



Centripetal versus Centrifugal Force

Prologue

Key words: Neoliberalism, ethnicity, renegades, elites, conflict, causation, socio-economic, socio-political, disparities, acquisitiveness, injustice, dichotomy, transitional, democracy, autocracy, centripetal, centrifugal, Balkanization, unification

One must be cognizant of regime change as **path dependent phenomena**, meaning that, by examining the interests of actors and what kind of resources are available to them (as Abiy was manipulated by USA, Arab Emirates, and the Old Woyane gizzards), it is possible to understand how regime change developed and where it would lead to. Many Ethiopians (especially the Amhara's) supported the Abiy-Queerro government and believed that he would benefit, as he reiterated Ethiopianism, even if he had not yet done so. This was because Conn art Abiy needed wide support in order to be successful initially and thus successful ones tended to:

- articulated an ideology or point of view attractive and appear intelligible, though cynical, to many ordinary people;
- made deceitful promises of a better life after the transition; and promulgated boldly he "was the transitional reformist." **The opportunists have been prepared to reiterate his manifesto hypocritically.**
- had chosen a moment to intervene when disgusted with incumbents (the TPLF regime) had spread through much of the populace. Since these conditions had been fulfilled, Abiy-Queerro could attract broad, though evanescent and euphoric, public support. The opportunist elite groups as well as ordinary citizens supported a seizure of power simply because they wanted to oust the old TPLF regime, which they deemed incompetent, venal, or self-serving, unEthiopian, and the source of inter-ethnic conflict.

Mercenary Abiy survived so far by manipulating information so that citizens believe—rationally but incorrectly—that the he is competent and benevolent when he is truly unpatriotic and renegade. Moreover, such manipulation of information is not new in itself—some totalitarian leaders were great innovators in the use of propaganda. What is different is how they employ such tools. Where Hitler and Mussolini sought to reshape citizens' goals and values by imposing comprehensive ideologies, informational autocrats are more surgical: they aim only to convince citizens of their competence to govern. This is typical characteristic of Abiy Ahmed when he used the cynically buttered words like "Love" and "Meddemer." He can invest in making convincing state propaganda, censoring independent media, co-opt the opportunist elites, equipping polices to repress attempted uprisings but he must finance such spending at the expense of the public's consumption. One argues that Abiy has followed an **informational autocracy** that was designed for him by neoliberalism which relies more on media manipulation than on the comprehensive repression of traditional dictatorships.

The use of the term "neoliberal" exploded in the 1990s, when it became closely associated with two developments:

1. it gives rise to a problem of insufficient aggregate demand over the long run, stemming from the powerful tendency of the neoliberal regime to lower both real wages and public spending.
2. it deregulates finance, which would culminate in the 2008 [financial crash](#) and in the still-lingering [euro debacle](#).

The major factors which have affected Africa, including Ethiopia now, and thus set the new neoliberal and neocolonial environments for inter-ethnic conflicts can briefly be enumerated as follows:

- it works toward economic globalization (*globalization is usually defined as an increase in the volume of cross-border economic interactions and resource flows*), which accelerated thanks to free flows of finance and to a new, more ambitious type of trade agreement. Financialisation and globalization have become the most overt manifestations of neoliberalism in today's world. Three kinds of economic interactions have increased substantially in past decades: *merchandise trade flows, foreign direct investment, and cross-border financial investment.* (*The rapid globalization of the world trade, the tightening of loans, the dependence of African countries on private investment, and the non-competitiveness of most African economies*)
- it creates instability on the macroeconomic level by renouncing state counter-cyclical spending and taxation policies, by reducing the effectiveness of automatic stabilizers through shrinking social welfare programs, and by loosening public regulation of the financial sector. This renders the system more vulnerable to major financial crises and depressions. Moreover, the increasingly critical role in African economies played by the neoliberal financial institutions (world bank and IMF in particular) and the extensive political conditionality which they and the entire donor community impose, without the will of the citizens, on African countries – "democratizations and good governance" and all the institutions associated with the kind of democracy demanded by the neoliberals.
- it tends to intensify class conflict, which can potentially discourage capitalist investment. While Social Democratic parties have come to office in several European countries recently, they no longer represent a threat of even significant modification of capitalism, much less the specter of replacing capitalism with an alternative socialist system. The regulationist state was always partly a response to the fear of socialism, a point illustrated by the emergence of the first major regulationist state of the era of mature capitalism in Germany in the late 19th century, in response to the world's first major socialist movement. As the threat coming from socialist movements in the industrialized capitalist countries has receded, so too has the incentive to retain the regulationist state.
- the effects of ethnically structured regimes resulted in dramatic increase in poverty in both the urban and rural areas, and the increase in population have led to heightening of tension and conflicts because of competition over resources such as cultivating and grazing land, water, etc.

