COUNTRY IN PERSPECTIVE

ETHIOPIA



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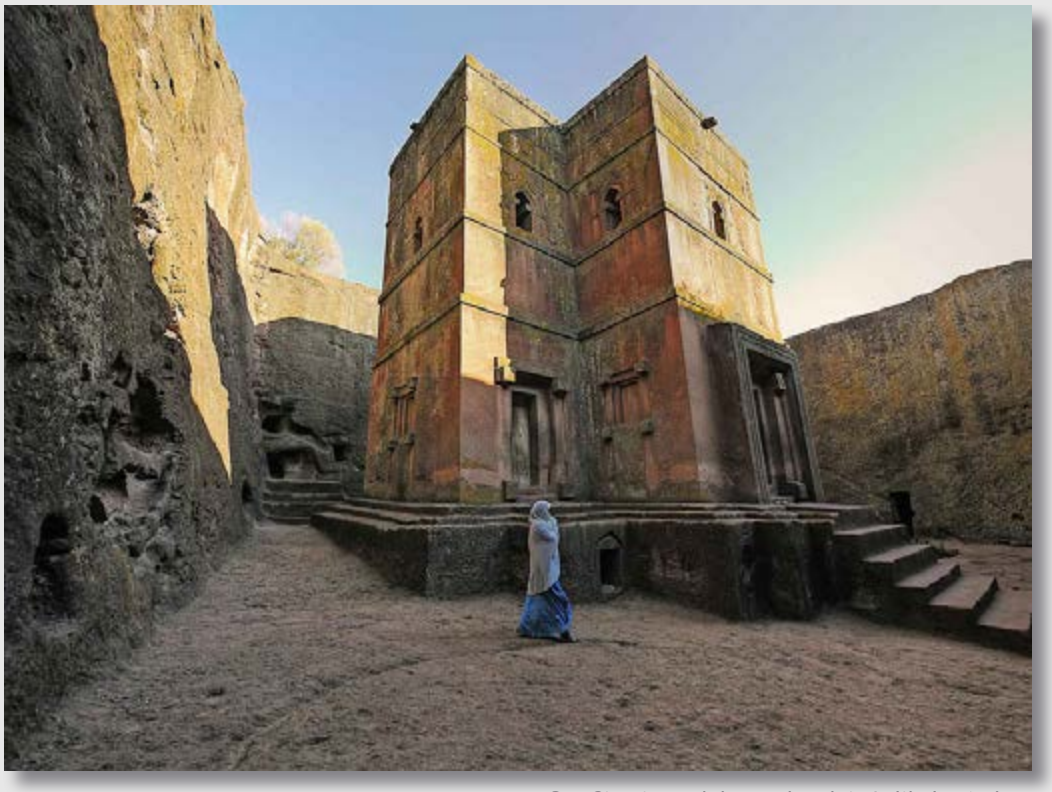
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Bet Giorgis, rock-hewn church in Lalibela, Amhara
Flickr / Roberto Vallejo

Geography

Introduction

Ethiopia is the largest country within the Horn of Africa. It is an anvil-shaped region, separating the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden in the north, from the Indian Ocean in the south.[1, 2, 3] The nation is bordered by Djibouti to the northeast, Eritrea to the north, Kenya to the south, Somalia to the east and southeast, South Sudan to the southwest and Sudan to the northwest.[4, 5] Ethiopia lost its access to the Red Sea in 1993 when Eritrea split away, and has been landlocked since. It relies on Djibouti as an export-import channel.[6, 7, 8] Almost all of Ethiopia's borders are defined by treaties rather than natural features.[9, 10, 11] Disagreements still exist about some of these borders; for example, a significant portion of the boundary with Somalia remains provisional.[12, 13]

Ethiopia is one of the highest countries on the continent, with a large portion in highlands above 4,533 m (14,872 ft). Other parts of Ethiopia are lowland desert regions, some of which sink to elevations well below sea level.[14, 15] Ethiopia's position near the junction of several spreading plates has been a primary factor in its unique topography, which has shaped land use patterns. Agriculture has long predominated in the highland regions, where rains are sufficient in most years to grow crops without irrigation.[16] In the drier lowland areas to the north, south, and east, traditionally nomadic groups, such as the Afar and Somalis, have relied on livestock herding for subsistence.[17]

Geographic Divisions



Adi Gudom Landscape
Flickr / World Agroforestry Centre

Ethiopia is roughly twice the size of Texas and has one of the most varied and rugged topographies in Africa.[18, 19] The country is divided into four geographic regions. Much of the nation is a high plateau, punctuated by mountain ranges and river chasms. This region, known as the Ethiopian Highlands, is further divided into western and eastern sections by the Great Rift Valley. Except for parts of the Great Rift Valley and some of the river canyons, the Highlands region lies above 1,500 m (4,921 ft).[20, 21, 22] The more extensive Western Highlands extend northward into eastern Eritrea.[23, 24] All of Ethiopia's population centers (including the capital, Addis Ababa) are located in this region.[25, 26] The Ethiopian Highlands are the nation's primary agricultural area.[27, 28, 29]

The second important division is the Western Lowlands, which begin at the western edge of the Ethiopian Highlands. The western side of the Ethiopian Highlands slowly tapers to a lower region of less than 1,500 m (4,921 ft).[30] These Western Lowlands run in an irregular north-south pattern along the Sudan border. The lower valleys of the Abay (Blue Nile), Takeze, and Baro Rivers lie in this region. Frequent flooding prevents farmers from utilizing the land to its full potential.[31, 32]

The third region, the Danakil Desert, is a triangular area at the northern end of the Great Rift Valley. This low plain is shared with Eritrea and Djibouti. Near the Eritrean border is the Danakil Depression, one of the most inhospitable places on Earth. Sitting below sea level, temperatures here are brutal with no wind relief. The area is also

subject to frequent volcanic and seismic activity.[33, 34, 35, 36] Nonetheless, the nomadic Afar people have called it home for centuries.[37, 38]

The last region, the Eastern Lowlands, extends east from the Eastern Highlands and southeast all the way to the Somalia border.[39] The area is home to a large ethnic Somali population.[40] Compared to the Highlands, temperatures here are higher and rainfall is scarcer. Crop farming is difficult so pastoralism has long been a way of life here.[41]

Topographical Features

Great Rift Valley

The Great Rift Valley, Africa's most prominent geological feature, divides Ethiopia in half. It is part of a vast rift zone stretching from the Middle East to southern Africa.[42, 43, 44, 45] In Ethiopia, the Great Rift Valley extends more than 1,000 km (621 mi) from the Red Sa to the Kenyan border. It begins in the north at what geologists refer to as a triple junction: a region in which three tectonic plates meet. The spreading of these three plate boundaries has produced the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Great Rift Valley in Ethiopia. The southern and central sections of the Rift Valley contain a series of alkaline and freshwater lakes.[46, 47, 48, 49]

Mountains

The Ethiopian Highlands are usually described as a plateau region, but large parts of the region are mountainous. Ras Dejen is the highest peak in Ethiopia at 4,620 m (15,157 ft) rising in the Simen Mountains northeast of the city of Gonder in the northern Western Highlands.[50, 51, 52] The Bale Mountains, including Mount Batu and Tullu Demtu, tower over 4,000 m (13,123 ft) and lie to the south on the other side of the Great Rift Valley.[53, 54] The Choke Mountains lie between Addis Ababa and Lake Tana.[55, 56] Overlooking Ethiopia's sprawling capital of Addis Ababa is Mount Entoto. Although not one of Ethiopia's highest peaks, it is famous as the location of the palace of Menelik II, who moved his capital to the area in the 1880s, before becoming emperor.[57]



Semien mountains
Flickr / alvise forcellini

Danakil Depression



Danakil Depression-Afar-Ethiopia
Flickr / rhjpage

At the other extreme is the Danakil Depression, a deep basin along Ethiopia's border with Eritrea. Not only is this one of the lowest locations in Africa at approximately 120 m (394 ft) below sea level, it is also a volcanically active area filled with fissures, lava lakes, geysers, and hot springs. Massive salt deposits in the Depression, left from the evaporation of an inland sea, are now a source of livelihood for the nomadic Afar people who eke out a living in this hostile setting.[58, 59, 60] Temperatures in what has been dubbed the hottest place on earth can reach as high as 50°C (122°F).[61, 62]

Climate

Ethiopia lies entirely within the warm tropical zone, but differences in elevation cause significant temperature variations. Locals refer to these variations as *dega* (cool), *weina dega* (temperate), and *kolla* (hot).[63, 64] Temperatures throughout much of the Highlands are moderate. In Addis Ababa, daily highs average 22–24˚C (72–76˚F) in the hottest months (May and June). The average daily low is 6°C (44°F) in the coldest month (December).[65] At elevations above 2,400 m (7,874 ft), average daily highs range from near freezing in the winter to 16°C (61°F) in the warmer months.[66, 67] In the Eastern and Western Lowlands (including the Danakil Depression), where elevations are generally below 1,500 m (4,921 ft), temperatures range from about 29°C (85°F) to an oppressive 50°C (122°F). Humidity can also be high in the lower regions of western Ethiopia, especially in the deep river basins.[68, 69, 70, 71, 72]



Denbella Saden in Yabero
Flickr / Climate Change, Agriculture

Ethiopia has two seasons. The dry season (*bega*) generally runs from mid-September through mid-May. Little rain falls except for sporadic light rainfall (*belg*) from February to May. The rainy season (*meher*) occurs between July and August, with higher elevations

receiving more precipitation.[73, 74, 75] The rain is driven by a monsoonal weather pattern in which the normal northeasterly winds shift to westerly and southwesterly pattern, bringing moist Atlantic Ocean air to the Ethiopian Highlands.[76, 77] Most of Ethiopia's crops depend on these summer rains, known locally as *kiremt*.[78, 79, 80]

The lesser rains of February through May (*belg*) produce a second growing season. These rains are particularly important for agriculture in the southern Ethiopian Highlands, but they are also important in a region in the northern Highlands; this region is located north of Addis Ababa and immediately west of the Danakil Desert.[81, 82] The little rain that falls in the Eastern Lowlands arrives during the *belg* season. These rains provide needed water and feed for the livestock herds tended by the region's pastoralists.[83]

Rivers / Bodies of Water

Ethiopia is often referred to as the "water tower" of Africa because of the 14 major rivers that flow from the high plateau and drain into neighboring countries.[84, 85] There are three major drainage basins: the Nile basin in the Western Highlands; the Rift Valley internal system; and the Juba-Shebele system, whose rivers drain the southeastern mountains before heading toward Somalia and the Indian Ocean.[86] Ethiopia has one of the largest water reserves on the continent, but the lack of irrigation systems means that much of this water goes unused. Only about 3% of the water is used to produce hydroelectric power and 1.5% for agricultural crops.[87, 88]

Lakes

Lake Tana, set within the northern Ethiopian Highlands south of the city of Gonder, is Ethiopia's largest lake.[89] It is famous as the source of the Blue Nile (Abay) River, which originates at the lake's southern end, near the city of Bahir Dar. This freshwater lake is a major fishery for the surrounding region. Within the lake are 37 islands, many with churches or monasteries.[90, 91]



Debre Zeyit
Flickr / Keith A H

The floor of the Great Rift Valley is populated with a string of lakes set within natural basins. From north to south, these are Ziway, Abijata, Langano, Shala, Awasa,

Abaya, and Chamo. None of these lakes have an outlet, except to another lake, and only Ziway and Awasa are non-alkaline.[92, 93]

Near the border with Djibouti in the Danakil Desert are several interconnected lakes that are fed by the Awash River. One of these, Lake Abbe, is the terminus for the Awash, which does not have an outlet to the sea.[94, 95] Another lake, Lake Awash, has expanded 15-fold. This expansion puzzled scientists until they identified recent irrigation run-off and seismic movements as the culprits. If this saline lake grows to contaminate the Awash River, it will have a devastating impact on plans to make Ethiopia a major sugar exporter.[96]

Rivers

All of Ethiopia's rivers originate in the Highlands. Most of the rivers in the Western Highlands flow west toward the Nile River. The most prominent of these are the Tekeze (a portion of which forms the Ethiopian-Eritrean border), Abay (Blue Nile), and Baro Rivers.[97, 98] These rivers all form deep canyons as they wind through the Highlands.[99, 100, 101]

Some rivers in the Western Highlands flow eastward into the Great Rift Valley. The most important by far is the Awash River, which originates west of Addis Ababa and enters the Great Rift Valley near the city of Nazret. It then flows toward the northeast to terminate in Lake Abbe on the Djibouti border.[102, 103] The lower stretch of the Awash River is a world-renowned archaeological site where Lucy, perhaps the most famous hominid fossil (if no longer the most ancient), was found.[104, 105]



