

## **PREFACE**

Ethiopia is an ancient land with a geography that has changed in size through the centuries. Likewise the languages people speak had also changed over time. The earliest written language, the Ge'ez, is now spoken only by those who learn to do so, and not by any particular ethnic group of Ethiopians. By 1990, over eighty languages and dialects are spoken in Ethiopia.

Since language propagates over the vernacular of a people, and due to intermarriage of people, it is difficult to ascertain the ethnic origin of an Ethiopian or to distinguish between those of ancient origins and others who immigrated to Ethiopia in the medieval period (Appendix 1). Neither is it possible to identify the ethnic origin of an individual based on the given name of the individual (Appendix 2). Yet, recent Ethiopian dictators have attempted to divide Ethiopians into ethnic-groups (e.g., ethnic-Tigreyns) on the basis of the language people speak, and against the custom, culture and tradition of the country. Also, hired hands and/or alien propagandists work to foster disunity (Appendix 3).

Ethiopians had their own brand of governments throughout history. They used to rule lands across the Red Sea in the early Christian era. From AD 200 to 550 Ethiopia was among the four powers of the ambient world. The most enduring form of Ethiopian government is monarchy, and a Christian kingdom was established since the crown accepted Christianity in the early AD 4th Century. The monarchs were absolute rulers though their subjects had struggled to get their rights respected notably in the 15th

century. In the 17th century, an Ethiopian philosopher had expounded in his "hateta" that God is revealed through reason, and that morality is to be evaluated by "the light of our will" and not necessarily from edicts of organized religion. The contributions of the 15th century reformers and that of the 17th century philosophers are incorporated in the text of this book.

The last Monarch, Emperor Haile Selassie, gave a constitution by which his subjects might be ruled. He also established the first parliament in Ethiopian history. He brought about many other changes that weakened the traditional support system to the monarchic governance. Yet, he did not establish nor did he permit the establishment of political parties. Consequently, Ethiopia was available for the taking by Ethiopian organized groups and for deleterious interference by alien governments. In 1953, General Mengistu Neway, head of Emperor Haile Selassie's bodyguard, staged a coup. It failed to unseat the monarch, but it spawned revolutionary fervor across cities and among the educated. In the 1960's university students took a great role in attempting to unseat the monarch. The majority of these students pursued socialism as their political movement, and spread a socialist fervor among pre-college students and city dwellers.

The revolutionaries knew what they did not want. However, they did not succeed in getting what they wanted. They demonized monarchic rule and as a strategy to dislodge monarchic rule from Ethiopia they disdained all achievements gained until then by Ethiopians. They figuratively turned Ethiopia into an orphan available for the taking by an organized military power. Consequently, the

military took over the leadership and a military committee called the Derg came to power in 1974. Major Mengistu Hailemariam (later Colonel) eventually took charge of the Derg, and conditions worsened as student activists organized into pan-Ethiopian parties called the EPRP (Ethiopian peoples Revolutionary Party) and the Meison (All Ethiopian Socialist Movement). These parties battled against each other, with Meison later joining the Derg. The net result of the infighting was a strengthening of a secessionist party called the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF or Sha'abya). The political conditions of Ethiopia worsened when an ethnic-centered party was organized by the EPLF to represent the Tigrean ethnic-group from Tigrey Province. The party was called the TPLF (Tigrean People Liberation Front).

Both the TPLF and EPLF are controlled by ethnic Tigrean Ethiopians. Some Tigrean intellectuals of Eritrea and Tigrey provinces were apparently busy translating to the language of the Tigrean (Tigrigna) a lengthy communist document of North Korean origin, itself modified from work by Mao Tse-Tung, called Revolutionary Democracy. It was over 1000 pages long, and provided the revolutionary program that the TPLF would pursue as a way of enabling the leadership of the TPLF and EPLF to divide Ethiopia into geographical impoverished regions. They reasoned that a divided and impoverished country would not resist if the TPLF gave the coastal and island inhabitants and territories of Ethiopia to the EPLF, the latter headed by Mr. Isaias Afewerki.

The TPLF had organized other parties to which it assigned ethnic names, and had bundled them in a coalition of ethnic

parties called the EPRDF (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front). Its propagandists continually downgraded Ethiopian history, and desire to make the ancient land as though it only existed for 100 years.

Before the TPLF officially gave away coastal Ethiopia to the EPLF, a certain David Mercer from the Open University at London had tutored and educated some of the TPLF leaders (Appendix 4). It appears that his instructions had helped the TPLF to extract a succinct twelve page Revolutionary Democracy instrument, with well-organized goals, objectives, strategies and tactics (see Book 2). While The TPLF leadership might be unique in attending classes while ruling a country, it, however, was not the first to be influenced by aliens (Appendix 5).

The TPLF Revolutionary program served as the necessary magic for the deconstruction of Ethiopia, particularly after the USA pressured Mengistu to be exiled to Zimbabwe days before the victorious EPLF and TPLF ascended to power in Ethiopia in 1991 (Appendix 6). The history of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Ethiopia was mostly detrimental to the citizens (Appendices 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9).

By 1993, the TPLF/EPRDF had given the coastal regions as a gift to the EPLF. Thus, Mr. Isaias Afewerki from Asmara ruled the coastal and maritime territories of Ethiopia. Mr. Meles Zenawi from Addis Ababa ruled landlocked Ethiopia, which he called the FDRE (Federal Republic of Ethiopia) and which he divided into ethnic-centered homelands, called the "Kilil" and later states.

