Probing the Nature of Ethiopian Foreign Policy under Military, EPRDF, and Prosperity Governments:

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Abstract: *This article aimed to examine the nature of Ethiopia's FP in the military, EPRDF, and Prosperity governments. Consequently, the paper claims that there are various forms in the nature of the military, EPRDF, and Prosperity government of Ethiopia's foreign policy making and executions. The research used secondary data sources; gathered from books, journal articles, reported and unpublished materials, government statements, magazines, and web-based sources. The paper also used the primary data obtained from key informant interviews to endorse and substantiate the secondary data. In consideration of the qualitative data obtained, the research is based on qualitative data analysis techniques. The study results showed that the change in the three governments also brought not only changed FP making and the implementation but also altered the nature of the country's FP strategy and focus from outward-in looking FP to inward-out looking and citizen-centered approach, focused on neighboring countries respectively in the above-mentioned governments. The result of the study also showed that the collapse of the military Government has contributed not only to a change in the country's foreign-policy stance approach but also a shift in the redefinition of national interest and national security. And survival challenges and the nature of Prosperity of the FP coupled with cooperation and rivalry between nations.*

Keywords: Ethiopia, Foreign Policy, Military, EPRDF, Prosperity, Government

1. Introduction

Ethiopia is one of the oldest nations in the world. However, the new Empire's foundation dates back to the mid-19th century (Beken, 2007). It was fostered by the fall and the arrival of Ras Kasa (Seifuddin, 1997), who had traced his ancestry to David, King Solomon's house, and succeeded in strengthening his reign over a center of the Abyssinian, where Ethiopia's modern history was flourishing. Ras Kasa requested European states' help in the nation's modernization and the protection of Egypt and Turks' challenge, and those were Muslim states. Keller said that with the creation of the modern Ethiopian Empire at the beginning of the 19th Century, Ethiopia's foreign policy (FP) manuals were created, which were not approved until 1996 when the current Government adopted the official Ethiopian foreign policy document (Keller, 1987).

After establishing the new Ethiopian Empire, numerous governments have emphasized the question of foreign policy as the best way of achieving the foreign policy goals of modernizing the country's programs and protecting national dignity. According to Amare, the nature of Ethiopia's foreign policy under various regimes has been determined by domestic, regional, and global powers different from Government to Government (Amare, 1989). Ethiopia has a long diplomatic tradition and comprehensive international affairs experience. Since the establishment of the new Ethiopian Empire, numerous governments have used FP and foreign relations as the best means of modernizing the country. The objective of this study is, therefore, to analyze or explore the nature of the three consecutive Ethiopian foreign policies under the military, EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) and Prosperity government, and to address this objective, three main research questions were proposed organized and the study was undertaken to address these research questions which include, what are the changes in foreign policy? Are there any improvements in the nature of the three foreign policy structures of the Government? Are there substantive differences between the three governments in the field of foreign policy?

2. Methods and Materials

Regarding the methods, the research used the qualitative analysis methodology and used the narrative research style to accomplish the study's purpose. The research then used secondary data from books, journal articles, published and unpublished content, and blogs. And also obtained key details interviews with key stakeholders and related experts in research to validate the data. The data collected are qualitative; the research is based on qualitative data analysis techniques. Also, to extract the necessary information from the two data sources referred to above, the researcher's in-depth observation and record analysis were used as methods for data collection.

3. Conceptual framework

Foreign policy attitudes have not been measured or conceptualized securely. Foreign policy is the most significant element in democratic progress. Evaluation of foreign policy relies on the nature of both the rethinking of outcomes and the general policy-oriented phenomena. The effect of foreign policy on global assessment is its propensity to concentrate on traumatic incidents such as conflicts and crises. There are theoretical reasons to assume the same distribution mechanism to mediate the interaction between international policy opinions and foreign policy assessments as in domestic or economic policy. At the analytical level, the area of foreign policy perceptions can be determined by suggesting and explaining the utility of a radically new strategy. From American politics, two strands of political philosophy propose alternative perspectives about how elected leaders react to popular opinion (Foyle, 1999).

Kaarbo and other academics conclude that "the absence of an overarching government in the international community is one of the most significant external conditions impacting foreign policy. Realist theory argues that anarchy is a character of the world climate that makes international politics so fundamentally different from domestic politics" (Kaarbo et al., 2012).

Long-standing issues in both the US government and foreign policy point to normative strains on the Neighboring role of popular opinion in shaping foreign policy. As Bernard Cohen (1973) showed in a critical literature study that "the constraining position of public opinion was frequently claimed, but rarely demonstrated—or even checked systematically" (Cohen, 1973). While not generally concerned with public sentiment and foreign policy, the moralistic perspective of this situation is close to that of the classical realists. Kenneth Waltz and other neo-realists decide between the normative formulations and mechanisms of foreign policy and the theoretical dimensions of global influence, while also lining the minds of classical realists regarding public opinion and foreign policy. For example, John Mearsheimer points out, "The public opinion on national security issues is notoriously clumsy and responsive to elite manipulation and world events" (Mearsheimer, 1990).

Human rights have a topographical dimension of foreign policy. Baehr and Monique describe human rights as internationally agreed principles, norms, or laws controlling the actions of states against their people and non-citizens. Equal rights are, in the terms of the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR): 'a basic quality of success for all peoples and all nations' (Baehr, 2004). Human rights, however, change from these ideals of foreign policy in that they do not appeal to such realistic interests. Similarly, as Banerjee points out, Assertive human rights diplomacy will vary from being what it claims to be imperialism or aggression in disguise. One must objectively judge the truth of the arguments of human rights diplomacy (Banerjee, 2000). Governments wishing to protect civil rights internationally should not take a simple burden for themselves. It gives the power to maintain international support for the maintenance and development of human rights and to solve the basic problems of law and governance. Like other nations, the business sector has now grown more capable of nomenclature civil rights, and democracy.

