

# The Prosperity Facade: Abiy Ahmed's Ethiopia as a Potemkin State

Dr. Gebre Gebremariam

## Introduction: The Mirage of a New Dawn

In the heady days of 2018, when rapprochement between Eritrea and Ethiopia was undergoing, the world watched as Ethiopia seemed poised for a remarkable rebirth. The ascent of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed was greeted with a wave of euphoria, aptly dubbed “*Abiymania*,” that swept from the streets of Addis Ababa to diaspora communities across the globe. Here was a leader who seemed to embody the future: young, charismatic, and armed with a captivating philosophy of “*Medemer*”—an Amharic term for synergy or coming together.<sup>1</sup> He dismantled the repressive apparatus of the old regime, released political prisoners, unshackled the media, and, most stunningly, made peace with long-standing rival Eritrea. This whirlwind of reform earned him the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize, cementing his image as a visionary peacemaker and democratic trailblazer. Ethiopia, under his stewardship, was presented to the world as a beacon of hope.

This gleaming image, however, has proven to be a dangerously misleading mirage. The promise of 2018 has dissolved into a landscape of profound crisis, scarred by one of the 21st century's most brutal civil wars, multiple escalating insurgencies, catastrophic economic distress, deep social fragmentation, and a chilling regression into authoritarianism. *This stark dichotomy between the projected image of success and the lived reality of suffering invites a powerful analytical framework: the principle of the Potemkin Village.*

The term originates from a legend about Grigory Potemkin, a Russian minister who, in the 1780s, allegedly erected hollow, painted Facades of prosperous villages to impress Empress Catherine the Great on her tour of Crimea. The principle now describes any construction—be it physical, political, or ideological—built solely to deceive observers into believing a situation is far better than it truly is. It is a calculated performance of prosperity and stability designed to mask underlying decay.

This article argues that the state of Ethiopia under Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has become a quintessential modern political **Potemkin Village**. It will demonstrate how his administration, through cosmetic infrastructure projects and a relentless rhetoric of optimism, has constructed a facade of progress. This article will then systematically dismantle this facade by examining the five critical domains of national collapse occurring behind it: **security, the economy, social cohesion, administration, and national unity.**

Crucially, as this internal **Potemkin Village** crumbles, the strategy has escalated into a new, more dangerous phase: a high-stakes foreign policy gambit centered on gaining *Red Sea Access, using Eritrea as a scapegoat*. Finally, this article will argue that this entire political project is

---

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed, Abiy. (2019). *Medemer*. Tsehai Publishers.

ideologically fueled and justified by the tenets of the **Prosperity Gospel**, a brand of Pentecostal Christianity to which Abiy is a devout adherent, and whose core logic provides a blueprint for prioritizing appearance over substance.

## **The Gleaming Facade: Engineering a Narrative of Progress**

The foundation of any **Potemkin Village** is its visual appeal. It must be grand and impressive enough to distract from the emptiness that lies behind. In Abiy Ahmed's Ethiopia, this has been achieved through a massive, capital-intensive effort to remake the physical and symbolic landscape of the capital, Addis Ababa, into a showcase of national rebirth. These projects are not incidental; they are the central pillars of the government's public relations strategy.

The flagship initiative is the **Beautifying Sheger Project**. With a stated budget of over one billion dollars, this project aims to clean the polluted rivers of Addis Ababa and develop extensive green parks and recreational facilities along their banks. The results in the completed sections are visually stunning: pristine walkways, modern lighting, and manicured lawns. For a visitor confined to these revitalized corridors, Ethiopia appears to be a nation investing wisely in a green, sustainable future. The project is relentlessly promoted on state media as tangible proof of Abiy's transformative vision.

Complementing this is **Unity Park**, a multi-million-dollar renovation of the former imperial Grand Palace. Once a secluded and feared center of power, Abiy's government opened its gates to the public as a museum, zoo, and cultural park. The park is a carefully curated embodiment of the *Medemer* philosophy. It features pavilions celebrating the country's diverse ethnic groups and historical exhibits tracing a lineage of Ethiopian rulers. The symbolic message is powerful: a leader tearing down the walls of the old, exclusionary regime and inviting all Ethiopians into a shared national space. It offers a tidy, sanitized narrative of history, glossing over its violent contradictions to present a story of seamless unity.

