

Economic Focus

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Bulletin of the Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA)

The End of Structural Adjustment Program in Ethiopia?

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Editorial

A lot has been said about structural adjustment program in the past decade and a half since it has become the dominant policy prescription to solve the economic ills of underdeveloped countries, particularly of Africa. We thought it was time to visit this issue in the context of Ethiopia. Accordingly, we organized our last round-table discussion on this theme and following that we made the main focus of discussion for this issue of *Economic Focus*. To situate the debate in its larger theoretical context, we asked Dr. Alemayehu to provide a succinct background summary of the debate in the African context and that appears as the lead article in this issue.

Although there is no universal agreement whether this medicine has worked or not, --there are many economists who believe that it was a total failure--even proponents of the policy agree that as a medicine it was rather a bitter and painful one. That is why it was indeed a good news to hear that the program is more or less successfully completed in Ethiopia. An even better news for the Ethiopian economy in general, and the potential victims of the program in particular is that, it was completed without leaving all the nasty social and economic problems it is associated with in other countries in its wake. Since SAPs are premised upon short term pain for long term gain and the short term is over, Ethiopia is now well situated to rip the benefits of structural adjustment if the policy prediction is right. The task ahead is to consolidate the reform program and devise a long term strategy that enables the economy to grow at the anticipated 8% annual growth rate. This roughly summarizes what can be called the optimistic view of SAP in Ethiopia Presented by Ato Neway and Dr. Gooptu in our last round-table discussion.

As can be expected, every one is not as generous about our economy's past performance and up-beat about the future. Dr. Befekadu believes that there is very little to recommend SAP in poor underdeveloped countries such as Ethiopia, where there is neither the needed entrepreneurial capacity nor the necessary institutions, such as well functioning markets, to make a free market program work. He thinks both the premises of the theory and their results in practice have made these programs irrelevant to countries such as Ethiopia. Instead, he advocates a stronger interventionist state similar to the East Asian model. Reflecting the views of the local business community, Ato Berhane questions the validity of the claim that Ethiopia is moving in the direction of a free market economy in the context of seriously weak or weakened but necessary institutions such as the courts and the bureaucracy. He argues that the increasing presence of party affiliated business institutions will not provide the level playing field for all businesses that is necessary to get the maximum benefit from a free market system. A participant in the discussions--Ato Tekalign--goes even further to argue that our only hope to a sustained development is to get completely out of the theoretical framework imposed by the North (a sort of intellectual de-linking) and devise our own all encompassing development strategy that includes not only economic growth but also social and political development with genuine democratization as its center. More or less in line with Dr. Befekadu's argument, Dr. Berhanu visits the issue of the constraints to successful competitiveness by local producers in the context of open and free international competition. He suggests the possibility of introducing a strategy that recognizes these weaknesses and for the government to work jointly with local businesses to institute a transparent and targeted support program to domestic producers with an explicit performance criteria.

This issue of *Economic Focus* also includes our regular features of letters to the editor and Economic information, which contains Seid's piece on the government's formula of budget allocations between the federal government and regional governments. Synopses of research papers present Dr. Assefa's article comparing the distribution of small scale industries between Addis Ababa and the regions. All these invite, we think, further discussions and heated debates. We, therefore, hope and invite our readers to join these debates for the purpose of this bulletin is to promote reasoned public debate on policy issues that concern our country.



Letter to the Editor



Dear Editor

In the first place, I would like to extend my sincere appreciation for the effort the executive body of EEA is making towards enlightening people and the development of the Economics profession through different means of which the Economic Focus Bulletin and the round-table discussion are some to mention.

I was very much impressed by the presentation on structural adjustment by Ato Neway Gebereab in the round-table discussion held on Structural adjustment. It is, indeed, very pleasing to know that we are not going to face all the negative sides of structural adjustment that we hear and read about.

But, really, what are the reasons for this? How did we manage to side-step (avoid) these negative consequences? This is a very interesting issue to ponder up on. It could actually be a lesson for other developing countries and a good research topic as well. One can push through and ask questions like, what makes the structural adjustment program undertaken in Ethiopia different from the one in other countries? What are the factors that make it different- are they policy factors, timing, implementation,.....or what? Was it really successful as it is said, or are there some other indicators, other than the ones already indicated, that we should look at?