Universal human rights principles, which have essentially been established over the past decades, have helped as a policy for regimes to protect the rights of people in their nations. Human rights have now been part of the international policy of many countries. Since its independence, India became one of the leaders in the cause of human rights. India's human rights diplomacy has occurred with the creation of an Ethical Arrangement on the Activation of Authority within the governing body, depending on the part of the politicians. In the new age of globalization, the potential of natural procedures to travel beyond national boundaries has critically accomplished better goals. Human rights issues of foreign policy leaders should have an impact on other governments to strengthen respect for human rights. International policy on human rights must be part of a policy to strengthen this machinery (Luard, 1981).

Human rights have been the theme of agitation and pressure, and collective and all-party governmental issues have become so widespread that it has become almost impossible to take any care of human rights in international relations. Human rights are being disturbed all over the world. However, human rights have gradually become a matter for the government and the relationship between human rights and foreign policy. Also, national factors that could affect the state of human rights in foreign policy would be consistent. The interaction between human rights and international affairs has brought new scope to different facets of the definition of human rights. Human rights are close to sound administration and responsibility for the use of authority for public gain. Both democracies require watchful civilians and autonomous organizations to ensure that governments are decent and equal, that States abide by their international commitments, and that they carry up their duties and obligations towards their people concerning human rights. Western societies to ensure respect for human rights around the world could better communicate their solidarity with people in a different place to challenge the contradictions that Western domestic and foreign policies have defined in the present period.

At the end of the day, the form of this convergence is determined by what the leaders themselves add to the mix in terms of pre-existing thinking processes, particular responses to the issue of political operations, and model personality characters. As

a result, each leader will follow the concepts of personality, ethics, and authority in a particular way and process these inputs in various ways to create a worldview. This worldview, then, is the basis for the foreign policy that leaders make.

Participation inactivity in the world and government provides a better sense that politicians are dynamic actors in international affairs and the formulation of foreign policy. Leadership in foreign policy is a requirement for sound management. The leadership of foreign policy is an activity of chairing individuals to work together to achieve shared goals. The achievement of the agreement depends on the level of leadership in foreign policy. The leadership of foreign policy is a guiding factor that drives people towards greater results.

A broader philosophy of foreign policy is neoclassical realism. It argues that the scope and aims of foreign policy are based on a larger philosophy. The aspects of neoclassical realism have no impact and little effect on the theory of foreign relations. Neoclassical realism maintains that the scope and aim of a nation-state's foreign policy are dictated by the relative factual strength of the nation-state against its elimination from foreign policy. Neoclassical realism draws on the clear connection between land and society seen in classical realism without giving up the core understanding of neo-realism regarding the power of the study of foreign affairs. Classic realism relies on national states to come together to pursue shared aims on the national force involved in the area of global relations and the foreign policy challenges posed by politicians. The moral philosophy is surprising in matters of foreign policy like military intervention, diplomacy, legal philosophy, etc. Ethical considerations are one of the big challenges of international policy. Ethical problems and external influences to greater achievements have proved to be challenging since the development of human civilization. Furthermore, no foreign policy was entirely immoral.

As Christopher Hill points out, indeed the Thousand Year Reich of Adolf Hitler was, in its own hideous way, 'an ethic sought by foreign policy' (MacDonald et al., 2007). Yet Brown's view of the legal problems of foreign policy is somewhat distinct from that of Christopher. As Brown points out, from a cosmopolitan point of view, all foreign policy is, by necessity, immoral and unethical, simply because it is the policy of the state, an institution which, by its existence, is immoral and unethical, even though it specifically reflects the ideals and interests of its people (Brown, 2004).

Foreign policy faced the most critical legal obstacles in the early twenty-first century. The importance of moral theory in foreign policy also plays an important role in the twenty-first century, as was the case in the earlier period. The ethical foreign policy includes the participation of individuals and organizations with important reflections on the practice of the government. Foreign policy requires, through its ethical use, that people and organizations hold a significant return to government intervention. The consistent expression of an ethical foreign policy has given the groundwork for others to create a connection between policy and execution. The government will close down a company in a matter of hours; it takes far longer for angry consumers to have such a dramatic impact (Thomas et al., 2004). Ethical foreign policy, which is mirrored, has a great empiric value on the problems that states face at the moment, and provides moral grounds for ethical support for this realistic growth what can be said about the democratic position of this realism? An approach that, as individuals, is also central to an ethical consideration for research and progress is at the core of the entire political philosophy. Pragmatism is based on the theoretical concept that all persons are capable of intelligence and should have the ability to lead their lives, and this calls for people to have a voice in human behavior that affects them. The idea that consent should guide human relationships is an assumption common to democratic thought. In pragmatism, this basic assumption drives inquiry towards growth (Cochran, 2004).

Ethical issues of foreign policy appear to be a product of the dynamism of global politics and support the needs of outsiders. The key argument is that an ethical foreign policy calls for the presence of individuals and organizations who can keep the government in its critical language. The argument that such a concern is appropriate relies, in part, on the success of a practical argument that the moral rhetoric of states in principle contributes to new interests. Creative production is the cornerstone of an ethical foreign policy. A foreign policy that is legal in effect requires individuals and organizations to be able to take a hard look at government action. In this respect, the explicit articulation of an ethical foreign policy has provided a framework for others to make a comparison between policy and implementation (Fierke, 2004). So, it is clear that the set-up of an ethical foreign policy is extremely challenging.

Nature foreign policy of a country is defined by several factors. Generally, the components of the foreign policy are of two types; internal determinants of foreign policy and external determinants of foreign policy. Rizwan (2009) insists that there are many internal and external determinants of foreign policy. Internal foreign policy determinants include land, regional influences, culture and tradition, economic factors, infrastructure, national capacity, social structure, public sentiment, Democratic Party system, government, political responsibility, the press office, and the bureaucracy. External determinants of the foreign policy include international organizations and institutions, perceptions of other countries, international standing, international public opinion, and groupings.