These high-profile projects are reinforced by a powerful **rhetorical apparatus**. Abiy's oratory, often delivered with the fervor of a preacher, consistently frames the national project in terms of love, forgiveness, growth, and prosperity. He speaks of "lifting Ethiopia to new heights" and realizing its "destiny of greatness." The Prosperity Party he created is itself a brand, its name a constant declaration of the intended outcome. This combination of spectacular physical constructions and an all-encompassing narrative of success works to create the **Potemkin Ethiopia**—a nation of gleaming parks, historic grandeur, and boundless potential, a reality constructed for the camera and the press release.

## **Behind the Facade (I): The National Security Collapse**

While Addis Ababa was being beautified, the rest of the country was descending into a state of near-constant warfare, revealing the myth of harmony as the most tragic of Abiy's deceptions. The

**Potemkin Facade of peace**, crowned by the Nobel Prize, conceals a state that has lost its monopoly on violence and is engaged in brutal conflicts against its own people.

The most catastrophic security failure was the **Tigray War (2020-2022)**. What Abiy's government deceptively framed as a swift "law enforcement operation" devolved into a two-year conflict of almost unimaginable brutality. Allied with Amhara regional militias, the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) engaged in a campaign that independent investigators found included widespread massacres and systemic sexual violence used as a weapon of war.<sup>2</sup> The joint investigation by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and the UN Human Rights Office confirmed grave violations by all parties.<sup>3</sup> The conflict's human cost is staggering; a comprehensive study by researchers at Ghent University estimated that between 385,000 and 600,000 people died from violence, famine, and lack of medical care.<sup>4</sup>

The end of the Tigray War did not bring peace; it merely allowed the conflicts to metastasize. The **Oromia region**, Abiy's own ethnic homeland, has been engulfed in a long-running and intensifying insurgency by the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA). The state's counterinsurgency has been marked by a brutal campaign of drone strikes and extrajudicial killings, with civilians frequently caught in the crossfire, as documented by human rights organizations.<sup>5</sup>

Most damningly, the very alliance that helped Abiy wage war in Tigray has shattered. In 2023, the **Amhara region** erupted in a full-scale armed rebellion. The trigger was a federal decree to dissolve all regional special forces. Amhara nationalists saw this as a betrayal, and the "Fano" militia launched an insurgency that has seized control of towns and rural areas. The government responded by imposing a state of emergency and deploying its military against its former allies, a conflict that the International Crisis Group has described as an "ominous new war."<sup>6</sup> Thus, the state is now effectively at war with major armed groups from its two largest ethnic communities. The **Potemkin "harmony"** is a lie; the reality is a fracturing state at war with itself.

## Behind the Facade (II): The Economic Mirage

The second pillar of Abiy's **Potemkin state** is the narrative of economic growth. The gleaming projects in the capital are meant to signify a nation on an upward trajectory. Behind this mirage,

---

<sup>2</sup> Amnesty International & Human Rights Watch. (2022). *"We Will Erase You from This Land": Crimes Against Humanity and Ethnic Cleansing in Ethiopia's Western Tigray Zone*.

<sup>3</sup> OHCHR. (2021). *Joint Investigation into Alleged Violations of International Human Rights, Humanitarian and Refugee Law Committed by all Parties to the Conflict in the Tigray Region of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*.

<sup>4</sup> Nyssen, J., et al. (2023). *Tigray: The Genocidal Air War (2020-2022)*. A report from the research group Europe External Program with Africa. This built on their earlier casualty estimates.

<sup>5</sup> Human Rights Watch. (2023). Reports on abuses and drone strikes in the Oromia region.

<sup>6</sup> International Crisis Group. (2023). *Ethiopia's Ominous New War in Amhara*. Report No. 306/Africa.

however, the national economy is collapsing, crushing ordinary Ethiopians under the weight of policies that prioritize **aesthetics over fundamentals**.

