)** i.e. government comes from the people; it is exercised by the people, and for the purpose of the people's own interests.

- ✓ Majority rule in which minority rights are protected.
- ✓ A system of decision-making in which the leaders are more or less **responsible** to their deeds.
- ➢ Democracy is a **people centered system**, where the people are the heart, the root and also the fruits.
- ✓ The Ideas of Democracy is associated with **co-existence of ideas**, **with the right to differ**, and with the resolution of ideological differences **not by bullet but by ballot**.
- ✓ Democracy is also closely associated with **peaceful competition of ideas**.

4.5.2. Fundamental Principles and Values of Democracy

1. Citizen Participation
2. Equality
3. Political Tolerance
4. Accountability
5. Transparency
6. Regular, Free and Fair Elections
7. Economic Freedom
8. Control of the Abuse of Power
9. Accepting the Results of Elections
10. Human Rights
11. Multi-Party System
12. The Rule of Law

4.5.3 Forms or ways of exercising democracy

- On the base of its **application/exercising** democracy have two forms.

1. Direct (participatory democracy) "pure"
2. Indirect (representative democracy)

I. Direct democracy/ pure democracy

- **Direct democracy is characterized by:**

- ✓ Allows the people to **directly make laws** and govern themselves. (people make all the decisions)
- ✓ Allowed **all/every citizen to participate** in the decision making process.
- ✓ It is Impractical in **large populations or countries**
- ✓ It applies **small number of people**.
- ✓ It applies in small number of people, like **kebele**, **school**, **clan**, **tribal organization** or **local units** of labor union.

II. **Indirect (representative democracy)**

1. Also referred to as a "**Republican form of government**".
2. Works well in large populations when its impractical to bring the entire population together.
3. The people elect officials to make laws, policies, and political decisions for them.
4. The elected members have the responsibility to pass political decisions on behalf of the people. They also formulate laws.
5. They are responsible to protect and safeguard interests of the people.
6. When these people, however, cannot do their jobs, the people have the right to reelect other members.
7. The supreme power rests in the people.

4. 5.3. Approaches of understanding democracy

- ✓ There are two views of understanding democracy: **substantive** and **procedural** views.

4.5.3.1 Substantive Views of Democracy

- ✓ what a government actually does, that is, the policies it makes should fulfill democratic ideals.
- ✓ This type of democracy can also be referred to as a **functional democracy**.

4.5.3.2. Procedural Views of Democracy

- ✓ Based on how the people govern.
- ✓ Procedural democracy emphasizes the principles of universal participation, political equality, and majority rule.

A. Liberal Concept of Democracy
B. Economic Democracy
C. Social Democracy
D. Developmental Democracy

4.5.4. Actors in democratization process

i. Political parties
ii. Party system
iii. Non governmental organization
iv. Interest group
v. Public opinion
vi. Mass media

4.5.6. Democracy and Good Governance

4.5.6.1 **The Concept of Good Governance**

4.5.6.2 **The Relationship of Democracy and Good Governance**

- ✓An enabling legal and regulatory framework
- ✓Transparency
- ✓Accountability
- ✓An Anti-Corruption environment
- ✓Active participation

4.6. Human Rights

4.6.1. Understanding Rights

- ✓ 'Right' refers to an entitlement to act or to be treated in a particular way.
- ✓ Right is closely connected to the concepts of **'freedom', 'responsibility', and 'obligation'.**
- ✓ There are **two** types of rights:-

A. Negative rights= no need gov`t intervention.

B. Positive rights=need gov`t intervention.

4. 6.2. Basic Features of Human Rights

1. Human rights are based on equality
2. Human rights are eternal
3. Human rights are irreducible
4. Human rights are indisputable
5. Human rights are inalienable
6. Human rights are not given by government.

4.6.2. Theories of Right

4.6.2.1. The Natural law Theory

- ✓ Rights belong to **man by nature or creature**.
- ✓ Rights are **universal application** irrespective of places, time and environment.
- ✓ Rights have a **universal**, **rational, eternal** and immutable character.
- ✓ The basis of natural theory is **unchanging moral law**.

6.2.2. The Legal Theory

- ✓ Rights are neither **absolute** nor given by nature or by the Creator.
- ✓ Rights are **creations of the law of a state**, thus State is the only source of rights.
- ✓ Rights are **dynamic-change** with the laws of the land.
- ✓ There is no right where there is no power to secure the object of right.

6.2.3. The Idealist/personality Theory

- ✓ Rights exist in the social consciousness, Rights are rooted in the mind of persons.
- ✓ They are powers granted to them by the community.

6.2.4. The Historical Theory

- ✓ Rights are creations of **time**.
- ✓ The passage of time results in the creation of rights.
- ✓ They are based on the long established customs.

6.2.5. The Social Welfare Theory

- ✓ Rights make what is conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number.

4.6.3. Classification of Rights

4.6.3.1. Legal Rights

- ✓ They are rights incorporated in **written laws** or systems of formal Court.
- ✓ They are **legally permitted ones**.
- ✓ They are described as ‘positive rights’ .
- ✓ They are rights enshrined in law and are enforceable through the courts.

4.6.3.2. Moral Rights

- ✓ Rights to which people are entitled by **virtue of being human**.
- ✓ They are fundamental moral rights.
- ✓ They are inalienable moral entitlement.
- ✓ They attach to all persons equally, by virtue of their humanity, irrespective of race, gender or nationality.
- ✓ They belong to an individual as a consequence of being human being.

4.6.3.3. Human Rights

- ✓ They are rights which exist as a moral claim; have no legal substance.
- ✓ The basic principles of moral rights are justice and impartiality.
- ✓ Such rights are related with religion and precepts.

4.6.4. Historical foundation of HRs

1. The 1215 *Magna Carta*
2. The 1628 Petition of Rights
3. The 1688 Glorious Revolution
4. The Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776
5. The 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen
6. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Tsarist Russia

4.6.5. Classifications of Human Rights

4.6.5.1. First Generation Rights

- It refer to **civil and political** rights.
- It also called **negative** rights.

