



**COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES.
DEPARTMENT OF CIVIC AND ETHICAL STUDIES.**

ASSESSING THE CHALLENGE AND PROSPECTS OF MULTI
PARTY SYSTEM FOR DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE POST 1991
ETHIOPIA.

BY: LETA DUGUMA. ID: SSHR 175/010.

A SENIOR ESSAY SUBMITTED IN THE PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF
ARTS IN CIVICS AND ETHICAL STUDIES.

ESSAY ADVISOR:

BEKALU WACHISO (MA).

December 2020.

WOLKITE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES.

DEPARTMENT OF CIVIC AND ETHICAL STUDIES.

**RESEARCH TITTLE: ASSESSING THE CHALLENGE AND PROSPECTS OF MULTI
PARTY SYSTEM FOR DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE POST 1991 ETHIOPIA.**

BY: LETA DUGUMA.....SSHR 175/010

APPROUED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

Chairperson

Signature

Date

.....

.....

...../...../.....

Advisor

.....

.....

...../...../.....

Examiner

.....

.....

...../...../.....

ACRONYM

- ANDM- Amhara National Democratic Movement
- EPRDF- Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
- OFDM- Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement
- OPCO- Oromo people's Congress
- OPDO- Oromo People's Democratic Organization
- PP- political party
- PS- party system
- TPLF- Tigray People's Liberation Front

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and foremost, I wish to express our thanks and gratitude to the almighty God for giving me the courage, strength and ability to bring this work to a final stage. This essay would not have come to successful completion without the help of a number of people and institutions. From these, I would like to acknowledge early researchers on those findings this research is based.

My deepest appreciation and thanks for God is blessed you particularly goes to my advisor, Mr. Bekalu for his constructive suggestions, criticisms and useful comments. Without his dedication, the work would not have become a reality. I am most grateful to all the respondents who took their precious time to give me all the necessary information needed for this work. Finally, I am grateful to many people who have directly or indirectly contributed to the successful completion of the research.

ABSTRACT

Political parties serve as the motive force in unaccountable or the condition of the being crystalline public opinions and as unifying agency which make democracy workable. This study focused on the challenge and prospect of multi-party system and democratization in Ethiopia.

Research employed qualitative method of data to manage this study efficiently and to gain reliable information. The study was conducted by using primary data and secondary data sources. The primary data was gathered through interview method and secondary data was collected mainly from book, Internet, newspaper and magazines. The data was collected from 5 selected from a leader who were purposively selected due to their connection with the issue raised. The finding of the research showed that cooperation among political parties, and giving priority for their own interest instead of working for the development of democracy are the major factors that hinder political parties from contributing their own share for the development of democracy. Moreover, the finding of the research also showed that there is strong linkage between democracy and political parties. Finally, it is recommended that political parties (the ruling parties and opposition parties) should work together for the development of democracy by discussing and developing the culture of tolerance.

Table of Contents

page

ACRONYM.....	II
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	III
ABSTRACT	IV
CHAPTER ONE	1
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of Problem.....	2
1.3 Objectives of the study.....	3
1.3.1 The general objective.....	3
1.3.2 Specific objectives.	3
1.4 The Research Questions.....	3
3. What possibilities are there for improving multiparty democracy development in the current context?	3
1.5 Significance of the Study.	4
1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study.....	4
1.7 Limitation of the Study.	4
1.8 Methods and Methodology of the Study.....	4
1.9 Organization of the Study.	5
CHAPTER TWO	6
2. Political parties and party system	6
2.1 Conceptual Framework and Definitions	6
2.1.1 Political parties	7
2.1.2 Types of political parties.....	7
2.1.3 Party System	8
2.2 Historical Back ground, Roles and Functions of Political parties.....	12
2.2.1 Historical Back ground of political parties	12
2.2.2 Roles and functions of Political Parties	13
CHAPTER THREE	15
3 ETHIOPIA: IN THE ERA OF MULTI PARTY SYSTEM.....	15
3.1 The Historical Base of Post 1991 Ethiopian Political Party System Development	15
3.2 The coming of EPRDF to power and political development in Ethiopia.....	16
3.3 Political Development during the Transitional Period.....	19
3.3.1 The politics of transition	19

3.4 The Current Reality of Ethiopia in Multi-Party System	19
3.4.1 The current reality of Ethiopia in multi- party system	20
3.4.2 Democratization.....	21
CHAPTER FOUR.....	23
4. Major Challenges of Multi Party System and democratization in Ethiopia.....	23
4.1 Challenge of Multi Party System.....	23
4.1.1 Party Related Major Challenges of Opposition Parties in Ethiopia	24
4.1.2 Political culture related problems	26
4.2. Challenges of multi-party democracy	29
4.2.1. lack of internal democracy.....	29
4.2.2. Weak and divided opposition parties.	29
4.3 Prospects of multi party system and democratization process in Ethiopia since 1991.	33
CHAPTER FIVE	34
CONCULSION AND RECOMMENDATION	34
5.1. Conclusion	34
5.2 Recommendation	35
Reference	36
APPENDEX	38
Interviews Questions.....	38

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Political parties serve as the motive force in unaccountable or the condition of the being crystalline public opinions and as unifying agency which make democracy workable. This means that they link between the people and representative machinery of government. They were the vehicles through which individuals and groups work to secure political power and successfully, to exercise that power (Alamirew2005:59).

A political party is an organized group of people who hold common view on public questions and acting as a political unit seek to obtain control of the government with view to further the program and the policy which the professor McIver defines political party as an association organized in support of some principles or policy by constitutional means of endeavor to make the determinant of government (McIver, 2011:1).

Political parties play an important role in supporting a democratic institution. Even in authoritarian countries, dictators need political parties to consolidate power and maintain governance. Every political party is based up on the fundamental aspects of human nature.

Ethiopia is one of African countries that started or established its multi political parties that started in May, 1991. Ethiopia people revolutionary democratic front (EPRDF) in corporation with other ethnic based opposition movement paved away for democratic system by over throwing the Dergue regime that was consideration as the nemesis of democratic political life (Saliha,2003;115).

Since 1991 Ethiopia established a multiparty system as one aspect democratization process. Multi political party system is one of the cornerstones for democracy in Ethiopia (Ibid). The history of *de jure* political parties in Ethiopia is a recent phenomenon. The political realm of Ethiopia for the first time in the country's history witnessed the advent of multi-party politics in 1991. The first legal act which guaranteed Ethiopian citizens the right to participate in political

activities and to organize political parties was issued by the 1991 Transitional Charter of the then Transitional Government of Ethiopia.

Some political party that were found in Ethiopia are Oromo people Democratic Organization (OPDO), which in alliance with the ANDM and TPLF forms the EPRDF, Oromo people Congress (OPDO), and Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement (OFDM), Mederik, Qiniit, Andenet, and Semawut are political party in Ethiopia. Especially these parties were created in the 1991 and 2002 election of Ethiopia. Ethiopia is one of the African countries that started their own political party that started in May, 1991 Ethiopia people revolutionary democratic front (EPRDF) incorporation with the other ethnic based opposition movement paved away for democratic system by over throwing the Dergue regime that was considered that was considered the nemesis of democratic political life (Saliha 2003:115).

In Ethiopia their nine regional states of Ethiopia that exercise multiparty system. But at that time some of parties do not exist in some region of Ethiopia and the election is dominated by the ruling part in the country. In Ethiopia there is political party that participates in election process.

However, most of the political party that is found in the Ethiopia is dominated by the ruling party during election(2002) process. Therefore, in Ethiopia the principle of multiparty system is not present in a well-organized way.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Until the fall of Derg in 1991 there was no multi-party system in Ethiopia. Because all governments exist before 1991 were undemocratic government, at that time citizens were not able to organized political party and joint political party. In modern democracy, political party has a vital role to educate and enable the electorate to agree on its responsibilities. It brings order out of chaos of confusing issues. It's important to activate the individual to provide the means through which they can play some party in electing representative (Ali, 2007:175).

