

Ethiopia's Peace and Development Dilemma and Future Prospects

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Abstract

As the second most populous country in Africa, Ethiopia experienced rapid economic development in the early 21st century, with its GDP increasing tenfold. However, since the death of Meles, internal conflicts and wars have persisted, economic growth has slowed, and significant ethnic divisions have intensified. This paper explores the causes of Ethiopia's conflicts and the delays in the peace process from both internal and external perspectives, and provides a prospective outlook on its development.

Keywords

Ethiopia, development dilemmas, future prospects.

1. Introduction

For a long time, scholars both domestically and internationally have focused on studies of South Africa or North Africa, neglecting detailed research on the ethnic issues of the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia, as the second most populous country in Africa, is an important nation in the Horn of Africa. Under the leadership of strongman Meles, Ethiopia's GDP increased tenfold from 2000 to 2020. However, since the civil war in 2020, although a Permanent Ceasefire Agreement was reached, internal conflicts continue. Therefore, this paper aims to, based on a thorough review of previous theoretical research, grasp the key ethnic issues in Ethiopia, comprehensively analyze the dilemmas of peaceful development in Ethiopia's politics, economy, society, and external relations, propose reform measures and policy recommendations to resolve these dilemmas, and provide a vision for Ethiopia's future path to peaceful development, thus offering valuable insights for resolving ethnic issues and conflicts in African countries.

Over the past thirty years, extensive sociological, political, legal, and anthropological analyses have been conducted on Ethiopia's power structure and political development. Domestic research on Ethiopia is relatively limited, primarily focusing on the evolution of its ethnic policies and governance models. For example, Zhong Weiyun analyzed the origins of Ethiopia's ethnic issues and the problems and prospects of its new ethnic policies; Shi Lin and Niu Zhongguang analyzed the historical evolution of Ethiopia's ethnic governance model. Guo Fenglin and Zhai Yue pointed out that Ethiopia has promoted economic growth through strong political parties and national planning, but ethnic divisions and economic slowdown have damaged the foundation for democracy and development, leading to challenges in state building and governance. International scholars' research on Ethiopia is more extensive, covering multiple fields such as agricultural production, finance, and politics, and can be mainly divided into three categories. The first category analyzes the root causes of its conflicts, mainly criticizing the problems of the "national federal system" model established since 1991. The second category is ethnic history research, exploring the changes in Ethiopia's political development model. The third category focuses on longer-term economic and social trends, analyzing the slow structural changes in Ethiopia's economy, including rural transformation, population dynamics, education-technology expansion, and urbanization. Academic literature rarely discusses Ethiopia's peaceful development dilemmas from a practical political

perspective, nor provides a comprehensive and systematic academic analysis. This paper, based on historical context, analyzes the influencing factors of Ethiopia's political turmoil from the aspects of political culture, ethnic conflict, and external pressure, explores the challenges facing its development model, and proposes a prospective outlook for its future development.

The main research methods employed in this paper are literature review and case study analysis. First, a systematic review of domestic and international literature on Ethiopia's peaceful development dilemmas is conducted to understand the current state of research and to summarize it. Second, major events in Ethiopia in recent years are selected for in-depth analysis, tracing the evolution of Ethiopia's ethnic governance model chronologically to understand the causes and evolution of Ethiopian conflicts. Third, the current state of Ethiopian conflicts is understood through news media and recorded. Finally, where conditions permit, field investigations and interviews can be conducted, interviewing Ethiopian government officials, experts, scholars, and representatives of social organizations, and carrying out on-site research in Ethiopia to obtain first-hand information.

2. Analysis of the Causes of the Turmoil in Ethiopia

2.1. The Decline of Charismatic Authority

In his book *Economy and Society*, Weber categorized political leadership authority into three types: traditional authority, legal-rational authority, and charismatic authority. Meles, as the leader of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), led the party to overthrow the Mengistu regime and establish a transitional government in 1991, subsequently becoming Prime Minister in 1995. Through his political wisdom and leadership, he promoted Ethiopia's economic development and political reforms, winning widespread support from the domestic population and recognition from the international community. Although Ethiopia had never been colonized and had no history of overthrowing colonial rule, Meles demonstrated strong personal charisma during the establishment of his regime and his rule, gaining recognition and support from EPRDF members and the general public, exhibiting characteristics of charismatic authority to some extent. His policies and propositions inspired public enthusiasm and participation, and during his tenure, he promoted a series of economic reforms and industrialization strategies, making Ethiopia a model of economic development in Africa and earning him high prestige domestically. It was Meles' leadership that achieved the "Ethiopian Miracle," attracting substantial foreign investment, promoting rapid domestic economic development, and further strengthening his charismatic authority.