- ✓ Freedom from racial and other forms of discrimination
- ✓ Freedom from slavery or involuntary servitude
- ✓ Freedom from torture and from cruel, inhumane treatment
- ✓ Freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; the right to fair and public trial
- ✓ Freedom from interference in privacy and correspondence
- ✓ Freedom of movement and residence
- ✓ Freedom of opinion and expression
- ✓ Freedom of peaceful assembly and association
- ✓ The right to asylum
- ✓ The right to participate in different activities

4.6.5.2. Second Generation Rights

- It refer to **economic, social and cultural** rights.
- It is also called **positive** rights.

- ✓ The right to social security
- ✓ The right to work and protection against unemployment
- ✓ The right to rest and leisure including periodic holidays leave with pay
- ✓ The right to a standard of living adequate for health and wellbeing of self and family
- ✓ The right to education
- ✓ The right to protection of one's scientific, literary and artistic production

4.6.5.3. Third Generation Rights

- ✓ The right to political, economic and social development
- ✓ The right to participate in and benefit from the 'common heritage of mankind'
- ✓ The right to peace
- ✓ The right to a healthy and balanced environment
- ✓ The right **to humanitarian disaster relief**

Chapter Five

5. Understanding International Relations and Foreign policy

5.1. Meaning, Nature and Evolution of International Relations

A. What is International Relation?

- ✓ A term international relations first used by Jeremy Bentham in 1798.
- ✓ International relations literally refer to the interrelationships of states.
- ✓ The study of the **political and social interactions of** **state**, **non-state actors** and **individuals**.
- ✓ Today, international relations could be used to describe a range of interactions between people, groups, firms, associations, parties, nations or states or between these and (non) governmental international organizations.

- ✓ Participation in international relations or politics is also **inescapable**.
- ✓ There is no state in the world today that is completely **self-sufficient** or **isolated from others**. Each state is directly or indirectly dependent on the other.
- ✓ No individual, people, nation or state can exist in splendid isolation or be master of its own fate; but none, no matter how powerful in military, diplomatic or economic circles, even a giant superpower, can compel everyone to do its bidding.
- ✓ On the other hand, there are **legal, political and social differences** between domestic and international politics.
- ✓ Domestic law is generally obeyed, and if not, the police and courts enforce sanctions.
- ✓ International law rests on competing legal systems, and **there is no common enforcement.**

- ✓ Domestically a government has a **monopoly on the legitimate** use of force.
- ✓ In international politics no one has a monopoly of force, and therefore international politics has often been interpreted as the realm of **self-help**. There is accepted that some states are **stronger than others**.
- ✓ Domestic and international politics also differ in their underlying sense of **community** – in international politics, **divided peoples do not share the same loyalties** – **people disagree about what seems just and legitimate; order and justice.**

B. Nature and Evolution of International

- ✓ In medieval Europe there were **two institutions** with pretensions to power over the continent as a whole – the **(Catholic) Church** and the **Empire**.
- ✓ The Church was the spiritual authority, with its centre in Rome.
- ✓ The Empire – known as the **Holy Roman Empire** – was established in the 10th C in central, predominantly **German-speaking,** Europe.
- ✓ It also included parts of Italy, France and today's Netherlands and Belgium. It too derived legitimacy from the Roman Empire, but had none of its political power.
- ✓ Meanwhile, in Germany, the pope struggled with the emperor over the issue of **who of the two should have the right to appoint bishops**.

- While the two were fighting it out, the constituent members of the Holy Roman Empire took the opportunity to assert their independence.
- This was also when the kings of France and England began acting more independently, defying the pope's orders.
- In England, the king repealed the pope's **right to levy taxes** on the people. With the Reformation in the sixteenth century the notion of a unified Europe broke down completely as the Church began to split apart.
- Before long the followers of Martin Luther, 1483–1546, and John Calvin, 1509–1564, had formed their own religious denominations which did not take orders from Rome.
- Instead the new churches aligned themselves with the new states. Or rather, various **kings, such as Henry VIII** in England or **Gustav Vasa in Sweden**, took advantage of the religious strife in order to further their own political agendas.

- By supporting the Reformation, they could free themselves from the power of Rome.
- All over northern Europe, the new 'Protestant' churches became state-run and church lands became property of the state.
- These lead to 30 years religious war.
- From the sixteenth century onwards the states established the rudiments of an administrative system and raised armies, both in order to fight their own peasants and in order to defend themselves against other states. Since such state-building was expensive, the search for money became a constant concern.
- The Thirty Years' **War**, **1618–1648**, was the bloodiest and most protracted military confrontation of the era.
- As a result of the war, Germany's population was reduced by around a third.

- ✓ What the Swiss or the Scottish mercenaries did not steal, the Swedish troops destroyed. Many of the people who did not die on the battlefield died of the plague. The Thirty Years' War is often called a **religious conflict since Catholic states confronted Protestants.**
- ✓ Yet, Protestant and Catholic countries sometimes fought on the same side and religious dogma was clearly not the first thing on the minds of the combatants.
- ✓ Instead the war concerned which state should have hegemony (or dominance) over Europe. That is, which state, if any, would take over from the universal institutions of the Middle Ages.
- ✓ The main protagonists were two Catholic states, France and Austria, but Sweden – a Protestant country – intervened on France's side and in the end no dominant power emerged.

- ✓ The Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, which concluded the 30 years of warfare, has come to symbolize the new way of organizing international politics.
- ✓ From this point onwards, international politics was a matter of relations between states and no other political units.
- ✓ All states were **sovereign,** meaning that they laid claims to the exclusive right to rule their own territories and to act, in relation to other states, as they themselves saw fit.
- ✓ All states were formally **equal** and they had the same rights and obligations.
- ✓ Taken together, the states interacted with each other in a system in which there was no overarching power.
- ➢ Sovereignty and formal equality led to the problem of anarchy.
- ➢ It was only in the nineteenth century that relations between Europe and the rest of the world were irrevocably transformed.

- ✓ The reason is above all to be found in economic changes taking place in Europe itself.
- ✓ At the end of the eighteenth century, new ways of manufacturing goods were invented which made use of machines powered by steam, and later by electricity, which made it possible to engage in large-scale factory production. As a result of this so called ‘industrial revolution’, the Europeans could produce many more things and do it far more efficiently.
- ✓ As cheap, mass-produced goods flooded European markets, the Europeans began looking for new markets overseas.
- ✓ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, other European countries joined in this scramble for colonies, not least in Africa. Colonial possessions became a symbol of ‘great power’ status, and the new European nation-states often proved themselves to be very aggressive colonizers.