Dawa River
Flickr / Brendan Ryan

The Omo River is the primary river of southern Ethiopia and is the main source of water for Lake Turkana, which mostly lies in Kenya. The Omo originates in the southern Western Highlands and flows southward for much of its course.[106, 107]

In the Eastern Highlands, several rivers emerge from the eastern flanks and flow down to the Eastern Lowlands. Most of these dry up long before they reach the coast in Somalia. Two exceptions are the Shebele River, which passes near Gode on its way to

the Somali border, and the Genale River, which becomes the Jubba River in Somalia on its way to the port city of Kismayu.[108, 109, 110]

Major Cities and Populations

City	Population 2011[111]
Addis Ababa	2,787,729
Dire Dawa	252,279
Mekele	215,546
Nazret	213,995
Bahir Dar	168,899
Gonder	153,914

Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa, the national capital, sits on a plateau about 2,400 m (7,874 ft) above sea level and is the third-highest capital city in the world. It is the fourth-largest city in Africa and the only city of any size in Ethiopia. Its population is greater than the combined population of the next nine largest cities. Addis Ababa, whose name means "New Flower" in Amharic, is barely 120 years old.[112, 113, 114, 115] It is the cultural, industrial, and educational center of Ethiopia. The city also plays an important role in African affairs and is considered the diplomatic capital of Africa.[116] Most of the country's industries are located in and around Addis Ababa. Processed foods, footwear and clothing, asbestos and metal products, cement, and plywood are some of the locally produced products. Most service sector activities are also located in the city.[117, 118]



Addis Ababa skyline
Flickr / Babak Fakhamzadeh

Addis Ababa is a major transportation center, and the city's ring road is the main transportation hub for Ethiopia.[119] Virtually all major highways in the country converge on the capital. The country's only railroad line begins in Addis Ababa and runs northwest through the Great Rift Valley and the Danakil Desert to the port of Djibouti. Nearly

all international flights to and from Ethiopia go through Bole International Airport in Addis Ababa.[120]

Dire Dawa



Dire Dawa
Flickr / Alan Johnston

Dire Dawa, meaning "empty plain" in Amharic, is an apt description of the dry, mostly flat expanse north, east, and west of the city.[121] The city's population is composed mainly of ethnic Oromo, Somali, and Amhara.[122, 123] Dire Dawa was a long-time caravan center. It began its modern development in 1904 when it became the rail terminus for goods from the port of Djibouti. Today, Dire Dawa exists primarily as a trading center for the surrounding region. Major industries include textiles, cement factories, and coffee- and meat-canning plants.[124] The Dechatu River divides the city and is prone to flooding during the rainy season between June and September. The worst flood in the city's history occurred in August 2006, leaving 250 dead and 10,000 homeless.[125, 126, 127]

Mekele

Mekele, Ethiopia's third-largest city, is the closest to the Eritrean border.[128, 129] The city is the capital of Tigray National Regional State. Although it may have originated in the 13th century, its real importance began in the late 19th century when the city served as capital of the Ethiopian kingdom under Emperor Yohannes IV. The Emperor's castle still stands and is one of the city's primary tourist attractions.[130] Today, the city is the commercial capital of Ethiopia's inland salt trade.[131] Salt mined from the Danakil Depression was the standard currency for the region until late in the 19th century. Camel caravans carrying bars of salt still arrive at local markets.[132] The city is a main destination for tourists to visit important museums and the rock-hewn churches of



Mekele
Flickr / Raul Soler

the Tigray.[133]

Adama (Nazret)



Adama
Flickr / ebel

Adama, the fourth-largest city, was previously called Nazret. Emperor Haile Selassie gave the city this biblical name but the local government recently restored the original Oromo name to the city.[134] Adama sits on a plateau on the western edge of the Great Rift Valley and is strategically located on the main road heading into the Rift Valley from nearby Addis Ababa. Adama is also a rail station on the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railroad. The city is a collection point for local cattle herds and is a market outlet for nearby fruit and vegetable farms, as well as the large sugar plantation and factory in nearby Wonji. The city houses a giant sugar plantation and factory, and is home to the headquarters of one of the country's chief oil-cake exporters. Many visitors come to enjoy the city's warmer winter weather and to vacation at the nearby spa at Sodore.[135, 136]

Bahir Dar

Bahir Dar is one of the largest cities in Ethiopia and is the *r*egional capital of the Amhara state. This city of approximately 169,000 is located at the south end of Lake Tana.[137, 138] The city has a tropical climate with temperatures throughout the year averaging around 17.5°C (64°F).[139, 140] Its location and moderate temperatures make the city a major tourist destination. The city is known for its wide tree-lined streets and colorful flowers. According to many, the city is one of the safest in Africa. In 2002, Bahir Dar received honorable mention for the UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize.[141, 142]

The city was first settled in the 16th or 17th century by Jesuits missionaries who established the Kidana Mihret Church. In the middle 1800s, the troops of Emperor Tewodros II used the city as a staging area in the emperor's campaign to unite Ethiopia. The greatest growth and development came during the city's Italian colonial occupation (1928-1933) in the early part of the 20th century.[143, 144, 145] The British liberated Bahir Dar in 1941; by the mid-1950s it had become an Awaraja capital.

Emperor Haile Selassie maintained a palace in the city and once considered naming Bahir Dar the national capital.[146, 147, 148] The city is home to Bahir Dar University and its 35,000 to 45,000 students.[149, 150]

Gonder

Few cities in Ethiopia have as much history as Gonder. The northern city lies at an elevation of 2,300 m (7,500 ft) in the Amhara region of northwestern Ethiopia. It served as the national capital from 1632 to 1855. Sometimes referred to as the Camelot of Africa, the city is home to walled castles and palaces built by the nation's early rulers.[151, 152] These well-preserved ruins can be found today within a walled enclosure, which is a major tourist attraction and a UNESCO World Heritage site.[153, 154, 155]



Gonder
Flickr / Wojtek Ogrodowczykk

Gonder declined during the Era of the Princes (1706-1853) as local warlords battled the emperors. Emperor Tewodros II sacked the city twice in the 1860s, and fighters from neighboring Sudan burned the city in the 1880s.[156] Today, the city of roughly 154,000 is the capital of Gonder province and an important regional and cultural center. It is home to one of the nation's most modern hospitals and a medical university. The city remains an important center for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.[157, 158] Besides tourism, the local economy is based on trade of locally produced grains, oilseeds, and cattle. Artisan products, such as textiles, jewelry, copperware, and leatherworks are also important.[159]

Environmental Concerns / Issues

Perhaps the major environmental problem facing Ethiopia is its rapid population growth. The population has nearly quintupled since 1935, greatly straining the country's resources. The high population density in the highlands has led to overgrazing, soil erosion, and reduced fertility of the land.[160, 161, 162]

Deforestation is a major concern in Ethiopia, where more than 90% of the original forest cover has been harvested to make room for agriculture and other human needs.[163] Most of the nation's remaining forests are in the southern sections of

Ethiopia.[164] The reduction in trees has led to soil erosion problems, increased flooding, and desertification—leading to a disruption in the nation's natural water cycle.[165, 166, 167] The UN estimates that under current conditions all of Ethiopia's forests could disappear by 2020.[168] The gradual expansion of the desert is reducing agricultural lands and threatening the livelihoods of most Ethiopians.[169, 170] In the early 1990s, it was estimated that the country was losing 30,000 million tons of topsoil annually because of deforestation and soil erosion.[171]



Awash River Basin
Flickr / ILRI

Pollution, especially in Addis Ababa, is a serious concern.[172] Most of the air pollution is caused by aging motor vehicles.[173, 174, 175, 176] In addition to air pollution, the capital is plagued by garbage and waste pollution. Garbage collection and disposal is a longstanding problem. About 35% of the city's solid waste is never collected; rather, it is dumped wherever people find space.[177, 178, 179, 180] Water and sanitation problems are also severe. The current sewer system in the capital is woefully inadequate for the needs of an expanding population.[181] Approximately 60% of Ethiopians have no access to adequate sanitation facilities.[182] In Addis Ababa, roughly 4% of households have access to improved non-shared toilets. Ninety percent of households use non-improved toilets, including open pit latrines. About 26% of households in the city have no toilets, so residents must use rivers, ditches, and open spaces to dispose of human waste.[183, 184] Addis Ababa is home to over half of the country's industrial activity. These businesses emit pollutants that enter waterways or the atmosphere.[185, 186]

Natural Hazards

Much of northern Ethiopia lies within a tectonic zone, making it vulnerable to earthquakes and volcanic activity.[187, 188] The most recent of these events occurred in September 2005 when Erta Ale, a shield volcano near the Danakil Depression, erupted after a series of earthquakes. Although no people were killed by the volcanic and seismic activity, about 1,000 livestock died and thousands of nearby residents were displaced.[189] Further eruptions from a site south of Erta Ale occurred in August 2007 and left 5 people dead.[190, 191]

Droughts and famines are the most serious hazards in Ethiopia in terms of loss of

life.[192] During 1972–73 and 1984–85, the country went through two dry periods that led to famine and drew worldwide attention to the suffering. Since then, several periods of reduced rain have brought drought conditions to parts of the country, although the resulting famines have generally been less widespread and not as well publicized.[193, 194, 195, 196] In 2012, Ethiopia saw one of its worst droughts in nearly 60 years, causing massive hunger and starvation. Nearly 4 million Ethiopians needed humanitarian support to stay alive.[197] In 2014, widespread famine once again hit the nation after below average rainfall led to another poor harvest.[198]



USAID Drought Response
Flickr / USAID

Ethiopia is prone to flooding mainly linked to torrential rains. The deep canyons of some highland rivers, such as the Abay, prevent serious flooding in the upper stretches; yet, these and other rivers are prone to flood in regions where the banks are not as high. Flooding is more common in July and August, although flood season in the Gambella region falls between August and September. Heavy seasonal rains between March and June can also cause floods.[199] Several regions around the swollen Omo and Awash Rivers had to be evacuated during the heavy summer rains of 2006, as were areas around the banks of Lake Tana.[200, 201, 202] In 2014, more than 50,000 people were displaced by floods resulting from September rains.[203]

Flash flooding is becoming a more frequent problem, especially in the semi-arid regions of the country.[204] Dire Dawa, Ethiopia's second-largest city, has been particularly vulnerable to this sort of flooding.[205, 206, 207, 208] In 2012, flash floods affected more than 130,000 people in the Amara region of the country.[209]

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Ethiopia in Perspective

Chapter 1 | Geography

Assessment

1. The Great Rift Valley divides the Ethiopian Highlands into western and eastern sections.

2. The Danakil Depression provides some of the best conditions for crop farming in the Horn of Africa.

3. The majority of Ethiopia's crops rely on summer rains called kiremt.

4. Ethiopia's largest lake is Lake Tana.

5. Adama is the capital of the country's inland salt trade.

Assessment Answers: 1. True; 2. False; 3. True; 4. True; 5. False



The Castles of Gondor
Flickr / UNESCO Africa

History

Introduction

The geographical core of Ethiopia has remained intact, more or less, for several millennia. This is in contrast to many African nations, which developed out of colonial convenience rather than from local indigenous histories. Along with Liberia, Ethiopia is the only present-day African nation never colonized by Europeans.[1] However, the European "scramble for Africa" did enable successive Ethiopian emperors to acquire territories through conquest and negotiation; these set the geographical boundaries that endure to the present, with the exception of Eritrea.[2]

Ethiopia has a long and storied past. Although some of the oldest hominid fossils have been found in the region, the state of Ethiopia first emerged in the Aksumite Kingdom around the first century C.E.[3] With the rise of Islam in the region, the Christian Aksumite Kingdom found itself increasingly isolated and its influence declining. The rival Oromo migrated into the kingdom around the 16th century, warring with the Aksumites and contending for political power. Many of those rivalries faded in the 1800s, ushering in the new modern period.[4, 5]

Numerous struggles for the throne occurred between 1855 and 1974. Ethiopia's last ruler, Haile Selassie (1930-1974) focused his efforts on modernization, but his autocratic style made him unpopular, and the military ousted him in 1974.[6] From 1977-1991, Ethiopia was a socialist state strongly allied with the Soviet Union. Dissatisfaction with the government grew, until it was eventually toppled by several ethnic separatist groups.[7, 8]

Ethnic violence continued during the years of the provisional government. In 1994, Ethiopia's new constitution created the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and a federal system based on largely homogenous ethnic states. The intent was to create ethnic autonomy within a broader federal system.[9, 10, 11] The new federation did not, however, end ethnic tensions. Political infighting persisted; violence and fraud marred the 2005 elections. The elections of 2010 were more peaceful but not completely free of fraud and intimidation.[12, 13, 14] Since 2010, a coalition of five political parties has controlled all but one legislative seat. Most serious political opposition has been quelled.[15]