While organizations built around charismatic authority possess strong innovation and creativity, they also face considerable uncertainty. Once the authoritative leader dies or leaves, the organization relying on this authority may disintegrate or disappear. Maintaining and perpetuating charismatic authority requires the continuous creation of "miracles," which was achieved during Meles's tenure. However, he failed to effectively integrate the interests of various ethnic groups and foster a stable and lasting sense of community. With the rise of his successor, Abiy Ahmed, the country's public policies gradually lost public support. As charismatic authority declined, ethnic issues and contradictions within the political system became increasingly prominent, leading to the military conflict in Tigray Region in 2020. In 2023, the Federal Government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front reached the "Permanent Ceasefire Agreement," but armed conflicts continued in many areas. As of July 10, 2025, the security situation in Amhara Region remained unstable due to the ongoing hostilities between the Ethiopian National Defense Force and local Fano militias.

2.2. Ethnic Conflicts

The root cause of Ethiopia's ongoing conflicts lies in the failure to fundamentally resolve ethnic conflicts and coordinate the interests of all parties, leading to divisions between ethnic groups. Although Ethiopia has a diverse ethnic composition, no single ethnic group constitutes an absolute majority, thus lacking a truly dominant ethnic group and failing to provide a cohesive "ballast" for unity. This diverse ethnic structure results in complex ethnic relations within Ethiopia, with differences in political and economic interests among various ethnic groups becoming a major cause of frequent ethnic conflicts and tensions.

From Menelik II's ascension to the Ethiopian throne in 1889 until 1991, the Amhara people enjoyed privileges and held a dominant position in the state and society. A long-standing policy of exclusionary politics based on ethnic identity prevailed, with Amhara-dominated decision-making processes, exhibiting exclusivity. From the EPRDF regime in 1991, Ethiopia implemented a nation-based federal system. Ethiopia's "national federalism" attempted to fundamentally resolve domestic ethnic issues by emphasizing ethnic factors, but the consequence was the continuous growth of local nationalism, even triggering trends of ethnic territorialization and politicization, posing a significant threat to national unity.

While the national federal policy promised to decentralize power to local levels, it was difficult to reconcile multiple authoritative autonomous systems within the same political structure. Under this system, ethnic identity became politicized, with each ethnic group expressing political demands based on its own national interests. Most political parties focused on local agendas rather than national ones, making it difficult to reach consensus on the interests of different ethnic groups, thus easily leading to ideological differences and political conflicts.

Finally, this kind of national federal system often leads to the neglect and oppression of smaller ethnic groups by larger ones. Within each state, the rights of the majority ethnic group are often emphasized while the protection of minority interests is neglected, resulting in the continuous growth of ethnic nationalism and national division. The Oromo-Amhara-Tigray conflict essentially forms a zero-sum game, with each party unwilling to be marginalized or suffer losses. Historically accumulated discontent is poised to erupt at the first sign of an unreasonable distribution of benefits under a public policy.

Ethiopia's current political and social crisis is essentially a profound crisis of nation-building. The root of this crisis lies in the long-standing failure of Ethiopia's central government to effectively address the structural inequalities among various ethnic groups, regions, and religious groups. The systematic marginalization of the merged state within the newly formed Ethiopian nation has led to ethnic oppression, resulting in the continuous accumulation of social discontent, which has escalated into intense political confrontation and armed conflict in recent years.

2.3. Constitutional Defects

Unlike most African countries, Ethiopia's "identity politics" is formally recognized by its constitution. Article 39 of the Ethiopian Constitution states: "Every nationality enjoys the unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession; every nationality enjoys full autonomy, including the right to establish government institutions within its territory of residence, and equal representation in the state and federal governments." Article 32 states: "Any Ethiopian national or foreign national lawfully residing in Ethiopia enjoys freedom of movement and the freedom to choose their place of residence within the territory of the State, and the freedom to leave the State at any time." Adeno argues that Article 39 essentially provides legal language for those seeking to use secession as leverage to extract resources or power. The Constitution transforms ethnic identity from a soft parameter to a "hard parameter." Abbink points out that a piece of Ethiopian territory belongs only to the one nationality that was originally there. The Constitution emphasizes the rights of the

"nationality," making the territory a single-national entity that cannot be shared by two or more nationalities. The majority nationality in each state has a sense of "sovereignty" over its territory, refusing to accept other residents, and people of other nationalities are considered "illegal immigrants" and deported.