Even though there are political party in Ethiopia in general there are some problems which limit political party from playing significant role. The political party exist in Ethiopia are EPRDF, Mederik, Andenet, Semayawi and kinijit, political parties. All this parties are organized after downfall of Dergue regime. After organization, they compete by preparing their own policy and strategy for winning their opposition during election. Most of the time, they focus on fulfilling

their own interests rather than public interest. There is no cooperation between political party and to public work together for democracy.(Heywood, 2007; 72).

They have also lack of culture compromise and bargaining or give and take mechanism and the lack of agreement between political party for governance and opposition political parties in Ethiopia. Opposition parties are not strong enough to compete for power. The ruling party wants to dominate by governance party election process and they consider the other party as an enemy during election process on opposition party. Thus, researcher motivated to conduct this study in order to suggest some mechanisms for those problems in political parties (the ruling parties and opposition parties) should work together for the development of democracy by discussing and developing the culture of tolerance.

1.3 Objectives of the study.

1.3.1 The general objective.

- To assess the challenge and prospect of multiparty system and democratization in Ethiopia.

1.3.2 Specific objectives.

1. Identify the major challenges that undermine the practical exercise of multiparty democracy in Ethiopia on its proper prospect.
2. Identify the factors that contributed to the possible sources of both strength and weakness of party system in Ethiopia.
3. To identify the possibilities that can help to improve multiparty democracy development in the current context in Ethiopia.

1.4 The Research Questions.

The main research questions that the researcher would like to use to the analysis of this study are:

1. Why and how the ruling EPRDF became the major reason for opposition parties to become marginalized in their political activities?
2. What are the major impediments of multi-party democracy in Ethiopia?
3. What possibilities are there for improving multiparty democracy development in the current context?

1.5 Significance of the Study.

The primary significance of this study would be encouraging other researcher to conduct additional studies on the area of the Challenge and prospect of multiparty system and democratization. The research also serves as source of knowledge about the Challenge and prospect of multiparty system and democratization in Ethiopia. Moreover, this research paper contributes consciousness those politicians who have interest in building democracy in Ethiopia.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study.

The scope of this research paper covers the challenge and prospect of multiparty system and democratization in Ethiopia. Because the researchers were constraints or delimited by in Ethiopia.

1.7 Limitation of the Study.

Having knowledge about the existence of the multiparty is necessary. Even though the study requires having details understanding about the concept and the challenges and prospect of multiparty system and democratization in Ethiopia. There are some difficulties that resist back from this consideration. The study was mainly challenged by shortage of time and lack of budget.

1.8 Methods and Methodology of the Study.

✓ Methods of the Study

In this paper, the researcher will utilize both primary and secondary data. The primary data includes, interviews and public lectures. While, the secondary data includes, books, journals, newspapers, decrees, unpublished materials, reports on the election board, and some internet sources. The researcher used to secondary data. Because shortage of time and cause of Corona virus.

✓ Methodology of the Study

As a methodology the paper will employ qualitative approaches. It is both descriptive and analytical. The paper will describe what challenges are experienced to apply and practices multi-party system democracy along with the prospects in Ethiopia. It will also examine the notion of multi-party system in Ethiopia to reflect both the discourse on the party, party system, multi system and democracy and the actual practices on the ground.

1.9 Organization of the Study.

The study comprises five chapters. The first chapter is cover introduction part which includes the background of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, and scopes of the study, significance of the study limitation of the study and research methodology.

Second, chapter covers review of the literature related where key concept are discussed, about political parties and party system. The third chapter includes Ethiopia in the era of multi-party system. Chapter fourth includes the major challenges of multi-party system and democratization process and chapter five is containing conclusion and recommendation parts.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Political parties and party system

2.1 Conceptual Framework and Definitions

There is no single definition regarding what constitutes the term political party (PP). In general, a PP has been defined, mainly, based on its functions, characteristics and purposes. According to the *ACE encyclopedia* (2013:8), a PP is defined as “an organized group of people who exercise their legal rights to identify with similar political aims and opinions, and one that seeks to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected to public office.” Similarly, Heywood (2002:248), defined PP as “a group of people that is organized for the purpose of winning government power, by electoral or other means.” Unlike Heywood, Downs (1957:25) associates PP to group of people who controls or wishes to control power only through election. He wrote that “political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by ginning office in a duly constituted election.” Others defined PP as “any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office” (Sartori, 1976).

Finally, Hofmeister and Grabow, (2011:12) defined political parties in a more comprehensive and in a manner that distinguishes them from other associations or groups. According to them, political parties can be understood as “permanent associations of citizens that are based on free membership and program, and which are anxious to occupy through the path of elections, the politically decisive positions of the country with their team of leaders, in order to materialize suggestions for resolving outstanding problems.” In all the definition given above, one can see two common defining elements of what constitutes political parties: *participation in election and the demand to control public office*.

The conceptual framework of this study is a skeletal structure of justification that attempts to explain the current status of opposition parties in Ethiopia. To frame this structure, we adopted concepts from literature study in order to describe the relationship between specific variables identified in this research. Particularly, for this study, these concepts serve as a guide to collect data, and ways in which these data will be analyzed and explained (Eisenhart, 1991).

2.1.1 Political parties

One of the most remarkable developments in democracy is the growth of political party. Free and fair election requires the presence of political party as a means of for presenting alternatives policies and programmers to public for approval. Democracy without political party is impossible. So, it can be said that political party are back of democracy (Ali, 2007; 174).

2.1.2 Types of political parties

Mass-based party

the archetype model of a mass-based party fundamentally consists of pre-and well-defined social groups. “Politics is primarily about the competition, conflict, and cooperation of these groups, and political parties are the agencies, through which these groups, and thus their members, participate in politics, make demands on the state and ultimately attempt to capture control of the state by placing their own representatives in key offices. Each of these groups has an interest, which is articulated in the programmer of ‘its’ party. Party unity and discipline are not only practically advantageous, but are also normative legitimate.

This legitimacy depends in turn, on direct popular involvement in the formulation of the party programmer, and, from an organizational perspective, this implies the need for an extensive membership organization of branches and cells in order to provide avenues for mass input into the party’s policy-making process, as well as for the supremacy of the extra-parliamentary party, particularly as embodied in the party congress” (Mair 1997:94f.).

For some time the mass party was regarded as being the party of the future, but with the introduction of what Kirchner refers to as the ‘catch-all-party’, the concept of the party as a representative of defined sectors of society was rigorously challenged.

Catch-all party

First, the increasing erosion of traditional social boundaries in Western Europe in the late 1950s and 1960s implied a weakening of formerly highly distinctive collective identities, making it less easy to identify separate sectors of the electorate and to assume shared long-term interests.

Second, economic growth and the increased importance of the welfare state facilitated the

elaboration of programmes which were no longer necessarily decisive or partisan, but which were formulated to serve the “interests of all”, or at least nearly all. This study assumes that (all types of) parties can perform their ideal typical functions most effectively, the more the party is institutionalized. Young parties should therefore focus on different dimensions of their institutionalization.

2.1.3 Party System

The number of political parties with significant share of voters in major elections determines, the kind of party system a country may have one party, two party, and multiparty systems, hence party system may be broken down into three broad categories, single, two and multiparty system. Such as, the classification is not based on merely on the number of political parties operating within a particular country but on Variety of distinctive features of that the three- system exhibit. Two and multiparty systems represent means of the apparatus of democracy. Single party usually operates in situation in which genuine political conflict is not tolerated (Weiner, 1976:2)

Logically a party system might offer voters a choice between nil, one or several broad philosophies A political party is concerned with the expression of popular preferences and control of the chief policy making office of government. Their activities are thus related to the mass of societies as well as to government. Parties are concerned as with controlling policy making offices in the government. (Weiner, 1976:8).