History

Prehistoric Period

Ethiopia's upper Great Rift Valley has often been referred to as the "cradle of humanity" due to the number of important fossils discovered there.[16, 17] The most famous of these discoveries occurred in 1974 in the lower Awash River valley, where the fossilized skeleton of a new species (*Australopithecus afarensis*) was unearthed. This fossilized skeleton has been dated to 3.2 million year old, and for



Bek'oji, Oromia
Flickr / Voyages Lambert

many years, it was the oldest hominid ever found. After its discovery, the small 1.1 m (3 ft 7 in) tall, fossilized skeleton became known as Lucy—after the Beatles song "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds," which was playing on tape when the discovery was made.[18] Researchers examined and analyzed Lucy's knee, thigh, ankle, spine, and pelvic joints and bones, which offered evidence that the skeleton belonged to a female and that she walked upright, one of the defining characteristics of hominids.[19] Further archaeological evidence shows that near the end of the Stone Age (5000 B.C.E.), both pastoralists groups and settlements co-existed in the highlands region.[20, 21]

Early Kingdoms



An Ethiopian Chief
Flickr / George Lane

Sometime around the seventh century B.C.E., people speaking the Semitic language Ge'ez established a community in the Northern Highlands, in the region now known as Tigray.[22, 23] Several hundred years later, an important kingdom emerged around the modern city of Aksum.[24] The Aksumite kingdom, which developed between the second century B.C.E and the second century C.E., was a trading center, facilitated by its ties to the Red Sea port of Adulis.[25, 26, 27, 28] Around the beginning of the fourth century C.E., Christianity became the state religion of Aksum.[29, 30] The city is a holy site for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and according to church teachings, the Emperor Menelik I, son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, brought the Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem and rests today in St. Mary of Zion Church in Aksum.[31, 32, 33]

Persian and Arab control of Red Sea trade routes, in the sixth and seventh centuries, cut off Aksum's access to international trade and the kingdom quickly declined.[34, 35] By the seventh or eighth century, the remainder of Aksum's political, cultural, and economic influence shifted southward where the Agaw, who were subjects of the Aksumites, assimilated their former oppressors.[36, 37] The Zaqwe dynasty, which was centered in the Agaw district of Lasta, rose to power in 1137. Their capital was near the small town of Lalibela. Subterranean churches cut out of rock remain one of the remarkable artifacts of this period.[38, 39, 40]

The Early Solomonic Dynasties (13th–17th Centuries)

Less than 150 years after its founding, the Zagwe dynasty was overthrown by Yekuno Amlak, a leader from the region known as Shewa, a part of the modern Amara *kilil* (state). Although regime change did affect Christian religious practices, the seat of governance moved to the center of modern-day Ethiopia.[41, 42] Amlak claimed he was a descendant of Menelik I, thus legitimizing his claim to rule. Establishing a genealogical connection to the ancient Aksumite kingdom through Solomonic ancestry became a pattern for Ethiopian emperors, which continued well into the 20th century.[43, 44]

The surrounding Arab Muslim states repeatedly invaded Christian Ethiopia from the 14th through the 17th centuries.[45] Although the Ethiopians could not defeat the Muslim invaders, they successfully resisted until the early 16th century, when Muslim forces assumed control of most Christian territory.[46] Around 1543, the Ethiopians joined forces with the Portuguese and succeeded in driving the Muslims out, reasserting authority over their lost territory.[47] This fighting allowed the emergence of local warlords who were relatively independent of the throne.[48, 49]



The Camelot of Africa
Flickr / Mark Abel

About the same time, the Ethiopian empire faced a new threat from the south. The Oromos, who are a nomadic pastoralist tribe related to the Somalis, began migrating northward and westward from the region of modern-day Kenya.[50, 51, 52] As a result, the Ethiopian empire and its revenues contracted. An Oromo state developed between the Christian Ethiopians of the Western Highlands and the Muslim Sultanate of Adal. Eventually, a wall was built around the Adal capital of Harar, but the city soon found itself completely surrounded (if not invaded) by the Oromo migrational onslaught.[53, 54]

Portuguese assistance against Arab Muslims in the region came at a price; Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in the region in 1554, and for a century and a half, missionaries tried to convert Ethiopians from their Orthodox Christian faith to Roman Catholicism.[55] Political uncertainty and violence ensued as pro- and anti-Catholic supporters assumed power. Finally, the Jesuits were expelled from the country, followed quickly by the missionaries. For the next 200 years, Ethiopians were forgotten by the Europeans and remained relatively isolated.[56]

The Rise and Decline of Gonder (1635–1855)



Gonder
Flickr / timoni west

The Ethiopian empire halted its southward expansion for several centuries afterward, moving the center of Ethiopian dynastic power to northern areas in the highlands. Shortly after expelling the Portuguese, Emperor Fasiladas established a new capital in Gonder, north of Lake Tana.[57, 58] Over the next several hundred years, Gonder would be the capital of the Solomonic dynasty, although the monarchy's powers would be little more than ceremonial.[59] As numerous court intrigues weakened the Gonder monarchy, the provinces began to rebel; feudal lords and their provincial armies battled each other.[60, 61, 62] To the south, the ruler of the small high-altitude district of Menz began to expand his domain southward, eventually establishing the kingdom of Shewa.[63, 64, 65]

The Modern Dynasties (1885–1930)



Statue of Menelik II
Flickr / Pierre

In the late 19th century, Menelik II, King of Shewa became Emperor and permanently moved the center of power to the Central Highlands, making Addis Ababa his capital.[66, 67, 68] The Ethiopian empire remained divided into the independents states of Tigray, Amhara, and Shewa until the middle of the 19th century.[69, 70] A new military leader, Kasa Haylu, gained control of the three regions from his base in Amhara. Shortly thereafter, Haylu was crowned Emperor Tewodros II, the first emperor in several centuries to lay claim to all three regions of a unified Ethiopia.[71, 72, 73]

Tewodros badly needed firearms, which European governments were unwilling to supply. Frustrated by Britain's inattention to his requests, Tewodros took several British envoys hostage, triggering British retaliation 4 years later. When his mountain

fortress at Maqdala came under British assault, the emperor took his own life.[74, 75]

Yohannes IV succeeded Tewodros II, successfully turning back the invading Egyptian forces and capturing much of their military equipment. This gave Ethiopia its first well-equipped military in its history.[76, 77] The Islamist army, the Mahdists, attacked in 1888 from the Sudan and destroyed much of Gonder, and Yohannes was killed by a sniper in a later battle.[78, 79, 80]

Menelik II became emperor in 1889, regaining control over most of modern Ethiopia. He relocated the capital to Addis Ababa and then launched a military campaign that doubled the area of his kingdom.[81, 82, 83] Among his military successes was the Battle of Adwa (1896), in which the Ethiopians defeated the Italians. In the ensuing Treaty of Addis Ababa, Italy formally recognized Ethiopia as an independent state. Overnight, Ethiopia became the symbol of African independence on a continent that was almost entirely occupied by colonial powers.[84, 85, 86]

Menelik II died in 1913 and was succeeded for a short time by his grandson; Menelik's daughter, Zawditu, replaced his grandson.Ras Tafari Makonnen, once the prince regent, took control of the government in 1926 and quickly signed a friendship pact with Italy.[87, 88, 89]

Haile Selassie (1930–74)

In 1930, Empress Zawditu died and Ras Tafari became Ethiopia's new emperor, taking the name Haile Selassie.[90, 91] The emperor quickly granted a new constitution that vested all powers and control in the hands of the emperor. By 1934, all provincial governors, except one, were loyal to the emperor.[92, 93] During Haile Selassie's early tenure, Ethiopia assumed the profile of a modern administrative state. New ministries were established and several hospitals and schools were founded, including the nation's first girls' school. The country's regions increasingly fell under the authority of the central government.[94, 95, 96]



Haile Selassie
Flickr / David Drissel

Italy, under Benito Mussolini, acted upon its ambitions to control Ethiopia. In October 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia from its bases in Eritrea. In April 1936, the

emperor fled to French Somaliland and in May, Italian troops took Addis Ababa. Four days later, the Italians annexed Ethiopia.[97, 98, 99]

Italy occupied Ethiopia for 5 years. The British, against whom the Italians declared war in 1940, routed the Italians and by May 1941, Emperor Haile Selassie was back in Addis Ababa. By November of that year the Italian occupation of the rest of Ethiopia was over.[100, 101, 102]

The restored emperor remained in power another 33 years.[103, 104] The early postwar decades were a period of reforms and continued modernization, although the pace of the reforms slowed over time. A new constitution in 1955 seemingly allowed for more freedoms and an independent legislature, but the country remained largely autocratic, with all real power residing in the throne with the emperor.[105, 106, 107, 108]

End of the Dynasties

By 1960, Haile Selassie was entering his fourth decade of rule. Increasing discontent with the slow pace of economic development began to fester, especially among the country's college students.[109] An aborted coup d'état in 1960 was staged by the Imperial Bodyguard, but was quickly foiled by the country's military. This signaled that Haile Selassie's reign was increasingly vulnerable to challenge.[110] Student protests intensified during the decade; uppermost among the protesters' concerns were official corruption and the lack of progress on land reform.[111] A devastating famine in 1972–74 triggered a series of teacher, student, and taxi strikes, as well as mutinies in the country's armed forces.[112] Reforms were initiated, but they came too late to reverse the damage.[113, 114, 115]



Ethiopian Painting
Flickr / Desc/EM

In September 1974, Emperor Selassie was deposed by a group of junior army officers and senior noncommissioned officers. He was imprisoned, and some suspect murdered, less than a year later.[116, 117] The new government was run by a Provisional Military Administrative Council, which became widely known as the *Derg ("committee" in Amharic).*[118, 119] Among its first steps was the nationalization of all farmland, a step that profoundly altered the traditional Ethiopian social hierarchy.[120]

The next few years were marked by political infighting at the top. Two months after the 1974 coup d'*é*tat, nearly 60 royal family members and high-ranking government and military officials were executed, including the original chairman of the Derg, Aman Mikael Andom, who had opposed the executions and resisted the radical tendency of some of the committee leadership.[121] After General Aman's death, Tafari Benti became chairman of the Derg and soon after declared Ethiopia a socialist state. However, in May 1977, Benti was assassinated by rivals and replaced by Major Mengistu Haile Mariam, who retained power for the next 14 years.[122, 123]

Derg Era (1977–91)



Derg Monument
Flickr / Babak Fakhamzadeh

In 1977–78, the Mengistu-led *Derg* leadership initiated a particularly brutal response to terrorist attacks being carried out by a rival socialist movement in the country. The Red Terror, as this governmental counteraction came to be known, resulted in the deaths of thousands of people.[124, 125, 126]

Several secessionist and anti-governmental organizations waged ongoing insurgencies against the government.[127] Among these were the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), and the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF).[128] In addition, Somalia attacked Ethiopian forces in the Ogaden region in 1977, although the Somali forces were eventually beaten back with the assistance of Soviet arms and Cuban combat forces.[129, 130]

In the 1980s, the *Derg* saw their hold on the Ethiopian countryside weaken in the face of continuing unrest.[131] A massive drought engulfed the country—a disaster that could have been ameliorated by proper food policies. Instead, the government prioritized state control over the economy and was not hesitant to use food as a weapon in the war on insurgents.[132] During the famine, the government forcibly resettled Eritrean and Tigrayan peasants, further destroying any vestiges of governmental support in the northern regions.[133, 134]

By early 1989, most areas of Tigray and Eritrea were under TPLF and EPLF control. The two groups, together with insurgent forces to the south, banded together under the

banner of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and began a final push toward Addis Ababa.[135, 136]

The Mengistu regime had become a civilian government in 1987, although still firmly under the control of longtime *Derg* leaders, and found itself unable to offer further resistance.[137] Army morale was low, and Soviet military assistance to the Mengistu government declined as the Gorbachev government reassessed its relationship with the Ethiopian leadership.[138] As EPRDF forces closed in, Mengistu fled Ethiopia for Zimbabwe in May 1991. Shortly thereafter, EPRDF forces entered Addis Ababa, signaling the end of the *Derg* era.[139, 140, 141]

Post-Revolutionary Ethiopia (1991–2005)

Following the EPRDF victory, Eritrea immediately became a de facto independent state, a status that was formalized in a referendum held in 1993.[142, 143] The EPRDF government, under TPLF leader Meles Zenawi, renounced socialism and embarked on a program of economic reforms. The Ethiopian leadership and the TPLF remained divided on the basis of linguistic-ethnic identifications. A new constitution was passed in 1995, and in the ensuing elections Zenawi and the EPRDF formed a new government.[144, 145] The most important groups were made stakeholders in the government and given significant regional autonomy, in a form of power sharing referred to as "ethnic federalism."[146]