The literature shows that the US administration has to recognize the basic essence of the United States as a democracy if the post-Cold War world hegemonic foreign policy is to be accurately understood. Basically, the nature of the US foreign policy of global hegemony is shaped by two of the most important internal processes that have existed since the very beginning of US independence and statehood (declared in 1776): 1. A mass consumeristic mindset of its people deeply impregnated by American (sub) culture; 2. There are 800 U.S. military bases worldwide, for example, and one of the largest in Kosovo (Bondsteel), one of the richest regions of Europe, according to its reserves of natural resources (at least 500 billion $US) is the world military supremacy to ensure the private possession of global goods, energy, and natural resources and credit.

The American policy of global hegemony after the Second World War was not only to rival Soviet military power and political dominance, but also to create, and is still much more, a world that is compulsory for the US economy to expand. The US military-political global supremacy was then ideologically justified by anti-communism and the United States was supposedly the pioneer in protecting the "free world". However, Washington clearly justified after the end of European communism, the breakdown of the Warsaw Pact, and the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. by protecting Europe (and potentially all over the world) against the "Russian aggression" as the continuation of its global influence in the Cold War. The "Free World" has been thoroughly accepted by the values, traditions, economic and political structures, and (sub) culture of America. According to that strategic initiative, the enemies of the "free world" have been declared by all of those regimes that declined to dance according to the American play (like the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999).

The basic allegory of the American promotion of liberty and freedom, however, is that the "free world" is not completely sovereign (as of 1948 was Israel's West Bank) nor entirely democratic (not being even among the first 30 democratic states in the world).

Yet, as a tool for carrying out the geopolitical strategic agenda of global hegemony, the various US military actions after 1945 greatly eroded the very essence of democracy while simultaneously contributing to the systematic infringement of human rights. The key strategy of the Pax Americana concept is to maintain cheap raw materials suppliers, particularly oil supplies as a key source of energy for the American consumerist economy. Thus, immediately after the Second World War, the basic policy of the US was to develop American hegemony in oil-rich countries in the Middle East region, promoting all sorts of non-democratic and even dictatorial regimes that conveyed political allegiance to Washington, such as the regime of Iran (Persia) from the CIA/M16 coup in 19535 to the Islamic Revolution in 1978− 1979, Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar and above all Saudi Arabia.

From the very beginning of the U.S. existence in 1776, the war was, is now, and is sure to be, the essence of American life and (sub) civilization. This very reality is a direct product and result of the existence of the US economic system and the consumerism of its people. Effects on international security and global stability are evident (Sotirović, 2019).

In general, the main nature of foreign policy has been a struggle between diverse comparative viewpoints. Foreign policy should, at the end of the day, be seen as driven by national survival, the associated goal of leveraging resources that improve state capability, and a general predisposition to all but expedient ways of cooperation with other nations (Webber, & Michael, 2002). The foreign policy of a nation is decided by internal and external influences. The formulation of foreign policy is one of the most difficult challenges. The representatives of a nation are then given the task of designing and framing foreign policy. Foreign policy-making was not only seen as the working of internal and external influences but also as changes in the comparative global scenario.

Thus, foreign policy is paired with the country's long-term interests and goals, as well as the aspirations of its leaders to play a major role on the global forum that gives the country's foreign policy its ultimate shape. The foreign policy of every nation is influenced by numerous internal and external influences. The key internal factors that affect foreign policy are regional, culture and tradition, economic factors, technology, national capacity, leadership, political responsibility, the press office, and bureaucracy. Around the same time, external influences, such as the dominant system of international politics and the security power of other nations, are affecting the aspirations of foreign policymaking. These influences combine, and their equal contribution contributes to the foreign policy of the region.

Foreign policy is a country's moral principle. Countries are driven by the goals of international growth. The reaction to shifting international positions is a core component of foreign policy. Foreign policy is the most critical aspect of international relations. Sovereignty concerns the goals of foreign policy. So, a country's foreign policy is the preservation of sovereignty and independence. Foreign policy is the normative dimension of foreign policy. Values and values are central considerations of foreign policy in international affairs. Foreign policy is a complex and systematic design focused on expertise and practice in the execution of government interactions and ties with the rest of the world.

The political system, which is egalitarian in nature, takes note of a variety of considerations when formulating legislation. It holds in mind the constitutional rights of the people and their duty to them. The importance of international policy is understood as classified surveillance and diplomatic activities are carried out. Economic security and democracy have an important role to play in executing foreign policy. The elements of foreign policy transition were not the same for the United States between the Cold War and the 21st century. The United States has often dedicated considerable resources to international growth abroad in the post-war era and has often provided economic advice to foreign governments, in part to boost the economic status of its citizens (Johnson, 1980).

When designing foreign policy, the country should take care not only of its national interests but also of global welfare. The behavior of each nation in this inter-twined universe influences the other country. Foreign policy should also be devised in such a manner as to facilitate the improvement of the world as well as the global good. So, an all-inclusive foreign policy will only make the world stable, safe and prosperous. Therefore from this conceptual framework of global perspectives the researcher explores the nature of Ethiopian foreign policy.

4. The Foreign Policy of the Military Government

Since the fall of the empire dictatorship, the military Government retained the throne in 1974. According to Beken, in the 1960s, military movements occurred in different parts of the country. University students nurtured ideas that offered intellectual fodder for resistance against the imperial Government and aggravated the revolution in the various provinces of the country, which, in turn, paved the way for the abolition of the imperial regime (Beken, 2007).

As Bahru said, the occasion was also alarmed and aggravated by various factors, such as water shortages, fuel, tax problems, unemployment, late wages. And other social welfare problems across the country force teachers, students, farmers, public officials to take action, and finally take down the imperial regime (Bahru, 2002). During the military administration, Ethiopia's foreign policy was rooted largely in the Westphalian values of stability, territorial integrity, and autonomy of the Ethiopian state (Broich, 2017).