Inter-ethnic conflict and neoliberalism

One infers from the above, the spread of "**faux pas democracy and markets**" in the 1990s was accompanied by a surge in ethnic instability and violence. The most visible cases were the breakup of Yugoslavia, leading to genocides in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, and the mid-decade Rwanda genocide. In particular, one calls attention to the phenomenon of market-dominant mono-ethnic government, ethnic groups that enjoy disproportionate success in entrepreneurship and capital accumulation. Given this general phenomenon, democracy and economic liberalization may exacerbate ethnic tension. Ethnic groups come into conflict when they compete over resources, and modernization can exacerbate this competition for at least two reasons.

- First, the rise of the mercenary mono-ethnic regime, with its control over resources, creates a new locus for conflict as groups try to capture the state (as has been accomplished by TPLF and OLF-Abiy regimes).
- Second, expanded economic opportunities provide possibilities for upward social mobility, sometimes leading to new barriers to **groups and rising inequality**. The easy availability and accessibility of small arms from international arms dealers, neighbor governments like Eritrea and Arab Emirates, as well as from rebellious Queerro groups (these are linked to the ruling party-the Oromo Democratic Party).

"The great evils of human history', said Rawls, 'follow from political injustice'. If the rise of inter- ethnic conflict has gone hand in hand with the decline of democracy in Asia and Africa', then its amelioration is properly an issue of democratic rights."

Poverty and conflict are linked. Poverty increases a country's propensity toward conflict and conflict undermines development and recovery from poverty. The two are mutually reinforcing and both must be dealt with if either is to succeed. Clearly to build a sustainable peace we must understand the factors that lead to conflict in the first place and address them.

Inter-ethnic conflict causation and the significance of socio-economic disparities: acquisitiveness versus injustice dichotomy is the crux of the problem

Social revolutionaries and concerned elites always inherently argue that it is principally **acquisitiveness** motivated the OLF-TPLF economic opportunity that explains the bloody inter-ethnic conflict, i.e. these voracious insurgents pursue conflict for economic gain and in countries, like our own, with significant **plunderable** natural resources (capital city or cities resources, annexing wide ranges of lands, etc) are at a high risk of inter-ethnic conflict. For **injustice** accounts of conflict socio-economic and socio-political factors are of central importance.

Other factors such as **lack of political rights, government corruption and incompetence** may also be involved.

1. it is not simply economic growth that is required for peace but a specific type of growth. Inequitable growth can exacerbate inter-group tensions and fuel violent conflict. Peace-building policy should aim to reduce not widen socio-economic disparities. With its focus on raw economic growth neoliberal peacebuilding ignores a key aspect of conflict causation – socio-economic disparities. the conflict cannot properly be understood without reference to the marginalization of the country’s youth following decades of poor governance, corruption, and economic stagnation, which left a generation of people with little hope or prospects for the future.
2. **“Youth employment is central to all crises in this country, there is so much unemployment, marginalization, so many school dropouts; and all these factors helped fuel the inter-ethnic conflict in the first place.**
3. “the recent disturbances by Queero-Abiy government has the potential to evolve into a full-blown civil war with internal displacement already in its peak.
4. the huge numbers of unemployed or underemployed youth with limited or no hope for a better future coupled with spiraling food prices, the reductions in remittances and other effects of the global financial downturn, all contribute to a climate in which political violence could easily have thrived.”

A durable peace is defined as one which not only creates a cessation of direct collective violence, but also addresses and removes the structural causes of violence. If we strip peace-building down to its most fundamental objectives, we can identify two principal elements; firstly to prevent an immediate relapse into war and secondly to construct a self-sustaining, long-term peace. Here we are principally concerned with the latter, that is, terms a ‘positive peace’ – removing the underlying causes of conflict. To construct a durable (or ‘positive’) peace one must identify the root causes of the conflict areas which must be dealt with – **political/constitutional incapacity, economic/social debilitation and psycho/social trauma**. Our priority of focal points are how socio-economic and socio-political factors contribute to inter-ethnic conflict and whether contemporary approaches to peace-building adequately address these factors.

