



# Finote Ethio-Canadian Information Centre In Toronto

ፍኖት ኢትዮ-ካናዳዎችን የኢትዮጵያን ማስከል በተደንገድ

Tel. 647 554 8197 E-mail: [torontofinote@gmail.com](mailto:torontofinote@gmail.com)



## Ethnic cleavage, democracy, and neo-colonialism

**Keywords:** *ethnic cleavage, state, market, neo-liberalism, democracy*

### Preamble

The Social construction of African ethnicities rather than atavistic survivals of stagnant primordial tribal identities and communities, ethnicities are new not old, part of complex responses to colonial modernity. However, the Woyane leaders have been magnificent **atavism**, they are so purely primitive that they have been of the types that have emerged through distorted and cancerous DNA, that world have ever seen in modern human history, but tunneled into our country before the development of their moral, ethical, modern human values in nature. The primordial history of our country is that of traditional affection – where the people find comfort, acceptance and belonging, hence confers legitimacy and moral values, more like a family. As the state remains ‘alien’, societal perceptions and attitude towards it, including of those who manage state power, remains one of distrust, poor support and often times, vandalism. The thrust of the ethnic interpretations of politics in the current Ethiopia is that of the colonial policy of divide and rule –based on the ethnic principle cemented ethnic identities – deepened inter-ethnic competition and exacerbated interethnic conflicts. Indeed, access to the state and its resources either at the local or national level can be based on ethnic arithmetic designed by woyane bandits and its neo-liberal masters, hence the size, social positioning, and political leverage exercised by ethnic groups-headed by EPRDF oligarchy- has been a driving force of power dynamics in present Ethiopia. The growth of personal rule of Ethiopia’s big **ethnic messiah** has been linked to the growing suppression of political expression, interethnic conflict, starvation, dehumanization, ethnic cleavage, and competition and an increasingly authoritarian cast to the state and ruling ODP (Oromo Democratic party). Constructing nation-state and promoting cohesive national politics by groups, communities, and political parties, without understanding the inherent social and political history, cultural affinity or social contiguity of the country is a major challenge: in state after state, the political and cultural construction of our country turned into a cult of personality around the leader as the embodiment of the nation and the broker of neo-liberalist west.

***The revolutionary transformative approach seeks to understand politics and power from below-from the grass root, and the struggles of the people for transitional people's democratic government that can be a framework of people's democratic state.***

[A message from Martyrs]

### Ethnic cleavage and Neo-liberalism

In the pre-colonial world the most striking features of African identities and communities was their fluidity, heterogeneity and hybridism; a social world of multiple, overlapping and alternate identities with significant movement of peoples, intermingling of communities and cultural and linguistic borrowing. The most important consequence of the colonial political economy was the creation of horizontal inequalities between ethnic communities in the manner and degree of their involvement in cash crop and labor markets, access to education and to higher levels of employment in public institutions; and growing internal inequalities between the local collaborators and intelligentsia and their poor clients and dependents. Moreover, all of the nationalist ideologies of postcolonial Africa ultimately failed to reconstruct an effectively hegemonic national moral economy attached to a legitimate, widely trusted arena of civic politics in the state. Nor did there develop a unified and self-conscious dominant class capable of pursuing a project of national development. Instead, behind the façade of ostensibly modern state

institutions, the **politics of the belly** (French term *politique du Ventre*-perfect examples are **Woyane voracious talking animal-leaders**) reigned through the pervasive spread of ethnic patronage networks to the very centre of the state apparatus, with ramifying linkages reaching from cabinet to village to produce what common sense graphically describes as the **rhizome state**. What Ethiopians viewed for three decades of the ethnocentric regime is that the undermining of state capacity and loss of direct developmental functions and services didn't not make space for markets to produce rapid growth, but led to a significant increase in corruption, interethnic conflict, poverty, an now state anarchism.