I would be very much pleased if I could get a response to my inquiries. Thank you, very much.

Helina Haileselassie

EEA Proceedings are the most informed sources on the Ethiopian Economy: But to Whom?

Dear Editor,

If I may be excused, I would like to make an observation about the Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA) conference proceedings through the medium of this excellent Bulletin. The contributions that EEA proceedings make towards research and policy making in Ethiopia are often stated in introductions to most of these volumes in a very encouraging tone. One such an introduction reads as follows:

[EEA] proceedings have become one of the most important informed sources on the Ethiopian economy. Students, researchers and foreigners interested in the Ethiopian economy are using them as regular reference materials. (Bereket Kebede and Mokenen Tadesse, 1996. *Emphasis added*)

I believe this claim is generally true. However, preliminary evidence suggests that

contributors to these proceedings actually care less to refer to these most important informed sources. The purposes of this letter are, first, to highlight problems in referencing, and then to provide a constructive suggestion which takes account of literature building and professional development within the EEA community.

How often are EEA proceedings used as 'informed source' by contributors to successive volumes? From the start, I will clarify the issue I am trying to address.

Firstly, given that the subject of an enquiry or research is an extension of previous work(s), references are made to the latter for numbers of reasons. On the positive side, one may look for an original contribution in terms of methodology, evidence and interpretation of evidence. Making reference to a previous work is the least we can pay for others' intellectual contributions. Further, references are also ways of creating one's own space, that is, for identifying what has been researched and what has not in a particular field. References are also given to economize space or to give further information to readers. Factual errors and wrong interpretations of evidences also justify references to previous works. But failure to refer to a relevant work already made (given that it is in the public domain) suggests that either the

preceding work lacks substance or the researcher lacks ethical qualities.

Secondly, given the varying themes (such as poverty and privatisation) of EEA proceedings, I am absolutely aware that one may not necessarily expect a natural build up and/or cross-breeding the literature. The observation I am making here, however, refers to only related works as the example below demonstrates.

Coming back to the earlier question, a brief look at volumes of EEA proceedings reveals that while writing on Ethiopian economic matters most contributors tend to refer to materials from abroad. This is understandable to the extent that methods, theories or comparative evidences are not available in Ethiopia. However, some contributors to the proceedings tend to overlook similar works done by their colleagues. Further, when references are made the materials referred to tend to be inadequate and to some extent out-of-date.

For a demonstration, six closely related chapters (each by different authors) were reviewed by this author. The chapters are selected from four proceedings published between 1992 and 1996 (anyone interested can follow this up for him/herself to test the validity of my assertions). All chapter headings have one or more such key phrases or words as 'private sector investment', 'investment incentives' and/or 'private sector development'. Further, closer look at the contents of the chapters also shows that almost all authors gave space to discuss past and

present policy frameworks towards private sector investment/development; and expected outcomes of the present policy measures. Provided that these chapters (to some extent) address related issues, one would expect a progressive build up in the literature, and enhanced debate on the issues.

My review, however, showed that, of these authors, only one made more than one references to chapters printed in the EEA proceedings. Another author made one reference to his own previous work. Three authors, while they had the chances to refer to the preceding volumes, actually made no single reference to works done by colleagues but made complaints about scarcity of data in spite of the publications of a few more chapters focusing on the mentioned area some of the arguments and the evidences were hardly advanced.

The point I am making is that there is a need for improvement in the quality of publication and development of professionalism among the active EEA members. My view is that as researchers or policy analysts members of the association should be the first people to use EEA conference proceedings as reference materials. As it stands, one of the major objectives of the EEA is to make a positive influence on economic development and professionalism. I think the association and its member editors of the proceedings and authors can work together to achieve these noble objectives. At this stage, I do not know the reasons why some contributors fail to refer to relevant works by their colleagues, and why less worthy 'research' outcomes get

publication. But I am wondering if the problem is in part to do with the level of guidance to authors (especially non-academic authors) and/or refereeing prospective chapters to external referees? I think readers' opinions should be welcomed on this and similar issues.

Finally, I would like to extend my best wishes to the *Bulletin of Economic Focus* and the editor.