- ✓ Once they finally made themselves independent in the decades after the Second World War, as an international climate of decolonization took hold, all new states had a familiar form. They had their respective territories and fortified borders; their own capitals, armies, foreign ministries, flags, national anthems and all the other paraphernalia of European statehood.

5.2. Actors of International Relations: State and Non-State Actors

- The participants in international relations, often called ***actors,*** have a great influence on the relationships between nations and on world affairs.

- The major participants include:

✓ ***The state*** (nations themselves, the leaders of those nations)

✓ ***Sub-state actors*** (groups or organizations within a nation),

✓ ***Transnational actors*** (organizations operating in more than one country), and international organizations.

A. ***The State Actors***

- ✓ All states have their own capitals, armies, foreign ministries, flags and national anthems.
- ✓ International politics come to be defined in **terms of interactions between states in an international system** of states where these are ***'sovereign' entities, territorially bound, and independent ultimately of any external authority***.
- ✓ Nations vary in size and power
- ✓ The ***great powers*** include the United States, Great Britain, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), France, China, Germany, and Japan.
- ✓ These powers are the most important actors in international relations.
- ✓ ***Leaders*** (The most important individual actor within a nation is the top leader of that country, i.e. ***The president/The Prime Minister***).

B. Non/Sub-State Actors

- ✓ Are groups and individuals within that nation that influence its international relationships. These ***domestic actors***, include particular industries with distinct interests in foreign policy (such as the automobile or tobacco industry) and ethnic constituencies with ties to foreign countries, as well as labor unions, cities, and regions.
- ✓ These groups can influence a nation's foreign policy in several ways, such as by **lobbying political leaders**, **donating money to political candidates or parties**, or **swaying public opinion on certain issues**.

C. ***Transnational Actors***

- ✓ Are Organizations/firms which are operating in more than one country.
- ✓ Transnational actors include

A. ***Multinational corporations***

B. ***Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs),***

C. ***Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) like; EU***

- ✓ They are usually created to promote cooperation between different nations on a particular issue or in a particular geographic region.

5.3. levels of Analysis in International Relation

A. *The individual level*

- International relations can be analyzed from the perspective of individuals. Here we would look at the behaviors, motivations, beliefs and orientation of the individual in affecting a particular international phenomenon.
- This can be seen in the psychology and emotions behind people's actions and decisions, their fears and their visions as well as their access to information and capacity to make a difference.

B. *The group level*

✓ A group-level analysis focusing on foreign policy would look at the role of lobbying groups, special interest groups and the way they influence national decision-making on an issue.

C. *The state level*

- ✓ Also known as *'state-centrism'*.
- ✓ In this level of analysis the state acts as the arena in which state officials, politicians and decision-makers operate.
- ✓ The state is seen as the framework that encapsulates society and as the main point of reference for the individual.
- ✓ A state-level study would also require careful consideration of what kinds of states we are looking at

- ❑ *How they are ordered politically,*
- ❑ *Their geographical position,*
- ❑ *Their historical ties and experiences and their economic standing.*

D. The system level

- ✓ This level of analysis conceive the global system as the structure or context within which states cooperate, compete and confront each other over issues of national interest.
- ✓ It is a level above the state.
- ✓ It is usually distributed into three main types of systems i.e.

i. ***Uni-polar system***

ii. ***Bipolar system and***

iii. ***Multipolar system.***

- ✓ In a ***uni-polar international system*** there is one state with the greatest political, economic, cultural and military power and hence the ability to totally control other states.

- ✓ In the case of the ***bipolar system***, there are two dominant states (super powers) and the less powerful states join either sides through alliance and counter alliance formations. ***(E.g.. Cold war period).***
- ✓ The problem with bipolar system is that it is vulnerable for ***zero-sum game politics*** because when one superpower gains the other would inevitably lose.
- ○ ***Multipolar system*** usually reflects various equally powerful states competing for power.
- ✓ In such system, it is possible to bring change without gaining or losing power.

Power, Anarchy and Sovereignty in the International System

Power

- ✓ Power is the ***currency*** of international politics. As money is for economics, power is for international relations (politics).
- ✓ In the international system, power determines the relative influence of actors and it shapes the structure of the international system.
- ✓ Power can also be defined as ***'A' s' ability to get 'B'.***

Anarchy

- ✓ Anarchy is a situation where there is absence of authority (government) be it in national or international/global level systems.

✓Within a country ‘anarchy’ refers to a breakdown of law and order, but in relations between states it refers to a system where power is decentralized and there are no shared institutions with the right to enforce common rules.

✓An anarchical world is a world where everyone looks after themselves and no one looks after the system as a whole.

Sovereignty

✓ Sovereignty is another basic concept in international relations and it can be defined as an expression of:

i. A state’s ultimate authority within its territorial entity ***(internal sovereignty)*** and,

ii. The state’s involvement in the international community ***(external sovereignty).***

✓ In short, sovereignty denotes double claim of states from the international system, i.e., autonomy in foreign policy and independence/freedom in its domestic affairs.

5.4. Contending Theories of international Relations

- ✓Theories of international relations allow us to understand and try to make sense of the world around us through various lenses, each of which represents a different theoretical perspective.
- ✓Here it introduces the ***traditional theories, middle-ground theories and critical theories*** of international relations.

- ✓ The formative assumptions of realism as a school of thought center on the view that the international system is ‘anarchic’, in the sense that it is devoid of an all-encompassing authority.
- ✓ Realists believe that nations act only out of ***self-interest*** and that their major goal is to advance their own positions of power in the world
- ✓ Conflict is hence an ***inevitable*** and continual feature of international relations.
- ✓ ***Necessity, not freedom***, is the appropriate or realistic starting-point for understanding international relations.
- ✓ Realists are great lovers of ***history*** and Accordingly history teaches us that war and conflict are the norm in international relations.

5.4.1. Realism and Neo-Realism

- ✓ The ideas of realism come from the writings of such historical figures as ***Sun Tzu of ancient China, Thucydides of ancient Greece, Italy's Niccolò Machiaelli. Thomas Hobbes, and Max Weber.***
- ✓ Realists argue that values are context bound, that morality is determined by interest, and that the conditions of the present are determined by historical processes.
- ✓ They claimed that there was no natural harmony of interests among states and that it was foolish and even dangerous to hope that the struggle for power among states could be tamed by ***international law, democratization, and international commerce.***
- ✓ The formative assumptions of realism as a school of thought center on the view that the international system is 'anarchic', in the sense that it is devoid of an all-encompassing authority.

