



ETHIOPIA

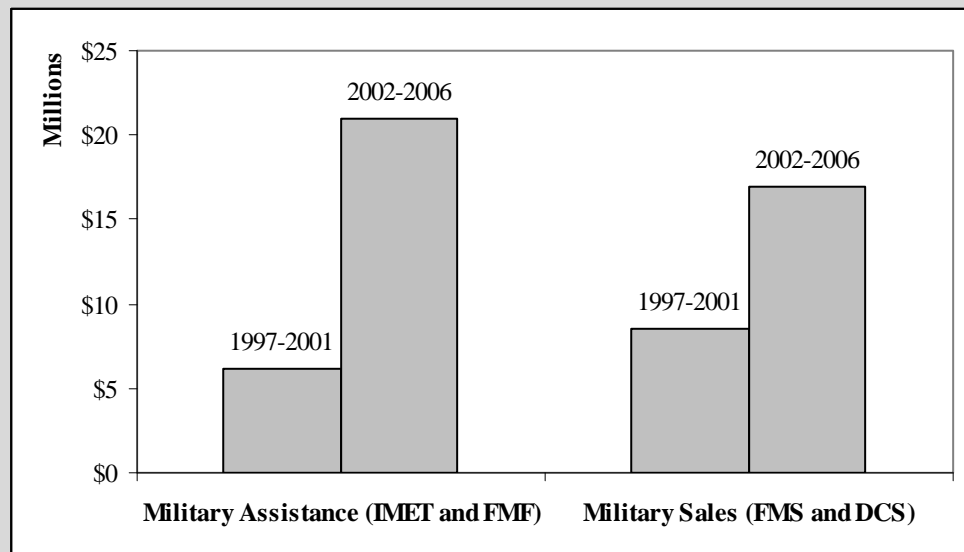
Background

Ethiopia, the oldest independent country in Africa, has been plagued by long periods of instability and political upheavals for over a century. Ethiopia was ruled by a succession of emperors throughout the 19th and part of the 20th centuries, until 1936 when it was invaded by Italy. The Fascist army drove Emperor Haile Selassie into exile, where he remained until his return in 1941. Selassie ruled the country until 1974,

when he was removed from power in a military coup and, along with several members of the royal family and the government, was murdered by the soldiers leading the coup. The coup leaders established a new government known as the Derg.

Over the next decade, the Derg established a socialist, military government allied with the Soviet Union and Cuba and led by Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam. Between 1977 and 1978, the Derg embarked on a violent campaign against all opponents of the regime, a campaign known as the “red terror,” torturing and killing thousands of Ethiopians. By the late 1980s, severe drought, famine and political repression led opposition movements to launch uprisings against the ruling junta. The protestors eventually joined together to form the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). In 1991, the EPRDF led a successful march on the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, overthrew Mengistu's government, and established a transitional government to rule Ethiopia. In 1994, elections led to a new constituent assembly who adopted a new constitution for Ethiopia. The following year, legislative elections were held at the national and regional level as part of the transitional government's plan to create a functioning multi-party democracy in Ethiopia.

**U.S. Military Assistance and Sales to Ethiopia,
Pre-Sept. 11 vs. Post-Sept. 11**



The transitional government did not succeed in creating political stability within Ethiopia and the coalition of opposition groups that had united to fight the Derg began to unravel. The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) – an opposition group representing the largest of Ethiopia’s 77 ethnic groups – left the transitional government in 1992 and several opposition groups boycotted the 1995 elections. The next cycle of elections, held in 2000, was reported to be marked with irregularities and were not certified as free and fair.

In its 2005 report on human rights, the U.S. State Department noted that Ethiopia’s human rights record was poor and worsened during the year, particularly in the period following the May 2005 legislative elections; the 2006 human rights report noted no improvement over the previous year. The police conducted extrajudicial killings. In 2006, the commission investigating the violence that occurred following the 2005 elections released its report, which acknowledged that nearly 200 people were killed (a number much higher than original government estimates) but which exonerated the security forces of having used excessive force. It was later revealed, by two members of the commission who fled the country prior the report’s release, that the commission had originally found that excessive force was used, but government pressure forced them to change their conclusion.

The security forces are still in the process of transitioning from a loose coalition of militias into a professional national army and are known to act independently of the civilian-led transitional government. Government forces continued to conduct forced disappearances, beat detainees, and arbitrarily arrest citizens. The State Department reports that the government is currently detaining thousands of political prisoners. Ethnic violence also contributes to hundreds of deaths each year.

The government pays informants in order to gather information on its citizens. All media in Ethiopia is government owned and self-censorship is widespread among journalists who seek to avoid intimidation and repression by the government. Although freedom of assembly was respected prior to the 2005 legislative elections, it was restricted during and following the period of unrest after the elections, and numerous demonstrators were arrested.

