

Country: Ethiopia

Years: 1945-1973

Leader: Haile Selassie

Ideology: Right

Description: Manzano (2017) identifies Selassie as Right. CHISOLS identifies Selassie's party affiliation as none. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Selassie's party affiliation as none. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) writes "Under Haile Selassie I (reigned 1930–74), Ethiopia's economy enjoyed a modicum of free enterprise. The production and export of cash crops such as coffee were advanced, and import-substituting manufactures such as textiles and footwear were established. Especially after World War II, tourism, banking, insurance, and transport began to contribute more to the national economy." A later quotation from Encyclopedia Britannica continues "During the 1950s Ethiopia's coffee sold well in world markets. Revenues were used to centralize the government, to improve communications, to develop a national system of education based on the western model, and to modernize urban centres. In November 1955 the emperor promulgated a revised constitution, which permitted the parliament to authorize finances and taxes".

Years: 1974-1976

Leader: Teferi Benti

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Manzano (2017) identifies Benti as Left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Benti's party affiliation as none. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2020) identifies Benti's ideology as leftist, writing "The communist Derg regime, which ruled from 1974 to 1991, nationalized all means of production, including land, housing, farms, and industry... Tensions within the Derg soon fueled a power struggle and led to Bloody Saturday (November 23, 1974), when as many as 60 leaders, including Andom, were executed. Andom was replaced by Brig. Gen. Teferi Banti. The new government issued a Declaration of Socialism on December 20, 1974. Socialist Ethiopia (1974–91) The Derg borrowed its ideology from competing Marxist parties."

Years: 1977-1990

Leader: Mengistu Haile Mariam

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Mariam's party as COPWE. Lansford (2017) identifies COPWE's affiliation as left, writing "Following a number of unsuccessful attempts to unite existing Marxist parties, a Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) was formed in December 1979 to pave the way for a Soviet-style system of government." Manzano (2017) corroborates that Mariam is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Haile Mariam as Left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Haile Mariam's party affiliation as none until 1978, COPWE until 1983, COPWE's successor WPE afterwards, and identifies COPWE's ideology as leftist, "Marxist-Leninist communist". Lentz (1994) identifies Mengistu's ideology as leftist, writing "Mengistu formed a Marxist ruling party in 1984 and tried to transform Ethiopia into a Communist state... Mengistu renounced his commitment to Marxism in March of 1990 and attempted to institute reforms to gain the survival of his government." DPI identifies COPWE's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing "Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia... Marxist-Leninist one-party system instituted September 6, 1984; communist constitution approved by referendum of February 1, 1987, resulting in redesignation of the country as the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; "state responsibility" assumed by rebel coalition upon surrender of the former regime's military commander and acting president in Addis Ababa on May 27, 1991" and "Following a number of unsuccessful attempts to unite existing Marxist parties, a Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) was formed in December 1979 to pave the way for a Soviet-style system of government." Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates on Mengistu's ideology, writing "Faced with continued military adversity, diminished Soviet support, and renewed projections of widespread famine, Mengistu in March 1990 formally terminated his commitment to Marxism." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-2.245) in 1987.

Years: 1991-2011

Leader: Meles Zenawi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Meles as a member of the EPRDF, writing "assuming power in the name of the EPRDF, Meles Zenawi was confirmed as head of state." de Waal (2012) suggests that Meles is Left: Zenawi "argued that allowing the market to rule was a second dead end. 'You cannot change a rent-seeking political economy just by reducing the size and role of the state. The neo-liberal paradigm does not allow for technological capacity accumulation, which lies at the heart of development. For that, an activist state is needed, that will

allocate state rents in a productive manner.” (152) Manzano (2017) corroborates that Zenawi is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Zenawi as Left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Zenawi’s affiliation as TPLF and EPRDF (coalition headed by TPLF), and identifies TPLF as leftist, as “Marxist” until 1991 and “democratic socialist” afterwards. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) as 3.6. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies EPRDF’s and TPLF’s ideology as leftist, writing “Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The EPRDF was launched in May 1988 by the TPLF in an effort to expand its influence beyond Tigray Province... Although the TPLF had long subscribed to Marxist-Leninist ideology, an EPRDF congress in early 1991 called for development of a “small-scale” economy in which farmers would lease land from the government and control the sale of their products. While the new platform called for tight government control of foreign trade, it also endorsed an expanded role for private investment in the economy.” Political Handbook of the World (2015) also writes “President Meles indicated that he did not by any means fully accept the “neoliberal,” free-market “orthodoxy” of the major international financial institutions, saying that state intervention in the economy for the sake of development remained an important policy component.” Nohlen et al. (1999) write “Parliamentary elections were held in 1995 and won clearly by the EPRDF as a conglomerate of different parties. While the new government began with some success to transform the economy (liberalization of the banking sector, privatization of industries, reduction of restrictions in foreign exchange markets) its commitment to political pluralism remained questionable.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.224) in 2000.

