



An overarching transitional people’s government now!

“It is essential for the oppressed to realize that when they accept the struggle for humanization they also accept, from that moment, their total responsibility for the struggle. They must realize that they are fighting not merely for freedom from hunger, but for . . . freedom to create and to construct, to wonder and to venture. Such freedom requires that the individual be active and responsible, not a slave or a well-fed cog in the machine. . . It is not enough that men are not slaves; if social conditions further the existence of automatons, the result will not be love of life, but love of death.”
[Ademe Bilal]

“Do not keep saying to yourself, if you can possibly avoid ethnocentric system of government, but how can it be like that?” because you will get down the drain, into a blind alley from which nobody has yet escaped: a genocidal cyclotron.”
[Ademe Bilal]

“It is exhilarating to learn and experience social change through action/reflection, or praxis. I learned so much by taking the readings about group facilitation and shared leadership and then using them as a lens to understand experiences in the social activism I pursue in my community work. It has been so interesting learning about the theory of what makes a leader, makes groups work and what works in different contexts of social activism.... The praxis notebooks we have been keeping, have really helped me reflect on the volunteering I have been doing. For me the praxis notebook is like having an ongoing conversation with myself, and a record of what has and hasn't worked in my social activism.” [Lex SE 310b]

Preamble

As Spain, Chile, South Africa and Tunisia show, it is possible, even in deeply divided societies, to create the conditions for a more inclusive state and society. Determined political, social and business leaders that are genuinely willing and able to forge relationships and agreements with their adversaries can achieve much during a transition to enable inclusiveness to take root as a national good of enduring benefit to all citizens. Every alternative is more likely than not to perpetuate the vicious cycle of exclusion and conflict that holds back fragile states

Not all transitions are created equal. The pace and latitude for reform varies from one transition to the next, depending on a wide variety of political, economic, historical, institutional and social conditions, as well as the extent of involvement of international and regional powerbrokers. However, fragile states share two crosscutting characteristics that make transitions within them especially hazardous. First, by definition, they have little social cohesion; their populations have scant history of cooperating effectively in pursuit of public goods. Second, they have a weakly institutionalized state apparatus that is unable to act independently of those in power, and thus serve as an unbiased referee. Combined, these two elements lead to highly unstable political orders that are hard to change.

The structure of a transition is another major determinant of the pace and latitude for reform in any country. It matters whether a transition is imposed from above (as in Myanmar), engineered from outside (as in Iraq), achieved from below (as in Tunisia), or negotiated (as in Spain). Likewise, it matters whether the country is undergoing a post-authoritarian transition with a history of mainly vertical violence and political exclusion

(as in Côte d'Ivoire), of post-conflict transition with a legacy of mainly horizontal violence and exclusion (as in Burundi), or a combination of both (as in Afghanistan). Furthermore, not all actors within a country will see a transition in the same way. While some may believe events offer the chance for a fresh break with the past, others may prefer only incremental reform or even a return to the status quo ante. A number may not even accept the premise that there is a transition taking place and see events as only one set of incidents in a much longer series of struggles for power. This too will have an effect on the pace and latitude for reform. However, for fragile states in particular, at least two key lessons stand out.

- First, the horizontal often matters more than the vertical: that is, the society-society relationship needs as much or more attention than the society-state one.
- Second, as politics often works in either virtuous or vicious cycles – with inclusive behaviour begetting more inclusive behaviour and vice versa – equity is more important than effectiveness. In other words, various groups within a fragile state, and the general public, will be more likely to forgive inevitable mistakes and delays (within reason) during a transition if they feel they are being treated fairly.

Inclusive transitions framework [Overarching/inclusive government]

Note that praxis acknowledges a dialectical relationship between thinking and acting. While many thinkers have separated thought and action, others described human activity in which we apply theory, then re-adjust our theoretical knowledge from reflection upon our actions. Thus, a reciprocity between what we do in the world and what we think we are doing, why we are doing it, and how we should change our actions in light of new understandings must be inherited from the sixtieth social revolution: it is inherently all inclusive. The martyrs took praxis as the vehicle through which we evaluate their own position in the world and through which they transform not only their material conditions, but also their consciousness and concluded this kind of praxis implied change. Reflection becomes a recursive cycle, leading to a re-evaluation of theory and a reassessment of the actions that grow from theory, so that change for the common good can occur. Society is a dynamic space in which power is continually being negotiated by unequal actors, usually to the detriment of those with fewer economic, political, and social resources. This notion of praxis as a vehicle for the development of a critical consciousness, for transformative learning, and for making real change in the society is closest to the conception of praxis that shaped the social change through inclusiveness is discussed here.