- ✓ Realists believe that nations act only out of ***self-interest*** and that their major goal is to advance their own positions of power in the world
- ✓ Conflict is hence an ***inevitable*** and continual feature of international relations.
- ✓ ***Necessity, not freedom***, is the appropriate or realistic starting-point for understanding international relations.
- ✓ Realists are great lovers of ***history*** and Accordingly history teaches us that war and conflict are the norm in international relations.
- ✓ Realism gained momentum during the ***Second World War*** when it appeared to offer a convincing account for how and why the worst conflict in known history originated after a period of supposed peace and optimism.

- ✓ They argued that the leaders of nations use their power to advance the interests of their own nations with ***little regard for morality or friendship.***
- ✓ Realists believe nations should always be heavily ***armed and ready for war***. Hence, Friendships, religions, ideologies, cultures, and economic systems matter little.
- ✓ Hobbes described human beings as living in an order-less 'state of nature' that he perceived as ***'a war of all against all'.***

5.4.2. Idealism

- ✓ Sometimes referred to as ***utopianism*** and it is a variant of ***liberal internationalism***.
- ✓ Its proponents (***Immanuel Kant, Richard Cobden, John Hobson, Norman Angell, Alfred Zimmern, and Woodrow Wilson***) view human beings as innately good and believe peace and harmony between nations is not only achievable, but desirable.
- ✓ They believe ***international law*** (principles and rules of conduct that nations regard as binding) and ***morality*** are key influences on international events, rather than power alone.
- ✓ Idealists think that human nature is basically good. Hence.
- ✓ They believe ***good habits*** (such as telling the truth in diplomatic dealings with other nations), education, and the existence of international organizations such as the UN to facilitate good relations between nations will result in peaceful and cooperative international relationships.

❖ ***A central characteristic of idealism/Liberalism are***:

- ✓ They believe in the belief that what unites human beings is more important than what divides them.
- ✓ They are naive about the world around them.
- ✓ They are futurists who seek a perfect world.
- ✓ They focus on the interdependence of the world's countries and the mutual benefits they can gain through cooperating with each other.
- ✓ They placed so much importance on International organizations like, the League of Nations and on strengthening international law.
- ✓ They have faith in the idea that the permanent cessation of war is an attainable goal

- ✓ Idealism came to prominence in reaction to the carnage of the ***First World War*** and In the early years, from ***1919 to the 1930s***, the discipline was dominated by what is conventionally referred to as liberal internationalism.
- ✓ Idealists/Liberals also argue that international law offers a mechanism by which cooperation among states is made possible and in playing this role, international law performs two different functions. i.e.

A. Operating system (provide mechanisms for cross-border interactions)

B. Normative system (shape the values and goals these interactions are pursuing).

❖ The nexus between Realism and Idealism

A. One central area that sets realism and liberalism apart is how they view human nature because, realists do not typically believe that human beings are inherently good, or have the potential for good, as liberals do.

B. Realists and liberals look at the very same world.

- When viewing that world through the ***realist lens***, the world appears to be one of domination. The realist lens magnifies instances of ***war and conflict*** and then uses those to paint a certain picture of the world.

- ***Idealists/Liberals,*** when looking at the same world, adjust their lenses to blur out areas of domination and instead bring areas of ***cooperation*** into focus. Then, they can paint a slightly different picture of the same world.

C. Liberals share an ***optimistic view*** of IR, believing that world order can be improved, with peace and progress gradually replacing war. Conversely, realists tend to dismiss optimism as a form of misplaced idealism and instead they arrive at a more ***pessimistic view***.

D. In terms of liberalism, its proponents argue that organizations are valuable in assisting states in formulating decisions and helping to formalize cooperation that leads to peaceful outcomes, but Realists on the other hand believe states partake in international organizations only when it is in their self-interest to do so.

Summary

	Realism	Idealism
What do nations want?	Power	Peace in the world according to the principles defined by nations.
What motivates the nation in IR	Self-interest	Values and principles
What are the source of conflict in the world	Competing for the interest(i.e. territory and resource)	Competing "-isim" (e.g. Democracy Vs. monarchy, totalitarianism or communism)
What is the source of security in IR	Faith in power to protect the nation.	Faith in law or morality to protect the nation
What kind of security the nation are seeking	National security	Global security
Willingness to use power	Limited to interest at the time skeptical of national ability to transcend self-interest	Omnipotent, unlimited faith in ability of national control and thousands common interest in universal goal.