Political parties are organized for the deliberate purpose of controlling state power and that they have specific organizational structure procedures, leadership, members, ideology, finance, etc. is true for political parties western and non-western.

Weiner defined a successful political party, the parties that able to:-

Recruit and train its members by perpetuating itself as organization.

Win support (good will, money, voters) of the people. Maintain internal cohesion.

2.1.3.1 Classifying of party system

1. Single party system

A system in which a single political party has the right to form the government, usually based on

the existing constitution, or where only one party has the exclusive control over political power. Legal or constitutional bans on opposition parties. This type of political party was established in 1917 in Russia by Lenin later, however, the Stalin constitution of 1936, the Mussolini party of 1925 and the nationalism. Socialism parties of Hitler in Germany were established in 1939 (Alamirew 2005:147).

In one-PS, only 'single party' dominates and there is practically no real political competition between parties. In one PS, a single party enjoys a monopoly of power through the exclusion of all other parties by political (de facto) or constitution (de jure) means. In situations of de facto one-PS, the ruling party dominates the political landscape and exercise hegemony over all the organs of the state without necessarily legally banning other PPs. In situations of de jure one-PS, however, the ruling party has similar power as that of the de facto one but it also bans all other parties by constitutional means.

One-PS, in general, is characterized by the following. Firstly, the party effectively functions as permanent government, with no peaceful mechanism of removing it from power, short of a coup or revolution. Secondly, the party effectively develops an entrenched relationship with the state machine where "party-state" relationship became fused. Thirdly, the party is usually built around the dominant role of a charismatic leader and draws whatever ideological identity it has possessed from the view of the leader. Fourthly, checks and balances among the key organs of the state and accountability are compromised. Finally, the ruling party faces no or limited parliamentary opposition.

In general, a one party system has weaker accountability and a less inclusive platform for political participation. Take the example of Japan, the dominating Liberal Democratic Party would normally reshuffle the cabinet or replace the prime minister when there are unpopular governments in order to regain party-ratings and shift the blame towards individual politicians. Replaced officials are often not expelled from the party and they still have considerable influence in decision-making procedures. This lack of "penalty" leads to lower sense of responsibility.

Moreover, potential political talents having different rationales (i.e. socialists in Japan) might fail to get into power by joining disadvantaged small parties, deterring active political participation

of the opposition.
– E.g. Communist party in USSR, China, Cuba.

2. Dominant party system

A system where there is a category of parties/political organizations that have successively won election victories and whose future defeat cannot be envisaged or is unlikely for the foreseeable future. Unlike one-PS, a dominant PS is competitive in the sense that a number of parties compete for power in regular and popular elections. However, such PS is dominated by one ‘major’ party that enjoys prolonged periods in power under the conditions of fragmented, disjointed and enfeebled oppositions. In this PS, the dominant party enjoys a prolonged state power, monopoly of policy making and faces a weak opposition with slim prospects for capturing state power in the foreseeable future (Matlosa and Shale, 2008; Heywood, 2002).

One large party for sustained period in government multiple fragmented opposition parties ,
multiple fragmented opposition parties

– E.g. Congress party of India, 1947-1975, ANC South Africa, Mexico until 2000, Swedish Social Democrats 1945-1998, Japan 1955-1993

3. Two party systems

a system where only two parties or alliances, typically placed either side of the center, have a realistic chance of forming a majority. Other parties are very minor or solely regional. Periodic alternation in government and opposition, other minor parties exist in the electorate and legislature: Systems where two parties in a country compete for power. A case in point in England which has two parties the conservative and Labor parties (Alamirew 2005: 217).

For two-party systems, threatening to vote the other party or other candidates of the same party is always a powerful weapon in keeping incumbent politicians honest since they are totally kept out of power if they are ejected from the government or the parliament. It has a higher incentive for people in the opposition to engage in political participation. As the name indicates, in such PS, two PPs dominate the PS as ‘major’ parties and both have more or less equal prospects of winning state power. The UK and the US are classical examples of such PS wherein two parties dominate the PS with alternate positions as ruling and opposition from time to time.

Conventionally, a duopolistic PS can be identified by the following three criteria:

a) Although a number of ‘minor’ parties may exist, only two parties dominate the PS with prospect of winning government power;

- b) The larger party is able to rule alone; the other provides the opposition; and
- c) Power alternates between the two dominant parties

– Eg Australia, Britain, Costa Rica, Spain, US

4. MULTI PARTY SYSTEM

A system in which multiple political parties have the capacity to gain control of government offices, separately or coalition. : In which many parties in a country work together to a form of government. The alteration of power takes place by other party. This system enables that people would get enough number of parties that represents the various groups of the people who have varied interest (Alamirew, 2006:217).

Unlike other PS, a multiparty system is marked by competition among more than two political parties. In such system, many parties exist with equitable prospect to become governing parties, either individually or in the form of coalition. In multiparty system, the probability of emerging one party or dominant PS is bleak. This system is particularly known for party coalition within and outside government and coalition governments. Traditionally, a multiparty system emerges in countries that follow proportional representation and mixed election systems. Germany, Italy, Sweden, Algeria, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Mauritius are cited as examples of countries under multiparty-system (Matlosa and Shale, 2008 and IDEA, 2007).

In conclusion, a PS is said to be institutionalized, if it displays stable inter-party competition and features parties with roots in society. Otherwise, the mere presence of parties does not guarantee the existence of PS (Heywood, 2002).

Depending on the political culture, the political ideology of PPs and political history of a given state, party systems can be marked either by one of cooperation and consensus, which usually leads to political stability or by one of conflict, fragmentation and polarization that more often than not leads to political instability.

As for multi-party systems, not only politicians are checked by voters, they are also monitored by all governing parties since their power ultimately rest on consensus and it is a must to cooperate. Several (4/5) parties, none approaching 50% of votes/seats, coalition governments

– Eg Denmark, Germany

5. NON PARTISAN SYSTEM

A system of government or organization such that universal and periodic elections take place without reference to political parties.

2.2 Historical Back ground, Roles and Functions of Political parties

2.2.1 Historical Back ground of political parties

Political parties serve as the motive force in unaccountable or the condition of the being crystalline public opinions and as unifying agency which make democracy workable. This means that they link between the people and representative machinery of government. They were the vehicles through which individuals and groups work to secure political power and successfully, to exercise that power (Alamirew2005:59).

They make citizens politically conscious and makes them aware of their roles as citizens. This role cannot perform simply by voting, but there must be continuous effort where citizens can utilize their right for maintaining continuous connection between people and those who represent them there in the government or in the opposition (Kapure, 1950:599).

A political party is an organized group of people who hold common view on public questions and acting as a political unit seek to obtain control of the government with view to further the program and the policy which the professor McIver defines political party as an association organized in support of some principles or policy by constitutional means of endeavor to make the determinant of government (McIver, 2011:1).

Every political party is based up on the fundamental aspects of human nature. The firstly, that men differ in their opinions, but at same time, they are related by nature. If they are to live society they must adjust their difference with other and agree on fundamental of certain opinions. Secondly, they combine with persons holdings similar views in order to put forward those views in an organized manner and support the principles of policy which they jointly favors and support(Alamirew 2005:54).