Inclusive Goal. While important transition actors often have what they think are good reasons to act vindictively or exclusively, the consequences of such behaviour are all too predictable. Some common examples: An outgoing authoritarian leader who voluntarily left power is arrested, and his political party is declared illegal. A new constitution is debated and drafted behind closed doors and ends up marginalizing a significant part of the population. ***The leaders of a newly empowered ethnic or religious group vilify other communities and call for their exclusion from important state roles and benefits.*** Such actions – some based on legitimate historical grievances – inexorably lead to backlash and risk creating ***a vicious cycle of exclusion.*** By sending a counterproductive signal to other groups and citizens, they can trigger a process that gets ever more confrontational and destabilizing. **In a short period, the result is the undermining of reforms and possibly a return to authoritarianism and conflict.** This section explains why fragile states are especially susceptible to these dynamics and how the systematic prioritization of inclusiveness can help avoid or mitigate such eventualities. Although some states enter transition with much more favourable starting conditions than others, it is possible – even in unlikely case – to convert a country to a more inclusive dynamic in the early years of a transition. Such a path may not fix everything, but it offers the best chance of sustainable, positive outcomes.



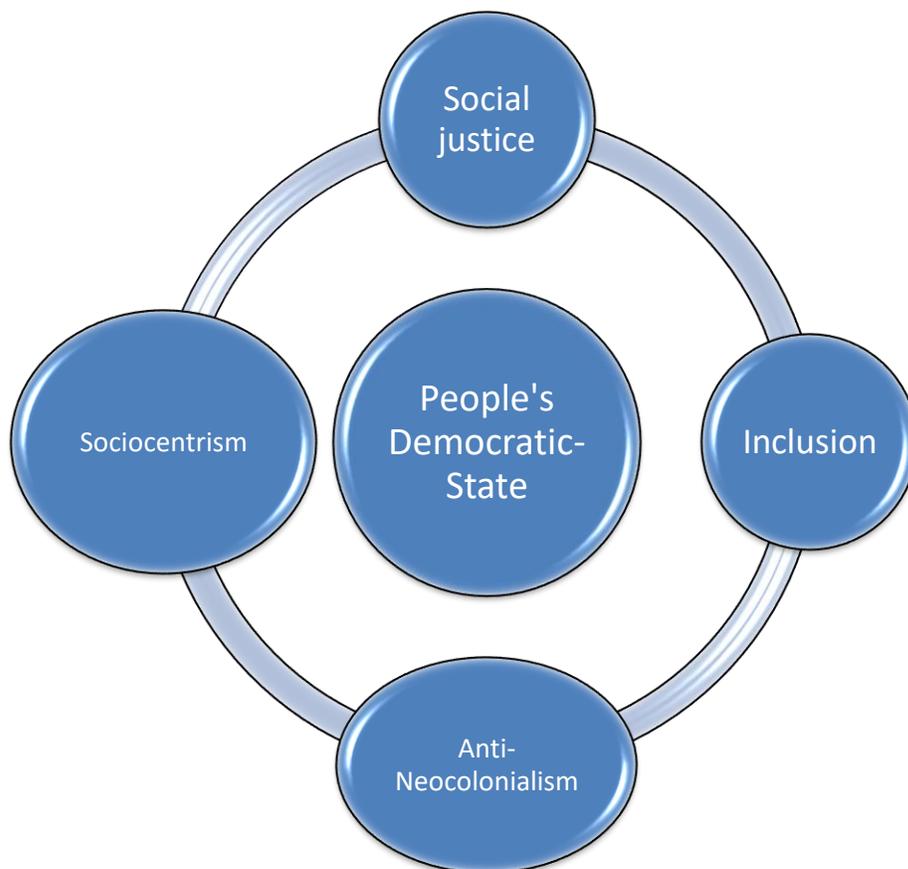
Ethnic cyclotron as centrifugal relations: Fear of Ugoslavianism, Syrianism, Iraqisism, Libyanism as the west divided these sovereign nations!

Exclusiveness: the basis of balkanization

As it is identified by one the most important scholars, Stuart Kaufman, ethnic conflict involves three dynamics: mass hostility, chauvinist political mobilization and a security dilemma.⁹ The combination and interaction of those aspects creates the spiral of escalation, if the preconditions mentioned above are present. Power struggles, or fights over who can control resources, are known to harm team functioning. It is hard fact that a resource competition account of power in teams and that power dispersion in teams, conceptualized as asymmetric resource control between team Abiy Ahmed (OLF) and TPL who belong to the same ideology and political doctrines, is the main predictor for power struggles between team Abel and Kyle, as power dispersion creates a competitive environment where perceptions of inequity are high. One can argue that these power dynamics are likely to be exacerbated when the team TPLF's resources are threatened, such as by a conflict with team OLF. This model is tested via an intra-team current belligerent war, where one can show that power struggles are indeed most likely when teams with high power dispersion are faced with a resource threatening intra-group conflict, and power struggles in turn negatively impact team performance (i.e., joint outcomes)