The most pervasive crisis is **crippling hyperinflation**. For years, the official headline inflation rate has consistently hovered around 30%, with food inflation frequently exceeding 40%.<sup>7</sup> This has decimated the purchasing power of ordinary families, pushing millions deeper into poverty. While the government releases statistics on GDP growth, these figures are meaningless to citizens who can no longer afford to feed their families.

This inflation is a symptom of deeper structural failures. The state's finances are in ruins, gutted by gargantuan **military spending** and a crippling **foreign debt** burden. The conflicts have destroyed productive capacity and scared off investment. To finance its deficits, the government has resorted to printing money, the primary driver of inflation. The country's foreign currency reserves have been depleted, leading to a chronic shortage of dollars. This culminated in December 2023, when Ethiopia officially **defaulted on a \$33 million Eurobond coupon payment**, becoming the third African nation to default in many years.<sup>8</sup> This has severely damaged the country's creditworthiness, complicating access to international financing. Finally, crippling debt, the cost of the war, macroeconomic meltdown and Abiy's stalled reforms have forced Ethiopia to turn to the West for financial bailout and has made agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank<sup>9</sup>. These agreements involve a multi-billion-dollar package. The IMF loan focuses on macroeconomic stability (shoring up foreign reserves, stabilizing the currency), while the World Bank's support is geared towards development projects, social safety nets, and post-conflict reconstruction<sup>10</sup>. However, this support comes with significant strings attached—what are known as **conditionalities**. This is the heart of the dilemma.

Hence, this is a pivotal and deeply complex moment for Ethiopia. Turning to the IMF and World Bank for significant financial support is not just an economic decision; it is a political and social tightrope walk, representing both a potential lifeline and a profound risk. The agreements are best understood as a **necessary but perilous path** chosen in a moment of acute crisis. Thus, Ethiopia's decision was not made from a position of strength. It was born from a "perfect storm" of economic and political calamities:

The humanitarian consequence of this economic mismanagement is staggering. The government's focus on war and its strained relationships with Western partners have complicated the delivery of food aid. In early 2024, reports emerged of widespread starvation deaths in Tigray, Amhara, and

---

<sup>7</sup> World Bank. (2023). *Ethiopia Economic Update: Restoring Fiscal Sustainability and Averting a Human Capital Crisis*.

<sup>8</sup> Bloomberg News. (December 26, 2023). *Ethiopia Becomes Africa's Latest Default With Missed Coupon Payment*.

<sup>9</sup> Dawit Endeshaw and Duncan Miriri, "Ethiopia Makes Formal Request for IMF Program," *Reuters*, August 2, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/ethiopia-makes-formal-request-imf-programme-2023-08-02/>.

<sup>10</sup> The World Bank, "The World Bank in Ethiopia: Overview," last updated April 5, 2023, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/overview>.

other regions. The Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET) has consistently warned that millions of people, particularly in conflict-affected zones, face emergency levels of food insecurity.<sup>11</sup> The **Potemkin prosperity** is not only a **façade**; it is a deadly one, as resources that could be used for humanitarian relief are instead poured into unwinnable wars and cosmetic projects.

### **Behind the Façade (III): The Fraying of the Social Fabric**

A nation is more than its economy or its government; it is a web of relationships, trust, and shared identity. The promise of *Medemer* was to repair this web. Yet, under Abiy's tenure, Ethiopia's social fabric has not been mended; it has been torn to shreds, creating a society more polarized, fearful, and fragmented than ever before.

The most visible symptom of this social breakdown is the massive **internal displacement crisis**. Relentless conflicts across the country have forced millions of people from their homes. As of late 2023, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated there were over 4.3 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Ethiopia, one of the largest such populations in the world.<sup>12</sup> These individuals languish in squalid camps with inadequate food, water, and shelter, a stark contradiction to the official narrative of stability.

This displacement is fueled by a terrifying rise in **ethnic polarization and hate speech**. The political discourse, often led by government-affiliated activists and media, has become dangerously toxic. Social media platforms are flooded with dehumanizing rhetoric that labels entire ethnic groups as enemies. During the Tigray War, the UN's special adviser on the prevention of genocide warned about the alarming level of hate speech and its potential to incite widespread violence.<sup>13</sup> This state-sanctioned or tolerated hate speech creates a permissive environment for atrocities and destroys the possibility of grassroots reconciliation.