5.4.3. Marxism/Structuralism

❖Proletariat Vs. Bourgeoisie

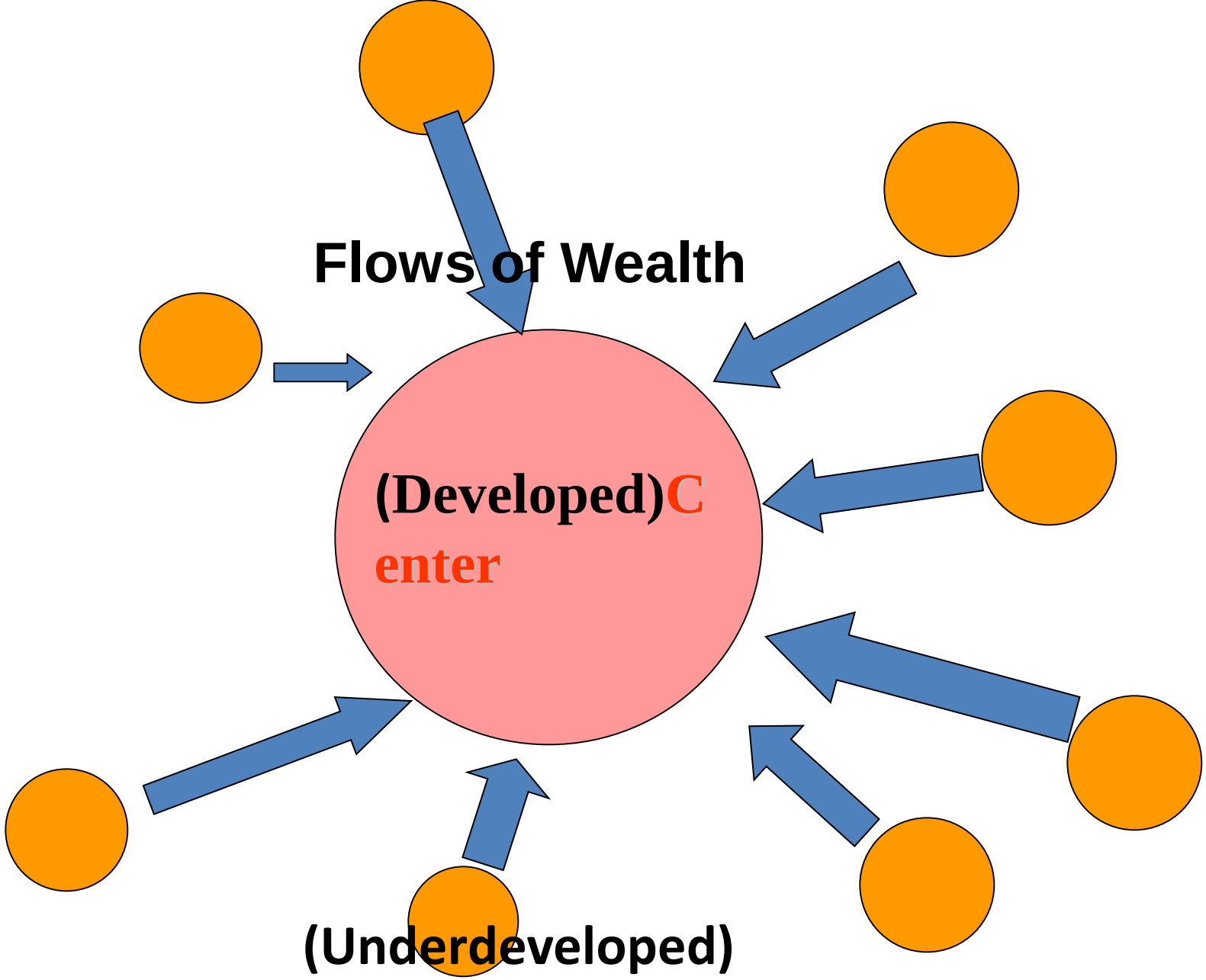
- ✓ This third perspective or paradigm emerged as a critique of both realism and pluralism concentrated on the ***inequalities*** that exist within the international system, inequalities of wealth between the rich **'North/West'** or the ***'First World'*** and the poor **'South'** or the ***'Third World'.***
- ✓ Marxism is an ideology that argues that a capitalist society is divided into two contradictory classes i.e.

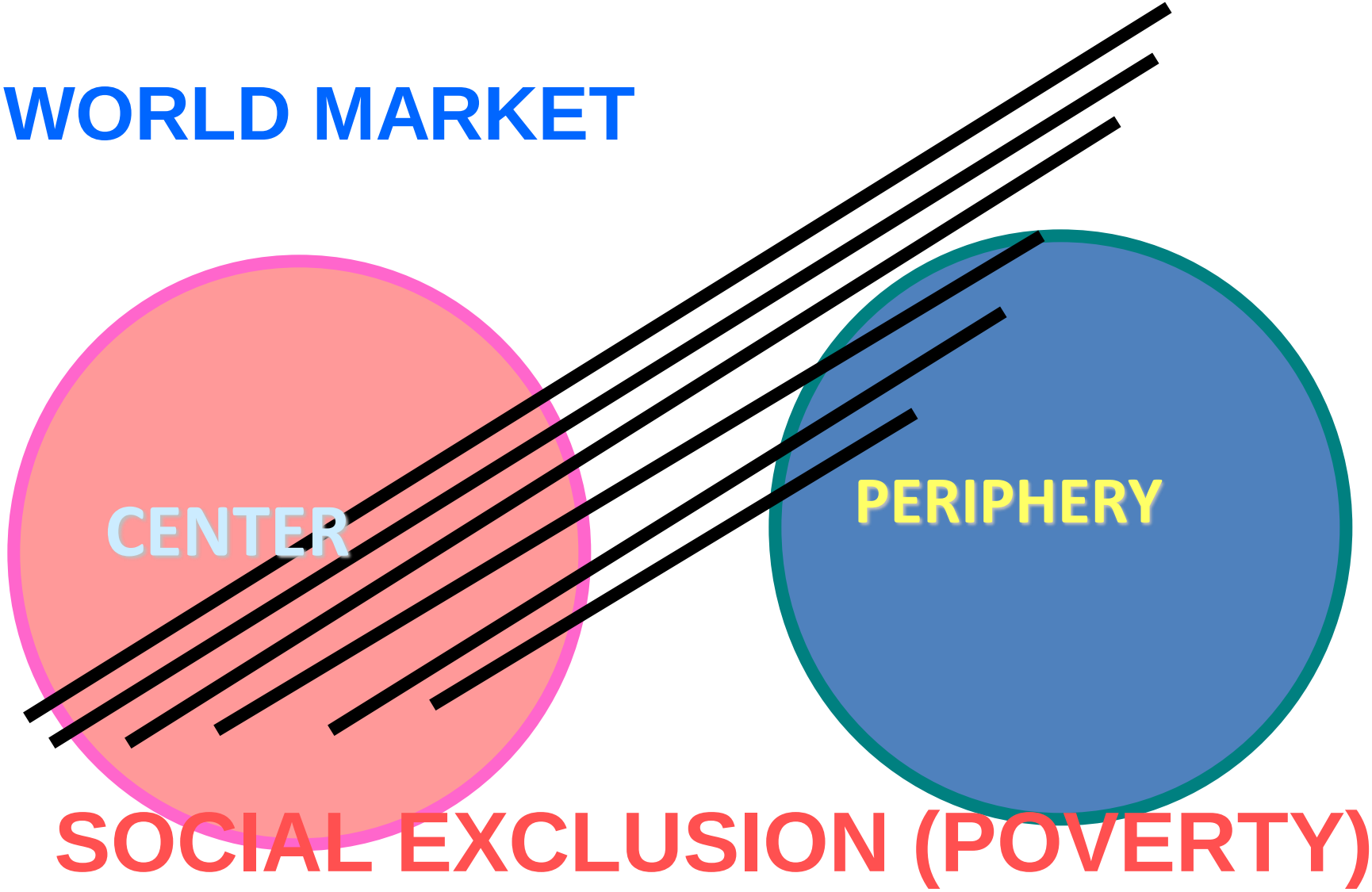
A. The business class (the bourgeoisie) and