Established the Derg military junta (a military coalition) in 1974, and the military Government kept the rule of the state from then until 1991 and Mengistu Hailemariam, Chairman of the military Government and the Head of the Armed Forces, continued to be kept in his hand the country's foreign relations. Primarily, the military Government's foreign policy remained the same as the foreign policy of Emperor Haile Selassie. He had close relations with Western European countries and, in particular, with the USA. Later on, President Mengistu changed the country's foreign policy from the West to the East due to a decline in US support for Ethiopia due to a weak human rights record of the military Government.

According to Amare, the development of the Ethiopian foreign policy (FP) under the military Government was inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology. And Marxist concepts of culture and the balance of forces, even though the essence of foreign policy is similar to that of its predecessors, but unlike its predecessors, foreign relations and military policy depend solely on the Soviet Union after the military governorship (Amare, 1989).

Ethiopia's foreign policy under the military Government was also a philosophy focused on socialism. The Government's foreign policy strategy was an outside-in approach (siege mentality approach)that was more about externalizing the country's issues, particularly as its predecessors considered Ethiopia's neighboring states to be the historical enemy of the country (Ahmed, 2016).

Like other countries in the military administration, both the internal and external political developments and influences, such as tradition, economic growth, the cold war, and political dynamism of the Horn of Africa and values of the International Community, decided the formulation execution of Ethiopian foreign policy.

4.1. The nature of Economic and Political Development

Concerning the nature of economic growth, there is no question that, under military rule, Ethiopia is one of the poorest and economically backward countries in the world due to an imbalanced economy and an insufficient socio-economic climate. Even though the military Government nationalizes production and distribution, it carries out numerous reform projects such as the union of peasants (collectivize). According to Temesgen met the country with an economic crisis due to both human-made and natural causes, such as famine, civil war, which, in turn, triggered difficulties and economic collapse (Temesgen, 2013). During the military administration, the nature of a democratic structure was always marked by a lack of unity and peace due to the emergence of a historic attempt to push a shared set of values into a multi-ethnic, polyglot society that contributes to political turmoil. Despite, the prevalence of the military Government's initial pledge to guarantee common participation, the dignity of all citizens, and regard for people's human rights, the fact on the ground is different because the nature of the political structure was

dictatorial and believes in the first Ethiopian slogan and the historical tradition of Haile Selassie's political system. Thus, these domestic political and political conditions defined the essence (style, approach) and goals of Ethiopia's foreign policy during the military administration.

Historical considerations have also influenced all Ethiopian governments' views and attitudes; fears of their neighbors are embedded in the memory of past confrontations. The dominant Christian groups in Ethiopia have long been persuaded that 'Arabs' and 'Muslims' will never be reconciled with their nations' interests (the national interest of Ethiopia). This historic catastrophe has led the military Government to establish a robust, static, and sensitive foreign policy toward neighboring Arab states' interests. The foreign policy policies developed by the military Government include broadening the tensions between Arab states, pitting Africans against Arabs, making arrangements with those in a position to control the Arabs, and finding an influential patron.

In Emperor Tewodros II's letter to the Queen Victoria of British England, "Ethiopia is the only Christian state in the Horn of Africa. And the Red Sea surrounded by Muslim states that are the enemy of Ethiopia since they intend to create a single Muslim state in the Horn of Africa." However, this historical history compelled the military Government to develop an anti-Arab foreign policy, and it relied heavily on the Soviet Union, India, Yugoslavia, Italy, and another Western European state to forge an African Union against Arab states. In short, this mental tactic of siege has also driven the military Government to militarize its foreign policy and diplomacy and increase its military defense potential against 'historic external enemies.'

Thus, protecting the territorial integrity and national sovereignty independence of Ethiopia has been the primary priority of Ethiopia's foreign policy since the establishment of the new Ethiopian Empire. Again, during the rule of the military regime, a fact is realized based on the country's national or military capability. To this purpose, in addition to assistance obtained from the Soviet Union, the military Government allocates 60 percent) sixty percent of the annual budget for the military business. Ethiopia ranked first in terms of allocating a substantial sum of money from the annual budget to the armed forces, and again in terms of the number of armed forces arising from the lack of permanent peace in the region, particularly the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia.

4.2. Leadership and Image of the Government

The idiosyncrasies of the President were the determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under military rule, under military rule; Centralized all political influence under the firm hand of Mengistu Hailemariam, Secretary-General of the Ethiopian Workers' Party and President of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He has managed all the Government's political operations, and the country's foreign policy has been accepted. The result of Ethiopia's foreign policy has been a reflection of the President's idiosyncrasies; significant foreign policy decisions have taken place without thought of their implications and effect for Ethiopia. As a result, this hegemony of authority thus adversely affects foreign policy's predictability and transparency and makes its formal formulation and implementation challenging (Amare, 1989).

4.3. Regional and Global Political System

Because Ethiopia is situated at the epicenter of the Horn of Africa, the political condition and political climate of the Horn of Africa have affected it and dictated the nature of Ethiopia's foreign policy from Emperor Tewodros II's reign to the present day. And these leading to the spillover effects of what happened in the other Horn of Africa. The political condition in the Horn of Africa appears to affect the nature of Ethiopia's foreign policy.

Having agreed, then, its political climate and the Horn of Africa's political culture have influenced the direction and nature of Ethiopia's foreign policy under military rule. Because the government officials and President Mengistu concluded that Ethiopia had several unpleasant nations surrounded by people with greater differences than similarities, their relations were historically characterized by deep distrust and aggressive animosity. This has helped the country realize that Ethiopia's main security danger is external, provided that the foreign policy stance and government focus is an external-in approach (Belachew, n.d).