Since the democratization of Africa, most countries have enacted legislation to prohibit ethnic and regional political parties to prevent the politicization of ethnic groups, which could lead to ethnic conflict and political instability. However, the Ethiopian constitution grants rights to ethnic nationalist groups, resulting in strong identity clashes among different ethnic groups and a neglect of the overall national agenda. Historically, Ethiopia's various ethnic groups have shown strong resistance to assimilationist policies. This strong territorial character of ethnic divisions exacerbates ethnic fragmentation, making it difficult to form a unified national identity through assimilation policies.

Furthermore, the constitution's protection of human rights and minority rights is weak. In areas with a majority ethnic group, the civil rights and even ethnic rights of minorities are fragile, and conflicts frequently occur. The constitution also falls short in guaranteeing social equity and economic rights. Some regions and groups still face inequalities in education, healthcare, and employment opportunities, which could trigger social discontent and unrest.

2.4. Narrow Channels for Interest Expression

The development history of Ethiopia has shaped its political culture, resulting in a lack of effective mechanisms for political consultation within the country, and a lack of stable channels for expressing diverse interests. An inherent contradiction exists between the limited elite political framework of the state and the complex interests of ethnic groups in reality. When this contradiction accumulates to a certain extent, it leads to a qualitative change, and the masses, under the leadership of their leaders, resort to violent action. Under this political culture, Ethiopian elites strongly determine politics in a horizontal and exclusive manner, with almost no vertical or compromise-oriented approaches. Constructive elite negotiation, as commonly understood, is always weak: it is more common for a political/military elite to "replace" authoritarian rule and hegemony.

In Ethiopia's political system, the ruling party has long held a dominant position. For example, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and its successor, the Prosperity Party, occupy a significant position in the political system, making it difficult for other parties to play a substantial role in political decision-making. This single-party dominance model restricts the diversity of interest expression, making it difficult for the voices of different interest groups to be fully heard. Although national federalism theoretically recognizes the right of self-determination for each ethnic group, in practice, the ruling group (especially during the EPRDF period dominated by the Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF) still maintains a high degree of centralized political and economic control. Marginalized ethnic groups are underrepresented in the federal government, security forces, and the allocation of economic resources, leading to long-term structural oppression. Economically, there is a degree of economic deprivation within the country, with issues such as land expropriation, uneven infrastructure investment, and employment discrimination exacerbating inter-ethnic inequality. Politically, although federalism allows for ethnic autonomy, central government intervention in local elections and political suppression of the opposition weaken the possibility of genuine autonomy. Militarily, the violent suppression of dissent by government forces and regional militias (such as the Oromo protests and the Tigray War) further intensifies tensions.

Ethiopia's party system is built on an ethnic foundation, with each ethnic party primarily representing its own interests. However, this model limits the expression of interests among parties, making it difficult to form broad cross-ethnic alliances and further exacerbating the

narrowness of interest representation. While conflicts based on interests can be negotiated to some extent, compromise and concessions become much more difficult to achieve when conflicts of interest are compounded by ethnic tensions.

2.5. Population and Employment

Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Africa, with a population of approximately 132 million in 2024, and it continues to grow rapidly. Agriculture remains a crucial pillar of Ethiopia's economy, accounting for 32.4% of GDP. However, Ethiopia's economic growth has slowed in recent years, and most of the rural population faces severe poverty. The continued population growth, coupled with an unbalanced industrial structure and limited domestic resources, will intensify competition for these resources.

In 2022, Ethiopia's median age was 17.9 years, resulting in a large but vulnerable young population. Only 49% of those aged 15 and over are literate, and many children only attend school for 8 or 9 years. This uneven population growth hinders faster economic growth and development, and the increasing population also brings serious employment problems, with new job seekers appearing every year. The combination of a relatively large population, low average education levels, limited social mobility, and high unemployment may lead young people to seek other activities, including rebellion and crime. The youth population and the unemployed will become a major factor in domestic instability. Coupled with severe ethnic conflicts, this makes it difficult to achieve lasting peace and stability within the country.

2.6. Unreasonable Public Policy Measures

Following the civil war in 2020, the domestic security environment deteriorated further. The business environment is no longer what it was during Meles's tenure, facing economic problems such as currency devaluation and inflation. The economic recession led to a decline in people's living standards, and a series of government fiscal measures further exacerbated domestic conflicts.

