

# ***Building Democratic Ethiopia 'Nation of Individuality'***

## **Models Proposed**

**By**

**Zewge Fanta**

የዲሞክራሲ መሰረተ ፍልስፍና

“ዲሞክራሲ ሕብረተሰብን ለመገንባት እንጂ ለማፍረስ የሚያገለግል ጥበብ አይደለም። አንድ ጎሳ ወይም ክፍለሀገር ከቀረው ወገንና ሰፊ ግዛት ተገፍቶ ወይም ተገዶ እንዳይገነባልና የሚገባውንም ጥቅም እንዳይነፈግ የሚያደርገው መከላከል ዲሞክራሲ መብቱ ነው። በዚህ አንጻር፣ አንድ ጎሳ ወይም ግዛት ከተሞክረው ሰፊ ሕብረተሰብ፣ ጾጋና ቅርስ እንዳይሸረፍ የመላው ሕዝብ ዲሞክራታዊ መብት ያግደዋል።” (ዘውገ ፋንታ 1993)

Translation:

“Democracy is a principle by which to fortify and build, not divide societies. The people of any region have democratic rights not to be excluded and barred from sharing the heritages and resources that the nation is endowed with. Similarly, it is the right of the nation to protect the interests of the whole and to prevent the partition or separation of any region away from the rest.” (Zewge Fanta, 1993)

## ***Introduction***

In the words of the dictator, Meles Zenawi, the high priest of the “Nations & Nationalities” teachings, Ethiopia ‘*was not meant to be*’ a lasting nation. The leader of the *Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF)*, a name that shall go down in the annals of dictatorial regimes as ‘*spiteful*’ has revealed his plan to end the existence of Ethiopia. When *TPLF* came to power, the destruction of Ethiopia immediately began, and the people of the ancient nation have suffered immensely as no other time. The patience of the people is completely depleted, and changes are on the horizons. The inventors of the *Human Cages* called *Kilil* shall leave Ethiopia and disappear from the face of the Earth. They may also be planning to settle in their native habitat in the birth place of *Kilil*, in Tigray where they conceived the morbid idea of the destruction of Ethiopia. However, knowing

or expecting the end of this ugly period, Ethiopians cannot wait simply watching the end approaching without being prepared to receive the huge responsibility. Ethiopians have displayed immense desire to get rid of the dictators and to undo the spoils of *Kilil*. When the dictators depart, the pillars of Ethiopia in every rural villages, towns and cities should quickly begin to take responsibility to manage the business and affairs of the country. It is high time that the pillars of Ethiopia should know the initial steps as well as the sequential measures to be taken. They should have the economic and political configurations of the nation that would replace *Kilil*. The leaders and pillars of Ethiopia that would emerge from all sectors of the population should have refined ideas and models of Ethiopia’s democratic systems that define the economic and political configurations that fit the conditions, traditions and history of the people, and allow Ethiopians to transform into a modern democratic nation. The advance preparation would smooth the giant leap from the state of *Kilil* to democratic systems. It is along this thought that the author proposed new models of the administrative and economic systems described in the following. The author believes that the models introduced here or other strategies that evolve from further studies will guide the leaders and the Ethiopian people in making the final decision. The models may be used by any transitional government entity or government that is elected and tasked to transform Ethiopia into a nation of Individuality.

## ***Kilil – The Colonial Dogma***

The purpose of *Kilil* was to partition Ethiopia into several tribal homelands with the ultimate goal of creating several nations within a nation. This has been dejected concept as the anti-thesis of democracy, and the exact opposite of Ethiopians’ nature and traditions of centuries. The *Kilil* system was forcefully imposed on the people with dilemma to divide the people along