B. The working class (the proletariat).

- They focus on ***dependency, exploitation and the international division of labor*** which relegated the vast majority of the global population to the extremes of poverty

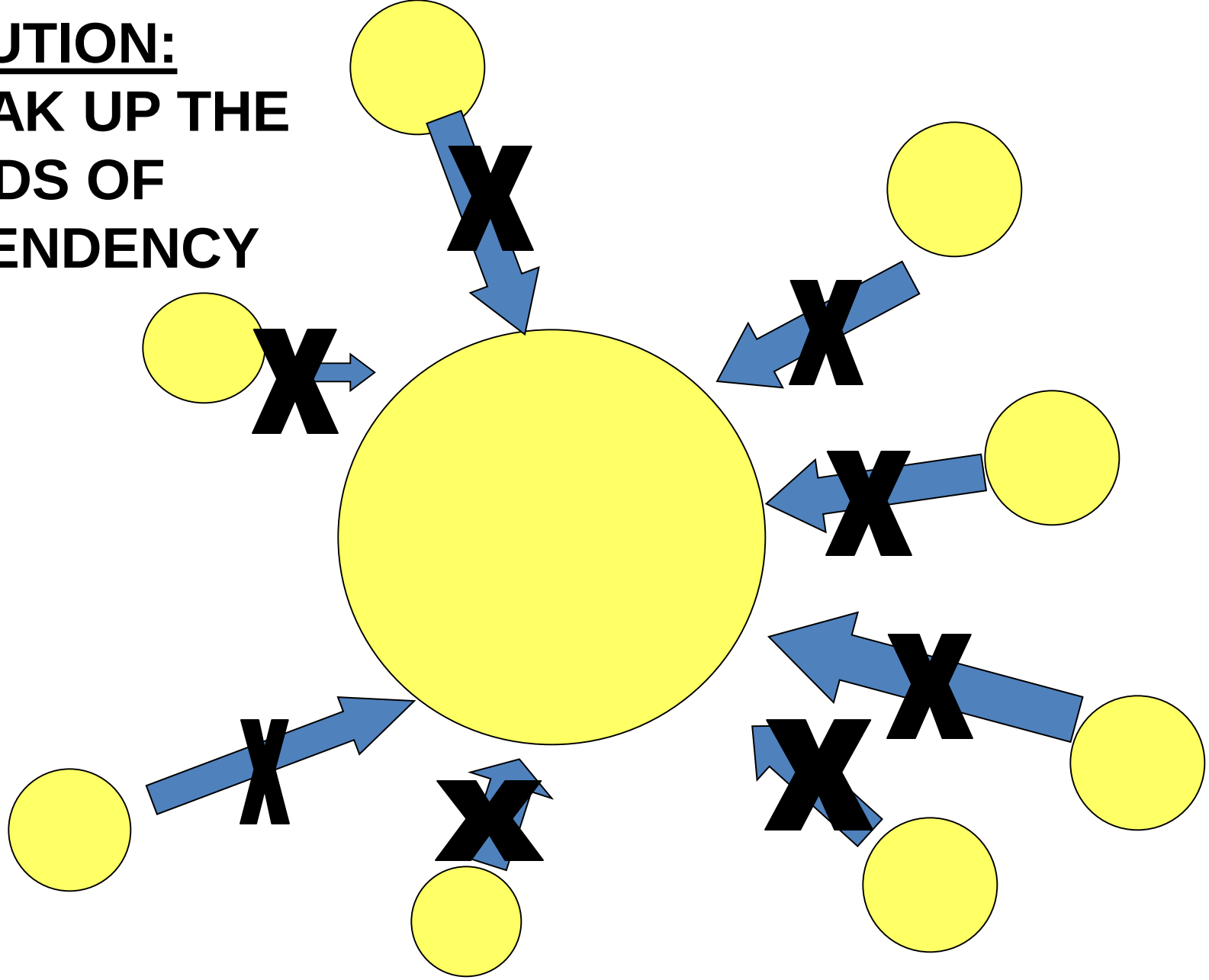
- ✓ Accordingly the ***class system*** that pre-dominated internally within capitalist societies had its parallel globally, producing ***Centre-periphery*** relations that permeated every aspect of international social, economic and political life.
- ✓ Thus, where pluralism and its liberal associations had viewed networks of economic interdependence as a basis of increasing international cooperation founded on trade and financial interactions, neo-Marxist structuralism viewed these processes as the basis of ***inequality, the debt burden, violence and instability.***


Flows of Wealth
(Developed)C
enter
(Underdeveloped)
Periphery


WORLD MARKET
CENTER
PERIPHERY
SOCIAL EXCLUSION (POVERTY)

SOLUTION:

BREAK UP THE BONDS OF DEPENDENCY



5.4.4. Critical theory

- ✓ The leading scholars of this theory are ***Jurgen Habermas, Robert Cox*** and ***Andrew Linklater***.
- ✓ Critical theory refers to a set of ***Marxist-inspired*** critical analyses of international theory and practice.
- ✓ Critical theorists share one particular trait in a sense that they oppose commonly held assumptions in the field of IR that have been central since its establishment.
- ✓ They altered circumstances call for new approaches that are better suited to understand, as well as question, ***the world we find ourselves in.***
- ✓ ***Jurgen Habermas,*** emphasizes on the intimate connection between knowledge and interests.

- ✓ Accordingly, concept of truth is established by ***rational consensus***. What is true is what is agreed to be true, but this consensus must have specific rational features, otherwise truth loses all meaning.
- ✓ For ***Andrew Linklater***, another leading critical theorist in the field, questions of ***inclusion and exclusion*** are central to international relations.
- ✓ He advocates a ***community of humankind*** and he wants to construct new forms of inter-national political relations that are able to include ***all people on equal grounds***.
- ✓ Finally, Critical theorists also provide a voice to individuals who have frequently been ***marginalized***, particularly women and those from the Global South.