**Belly politicians:** the TPLF voracious animals who served neo-colonialism and neo-liberalism. They are defunct, mentally retarded, and undeveloped progenies of African descent. Rhizome state leaders! The International Court of justice must deal first with the obligation to prevent genocide and, in turn, with that of punishing perpetrators of the crime committed by the butchers. The apical bud of the rhizome state, surrogate Abiy Ahmed, is protecting these leeches! The rhizome itself assumes very diverse forms, from ramified surface extension in all directions to concretion into bulbs and tubers. . . any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other. The metaphoric interpretation is that the TPLF-OLF social groups are strange, inhuman, uncivilized, cannibals, aggressive like rhizomes- protrude their tentacles to create interethnic conflict!

#### Finote Radio the Voice of the Voiceless



Homeless and displaced children, without parents are crying for state change.  
Sad , hopeless, and stateless children!

#### The renegade Abiy Ahmed the voice of neo-liberalism



The totalitarian Abiy Ashamed and his family enjoys luxurious meals while mass of the population are starving  
Happy go lucky children! They have the whole country's resources!

Finote democracy as the voice of Ethiopian unity is from people to people: it is a vital call to unity and transitional people's democratic state: it breaks our heart when this inhuman atrocities are happening in the twenty century Ethiopia!

Equally important is the effective loss of sovereignty to global neo-liberalism's political and economic forces, both in the loss of control over macroeconomic policy to the international financial institutions and of vast tracts of territory and resources to private corporations . Lesson to be learned from history of neo-liberalism is that the particular African experience of

globalization combining integration and marginalization is found in the development of highly capitalized enclaves, particularly for natural resource extraction, with little connection to the marginalized regions around them. The growth of such enclaves with their private security of hired mercenaries represents the loss of many states of the key monopoly of legal organized force . In addition, the taking over of public services and development programs by a wide range of ngo's – local, national, and transnational – gives them state-like functions to pursue their own political, economic and religious agendas.

The hard fact is that neoliberal globalization has renewed and accelerated the triple crisis of capitalist modernization in Africa:

- Primitive accumulation: The notion of primitive accumulation is the theoretical lens through which the Zimbabwean crisis is viewed
- nation-state formation: The war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo struggling in the formation of nation-state construction
- democratization remain uncompleted tasks: Ethiopia-revolutionary transformation was kidnapped by Woyane leaders, and South Africa, the unevenly developed society in the processes of the framework of democratization.

Neoliberal globalization simultaneously encourages these trends yet makes them difficult to resolve, given its antistatism, its exclusionary version of democracy, and the violence inherent in the emergence of private property rights out of pre-capitalist modes of production that have been mediated by colonial and postcolonial institutions and the dynamics of the Cold War. The rise of neo-liberal hegemony in the dominant capitalist nations and international financial institutions in the 1980s brought a stunning reversal of the conception of 'development' with a rejection of the state-centered strategies of economic development and nation-building of the first decades of independence. Instead, the focus was radically narrowed to the market alone and the supposedly irredeemably corrupt and 'predatory' states of Africa were rejected as the enemy of 'development.' Neo-liberal doctrine cast off the legitimacy of politics and sought to remove the state's 'interventions' that distorted the free play of market forces and, it was asserted, retarded growth.

*Africa has been integrated into the global economy in segmentary fashion that also marginalized large portions the territory and population of each nation and the continent as a whole and generated a general socio-economic decline (Ferguson 2006). In 1976 the per-capita GNP of sub-Saharan Africa was 17.6% of the world average, but had dropped to 10.5% by 1999. The average GNP per capita in African states dropped by almost 10% between 1970 and 1998, while the continent's share of global economic activity was only 1.1%, despite having 10 % of world population. Rather than neo-liberal reform bringing predicted increases in foreign investment, Africa received only 0.6% of the world total.*

Global influence of neo-liberalism on Africa is the key in catalytic interethnic conflict.:

1. rather than development, neo-liberalism brought, what is now called by historian, the steepest economic inequalities seen in human history, with corresponding declines in literacy and life expectancy and unprecedented growth in the proportion of African populations living in absolute poverty. This was correlated with rural decline, runaway urbanization with metastasizing slums and the 'shadow economy' of the informal sector.
2. neo-liberal reforms of the state and market have led to significant political, social and economic decay that can reinforce ethnic cleavages and undermine democratization in multi-party regimes, even where there have been serious efforts at constitutional reforms to contain and limit its political expression.
3. neo-liberalism has often made ethnic conflict more intense and in the past decade this conflict been accompanied by the explosion of violent conflicts of autochthony, confrontations of **sons of the soil** as rhetoric device used by OL-TPL leaders, that threaten the very bases of social order and cohesion in multi-ethnic societies: the decay of the state and resulting intensified struggle for control of resources and accumulation of wealth in circumstances of growing poverty and uncertainty for the mass of the population has increased both the horizontal and vertical inequalities between and within ethnic communities and the conflicts of moral ethnicity and political tribalism.

Western neo-liberal appointed mercenary regimes are unable, as they are always under heavy international pressure, to make any departure from neo-liberal policy prescriptions, which compromised their ability to address local issues of poverty and redistribution. Moreover, the shallow and narrowly restricted 'democracy' implemented in most countries actually exacerbated ethnic conflicts and the political mobilization of ethnic communities. This active role of neo-liberalism is manifested through the hard work of the North Africa traitor-Abiy Ahmed who denied the once exemplary model for all African independence (Ethiopia): in Ethiopia ethnically fragmented regions have been the site of the most violent ethnic confrontations in modern history and this created the infamous internal displacement that ranked first on the planet Earth.

## Interethnic conflict and ethnic cleavage: enlightenment

Ethnic conflict cannot be other than mysterious. Human beings all belong to the same species; if they are to be divided there are plenty of other ways of forming rival groups. Moreover, ethnically based divisions go against a major trend of modern times towards increasing contact between ethnic groups and growing ethnic mixture. There are many non-ethnic sources of conflict, arising, for instance, from class, religion, profession or region. Yet in most areas of the world they have been completely overshadowed since the early 1980s by ethnic conflict. Nations are founded on pre-existing ethnic group solidarity, the nature and extent of which has to be a matter for concrete historical investigation rather than arbitrary assumptions driven by sociological theory. Interethnic conflict, as we observe in our country, is not the inevitable result of the rise of ethnic awareness; it emerges under conditions determined by rivalry for material resources in which, precisely because of the existence of ethnic solidarity, the contending parties identify themselves as parts of an ethnic group. Observable realities identify three main types of interethnic conflict caused by neo-liberalism:

- very severe, likely to develop into civil war, between rival ethnic groups of similar size with overlapping claims to the same territory (most interethnic conflict in former Yugoslavia fall into this category);
- moderately severe, but potentially military, between irredentist groups with aspirations to separate status and states holding their territory together (many former Soviet interethnic conflicts fall into this category, while their degree of severity has varied according to the readiness of outside forces, usually Russian, to intervene);
- mild, fought out politically without the use of armed force, and soluble, arising from the claims of small ethnic groups to a degree of separate status (the Gagauzi in Moldova are a good example).

The role of central governments and the military appears to be crucial in most instances of ethnic cleansing, together with media censorship and popular misinformation. Since they developed often simultaneously, a crucial question arises: how intense is the relationship between narrow nationalism and inter ethnic conflicts? Narrow nationalism is the doctrine that ‘the rulers should belong to the same ethnic (that is, national) group as the ruled. The OLF-TPLF doctrine assumes that a ruler belonging to ethnic group is illegitimate. However, the inverse formula is a sure recipe for ethnic cleansing, forced assimilation, mass deportation and ethnic cleansing: to claim that the inhabitants of a specific constituency must share the same ethnic lineage of its leaders is to give carte blanche to mass expulsion and the drastic re-drawing of boundaries to suit the group's pedigree. The connection between Westernization, modernity, war and genocide has become relatively established in academia in which historical developments are strictly related to state formation in an age of militarized narrow nationalism. Thus, many Holocaust scholars describe genocide:

- as an entirely modern and Western event with its unprecedented systematic and techno-bureaucratic dimension,
- argues that the Holocaust was legitimized as a triumph of Western civilization, the latter being conceived in terms of racial superiority against spurious Oriental, non-Western influences which could imperil civilization from within and lead to its fatal decadence
- recognize that genocide as intensively related to European inter-state rivalry, government expansion, imperialism and the state's intrusion into the private realm via the consolidation of central power.