languages. The aim was to create conflicts and differences and to polarize them and force them grow apart socially and economically. *Kilil* has created insurmountable social and economic hardships to Ethiopians. To achieve their goals the dictators have systematically encouraged and even staged and provoked conflicts amongst the people of various regions. The dictators have revealed their long-term plan by allocating unfair share of resources to the province of Tigray that they believed would be their future refuge. By doing so, the leaders of *TPLF* have exposed the people of Tigray to unfair animosity and ill-will, which shall entail great consequences to the security of the people of that region more than any other in the Country. The people of Tigray are the owners of Ethiopian history, and so, the pillars who defend and guard the nation's existence and its continuity. However, it was sadly in Tigray that *TPLF* conceived the destruction of Ethiopia. The final dissolution of the nation may also take place on the soils of Tigray. The leaders of *TPLF* believe that they will settle in Tigray and live happily ever after leaving behind a nation that is fragmented and in turmoil. The gallant people of Tigray must see the embryo of that idea that is growing in the womb of Tigray. They need to act quickly and abort the wretched plan with all sacrifices necessary. Ethiopians every where must also build a unified force to oust *TPLF* and toss out *Kilil* and the constitution created for it or by it. Only democracy will ensure the existence and the continuity of Ethiopia as a nation and the security and wellbeing of all people. Every citizen like every people of all regions has critical roles to play today more than any other time in the history of Ethiopians. Each person can be a powerful force essential to end *Kilil* and to transform Ethiopia into a democratic nation.

### ***Ethiopia's Providence***

The early Ethiopians who sprang out of the lands of Ghion and Awash as the first human race have spread to near and far lands and gradually populated Earth. Ethiopians do migrate outward even today to all lands around the globe. Cataclysmic events, social disorders and pursuit of discovery and exploration had fascinated the ancient Ethiopians to venture far beyond their place of origin. Ethiopians are presently subjected to oppressive rule so brutal and incomparable to any other period in the long history of Ethiopians. Every ruler in Ethiopia expanded the territories of Ethiopia and galvanized the people of vast nation. But, the leaders of *TPLF* do today the exact opposite. Ethiopians, the first who introduced the ideas of *Republic* to the World would be the last people to accept and be governed by a barbaric '*human caging*' system called *Kilil*. Ethiopians will emerge as a democratic people unspoiled by the evil system of colonialism. Those who failed to conquer and subjugate the ancient people and destroy their cultures and history shall witness today when the children of the ancient Ethiopians whose ancestors their ancestors once called *Uncles* and *Aunts*, enter a new era, and emerge as modern societies. The history and traditions of the Ethiopian people shall remain and shine for many centuries to come so long societies around them and the World remain peaceful and stable as well. However, the social and economic systems of Ethiopia should change and modernize. New political and economic systems compatible with the cultures and history of the people and conditions of the natural resources will be found and adopted.

### ***Agents of Changes***

Ethiopians of this period are rightly thought as the true Agents of Changes. By their actions, they will build Ethiopia as a *Nation of Individuality*. By their inactions or faux pas, they will pass as the most seedless generation of all times. Should the people of Tigray,

Begemdir, Wollo, Gojam, Shewa, Arusi, Wellega, Harerge, Illubabur, Gomugofa, Keffa, Sidamo, and Bale fail to act, the continuity of the long history of Ethiopia shall come to cease, and TPLF will have its plan fulfilled. That is however, contrary to the nature of Ethiopians. Ethiopians are known for their wisdom and bravery. They are endowed with abundant resources and rich heritages. This period is offering them new opportunities of unimaginable experiences. The tasks to transform the people into democratic societies shall no doubt entail enormous challenges and new experiences of unknown systems. However, when the people fulfill their goals, the accomplishments will bring new feelings and new way of life unimagined by any citizen. Seeing Democratic Ethiopia at the end of the long bitter struggles will indeed be a triumph that Ethiopians of present & future generations, as well as the people of Africa and the World shall celebrate for decades to come.