The era of the military Government (1974-1991) was also the Cold War period and the bipolar system that defined the course of the foreign policy of nation-states around the world. But the same point applies to Ethiopia's military, foreign policy, as it was then the establishment of the Soviet Union (USSR), the landmark for the Ethiopian FP, which was the natural ally of the country. The near-total dependency of the leaders in Moscow and their allies in the Warsaw Pact on strategic and logistical support during the war with Somalia and the Eritrean conflict; several other factors have also added to the consolidation of the new special relationship. The Soviet Union and its allies have also had a significant effect on the nature of Ethiopia's domestic and foreign policy (Adula, 2019).

5. FP of Ethiopia under EPRDF Government

According to Keller, the Marxist-Leninist Government's failure to resolve national problems and national issues led to the fall of the military Government in 1991, followed by a coalition of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (Keller, 2005). Mengistu dethroned in what was later known as the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) after beating Derg in 1991, after 25 years of civil war in Ethiopia and Eritrea, a secessionist rebellion dating back to 1961 (Schraeder, 1992). Ethiopia's foreign policy has since redefined the approach and course and re-identifies Ethiopia's national priorities and the threat to national stability. Since then, the Government of the EPRDF has redefined public interest and national security issues. Conflict, severe and pervasive misery, and general retrogression are viewed as existential challenges. According to Mehari, EPRDF believes that this approach to 'externalization' poses the most important existential problems for the world if the ancient strategy of assimilation does not better regulate ethnic and religious diversity. And if the Government replaces an old stagnant, and reactive strategy with a more complex and, to a limited degree, a constructional foreign policy (Mehari, 2014).

The challenges of national security in Ethiopia are described as internal vulnerabilities and concerns, such as political and economic issues. The military Government's overthrowing has contributed to a shift in the foreign policy position and course and has led to the recognition of the nature of the Foreign and National Security Plans document in 1996. And which redefined the nature of the state's national interest, redefined significant safety issues in the country's history for the first time (Tedros, 2015).

The security issues defined by foreign policy and national security planning are economic backwardness and insecurity. The vast majority of the population resides, along with an understanding of the need for peace and good governance and the establishment of a democratic structure and Government at all levels in the world. Without them, Ethiopia will be unable to exist as a country, and the entire survival will be at stake. Unless there is rapid economic development, the future of Ethiopia as a nation is at risk. Ethiopia's foreign policy stance and focus have changed from an outward-in (Siege mental) approach towards an inward-looking approach, implying that neighboring countries are no longer government rivals and are no longer perceived as threatening the stability of a country. Ensuring rapid economic development and the realization of democratization is considered the alpha and omega for the country's population's survival.

Moreover, the Ethiopian foreign policy under the EPRDF government characterized by its efforts to diversify its partners, and unlike its predecessors, post-Cold War Ethiopia's foreign policy and strategy have been characterized by efforts to diversify its allies with non-Western powers, such as China, India, Turkey, Brazil, Malaysia, and the Gulf States. As opposed to the Soviet-dependent military Government's continued involvement in foreign direct investment, underlining the military sector alone the EPRDF's foreign policy and strategy paper focused on promoting the mechanism of democratization of local policy. And the remedy of structural constraints using economic diplomacy underpinned by trade deals, aid, and direct foreign investment are basic principles (Muzeyen, 2015). However, this indicates that the FP goal from hard power (military) to soft power was modified under an EPRDF government based on economic diplomacy (economy). Although the FP approach and style have improved, the fundamental object of Ethiopia's foreign policy remains the same - that remains the FP Ethiopia's goal to preserve the country's national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

5.1. Economic Backwardness and Poverty

Since 1991, Ethiopia has redefined its national goals completely to fix internal vulnerabilities and issues. As poverty and economic backwardness as a strong threshold in the 2002 Ethiopian Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy report insecurity/poverty, and economic backwardness are the two major problems confronting the survival of Ethiopia itself. The document argued that achieving rapid economic development is crucial for our nation's survival, which is in a state of abject poverty and backwardness (MOFA, 2002). However, this implies that poverty and economic backwardness posed a major danger to the life of the country statehood. Without rapid economic development, the future of the nation as a state is at stake. This transition of foreign-policy stance from an outside-in approach to an inside-out strategy contributes to a shift in foreign target from hard power (military diplomacy) to soft power (economic diplomacy) (Adula, 2019).

Consequently, that is why the EPRDF government emphasized economic diplomacy as a panacea to counter poverty and economic backwardness by hiring foreign direct investors and boosting export-led industrialization. The EPRDF Government also argues that the transformation and expansion of the Ethiopian economy by agriculture, energy, and other sectors will bring about rapid economic growth that will help all nations, nationalities, and Ethiopian inhabitants. And realize the very existence of the Westphalian nation-based statehood (Berouk, 2012).

Poverty and economic backwardness are thus the main factors deciding the nature (shape, form, strategy, and orientation) of Ethiopia's foreign policy under the current administration. It is a significant threat to the country of national interest

and a challenge to the country's perpetual existence. In addition to foreign interference, this attributed to the refinement of the county's national interest in democratization and economic growth following the military Government's dethroning in 1991.

5.2.   Nature of Domestic Political System

Infant-level democracy and lack of good governance are a cause of failure to work together in a spirit of tolerance and cooperation in the world (Ministry, 2002). Supporting this claim, Tedros (2015) argued that Ethiopia has fully redefined its national interest in the post-1991 period. And rightly stressed internal weaknesses, including domestic political problems such as the absence of democracy and good governance, which is a crucial factor in deciding the nature of the state-society relationship and the gradual achievement of democratization. It is crucial to a viable state's existence since the lack of independence and good governance presents a significant challenge to the nation of Ethiopia's interest and its very survival.

The Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (FANSPS) paper also pointed out that the creation of democratic order in Ethiopia is a way of respecting citizens and individual rights, affirming good governance, and maintaining secure working and living conditions (Adula, 2019). Democracy is an important instrument for mobilizing around shared ideals and engaging people in the construction of a community, and ensuring that members of different countries, nationalities, and faiths in Ethiopia live in an environment of tolerance. In the absence of political order, ethnic and religious tensions will invariably escalate, and human rights violations will lead to conflicts. Poverty will propagate a blueprint for disintegration and further devastation.

Thus, the realization that democracy will help to achieve Prosperity and good governance will also guarantee national stability and sustainability. Undoubtedly, democratization is necessary to safeguard all Ethiopians' interests and ensure the continued survival of the Government. In short, the nature of the domestic political structure (including the lack of democracy and good governance) is a crucial internal determinant of the nature of the Ethiopian FP under the EPRDF administration.

5.3.   Regional and Global Political System

Ethiopia has a border with all the Horn of Africa countries that are very difficult to control and beset by violence. Ethiopia is situated east of Djibouti, south-eastern Kenya, and north of Eritrea, south-west Somalia, West of Sudan, and south of Sudan. Thus, as far as Ethiopia is concerned, the landlocked situated at the heart of the Horn of Africa is a single geostrategic landmark globally, thanks to its proximity to the Red Sea, the oil-rich countries, and the Nile River. Ethiopia is affected by the political situation in each of the Horn African countries. Today's national interest in the Horn African States challenges even also challenges Ethiopia's national interests tomorrow (Chauhan, 2016). The existing military base of other countries, such as the United States, France, China, Saudi Arabia, and others in Djibouti, thus defines the nature of Ethiopia's foreign policy (Gashw, 2016).

Furthermore, Ethiopia's new Government also claimed that the country's development agenda and foreign policy priorities would be sustainable and accomplished if there were a shared vision and action for peace and development with all the Horn African nations. However, this suggests that the political dynamism of Horn Africa is another significant influence of the existence of Ethiopian foreign policy under the current Government. Provided that Ethiopia is positioned in the center of the Horn African states, this paves the way for Horn African states to easily threaten Ethiopia. Each Horn African nation could pose a danger to Ethiopia, for instance, since the outbreak of the 1998 war, Eritrea has been a nightmare of Ethiopian security. Ethiopia almost had harmonious ties with all neighboring countries except Eritrea, until a shared friendship concluded with Ethiopia and Eritrea on July 8, 2018. Somalia's collapsed/ failed state is another security threat to Ethiopia since it is the home city of a militant organization/ terrorist group such as Al-Shabab. Since December 2013, the civil war in South Sudan has posed a security threat to Ethiopia due to its spillover.

The rise of global concerns such as extremism and environmental issues that threaten the domestic world and all nation-states is also a danger to Ethiopia. Terrorism's growth has scared all nations in the world to redefine and reinterpreting their FP, especially to curb this challenge to global security. September 11 Attack on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center by a militant organization rejuvenating the Ethio-US Defense Partnership, focusing the US's attention on Ethiopia as a possible military ally and security partner, and advising Ethiopia to pursue the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2009 and redefine its foreign policy to stop this global crime. And again, after the 9/11 attacks on the United States, as a strategic node in the war against extremism and other violence, the Horn of Africa has been continuously explored (Temesgen, 2013). The environmental issue, which is also a challenge for all nation-states in the world, could also pose a danger to Ethiopia's national interest. Thus, as long as the environmental crisis is a cross-border problem that knocks at the door of all nation-states, the resolution of this problem also involves all nation-states' efforts in which Ethiopia is also a collaborator. The advent of an environmental crisis that affects all nation-states and poses a significant danger to the continued existence of the global nation-state is another aspect that concerns the nature of the Ethiopian FP under the current administration. As alternative alliances, the rise of non-Western powers, such as

China, India, Brazil, Turkey, and Ethiopia's development path, determine Ethiopia's foreign policy under EPRDF's administration is about (approach, direction, and style).

Generally, the Government of the EPRDF has redefined the nature of the priorities of the FP, the national interest, the foreign policy path, and the country's reaction, in particular by introducing the Foreign Relations and National Security Policy and Strategy in 1996 and updating it in 2002 to consider the challenges of national survival. Economic backwardness and the presence of a political structure (lack of democracy and good governance) are thus characterized as twin existential challenges. According to Mehari domestic problems such as serious political deficits; sectarian policies; corruption; lack of constitutional accountability, judicial review, and parliamentary oversight; human rights violations; and pervasive poverty, all of which pose a threat to domestic peace and security (Mehari, 2014).

6. Foreign Policy of prosperity Government

After three years of protest and instability, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Hailemariam Desalegn, declared his resignation on February 15, 2018, including his resignation as Chairman of EPRDF. Historically, the next Prime Minister will be the current Chairman of EPRDF. The Chairman, of the EPRDF, on the other hand, is one of the Chairmen of the four parties that make up the governing coalition: ODP, ADP, SEPDM, and TPLF (Abiy, 2018). On April 2, 2018, the House of Ethiopian People's Representatives voted Dr. Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister of Ethiopia and sworn in (Ethiopia, 2018).

On November 21, 2019, after Dr. Abiy came to power, a new party, the Prosperity Party, was formed, following the ruling EPRDF coalition ruling. Three of the four parties comprised the Ethiopian People's Democratic Transition Front (EPRDF) and five other allied was formed. The parties include the Oromo Democratic Party (ODP), the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM), the Amhara Democratic Party (ADP), the Harari National League (HNL), the Ethiopian Somali Peoples Democratic Party (ESPDP), the Afar National Democratic Party (ANDP), the Gambella Peoples Unity Party (GPUP), and the Benishangul Gumuz Peoples Democratic Party (BGPDP). The executive committee first approves the newly merged Party's programs and bye-laws of EPRDF. Dr. Abiy stated that "the PP would strengthen and implement a genuine federal framework that respects the diversity and contribution of all Ethiopians" (Reuters, 2020).