Hence, because ethnicity is of historical origin, it is also transitory or fluid, so too is interethnic conflict if catalyzed the ruling state is ethnically constituted just like Ethiopian now. The outbreak of large-scale interethnic conflict in the 1990s is a temporary setback to the processes of homogenization and integration which have been taking place ever since different peoples came into contact with each other, and are accelerated powerfully by the forces of globalization. **One must ask questions like:**

- what sort of crimes have been committed and who is responsible? how do people get into a position where they commit, or suffer, atrocities simply because they belong to a particular ethnic group?
- ethnocentrism is not the awakening of the nation to self-consciousness; it invents regional interethnic conflict where they do not exist. *Who are the perpetrators?* Consider what is happening in Ethiopia today ethnic minorities are subject to widely different policy regimes of varying degrees of oppressiveness including genocide (Amhara, Gambela, etc. ), state -forced relocation or segregation, social and ritual domination, forced assimilation and cultural destruction. We note also that repression orchestrated by ethnically structured government quells protest and the same repression fuels protest, works to suppress dissent, and repression increases grievance and may thus provoke further observed dissent.

***Ethiopian ethnic groups have a unified common ground that bears the name of independence-a country that fought the western imperialism to the ground.*** The societal constituents of all ethnic groups have a unique historical attachment in traits and values: a country; a common myth of descent; a shared history; a distinctive shared culture, comprising language and/or religion and/or institutions and/or other cultural features; an association within the bounds of the respected nation; and

eventually a sense of national solidarity, in other words a recognition of each other as members of the same country: **Ethiopia, which consists of several closely related ethnic groups, each of which has decided tacitly to ignore the small differences that separate them ethnically.** This is the scientific history of our nation until the narrow nationalist Woyane, the EPLF Eritrean secessionist, and OLF elites germinated and grown to narcissism.

Woyane and its successor Abiy Ahmed have been the driving forces of hierarchical dimensions of ethnicity. Moreover, they are the ones that give some ethnic groups more power or privilege or status than others. These vertical dimensions are both material and cultural/social. Currently the TPLF-OLF Abiy is promulgating interethnic policies of:

- numbers, how large a group is, as OLF lead government preaches and mind sets to narrow nationalism that will suffice the needs of neo-liberalists and the Arab Emirates' dictators
- resources such as land or wealth or control over means of production
- political power, the control of government and the coercive apparatus of the state
- day-to-day restrictions on life, including physical separation or ghettoization, exclusion from some occupations or activities or places, surveillance requirements
- enforced ignorance, bans on literacy, restrictions on education. universities are not competent with international standards-they don't even match secondary school curriculum frameworks elsewhere.
- symbolic dominance, including rituals of submission and other practices that reinforce definitions of groups as superior or inferior
- cultural dominance, either suppression of language or cultural practices or its opposite, the enforced separation of language or culture
- internal displacement of inhabitants

In ethnically structured framework of regime however and however long ago they diverged, ethnic conflict arises when distinct groups come into contact with each other through migration, including both voluntary migration and involuntary, invasive, or coercive migration. Pre-Woyane Ethiopian history depicted that when initially-distinct ethnic groups come into contact with one another and there are no social barriers between them, they may mix and become one combined ethnicity. The TPLF-OLF regime wrapped with narcissistic idea of ethnocentrism and are driven by greed rather than political grievances or ideology and based solely on rational calculation of the economic returns to violence that motivated predatory insurgent groups and warlords who fighting for the control over natural resources.

