



## Plus ça change plus c'est la même chose [Failed state]

[Ademe Bilal]

*Do not catch a tiger by its tail, but if you do, then do not let it go = Woyane's ethnic politics must be rooted out altogether. Ethiopian dictum]*

ሀቀኛና ያወቅንውን ታሪክ በሚገባ ለማቅረብ ብዙ ጊዜ ብንጥርም አውቆ የተኛን ሰው ሆነው ያንኑ የገለጫ ሀሰት የሚዘባርቁትን ማረም ባለመቻላችን እንደ ሞኝ ልቅሶ መልሶ መልሶ ሀቁን ለማስረዳት መጣሩ ግዴታችን ሆኖ ይገኛል! [ሀማ ቱማ]

### Prologue

We take the title for this article from the writer Jean -Baptist Alphonse Karr who captivated the situation with the world-weary resignation over a hundred fifty years ago. The central argument the article is that this change has taken place for the most part in the shadows instead of being publicized and debated as observed in Ethiopia's immutable social change of No change. Underpinning this social construct, activity in Ethiopia today is predominantly ethnical with neoliberal transactional ideology and in an approach that differs little from the equivalent oppressive predecessors and, as a result, offers little as a transformative space for democracy, equality, freedom, and social justice. Moreover, this trend has led to an overwhelming feeling of *malaise* in our society and to a crisis of political representation. The moral triumphs and failures of leaders carry a greater weight and volume than those of non-leaders. In leadership we see morality and immorality magnified. Leaders are human, that is their strength and their weakness. As humans, they are unpredictable creatures, capable of extraordinary kindness as that of the 60<sup>th</sup> and 70<sup>th</sup> Martyrs (they have been wise, generous, caring,) and cruelty as that of the subsequent aristocratic leaders ( they are foolish, reckless, arrogant, totalitarian dictators and fascists). As the philosopher Immanuel Kant notes: "...from such **warped wood as is manmade, nothing straight can be fashioned.**" The martyr's have been democratic and have aspired to promote the greatest good, while the subsequent triplets (Military Junta- TPLF-OLF) have been and are autocrats who aim to maximize their own vision of the kleptocrats who only care about themselves and their relatives and cronies.

Antecedently existing Ethiopian political system has demonstrated the failing of public trust in government and the weakness of the state further enforce sub-national concordant politics that tend to be ethnically based and exclusive, demeaning, and thus, violate the core of public ethics, that is, the requirement for impartiality and social justice. There is a horrible sense of *déjà vu* about the current ethnically structured regime: it is **Plus ça change plus c'est la même chose**, that is social reformist changes do not influence objective reality on a deeper level other than to consolidate the unheard and untold present state of dehumanization. The impetus questions this invites is why this narrative has endured for

so long and why still resonate with us! One need to understand better the complex historical, economic and social circumstances and transitional political arrangements in Ethiopia then and Ethiopia today. This is the benchmark! we need to invest more in reflective civic and professional ethics education that adopts a balanced view between objective political realism and subjective idealism as the starting point for institutional reforms as well as for long term demeanor and performance innovation.

### **In search of the objective framework of deep-seated social change [The Martyrs had it all!]**

The idealistic ethnic monger approach to political and leadership ethics consequently has failed to distinguish descriptive and prescriptive elements of governance and could/can easily be used to justify the dirty little secret of those in power. This pattern is acclimatized as a vicious circle of unjust and biased distribution of power and resources. The reformist opportunists and MEDEMER (combine two into one=fuse killers innocents in one box) trend, to which the majority of the ill-educated elites turned, deprived the Martyrs and the revolutionary EPRP of the opportunity and demoralized the social democratic consciousness by vulgarizing the principles, by advocating the theory of the blunting of social contradictions, by declaring the idea of the social revolution and of **the all-inclusive transitional people's democratic government** to be absurd, by reducing the working citizenries' movement and social justice to narrow ethnocentrism and to a realistic struggle for petty, gradual reform. As this reckless trend has been *déjà vu*, citizens must resort to well-behaved and self-consistent social change: **owning the naturally endowed popular power and establish their own democratic government *per se*.**

### **Then/so what is to be buttoned up?**

Naturally, under such circumstances the rupture was necessary: social upheaval to achieve humanity and empowerment of social justice. Most definitions of democracy now include the notion of respect for basic civil liberties: freedom of the press, freedom of speech, the right to habeas corpus, etc. This dimension is important because a regime can hold competitive elections with broad participation, yet in the absence of guarantees of civil liberties, it is not unequivocally democratic.