A broader understanding of inclusiveness

Global scholarship and policymaking increasingly emphasize the value of inclusiveness. Terms like ‘inclusive political settlement’ and ‘inclusive growth’ feature prominently in literature and declarations across the development field. ‘Social inclusion’ and reconciliation have long been recognized as crucial issues. There is an ever-greater focus on the importance of trust, cross-cutting social capital, citizenship, coexistence and nation-building. Yet, only some of these concepts (e.g., reconciliation and coexistence) are directly linked to the success of a transition. Some of the rest (e.g., trust and citizenship) are an intended outcome rather than a method or an approach. Others (e.g., inclusive political settlement, inclusive growth and inclusive democracy) emphasize only the political, economic, or social-cultural dimensions of inclusiveness and not something more comprehensive. The concept of inclusiveness described here brings together these disparate strands in a more all-encompassing framework. It is as much a method as an intended result, encompassing multiple dimensions at once: the who (e.g., ethnic, religious, caste, clan, groups); the what (e.g., politics, economics, culture); the how (e.g., process, dialogue); and the where (e.g., national, regional, local). Immediately familiar anywhere, without being imposing, inclusiveness is a term that lacks religious baggage or Western origins. It surpasses the idea of treating minorities well or giving greater autonomy to breakaway populations; goes beyond the idea of elite pacts and accepted rules of the game; is contingent on neither a homogeneous or heterogeneous population, nor a wealthy or impoverished one; and transcends the realm of human rights, which is founded on the rights that groups and individuals have against the state, but not the consideration they require in relation to each other. As such, inclusiveness, as used in this publication, offers a uniquely powerful vector for improving the results of transitions out of conflict and repression.



All-inclusive transitional people's government as sociocentric force

What is an inclusive disposition? Inclusiveness is an attitude that encourages a sense of moral, psychological, or social obligation toward the “other” in one’s society. Whether rooted in moral, intellectual, ideological, physical, or spiritual factors, it is the kind of feeling that produces events like the reaction of South Korea’s citizens to the country’s 1997 financial crisis. Rather than triggering predominantly self-interested responses, thousands of citizens came forward offering jewellery and other personal valuables to help the country – the collective – overcome the crisis. Often slow in coming (many forget that Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi did not embrace reconciliation at all points in their political lives), this disposition is necessary in order to overcome the divisions that plague fragile states and foster repeating cycles of conflict and exclusion. It is especially valuable in times of transition in order to ensure widespread support for the introduction of policies that will take a long time to deliver results (such as the repeal of state subsidies) or that favour the historically disadvantaged (such as positive discrimination policies). Effective institutions that serve people equitably can intensify this sense of attachment or compensate for its absence. But in fragile states, these require a lot of time to develop, making early inclusive actions on the part of political, social and business leaders that much more essential during transitions when there are relatively superior conditions for developing a new national outlook and dynamic. If used effectively, these critical junctures can serve as turning points in which the perceptions that groups have of each other and of their own place within the society can dramatically improve. But this merely outlines the ideal.

Inclusiveness presupposes provisional/interim people’s democratic government as a framework of contingent democratic institution

To promote democracy in Ethiopia, political parties must be democratic themselves. If parties do not practice and honor democratic values in their internal affairs, then they are unlikely to do so when they win elections and begin to govern. Legitimate political power originates with citizens and flows from the citizens to the government, that is from the ground-up. Moreover, the power of a democratic government is limited by a **constitutionally** defined framework of laws and practices that protect social and political freedoms. Taken together, it may be substantiated that the aforementioned principles and behaviors represent a democratic ideal. Furthermore, the degree to which they are honored and practiced is the degree to which a society can be called democratic. To seed democracy in a country, like Ethiopia, that is ruled by authoritarian ruling system for centuries (**the system of ruling fall within the general models of one-party systems, personal dictatorships, military, and mono-ethnic regimes**), it demands a strong and radical revolutionary approach, not limiting itself to the constitutional concept of democratic institutions (the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary) but also **encompassing the contributions of civil society organizations, political parties, and the cross-cutting issue of independent media.**