Following the outbreak of the Tigray War in 2020, the domestic security situation worsened. The war resulted in ongoing armed conflict between the federal government and regions such as Tigray and Oromo, leading to a rise in national crime rates, particularly a surge in robbery, kidnapping, and smuggling. The civil war led to a deterioration in security and a collapse in the business environment. The relatively stable economic growth (average annual growth of 10%+) during the Meles Zenawi era (1995-2012) is gone. In the 2023 World Bank's Doing Business rankings, Ethiopia fell to 159th (after ranking 104th in 2012). Due to the risks of war and foreign exchange shortages, many multinational corporations (such as Coca-Cola and Nestlé) scaled back their operations, and foreign direct investment (FDI) fell from \$4.5 billion in 2019 to less than \$1.5 billion in 2024.

The economic policy failures following the civil war exacerbated the crisis. In October 2024, to meet the conditions for new loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Ethiopia relaxed foreign exchange controls, leading to a sharp devaluation of the birr and a significant surge in the cost of living. Inflation soared to 34.7% in 2024 (compared to only 15% in 2020), with food prices (such as wheat and cooking oil) rising by over 50%, causing a sharp decline in the living standards of the poor. Furthermore, the Ethiopian Ministry of Finance announced measures such as raising the value-added tax rate, adding new taxes, and introducing new taxes on electricity, transportation, and water, as well as expanding the scope of personal income tax. Further tax increases will further reduce market activity, potentially exacerbating social unrest and creating an economic risk of a wave of business closures. Small businesses, burdened by excessive taxes, are laying off employees or closing down, and the unemployment rate is expected to rise to 25% in the fourth quarter of 2024 (with youth unemployment exceeding 40%). Due to the shrinking formal market, smuggling, the black

market for foreign exchange, and the grey economy have become the means of survival for many families. In November 2024, protests against tax increases erupted in Addis Ababa, resulting in at least 12 deaths after police crackdowns.

Ethiopia's economic predicament is not only a consequence of war but also a product of structural policy failures. Firstly, the disastrous impact of IMF lending conditions led to a collapse in the bilberry market due to foreign exchange liberalization, soaring prices of imported goods (such as fuel and medicine), and exacerbated the burden on the public by reducing subsidies (such as fuel and electricity). Secondly, the Ethiopian government's tax policies were out of touch with reality, raising taxes during a period of economic downturn, further suppressing consumption and investment. Furthermore, the new taxes primarily affected low- and middle-income groups, leading to widespread tax evasion among the wealthy and further exacerbating domestic economic and social inequalities. Finally, the situation reflects the Ethiopian government's poor governance and rampant corruption. In the 2024 Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, Ethiopia scored only 37 points, ranking 99th. Local governments lacked sufficient fiscal autonomy and were unable to effectively address local economic crises.

If current policies continue, Ethiopia may face escalating social unrest. Tax increases and inflation could trigger larger-scale protests, even escalating into nationwide riots. Economically, it will fall into a vicious cycle: currency devaluation → rising import costs → increased inflation → higher taxes → economic contraction. Furthermore, the economic crisis could trigger a further political crisis, with the Abiy Ahmed government's approval rating continuing to decline (a 2024 poll showed only 35% approving of its economic policies), and opposition groups (such as the Oromo nationalist movement) potentially using this opportunity to challenge the federal government.

2.7. Impact of External Factors

Ethiopia is located in the Horn of Africa, a region experiencing a tense security situation in recent years, with frequent conflicts posing a serious challenge to regional peace and development. Sudan, as Ethiopia's neighbor, also influences Ethiopia's peace process; however, it faces its own domestic political and economic challenges. Sudanese strategic security expert Hadi Abdu Bast stated that the United States has long attempted to manipulate Sudan and other regional countries through political, security, military, and economic means, exacerbating regional instability. Furthermore, relations between Ethiopia and Somalia are also tense. Following the signing of a maritime passage agreement between Ethiopia and Somaliland in January of last year, the Ethiopian ambassador to Somalia was expelled in April, and the two countries severed diplomatic ties. Ethiopia and Egypt have a long-standing conflict over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD). Although the three countries (Ethiopia, Egypt, and Sudan) signed a Declaration of Principles in 2015, they have yet to reach a comprehensive agreement on the dam's impoundment and operational rules. In 2024, Egypt shipped weapons to Somalia to bolster its military capabilities and strengthen its own influence in the Red Sea region. In short, Ethiopia's relationships with Somalia, Eritrea, and Egypt are complex and will affect Ethiopia's peace process.