According to Alamirew(2005:54), there are four conditions necessary to constitute a political party. These are:-

1. There must be a certain measure of agreement on fundamental principles which can bind the people together as a political unit. If there is no agreement on fundamentals they cannot cooperate with one another and achieve their political ends, the desire to attain political power .
2. Entails that man and women holding similar views must be duly organized, without proper organization the people make just a disorganized crowd and it is impossible to conform to the common principles on which they agree.
3. The men banded and organized shall formulate a clear and specific program which they shall place before electorate to win their support and diverse all possible means to maintain it
4. A political party shall seek to carryout its policy by constitutional means, the ballot box shall decide the fate of political party and its claim to form the government. Any organization that aims at employing unconstitutional methods, that is to seize power by violence and suppress all other party is not party. All political party must endeavor to promote, national interest as distinguished from sectarian or communal interests. But political party Ambo of men united, for promoting by their joint Endeavors the national interests up on some particular principles in which they are all agreed. When political party directs its activities in furthering sectarian interest and selfish end, it degenerates into faction (Ibid).

Ethiopia is one of African countries that started or established its multi political parties that started in May, 1991. Ethiopia people revolutionary democratic front (EPRDF) in corporation with other ethnic based opposition movement paved away for democratic system by overthrowing the Dergue regime that was considered as the nemesis of democratic political life (Saliha,2003;115).

Since 1991 Ethiopia established a multi - party system as one aspect democratization process. Multi political party system is one of the cornerstones for democracy in Ethiopia (Ibid).

2.2.2 Roles and functions of Political Parties

Ethiopia is one of the African countries that started their own political party that started in May, 1991 Ethiopia people revolutionary democratic front (EPRDF) incorporation with the other

ethnic based opposition movement paved away for democratic system by over throwing the Dergue regime that was considered that was considered the nemesis of democratic political life (Saliha 2003:115).

In Ethiopia their nine regional states of Ethiopia that exercise multiparty system. In the region there is some party that participated in Oromia region Oromo people's democratic organization (OPDO). In Amhara region Amhara national democratic movements (ANDM), in Tigray people liberation front (TPLF), Qiniit, Andenet, Semawut, and Mederik. The form of EPRDF, OPDO, and the Oromo people Congress (OPCO), Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement (OFDM) in Oromia and at the country level Mederik. Especially these parties were created in 1997 and 2002 election of Ethiopia. A number of political party and can be defined. The main functions are as follow: -

1. Representation- is the primary function of political party. It refers to the capacity of a party to representation and articulates the views of both numbers and votes. Political parties are major in putting device that ensures the government needs and wish of the larger society (Heywood 2003:253).

2. Goal of formulation- political party have traditionally been the through which societies set collectives goal and in some cases. Ensuring that they are carried out, parties play this role because in the process of the seeking power, the formulate programs of government through conference, convention election, manifestation and so on. This does not mean parties are only a major source of policy initiation, it also encourages them to formulate coherent set of policy option that give the electorate choice among the realistic and achieve able goal (Ibid). In the process of developing collective goals, party also helped to articulate of the varies interest found in society. Parties, indeed often develop as vehicle through which business, Labor, religious, ethnic or other groups advance or defend their various interest (Ibid).

3. Socialization and mobilization- Though interest articulation and aggregation, internal debate and decisions as well as campaigning and electoral competition party are important agents of political education and socialization. The issue of those parties chooses to focus on help us set the policy agenda and attitudes that the articulate become part of the large political structure

CHAPTER THREE

3. ETHIOPIA: IN THE ERA OF MULTI PARTY SYSTEM

3.1 The Historical Base of Post 1991 Ethiopian Political Party System Development

The Derg government was militarily overthrown in 1991 by the combined forces of many ethnic-based rebel fronts. However, the main ones were: the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDF) , the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF). As soon as it assumed political power, the EPRDF made Ethiopia a federal state and reorganized the countrys in to largely ethnically-based regional states]. After the coming to power of the EPRDF in 1991 a number of ethnic-based political parties mushroomed in Ethiopia.

The EPRDF, as an ethnic-based party coalition, encouraged the formation of political parties along ethnic lines and tacitly discouraged non-ethnic parties or other pan Ethiopian parties. Political Parties Registration Proclamation (No.46/1993) In 1993, the EPRDF government issued a proclamation regarding the role and the status of political parties in federal Ethiopia. The proclamation announced that in order to function legally all political parties (accept the Workers Party of Ethiopia, WPE19) and organizations have to be registered. According to Political Parties Registration Proclamation [17], as amended by Proclamation (No. 82/1994), Ethiopians above the age of 18 years have the right to establish a political party by drawing up political programmed and drafting internal regulations (Article 4.1). According to the Proclamation, a political party can be either a country-wide organization or a regional party confined to a particular region.

In order to be a country-wide party, the party should at least have 1500 founding members; the founding members who are residents of one region should not be more than 40%(Article 4.2a, b); the founding members should come at least from four regions in the country (Article 4.2c); and the founding members in each region should constitute at least 15% of the total founding members (Article 4.2d). On theother hand, the Proclamation stipulated that in order to be recognized as a regional party, a party should have at least 750 founding members; and more than 40% of its founding members have to be residents of one region (Article4.3a, b). Furthermore, the Proclamation stated that parties whose objective is “to

foment conflict and war by preaching hatred and animosity” among the people along the lines of race, religion, etc. are banned from registration.

Immediately after the overthrow of the Dergue, a peace conference was held in Addis Ababa and a Transitional Government was established which consisted of political organizations and National Liberation Movements that endorsed a Transitional Charter in June 1991. Following the establishment of the Transitional Government many political parties have flourished to play in the political field.

There was also a rising intention of individual candidates to participate in the political affairs. However, many of the political parties were ethnic based and poorly organized to seize political power. Based on the Charter of the Transitional Government an Electoral Commission, which was accountable to the House of Representatives, was established by Proclamation No 11/1984 E.C .In February 1984 E.C. the Electoral Commission conducted the election for transitional administration committee members at the Woreda and Kebele levels. In May of the same year it conducted elections for National, Regional and Woreda Councils. General elections have been carried out in 1995, 2000, 2005, and 2010 where many political parties have participated. In all these elections the ruling party (EPRDF) has won the majority of the seats in the House of Peoples’ Representatives. Consequently, it established a government both at the federal level and in four Regional states. The elections have been full of allegations and complaints by opposition parties against the ruling party.

3.2 The coming of EPRDF to power and political development in Ethiopia

The overthrow of the Derg regime in 1991 and the charter that followed it promised yet another era of peace and prosperity by creating a nation state of equals and multi-party democracy. The legal and democratic opposition was simply

Absent from previous regimes and the dominant political culture. In the post-1991 period, Ethiopian political landscape has witnessed a democratic opening. Since 1991, the political power belongs to the people and the political of the country is determined by them with no room

left for any political party to come to power without majority vote. For the first time in its history the role of political parties is recognized by law.

Since that time the number of political parties has been proliferated in Ethiopia. It is clear that the federalization process also contributed for the consolidation of multi-party politics.

The success of a federal system and democracy necessitates the existence viable political parties. The principal democratic institutions in democracy are political parties. Political parties in Ethiopia have an indispensable role in maintaining and developing the federal system and ensuring the equality of nationalities and regions. Legalizing opposition politics is a relatively new phenomenon in Ethiopia. Accordingly, numerous political parties mushroomed at the local, regional and national levels in the newly established federal state.

With the demise of the Derg government and the apparent end of the Civil War that ravaged the country for over two decades, the call for “peace, democracy and the rule of law” is every once hope both at home and abroad. Accordingly, on July 1, 1991, peace and democracy conference was convened in order to establish a ‘legitimate, broad based’ transitional government that can prepare the country for a smooth democratic transformation as agreed at the American brokered London peace conference (Merera, 2004).

The July conference resulted in the adoption of a transitional period charter to function as an interim Constitution. Pursuant to the Charter, a Council of Representative was set up to govern the nation until a permanent government could be elected (Vaughan, 1994). The new Charter provided some legal ground for democratization in Ethiopia. It contained beneficial provisions for the country’s quest for democracy. To cite some, it stipulated the new regime’s commitment to respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) especially the freedom of consciences, expression, association, and assembly, the right to engage in unrestricted political activity and to organize political parties which are hitherto institutionalized in Ethiopia.