5.4.5. Constructivism

- ✓ Constructivism is another theory commonly viewed as a ***middle ground***
- ✓ Constructivism is a distinctive approach to international relations that focuses on the ***social interaction of agents or actors in world politics***
- ✓ They highlight the importance of values and shared interests between individuals who interact on the global stage.
- ✓ ***Alexander Wendt***, a prominent constructivist, described the relationship between agents (individuals) and structures (such as the state) as one in which structures not only ***constrain*** agents but also ***construct*** their identities and interests.
- ✓ The core of constructivism, is that the essence of international relations exists in the interactions between people.
- ✓ After all, states do not interact; it is agents of those states, such as ***politicians and diplomats***, who interact.

- ✓ Constructivists insist that international relations cannot be reduced to rational action and interaction within material constraints (as some ***realists claim***) or within institutional constraints at the international and national levels (as argued by some ***liberal internationalists***).
- ✓ For constructivists, state interaction is not among ***fixed national interests***, but must be understood as a pattern of action that shapes and is shaped by identities over time.
- ✓ According to constructivists, international institutions have both ***regulative*** and ***constitutive*** functions.
- ✓ ***Regulative norms*** set basic rules for standards of conduct by prescribing or proscribing certain behaviors.
- ✓ ***Constitutive norms*** define a behavior and assign meanings to that behavior.

❖ Constructivists accept that ***anarchy*** is the characteristic condition of the international system, but argue that, by itself, it mean nothing.

* For example, an anarchy of friends is quite different from an anarchy of enemies, but both are possible.

✓ ***As a theoretical approach, constructivism is difficult to employ.***

Constructivism, for example, does not predict any particular social structure to govern the behavior of states. Rather, it requires that a given social relationship be examined, articulated and, ultimately understood.

5.4.6. Modernism and post-Modernism

- Modernization scholars believed that the transition to modernity, the condition of being modern, would recapitulate the European experience.

✓ **Modernity:** typically denotes "a post-traditional, post-medieval historical period", in particular, one marked by progress from ***agrarianism*** via the rise of ***industrialism, capitalism, secularization, the nation-state***, and its constituent forms of surveillance.

✓ Hence, to be modernized you need to "***change in a value and attitude***"

✓ According to this theory, development in developing countries would come about and would be engineered through the diffusion of ***innovations, capital, technology, modern ideas, entrepreneurial ship, democratic institutions, and values*** from the developed western societies.

❖ ***Post Modernism*** literally means ***'after the modernist movement'***

✓ ***It*** is a distinctive approach to the study of international relations that emerged in the 1980s.

❖ It is characterized by three main themes.

1. ***First***, postmodernists are hostile towards claims to universal or absolute truth.

✓ They argue that all truth-claims are based on met narratives, or background worldviews, according to which particular claims to truth or value are legitimated or rejected.

2. ***Second***, postmodernists seek to unmask putatively emancipatyor grand narratives as oppressive.

Particular liberations have given birth to new forms of ‘caging’. ***Liberalism*** has emancipated us from ***feudalism*** only to deliver us to ***capitalism***. ***Marxism*** has merely replaced ***capitalism*** with ***Stalinism***. Modern science has neglected and marginalized pre modern forms of human knowledge.

3. The third theme calls for ‘respect for difference’.

7. Feminism

- **Feminism is theory that men and women should be equal politically, economically and socially.**
- They looks at the origins, characteristics, and forms of gender inequality in order to focus on
  - ***gender politics,***
  - ***power relations, and***
  - ***sexuality.***
- Its politics centers on immediate issues like
  reproductive rights,
  domestic violence,
  maternity leave,
  equal pay,
  sexual harassment,
  discrimination, and
  sexual violence…….and finally looking for solutions.

5.6. National Interest, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy of Ethiopia: pas and Present

❖National Interest

- ✓ Of all the concepts , this one is the most vague and therefore easily used and abused, particularly by politicians.
- ✓ The word ***interest*** implies a need that has, by some standard of justification, attained the status of an acceptable claim on behalf of the state. On the other hand, the ***national interest*** is also used to describe and support particular policies.
- ✓ In formal terms, one can identify two attributes of such policies.
- ✓ The first is one of ***inclusiveness***(the policies should concern the country as a whole, or at least a sufficiently substantial subset of its membership to transcend the specific interests of particular groups).

- ✓ In contrast, the second attribute is one of ***exclusiveness***(The national interest does not necessarily include the interests of groups outside the state, although it may do so).
- ✓ National interest is the ***raison de`tat,*** (the reason of state), to justify its actions and policy towards other states at international level.
- ✓ It is a set of values, orientation, goals and objectives a given country would like to achieve in its international relations.
- ✓ It has been the main driving force that determines the contents of foreign policy.
- ✓ However, there are controversies on the exact meaning, scope and contents of national interests.

- **A. K. Holsti,** defines national interest as "an image of the future state of affairs and future set of conditions that governments through individual policy makers aspire to bring about by wielding influence abroad and by changing or sustaining the behaviors of other states". ***(NI=Ambition)***
- **Seabury**, defines national interest as "…set of purposes which a nation should seek to realize in the conduct of its foreign relations" or " it is those purposes which the nation/state through its leadership appears to pursue persistently over time".

- National interest can also be defined as the sum of the goals and objectives of a state's foreign policy.
- However, there is a major division of opinion regarding whether national interest can be defined ***objectively*** **or** ***subjectively***.
- For ***Plato***, the good of the polis (that is the public good) could best be arrived at by philosopher king aided by a few highly learned, detached and fair-minded advisors.

❑ Even if the national interests of states vary in that detail, core national interests are the same for different courtiers and the minimum essential components of the national interest of any state are

- ***security,***
- ***national development*** and
- ***world order***.

❖ National interest is a key concept in foreign policy and the making of foreign policy begins by identifying the state's key national interests.

❑ ***Overview of Foreign Policy of Ethiopia***

1. Foreign Policy during Tewodros II (1855-1868)

- Although the Ethiopian state traces its history back to more than 3000 years, the modern imperial state did not begin to emerge until the middle of 19th century.
- Throughout his reign ***Tewodros*** tried to develop a dynamic foreign policy that reached out beyond the Horn Region.
- The emperor attempted to establish his diplomatic relations to fight his immediate enemies claiming ***Christianity*** as instrument of foreign policy.