Remains of Civil War
Flickr / alvise forcellini

Peace, unfortunately, did not last for long. In 1998, Eritrean forces occupied the Badme border region, which, like the rest of the Ethiopia–Eritrea border, has never been formally demarcated and was still claimed by both countries.[147] War broke out and lasted for more than 2 years. A peace agreement was signed in December 2000, but the underlying border issue has yet to be resolved and tensions between the two countries are still high, as reflected in cross-border incursions by both sides.[148] In 2011, the situation escalated when Ethiopia announced it would support Eritrean rebel groups trying to overthrow the government of President Isaias Afewerki.[149, 150]

The Ogaden region of Ethiopia also continues to be an area of unrest, with Ethiopian

government forces engaged in a low-level counterinsurgency campaign against the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF). Attacks have increased from both sides, resulting in continued tensions, uncertainty, and humanitarian crises in the region.[151, 152, 153]

On the political front, the government's generally positive image was damaged by elections in 2005.[154] Although international assessments of the fairness of the elections differ, the outcome sparked violence.[155, 156] The government brutally put down the protests, many mounted by insurgent groups in the Ogaden and Oromo regions.[157, 158]

Ethiopia (Since 2005)

Poverty-driven food shortages, recurrent drought, and soil degradation continue to afflict Ethiopia.[159] In 2001 drought forced the government to appeal for international food aid for over 3 million of its citizens. As the year progressed, the number of Ethiopians affected by the famine reached 4.5 million. In 2012, famine once again gripped the nation as the *Belg* rains, which usually occur between February and May, failed to materialize. Nearly 4 million Ethiopians were in need of humanitarian aid to survive.[160] The Somali region was the hardest hit, followed by Oromiya, Tigray, and Amara. Continued food shortages in 2013, led to social unrest, and in 2014, famine again threatened the nation after two years of below-average rainfall.[161] El Niño induced drought in 2015 led to further serious risk to the country's stability and by 2016, more than 10 million people required emergency food assistance.[162, 163]



Ethiopians receiving help from USAID
Flickr / niawag

Ethnic tensions persist. Between 2011 and 2014, thousands of Oromo—the country's largest ethnic group—were arrested, tortured and killed.[164, 165] Ethnic Amhara have been targeted and killed in the Oromia state.[166, 167] Widespread violence and repression against the Somali ethnic group in the Ogaden region persists. Many Somalis do not regard themselves as Ethiopian and strongly identify with their tribesmen in neighboring Somalia.[168] The Ogaden National Liberation Front, a separatist group, continues to fight for regional independence. The Ethiopian army has been charged with the widespread use of rape against Somali women as a weapon of war.[169, 170]

Elections in 2008 and 2010 returned the EPRDF to power in noncompetitive elections that cemented the party's virtual monopoly on power and control of 99.6% of all seats in the National Assembly.[171] In August 2012, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi died. Although he ran an autocratic and repressive government, his death created the prospect of instability within the nation and across the region.[172] Deputy Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, the first non-Tigray or non-Amhara leader in two centuries, succeeded him as prime minister in September. On 24 May 2015, the country's ruling party, the EPRDF, won all parliamentary seats in national elections that were described by African Union observers as "calm, peaceful, and credible."[173, 174]

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Chapter 2 | History

Assessment

1. Ethiopia was colonized by Europeans in the 19th century.

2. Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed shortly after World War II.

3. The Ethiopian government formed in 1995 was based on a power-sharing system called “ethnic federalism.”

4. The Aksumite kingdom emerged in the 15th century.

5. Ethiopia’s Great Rift Valley has been called the “cradle of humanity.”

Assessment Answers: 1. False; 2. False; 3. True; 4. False; 5. True



Jinka Market
Flickr / www.j_pics.info

Economy

Introduction

Since the early 1990s, the Ethiopian government has endeavored to transform its socialist economy. The government eliminated price controls as part of a structural adjustment program in an effort to create an economy in which markets play a role and exports receive official promotion.[1] Major reforms have also focused on efforts to reduce poverty and increase productivity in agriculture.[2] Yet, Ethiopia remains one of the poorest nations in the world with a per capita GDP of only USD 1,500.[3] The country also scores low in economic freedom, ranking 149 out of 165 nations in the 2016 index and now is officially classified as "economically repressed."[4] Although the

country has the fifth-largest Sub-Saharan economy, Ethiopia continues to rank below the Sub-Saharan regional average in freedom of doing business, scoring 37th out of 46 nations.[5, 6]

The economy remains dependent on agriculture despite government efforts to diversify.[7] Agriculture generates approximately 47% of GDP and employs 85% of the labor force. Unemployment in 2014 remained high at 17.4%.[8] Nevertheless, through a policy of state-led development, the country has taken some strides in recent years.[9, 10, 11] Since 2004, the Ethiopian economy has been growing at twice the rate of other African regional economies, at an average of nearly 10% between 2004 and 2011 and at a rate of 11% between 2013-2014.[12, 13] This rapid growth has prompted some economists to label Ethiopia an "African lion" and suggest that the country could become a middle-income nation by 2025.[14] The government continues to direct the private sector, but also invests heavily in services infrastructure, education, and health initiatives.[15, 16]

Agriculture



Ploughing with Cattle
Flickr / ILRI

Only 25% of Ethiopia's arable land is under cultivation. Most farmers are small landholders who rely on rain for irrigation.[17, 18] Much of the nation remains highly vulnerable to drought, especially the area near the border with Somalia.[19] Grains are grown on over roughly 81% of the country's acreage devoted to non-permanent crops. The primary grains are teff (a small-seed cereal that is similar to millet and used to make *injera*, an Ethiopian flatbread), maize (corn), sorghum, and wheat. Other important non-permanent crops are pulses (beans and peas), linseed (flax), niger seed, and sesame seed.[20]

Ethiopia's is the world's fifth-largest producer of coffee, which is a major export.[21, 22] *Qat*, a mild stimulant and psychotropic drug whose leaves are chewed, is the country's second-largest export revenue source.[23, 24, 25] Its use is legal in Ethiopia, Djibouti, Yemen, and a handful of other countries. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian government does not encourage its cultivation, which is primarily carried out in the Eastern Highlands region of Hararge. Trade figures are difficult to obtain, but it is thought

to be Ethiopia's second-largest export product.[26, 27] Another fast-growing cash crop is cut flowers. Before the new millennium, export floriculture did not exist in Ethiopia. By 2014, Ethiopia was the second-largest exporter of cut flowers in Africa and the fourth-largest non-European exporter.[28, 29]

Livestock is an important subsector of agriculture and accounts for approximately 16% of national GDP.[30] Ethiopia is the world's 10th-largest livestock producer and Africa's largest exporter.[31, 32] The government estimates that in 2007–08 there were over 86 million goats, sheep, and cattle in the country.[33] Sheep and goatskins make leather one of Ethiopia's top exports. Leather sales could outpace those of coffee.[34, 35, 36]

Industry and Manufacturing

Ethiopia's industrial and manufacturing sector is quite limited, and accounts for only 10% of GDP and employs 18% of the labor force.[37, 38] The sector consists mostly of simple agro-processing activities and the production of basic consumer goods.[39, 40] The textile industry, employing approximately 30,000 people, accounts for 36% of the manufacturing sector. The major products include cotton and nylon fabrics, as well as acrylic yarns, woolen blankets, and sewing thread.[41] However, these products are of limited export value.[42] Leather (in the form of goat and sheepskin) is the only significant export.[43] Addis Ababa is the center of much of Ethiopia's industrial and manufacturing activity.[44] Other industries include food-processing, beverages, chemicals, metals processing, and cement.[45]



Tomatoe Canning
Flickr / GlobalHort Image Library

Under the *Derg* government, virtually all large- and medium-sized industries were nationalized. Since the mid-1990s, the government has been privatizing some of these enterprises. However, land has not been privatized and this has hampered industrial expansion.[46, 47] Nonetheless, the government has reiterated its commitment to increasing industrial development and has invested significant resources into training and development. The current policy focuses on the development of the agricultural-based industrialization.[48, 49]

Energy and Mineral Resources

Energy



Solar Energy
Flickr / BBC World Service

Ethiopia presently has no oil or natural gas fields in production. Recently, a London-based oil company announced they had struck oil near the border with Kenya, and projected that Ethiopia could have 2 to 3 billion barrels of oil reserves. The company is also conducting explorations in the areas of Ogaden, Omo, and Gambella.[50, 51] African Global Energy announced an oil and gas discovery in 2013.[52] The country has large reserves of oil shale, especially in the Oromia Regional State, which have captured the interest of various foreign companies.[53] A Brazilian oil company is also planning exploration in Ethiopia.[54] The Ethiopian government plans to form the Petroleum Development Enterprise to develop oil and natural gas reserves in cooperation with private firms.[55] Ethiopian-based Tullow Oil began drilling its first well in January 2013.[56, 57]

Recent data suggests that Ethiopia has about 113 billion cubic meters of natural gas reserves that could be exploited, many in the Somali region.[58] By 2017, the country expects to be exporting natural gas.[59] Several companies have already secured licenses to explore gas drilling, including a Chinese firm.[60, 61]

Ethiopia has extensive hydroelectric potential, only about 4% of which has been developed.[62] Roughly 85% of Ethiopia's existing electrical capacity is hydroelectricity generated at various dams on its rivers. Such reliance on hydroelectricity is problematic because of the country's frequent droughts, which reduce river flow and negatively affect the power system. In 2014, an estimated 77% of the population remained without access.[63] The Grand Renaissance Dam on the Blue Nile is currently under construction. The dam, which will be the largest in Africa, is set to begin generating electricity by 2017.[64, 65, 66]

Minerals

Mining does not play a major role in Ethiopia's economy. The country's most valuable mineral resource is gold, most of which is mined in southern Ethiopia at the Lega Dembi mine. Current estimates place estimated gold reserves at 500 tons.[67] The only other export mineral of any significance is tantalum, which is also mined in southern Ethiopia at the Kenticha mine, not far from Lega Dembi.[68] The country also has significant amounts of gemstones, including diamonds, industrial minerals such as quartz and feldspar, granite, sulphur and potash.[69]

Trade and Investment

Trade

Ethiopia must import a large share of its consumer and capital goods, as well as all of its oil. In times of drought, it must import substantial amounts of food grains.[70] Because the country produces few exportable products of high value, Ethiopia's trade balance has consistently been negative since the 1990s. In January 2015, the trade was USD 3,737,000,000.[71, 72]

Nearly 85% of Ethiopia's export revenues are agricultural.[73] By far the largest one is coffee, which accounted for about 30% of export revenues in 2012.[74, 75] In the mid-2000s, Ethiopia applied to trademark the Yiragacheffe, Harrar, and Sidamo region names in order to require coffee buyers to obtain licensing agreements.[76] It is unclear whether this has raised farmers' incomes.[77]

Other products that bring in significant amounts of Ethiopian export revenues are oilseeds, leather, pulses, meat and meat products, fruits and vegetables, live animals, *qat*, gold, and cut flowers.[78, 79] Approximately 38% of exports during 2013–14 were destined for Europe, with the largest markets in Switzerland, The Netherlands, and Germany. About 35% of exports went to Asian markets, with the largest shares going to China, Saudi Arabia, Israel, and the United Arab Emirates. About 23% of Ethiopian exports found their way



Salt Trade Caravan
Flickr / pierre c. 38

to African markets, with 83% bound for Somalia, Djibouti, and Sudan. Only 5% went to North American markets, with 97% destined for the United States and Canada.[80] Ethiopia's largest individual export partners include China (13%), Saudi Arabia (8 %), Germany (8%), the United States (8%) and Belgium (7%). Its largest import partners in 2013 were China (15%), Saudi Arabia (8%), India (7%) and the United States (6%).[81]

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

The climate for doing business in the country remains poor.[82, 83] The World Bank, citing problems with credit, power supplies, and regulations for starting businesses, ranked Ethiopia 172 out of 183 countries.[84] Nevertheless, Ethiopia is attracting considerable attention from foreign investors.[85] Growing international interest in Ethiopia made it the third-largest recipient of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa in 2013.[86] In 2013-2014, foreign direct investment totaled approximately USD 2.8 billion. The most popular sectors are construction, manufacturing, real estate, and agriculture.[87, 88] The energy sector, spurred by recent discoveries of oil attracts investment.[89] Mining is drawing increased foreign interest as well.[90, 91] China is the largest contributor of FDI to the nation followed by Sudan.[92, 93] Large amounts of FDI coming to Ethiopia is from other developing countries, including India and Saudi Arabia. However, significant inflows also emanate from the United States, Britain, Italy, Germany, and Turkey.[94]