This is a particularly important area for study, not only because of the high number of peace-building operations that are currently active or because of the widespread poverty and inequality in the contemporary Ethiopia, but also because there has been a notable lack of scholarly/elite attention to the theoretical underpinnings of fundamental regime change from **ethno-centrism** (a testament to the dominance of the neoliberal ideology) to **all-inclusive transitional democratic government**.

Clearly to build a sustainable peace we must understand the factors that lead to conflict in the first place and address them. Consequently, in order to comprehend how post-conflict economic development can facilitate peace we must first understand how socio-economic factors can contribute to conflict. Once we understand if and how economic factors might be involved in causing conflict, we can assess the utility of post-conflict economic policy in promoting a lasting peace. Chapter one draws attention to the relevance of socio-economic issues in conflict causation – highlighting the importance of relative disparities between groups (i.e. inequality) and introducing a number of socioeconomic theories of conflict causation to explain the causal mechanism by which socioeconomic and socio-political injustice/ grievances can trigger collective violence.

Over viewing the logic behind the approach, how it is applied, and the characteristic outcomes of neoliberal economic policies for society and economy in countries that have applied neoliberal reforms everywhere in the world. It is argued that neoliberal reforms have consistently failed to address issues of poverty and inequality and can have destabilizing effects on society to which post-conflict societies are particularly vulnerable.

Have neoliberal reforms been at all successful in addressing underlying socio-economic injustices? Have they been conducive to a durable peace?

However, as chapters two and three demonstrated the current neoliberal guided approach to economic policy for peace-building is far from well suited to performing this task. The neoliberal economic approach promotes a type of economic growth that is highly inequitable. In the short run the poorest in society bear the brunt of the social costs of neoliberal reforms and even in the longer-term inequality remains high and effects on poverty reduction questionable. Furthermore because of its emphasis on macroeconomic stability and fiscal austerity the approach provides no incentive and even restricts the ability of governments to address underlying socio-economic imbalances.

The current neoliberal approach oversimplifies the relationship between poverty and conflict and growth and peace. It is not simply that poverty is associated with conflict and economic growth is associated with peace. We must understand how poverty is conducive to conflict in order to understand how post-conflict economic development can contribute to peace. It is a specific type of poverty which increases a country's tendency toward conflict and consequently it is a specific type of post-conflict development which is required to build a sustainable peace – where issues of socio-economic injustices are concerned equitable growth is the most important thing. A standardized one size fits all approach designed to bring macroeconomic stability and general economic growth (along neo-liberal lines with all its associated inequalities and hardships) is very often not enough to address socio-economic inequalities and can place a severe strain on post-conflict peace building efforts.

Good institutions reduce ethnic conflict because they reduce structural injustices and accommodate shifting identities, ethnic or otherwise, not because ethnicity is a special form of contentious politics. The concept of ethnic inter-ethnic conflict, then, turns out to be merely a holding pen for a herd of disparate descriptive events. It has become, to use Huntington's criticism of another concept, **'a signal for scholarly preferences rather than a tool for analytical purposes**. As such it is falling outside the realm of social science, or at least that part which aspires to some level of generality.

Anticipated real social change: look for strategic ways to address the root causes of conflict

Social revolutionaries and concerned elites must develop strategies and policies to deal with the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts and to have effective and efficient mechanisms to deal with and resolve conflicts that caused so many lives. Central to this concept is the acknowledgement of cultural diversity within a framework of national unity. Since there has been no elite or regime efforts to develop consciousness of national unity but inter-ethnic conflict perpetrators, serious divisive tendencies have led to existing genocide, to disintegration of countries or to catastrophic civil wars. Some of the prelude's strategies include, but not limited to:

