



# Finote Ethio-Canadian Information Centre In Toronto

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E-mail: [torontofinote@gmail.com](mailto:torontofinote@gmail.com)



## What is to be done? Wither Ethiopian social revolution? [Read this article for critical thinking!]

"Provisional people's democratic government is a system of interactions and accountability between the transitional government and citizens ." [The 60<sup>th</sup> revolutionary martyrs]

"Transition through regime dissolution/collapse (the authoritarian regime collapses) not transition through transaction (the authoritarian regime chooses to continue opening devious/circuitous political system)." [The 60<sup>th</sup> revolutionary martyrs]

Inspiring Words : Albert Einstein

When asked what he wished to become, as a young man, Nobel Laureate Albert Einstein said,

- "I want to become a useful person, not a successful person."
- Asked what he meant by it, the eminent physicist replied,
- "A successful person is one who takes from society more than what he gives it."
- A useful person is one who gives the society more than what he takes from it."

Key-words: Liberalization, democratization, provisional all-inclusive government, social organization, social revolution, EPRP, Democracia, methodology

### Prologue

A useful beginning point for discussion is the distinction between liberalization and democratization. Political **liberalization** implies an easing of repression and extension of civil liberties within an authoritarian regime, whereas a transition to democracy implies a change of regimes. **Democratization** has been used in different ways, but as used here it refers to a movement toward democracy, that is, toward a different political regime. In recent transitions, this movement has occurred through an expansion of political contestation (competition); in most

Northern European cases, it occurred primarily through an expansion of participation in politics that already had some competition. **All-inclusive transitional democratic government can give any revolutionary party purpose, direction, and legitimacy.** Liberalization is mostly aborted and leads to renewed repression, and successful transitions to democracy are usually characterized by constant vicissitudes: the rise of the old tyrants ostentatious behavior in soothing the public anger. Thus although liberalization usually begins with a split within the authoritarian elite, this does not mean that democratization is a product of these elite (déjà vu historical reality in Ethiopia: authoritarian leaders (*Mengistu Hailemariam, Melesse Zenawi, and Abiy Ahmed*) have had always vast advantages in distributing patronage and in controlling and in gaining access to publicity, but they never succeed in structuring a viable democratic political party). The distinction between these two concepts is essential; it calls attention to the value of democracy as opposed to changes within authoritarian rule, and to the fundamental difference between the two.

Democracy must meet three basic procedural criteria:

- Competitive elections must be the principal route to political office. There must be competitive popular elections for the legislature and there usually are for the president as well in a presidential regime. Fraud and coercion may not determine the outcome of democratic elections: the essential features of many transitions to democracy: *they involve a dynamic interaction between elites and masses.*
- There must be broad adult citizenship. In recent decades, this has meant nearly universal citizenship. Almost all countries have some exclusions—criminals, the insane, military personnel, and the illiterate are often among them. The illiterate, however, may be so numerous that their exclusion undermines the notion of generalized adult suffrage. It is impossible to establish an exact threshold at which exclusions mean that a regime is no longer democratic, in part because the tolerance for exclusions has diminished over time provided the regime democratic not autocratic or monoethnic. Though in present Ethiopia authoritarian elites agree with the current emphasis on splits within authoritarian coalitions as a starting point in processes of political liberalization, exclusive attention to internal tensions can lead to neglecting the **impact of opposition actors in general, including mass mobilization.**
- Democracies necessarily provide guarantees of traditional civil liberties for all; minority rights must be protected. It can be argued that throughout the region, there will be emerged formal, constitutional democracies, replete with comparatively honest and open elections, active party competition, and a relatively uncensored press. For democratic institution to flourish, there must be a framework of all-inclusive transition through regime defeat: **the authoritarian regime collapses**

## So what is to what be done to achieve the goal/mission of all-inclusive people's democratic transitional government?

### Methodology

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*.**

- **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.
- **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.
- **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
- **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.
- **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
- **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:**

- a. to take absolute power in order to revolutionize the economic and social system as the only way of resolving fundamental popular grievances
- b. 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;
- c. that a revolutionary party can only be built by:
  - unceasing ideological struggle
  - strict discipline
  - organized activity of every member
  - merciless self-criticism
- d. 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:
  - 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
  - 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.
- e. 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.
- f. 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).



***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!***