- As Keller has put it “he appealed specifically to ***Britain, France and Russia*** as Christian nations to assist him in whatever ways possible in his fight against the ***Turks, Egyptians and Islam***”.
- The emperor attempted to establish his diplomatic relations to fight his immediate enemies claiming ***Christianity*** as instrument of foreign policy.

2. Foreign Policy during Yohannes IV (1872-1889)

- ✓ Like his predecessor, Yohannes considered Islam as a threat to the territorial integrity of the polity.
- ✓ Indeed Egypt tried to put a serious security threat having its motive was to control the source of ***Blue Nile.***
- ✓ However, were not successful as Egypt faced subsequent defeat both in 1875 and 1876 at the ***Batle of Gundet and Gura*** respectively.
- ✓ In addition to Muslim threat, the emperor saw European expansionism as greater threat to the survival of the country which has turned out to be real as **Italy** got a foot hold at the port of **Massawa in 1885**.
- However, the emperor died fighting with the ***"Mahadists".*** The Sudanese resistance groups against British rule happened to invade Western Ethiopia because of their presumption that Yohannes IV was collaborating with the British.

3. Foreign Policy during Menelik II (1889-93)

- ✓ Menelik was the ***King of Shoa*** region before his coronation as the Kings of Kings of Ethiopia.
- ✓ Before the death of Yohannes Italy had good diplomatic relation with Menelik with the objective of weakening its immediate enemy in the North, Yohannes.
- ✓ Menilik comfortably exploited the opportunity to consolidate his power, perhaps to deter Yohannes and bolster its expansionist policy to the south which had disappointed Yohannes as witnessed by the absence of Menelik from participation in the war against Mahadists.
- ✓ Following the death of Yohannes, however, Italy continued to be the main challenge in the North other colonial powers surrounding all four corners of the country as the scramble of Africa was heightened. ***(Hold of Bogess, later named Eritrea, and Missawa).***

- The emperor followed double track diplomacy to contain or reverse Italy's expansion and maintain the territorial integrity of his country.

1) On the one hand, he entered many treaties and agreements to solve the challenge amicably. ***(The 'Wuchalle' treaty).***
2) On the other hand the emperor was preparing himself by accumulating military ammunitions to defend the aggression from any side of colonial powers, British, French and of course Italy.

- However, the emperor's diplomatic endeavor with Italy failed to result in peace due to Italy's misinterpretation of the controversial article 17 of the *'Wuchalle'* treaty.
- In 1896, the emperor declared nation-wide war against Italy in defense of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the century old nation.

4. Foreign Policy during Emperor Haile Selassie I (1916-1974)

- Menelik died in 1913 and it was not until 1930 that the next strong emperor Haile Selassie I, assumed the throne.
- He was dedicated to the creation of a stronger, centralized and bureaucratic empire with unquestioned respect by the international community.
- In 1923, when as Regent to the Crown, Teferi Mekonen, facilitated Ethiopia's entry to the ***League of Nations***.
- When the Italian Fascists finally invade Ethiopia between 1936 and 1941, the Emperor fled to London and established a government in exile.
- In the immediate post-war period, Ethiopia was extremely dependent on British military, economic and technical aid.
- British Military Aid was withdrawn in 1952, and the King moved quickly to firm up relations with the United States.

- Ethiopia also played significant role in Africa in fighting for ***African independence*** and to end ***colonialism and apartheid***.
- In this manner, the emperor can be considered as one of the founding fathers of African Unification.
- The emperor's strategic alliance with outside powers helped him to stay on power for decades.
- The emperor secured the territorial integrity of the country and also secured port through Eritrea, yet the abrogation of the UN imposed federation arrangement of Eritrea remained one of a foreign policy challenge to the military regime who came to power through coup de'tat.

5. Foreign Policy during the Military Government (1974—1991)

- The military regime that took control of state power in 1974 adopted a foreign policy largely oriented to ***socialist ideology***.
- Since socialism was the guiding philosophy of the country, friendship and alliance with socialist countries of the world was considered as a viable strategy for realizing socialism at home and perhaps in the world.
- In this regard, the country was heavily dependent on military aid on the ***Soviet Union*** which prevented it from securing any kind of military and technical assistance from the US and other European countries.
- Internally Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) launched military attack on the Ethiopian Army.
- Many external actors were involved in sponsoring the rebel group, including; ***Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and***

- Apart from the Dergue's near total dependence on the leaders in ***Moscow*** and their ***Warsaw Pact allies*** for military and logistical support during the war with Somalia and in the Eritrean conflict, several others factors have facilitated the consolidation of this new special relationship.
- Apart from socialism, Ethiopia's strategic locations and other questions, such as; ***Eritrea, Somalia, and the issue of the Nile***, had also shaped the foreign policy orientation and behavior of military government. Ethiopia being located in the Horn of Africa is at the cross roads to the oil rich middle East region and Indian Ocean.
- In general the adoption of socialism and its subsequent impact on the foreign policy of the country could be considered as a departure from its predecessors; however the policy objective of the country remained unchanged.

6. The Foreign Policy of Ethiopia in the Post 1991

- With EPRDF's ascent to power the country adopted a new foreign policy orientation and objectives.
- In the post 1991 period, Ethiopia's foreign policy is driven primarily by the quest to ensure national interest and security.
- As such, one of the goals of the foreign policy is to ensure the survival of the ***multi- national state***.
- The primary strategy in realization of these goals is to put the focus on domestic issues like addressing domestic political and economic problems requires forging national consensus about the problems and exit strategies from the problem.
- At diplomatic level, ***economic diplomacy*** is adopted to strengthen the domestic efforts in fighting poverty and backwardness and address the issues of development.

- Economic diplomacy involves ***attracting foreign investments, seeking markets for Ethiopian exportable commodities, seeking aid and confessional loans*** too.
- Ethiopia appreciates the East Asian countries economic successes and development paths and the country would like to learn from such successful countries such as ***Singapore, Malaysian and Indonesia.***
- The other foreign policy strategy is building up the military capability of the country. Peaceful dialogues and negotiations will be employed to peacefully coexist with others.
- To this end the three regimes used a combination of both military force and diplomacy to address both internal and external challenges depending on the circumstances.
- In this manner, while the imperial and the military regime's foreign policy strategy is largely an approach the current regime followed ***"in-side out"*** approach.

The End of Chapter Two Five!