With continued and successful execution, viewed from the TPLF vantage point, of the Revolutionary Democracy instrument the leadership of the TPLF amassed sufficient wealth and was unwilling to share the same with the EPLF leadership. Wars ensued between the EPLF and TPLF/EPRDF, which were dubbed as wars between Eritrea and Ethiopia, and the Tigreyan led parties took inimical posture. That set the stage for Zenawi and Afeworki to go to Algiers and fashion an international boundary within Ethiopia in 2000. Hence these Tigreyan cousins have become champions of placing an international boundary within Ethiopia, making the larger part of Ethiopia landlocked and separating families who live on different parts of the boarder. The American Administration led by President Clinton was only too eager to facilitate such division of Ethiopia. By this act, Zenawi boasts that he has placed Eritrea outside of the political equation that Ethiopians may discuss about.

While Zenawi was busy deconstructing Ethiopia and attempting to erase the long history and culture of the people, Ethiopians both within the country and in the Diaspora had began to organize in opposition to his efforts. In the first decade of his rule, Zenawi did not permit the legal functioning of pan-Ethiopian parties within Ethiopia so that all opposition parties were conditioned to identify their efforts by providing ethnic-names to their parties. In the Diaspora several attempts were made to organize a united front in opposing Zenawi and his TPLF/EPRDF. One among these tried to organize the grassroots in one house called the congress (later it was called the Ethiopian National Congress) and the political parties in another so that the two working in harmony would constitute a united

front (Appendix 10). The effort had influenced the formation of pan-Ethiopian parties and the coalition of such parties in Ethiopia.

As Ethiopians were grappling with the formation of democratic opposition entities, Zenawi was executing his Revolutionary Democracy full steam ahead. By 2005 he felt that he had prepared the political ground so well that he would be voted to power in a fair and free election. Consequently he permitted the opposition to campaign for elections. Zenawi was dead wrong in his belief that he would be elected to power. As indicated by exit poles, the opposition that called itself the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) had won 49 % of the votes, while others including the TPLF/EPRDF and its affiliated parties had received 34%, and UEDF and affiliated parties 17%. However, the TPLF and EPRDF made an erroneous claim and the whole issue became murky. From the 547 seats sought by parties 299 were contested. Of the uncontested votes, Hebrat (UEDF) and others had received 54 seats. Zenawi had not contested at least 109 seats won by Kinijit (CUD), though he denied immunity to these MPs and put them in jail on trumped-up charges. Thus, the tyrannical TPLF/EPRDF party and other allied to it had won only 85 ( $547 - 299 - 54 - 109 = 85$ ) seats that were not contested by the opposition parties and the electorate. However, the TPLF used the Election Board to provide it all the changes it wanted and the contests of the opposition were dismissed outright.

Shortly after the May 15, 2005 election the victorious coalition of four pan-Ethiopian parties, called the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) merged into one party

called the CUDP or Kinijit Party. To cling to power, Zenawi utilized all kinds of maneuvers including jailing the leaders of the CUDP in November 2005, and sentencing them to life in imprisonment on July 16, 2007. However, because of immense support for the CUDP leaders, Zenawi had negotiated with his prisoners on the conditions for their release. Yet, Zenawi had reneged on that negotiation, and ordered his court to pass judgment on July 16, before he released the Kinijit Party (CUDP) leaders from prison on July 20, 2007.

Clearly, though Ethiopians were united and in support of the CUDP, they had not thought through the democratic procedures including the right to protect their votes. The ruling TPLF/EPRDF party does not respect the laws of the land, which it had authored, even though some of the TPLF laws are unjust. Lack of just laws, an independent judiciary, and independent and fair-minded judges characterize the TPLF/EPRDF tyrannical regime.

Justice is deeply rooted in ethics and morality and a respect for human dignity. Accordingly, a discussion on the fundamental precepts of ethics both classical ethics on virtue, universality, deontology, and ethical egoism are described in this book. A less known concept of ethical *yelugnta* is also described. Another part of the book offers a description on rights and social contract of societies. These concepts are crucial to understanding the foundation Democracy.

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Because the emphasis is on Ethiopian democracy, the preface and the appendices in this book, Book 1, provide discussions and description on the Ethiopian condition.

A companion book, Book 2, describes an Ethiopian Democracy Instrument as a solution to problems in Ethiopia. It also provides a copy of a shortened form of the TPLF Revolutionary Democracy Instrument, which was published in the Ethiopian Register in 1996 for all, including the opposition parties, to examine. The TPLF Revolutionary Democracy Instrument is a partisan program. The instrument shows that the TPLF will use the law as a tool to strengthen its cause, that the party will own all land, and that the party will have its own factories and industries. Moreover, it asserts that the military will be subservient to it and that it will not lose power by means of election in which the people might be said to participate. Despite all its efforts, as described in Book 2, the proverbial Rubicon was crossed on May 15, 2005, and the influences of the TPLF will wither away.

Both books have accompanying appendices to augment material described in the text and to provide the reader with a sense of Ethiopian history. Book 1 has eleven appendices, including the famous eight point principles that the Kinijit Party (Appendix 11) used as its condition for attaining democracy in Ethiopia. A list of acronyms and what they mean is provided at the end of the book.

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