The Charter also contained the provision that promised to address the historical grievances of the hitherto marginalized ethnic groups (Transitional Period Charter, 1991). Pursuant to this promise the Transitional Period Charter (TPC) legalized the rights of nations,

nationalities and peoples to self-determination. According to the charter, each nations, nationalities and peoples have among others the right to preserve its identity and have it respected, administer its own affairs and exercise its rights to self-determination of independence, when the concerned nation/nationalities and people is convinced that the rights promulgated in the Charter are denied, abridged or abrogated (Transitional Period Charter, Article, 2; 1991). Since the democratic development of Ethiopia during the single party dominated era

will be studied, it is vital to focus on the politics of the ruling party in question, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The party has been in power ever since it assumed power in 1991 after its military victory over the Derg, the military dictatorship that was in power for well more than a decade in Ethiopia (1974-1991). What first started as a regional political party, The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), it grew into a national 'umbrella' movement. Meles Zenawi has ever since been the leader of the EPRDF, and still possesses the position of leader in the TPLF. Since Ethiopia has been ruled by the EPRDF with the same man, Meles Zenawi, in the front ever since the party took over political power from the Derg, it can be questioned whether any democratic development has taken place whatsoever since the countries reconstruction into a ethnic federal state. The EPRDF, which has been the one and only ruling party in Ethiopia since 1991, states that its ideology is based on revolutionary democracy (Kefale 2009: 67). The party has still not made the essence of this political ideology clear (Merera 2003: 120).

Even though its ruling position ever since 1991, the party officially accepted a multiparty system and incorporated democratic rights in the federal constitution, which can be seen as an action motivated to lessen suspicions of the Western world and its governments but also the Ethiopian public (Kefale 2009: 71).

This provision later on canonized as Article 39 in well elaborated form in the national Constitution of 1994. Here under an attempt is done to explore the prospects and challenges of democratization process in Ethiopia.

3.3 Political Development during the Transitional Period

3.3.1 The politics of transition

The Transitional Charter also introduced ethnic representations in the government administrative and political structure. The tolerant relationship between the EPRDF and other political parties and rebel fronts did not last long. After consolidating itself the EPRDF started harassing opposition parties, and this policy continued unabated and at present this hostile policy of the ruling party is the major cause for the country's constant instability.

3.4 The Current Reality of Ethiopia in Multi-Party System

The power relationship within the four-member ruling coalition party--the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)--which has ruled Ethiopia autocratically for 27 years, has been irreversibly changed. The Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) is no longer the kingmaker after suffering an ignominious defeat by the tactical alliance between the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) and the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM). The fourth member of the coalition, the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM), has largely been an inconsequential partner, unable to affect national politics, and remains a junior partner.

The end of several months of internal power to struggle, Ably Ahmed emerged as the EPRDF party chairman on 27 March 2018, and on 2 April 2018, he was sworn in as the prime minister of a country on the brink of a major catastrophe.

He immediately shocked the entire Horn of Africa region by undertaking astonishing reforms with breathtaking speed. His accomplishments and leadership style have earned him comparisons with Barack Obama, Mikhail Gorbachev, Justin Trudeau, and even Nelson Mandela. Absence of a structured transitional roadmap Prime Minister Ably Ahmed introduce unprecedented reforms soon after coming to power: the state of emergency was lifted two months before it was set to expire; prominent opposition leaders and journalists were released from prison; the infamous detention center, Maekelawi Prison, closed down; exiled dissidents and banned media outlets returned to Ethiopia; individuals and organizations charged with

“terrorism” under the draconian Anti-Terrorism Proclamation have been granted amnesty; nearly two decades of hostility between Ethiopia and Eritrea have ended; and over 264 banned websites and blogs have been unblocked. He did all of this by preaching love, unity, and forgiveness, which resonated with many Ethiopians.

He uplifted the spirit of Ethiopians and gave them a reason to feel optimistic about the prospect of peace, democracy, an reconciliation.

3.4.1 The current reality of Ethiopia in multi- party system

The nature of Ethiopia's competing political parties is troubling for the democratization process; there are approximately 70 political parties, some with similar or overlapping political platforms. This proliferation of political parties is a result of Ethiopia's political culture, which centers on not just political ideologies but personalities as well as ethno national or regional identities. The emergence of ethno national parties in the last three to five decades is a direct result of the history of ethnic marginalization and besiegement, as the Ethiopians state promoted its homogenization agenda at the expense of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Centralist parties purporting to promote a pan-Ethiopian platform are often in a collision course with ethno national groups. The former tend to be dismissive, even disdainful, of ethno national grievances; they only provide vacuous acknowledgement to linguistic and cultural equality, which is quickly dismissed as political chicanery by ethno national groups. The centralist fervently propagates their absolutist, mystical, and fundamentalist belief in the superiority of Ethiopian centralism and in the legitimacy of a centralized state to stamp out any identity-based institutions. Despite their anachronistic agenda and organizational incoherence, the centralists wield enormous economic and bureaucratic power, which makes them relevant in the major urban centers.

In the absence of an established democratic institutions or a uniform democratic culture, competing political groups are becoming increasingly nervous about getting the short end of the stick at the end of the transitional

Process. Therefore, hostilities can further deepen if the competing political groups and activists do not engage with one another and with the government in good faith, with the utmost sense of

responsibility, and with the willingness to compromise. These forces must hold dialogue to manage or bridge the cleavage existing between

them. Under the current situation, Prime Minister Ably faces the arduous task of creating equitable space and roles for these numerous political parties, some with a vision for Ethiopia that's difficult to reconcile with the country's current

Push toward multinational democracy. If not skillfully managed by the abiy administration, and most importantly by the opposition politicians and activists alike, the suddenly widened democratic space will turn into a combustible field of inter party and ethno national conflict.

Furthermore, if the opposition politicians do not engage in the transition process in a meaningful way--especially on reforming key institutions that could pave the way for free and fair elections--they may turn hostile toward Abiy's government, and, eventually, the parties and/or their bases may adopt disruptive strategies.

3.4.2 Democratization

Democratization is a process which leads to a more open, more participatory, less authoritarian society. Democracy is a system of government which embodies, in a variety of institutions and mechanisms, the ideal of political power based on the will of the people. In places from Latin America to Africa, Europe and Asia, numbers of authoritarian regimes have given way to democratic forces, increasingly responsive Governments and increasingly open societies. Many States and their peoples have embarked upon a process of democratization for the first time. Others have moved to restore their democratic roots. The basic idea of democracy is today gaining adherents across cultural, social and economic lines. While the definition of democracy is an increasingly important subject of debate within and among societies, the practice of democracy is increasingly regarded as essential to progress on a wide range of human concerns and to the protection of human rights. Both democratization and democracy raise difficult questions of prioritization and timing. It is therefore not surprising that the acceleration of democratization and the renaissance of the idea of democracy have met with some resistance. On the practical level, the world has seen some slowing and erosion in democratization processes and, in some cases, reversals. On the

normative level, resistance has arisen which in some cases seeks to cloak authoritarianism in claims of cultural differences and in others reflects the undeniable fact that there is no one model of democratization or democracy suitable to all societies. The reality is that individual societies decide if and when to begin democratization. Throughout the process, each society decides its nature and its pace.

A related term, democratization, has also recently appeared in the debate on democracy. At times it is used to refer to the processes of democracy, and at other times it refers to the "transitional stage" of government from non-democratic to the various emerging forms of power sharing, governance and public accountability in new regimes. In both cases, however, the term democratization is process-oriented and it, therefore, represents a series of evolutionary developments. Thus, the content of democratization is necessarily relative and contextual, particularly with respect to the issue of accountability for the abuses of prior regimes. Democratization in transitional countries also encompasses societies which are deemed least developed countries (LDC) and whose priorities are both economic development and democracy. But, as much as these two goals do not appear to be inconsistent, they are in fact very difficult to achieve in tandem. In that respect the Vienna Declaration on human rights states: "The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms that least developed countries committed to the process of democratization and economic reforms, many of which are in Africa, should be supported by the international community in order to succeed in their transition to democracy and economic development."