Tourism



Church of St. George
Flickr / USAID

Although Ethiopia has natural and cultural attractions that could form the basis of a strong tourism industry, the country's civil wars, droughts, famines, and conflicts with its neighbors have made it difficult for extensive tourism development to take hold. In 2011, only 523,000 travelers visited the country, placing it 17th in international visitors among African nations.[95] The primary cultural attractions are in the northern part of the Western Highlands in the ancient imperial capitals of Aksum, Gonder, and Lalibela. Lake Tana and its island monasteries are another attraction, as are the wildlife parks of the Great Rift Valley and the ancient walled city of Harer in the Eastern Highlands.[96, 97]

According to the World Economic Forum, Ethiopia ranks 118 out of 144 countries in tourism competitiveness.[98] The nation has great tourism potential but lacks infrastructure and a macroeconomic environment, and it suffers from a poor international image.[99, 100, 101, 102] In 2013, tourism's direct contribution to GDP was only 4.2% but total contribution to GDP was 10.3%. That number is expected to rise by nearly 5% by 2024.[103] The sector directly employed nearly 4% of the workforce in 2014 but is expected to drop to 3% by 2024.[104] Most tourism dollars come from international travelers (69%). Domestic tourism continues to be a small part of the sector, accounting for only 31% or tourism dollars.[105]

Banking and Currency

Ethiopia's unit of currency is the birr (ETB). In May 2015, USD 1 was equal to 20.5 birr.[106] The birr is divided into 100 cents, with Ethiopian coinage based on units of 1, 5, 10, 25, and 50 cents.[107] The birr is one of Africa's most stable currencies, although it remains vulnerable to fluctuations against hard currencies such as the euro and the U.S. dollar.[108, 109]



Ethiopian Bank Notes
Wikimedia / Marc Baronnet

The National Bank of Ethiopia (NBE), headquartered in Addis Ababa, is Ethiopia's central bank. Founded in 1906, as the Bank of Abyssinia under the control of the British-owned National Bank of Egypt, it became the fully government-owned Bank of Ethiopia in 1931 during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. The current name came into effect in 1964.[110] Today, the NBE serves as Ethiopia's banking regulatory agency, oversees the country's monetary supply, regulates interest rates, and fixes and controls foreign exchange rates.[111]

Ethiopia's banking sector is a hybrid of state-owned and private banks. The sector remains largely closed.[112] There is one state-owned development bank and 18 commercial banks.[113] Two of these are state-owned. The largest, Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, controls about 70% of the sector's total assets. The other two state-owned institutions account for an additional 16%.[114] Foreign banks are not allowed to operate in Ethiopia.[115, 116, 117]

Standard of Living



Oromo Girl with Tomatoes
Flickr / Charles Roffey

Ethiopia is one of the world's poorest countries with a per capita income of approximately USD 370.[118] Even when measured against the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopia has an extremely low standard of living, ranking 173rd out of 195 countries.[119] Although progress has been made in eliminating poverty, in 2012 approximately 37% of Ethiopians survived on less than USD 1.25 per day. Roughly 72% managed on USD 2 per day.[120, 121] Some progress has been made in major indicators since 1980. Life expectancy is now at about 61 years (58 for men vs. 63 for women), and the mean years of schooling is 2.4.[122, 123] Less than half of the total population is literate. Only 57% of males and 41% of females over the age of 15 are able to read and write.[124]

Ethiopia is also quite low on a global scale of other basic quality-of-life indicators that are not directly calculated into the Human Development Index. For example, less than half of Ethiopians do not have access to safe drinking water. Forty percent of rural and 40% of rural and 20% of urban residents lack access to proper sanitation.[125, 126, 127] Healthcare throughout the nation is poor and the entire system is sorely underdeveloped. Estimates suggest that up to 80% of the health problems in the nation are preventable. Major problems stem from communicable diseases and nutritional problems accompanying the low socio-economic development.[128, 129]

Economic Outlook

According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Ethiopia has one of the five fastest growing economies in the world. Growth is expected to continue to be strong—between about 6 and 7% each year through 2020.[130, 131] Recent government investments in infrastructure growth and improvement have had a positive effect through increasing jobs and creating a construction boom. The small industrial sector is also growing and the outlook looks positive for the near-term.[132] Agriculture continues to be the backbone of the economy. Production was up in 2013/2014 and yield per hectare also increased. Although the sector remains vulnerable to environmental pressures and natural disasters, potential is high.[133]

Continued economic growth also depends on reducing the nation's trade deficit and raising exports. Currently, Ethiopia's debt is equal to roughly 24% of GDP.[134] In order to accomplish these ends, Ethiopia must overcome several obstacles. The nation must increase its competitiveness on a global scale. Ethiopia must also improve its business climate in order to encourage more investment. Easing trade regulations could reduce transport, which would also improve margins and encourage more trade. Ethiopia has been able to keep inflation under control for the last two years and continuing to do so will be key to future growth.[135]



Ethiopia's Infrastructure
Flickr / Overseas Development Institute

Endnotes for Chapter 3: Economy

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Ethiopia in Perspective

Chapter 3 | Economy

Assessment

1. The Ethiopian economy has become one of the fastest growing economies in the world.

2. Ethiopia's economy consists equally of agriculture and various industries.

3. Ethiopia's trade balance has been negative since the 1990s.

4. Ethiopia has few livestock because of the harsh climatic conditions.

5. Ethiopia has no oil reserves.

Assessment Answers: 1. True; 2. False; 3. True; 4. False; 5. False



Ethiopian Airlines Formation center
Flickr / francediplomatie

Society

Introduction

Most Ethiopians are justifiably proud of their ancient culture. Today, Ethiopian arts, cuisine, and architecture are celebrated around the world thanks in part to a sizeable diaspora. But in truth, Ethiopia is a collection of cultures. The ancient civilizations and empires of the Western Highlands, whose ruins are now part of the regional states of Tigray and Amara, are one part of the Ethiopian story. Another part is the Oromo migration from the south during the Middle Ages. In addition, lowlands along the edges of the Ethiopian Highlands are the traditional home of nomadic pastoralist peoples who, for much of their history, were never part of the ancient Highland empires. They

are another part of Ethiopia today.[2]

Ethiopia is much more than a country with a fascinating past. Its unique geography—a land torn across its middle by the forces of the earth's interior—contributes to its ethno-linguistic diversity.[3] The Afar, who are Muslim nomads scratching out a living in the scorching Danakil Desert as have for hundreds of years, are as much a part of modern Ethiopia as the multicultural urban professionals populating the capital, Addis Ababa. Ethiopia's rich ethnic and religious diversity is also a source of potential instability.[4] Various groups continue to assert their cultural identity and independence from the traditionally Amhara-dominated central government.[5] In response, the Ethiopian government has developed an ethnically based form of decentralized federalism that, so far, has maintained the whole, but it has not extinguished ethnic tensions and rivalries.[6, 7, 8, 9]

Ethnic Groups and Languages

Ethiopia is home to more than 70 ethnic groups, speaking 83 different languages that are subdivided into 200 dialects.[10, 11] The main ethnic groups include the Oromo (34%), the Amhara (27%), the Somali (6%), the Tigray (6%), the Sidama (4%), the Gurage (3%), the Welaita (2%), the Hadiya (2%), the Afar (2%), the Gamo (2%), and the Gedeo (1%).[12]



Ethiopian Tribes
Flickr / Dietmar Temps

Four major language groups—Cushitic, Ethio-Semitic, Omotic, and Nilo-Saharan—are represented in the languages spoken within Ethiopia.[13] Amharic, a Semitic language with similarities to Arabic and Hebrew, is the official language of the country. It is spoken by approximately 29% of the population as a first language.[14, 15] Oromo (Oromigna), one of the Omotic group, is a regional official language spoken by about 34% of the population.[16, 17] Other languages spoken throughout the nation include Somali (6%), Tigrayan (6%), Sidamo (4%), Wolaytta (2%), Gurage (2%), Afar (2%), Hadiyya (2%), and Gamo (2%).[18]

The Oromo

The Oromo, a Cushitic group, are the nation's largest ethnic group and are located predominantly in southeastern Ethiopia. They were originally nomadic cattle-herders, although in the highlands region they are now largely sedentary farmers.[19, 20, 21] Among the Oromo, both Christianity and Islam are practiced. The traditional Oromo social system, known as *Gada*, was egalitarian and based on democratic principles. No political leader could stay in power for more than 8 years, thereby restraining the effects of wealth and power accumulation within the society.[22, 23] This system enabled the Oromo to flourish until the 1890s when they were colonized by the Abyssinian (Ethiopian) empire.[24, 25]

The Oromo were brutally suppressed under the Ethiopians, who attempted to destroy Oromo cultural identity and language.[26] The Oromo remain politically marginalized, subject to extrajudicial disappearances, segregation, and victimized by discrimination.[27, 28, 29, 30] Many Oromo chose to struggle for liberation against the government.[31] The Oromo Liberation Front, Ethiopia's oldest armed rebel group, continues to wage an armed insurgency against the Ethiopian government.[32, 33]

The Amhara (Amara)

The Amhara, members of the Cushitic people, are the second-largest ethnic group in Ethiopia.[34, 35] They trace their origins to Menelik I, the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, although many regard this as more legend than fact.[36] Their traditional homeland is Ethiopia's central highlands plateau, and they are the dominant group in the Amhara National Regional State.[37, 38] The Amhara and the Tigray have dominated Ethiopia's political and military elite, except during the Italian occupation. Although their political power has waned since 1974, the Amhara remain a dominant force in the nation.[39] The Amhara are mostly Coptic Christians and have been since Christianity came to Ethiopia in about the fourth century. Their lifestyle has changed little in several thousand years. They are primarily farmers using oxen to plow their fields and relying on rain for water.[40, 41]



Amhara Man
Flickr / Richard Mortely

The Somali (Somalie)



Somali Boy
Flickr / Fatah Muse

The Somali people are located primarily in southeastern Ethiopia and have close associations with groups in Somalia. Nearly all are Sunni Muslims.[42, 43] Somalis trace their lineage through their fathers and are organized into clan-families, clans, lineages, and sub-lineages.[44] Because of lineal ties between Ethiopian Somalis and their relatives in Somalia, conflicts can spill across the border into Ethiopia.[45] The Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) is a group of Somali nationalists fighting for self-governance in the Ogaden region of eastern Ethiopia.[46] They carry out ambushes and guerrilla raids against the Ethiopian military and are suspected of being involved in several bombings in Addis Ababa.[47, 48]

The Tigray (Tigraway)

The Tigray, located mainly in northern Eritrea in Tigray province, have shared the political and military dominance of the empire with the Amhara. Every ruler since Menelik I was either an Amhara or a Tigray.[49, 50] Their language is Tigrayan (Tigrigna), a Semitic language.[51] Most Tigray are farmers and Coptic Christians. Churches are a central feature of community and daily life. The Tigray are easily distinguished by their unadorned white clothing, which many still wear as a sign of their Christian faith.[52] Many Tigray live in Eritrea and, by some accounts, the leaders of the Eritrean independence movement mostly came from this group.[53]



Tigray farmer
Flickr / USAID

The Afar

The Afar is mainly Cushitic, residing in the Danakil Desert region of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Djibouti.[54] They call their land *Cafar-barro*, or Afar land, where livestock husbandry

was the dominant livelihood. Little is known of their origins, but there are two main divisions: the Red Afar (*Asayahumara*) and the White Afar (*Adoyahmara*).[55] Their language and culture share elements with the Somalis and the Oromos.[56] The Afar are mainly Sunni Muslims, although they continue to practice some of their traditional animistic beliefs.[57] As nomads, they spread Islam.[58] Though some remain nomadic, others have been forced to diversify their livelihood and adopt a sedentary life because of livestock losses from drought and other factors.[59]



Afar tribe
Flickr / Terri O'Sullivan

The family or clan is the most significant social unit among the Afar, who tend to live in isolated groups. The Afar believe that their strength of character is inherited from their father, but their physical characteristics and spirituality come from their mother.[60] The creation of new state boundaries between Eritrea and Ethiopia split families and separated clans, which gave rise to militant groups, including the Ugugumo (Afar Revolutionary Democratic Unity Front).[61, 62] The Ugugumo continues an insurgency that includes the capture of international tourists.[63]

Religion

Three major religions are practiced in Ethiopia: Christianity (63%), Islam (34%), and indigenous religions (3%). The largest group of Christians belongs to the Ethiopian Coptic Christian Church (44%), while approximately 19% are Protestants and 1% is Catholic.[64] Coptic Orthodox Christians have long enjoyed a prominent position in the culture and politics of Ethiopia.[65, 66] The northern Western Highlands in Tigray and Amara are the stronghold of the Orthodox Church.[67] Protestant Christians, mostly Evangelical and Pentecostal are found mostly in the central and southern regions of Ethiopia, including SNNPR, central and southern Oromiya, and Gambela.[68] The largest Protestant denominations are Mekane Yesus and Kale Hiwot, both of which are evangelical churches.[69, 70]