6.1. The nature of prosperous foreign policy

Foreign policy is directly related to competitiveness and collaboration with the commitment of human nature or existence of their contributions". Cooperation and competitiveness are the prerequisites for foreign policy. The way to regulate relations between nations and governments is rivalry and cooperation. The underlying values of FP in the country will continue to be corrected rather than brand new ones. Prosperity notes that international affairs should emphasize relations not follow interests, and problems will be solved by renewal. A renewal partnership involves a party otherwise in a 'Hobbesian Trap,' where fear leads to more fear. "There are no permanent friends, no permanent enemies," Prosperity (the current Government) disregards the notion that "there is not such a thing as friend and enemy." The Government also said that Ethiopia's foreign relations would concentrate on economic integration, peace, and security relations with neighboring countries and maintain national dignity, including the "dignity" of people and a powerful defense force (army, marine, air force, and cyber). The Government also addressed the importance of shaping the environment at or international level. Prosperous claims that the race to defend its rights is the product of foreign relations. He believes that the balance of power to ensure survival and wellbeing is an alternative and that the source of power builds powerful economic and military capacities (Prime, 2020).

On the other hand, the ideological premise that collaboration prioritizes relations between nations is not a null and zero-sum game based on intervention and envy. Rather, the Party (Government) claims that it should support and cooperate with both sides. At the same time, it stresses how necessary it is to develop foreign ties based on citizens' wellbeing outside national and governmental stability. The principle and the nature of the prosperous foreign policy are to equilibrium competition-cooperation disparities.

6.2. Reginal and global political issues

The foreign policy also says that the political situation in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, the rivalry between Iran and Saudi, competition between Egypt and Turkey, the crisis in Yemen and the Nile question have a direct effect on the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea on peace and stability. Another challenge of foreign affairs is also the rivalry between the United States, France, China, the USA, and Saudi Arabian military camps across the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Therefore, the policy should give the development of an accountable, representative, and efficient national political and economic structure equal consideration to these complex international and regional circumstances (Alemayehu, n.d).

Dr. Abiy believes that the 2008 financial crisis and the resulting stagnation of economic recovery and social crises have contributed to increased populism and nationalism (Abiy, 2012). Democratic groups that suspect the status quo of political and economic issues and seek to reform the present structure have arisen. Instead of philosophy, values, national and foreign politics, populism, and nationalism were the driving concepts. The Government's policies included Sweden, Austria, Finland, Denmark, Italy, Belgium, Norway, Mexico, the United States, France, Pakistan, and Zimbabwe as the countries where populists and conservatives dominated the elections. The agenda further notes that the anti-immigrant and authoritarian conduct of populists presents a threat to foreign trade and multilateral organizations.

Dr. Abiy also suggests that rising nationalism and the recognition of ethnic-based parties at the international level have a major effect on Ethiopia (Abiy, 2012). Growing the number of political powers that, rather than designing an agenda addressing citizens' basic problem, inflame grievances, and despise immigrants is a threat to multicultural Ethiopia (Abiy, 2012). One of the realities of international relations was the rivalry among the developing countries for political power beyond their borders. As shown in the Cold War conclusion, America's supremacy was threatened by the rise of other forces pursuing geopolitical and economic influence. Transnational companies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are also players in international relations. The policy says, Russia's revival and the emergence of China pose a challenge to the United States, and fake news spread through Facebook, Twitter, and Google poses a challenge to other countries (Alemayehu, n.d).

6.3. Nature of Prosperity foreign policy

6.3.1. The pursuit of national interest

Prosperity's foreign policy nature is based on the premise that national interests' security prioritizes relations with neighboring countries. Resolving conflicts and safeguarding our national interest in our relations with countries, the first thing it believes is to re-establish the relationship between countries.

National interest is a set entity or to constant and unchanged; Prosperity acknowledges that it is not a one-sided decision. The Government maintains that should follow the tradition and culture of deciding national priorities by collaboration and dialog in line with our values. It's more than about seeking to take advantage of a comparatively small country compared to a competing country. How much do we need in our relations with other nations, far from rivalry and competition? It underlines the need to take action and strengthen our national priorities and our people's quality of life.

6.3.2. Preserving National Dignity

The maintenance of national integrity is another important feature/nature of the Prosperity of foreign policy. Prosperity depends on the preservation of our national unity and the maintenance of our national integrity. It argues that Prosperity is a reflection that stability represents our international relations and our domestic affairs. As a consequence, international relations are not considered to be an important part of domestic affairs. Therefore, the Government is working hard to ensure that our country, Ethiopia, is honored and respected and has an international presence that will allow it to preserve the protection and integrity of its people and ensure their national dignity.

At the same time, Prosperity acknowledges that the equality and dignity of our people are a symbol of our national dignity. It is the result of assuming that human beings are not necessarily the means to an end. Foreign relations and diplomacy, which are valued in every region of the world, are the secret to a prosperous foreign policy. Prosperity is founded on preserving national integrity and protecting citizens' interests in every region of the world.

6.3.3. Focusing on Neighboring Countries

Another pillar of the nature of Prosperity Foreign Policy is establishing and improving relations through collaboration and dialogue with neighboring. Prosperity accepts the importance of cooperation based on our mutual interests since our nation and neighbors' fate are interlinked. Prosperity explains that national interests can be primarily decided by mutual benefit in our relations with neighboring countries. We shall also work together to achieve regional integrity through economic and peace diplomacy focused on our mutual interests with the region's countries.