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Major Challenges of Multi-Party System and democratization in Ethiopia

4.1 Challenge of Multi-Party System

Factors Affecting the Current Status of Opposition Political Parties in Ethiopia

In this section, factors affecting the current status of opposition political parties in Ethiopia are examined; we expect to find a positive relationship between the role and impacts of the incumbent party, on the one hand, and the weakness of opposition parties, on the other. This section concerned with the contemporary trends of crisis or fragility of opposition party politics in Ethiopia by highlighting their challenges. At the heart of dysfunctional opposition political parties in Ethiopia, there are two contexts of structural disadvantages that we framed on the rank of these parties that explain their weakness. We argue that their weakness is embedded in the structural contexts. At this point, these are critical factors that make the rise of a powerful opposition party in Ethiopia unlikely, though in no way precluding their rise sometime in the future (Suttner, 2004).

In essence, their weakness is so strongly shaped by the structural contexts that merely reflect trends in all them and can itself serve as a study of structural challenges. The first useful indicator for assessing these realities is the external context or environment within which these parties' operate. In examining the external context of the opposition parties, the role and impacts of the incumbent has become decisive, since it controls social and political life and it could be a trigger for significant levels of political uncertainty on the part of opposing parties. Put differently, in assessing the external context, it is therefore, essential to recognize the background, particularly the incumbent government/party commitment, its real perception and the practical undertaking towards legally registered opposition political parties which shape significantly one aspect of the nature of Ethiopian party politics itself. This is because the current 'multi-party politics' in Ethiopia has structurally and ideologically limited and it is too closely supervised by the party in power (Abbink, 2006b). The second context or condition is the internal environment that these parties implanted in. In

the final analysis, the combination of these contexts is said to sustain the weakness of the opposition and preclude the type of monitoring that is possible where an opposition is strong. Accordingly, in order to address these two contexts and to present the analysis and discussion for why the Ethiopian opposition parties are so weak, this section is organized in to two sub-sections. In light of this, we start the discussion first by examining the ideological limitation by analyzing the EPRDF commitment versus perception towards the opposition parties of Ethiopia, prior to analyzing the external structural factors.

4.1.1 Party Related Major Challenges of Opposition Parties in Ethiopia

1. ABSENCE OF FREEDOM OF MEDIA

In the absence of independent media outlets, it is almost impossible to hold free and fair elections. Unfortunately, Ethiopia, under the TPLF government, is not a friendly home for independent media. The government in Ethiopia as best known for its systematic repression of the very few independent media outlets.

Especially after the Anti-Terrorist Proclamation of 2009, independent media have been subjected to intimidation, harassment, and in most cases, exile. You can hardly find a single independent, non-state affiliated media outlet in

Ethiopia today. The majority of newspapers and radio and television stations are state controlled or state affiliated. The very few pseudo-independent media, which in some cases are accused of being state-affiliated behind the screen, are also subject to strict procedures of state censorship. The main radio and television stations, which are run by the state, are usually seen broadcasting the

Propaganda of the TPLF regime and promoting government policies; and in contrary, they have no room to broadcast the human rights violations and corruptions of the dictatorial administration of the ruling party.

Since more than 85% of the population reside in Ethiopia's rural areas, radio is the only medium of news, and hence, this gives the ruling party a significant advantage in promoting its policies and preserving itself as the replaceable political party by controlling the radio access to the rural population.

Journalists of local media outlets, which deviate from state censorship of the

Government, usually face arrests, harassment, shutdowns and/or exile.

The only media opportunities available for the local opposition parties are Diaspora-based media. Usually, most of these websites are blocked and cannot be accessed in Ethiopia while popular stations like OMN [Oromia Media

Network] are jammed by the government in Ethiopia. It is clear that media can have huge impacts on the mind of a society. Due to the fear of the power of media, TPLF has been denying media access to opposition parties, and at the same time, restricting the blossoming of independent media in the country for contriving opposition parties to rely on diaspora-based media outlets.

The case for Oromo media is even worse. Being the largest nation, Oromo lacks access to media in Afan Oromo, which is the largest language spoken in the Horn of Africa; it is safe to say that there is no single Afan Oromo media outlet in Ethiopia. Due to the fear of the government for independent Oromo media, Oromo political organizations suffer from the absence of freedom of media, more than others.

2. ABSENCE OF A NEUTRAL ELECTORAL BOARD

The National Electoral Board of Ethiopia, which is theoretically supposed to be an autonomous and independent body, has been accused of being the mouthpiece of the ruling party. The Election Board, which consists of nine individuals strategically nominated by the late Prime Minister, has been the major reason forth lack of fair and free elections in Ethiopia.

Dr. Merga Bekana (Chairman) and Dr. AddisuGebre-Egziabher (Deputy Chairman) are key figures in the Board that is accused of working for the interest of TPLF. The latter, Dr. Addisu, who is currently working as a Head of department in the Ministry of Federal Affairs and a close friend for members of the TPLF Central Committee, is purposely assigned in the Board to protect the interest of TPLF. The Election Board has also been accused of interfering in the internal affairs of opposition parties, and putting complicated procedures and criteria for opposition parties with the goal of expelling them from election runs when found not abiding with these complicated election procedures and criteria.

3. The NON-NEUTRALITY OF THE MILITARY

What has enabled the TPLF regime to brutally rule the country for more than two decades is not its ability to create a robust and democratic political, social and economic environment. The strength of TPLF is its military. The military, which is almost dominated by one nation, the Tigreans, from which the TPLF ruling party

Officials also come, has been the backbone to the dictatorial regime of TPLF. Basically, a military is responsible to maintain peace, uphold constitutional orders and protect the territorial sovereignty of the country. But, in the case in Ethiopia, the TPLF government has been usually criticized for using the military for spying, intimidating and arresting opposition party individuals. It is not uncommon to hear accusations from dissenting political parties about being spied upon and about their everyday activities being tracked by the military intelligence services, and in some cases, about physical obstacles put on their ways during election campaigns.

4.1.2 Political culture related problems

a) The Existing Political Culture of the Ruling Party in Ethiopia

For more than two decades from the post 1991, the EPRDF has been ruling the country and there is a peculiar political culture of the ruling party. It is characterized by ‘a historically evolved style of governance, a repertoire of power symbolism, and a body of dominant values and commitments regarding the political process’ (Abbink, 2006a, p. 615). As indicated in the previous section, the regime in power reneging on the commitment to uphold multi-party politics and is a resort to marginalize opposition parties and monopolize the political process. As a continuation of this, its political culture ‘surrounding the issue of power, based on the understanding of power as a vertical relationship, does not allow consultation or compromise’ (Pausewang, 2009, p. 81).

One aspect of the enduring characteristics of political culture of the ruling party is its reluctance in accepting the idea of the legitimacy of political opposition (Abbink, 2000).