I. Socio-economic and nation building strategies

- focusing on local initiatives through development approaches , that is community reintegration and grassroots mobilisation building a culture of peace. Several projects should be implemented to focus on conflict transformation through inter-ethnic initiatives and community peace-building, meeting basic needs and improving economic conditions leads to poverty reduction, justice, and freedom for all
- reintegration of displaced people to live in relative harmony with their neighbours, will contribute to security and economic recovery, not muddled strategies of change
- addressing horizontal inequalities between ethnic groups and geographic regions
- peace is secured by establishing stable/reliable institutions that guarantee democracy, equity, justice, and fair allocation of resources
- promotion of peace by mobilising grassroots groups to either oppose inter-ethnic conflict or to change public attitudes and build greater tolerance in society for better tomorrow for the generation to come economic action (trade sanctions) can alter political commitment to peace. A free market economy is important in the economic development of a country. However, it is now clearly acknowledged that the economy should not be allowed to generate serious poverty and that policies and affirmative action programmes must be developed to minimise and

reduce poverty. And poverty is an important cause of conflict. Similarly, it is equally important that economic resources and development funds should be evenly distributed between the regions and groups in the country. Clear and serious uneven distribution of economic resources between regions and ethnic groups is known to have led to conflict, sometime to serious secessionist rebellion.

II. Regime change: Transitional people's democratic government

There is a need to develop a political system whose rules allow competition for power and which guarantee the possibility of alternate groups achieving power within a reasonable period of time. There must be a transitional people's democratic system that should allow large numbers and groups to be involved in the selection/election of decision-makers at different levels of the power structure. Several important principles are absolutely critical to such a transitional people's democratic system:

1. the *establishment of transitional people's democratic government is a necessary precursor for the framework of the ground-up democratic state with democratic institutions*. The principles of good and democratic governance must be fully implemented, i.e., transparency, accountability, independent judiciary and complete, civilian control of the military; and accumulation of wealth through the use of state institutions must be totally forbidden. Extensive involvement of indigenous independent civil society groups in national and local affairs especially in the monitoring of policy implementation and service delivery.
2. **democratic federalism: coming-together** (The United States [with demos-constraining, and Brazil is the most demos-constraining federation in the world], Switzerland, and Australia are examples of such states), **holding-together** (India [demos-enabling], Belgium, and Spain as examples of "**holding-together**" federalism.), federalism that should be considered to be **constitutionally symmetrical**. **By contrast, asymmetrical arrangements that grant different competencies and group-specific rights to some states** (this needs to be carefully studied by experts for its implementation in Ethiopia). There is also **putting-together** federalism (The USSR was an example of this type of federalism.) One has to ask: How are **democratic federal** systems actually formed?

{Remarks on federalism

Constitution, as discussed above, establishes a form of symmetrical federalism, which is bolstered by a certain normative disinclination on the part of Americans to accept the concept of collective rights. With the exception of Switzerland (where none of the political parties strictly represents any one linguistic or religious group), all of the multinational democracies are constitutionally asymmetrical: In order to hold the multinational polity together, they assign different linguistic, cultural, and legal competences to different states. Under the symmetrical American model, many of the things that are most essential in a multinational context cannot be accomplished. With the possible exception of the special case of Switzerland, all federations that are constitutionally symmetrical--Austria, Germany, Australia, the United States, Argentina, and Brazil--are mono-national. India, Belgium, Canada, and Spain are multinational, and their federations are all asymmetrical. (The Russian Federation is also asymmetrical, but, constitutionally, it does not yet work as a democratic federation.)}