## MODELING THE FUTURE ETHIOPIA

### *The Preliminary Task*

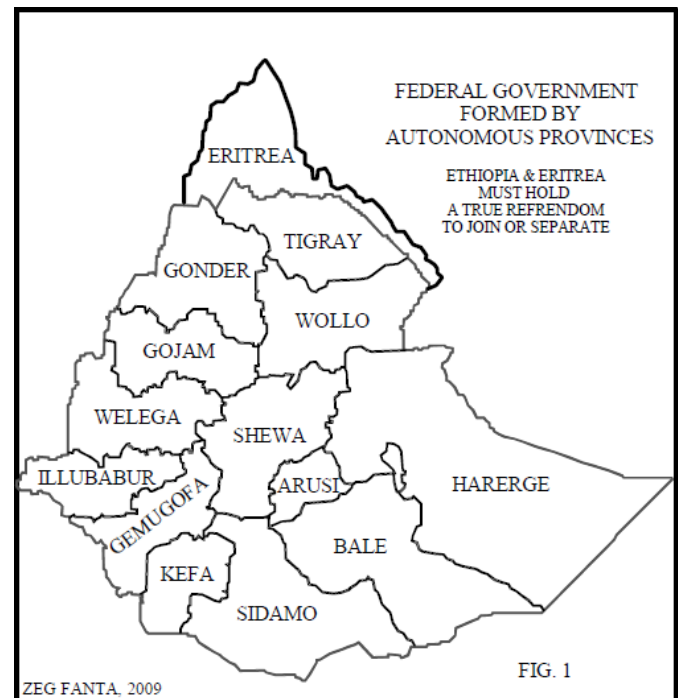
To modernize Ethiopia, socially, economically and politically, it is necessary first to explore the approaches and strategies how Ethiopians' good cultures and traditions should be maintained, how to incorporate them with the new systems, and how wisely the resources can be used and utilized to improve the way of life of the ordinary people. The models proposed here may or may not be the embryo of Ethiopia's future economic and political systems. However, scholars and students of democracy and experts as well as ordinary Ethiopians should work together and formulate the political and economic models that best fit the nation. The author acknowledges the fact that there may be other models perhaps more suitable. The proposed models may also be the right approach with little or substantial modifications to them. The ultimate objective of

this document is to initiate wide discussions that would lead to the formulation of new economic and political systems that would replace *Kilil*. Ethiopians who are working hard to end *Kilil* and undo the devastations it caused should have such ideas at hand perhaps well developed and ready for the great debate and discussions throughout the country.

## Administrative / Political Structures

### MODEL I

Using the former Provincial Administrative Sub-divisions (See Fig. 1) may be a safe approach and perhaps free of serious controversies and conflicts of interests. The fact that the people are very familiar with the political sub-divisions of provinces, readopting this system will be practical and not complicated to the people. Since every regime before TPLF used the political structures, the systems are deeply embedded with the social, economic and political cultures and traditions of the people. It is wise to use systems that the people are familiar with and understand the administrative traditions intimately. Inventing new political structures alien to the people like *Kilil* has lead to endless chaos, and created insurmountable economic and social



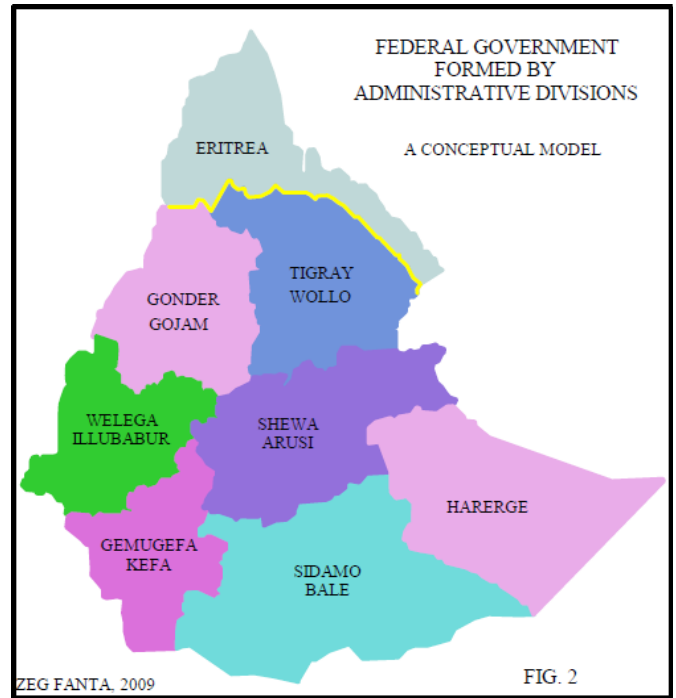
difficulties. *Kilil* produces endless miseries to the nation. Knowing that, the Ethiopian people rejected *Kilil* and its inventors in the landmark decision of 2005 national election.