Furthermore, Abiy's policies have exacerbated the **widening gap between the elite and the masses**. A small, politically connected business class, primarily based in Addis Ababa, has visibly prospered, benefiting from state contracts and a system that rewards loyalty. Their wealth is flaunted in the capital's upscale districts, a world away from the grinding poverty of the rural majority and the urban poor. This inequality breeds deep resentment and reinforces the perception that the government's **"prosperity"** is only for a select few. The social contract—the implicit understanding that the state works for the well-being of all its citizens—has been broken, replaced by a deep-seated cynicism.

---

<sup>11</sup> Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET). (Feb 2024). *Ethiopia Food Security Outlook*.

<sup>12</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2023). *Ethiopia — National Displacement Report*.

<sup>13</sup> United Nations. (Nov 5, 2021). *Statement by the Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide on the situation in Ethiopia*.

## Behind the Facade (IV): Administrative Decay and the Crisis of Unity

The political promise of *Medemer* was to create a new, more effective administrative order that would transcend the perceived limitations of the ethno-federalist system established in 1995. The goal was to forge a stronger, unified national identity. However, the practical application of this vision has been a top-down, centralizing project that has dismantled state institutions and provoked a profound crisis of national unity.

Abiy's primary administrative reform was the dissolution of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of four ethnic-based parties, and the creation of the **Prosperity Party**. While marketed as a pan-Ethiopian movement, it was seen by many as a vehicle for **re-centralizing power** in the hands of the prime minister.<sup>14</sup> The delicate power-sharing arrangements that had managed the country's diversity were discarded without a consensual alternative. Regional governments, which once held significant autonomy under the constitution, have been systematically weakened.

This political project has been accompanied by **administrative decay**. The civil service has been further politicized, with experienced bureaucrats purged and replaced by party loyalists. Key state functions, from conducting a fair census to holding credible elections, have been compromised. The 2021 general election, for instance, was held amidst the war in Tigray and boycotts by major opposition parties, resulting in a landslide victory for the **Prosperity Party** that lacked genuine democratic legitimacy.<sup>15</sup>

This administrative centralism is the primary engine of **national disunity**. The federal government's decision to dissolve regional special forces is a textbook example of this failure. What was presented as a technical move to strengthen national security was interpreted in the Amhara region as a politically motivated act to disarm them, directly triggering a new civil war.<sup>16</sup> *Medemer*, the supposed unifying philosophy, is now widely viewed by its critics as the ideological justification for this centralizing power grab. The **Potemkin "Unity Park"** stands as a hollow monument to a national unity that does not exist in reality. The state's actions have not built bridges; they have burned them.

## The Ultimate Diversion: Scapegoating Eritrea and the Red Sea Gambit

When the internal **facades of a Potemkin Village** crack so severely that they can no longer fool the domestic population, the leader must construct a new, more spectacular distraction. By late 2023, with Ethiopia mired in multiple civil conflicts and facing economic collapse, the Abiy administration pivoted to the ultimate authoritarian playbook: manufacturing a foreign policy crisis

---

<sup>14</sup> Tronvoll, Kjetil. (2023). "The Anatomy of an Autocrat: Abiy Ahmed's Rise and Rule." *The Elephant*.

<sup>15</sup> International observers from the EU and other bodies noted the election was held in a constrained environment and was not representative due to conflicts and boycotts.

<sup>16</sup> International Crisis Group. (2023). *Ethiopia's Ominous New War in Amhara*.



to forge a rally-'round-the-flag effect and create an external scapegoat<sup>17</sup>. The new, grand **facade is a nationalistic quest for Red Sea Access.**

In a series of televised speeches, Abiy abruptly declared that Ethiopia's status as a landlocked nation was a **historical injustice and a "geographic prison."** He argued that for a nation of over 120 million people, **gaining sovereign access to a Sea Port** was an existential necessity that could, and should, be secured by **any means necessary**.<sup>18</sup> This rhetoric deliberately resurrected a deep-seated national trauma. The target of this new narrative became clear: **Eritrea**, its former war ally, was now reframed as the primary obstacle to Ethiopia's national destiny.