Centripetal versus centrifugal force

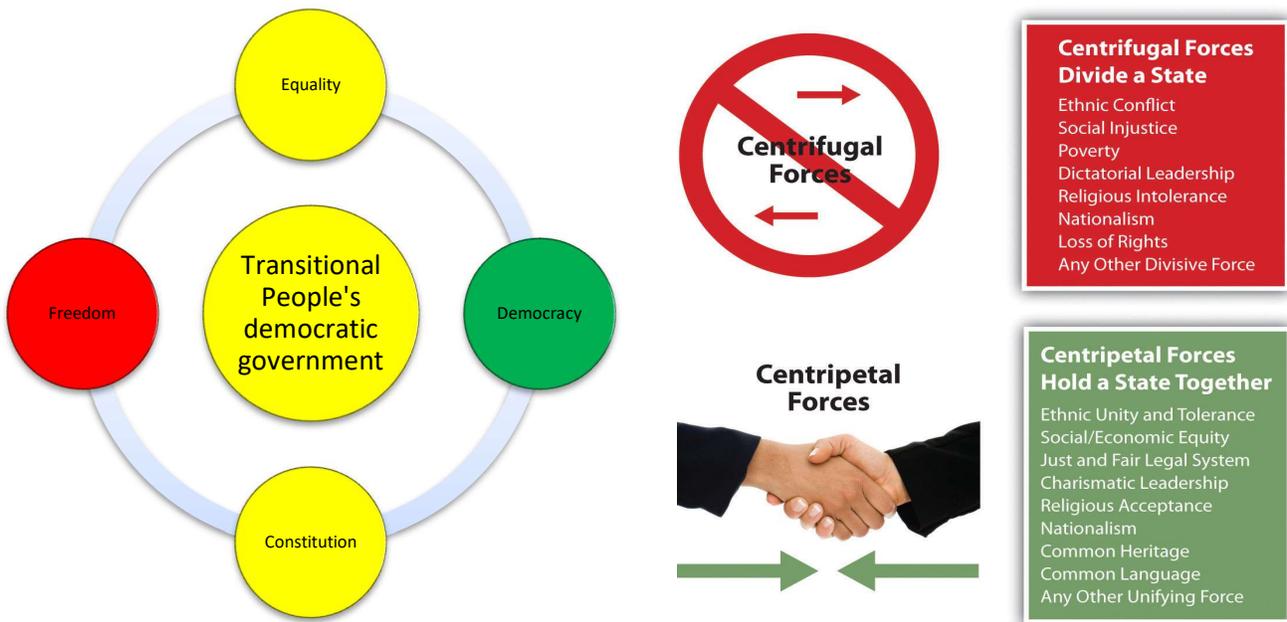
Centripetal forces: Unification

Our country today faces a myriad of issues that threaten to divide its citizen, as orchestrated by Abiy- Woyane and archaically/primitively hatched elites. Divisions are a reality in our country, but there are also forces that unite our country and strengthen the populace because of a strong love of and loyalty to their country. Any country must have centripetal forces (the force of unity) of greater magnitude than the centrifugal forces (the force of disunity). When the centripetal forces dominate a country, it will stand firm in the face of global challenges and struggles, as well as conflicts within their borders. National institutions and symbols can also rally a country together in spite of division. Nationalism, or the strong love of and loyalty to one's country, is also a powerful centripetal force and can create solidarity among the populace. A popular way of showing national identity is through the use of icons and expressions, depicted in flags, national anthems, and sports teams. Centripetal

forces in the economic dimension unite a country by ensuring the population that there are sufficient resources to support the long-term stability of the state.

Centrifugal forces: Balkanization

Centrifugal forces, in contrast to centripetal forces, are forces or attitudes that tend to divide a state. Centrifugal forces originate in the same dimensions as centripetal forces, but the forces pull the population apart instead of bringing it together. To survive as state, there must be centripetal forces of greater than the centrifugal force in a state. If these centrifugal forces reach a critical stage, it can lead to **Balkanization**, which is the process where a state breaks down through struggles among ethnic groups. Centrifugal forces alter and weaken a state by disrupting the internal order of the country. Economic centrifugal forces has already created inequality and unheard and untold internal displacement in the country. Furthermore, ethnic political forces have divided the unity of the ethnic primordial historical relations. Moreover, citizens do not trust the central government, disagree with its political ideology of ethnic cleavage, where non-Oromo ethnic groups are mistreated or underrepresented. This centrifugal force can lead to poor relationships between the majority and minority groups and even to armed conflict or civil war. The Abiy-Queerro regime, supported by Cohen of USA and Arab Emirates, is a catalyst that speeds up balkanization of our Ethiopia. The renegade elites are auxiliary wind whirl turbines in speeding up the inter-ethnic conflict as disguised genocidal daggers (mencha) that slaughtered citizens.



- **Citizens can keep the historical Ethiopia in unison!**
- **If the root causes of genocide revolve around inequalities between identity groups, preventing genocide begins with ensuring that all groups within society enjoy the rights and dignity of belonging as equal citizens!**
- **Early prevention therefore becomes a challenge of good governance and equitable management of diversity. That means eliminating gross political and economic inequalities and promoting a common sense of belonging on equal footing is a sin qua non for democratic transition. Transitional people's democratic government can stop ethnic cleansing and balkanization!**
- **Technocratic elite cohesion and consensus are crucial variables in the policy-making process to create a unified Ethiopia not Balkanization! Needs critical thinking-not phrase mongering or higgledy-piggledy!**