State transition is the interval between one political regime and another: transitions are delimited, on the one side, by the launching of the process of dissolution of an authoritarian regime and, on the other, by the installation of some form of democracy, the return to some form of authoritarian rule, or the emergence of a revolutionary alternative. The EPRP is adherent to the trend of the provisional people's democratic government as the preferred terminus *ad quem*. To achieve the inevitable objectives:

1. **popular mobilization and collective action:** to conduct revolutionary activities, the social revolutionaries must be organized with the aimed at destroying all vestiges of a society that are ethnically structured and adherent of neo-liberalists revolutionary activities consisted of undermining the half-backed ethnic's regime and bringing people to the cause through education: objective reality reaffirms that all of the past regime change happened through social revolutionary transition processes where a panoply of popular organizations struggled for the dissolution/dissipation of authoritarian governments and on behalf of establishing all-inclusive transitional democratic state. In organized social revolutions, the people sees itself as a historically

determined category, changing circumstances, which is not to be reduced to a pre-determined privileged classes nor to a collections of universally determined identities. And its internal structure as a hegemonic system includes articulation between part(y)ies and social movements and leaves no room for 'choosing' between one or another form of collective action.

2. **centralization**: the centralization of the more secret functions in an organization of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and the quality of the activity of a large number of other organizations intended for wide membership and which, therefore, can be as loose and public as possible, for example, trade unions, workers' circles for self education and the reading of illegal literature, and the social democrats and also democratic circles for all other sections of the population.
3. **citizen's social revolution**: exclusive focus on elite actors will not do for this reason; the efforts of popular sectors to redefine the political scene are also important. Labor unions, peasant groups, neighborhood and women associations, mosques, military institutions, and church groups must play prominent parts in the struggles that will end authoritarian rule. Without some initial cracks in the authoritarian coalitions, their impact is limited, but once such cracks appear, they bolster the efforts to oust autocratic governments: democratization involves a crucial component of mobilization and organization of large numbers of individuals. Social revolution for popular hegemony is impossible without organized and principled political party: exemplary people's democratic and revolutionary party hitherto existing in our country is the EPRP. **Note that popular hegemony = Transitional people's democratic regime**: *not the path leading to the dictatorship of the mono-ethnic regime or any single party system but to be represented on the council of state/national assembly within the transitionally governing people's democratic state*
4. **commitment of political elites**: while commitment of political elites and parties to democracy is a necessary condition if democracy is to thrive in the medium term, it is not a sufficient condition for stable democracy. It is also essential that elites create institutions that represent interests in society and exercise moderating power over those interests. Societal polarization makes this process more difficult; moderation does not depend exclusively on the will and skill of political elites. Nevertheless, commitment to democracy helps make possible the creation of effective democratic institutions, and it also generates a legitimacy that can help new democracies withstand less-than-excellent policy performances.
5. **democratic principles**: Ideology, values, and expectations affect how citizens evaluate public policy performance: mass organizations and revolutionary party have to put forward their own answers, thus enriching and giving concrete content to the revolutionary project and translating the idea of popular power into reality. Workers, peasants, and displaced people are demanding peace, equality for all, and country to inhabit, and this is taking place within an irreversible process of national consolidation in the context of an authentic social and political revolutionary transformation praxis. Support of youth and women participation in the transition to democracy through awareness-raising on economic, social and political rights with the aim of achieving equal citizenship which can be realized through the formation of the transitional people's government
6. **being recognizant of popular hegemony**: the integration of the minorities and majorities under the direction of the social revolution for a common goal is a necessary precursor. The conjectural situation, through a dialectical relation between revolutionary party and mass organizations