In addition, external international factors will also significantly impact Ethiopia's economic development. In May 2021, the United States imposed economic sanctions on Ethiopia, halting financial aid to the Ethiopian government and demanding that the World Bank and the IMF suspend financial assistance and loans to Ethiopia. This dealt a significant blow to the Ethiopian economy. Due to a decline in foreign exchange reserves, Ethiopia faced a severe currency crisis, directly impacting the country's economic recovery and sustainable growth.

Ethiopia's conflict and its predicament of peaceful development reflect two core contradictions: First, the tension between a "unified state" and "multi-ethnic autonomy": the federal

government attempts to maintain national unity, but the national federal system strengthens the political mobilization capacity of ethnic identity, making it difficult for national identity to transcend ethnic loyalty. Second, the conflict between modernization and traditional power structures: Ethiopia's economic development (such as industrialization and urbanization) has not been accompanied by inclusive governance; instead, resource competition has intensified geopolitical competition among ethnic groups.

The current crisis demonstrates that Ethiopia has yet to find a political model that can both guarantee the rights of all ethnic groups and maintain national stability. The current practice of national federalism in Ethiopia has led to certain governance dilemmas. It is worth considering whether a new path for national development can achieve genuine decentralization, transcending the formal federalism and establishing a more inclusive mechanism for local autonomy and resource allocation. Fundamentally, the ethnic issue is the core challenge of Ethiopia's nation-building. Efforts must be made to mobilize all positive factors, both domestic and international, to promote national reconciliation, address historical injustices, and establish a shared national narrative. Furthermore, the relationship between economic development and national stability must be carefully weighed, striving to promote inclusive economic growth, reduce regional inequality through equitable development policies, weaken the economic drivers of ethnic conflict, and promote domestic stability through economic development, thereby creating a favorable environment for further economic development and achieving economic resurgence.

3. Prospects for Ethiopia's Peace Dilemma

The issue of national size has always been a major challenge in national governance. When a country is large enough and has a large population, with the differentiation of interests and pluralism of ideologies, there is an inherent contradiction between a unified and stable nation and effective local governance. When state power is excessively centralized, local areas lose autonomy and are prone to stagnation. Simultaneously, it can exacerbate central-local conflicts and create the danger of armed resistance. When power is excessively decentralized, local governments act independently, threatening the central government and hindering the implementation of unified national policies, leading to ongoing local conflicts. For effective governance, the state needs to maintain a balance between centralization and decentralization, and a flexible tension within various consultation mechanisms.

Ethiopia, a large African nation with over 100 million people, established a national federal system in 1991 to address governance challenges. While this system theoretically granted autonomy to its various ethnic groups, recent conflicts have demonstrated that it can politicize ethnic issues, intensify political competition, and exacerbate ethnic tensions. This system strengthens ethnic identity while weakening national identity, resulting in Ethiopians' national identity being far lower than their ethnic identity, which is detrimental to national cohesion and unity. The naming of states after single ethnic groups (such as Oromia and Tigray) reinforces ethnic boundaries. During the Tigray War in 2020, the Tigray state government even issued independent passports and formed the "Tigray Defense Army," highlighting the risk of the federal system's disintegration. This system also fragments society into different ethnic groups, fostering mutual suspicion and distrust, reducing social cohesion, and hindering the country's long-term stability and development. Under this ethnic federal system, resource competition intensifies. The border conflict between Afar and Somalia stemmed from disputes over irrigated land and mineral resources, and the federal government's ineffective mediation led to over 500 deaths in 2022. Furthermore, policy implementation faces the risk of fragmentation; Oromia unilaterally suspended federal agricultural policies in 2023, paralyzing the food distribution system.

Ethnic politics in Ethiopia is highly distinctive. Since Abiy Ahmed came to power, some efforts to integrate ethnic groups have been observed, but the results have been limited. Ethiopia's ethnic politics exhibits a strong characteristic of "competitive pluralism," where ethnic identities often supersede national identity, leading to a high dependence on ethnic identity in political mobilization. Since Abiy Ahmed came to power in 2018, his government has attempted to promote ethnic integration through the Prosperity Party of Ethiopia, aiming to transcend traditional ethnic political logic. However, these efforts have not been very effective, and in some respects have even exacerbated tensions. For example, after the outbreak of the Tigray War in 2020, the conflict between the federal government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) quickly escalated into a full-blown civil war, while nationalist forces such as the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) also rebounded under the Abiy Ahmed government's "de-ethnicization" policy, leading to continued instability in the Oromia region. These realities demonstrate that forced ethnic assimilation policies are not only ineffective but may also exacerbate ethnic conflicts.