**Self-reliance**

Autonomous local rules and federal structures may be established based on the *Administrative Provinces*. Creating autonomous local entities (provinces) and establishing a strong Federal Government that fuses the provinces together is an essential step for establishing a stable democratic Ethiopia. The Federal Government and the local governments shall be designed to provide every Ethiopian the basic rights and the protections of those rights so that Ethiopians can live and work in any place of their choice. The new system will reverse the spoils of *Kilil* that limited citizen’s mobility outside his/her designated tribal homeland. The Federal system shall ensure the rights of every Ethiopian to enjoy and utilize the resources that Ethiopia provides.

**ALTERNATIVE TO MODEL I**

The alternative to Model I may be more practical and advantageous to the nation in many ways. First, it can quickly diffuse the tensions and conflicts among people of different regions that *Kilil* had created. Secondly, the model (See Fig. 2) will not be a new experience or unfamiliar political administrative system to the people. Thirteen Provinces of self-rule entities may prove to be cumbersome and difficult to the people. It may be hard to some states to flourish and develop with same pace of social and economic progresses as the other states. The people of each province may lack the necessary human, technological and natural resources to be self-sufficient and to run an autonomous government effectively and independently. The Federal Government may also become bogged and overburdened by lack of human resources and technology to facilitate the regional growth evenly and equally by



diverting its meager resources to lacking provinces. To balance the resources and strengthen the regional development capabilities joining two provinces into one State or Province may be an effective strategy. The two provinces may overcome what one province may not by itself. Therefore, joining adjacent provinces that have many commonalities and historic relationships of social and economic interactions into one entity may bring no unfamiliar experiences to the people of both provinces. When provinces are joined together, overlapping social and economic practices and relationship will strengthen and enhance cooperation. Each joined provinces may retain their names to maintain their heritage. However, the people shall decide whether they be labeled as Provinces (ክፍለ አስተዳደር) or State (ክፍለ ግዛት) (See Table I). Joining the provinces, seven political sub-divisions may evolve plus Eritrea, which by then will have to decide whether to join the federation or stand for ever knocking at the door of Ethiopia. These entities give the foundation and the framework for establishing the Federal Government structures. Some studies may be necessary to determine whether

joining the neighboring provinces creates any social or economic hardship or burden to one or both. In general, joining two adjacent provinces, for instance, Shewa and Arusi, Tigray and Wollo, Begemdir and Gojam, etc appears logical and practical. Each pair shall make one autonomous political entity and become the building block of the Great Federation. The schemes of joining two provinces may require some territorial adjustments in some areas. This is true where lands that are physically divided by impassable rivers and or mountains and valleys, which inhibit development efforts, are encountered. In this regard, the scheme of joining the provinces must be based on conditions and factors such as geographic, economic and social ties, natural resources, administrative practices and traditions. Small adjustments of boundary lines here and there might be necessary. The names of the provinces may have historical significance. However, geographic names may also be designated (See Table I). For instance, Tigray-Wollo may be known as Semen-Misraq Province (ሰሜን-ምስራቅ ክፍለ አስተዳደር) or Semen-Misraq State (ሰሜን-ምስራቅ ክፍለ ግዛት) . The seven provinces or states created in this manner are more or less

equal in size and not more than 25 percent more than the others except Sidamo-Bale and Harerge-Bale. Each state has common boundary with neighboring country, and so, each state is in essence a gate keeper of the nation. The state of Shewa-Arusi has been stretched to Djibouti for the same purpose and to provide direct connection with Djibouti, an important spot to Ethiopia’s economic interests strategic factors.