Years: 2012-2017

Leader: Hailemariam Desalegn

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Desalegn as a member of the EPRDF, writing “Meles was reelected as the EPRDF chair at the September 2008 congress... Meles's plan was to step down in 2013, giving his agreed-upon successor Hailemariam Desalegn time to get ready for the 2015 election.” Bach (2012) suggests that EPRDF is Left: “Opposed to liberal principles of free enterprise, EPRDF's strategy necessitates a very interventionist state which has to be active in every sector of the economy.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Desalegn as Left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Desalegn’s affiliation as SEPDM and EPRDF (coalition headed by SEPDM), and identifies EPRDF as

leftist, as “Marxist” until 1991 and “democratic socialist” afterwards. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) as 3.6. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies EPRDF's ideology as leftist, writing “Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The EPRDF was launched in May 1988 by the TPLF in an effort to expand its influence beyond Tigray Province... Although the TPLF had long subscribed to Marxist-Leninist ideology, an EPRDF congress in early 1991 called for development of a “small-scale” economy in which farmers would lease land from the government and control the sale of their products. While the new platform called for tight government control of foreign trade, it also endorsed an expanded role for private investment in the economy.” Nohlen et al. (1999) write “Parliamentary elections were held in 1995 and won clearly by the EPRDF as a conglomerate of different parties. While the new government began with some success to transform the economy (liberalization of the banking sector, privatization of industries, reduction of restrictions in foreign exchange markets) its commitment to political pluralism remained questionable.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center-left” (-1.224) in 2000.

Years: 2018-2020

Leader: Abiy Ahmed

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Ali's ideology as leftist, writing “Abiyyi Ahimad... Organisation démocratique des peuples de l'Oromo [ODPO]... gauche modérée [moderate left]”. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ali's ideology as leftist, writing “Abiy Ahmed Ali... EPRDF = Ye'itiyopiya Hizibochi Abiyotawi Dimokirasiyawu Ginibari (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, revolutionary democracy, ethnic self-determination, coalition of OPDO, ANDM, SEPFD and TPLF, to 1991 Marxist-Leninist communist, est. May 1988... OPDO+EPRDF... ODPO = Dhaabbata Demokraatawaa Ummata Oromo/Ye'oromo Hizibochi Dimokirasiyawu Dirijiti (Oromo People's Democratic Organization (Oromo regionalist, social-democratic, est. 1982”). In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) as 3.6. Rulers.org (2020) writes “Abiy Ahmed (Ali)... From 2010 he served as a member of the central committee of the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), one of the four coalition parties of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)... He was elected chairman of OPDO in February 2018 and of the EPRDF in March, before becoming prime minister in April... He soon electrified

Ethiopia with a dizzying array of liberal reforms... [he] planned to open key economic sectors to private investors, including the state-owned Ethiopian Airlines.” Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies EPRDF’s ideology as leftist, writing “Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The EPRDF was launched in May 1988 by the TPLF in an effort to expand its influence beyond Tigray Province... Although the TPLF had long subscribed to Marxist-Leninist ideology, an EPRDF congress in early 1991 called for development of a “small-scale” economy in which farmers would lease land from the government and control the sale of their products. While the new platform called for tight government control of foreign trade, it also endorsed an expanded role for private investment in the economy.” Nohlen et al. (1999) write “Parliamentary elections were held in 1995 and won clearly by the EPRDF as a conglomerate of different parties. While the new government began with some success to transform the economy (liberalization of the banking sector, privatization of industries, reduction of restrictions in foreign exchange markets) its commitment to political pluralism remained questionable.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.224) in 2000. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as “Oromo Peoples’ Democratic Organization”. DPI does not identify PB’s ideology. World Statesmen (2020) writes “PB = Paartii Badhaadhiinaa (Prosperity Party, former EPRDF, est.1 Dec 2019)”.

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