As part its transition to democracy in the aftermath of the Derg reign of terror, the government is attempting to establish a federal system in place of the current unitary branch of government. Prime Minister Meles Zenawi is pursuing a form of ethnic federalism, which transfers some of the central government’s power into the hands of regional ethnic-based leaders. However, the judiciary is not a fully independent branch of the government, and the EPRDF has dominated the legislature since the creation of the new government.

While the EPRDF holds the majority of the legislative power, the population is extremely diverse with more than 77 ethnic groups. The largest of these groups, the Oromo, has a political organization called the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). Since 1973 the OLF has sought greater power within the Ethiopian government and has used terrorist tactics in pursuit of that goal. In 2002, the OLF was held responsible for an attack on a railway station and the bombing of a hotel in Ethiopia, even though the group denied responsibility for the latter bombing. In the past, the OLF has garnered support from neighboring Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan, and from organizations such as Somalia-based al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI) and the militant wing of the Ogadeni National Liberation Front (ONLF) that operates in Ethiopia. To counter these threats, Ethiopia’s military forces have waged low-level operations against the OLF, ONLF and AIAI throughout Ethiopia, as well as in southern Somalia and northern Kenya.

Ethiopia remains involved in several border conflicts with its neighboring countries. Since 1998, Ethiopia has been part of on again-off again violent confrontations and war with Eritrea over border boundaries stemming from Eritrea's independence in 1993. In May 1991, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front took control of Eritrea when the EPRDF launched its major attack on the Derg. A 1993 referendum established Eritrea as an independent nation. However, in 1998, the two countries fought a major war leading to the death of tens of thousands of Eritreans and Ethiopians. The border issue has not yet been fully resolved and a UN peacekeeping force currently monitors the region between the two countries.

A territorial dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia over ethnic Somali territories within Ethiopia has sparked conflict over the course of the past three decades. As the Derg attempted to consolidate their rule in the years following the 1974 coup, Somalia took advantage of the instability and invaded Ethiopia in an attempt to reclaim portions of the Ogaden desert. Although the Somalis succeeded in establishing control over some of the territory, Soviet assistance helped Ethiopia repel further attacks. Continued instability within Somalia has contributed to persistent tension between the two countries, and in December 2006, Ethiopian troops entered Somalia to fight the Islamic Courts' movement that had gained control of Somalia. Ethiopia stated that the movement was both supporting insurgents in Ethiopia and harboring terrorists within Somalia. The invasion was carried out with the implicit support of the U.S. government, which suspects the Islamic Courts' movement of ties to al-Qaida. Issued prior to the military action, the fiscal year 2007 (FY 07) congressional budget justification for foreign operations lauded Ethiopia for, "cooperating in the effort to counter terrorism in and emanating from Somalia."

Although U.S.-Ethiopian relations broke off during the reign of the Derg, the two countries enjoyed good relations both before and after the coup. After World War II, the two countries signed an extensive mutual defense-assistance agreement, but these defense ties were scaled back when Ethiopia signed a military pact with the Soviet Union in 1976. The United States eventually cut off all military assistance to Ethiopia in 1980 in response to the human rights abuses committed by the Derg, but reinstated this assistance with the establishment of the transitional government. In recent years, Ethiopia's support for the "war on terror" and the actions it has taken to preserve regional stability – although somewhat controversial in the case of the recent military actions in Somalia – have cemented its relations with the United States.

U.S. Military Assistance Prior to Sept. 11, 2001

During the Cold War, the United States maintained a strained military and political relationship with Ethiopia, and relations were almost entirely severed during the reign of the Derg. In 1980, the United States stopped all military assistance to Ethiopia but reinstated it with the overthrow of the military government and the establishment of the new, transitional authority. Throughout the 1990s, the United States provided Ethiopia with substantial military assistance, however, between 1993 and 2001, Ethiopia did not report any imports of major U.S. conventional weapons systems to the UN Register of Conventional Arms.

Between FY 90 and FY 01, Ethiopia concluded nearly \$10 million in Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and approximately \$260,000 in Direct Commercial Sales (DCS). During the same period, Ethiopia received over \$7 million in Foreign Military Financing (FMF) and more than \$2 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET). A large portion of the FMF and IMET was

provided to Ethiopia's military forces during the border war with Eritrea, which lasted from 1998 to 2000. Ethiopia received over \$11 million in U.S. defense articles through the Excess Defense Articles (EDA) program, consisting of dozens of cargo trucks and four cargo aircraft.