This **Red Sea Gambit** is the ultimate **Potemkin project**, a desperate attempt to build a new facade over the ruins of the old ones. Its logic is threefold:

**Diverting Attention:** It masterfully shifts public focus away from hyperinflation, unemployment, crippling debt, and the brutal wars in Amhara and Oromia. Instead of debating domestic failures, the public is encouraged to rally behind a glorious and unifying national cause.

**Externalizing Blame:** The narrative implies that Ethiopia's deep-seated economic problems are not the result of mismanagement, corruption, or war, but are primarily due to its landlocked status. The lack of a port becomes a simple, powerful explanation for complex national suffering, with Eritrea as the villain.

**Forging a False Unity:** The quest for a port is a potent nationalist issue that cuts across ethnic lines. It is a desperate attempt to unite fractured Amhara and Oromo constituencies with other Ethiopians against a common external foe, thereby papering over the very ethnic fissures Abiy's policies have widened.

In addition to the series of televised speeches and public interviews, which are essentially **"dog and pony shows"**, the strategy took a concrete and reckless step in January 2024, when Ethiopia signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the breakaway region of **Somaliland**. In exchange for a 50-year lease on 20km of coastline for a naval base and commercial port, Ethiopia offered Somaliland shares in Ethiopian Airlines and, crucially, implied it would move toward diplomatic recognition.<sup>19</sup> This move, far from being a masterstroke, proved to be another catastrophic miscalculation. It infuriated Somalia, which considers Somaliland its sovereign territory, with Somalia's president calling the deal an "aggression."<sup>20</sup> It drew condemnation from regional powers like Egypt and the Arab League, further isolating Ethiopia. The **Red Sea Gambit**

---

<sup>17</sup> Gebre Gebremariam, "Scapegoating Eritrea and Weaponizing Public Ignorance: How Ethiopia Uses Eritrea to Mask State Failure and Incompetence in the Face of State Collapse," *Snitna*, March 16, 2025, <https://snitna.com/articles/scapegoating-eritrea-and-weaponizing-public-ignorance.php>.

<sup>18</sup> Reuters. (October 13, 2023). *Ethiopia PM says landlocked country will assert its right to sea access.*

<sup>19</sup> Al Jazeera. (January 2, 2024). *Somalia says Ethiopia's sea access deal with Somaliland is an 'aggression'.*

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

has not solved any of Ethiopia's problems; it has simply created a new, potentially more explosive one, risking a wider regional war to distract from a collapsing **Potemkin state**.

## **The Ideological Blueprint: Prosperity Gospel as Statecraft**

What drives a leader to pursue such a consistently contradictory and high-risk strategy? For Abiy Ahmed, the answer lies not merely in cynical political calculation but in a deeply held ideological belief system that provides a divine justification for his actions: the **Prosperity Gospel**. Abiy is a devout Pentecostal and an adherent of this theological framework, *which posits that faith and positive confession are rewarded by God with tangible, material success. This worldview provides a powerful blueprint for Potemkin Statecraft.*<sup>21</sup>

**A clear parallel exists between the central principles of the Prosperity Gospel and Abiy Ahmed's political methodology. Here is how:**

**The Power of Positive Confession:** A central doctrine is that words have creative power. By confessing health and wealth, believers can bring them into being. Abiy's relentless and often reality-defying optimism is a political application of this doctrine. To acknowledge the full scale of the country's problems amounts to engaging in a "negative confession," an act of weak faith. It is better to ignore the grim reality and continue confessing the desired outcome of "peace," "unity," "prosperity", and even "Access to the Red Sea".

**Visible Signs of Divine Favor:** In this theology, material success is the evidence of God's blessing. A large house or a successful business is proof that one is righteous. This translates directly into a political focus on the tangible and the spectacular. Grandiose, highly visible projects like Unity Park are the national equivalents of a pastor's megachurch—visible "proof" of the nation's blessing and the leader's anointing. The slow, unglamorous work of institutional reform holds less value because it does not provide immediate, spectacular evidence of "success."