This emanates from the regime's 'ideological unwillingness to engage in dialogue with alternative political perspectives, a sense that 'if you are not with us, you are against us' (Vaughan and Tronvoll, 2003, p. 120)

In this regard, as Geberu Aserat, the former President of the Regional State of Tigray and the current Chairman of The Union of Tigrayans for Democracy and Sovereignty, ARENA, to which we put the question of what is meant by this aspiration of the party, said that: *EPRDF is not willing to see any other center of power or independent organization other than its own that play central role in the current politics of the Ethiopia. The party leadership has hold the strong conviction that it is only the EPRDF who have the country at heart and do possess the monopoly of knowledge and the magic key that is the ultimate solution to the country's endemic socio-political and economic malaise.*

Because no one out there knows better than the regime in power does, EPRDF is not only unwilling but unprepared to hand over political power to opposition parties whom it believe will only mess up the country's affairs and the distorted strategies they have designed and the ill-equipped programmer they have (personal interview, 2011). In interviews, key anonymous informants as well as representative from the Ethiopian Democratic Party explained that, while our constitution contains a vigorous article of political rights which guarantees the right to assembly and the right to organize at any level and in any form, the right to strike in accordance with the law, and the right to express one's opposition, the ruling party has not always respected this constitutional arrangements, and the legal system has not been strong enough to enforce this rights and respect for political and democratic rights. And hence, in the political culture of the regime, the right of criticism and opposition as a legitimate and necessary element in the political process has becoming increasingly irrelevant for the incumbent.

Opposition to the ruling party's policies and deeds has not been desired after all. Rather, it has been encouraged, and tolerance of those political parties created by it and those was deliberately formed to divide oppositions. Most importantly, they stressed that the regime in power still has difficulty accepting the basic premises of democracy- the existence of political pluralism or multi- party politics and political tolerance in its political culture. In essence, what this suggests is that while the regime in power embraced multiparty

politics halfheartedly and never considered that the opposition had legitimate right to take part in the contemporary politics of the country (ICG, 2009).

This is because, in the political culture of the regime in power, political pluralism, and accommodation of different ideas has no root. An exclusionary practice against the opposition is the ‘hallmarks of the EPRDF regime for most of the years that it has been in power’ (Kasshun, 2003, p. 143).

In light of this, what we see in Ethiopia today is intolerant political culture of regime against opposition parties characterized by ‘hierarchic’, ‘exclusion’ and ‘polarization’ against opposition political parties. Thus, ‘the outcome of such polarization can be expected to be the channeling of political opposition through other means than peaceful statements and rallies....Since our opinions are not heard or considered through political debate, let us talk with the barrel of the gun’ has been a political tradition in Ethiopia’ (Vaughan and Tronvoll, 2003, p. 36).

In other words, the country multi-party politics is thus compounded now by the fact that the regime is pushing more and more people and organization to armed struggle or resistance. As a result, OLF, Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), Ethiopian People Patriotic Front (EPPF), Ginbot 7: Movement for Justice, Freedom and Democracy Political Party have opted to use ‘everything possible’ and ‘every means’ including armed struggle to overthrow the incumbent as a way of advancing their civilian politics (Wondwosen, 2009).

Therefore, in the existing exclusionary political culture, we are not in a position to surrender or retreat from the political space. We vowed to challenge the system peacefully for the realization of a practically working democracy in Ethiopia’ (Personal Interview, 2011). To sum up, the regime in power has proved repeatedly that, despite its rhetoric, its promises of multiparty politics have been eclipsed by state exclusionism of other political organization and opinions apart from its version of things (Assefa, 2002).

This exclusionary political culture reinforced the argument in the aforementioned section about its dubious commitment to pluralistic democracy and it has never appeared as an organization committed to pluralism for its own sake, and has been resistant to the emergence of parallel (i.e. competitor) systems of organized political forces (Vaughan, 2004).

This could push Ethiopians' propensity toward extremism, a manifestation of alienation among opponents and the antithesis of a democratic political culture. Be this as it may, as informed by interviewed leaders of opposition parties and key informants, there has been systematic political repression perpetrated against the opposition political forces which is typically 'symptomatic of the unsparing and persistent nature of the entrenched EPRDF exclusion policies' (Kassahun, 2003, p. 143).

4.2. Challenges of multi-party democracy

4.2.1. Lack of internal democracy

There is lack of democracy within the political parties due to the following

Reasons:

(i) There is a tendency in political parties towards the concentration of power in one or a few leaders at the top.

(ii) Parties do not hold organizational meetings and do not conduct internal Elections regularly.

(iii) Parties do not have the means or the connections needed to influence the Decisions.

(iv) Parties do not keep membership register.

All these features can be found in India's like Indian National Congress, BJP, BSP, SP, etc.

4.2.2. Weak and divided opposition parties.

What explain the weakness of Ethiopian opposition parties in spite of their indispensability for the success of democracy? Addressing this question in the specific context of Ethiopia should begin with identification of most plausible sets of variables that tend to affect opposition parties weakness. In lieu of clarifying the nature of opposition politics of the day; the conceptual framework of this study visualizes relationship between the independent variables (internal and external contexts) and the dependent variable (the status of opposition political parties). The arrows show the direction of the impact relationship. It demonstrates that, in contemporary

Ethiopia if there is an unfavorable internal and discouraging external context against opposition political parties, it will affect their status negatively.

The two major challenges facing opposition political parties in Ethiopia body politics relate to (a) the external context within which parties operate and (b) the internal functioning of political parties. Before beginning the substantive analysis, it is important to outline concepts relating to opposition parties ‘external context’:

□□ *Political culture* is defined as ‘attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system’ (Almond and Verba, 1963, p. 13). For this research purpose, the researchers of this study adopted the following definition of ‘political culture of the ruling party’, which refers here to a historically evolved style of governance, a repertoire of power symbolism, and a body of dominant values and commitments regarding the political process (Abbink, 2006a, p. 615-616) by the EPRDF.

□□ *Political repression by government* refers to the arbitrarily arrest and detention, harassment and torture and other ill-treatment of police, military, and other members of the security forces to punish a spectrum of perceived dissenters, including university students, members of the political opposition and their supporters, and alleged supporters of insurgent groups, as well as alleged terrorist suspects. It also includes systematically repression of failing to provide police and security protection when citizens requested, not allowing them to exercise their right of peaceful demonstration as well as non-inclusion of opposition parties in representative institutions of the country (Earl, 2011; Davenport, 2007).

□□ *Fear of politics on the part of citizens* refers to the political apathy and withdrawal from the political process. It is dictated by the ‘often-heard expression in Amharic ‘*poleickana korenti béruku*’, [keep far away from politics and electricity]...don’t go too close to politics, it will only stun and hurt you’ (Tronvoll, 2002, p. 160).

It is the unwillingness or the inability of popular citizens, with few exceptions, to break away systematically from participating in politics. It is characterized by passive citizenship, the fear of criticism, self-censorship, a fear of contesting authority, and kowtowing to those in power.

□□ *Inter-party relations* is conceptualized as the way political parties interact between and among themselves around issues of common interest, and how they work together and engage

one another on national and public policy matters. In these relations, we used the term inter-party relations to represent the interrelationships between the ruling party and opposition parties on the one hand, and among opposition parties in the other. Likewise the external context the four key concepts that have explaining the ‘internal context’ of opposition parties are defined as follows:

□□ *Party institutionalization* refers to the process by which organizations and procedures acquire ‘value and stability’ and ‘the way the organization ‘solidifies’ (...) [and becomes valuable in and of itself’ (Huntington, 1968, p.12). For him (ibid), the four dimensions of the measures for party institutionalization consist of adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence. For our purpose, we make use of Escrow (2011) party institutionalization measure and according to this definition, party institutionalization could be measured by the criteria of party autonomy, coherence, roots in society, level of organization and complexity, adaptability, and legitimacy (p. 5). ‘Party autonomy’ refers to relative independence of the party from individuals within, outside the party, other organizations, individuals and societal groups that are outside the party (ibid.). ‘Coherence’, means parties need to maintain some semblance of internal coherence and needs to act as a unified organization, though able to tolerate a degree of intra-party dissidence (ibid.). ‘Roots in society’ refers to the party’s stable roots in a society. In other words, it addresses how the party has strong programmatic linkages to society or how the party voters are attached to it (ibid.). ‘Level of organization and complexity’ refers to how clearly are the internal structure and procedure defined as well as whether the organizational apparatus of the party present at all administrative levels and at a nationwide level (ibid., p. 6). ‘Adaptability’, refers to two things. First, it means the durability of the party in order to provide voters with a chance to evaluate them. Second, it refers to whether or not the party has survived the demise of its leader. This means, adaptable party can handle a shift in leadership and also handle the shift from serving as an opposition party to the governing party and vice versa without falling apart. (ibid., p. 7). Finally, ‘legitimacy’, refers to a belief in parties’ works to create stability in the system as parties are best able to maintain durable behavioral patterns in comparison to the chaos created by anti-system politicians (ibid.).