## The Economic Regions

### MODEL II

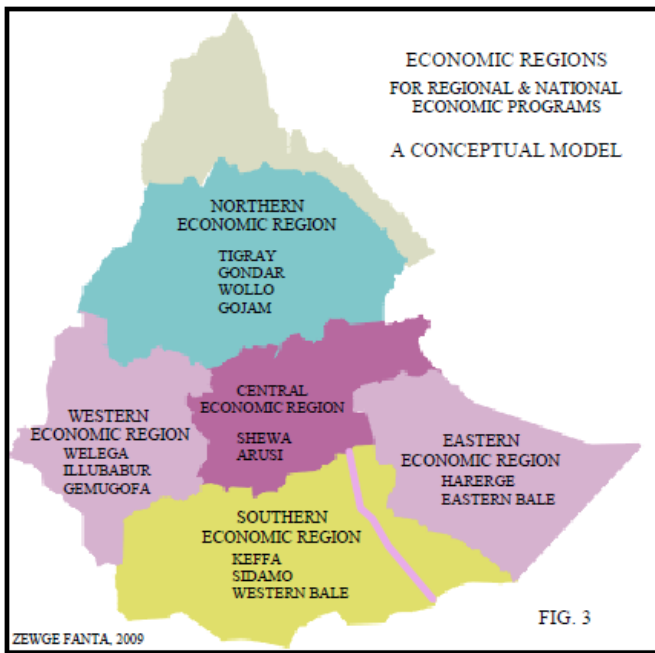
Ethiopia has one of the most difficult landforms and terrains that stand obstacles to various types of development programs. The terrains have retard national economic progresses. Constructions of roads and bridges across regions are in many cases impossible or costly. Because of the meager resources of the nation, development programs are piece meal and slow. Floods, landslides and ground movements frequently destroy new roads and bridges. The huge maintenances costs and lack of materials have slowed and or discouraged economic activities and programs in many parts of the country. These conditions have made the development efforts severely constrained. Self-sufficiency is a huge responsibility, and it would make the people of each state more dependent on their own resources and capabilities. The nation cannot provide every thing that the people of every village, town and region need. A system properly established can guide the local, regional authorities and national entities to carry out planned development effectively. The configuration of the nation into several Economic Regions (See Fig. 3) may be impetus for accelerated economic progresses throughout the country. Autonomous rule and self-sufficiency will encourage people to engage in the programs of their regions that they have direct control and participation in the decision making processes. Configuring the Economic Regions as proposed in this model is

KIFLE ASTEDADER /PROVINCE ክፍለ አስተዳደር	KIFLE GIZAT /STATE ክፍለ ግዛት
ERITREA* ኢርትራ ክፍለ አስተዳደር	SEMEN ሰሜን ክፍለ ግዛት
TIGRAY-WOLLO ጥገራ ወሎ ክፍለ አስተዳደር	SEMEN MISRAQ ሰሜን ምስራቅ ክፍለ ግዛት
GONDER-GOJAM ጎንደር ገዳም ክፍለ አስተዳደር	SEMEN MIRAB ሰሜን ምዕራብ ክፍለ ግዛት
WELEGA-ILLUBABUR ወሎ ጌሳቤ ክፍለ አስተዳደር	MIRAB ምዕራብ ክፍለ ግዛት
SHEW-ARUSI ሸዋ አሩሲ ክፍለ አስተዳደር	MEHAKEL መዝናኛ ክፍለ ግዛት
GEMUGEFA-KEFA ገሙገሩ ክፍለ አስተዳደር	DEBUB MIRAB ደቡብ ምዕራብ ክፍለ ግዛት
SIDAMO-BALE ሲዳሞ ባሌ ክፍለ አስተዳደር	DEBUB ደቡብ ክፍለ ግዛት
HARERGE አረርጌ ክፍለ አስተዳደር	MISRAQ ምስራቅ ክፍለ ግዛት

\* Provided it is federated w/Ethiopia.