Virtually all Ethiopian Muslims are followers of Sunni Islam.[71] Many live in Afar and the Eastern Lowlands, although Muslims also live in central and southern Oromiya.[72] Islam came to Ethiopia in the seventh century C.E. Their daily practices are a fusion of Quranic teachings, the worship of saints, and indigenous religious practices. The most

important rituals, including fasting and regular prayer, are more typical in urban than rural settings.[73, 74]

Christianity

Ethiopia may be the world's oldest Christian nation.[75] Some historians point to Biblical references that the apostle Matthew brought Christianity to the region.[76]According to established accounts, two brothers brought Christianity to the region early in the 4th century C.E. Shortly thereafter it became the official state religion.[77, 78, 79]



Three-piece Christian panel
Flickr / ellenm1

The Ethiopian Church developed its own particular brand of indigenous orthodoxy.[80, 81] From the beginnings of Christianity in the region, the Church has been more than a religious institution. It is the central institution in society, playing a central role in all aspects of national life. It has been a repository of cultural, political, and social life for Ethiopian Christians.[82, 83, 84]

Ethiopian Orthodox Christians do not believe that the Pope is infallible.[85] Nor do they believe in Immaculate Conception.[86] Orthodox Christians believe that Christ was a man who voluntarily gave his life. Once Christ had ransomed himself on the cross, he rose to heaven.[87, 88, 89] The name of the Ethiopian church, from the Ge'ez word *Tewahedo,* refers to the "one nature" of Jesus.[90] Basic Church doctrine closely follows the Old Testament and requires its males to be circumcised and to observe Saturday as the Sabbath.[91]

Ethiopian Orthodox Christians are required to pray seven times a day, beginning when they awaken and ending at midnight. Prayers are highly ritualized. Christians should stand when praying, turn toward the east and make the sign of the cross from left to right, and finally kneel down and lie prostrate.[92] In addition, there are several important holy days that require the faithful to attend longer services and engage in rituals of singing, dancing, and feasting. Devout Christians should fast approximately 165-180 days a year.[93] For the clergy, the number of fasting days is 265. Fasting days include each Wednesday and Friday, as well as the two months of the Lent and Easter.

Fasting requires that at least one meal be completely vegetarian with no meat, fats, dairy, or eggs.[94, 95]

Islam



Mosque in Addis
Flickr / G. A. Hussein

Islam is a monotheistic religion and its followers believe in a one God. The Muslim community, or *umma*, uses the Arabic term for God, which is Allah. The Arabic term *islam* means "to submit" or "to surrender." So a Muslim is one who submits to the will of Allah.[96] Muslims believe that Allah revealed his message to the Prophet Muhammad, a merchant who lived in Arabia from 570 to 632 C.E., through the angel Gabriel. They consider Muhammad as the last in a long line of prophets that includes Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Allah's message, as relayed by Muhammad, is delivered in the Quran, the sacred text of Islam. Additional doctrinal guides include the *Hadith*, a collection of the sayings of Muhammad, and the *Sunna*, which describes the practices of Islam by way of Muhammad's example.[97]

Regardless of sect, Muslims follow the five Pillars of Islam, which capture the essential beliefs and rites of the faith. The first is the *shahada*, the declaration of faith that "There is no god but God and Muhammad is God's messenger." The *salat* is the requirement to pray five times a day. *Sawm* is the required fast during the month of Ramadan. *Zakat* is the expectation that Muslims should be generous by sharing their wealth. The fifth pillar is the *hajj,* which requires all physically and financially able Muslims to make the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lives.[98]

Care and Treatment of the Quran

Muslims regard the Quran as sacred. Treat Islam's holy book with respect and do not touch the Quran with dirty hands. Keep the Quran off the floor—if you are sitting on the floor, hold the Quran above your lap or waist. When not in use, protect the Quran with a dustcover and do not place anything on top of it.[99] (Muslims often keep Quranic texts on the highest shelf of a bookcase.) Finally, keep Qurans out of latrines.[100] Old or damaged copies can be properly disposed of in one of two ways. Burning is acceptable so long as the process is conducted with respect. Texts should not be burned with

trash or other items. The second method of disposal is burial. Before burying the text, it should be wrapped in something pure and then buried where people do not walk.[101]

Other Religions

Other smaller denominations include some traditional animist groups. Most indigenous practitioners are members of the Nilotic group and are concentrated in the Western Lowlands.[102] Most animist traditions recognize spirits, many of which are similar in both name and function to Christian and Islamic spirits. Many also believe in a supreme deity usually associated with the sky. This deity is addressed through the spirits rather than directly.[103] Among the majority Oromo, there is a supreme god named *Waaqa* who is represented by spirits called *ayana*. These *ayana* are mediators between *Waaqa* and humans. A *kallu* is a person who can be possessed by the *ayana* and therefore communicate with the supreme being.[104]

A Jewish community settled approximately 2,000 years ago in northern Ethiopia around the Lake Tana area. Through the years, their faith evolved into a mix of Judaic and Ethiopian traditions. Those who practice this faith call themselves *Beita Yisrael* (House of Israel), but are known as *Falasha* (Amharic for stranger or landless ones) by the rest of the country. Their scripture, the *Orit*, is written in Ge'ez and includes the Old Testament and some apocryphal books. When the *Falalsha* were endangered by civil war and famine, the government airlifted thousands of them to Israel during the 1980s. Small groups of *Falasha* still live in Ethiopia, mostly in Addis Ababa, where there is a synagogue.[105, 106]

Cuisine

If there is a national dish of Ethiopia, it is *wot*, a thick stew containing meat or vegetables.[107, 108, 109] A key ingredient of *qey* (red) *wot* and other Ethiopian dishes is *berbere*, a red spice mixture containing chili peppers, ginger, cloves, allspice, cardamom, turmeric, cumin seeds, and other spices.[110, 111] A less spicy type of *wot* that does not include *berbere* is *alitcha wot*.[112, 113] *Niter kibbeh*, a clarified butter containing ginger, garlic, cardamom, and other spices, is also an essential element of



Ethiopian Cuisine
Flickr / Olli Pitkänen

Ethiopian cooking.[114] Wot is frequently eaten on *injera*, a spongy sourdough flatbread made from fermented *teff* flour.[115]

Meats commonly used in Ethiopian dishes include chicken (*doro*), beef (*yebere siga*), goat, and lamb (*bege*). A popular beef dish is *kitfo*, which consists of raw beef dressed in a *berbere*- and *niter kibbeh*-based mix. Pork is not used in Ethiopian cooking because of Islamic and Ethiopian Orthodox dietary restrictions.[116, 117, 118] Vegetarian dishes are popular, in part because of Ethiopian Orthodox Christian fasting periods, which require that no animal products be eaten. Fasting periods include Wednesdays and Fridays, in addition to pre-Lent and pre-Christmas fasting.[119, 120] These dishes may include beans, lentils, chickpeas, potatoes, collard greens, carrots, and cabbage. Besides the native dishes, most restaurants in Ethiopia serve spaghetti, perhaps the most lasting influence from Italy's short-lived attempt to colonize Ethiopia.[121]

Desserts are not typically part of Ethiopian cuisine. Instead, meals usually end with a serving of *boona* (coffee), Ethiopia's most famous contribution to world cuisine, which is brewed in front of guests.[122, 123] Other traditional Ethiopian beverages include *tej* (honey wine) and *tella* (beer).[124, 125] Ethiopia is one of the largest honey-producing countries in the world, and much of this output goes into the making of *tej*.[126] *Lab*, an Ethiopian cheese made from cottage cheese and yogurt and similar to feta cheese, is sometimes eaten after the spicier dishes as a way to cool the palate.[127]

Traditional Dress



ILRI Addis Staff Traditional Dress
Flickr / ILRI

Western-style clothes are common in cities, but traditional clothes are worn in the countryside.[128] Clothing in the cooler highlands tends to be heavier, while in the warmer lowland regions light cotton is common.[129] A universal item of clothing for Ethiopians is the *shammas*, a type of cotton shawl.[130, 131] *Shammas* made from a heavier weave are known as *gabis*, whereas *netellas* are made from a light, gauze-like cotton fabric. On formal occasions, men wear the *netella* around their waist. *Shammas* are often white and bordered with colorful pattern pieces (*tilets*).[132, 133] White is also a common color for women's dresses (*abesha kemis*), as well as men's long shirts and accompanying trousers.[134]

Clothing varies among Ethiopia's diverse ethnic populations. Among Amhara men, jodhpur pants and a long shirt covered by a *gabi* are common. Rural Amhara do not wear shoes.[135] Traditional clothing among the Tigray is white, regarded as a symbol of their Christianity. On formal occasions, the men wear jodphurs and long fitted shirts. The shirt falls just above the knee for laymen and just below the knee for priests and deacons. Men and women wear the *gabi* draped around the shoulders. The pattern of the draping signals a person's relationship to others.[136]

Among the Afar, the long wraparound fabric tied at the waist (*sanafil*) is worn by both sexes. Women traditionally wore brown *sanafil*, but today these are more likely to be brightly colored. Married women are distinguished by their black headscarf or *shash*.[137, 138] Women often wear brightly beaded necklaces and brass anklets. Men prefer the undyed *sanafil*. Most carry a ceremonial 40-cm (16-in), double-edged, curved dagger (*jile*).[139, 140, 141, 142]

Oromo men wear the Ethiopian white toga (*waya*) along with other cotton clothing. The women wear skirts (*wandabit*) made of leather decorated with beaded embroidery. They wear jewelry items of beads, copper, and heavy brass.[143, 144]

Somali men wear a long, lightweight wraparound skirt (*mawhee*) and a lightweight shirt. During the cooler evenings, men wear the *gabi*. During the heat of the day they wear a turban. Women wear modest clothing that covers their bodies from shoulders to ankles, and a shawl to cover their heads.[145]

Gender Issues

Women occupy a low status in Ethiopia. In 2014, the nation ranked 127 out of 142 countries on the Gender Gap Index.[146] Despite constitutional guarantees of equal rights for men and women, considerable gender gaps persist in education, economic power, inheritance of property, and political participation.[147, 148, 149] The Ethiopian government has endorsed a policy of speeding up the process by which women can participate equally with men in society, in politics, and in the economy.[150]



Ethiopian Women
Flickr / ILRI

It has also encouraged and promoted governmental and nongovernmental agencies to work on improving women's situations within the nation.[151]

Traditionally, Ethiopian women marry early. Even though the legal age for marriages is 18, early marriages continue, particularly in the rural regions. In 2011, nearly half of women were married before the age of 18.[152] The average age of first marriage among women aged 25–49 was 16.5.[153, 154] Although still high, those rates have declined about 16% since 2005.[155] Child marriage is most common in the states of Binshangul Gumuz (58%), Amara (56%), Afar (56%), and the Somali Region (52%). Except for the capital Addis Ababa, where rates of child marriage are about 12%, rates in the remaining states vary from about 30% to 47%.[156] The bride price is an incentive for parents to marry their daughters off young.[157]

Incidents of abuse and domestic violence against women are widespread. A 2009 study found that 70% of women are abused or the victims of violence by a husband or partner, with at least 50% suffering such abuse within the last 12 months.[158] Female genital mutilation is a crime in Ethiopia, but between 70% and 80% of women undergo the procedure.[159, 160]

Arts

Painting

Classical Ethiopian painting follows one of two styles: that of the religious tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and that of the secular folk art tradition.[161] Church wall-painting has a long history in Ethiopia, as far back as before the seventh century. A distinct characteristic of Orthodox Christian iconic imagery is its two-dimensional linear "folk" style.[162] Good characters are shown in full face, with both (overlarge) eyes visible. Evil characters are displayed in profile and have only one eye visible. Black lines clearly delineate the contours of characters.[163, 164, 165]



Paintings on Walls
Flickr / Ruth Lathlean

Music



Ethiopian Dance Workshop
Flickr / Michael Shade

Ethiopia has a diverse musical tradition. Christian music began in the sixth century and is still sung in the Ge'ez language. Religious music remains popular throughout the nation and is sung in many of the major languages including Amharic, Oromo, and Tigrayan.[166] The roaming singers known as *azmaris* ("minstrels") have a long tradition within Ethiopia. Over centuries the *azmari* repertoire has evolved from music for religious liturgies to more secular themes, with lyrics often improvised.[167] They traditionally accompany themselves using a *masenqo* (one-string bowed lute), often with the additional backing of drums, *krar* (bowl-shaped lyre), and flute.[168, 169] *Azmari* music typically is played using one of four pentatonic scales (five notes per octave).[170]

Various styles exist, but a common traditional practice is to sing the praises of audience members.[171, 172] One of the most popular of the new *azmari* styles in Addis Ababa is *bolel* ("car exhaust fumes"), a free-wheeling, blues-like blend of traditional *azmari* themes and topical pop references.[173] The musicians rely on tips.