determines which identities will be developed, at what speed and in which direction. The central elements of this project are the mass organizations and their dialectical relations with the EPRP's guiding principle and with any sect of the country who believe in one Ethiopia and the establishment of the transitional people's democratic government. These relations have to be mediated and facilitated through revolutionaries and all citizens in the processes of their struggle. following experienced, well-behaved, and self-consistent vanguard party lines: *the EPRP has already structured the process and the modus operandi of all-inclusive transitional people's democratic government depicted in Democracia Volume 43 # # 4.*

The electoral system will be based on universal suffrage, electoral competition among political parties and pluralism through a system of proportional representation. Moreover, it answers the question which may arise: how will the social movements be represented in these political structures? Or rather, which other structures must be created in order to ensure that some of these social forces will be able to participate in the political process at the level of government? With a response of that of aftermath political parties and social movements are both represented on the council of state/general assembly-foundation of the transitional people's democratic government. The institutional functionaries in the transitional people's representatives from all citizens are synthesizing demands of citizens and integrating them into a national project which, in turn, involves many dimensions which do not take the form of identities and of social movements. It is flexible in incorporating another institutional alternative that might be considered, as needed by its democratic character where issues of national significance will be debated and where the principal social forces of the country can express their points of view. Regarding social revolutionaries' strategic plan for social change, the following premises will help initiate it:

- I. to take absolute power in order to revolutionize the economic and social system as the only way of resolving fundamental popular grievances
- II. to be recognizant of the absolute necessity of working with a revolutionary vanguard party if you are serious about taking power and not just playing with the phrase; (it shouldn't be " የፈረ ቡትር ሆይ ይቀትር.")
- III. that a revolutionary party can only be built by:
  - a. *unceasing ideological struggle*
  - b. *strict discipline*
  - c. *organized activity of every member*
  - d. *merciless self-criticism*
- IV. to understand the importance of people's revolutionary party that will genuinely guide/instruct the revolution to final victory. A revolutionary party becomes historically necessary and justified when the contradictions and antagonisms of a particular society have created a mass social force whose felt needs cannot be satisfied by reform but only by a revolution which takes power away from those in power. In addition to mobilizing this mass social force around its own grievances, the revolutionary party must then be ready to fulfill two additional tasks:
  - a. *it must be able to project the vision of a new society which will solve these grievances by destroying the system that has created the domination of man over man, thus making life more human for everybody*

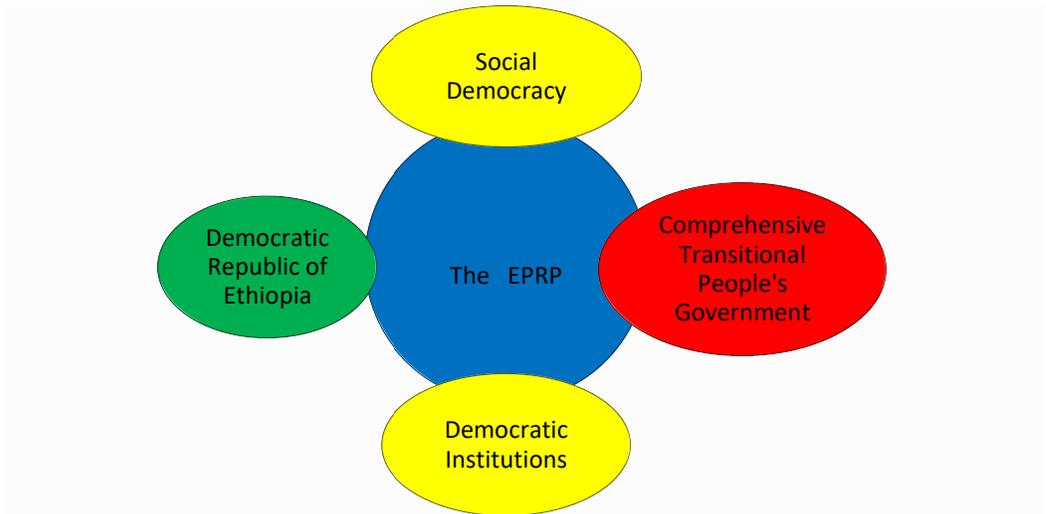
b. it must have developed cadres of leaders with whom the masses can identify, and programs of struggle that will take the masses stage by stage to ever higher level so political struggle, political consciousness, and actual control of facets (or bases) of power.