TABLE I

based on non-political factors. Each Economic Region is run by regional authority established jointly by the provinces listed in each Economic Region. The Economic Regions are independent authorities that would be carefully structured not to be associated or overlap with the local or federal administrative / political systems. The Economic Regions are one layer of independent authority that will be governed both by the states they are made of, and by an independent entity at the federal government level. The federal entity will monitor and manage the national resources and their uses and the distribution of the resources such as power, communications, transportation and other resources. The modeling of the economic regions of new Ethiopia may be challenging.



The main objective of creating the Economic Regions is to provide a system that would help achieve even economic growth throughout the country. The scheme to configure the nation into several Economic Regions may appear again logical and straight forward. However, the same factors and conditions considered for delineating the boundaries of the Administrative entities may apply in delineating the boundaries of the Economic Regions. The model of the Economic Regions proposed here may need

some boundary changes here and there. It may be necessary to develop a configuration that is entirely or partly different from the one proposed here. The objective of this proposal is not to advance any particular idea, but to attain a model that best fits the new nation and allow accelerated progresses.

### Conclusion

The *Kilil* rule is design to fragment and partition Ethiopia into smaller nation. If *Kilil* is allowed to last for a while, it will have achieved the partition to be completed in an irreversible conditions. The insurmountable obstacles will have pushed the people to reach the point of no return. The continuity of Ethiopia as a nation will become virtually impossible. Because, Ethiopia will have become irrelevant and without meaning to people of the regions that have been systematically isolated and separated from the one another. At that stage, TPLF and all the masters will realize that *Kilil* has achieved their goals! Nations shall be born and emerge from parts of dying Ethiopia. All its enemies that are now pushing towards that end will be hovering over to feast on Ethiopia's mutilated body.

To avert and avoid that catastrophe before it happens, the first step would require an action that would cripple the advance of *Kilil* system. The proposed models will serve the Ethiopian people to cement their unity and to rise against *TPLF* and show their rejection of *Kilil* system. Agents of Changes must be armed with the blue prints of new economic and political structures of Ethiopia. When they do, *Kilil* will be reduced to ashes and its inventors who cannot survive without it will evaporate leaving no trace of their short existence.

Ethiopians must recognize the fact that the end of Ethiopia is in works. The First stage of the systematic destruction of the nation is underway. It is marked by fast erosion of the

identities and symbols of Ethiopia. The Second stage would follow by wide spread conflicts, disruptions and disarray. National leaders who uphold the core values of the Ethiopian people would be attacked left and right. The defenders and guardians of Ethiopia will be hunted and eliminated. The Third stage will mark the disappearance of people who call themselves Ethiopians from many parts of the country. The final and the Fourth stage of the end of Ethiopia as a nation shall take place at its birth place, Tigray. Those who protected the history and heritages of Ethiopia for centuries will face enemies from north, east, and west. The enemies shall come with such force that will deface the ancient cities leaving no trace of their long existence. The enemy forces of known and unknown origins will finally extinguish the torch of Axum that had lit the World for centuries. The final work will not be achieved by Meles or his *TPLF*. Meles would be long gone. However, the outcome of this development would prove Meles' prophecy that 'Ethiopia was not meant to be' a lasting nation absolutely correct. We should realize the fact that Meles only repeated the words that he was indoctrinated about by his masters who ever they may be.

It is important to know that Ethiopians will enter unwittingly the Second phase of this continued destruction when the May 2010 election is about to take place. The plan is to leave Ethiopians without any hope of change, and with no chance of a way out from the devilish poverty and brutal oppression. Let us examine the humans' choices and deeds from these perspectives: If a man crosses in front of a moving car, he would shorten his life. If a man decided to spend the night outside his home when the beasts take over the village, he has decided to shorten his life. God has nothing to do with those decisions. Respectively, Ethiopia is questioning the passion of this generation in ways that it never did of any of its children

through the ages. Ethiopia is demanding those whom she fed/raised to pay her back so that she can reach the next generation. The leaves, roots, and rocks of Ethiopia must yield the medicine that will eradicate the carrier of *Kilil* virus.