U.S. Military Assistance Since Sept. 11, 2001

Before resigning as U.S. Secretary of Defense in late 2006, Donald Rumsfeld laid out his vision for an Africa Command that would be added to the existing U.S. military commands, in order to maintain order and stability in the often-overlooked continent. After Sept. 11, 2001, the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia and Yemen) was specifically identified as the area of Africa most at risk for becoming a safe haven for terrorists. Moreover, the region is saturated with small arms and light weapons – the weapons of choice of terrorists. The U.S. government has increasingly sought out African allies to train in counterterrorism, due to the potential threat terrorists could pose in the absence of such bolstered capacity. Ethiopia is a member of the African Union which, as an organization, vigorously condemns terrorism and the 2006 State Department report on terrorism noted that, “Ethiopia demonstrated political will and intent to tackle the problem of terrorism.” Considered by the State Department to be a “front-line state” in the war on terrorism, Ethiopia's counterterrorism cooperation with the United States has yielded an increase in U.S. military assistance and arms sales since Sept. 11, 2001.

U.S. military assistance to Ethiopia in the five years since Sept. 11 is nearly two and a half times more than the amount received prior to Sept. 11. IMET appropriations have been steadily increasing since Sept. 11, although after an unprecedented FMF appropriation of \$7 million in FY 05, FMF appropriations and requests have declined.

U.S. arms sales to Ethiopia in the five years since Sept. 11 have roughly doubled, when compared with the previous five years, and the majority of post-Sept. 11 arms sales have been government sales, via the FMS program. These sales have consisted primarily of communications equipment and spare parts for vehicles and aircraft. Since FY 02, Ethiopia has received no U.S. defense articles through the EDA program. Humvee military vehicles sold to Ethiopia by the United States for counterterrorism operations were used by the government to fire on civilian protestors during the riots that followed the May elections and during which 85 people were killed. As a result, the U.S. government has banned future sales of Humvees to Ethiopia, but other forms of military assistance continue.

The United States provides Ethiopia with specific counterterrorism funding and training. Neighboring Djibouti houses the U.S. army's Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), which works to train the region's militaries in order to expand their counterterrorism capabilities. Ethiopia is a beneficiary of the Regional Defense Counterterrorism Fellowship Program (CTFP) and received \$200,000 in FY 05, with \$150,000 budgeted in FY 06, but only \$75,000 currently requested for FY 07. Since FY 05, Ethiopia has received funding to expand its counterterrorism capabilities, through the Foreign Operations budget's Anti-Terrorism Assistance program (ATA), which is part of the Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining, and Related Activities (NADR) account. Ethiopia received \$170,000 from this account in FY 06, and is estimated to receive \$425,000 in FY 07, although no request was made for FY 08.

Ethiopia is also a participant in the East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative (EACTI), launched in 2004. Like the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Initiative, EACTI is designed to improve regional capacity

and cooperation in carrying out counterterrorism operations. Ethiopia maintains one of the largest armies in Africa and is the world's fifth largest contributor to UN peacekeeping forces. As such, Ethiopia also receives funding through the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program, part of the Peacekeeping Operations account in the Foreign Operations budget.

U.S. Military Assistance and Sales to Ethiopia, FY 90 - FY 08					
	IMET	FMF	DCS	FMS	EDA
1990	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	n/a
1991	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	n/a
1992	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	n/a
1993	\$160,000	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
1994	\$113,000	\$500,000	\$156,000	\$160,000	\$327,635
1995	\$248,000	\$300,000	\$92,000	\$476,000	\$5,738,760
1996	\$327,000	\$1,430,000	\$0	\$818,000	\$5,253,240
1997	\$313,000	\$1,000,000	\$10,000	\$756,000	\$0
1998	\$279,000	\$1,000,000	\$0	\$554,000	\$0
1999	\$516,000	\$2,900,000	\$0	\$462,000	\$0
2000	\$152,000	\$0	\$0	\$6,760,000	\$0
2001	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
1990-2001	\$2,108,000	\$7,130,000	\$258,000	\$9,986,000	\$11,319,635
1997-2001	\$1,260,000	\$4,900,000	\$10,000	\$8,532,000	\$0
2002	\$445,000	\$2,800,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
2003	\$210,000	\$4,285,000	\$28,000	\$33,000	\$0
2004	\$541,000	\$2,480,000	\$42,000	\$4,423,000	\$0
2005	\$572,000	\$7,050,000	\$68,000	\$2,867,000	\$0
2006	\$594,000	\$1,980,000	\$575,000	\$8,852,000	\$0
2002-2006	\$2,362,000	\$18,595,000	\$713,000	\$16,175,000	\$0
2007	\$640,000	\$2,000,000	\$712,000	\$2,000,000	\$0
2008	\$650,000	\$850,000	\$750,000	\$2,000,000	n/a

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