From practical experience, assimilation policies have encountered very strong opposition, making it unlikely that a unified Ethiopian nation in a cultural sense can be achieved through ethnic assimilation. However, the formation of a national federal state, a political community with shared and broader interests, is feasible and has historical precedent. Ethiopia, as Africa's only independent nation with over 3,000 years of civilization and having twice defeated the European power Italy, possesses a fundamental cultural identity among its people. As one of the few African countries that was not colonized, Ethiopia's historical narrative of its resistance against Italian rule (1896 and 1935-1941) can serve as a significant resource for national identity. The Abiy Ahmed government can leverage this historical memory to cultivate a "pluralistic yet unified" civic nationalism. Furthermore, through cross-regional infrastructure projects (such as the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway and the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam) and economic integration policies (such as multi-ethnic employment quotas in industrial parks), the politicization of ethnic borders can be gradually reduced. Finally, the Abiy Ahmed government can learn from the experience of South Africa's "Government of National Unity" (1994-1999) by establishing a Council of National Representatives, giving elites from major ethnic groups such as the Oromo, Amhara, and Tigray a formalized voice in federal decision-making, thus reducing zero-sum games. Abiy Ahmed needs to bring elites from all ethnic groups to the negotiating table and strive to establish shared values through ethnic dialogue and consultation.

Ethiopia's ethnic issues cannot be resolved through assimilation or repression, but can be addressed through institutionalized ethnic consultation, economic reciprocity, and a shared historical narrative, gradually building a political community based on citizenship rather than ethnic identity. If the Abiy Ahmed government can maintain ethnic autonomy while strengthening national-level integration mechanisms, it may be able to avoid national disintegration and achieve long-term stability. As political scientist Donald L. Horowitz stated, "In divided societies, the design of democratic institutions must both represent differences and promote unity." Ethiopia's future depends on its ability to find a sustainable balance between ethnic pluralism and national unity. In short, Ethiopia needs to further improve its ethnic federal system, strengthen the cultivation of national identity, and promote exchange and integration among ethnic groups, while adhering to the principles of ethnic equality and autonomy, to achieve long-term stability and sustainable development. Only by strengthening the framework of joint consultative politics, backed by a stronger and more independent judiciary, and conducting effective mediation in disputes, can the spiral of conflict be prevented, and increased cross-regional economic cooperation will promote growth and wealth creation. Ethiopia's peace and development require efforts to establish a legitimate government. To further enhance this legitimacy, efforts must be made to promote economic development,

improving living standards through increased economic efficiency to foster social stability. Furthermore, reasonable public policies are needed to reduce unemployment, and technological advancements and improved education levels should be used to promote industrial transformation and upgrading, optimizing the industrial structure. In addition, Ethiopia needs a sound constitution that properly protects democracy and individual rights, and the establishment of regional political parties centered around ethnic groups. Future constitutional reforms could draw on the experience of South Africa's 1996 constitution, strengthening the principle of equality for citizens while guaranteeing ethnic rights, establishing a "National Equality Commission" to monitor government policies for ethnic discrimination and to handle complaints from minority groups. The priority of "Ethiopia citizenship" should be explicitly stated in the constitution, stipulating that all people are equal before the law, regardless of their ethnic background.

Finally, positive international forces need to work to facilitate national reconciliation in Ethiopia. External powers, including Gulf states, should support this multilateral effort and cease intervention or the supply of more weapons to the country. The Horn of Africa and Gulf states should resist the temptation to intervene in the conflict and instead call for a cessation of hostilities. The African Union and other African leaders, along with officials from the United States, the European Union, and the United Arab Emirates, should offer silent support to peace efforts in Amhara and seize every opportunity to urge Abiy Ahmed to begin discussions on national reconciliation among the elites of Amhara, Tigray, and Oromia. The AU, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IPD), and Kenya should also work to ease tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea. As a common friend of the countries in the Horn of Africa region, China has always been committed to promoting peace, stability, and development in the region. China's proposed "Horn of Africa Peace and Development Vision" is a wise solution contributed by China to improving security governance in the Horn of Africa and will greatly contribute to the regional peace and development process.

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