Sports and Recreation



Ethiopian Runners
Flickr / Jonas K.

Like much of the world, Ethiopians are avid soccer players and fans. The Ethiopian national team (nicknamed the Walya Antelopes) has had limited success in recent decades. Until 2013, the team had not qualified for the African Nations Cup since 1982, and it has never qualified for the World Cup.[174, 175]

Ethiopian distance runners are much more successful in the international sports arena.[176] At the 2004 Summer Olympics, 7 of the 12 medalists in the Men's and Women's 5,000 and 10,000 meter events were

Ethiopian.[177] One medalist, Meseret Defar, won the Women's 5,000 m event and holds the world record for that distance. Defar was awarded the 2007 Female Athlete of the Year by the International Association of Athletics Federation.[178] In 2012, seven Ethiopians again won Olympic medals, including the gold in the women's 5,000 m, 10,000 m and women's marathon.[179]

One of the most popular Ethiopian recreational activities is table tennis, followed closely by table football (known in the US as foosball).[180] *Genna* (similar to field hockey) and *gugs* (like tag on horseback) are native games most often contested at festivals or on holidays.[181, 182, 183] Gabata is the world's oldest and most popular traditional board game in the country. The game, which resembles chess, is played on a wooden board with seeds as markers.[184, 185]

Endnotes for Chapter 4: Society

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Chapter 4 | Society

Assessment

1. Oromo is Ethiopia's official national language.

2. The majority of Ethiopians are Christian.

3. Among the Afar people, married women are distinguished by their white headscarf.

4. The popular Ethiopian dish called wot is served with injera.

5. Women occupy a high status in Ethiopia.

Assessment Answers: 1. False; 2.True; 3. False; 4. True; 5. False



Security Men
Flickr / Eileen Delhi

Security

Introduction

Ethiopia is the most populous landlocked nation in the world.[1] It played virtually no role on the world political stage until the end of World War II, but has figured prominently in African and world affairs since then.[2] It not only has the dubious distinction of hosting the largest number of refugees in Africa, but of generating its own sizeable exodus because of hunger and war. Images of famine-stricken Ethiopians prompted celebrity activists in the mid-1980s to come together in an unprecedented effort to raise money for the victims.[3, 4, 5]

Although the nation continues to be a major recipient of humanitarian assistance, Ethiopia enjoys relative peace today.[6, 7, 8] Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ethiopia's external relations and foreign policy have been largely a product of its economic dependence on foreign aid, ethnic tensions, and its strategic location in the war on terror. Since 9/11, the country has maintained stronger relations with the west.[9] Yet, the country is not immune from long running conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Three of its neighbors, Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea, are accused occasionally of helping to sponsor terrorist organizations or serve as bases for those organizations.[10] Fears of Islamist activities in Sudan and Somalia create high levels of uncertainty and tension. Ethiopia's western neighbor, Sudan, has only recently concluded a brutal decades-long civil war that sent thousands of refugees into Ethiopian camps.[11] In addition, Ethiopia's efforts to dam the Nile have brought it into conflict with Egypt.[12]

U.S.–Ethiopian Relations



Agricultural Development Workshop
Flickr / Climate Change, Agriculture

Formal relations between the United States and Ethiopia began in 1903. Since then, relations between the United States and Ethiopia have traditionally been close, except during the *Derg* years of the 1970s and 1980s. After the fall of the Mengistu (*Derg*) government in 1991, relations quickly improved and full ambassadorial ties were re-established in 1992.[13, 14, 15, 16] Since then, the U.S. government has spent hundreds of millions of dollars supporting the Ethiopian government and people with military, development, and humanitarian aid. Between 2000 and 2012, the United States delivered USD 6.23 billion in aid to Ethiopia.[17] The United States considers Ethiopia to be a strategic Horn of Africa ally in the struggle against global terrorism.[18, 19, 20, 21] Today, bilateral relations center on economic growth, as well as development in the areas of democracy and human rights, and regional peace and security.[22, 23] Military training limited to non-lethal assistance is ongoing. The United States works with the Ethiopian government in efforts designed to reduce vulnerability to famine, decrease poverty, reform government, and provide humanitarian aid.[24]

Relations with Neighboring Countries

Djibouti



Export Kavy do Djibouti
Flickr / Yara Tucek

Relations between Ethiopia and Djibouti are strong and deep.[25, 26, 27, 28] When Eritrea became an independent nation in 1993, Ethiopia lost its only Red Sea port access, but continued to use the port at Assab in Eritrea.[29] When tensions between the two nations erupted into war in 1998, Ethiopia lost all access and turned to Djibouti for a resolution. The Port of Djibouti became Ethiopia's access to sea trade and now handles 100% of Ethiopia's maritime traffic.[30, 31] Nearly 90% of the Port of Djibouti's imports and exports are Ethiopian in origin.[32, 33] The two countries are further linked economically by their joint ownership of the railroad running from Addis Ababa to Djibouti. Despite its close connection to Ethiopia, the Djibouti government tries to maintain a cordial relationship with Eritrea, which at times has proved a delicate balancing act.[34, 35, 36]

Recent negotiations have resulted in expanded economic projects, including a pipeline between Addis Ababa and Djibouti, a fiber optic cable project, railway expansion, and a water-supply sharing plan.[37, 38, 39, 40] Ethiopia supplies hydro-electric power to Djibouti, and both reached an agreement to build new railway lines and roads between their two nations.41 Ethiopia and Djibouti recently concluded agreements strengthening trade, mining, industrial, and transport ties. In addition, the two nations pledged to strengthen cooperation in efforts toward peace and security in the region.[42]

Djibouti has a sizable ethnic Somali minority who are primarily members of the Issa clan.[43, 44, 45] The other sizable ethnic group in Djibouti is the Afar, who are also the dominant ethnic group in the adjacent Ethiopian state of Afar (*kilil*).[46, 47] Illegal immigration of both groups into Djibouti has been a problem, and in September 2003 almost 100,000 illegal immigrants (about 15% of the population) were forced to leave and return to their home countries. Approximately 60,000 of those deported were from Ethiopia.[48]

Eritrea

Ethiopia and Eritrea officially parted peacefully in 1993, two years after the Mengistu government was overthrown. Only a few years later, in 1998, war broke out between the two nations over a boundary dispute that resulted from soured relations between the two nations due to currency and trade issues.[49, 50] Eritrean soldiers entered a region on the Ethiopian-controlled side near the small village of Badme, and events quickly escalated into all-out warfare. By the end of hostilities in May 2000, over 70,000 people had been killed and both countries found themselves economically shattered by the costs associated with the fight.[51, 52]

In 2011, members of the Ethiopian government announced they would facilitate Eritreans' popular efforts to overthrow their government. They accused the Eritrean government of sponsoring anti-Ethiopian insurgent groups. Eritrea labeled the Ethiopian actions as aggressive, but refrained from a military response. In March 2012, Ethiopian troops launched incursions into Eritrea to attack what Ethiopia called training camps for insurgents bent on destroying the Ethiopian government.[53, 54]

Today, the two nations remain in a formal state of war, although the situation is a stalemate. The border zone between Eritrea and Ethiopia is the scene of a tense standoff.[55] Both countries have troops stationed near the border. A series of clashes between Eritrean and Ethiopian troops in 2015 further escalated tensions. The instability in the region has many worried that hostilities could escalate at any time.[56, 57] Approximately 107,000 refugees from Eritrea currently live in Ethiopia, mostly in the Tigray region.[58] Relations between the two countries remain hostile, but there is some hope that they may normalize in the near future.[59, 60, 61]

Kenya

Although there has been frequent cross-border violence between rival ethnic groups in recent years, Kenya and Ethiopia have a long tradition of generally peaceful relations.[62] Today, they enjoy cordial bilateral relations due to a shared perception of threat posed by Somalia.[63, 64] Much of the border violence is related to the custom of cattle- and sheep-rustling by



Ethiopian Delegates in Kenya
Flickr / ILRI

local ethnic groups, which increases during the region's frequent periods of drought and subsequent scarce resources.[65, 66, 67]

Despite their shared border, Kenya and Ethiopia are relatively isolated from each other because the major population centers in both countries are far from the border.[68] Only a single, rugged dirt road running through arid northern Kenya to the border town of Moyale connects Nairobi and the rest of Kenya's Central Highlands to Ethiopia. The African Development Bank has provided funding for a project to pave the road.[69] Plans are also underway to build new roads and railway lines, which would connect other parts of Ethiopia with Kenya's Lamu port.[70] Trade relations between the two countries are strengthening. The balance of trade in 2012 favored Kenya.[71]

Kenya has been a major region for receiving refugees from the fighting in Somalia and South Sudan.[72] Recently, the refugee camps in eastern Kenya have also been taking in Ethiopian refugees who are fleeing conflict between the Ethiopian government and various ethnic groups. In 2015, approximately 8,[800] Ethiopians sought asylum in Kenya.[73, 74, 75] Both nations have agreed to work together to increase border security and to promote peace along the border.[76, 77, 78]

Somalia

Politically fractured Somalia is a major focus of Ethiopian foreign and military affairs. The Ethiopian government has deployed troops backing the Somali government.[79] Much of southern Somalia fell under the control of the Islamist insurgent group known as al-Shabaab.[80] Ethiopia worried that the group would threaten Ethiopia's stability, thus Ethiopian troops invaded Somalia in 2006, attempting to reinstate the Transitional Federal Government (TFG).[81] Although the attempt limited terrorist influence in the region, it was widely unpopular with the Somalis. Frustrated with inaction by the TFG, Ethiopia withdrew its forces in 2008, but reentered Somalia in 2011 to battle the insurgent group al-Shabaab.[82] Ethiopia's actions received mixed international responses, but by 2015,[4,400] Ethiopian troops remained in Somalia as part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).[83, 84, 85]



Famine in Somalia
Flickr / Africa Renewal

Political instability in Somalia has become a factor in the ongoing insurgencies in eastern Ethiopia. The Ethiopian government's concern about an alliance of convenience between the Somalian Council of Islamic Courts (CIC) and the secessionist Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) was one factor that precipitated Ethiopia's military support of the Somalian Transitional Federal Government in December 2006.[86] Along the northern Ethiopia–Somalia border, the situation is somewhat more stable. There, the breakaway Somalian state known as Somaliland has signed cross-border trade agreements with Addis Ababa and allowed Ethiopia use of the Somaliland port of Berbera. Ethiopia denies that it intends to formally acknowledge Somaliland sovereignty, which no country has done to date.[87, 88]

South Sudan

The Ethiopian government sent a number of civil servants to South Sudan to help establish its bureaucratic functions.[89] In 2014, tensions heightened between the two nations when South Sudan signed a military cooperation agreement with Egypt. Some observers viewed the South Sudanese move as retaliation against Ethiopia, which it believes is arming and funding an insurgency movement inside South Sudan.[90] In October 2014, Ethiopia alleged that South Sudan was supporting the insurgent Ethiopian Unity Patriotic Front.[91]



Sudanese Refugee Boys
Flickr / UNICEF Ethiopia

There has been little time to build a clear strategy toward the new nation since the establishment of South Sudan in July 2011. Twelve memoranda of understanding were recently signed between representatives of the two nations. The memoranda include issues of trade, transportation, education, and strategic partnership relations. Sudan and Ethiopia agree to establish a free trade zone on their border.[92] Although the two nations remain committed to working together to forge peace and security in the region, Ethiopia is concerned about lingering issues between Sudan and South Sudan that could create problems.[93] Both nations also agree to collaborate on increasing joint border security.[94] One issue complicating relations is the large number of refugees from South Sudan in Ethiopia's Gambella region. In January 2015, there were approximately 300,[000] South Sudanese in Ethiopia, mostly ethnic Nuer. The refugees strain Ethiopian resources and represent a potential source of conflict with Ethiopian Nuer tribes.[95, 96]

Sudan

Relations between Sudan and Ethiopia have ranged from frosty to cordial. Since 1998, relations have generally been positive.[97] Currently, relations are strong and both nations are working to strengthen diplomatic and economic ties.[98, 99] The inability to demarcate their lengthy border has been a major issue. Since the end of the Sudanese civil war, progress has been made in addressing the border issue. Both nations have endorsed a proposed demarcation plan implemented in early 2013.[100, 101, 102] In 2014, both sides agreed to establish a joint military force for operations along the border.[103]