**The Anointed Leader:** Prosperity movements are often centered on a charismatic leader seen as uniquely anointed by God. Their vision is considered a divine mandate. Criticism of the leader becomes opposition to God's plan. Abiy has frequently framed his leadership in messianic terms, claiming he was destined for this role.<sup>22</sup> This self-perception justifies his top-down approach. If the vision for a **Red Sea Port** is divinely inspired, there is no need for democratic consensus.

**The Principle of "Sowing and Reaping":** This doctrine teaches that by "sowing a seed"—typically a financial donation—one will "reap" a multiplied harvest. This logic can be used to justify enormous state expenditures on vanity projects. Spending a billion dollars on parks while

---

<sup>21</sup> Gardner, Tom. (2024). *The Abiy Project: God, Power and War in the Horn of Africa*. Hurst Publishers. This book extensively details the influence of Abiy's faith on his political actions.

<sup>22</sup> Kalkidan, Yibeltal. (2021). "The rise of Abiy Ahmed's Prosperity Gospel politics in Ethiopia." *African Arguments*.



regions starve can be framed as "sowing a seed" for a future harvest of tourism. Risking a regional war for a port is the ultimate "sow," a bold act of faith to "reap" the blessing of national greatness.

## **Final Reflection: The Inevitable Reckoning**

The logic of the **Potemkin Village**, whether in 18th-century Russia or 21st-century Ethiopia, is inherently self-defeating. A facade, no matter how beautiful, is ultimately unsustainable. The forces of reality—in Ethiopia's case, the storms of war, economic collapse, crippling debt, and popular anger—eventually tear it down, revealing the desolation it was meant to hide.

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's Ethiopia is a tragic and monumental case study in this phenomenon. The exhilarating promise of *Medemer* has crumbled under the immense weight of its own contradictions. The Nobel Peace Prize, once a symbol of hope, now stands as a stark monument to the international community's capacity to be captivated by a well-orchestrated performance. The gleaming parks of Addis Ababa, intended as symbols of a bright future, now serve as a bitter reminder of the profound disconnect between a leader's performative vision and his people's suffering. **The Red Sea Gambit** represents the final, desperate act of this political theater—an attempt to construct a new, even grander facade of national ambition abroad to distract from the complete structural failure and collapse of the **Potemkin State** at home.

The ideological marriage of **Potemkin Statecraft and the Prosperity Gospel** has proven to be a uniquely perilous combination for a complex, fragile nation. It has produced leadership insulated from reality, perpetually convinced of its own divine mandate, and pathologically committed to a strategy of aesthetic success over genuine problem-solving. This approach has not healed Ethiopia's deep historical wounds; it has ripped them open and poured salt in them.

The very survival of the Ethiopian state as a coherent entity is now in question. The centrifugal forces of ethnic nationalism, armed insurgency, and regional frustration have been dangerously supercharged by the failures of the central government. Real prosperity cannot be spoken into existence; it must be built through the slow, arduous work of inclusive governance, social justice, and sound economic policy. Real unity cannot be imposed by a top-down philosophy or forged in the crucible of a foreign war; it must be patiently nurtured through genuine dialogue, painful compromise, and a political settlement that respects and protects the country's profound diversity.

The story of Abiy's Ethiopia serves as a powerful cautionary tale for the 21st century. It reveals how a charismatic leader, armed with a modern narrative and a potent theology, can construct a reality so compelling that it deceives the world, but never, in the end, the people who must live behind the beautiful, hollow walls. To avert a final, catastrophic collapse, Ethiopia must abandon the construction of **Potemkin Villages** and begin the difficult, unglamorous, and essential work of building a real and durable home for all its peoples.

## Bibliography

Ahmed, Abiy. *Medemer*. Addis Ababa: Tsehai Publishers, 2019.

Al Jazeera. "Somalia Says Ethiopia's Sea Access Deal with Somaliland Is an 'Aggression'." *Al Jazeera*, January 2, 2024. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/2/somalia-says-ethiopias-sea-access-deal-with-somaliland-is-an-aggression>.

Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. *"We Will Erase You From This Land": Crimes Against Humanity and Ethnic Cleansing in Ethiopia's Western Tigray Zone*. London: Amnesty International, 2022. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2022/04/06/we-will-erase-you-land/crimes-against-humanity-and-ethnic-cleansing-ethiopias>.

Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED). "Ethiopia." Accessed March 2024. <https://acleddata.com/ethiopia/>.

Bloomberg News. "Ethiopia Becomes Africa's Latest Default With Missed Coupon Payment." *Bloomberg*, December 26, 2023. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-12-26/ethiopia-becomes-africa-s-latest-default-with-missed-coupon-payment>.

Endeshaw, Dawit, and Duncan Miriri. "Ethiopia Makes Formal Request for IMF Program." *Reuters*, August 2, 2023. <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/ethiopia-makes-formal-request-imf-programme-2023-08-02/>.

Gebremariam, Gebre. "Scapegoating Eritrea and Weaponizing Public Ignorance: How Ethiopia Uses Eritrea to Mask State Failure and Incompetence in the Face of State Collapse," *Snitna*, March 16, 2025. <https://snitna.com/articles/scapegoating-eritrea-and-weaponizing-public-ignorance.php>.

Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET). *Ethiopia Food Security Outlook, February to September 2024*. Washington, DC: FEWS NET, 2024. <https://fews.net/east-africa/ethiopia/food-security-outlook/february-2024>.

Gardner, Tom. *The Abiy Project: God, Power and War in the Horn of Africa*. London: Hurst Publishers, 2024.

Human Rights Watch. *Ethiopia: Drone Strikes Kill Civilians in Amhara Region*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2023. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/09/07/ethiopia-drone-strikes-kill-civilians-amhara-region>.

International Crisis Group. *Ethiopia's Ominous New War in Amhara*. Africa Report No. 306. Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2023. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia/306-ethiopias-ominous-new-war-amhara>.

International Organization for Migration (IOM). *Ethiopia — National Displacement Report 18 (July - September 2023)*. Geneva: IOM, 2023. <https://dtm.iom.int/reports/ethiopia-national-displacement-report-18-july-september-2023>.

Kalkidan, Yibeltal. "The Rise of Abiy Ahmed's Prosperity Gospel Politics in Ethiopia." *African Arguments*, August 26, 2021. <https://africanarguments.org/2021/08/the-rise-of-abiy-ahmeds-prosperity-gospel-politics-in-ethiopia/>.

Nyssen, Jan, Tim Vanden Bempt, Tesfa-Alem Tekle, and Europe External Programme with Africa. *Tigray: The Genocidal Air War (2020-2022)*. Ghent: Ghent University, 2023. <https://www.eepa.be/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Tigray-The-Genocidal-Air-War-2020-2022-v2.pdf>.

Reuters. "Ethiopia PM Says Landlocked Country Will Assert Its Right to Sea Access." *Reuters*, October 13, 2023. <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/ethiopia-pm-says-landlocked-country-will-assert-its-right-sea-access-2023-10-13/>.

Tronvoll, Kjetil. "The Anatomy of an Autocrat: Abiy Ahmed's Rise and Rule." *The Elephant*, March 2, 2023. <https://www.theelephant.info/features/2023/03/02/the-anatomy-of-an-autocrat-abiy-ahmeds-rise-and-rule/>.

United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC). *Report of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC)/Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Joint Investigation into Alleged Violations of International Human Rights, Humanitarian and Refugee Law Committed by all Parties to the Conflict in the Tigray Region of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*. Geneva: OHCHR, 2021.

United Nations. Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect. "Statement by the Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide on the situation in Ethiopia." New York: United Nations, November 5, 2021. <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/Statement%20by%20the%20Special%20Adviser%20on%20the%20Prevention%20of%20Genocide%20on%20the%20situation%20in%20Ethiopia.pdf>.

World Bank. *Ethiopia Economic Update, November 2023: Restoring Fiscal Sustainability and Averting a Human Capital Crisis*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2023. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/publication/ethiopia-economic-update-restoring-fiscal-sustainability-and-averting-a-human-capital-crisis>.

World Bank, The. "The World Bank in Ethiopia: Overview." Last updated April 5, 2023. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/overview>.