6.4. Prosperity's Democracy and Economic Directions

Building a representative/ democratic and pluralist society needs rapid and decisive steps to reinforce citizens' confidence in the Government. Although the Ethiopian economy has recorded a fast growth rate of 10% per year over the last decade, society has stagnated in an age of authoritarianism. The authoritarian methods of government activities have badly compromised democratic independence/Political freedom and democracy. As a result, the current Prime Minister has vowed to revise the past draconian legislation, including the anti-terrorism statute, often used to censor opposition views. More than 13,000 inmates were released as part of an amnesty campaign. The Parliament legalized two resistance parties with secessionist ambitions, the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and the 'Ginbot 7' exiled movement. Also, adopt new legislation on civil society

earlier. The President of the Somali regional state, Abdi Mohamoud Omar, identified as Abdi Illey, was also expelled from his post, mostly due to his role as leader of the authoritarian "Liyu Police" (Special Forces) accused of severe human rights abuses (Alemayehu, n.d).

The country has also made headlines about gender parity. Half of Abiy's current cabinet is made up of women, the Parliament appoints Sahle-Wok Zewde, a former diplomat, as the country's first female president, and women now head the Supreme Court (Meaza Ashenafi) and the electoral commission (Birtukan Mideksa).

Ethiopia is living with troubling imbalances concerning the economy. The foreign exchange is massively indebted and missing. There is an immediate need for structural change. The new administration agreed to open the government-dominated market and sell minority interests in some public companies to address some difficulties and draw investment (Ethiopian airlines and Ethio-Telecoms). This is a significant difference from the Marxist-Leninist development perspective of the 'old guard' and Meles Zenawi's development paradigm. But though Abiy chose to advance with a phase-out strategy, persuading and changing the mindset is always challenging. It is important to embrace a modern vision that embraces capitalism and reforms the growth paradigms chosen previously and to develop a sustainability policy. It is unclear whether this major shift from the previous development model is funded internally by the current administration. Still, the partial plan would rely on the stimulus needed to revive the economy (Alemayehu, n.d).

Inclusive capitalism is a philosophy of economic Prosperity, which encourages government involvement based on the fair benefit of the people's Economic policy, initiatives, and plans rely mostly on "poverty alleviation" or, in other words, on poverty alleviation. To follow the extensive privatization of public-owned undertakings and the liberalization of many primary economic sectors, a major change in the country's state-oriented growth paradigm (Maasho, 2018). Actions in government companies in such sectors, including the largest and most profited African Ethiopian Airlines, should be offered to domestic and international investors offering for purchase. In contrast, the Government remains in a majority share in these companies, thus keeping control of the economy's commanding heights (Berhane, 2018).

7. Conclusions

Government Change in a particular state that is either carried out peacefully (via democratic elections) or violently (Coup d'état) will lead to changes in the nature of the foreign and foreign policies of the individual States and changes in the internal situations. The international systems, regional political atmosphere, and political system remain determinants of foreign policy's nature in terms of approach, style, objective, and orientation of the given state. The result of this study shows that in the three governments, the same rationale applied to Ethiopia.

In the military administration, the nature of Ethiopia's foreign policy has been affected by domestic economic and political development, national capability, historical heritage, and the real political situation in Horn Africa (the threat from Somalia and Eretria) and the global Cold War and Non-Aligned Movement. Moreover, the study reveals that the country's foreign policy strategy was the outside-in approach. The presidential idiosyncrasy defined the country's foreign policy. The country's foreign policy agenda undermined the importance of soft gives more attention to hard power. Ethiopia's foreign policy and relations relied solely on a single partner (the Soviet Union and its allies).

The analysis also shows that the fall of the military Government translated the country's attitude to foreign policy from an outside-in approach to an inside-out approach and changed the country's national interest and national security risks to survival. Moreover, the study findings showed that domestic realities (economic reversal, a lack of good administration, and child democracy) and the presence of a military base with strong power in Djibouti determine the style and approach of the country at the domestic level. And also the dynamism of the political and security forces in the Horn of Africa. The final peace deal in 2018 brought new conditions with Eritrea, the presence of the terrorist group in Somalia, the dynamism of the Nile hydro-politics since 2012 the beginning of GRED, and maritime piracy in Somalia and South Sudan the political crisis since 2013 are the determinants of the nature of the Ethiopian foreign policy. Due to its spillover consequences at the sub-region level and the rise of extremism as a danger to global peace and stability, the environmental crisis and the emergence of non-Western forces as an alternative growth paradigm such as China, India, Brazil, Turkey, and others at the global level are external determinants of Ethiopian foreign policy under the current administration.

Moreover, the study also shows that the Prosperity Government is moving from an inward-looking to a citizen-centered foreign policy direction and redefining a foreign policy that targets foreign affairs on balancing cooperation and competitiveness to achieve its national interest in international relations. And giving priority to national dignity, defending national values, and prioritized to neighboring countries, it incorporates policies and methods that are examined in this way. "MEDEMER,"

profoundly rooted in the Amharic idea of Medemer (meaning synergy or joining together), which is the road to success in general, is a philosophy that strives to attain universal Prosperity (Abiy, 2012).

Finally, the study has found that the transition from the military to the EPRDF and Prosperity of Ethiopia's Government has translated the countries' foreign policy goals from a hard-powered foundation into a soft power basis, relationship diversification, foreign policy, and foreign policy relations.

8. Abbreviations

ADP   Amhara Democratic Party

ANDP   Afar National Democratic party

BGPDP   Benshangul Gumz People's Democratic Party

EPRDF   Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

EPLF   Eritrean People Liberation Front

ESPDP   Ethiopia Somali People's Democratic Party

FANSPS   Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy

FP   Foreign Policy

GPUP   Gambella People's Unity Party

GRED   Great Renaissance Ethiopian Dam

HNL   Harari National League

MOFA   Ministry Of Foreign Affairs

N.D   not defined

NGOs   Non-Governmental Organizations

ODP   Oromo Democratic Party

OLF   Oromo Liberation Front

OPDO   Oromo People's Democratic Organization

PP   Prosperous Party

SEPDM   Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Movement

TPLF   Tigray People Liberation Front

UAE   United Arab Emirate

USA   United States America

US   United State

USSR   Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

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