- V. to acknowledge the reality that the revolutionary vanguard party serves the function of escalating the vision and leading the masses from a sense of grievance or unsatisfied wants to an awareness of social needs, or what is necessary to remedy their grievances. At this, when the masses are already in motion, any party or organization which simply keeps them in a stage, when the masses are already in motion, any party or organization which simply keeps them in a high state of agitation, confrontation, or mobilization, is not a revolutionary party, no matter what its claims. A revolutionary vanguard party cannot limit itself to the demands of the masses; it begins to make demands upon the masses themselves to exert greater power and greater responsibility.
- VI. to realize the importance of revolutionary people's democratic party during the spontaneous uprising of the masses, the more widespread the movement becomes, so much the more rapidly grows the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political, and organizational work" of the revolutionary leadership, the EPRP reiterated. At this point social revolution without revolutionary vision becomes as dangerous as theory without practice. The martyr's of the EPRP its current members warned those who passively adapted themselves to spontaneity of tailing or degrading themselves to the level of the masses instead of raising the masses to a higher political and social level with the goal of establishing the transitional people's democratic government. They are purely opportunists and allies of the neo-liberal proponents: these are politically ignorant renegades or the educated-uneducated vacillating elites(defectors of the EPRP and vegetated sycophants).

### The aborted social revolutionary journey of the 60th-70th Martyrs

The inherent principle of the Martyrs of the 60th-70th to lay down the framework of **social democratic system**, a that would call for the democratically elected to use the public sector to promote greater equality and opportunity for all Ethiopian citizenries. The objectives of this kind of paradigm shift (toward a system closer to that of Nordic countries) of a system:

- will allow decisions making for the good of all, with the members of society holding equal access to that nation's resources and social services. It holds major institutions, such as banks and corporations, accountable for decisions and actions that impact the society, is a major theme, and so is granting the overwhelming majorities/the downtrodden working masses more of a voice in executive decision-making processes
- is typically associated with robust, tax-financed welfare states that provide a range of inclusive government programs to promote greater equality and opportunity. Those programs include universal health care, free or more financially- attainable education, child care, job training, and pensions. Note that welfare here means general social welfare in which all are included, not the 'public assistance for the poor that's associated with the word welfare in the U.S. and Canada. Social democracies pay for public health care and other programs with what's called social insurance.
- is characterized by:
  - fundamental rights in the social and economic realms;
  - a constitution of society that lives up to these fundamental rights (both formally and in practice);
  - negative and positive civil rights and liberties which both have formal validity and are implemented in practice



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Dogmatism and empiricism alike are subjectivism, each originating from an opposite pole of subjectivist trends!

Theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice creeps in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary transformative praxis!

Transitional people's democratic government is the sole trajectory that will lead to a new society where justice and liberty will be germinated if the temperature of social revolution is warm enough to speed it [Second Law of Thermodynamics]!

Blind support to authority is pure opportunism backed by dogmatism and ignorance!

Victory for the overwhelming majorities and the unity of Ethiopia as one nation!

All-inclusive transitional people's government is deemed centripetal force for unified Ethiopia versus balkanizing centrifugal force!

*In the first place, God made idiots. That was for practice. Then he created ethnomania!*

The Nile River has no resting place it travels around carrying a log = Abiy's ethnic politics is unfounded reality but floating and hovering in the air as a servitude of neoliberals!