□□ *Political party finance* refers to the use of funds for legitimate, irregular, or illicit political activities; use of state resources for political purposes; and media coverage during the campaign. According to Salih and Fordland (2007), the main sources of political party funding in Africa include donations; public funding; minimal membership fees; public

funding/subsidies; trust funds; and corrupt kickbacks from businessmen and women.

□□*Party membership* refers to the formal and informal membership of political parties. The formal members identified are those registered who may pay membership dues periodically to the political party in accordance with the by-laws of the political party or they make Contributions and donations to upkeep of their parties. They are obliged to have membership registration cards and in some constituencies are expected to participate in the meetings of the party, to express freely their view and comments, to vote and to elect or to be elected. Whereas, According to Nansen (2006) ‘for a large percentage of the populace membership of a political party is informal and at best latent; it springs to life only during general elections.

□□*Intra-party democracy* is understood as emphasizing the need for participation by party membership and lower party structures in the decision-making processes of the party. According to Lotshwao (2007), for the existence of internal democracy, a culture of tolerance of debate and dissenting opinion by the party leadership is a necessary precondition. In all the above-mentioned conceptual links, what is indicated is the attempted framework that gives an idea about the relationship between the internal and external factors for the status of legal opposition parties in Ethiopia. What lesson can be drawn from these conceptual links? It is to these the determining factors or variables that the next section turns to provide the probabilistic explanations by specifying the contexts under which opposition politics currently is operating and is more likely to affect their stat

4.3 Prospects of multi-party system and democratization process in Ethiopia since 1991.

Introduction of Multi-party Politics The year 1991 was the turning point in multi-party politics of Ethiopia. After many years of centralized and one party rule, the country has started to follow multi-party system by attempting to modernize Ethiopian multi-ethnic society within the ethnic based government system and multiparty democracy (Merara, 2003). Following the down fall of the Derg regime on May, 28, 1991, the EPRDF has opened the country for multiparty democracy by declaring that, every political group inside and outside the country is invited to come to the July conference which was held in Addis Ababa, although, some scholars argued that some political parties are systematically excluded from attending the conference (Vaughan, 1994). The July conference comes to found the Transitional government by establishing the Transitional Period Charter as the supreme law of the transitional period. This Charter which later becomes the base for the Constitution of 1994 has assumed multiparty politics in Ethiopia by declaring every Ethiopian has the right to engage in unrestricted political activities and to organize political party for the purpose of achieving political power through peaceful means (TPC, 1991; Article, 1). Pursuant to the Transitional Period Charter the 1994 Constitution permanently legalized multiparty system in Ethiopia. To further strength the protection of constitutionally promulgated multiparty system has been given form and subsistence by the enactment of the political party registration proclamation No.46/1993. The proclamation asserts that citizens can form and join any political organizations. This marked the emergence of new political parties to the scene by granting legal personality to operate in the country (Engedayuh, 1993). So the introduction of multiparty politics after the 1991, open the political space in the country allowing opposition parties to freely campaign and competes for political powers. Thus, one of the most important development/prospect in the post 1991 Ethiopian politics is the introduction of multi-party politics.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCULSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Conclusion

In the political process of given multi-party system, are an essential political agency. Now a day the existence of multi-party system becomes an important aspect of democracy. Political party is important to have different political view and policy alternatives, which could be used for socioeconomic development of country. Generally, based on the findings depend upon the respondent's responses the researcher made the following conclusion: As majority of respondents said there is strong linkage between multi-party system and democratization. This is because of the reason that the existence and development of require of the other. multi-party system can play the role of building democracy and democratization.

As a majority of respondents said multi party is very important for the development of democratization in Ethiopia. because political party can organize and coordinate individual's interest in integrated manner, increasing popular participation and serve the interest of the peoples.

There are factors or problems that limit to the challenge and prospect of multi-party system and democratization in Ethiopia.

Firstly, political parties which exist in Ethiopia give to priority for their no interest stead of working for the development of democracy. And secondly a factor is absence cooperation among political party. One party sees the other as enemy and there is no give and take strategy among political party during the election process.

As the respondents said opposition political party that exist in Ethiopia are not strong enough and capable to realize democracy because they do not have clear policy and have little chance to accomplish their objectives and they have not enough budget or capital to accomplish their task. As the majority respondents said, a political party which exists in Ethiopia is organized along with constitutional and by respecting constitutional principles.

5.2 Recommendation

Based on the finding, the researcher wants to forward some recommendation to multi parties which exist in Ethiopia Political parties (the ruling parties and opposition party) should work together for the development of democracy by discussing and developing the culture of tolerance.

Political party should follow and development win or give take strategy rather than zero sum game. There must be a system which benefits all political parties.

Political party should also work for the interest of the society for the development of democracy rather than focusing only on their interests.

The ruling government should also create good (conducive) environment for opposition party. It should encourage other political party instead intimidating them. The government should also give enough finance (budget) to political party to develop their financial capacity.

Legal political party has their own council in order to solve problems encounter by political party. So it is better to promote this council to solve the problems.

Reference

- Ali. Rasia (2007) Representative Democracy and Concept of Free and Fair Election, University of Gorakhpur, Gorakhpur.
- Ball, Alan and Peters, Guy (2005), Modern Politics and Government 7th Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, New Delhi, India.
- Heywood, Ander (2003 and 2007, Politics, Palgrave Foundation 1st Edition and 2nd Edition Joseph, Etal (2009) Introduction to Comparative Politics 5th Edition.
- Kefale, A. (2009). Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia: a Comparative Study of the Somali and Benishangul-Gumuz Regions. PhD Thesis: Universities Leiden.
- McIver (2011:1) Political Scientist and Politician 3rd Edition, New York, USA.
- Kabure, (1950:599) the Politician Scientists 1st Edition. Oxford press University, London.
- Mair, Peter (1997): Party System Change. Approaches and Interpretations, Oxford.
- Merkel Peter (197) Politician Continuity and Change University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Merera, G. (2003). Ethiopia: Competing Ethnic Nationalism and the Quest for Democracy, 1960-2000. Addis Ababa: Chamber Printing House.
- Merera, G. (2004). Chapter II: Ethiopia: Constraints to Transition and Democratization. In: Nhema, A.G. The Quest for Peace in Africa: Transformations, Democracy and Public Policy. Utrecht: International Books. pp. 245-267.

- Rouk, John (2005) International Politics on the World Stage 10th Edition, University of Connecticut.
- Saliha Mohammed (2003) African Politician Parties Democracy, Pluto Press, London Sterling,
- Sodaro (2001), the Teacher of Foundation of Democracy and in 2nd Edition, for Building Democracy, Sweden University.
- Weiner.(1976.PartiesandPartySystems:AFrameworkforAnalysis.Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.

APPENDIX

WOLKITE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES. DEPARTMENT OF CIVIC AND ETHICAL STUDIES.

Interviews Questions

- Dear participants the purpose of this interview is to obtain information about the challenge and prospect of multi-party system and democratization in Ethiopia.

and find the best role in order to facilitate through interviews. So you careful response give solution.

1. What are the challenges of political parties not to play their development of democracy in Ethiopia?
2. Do you think that political party in Ethiopia is strong enough and capability to ensure development democracy?
3. Do you think that existence of political party important for the development of democracy in Ethiopia?

THANK YOU FOR COOPERATION!!