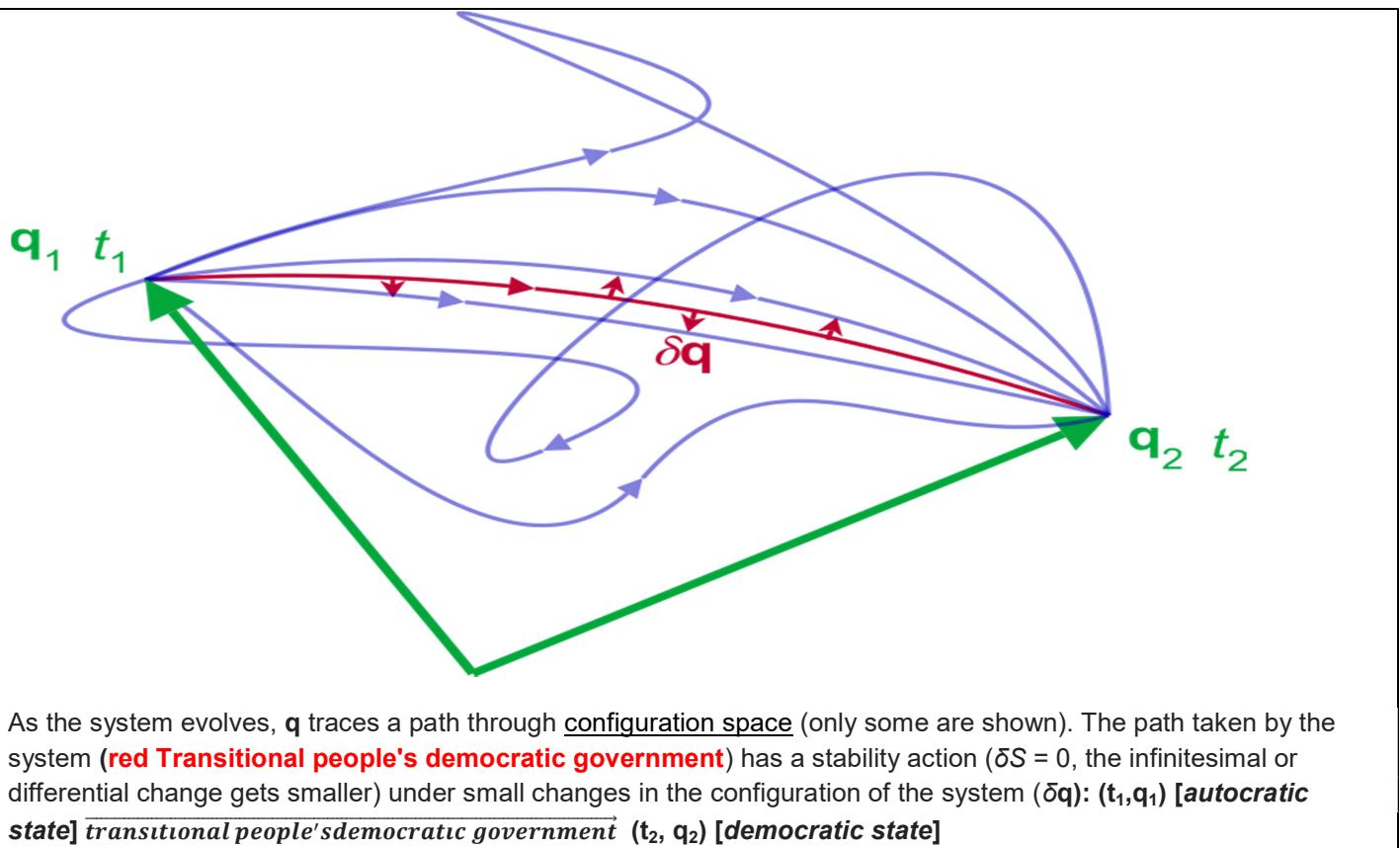
### **Transitional people's democratic state minimizes the travel time to freedom and liberty**