Another issue is water, which is never far from the surface in relations between the two neighbors.[104] Ethiopia, Sudan, eight other nations, as well as Eritrea as an observer, are part of the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) charged with managing sustainable use of the region's water resources.[105] In 2015, Ethiopia and Sudan, along with Egypt, signed the Nile Dam Declaration hoping to defuse tensions.[106, 107]

Police Force

Ethiopia's 16,[700]-member Federal Police Force is under the auspices of the Federal Police Commission.[108, 109] Each of the nation's nine states also has a regional police force under civilian authorities. The total number of these regional forces is about 34,[000].[110, 111] Local militias also operate with varying degrees of coordination and cooperation with the police forces.[112] The Federal Police play a major role in border security and internal security, particularly in counterterrorism. The Anti-Terrorism Task Force cooperates with the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS).[113]



Community Police Officer
Flickr / Olli Pitkänen

However, paramilitary forces have been accused of numerous human rights abuses.[114, 115] The Liyu are among those recently cited for such abuses, as well as the regional Somali police force. In May 2012, members of the special police in the eastern Somali executed 10 people in custody, kidnapped at least 24, and looted shops and houses in Raqda village. The Liyu have also been implicated in other human rights abuses involving counterinsurgency operations.[116] Allegations have been made of abuses by police in other regions, including Amara and Oromiya.[117]

Military



Ethiopian Soldiers
Flickr / AMISOM Public Information

The Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) is composed of four branches: the Ground Forces, Air Force, Police, and Militia.[118] With its approximately 182,000 personnel, it is one of the largest military forces in Africa.[119, 120] The Army (Ground Forces), with its estimated 150,000 troops, composes more than 80% of the entire ENDF.[121, 122] The persistent threats to national security, as well as the activity in Somalia, have helped the army maintain a high state of readiness with good rapid response capabilities. The army is also experienced in guerrilla tactics. Its air force, with approximately 2,000 troops, is charged with protecting national air space and supporting ground forces. In addition, it plays an active role in national emergencies. The Air Force has 81 fixed and rotary wing aircraft along with air-to-air missiles. The main operating base is at Debre Zeit, near Addis Ababa.[123, 124, 125] Morale within both the Army and Air Force is low and there are recent reports of numerous defections to Eritrea.[126, 127]

The Ethiopian Army has been deployed in recent years to Somalia to help the Somali government defend against insurgent attacks. It has also launched attacks against Eritrea. Ethiopia participates in UN troop deployments, including the 2010 Darfur action and along the Sudan-South Sudan border near Abyei. Domestically, troops have carried out several offensives against internal rebel groups, including the ONLF.[128]

In recent years, some members of the ENDF have been accused of human rights violations. In Gambela Hizboch *kilil*, more than 400 Anuak civilians were killed in a December 2003 retaliatory attack by ENDF soldiers and local citizens. These retaliatory attacks were in response to ambushes attributed to armed groups of Anuaks against "highlander" citizens (i.e., non-Gambela natives) and government officials.[129] Since then, six ENDF soldiers have been tried for the massacre, although it has been reported by independent human rights organizations that over 100 ENDF soldiers took part in the massacre.[130, 131] Some ENDF commanders were reprimanded by the government for their violent tactics.[132] In 2012, Ethiopian troops allegedly committed rape and torture against Gambela villagers after an attack on a Saudi agricultural compound.[133]

Issues Affecting Internal Stability

Ethnic Divisions



Ethiopian Tribes
Flickr / Dietmar Temps

The central Ethiopian government has long been dominated by members of the Amhara ethnic group. The present governing coalition, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), is an alliance of parties representing the Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organization (OPDO), the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the Southern Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Movement (SEPDM), and the Tigrayan Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF).[134] Recognition of Ethiopia's ethnic diversity led to the creation of nine ethnic states or regions. According to the 1994 constitution, each of these regional states has the right to secede.[135] Most of the states remain somewhat autonomous, although they rely on the federal government for economic and security needs.[136] This situation has not freed Ethiopia of ethnic strife.[137, 138, 139] Armed insurgent groups have formed to protect their ethnic groups' interests.

Armed Insurgent Groups



Derg Communist Artwork
Flickr / chuffin

There are at least four armed insurgent groups operating within Ethiopia: The Afar Revolutionary Democratic Union Front (ARDUF), the Ethiopian People's Patriotic Front (EPPF), the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF).[140] The ARDUF, also known as the Ugugumo, is a militant group of ethnic Afar that has been operating in the Afar region since 1993. This group has been responsible for the kidnapping of foreign tourists in recent years.[141, 142] The group poses no serious risk to the federal government, but is a source of local instability.[143] The EPPF engages only in low-level activity, including raids on government convoys.[144]

Recent infighting has rendered the group ineffective and it currently poses no serious risk.[145]

The ONLF describes itself as a defender of the ethnic Somali population who live in the Ogaden region. The group vows to make the Ogaden a separate, independent state.[146, 147] There are indications that the group has formed a logistical affiliation with the terrorist Al-Shabab group.[148] The ONLF states that it does not target civilians and does not use bombs, but it does conduct guerrilla campaigns against the military and government personnel.[149] The ONLF, which poses a genuine threat to regional security, has become increasingly active in recent years and is responsible for a 2007 assault against a Chinese-run oilfield.[150] The fragmented OLF has never articulated clear goals, but some factions are intent upon seceding from the federal system.[151] The group has been labeled a terrorist organization by the government, which passed a terrorism law in 2009 that has been criticized as overly vague.[152] It receives substantial support from Eritrea. In the event of escalating violence or war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, the OLF could step up attacks against the government.[153, 154] At the same time, both the ONLF and OLF have offices in Washington and several European capitals, indicating that their terrorist designation is not universally shared.[155]

Famine and Drought



Water Harvesting Structure
Flickr / ILRI

Even the most casual observers of world affairs are likely aware of the devastating famines that have gripped Ethiopia in recent decades. Less well known is the political fallout from major drought/famine events. The famine of 1974 paved the way for the military coup that allowed the Derg to come to power.[156] The worsening state of hunger and food insecurity in the region is a potential source of instability. In 2011, the famine was referred to as "the most severe food security emergency in the world today" by USAID.[157] The situation continued through 2013, when Ethiopia rated at extreme risk on the Food Security Risk Index.[158, 159] In 2016, the nation continued to rank among the world's least food-secure nations.[160]

Terrorist Groups and Activity

Ethiopia is concerned with security threats from terrorist groups outside its borders. Its western neighbor, Sudan, is one of four countries on the U.S. State Department's list of state sponsors of terrorism. Its eastern neighbor, Somalia, has become a ripe base for terrorists because of the vacuum of central authority within the politically fragmented country.[161, 162] Fortunately, Ethiopia has so far mostly managed to avoid terrorism based on religious extremism. Islamic extremism has never gained a foothold, although the country has a significant Muslim population.[163, 164, 165]

Water Security



Water Security
Flickr / Community Eye Health

Ethiopia is sometimes referred to as the "water tower" of Africa due to its significant number of rivers, including the Blue Nile. This river is a major tributary of the Nile River that flows through 11 countries.[166] The Nile Basin is home to 200 million people, and that figure is projected to double by 2030.[167] Egypt has historically controlled the bulk of water supplies in the Nile Basin. As early as 1957, Ethiopia declared that it would develop water resources under its sovereignty, though it lacked the technical expertise to divert Blue Nile waters.[168] Climate change is affecting both water and food security in Ethiopia, which depends on water access for irrigation and energy.[169] Water supply meets only about half the demand in the capital, which had less than 12 hours a day of water service in 2011.[170]

After the fall of the *Derg* government in the late 1980s, the situation changed as multilateral organizations sought ways to reduce poverty in Ethiopia. Among them was expanded farmer access to irrigation water from the Blue Nile. In 2005, *Addis Ababa* warned, "[I]f Egypt were to plan to stop Ethiopia from utilizing the Nile water it would have to occupy Ethiopia…"[171] At stake is Ethiopia's USD 4.7-billion Great Renaissance Dam (GERD) near the border with Sudan. In June 2013, the Ethiopian parliament ratified an agreement that would establish a permanent body to oversee water distribution. This replaced the existing treaty drafted by Britain in 1929 that accorded Egypt veto power over any dam project undertaken by upstream countries. The treaty was updated in a 1959 post-colonial agreement that gave Egypt and Sudan

formal rights to the Nile in an 87:13 ratio, but left out the other riparian countries.[172] The Egyptian government, which insists the current arrangement is backed by international law, has signaled it is "keeping all options open."[173, 174] In 2015, Egypt and Ethiopia, along with Sudan, signed the Nile Dam Declaration that is expected to reduce water tensions in the region.[175, 176]

Outlook



Security Check
Flickr / Leonard Chien

The Ethiopian government and military face numerous challenges in maintaining stability. Ethiopian forces face threats from groups inside and outside its borders. Current and future concerns over water, dealing with drought and famine, reducing poverty, and building the economy all factor into the success of the nation.[177, 178, 179] Ethiopia ranks at moderate to high risk for political violence and instability on several important indices.[180, 181, 182] Nevertheless, the country is likely to remain stable in the short term.[183] Although concerned with human rights issues, the international community continues to support the current government.[184] In the most recent elections in 2015, the sitting EPRDF government emerged victorious.[185]

The government has grown increasingly authoritarian in recent years, fueling popular resentment. Civil unrest is growing as the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) government has weakened. In response, the government has increased its repression against political opposition groups.[186, 187] The independent media is also under pressure, especially as the government increasingly silences critics under its strict antiterrorist laws. In 2014, several bloggers were arrested on terrorist-related charges, sparking protests in the Oromia region.[188, 189]

Although there is an active insurgency in the Somali Region, especially in the Ogaden, and ethnic power struggles continue in the Gambela and Binshangul Gumuz regions, the greatest threat to the government's stability is al-Shabaab. This group is linked with al-Qaeda and operates out of Somalia.[190, 191] The lack of any well-organized government opposition inside Ethiopia suggests that political stability is possible, at least in the short term, but military tension with Eritrea and Somalia are likely to persist.[192, 193]

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Ethiopia in Perspective

Chapter 5 | Security

Assessment

1. The Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) is one of the largest military forces in Africa.

2. Historically, relations between the United States and Ethiopia have been poor.

3. The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) is considered a terrorist group by the Ethiopian government.

4. Political instability and uncertainty has compelled the Ethiopian military to support the Somalian Transitional Federal Government (TFG).

5. The situation along Ethiopia's border with Eritrea has calmed considerably and is no longer a hot spot.

Assessment Answers: 1. True; 2. False; 3. True; 4. True; 5. False

Ethiopia in Perspective

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Final Assessment

1. Ethiopia is landlocked and depends on Eritrea for access to Red Sea ports.

2. Ethiopia's climate has significant variations.

3. Ethiopia's terrain consists of continuous deserts that transition into plains.

4. The capital, Addis Ababa, is the only city with a population over 1 million.

5. Rapid population growth is the major environmental problem facing Ethiopia.

6. Ethiopia was annexed by Italy in the 20th century.

7. Due to the introduction of improved farming techniques, famine is a thing of the past in Ethiopia.

8. The Derg leadership imposed a socialist-style government on Ethiopia.

9. Ethnic tensions throughout the nation have generally been lower since the new constitution was adopted in 1994.

10. Eritrea's independence eased the nation's political problems with Ethiopia.

11. In 2013-2014, Europe was Ethiopia's largest export market.

12. Because of its poor business climate, Ethiopia receives the lowest amount of foreign direct investment (FDI) dollars in Africa.

13. As part of its market economy reforms, Ethiopia has encouraged foreign banks to invest in the Ethiopian financial sector.

14. Mining plays a major role in Ethiopia's economy.

15. Roughly one in three Ethiopians survives on less than USD 1 per day.

16. Nearly one-third of all Ethiopians identify themselves as Oromo.

17. Vegetarian dishes make up a significant portion of the Ethiopian diet.

18. Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic federation with each state populated primarily by one ethnic group.

19. Approximately one-third of the Ethiopian population follows Shi'a Islam.

20. Child marriage, once a common feature of Ethiopian life, is relatively rare now.

21. Ethiopia's special police and paramilitary forces have been accused of serious human rights abuses.

22. The United States considers Ethiopia of only marginal strategic importance.

23. The Ethiopian Army maintains a poor state of readiness.

24. The inability to agree on a border continues to cause significant tension between Ethiopia and Sudan.

25. In spite of being at high risk for political violence, Ethiopia's government is likely to remain stable in the near-term.

Assessment Answers: 1. False; 2. True; 3. False; 4. True; 5. True; 6. True; 7. False; 8. True; 9. False; 10. False; 11. True; 12. False; 13. False; 14. False; 15. True; 16. True; 17. True; 18. True; 19 False; 20. False; 21. True; 22. False; 23. False; 24. False; 25. True;