**Note**

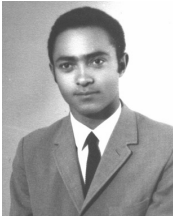
The author appreciates well thought comments, views and suggestions. The comments will be added with this document 'as is' and be forwarded to the committee that may be formed to study the practicality of this proposal.

The critical reviews and information obtained from experts has made this proposal possible, and their contributions and willingness to advance this study to the next level has been profoundly encouraging.



ሰለ ጸሐፊው፦

ዘውገ ፋንታ ከቀድሞው ኃ. ሥ. ዩ ሕንግ ኮሌጅ ዲፕሎማ ተቀብሏል። ከዚያም፣ ዩ.ኤን. በሰበሰቡ ስኮላርሺፕ በኢትዮጵያ መንግሥት ተመርጦ በኢንግላንድ ሰለ ጄኦሎጂክ ስርዕይ እና ካርቶግራፊ የተሰበሰቡ ከፍተኛ ትምህርት አጠናቆ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ በመመለስ፤ በመሬት ይዞታ አስተዳደር ሚኒስትር በካርታ ድርጅት ከፍል በሲንዩር ካርቶግራፊ ደረጃ ተመድቦ አሜሪካ ለትምህርት እስከ መጣ ድረስ ሀገሩን በመያዝ አገልግሏል።



የሀገር ከፍተኛ ዕቅዶች ላይ እየተመደበ ሰፊ አገልግሎት የሰጠ ሲሆን፤ ከነዚህም ውስጥ የሀገርን ሀብትና ቅርስን የሚመለከቱ አያሌ ምስጢራዊ ስራዎች ይገኙበታል። ከዓለም ባንክ ባለሙያዎች ጋር ኢትዮጵያን ወክሎ ሰሜን ግዛት (ኤርትራያ፣ ትግራይ፣ ቤገምድር፣ ጎጃምና ወሎ) ዕድገት እርምጃ ዕቅድ፣ የመሬትንና የሕዝብን አሰፋፈር ዋና ተጠቃሚነት ቦታዎች በመዘር፣ በመቀየሩና ሰፊ የምድረ ገጽን ዝርዝር በመሰብሰብ የልማት ዋና ተጠቃሚነት የኢትዮጵያን የሰዳን ድንበር ክልል በሁለቱ አገሮች ስምምነት ሲደረግ፣ በውጭ ጉዳይ ምክትቤር ውስጥ ተመድቦ፣ እጅግ ምስጢራዊ የሆኑትን ጉድዮች በታላቅ ዋጋዎች ይዞ በተሰበሰቡ መመሪያ መሰረት አስፈላጊ የሰምምነት መፈራረምያ የሆኑትን ካርታዎችን አዘጋጅቷል።

በግሉ የመጀመሪያውን የአዲስ አበባና የኢትዮጵያ ታሪካዊ ካርታዎች አሳትሟል። የመጀመሪያው ኢትዮጵያ ፕሮጀክት ካርቶግራፊ የተባለ ሲሆን፣ ከኢትዮጵያ፣ እንግሊዝና አሜሪካ መንግሥቶች የአገልግሎት ምስክርና የመያ ማረጋገጫ ሽልማቶች ተቀብሏል።

አሜሪካ መጥቶ የባንክና ማስተርስ ፕሮግራሙን አከናውኖ፣ በተለያዩ የመንግሥትና የኮባንያ ድርጅቶች ሰፊ ያለ አገልግሎት ሰጥቷል። የሰደትል ከተማ የኮምፒተር ካርታ አሰራር (GIS) ከአቋቋሙት ሙያተኞች አንዱ ነው። የሰደትል እና የፖርትላንድ ከተማ የሚገለገሉበት የውሃ ማሰራጨና ማከማቻ ሲስተሞች በአደጋ በቋረጡ መከላከያ መመሪያ አፕራሽኖች የሆኑ እሱ በአቀደው መሰረት ተቋቁመዋል።

ዘውገ ፋንታ በዚህ ሙያው በግል ስራ ተሰማርቶ ይገኛል።

Zewge Fanta may be reached by E-mail: zegfantam@aol.com