The notion that physical processes are governed by minimum principles is older than most of science. It is based on the long held belief that nature arranges itself in the most 'economical' way. Actually, many 'minimum' principles have, on closer inspection, turned out to make their designated quantity stable, but not necessarily a minimum. As a result, they are now known to be *variational* principles, but they are no less important because of this. A good example of a variational principle is Fermat's principle of geometrical optics, which was proposed in **1657 as Fermat's principle of least time** in the form:

*Of all the possible paths that a light ray might take between two fixed points, the actual path is the one that minimizes the travel time of the ray.*

This example explains why variational principles continue to be sought; it is because of their innate simplicity and elegance, and the generality of their application in nature and society. The variational principle on which it is possible to base the whole of classical mechanics was discovered by Hamilton\* and is known as Hamilton's principle.<sup>†</sup> In its original form, it stated that:

*Of all the kinematically possible motions that take a mechanical system from one given configuration to another within a given time interval, the actual motion is the one that **minimizes** the time integral of the Lagrange of the system.*



It is necessary and sufficient to begin by saying a few words about some **minimal conditions** (in modern society and modern polity) that must obtain before there can be any possibility of speaking of democratic state formation and they are:

1. free and authoritative elections cannot be held, winners cannot exercise the monopoly of legitimate force, and citizens cannot effectively have their rights protected by a rule of law unless a state exists
2. democracy cannot be thought of as consolidated until a democratic transition has been brought to completion. A necessary but by no means sufficient condition for the completion of a democratic transition is the holding of free and contested elections (on the basis of broadly inclusive voter eligibility). Such elections are not sufficient, however, to complete a democratic transition.
3. no regime should be called a democracy unless its rulers govern democratically. If freely elected executives (no matter what the magnitude of their majority) infringe the constitution, violate the rights of individuals and minorities, impinge upon the legitimate functions of the legislature, and thus fail to rule within the bounds of a state of law, their regimes are not democracies.
4. In the constitutions they write and in the politics they practice, the dominant nation's language becomes the only official language and occasionally the only acceptable language for state business and for education; and the culture of the dominant nation is privileged in state symbols (such as the flag, national anthem, and even eligibility for some types of military service) and in state-controlled means of socialization (such as radio, television, and textbooks).

A new political systems that meet the above **minimal** conditions of state, a completed **democratic transition**, and a government that **rules democratically** can be considered consolidated democracies. In most cases after a **democratic transition** is completed, there are still many tasks that need to be accomplished, conditions that must be established, and attitudes and habits that must be cultivated before democracy can be regarded as consolidated. Constitutionally, democracy becomes the only game in the system when all of the actors in the polity become habituated to the fact that political conflict within the state will be resolved according to established norms, and that violations of these norms are likely to be both ineffective and costly, that is with consolidation, democracy becomes routine and deeply internalized in social, institutional, and even psychological life, as well as in political calculations for achieving success.

## Necessary and sufficient conditions for people's democratic state:

*Creating transitional people's democratic government minimizes the time to building the framework of consolidated democratic state. It believes that democracy is a form of governance in which the rights of citizens are guaranteed and protected. The law of dialectical change understands democracy as more than a sole regime; it is an interacting system-a transformative revolutionary change from quantity to quality. It is recognizant of democratic policies in the state-making process are those that emphasize a broad and inclusive citizenship that accords equal individual rights to all.*

Transitional people's democratic states can create the following conditions for people's democratic state:

1. *it justifies the a democratic path and reinforces the conditions that must exist for the development of a free and lively civil society. Civil society can include manifold social movements (e.g., women's groups, neighborhood associations, religious groupings, and intellectual organizations), as well as associations from all social strata (such as trade unions, entrepreneurial groups, and professional associations)*
2. *it organizes be a relatively autonomous political parties independent of ethnic bias, religion, and gender*
3. *it asserts throughout the territory of the state all major political actors, especially the government and the state apparatus, must be effectively subjected to a rule of law that protects individual freedoms and associational for all*
4. *it reaffirms the existence of a state bureaucracy that is usable by the new democratic governments. All significant actors-- especially the democratic government and the state apparatus--must be held accountable to, and become habituated to, the rule of law*
5. *it believes an institutionalized political economic society as necessary precursor. Constitutionalism, which should not be confused with majoritarianism, entails a relatively strong consensus regarding the constitution, and especially a commitment to "self-binding" procedures of governance that can be altered only by exceptional majorities. It also requires a clear hierarchy of laws, interpreted by an independent judicial system and supported by a strong legal culture in civil society.*
6. *it requires that citizens develop an appreciation and confidence for the core institutions of a democratic political society--political parties, legislatures, elections, electoral rules, political leadership, and interparty alliances.*

Finally, a democracy in which a single leader enjoys, or thinks he or she enjoys, a democratic legitimacy that allows him or her to ignore, dismiss, or alter other institutions--the legislature, the courts, the constitutional limits of power--**does not fit our conception of rule of law in a democratic regime**. The formal or informal institutionalization of such a system is not likely to result in people democratic state unless such discretion is checked and watched by the public. Moreover, civil society in a democracy needs the support of a rule of law that guarantees to people their right of association, and needs the support of a state apparatus that will effectively impose legal sanctions on those who would illegally attempt to deny others that right. In view of the above, the quality of public life is in great measure a reflection not simply of the democratic or nondemocratic character of the regime, but of the quality of those other institutions. **The EPRP argues that a collapse of the tyrannical government followed by a marked discontinuity in the nature of the regime is a necessary condition for regime transition that incorporate the framework of transitional people's democratic government, and this transition can happen only through revolutionary struggle.**

**Finote democracy: the voice of the voiceless:** Finote democracy is pure Ethiopian voice that emanates from the heart of the country to advocate Ethiopian unity. Moreover, it is a radio broadcasting that supports and reflects Ethiopian attitudes, opinions, ideas, and values available to all Ethiopians:

- tells our own stories: sharing a common experience, generating discussions and discourse among individuals in the community
- describes our own cultures: building unified citizenship and intensify or consolidate our shared cultural identities that incorporate identities defined by diversities. It plays an important role in shaping our culture and identity
- explains the authentic Ethiopian cultural ties between different ethnic diversities

- it believes in Ethiopian unity principle embedded within the broadcasting act and its framework
- it highlights its role as a public service to all Ethiopians across Ethiopia and the world: delivers content to inform, enlighten and entertain Ethiopians
- it is an information and education tool, accessible to all and meant for all, whatever their social or economic status. Finote broadcasting is public with a concern for quality that distinguishes it from commercial and biased broadcasting.
- it calls for Ethiopianism as our inherent feature of integration (following **our exemplary martyrs**), but it is antagonistic to ideology of ethnic division (prejudice) that has inherent and deep-seated hate in nature (Jihadists "struggle of the soul to avert the evil" equivalent to TPLF's fundamentalist - ethnocentrism which promulgates anger, hate, division and the brake down of civility and unity)
- it believes in the construction of citizenship attributed images of *oneself* and *other* play an important role. *Otherness* is needed as a basis of reflection; the **unity** and **togetherness** of "**we**" is already understood only if there exists "**them**" or otherness

**The ethnic federal arrangement-endorsed by Abiy Ashamed- has given ethnic parties and their politics the legal foundation to flourish for the final demise of the country!**

**Ethnocentrism is but an ideological facade behind which neo-liberalism continues its brutal and destructive trend!**

**How wrong it is for the society to expect the dictators to build *the transitional people's democratic state* they want, rather than to create it themselves!**

**The question is not "is there life after death?", but " is there life after birth?" [the voice of voiceless children] ! He who doesn't love these voiceless children doesn't love himself!**

**Please, extend your human hand to help financially Finote democracy radio: the voice of the voiceless Ethiopians!**

**Finote Democracy for solidarity, political enlightenment, and one Ethiopia!**