Transitions from authoritarian ruling regime to democratic state can happen when this transition emanates directly from the **grass root** in which all are involved with the goal of moving toward a more **democratic society**: the provisional democratic government that is inclusive of all citizens irrespective of ethnic diversities, culture, religion, and gender. Radical social revolutionaries and anti-colonial/anti-neoliberal elites argue that that transitions from the ground-up, that includes public sectors, lawyers, trade unions, women associations, youth associations, political parties, farmer associations, etc., are more promising in terms of their ability to deliver democracy, because they tend to be more specific about their time frame, procedural steps, and overall strategy for transition to happen. **The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), understanding the frame of democratic institution had to have the progeny of democracy that may evolve toward people's democratic state, has been reiterating for years such people's provisional democratic government during the transition phase to democracy as a sole objective reality.** To achieve a successful democratic state (as the west had attained the democracy, they enjoy today two hundred years ago), Provisional people's democratic government is an obligatory condition for its apical bud to flourish. Radical social revolutionaries and citizens **believe** that where authoritarian governments have continually suppressed the evolution of an enabling environment for centuries, the transition process must start from below—by the people: the *terra firma* of the provisional democratic people's government. Only this **all-inclusive people's transitional model** will be able to act as vehicle for representation, accountability, and consensus formation that will predict a democratically unified Ethiopia. **National colloquium** must have been convened as a result of citizen and

elite pressures for public dialogue about the democratization process before the neo-liberal queerro-Abiy hijacked the social revolutionary victory over the TPLF oligarchy.

All-inclusive provisional democratic government be best considered and understood as opportunities to define and classify issues, establish accountability, and mobilize a broad cross-section of popular constituencies. The national conferences within the transitional democratic government have to produce either constitutional review or a new constitution. The know every-thing narrow ethnic monger Queerro-Abiy doesn't know that he is incompetent but divisive and mercenary. The engineering course that entitled him his charlatan doctorate reaffirms that equilibrium condition exists in classical physics if the configuration of any system tends to remain stable.

How are you going to balance equity and liberty for all citizen when your OLF structure deliberately kills and displaces the citizens from their dwelling area? This Woyane apical bud has tended to encourage **personality cult** by having his portrait prominently and extensively displayed, assuming folk titles, and encouraging the use of slogans: "**MEDDEMER and LOVE THE CRIMINALS.**" In Ethiopia today, **only the people's democratic provisional government** can be suggestive of there should be coalition building, bargaining, and seizing of the rewards of power by the civilian, which normally is what civilian politicians elsewhere in the world have to do in order to gain and keep power.

Proponents of such all-inclusive provisional government must advocate that ethnic groups should be considered as integral parts of civil society and their strengths be recognized as an opportunity to solidify it. Moreover, it must find ways to deal with diversity among various ethnic groups, by managing ethnicity and recognizing the rights of individuals to promote their ethnicity in equal par-considering the primordial ethnic value and historical cultural sharing: **Ethiopians have the shared natural culture of defending their motherland from neocolonialists and neoliberalists in unison, irrespective of their ethnic diversity.** One must be recognizant of the opinion that multiethnic societies do not necessarily result in violence or exclusion of conflict, there is a fluid interaction among ethnic groups, through marriage and the marketplace. Provisional government must allow institutions to work and must allow citizens to exercise their rights, to live in accordance with their religious beliefs and cultural values, without interference. The framework of the institution should identify certain prerequisites for an enabling environment, which include a legal order based on human rights, societal awareness of the instrumental and intrinsic values of democracy, a competent state, a committed minority, courage, and a culture of tolerance.

In order to help the transition process along transition, the EPRP argues that society as a whole need to be aware of the instrumental and intrinsic values of democracy: political education at the grass roots level about democracy should be mandatory in the processes of its evolutionary growth. If we intend to structure institutional democracy, the participation of the overwhelming majorities (the peasants, laborers, and women) have to be sought by genuine politicians, and not bought by present manipulators and imposters: running dogs of the Arab Emirates and Chinese's looters. Political parties, lawyers, and all elites must understand what the masses know, because they sometimes lack the ability to articulate their interests and injustices inflicted on them: revolutionary parties must encourage people to go out and demonstrate, to show their opinion regarding issues, citizens must eliminate the culture of fear. **The provisional people's democratic government must be a state capable of assisting in the transition from authoritarian/reptilian rule to democratically structured institution in which all human beings are treated fairly with dignity and respect.** It is only in this context, reciprocity between state and society—between governors and the governed, between those who exercise political leadership in society and those who are led, between those who exercise authority and those who are the subjects of this authority—are identified as a significant element of democracy. The motto is "**democracy depends on governments that grow out of one's societies, not imported from faux pas' neoliberal democracy.**" The public must fully participate in the affairs of state, with the state protecting their rights to be recognized. Moreover, the value of the role of citizens and civil society is to organize and articulate the interests of local communities and the grass roots to the highest levels—even bringing about the change of laws—by serving as effective pressure groups: from the ground-up public power.

Naïve politicians are motivating the ethnic Tigrayan population to abandon their motherland, Ethiopia. TPLF is a terrorist organization that doe not represent Tigrayan population but mercenaries appointed by