February 1998,
Seife Ayele, United Kingdom

Call for Paper

EEA will organize its Eighth Annual Conference in September on the theme "The Ethiopian Economy" with particular emphasis on globalization, international trade, the role of the state, the pattern of investment and unemployment. Member and non-member professionals interested to present a paper on the above areas are invited to submit their proposals (not more than 5 pages) before the end of May to the Secretariat located at Addis Ababa University, Faculty of Business and Economics or send by mail (P.O. Box 24282, Addis Ababa). Authors of accepted proposals will be contacted to proceed with their study.

The End of Structural Adjustment in Ethiopia?

Policy Dialogue About Africa's Economic Crisis: SAP in the African Context

Alemayehu Geda

There are three sets of contending explanations about Africa's economic crisis. The first is associated with the World Bank (1981) - also named as '*the Berg Report*' - and its various subsequent publications. The second view is associated with the United Nation Economic Commission for Africa's (ECA, henceforth) - *African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs*, AAF-SAP (ECA, 1989a). Finally, there is a third view which is less clearly associated with a particular institution and largely held by academics with a Marxist orientation. The latter position is often offered as a critique to the other two. Although all the three contending explanations are very general, encompassing every aspects of African crisis, the focus here is to briefly summarize the literature. This will help to locate the SAP in Ethiopia in the context of a wider African crisis and the policy dialogue thereof.

The World Bank's *Agenda for action* (1981) argues that Africa's problems are related to underdeveloped human resources, political fragility, problems of restructuring colonial institutions, inheritance of poorly shaped economies, climate and geography and population growth. Within the context of these problems the performance of the external sector is, understandably, disappointing. The Bank argues that despite external shocks (a rise in oil price in 1973-74 and 1978-80, decline world demand for

primary commodities, deteriorating terms of trade), the balance of payments problem experienced from the 1970s, except for mineral exporters, can not be attributed to terms of trade deterioration. The Bank argues, the terms of trade was favorable or neutral¹. However, it acknowledges that it was unfavorable for the early 1980s. The main cause of the balance of payments problem, according to the Bank, was a decline in the volume of exports. The decline in terms of trade is attributed to (1) structural (world trade in commodities grew slower than manufactures making the African share to fall), (2) drought and civil strife affecting supply and (3) trade restrictions and agricultural subsidy by industrial countries². However, the Bank argues that the *main* factors for this failure are policy bias against agriculture and exports, rapid population

¹ In its subsequent publication, notably in "Africa's adjustment and growth in the 1980s" published jointly with UNDP, the Bank continued to assert that Sub-Saharan Africa was in good shape compared to other parts of the developing world and that policy problems were the principal causes of its crisis. However, ECA (1989b) argued that the Bank based its conclusions on 'pseudo-statistics' and selective reporting. Re-examination of the data by ECA analysts showed that the Bank's argument can not be substantiated (See ECA 1989b and Mosley and Weeks (1993) for a brief summary).

² According to the bank, this is not significant because of Africa's special condition, i.e., low capacity of manufacturing, incapability of having temperate products as well as its preferential status in EEC. See also Amjadi *et al* (1996) for a recent argument along this line and a possible policy conditionality plan of privatizing African shipping lines.

growth which shares export sector resources and increased consumption which would have been exported otherwise and finally inflexibility of the economy for diversification. The Bank's insistence on policy problems as the main factors behind the African crisis, and the need for reforms accordingly, has continued with the publication of its long-term perspective in 1989. Moreover, in its 1994 publication on Africa, which received various criticism from different angles (see *inter alia* Adam (1995), Mosley *et al* (1995), Lall (1995)³), it continues to argue that its orthodox macroeconomic management represents the road to economic recovery in Africa and, hence, more adjustment, not less, is required (World Bank 1994).

Analysts working along this line of thought had also emphasized the Bank's view. Van Arkadie (1986) (though sympathetic to the problems posed by external shocks) argues that there is a stagnating or falling output and its impact on export earnings is an important one. On the latter point the World Bank (1989) argues, rather vigorously, that declining export volumes, rather than declining prices, accounts for Africa's poor export revenue. Grier and Tullock's (1989) empirical analysis support this view. Elbadawi *et al* (1992) based their survey on empirical studies into the causes of African crisis found domestic policies to be an important one. White (1996), citing the case of Zambia, argued that the economic decline following Zambia's independence can largely be attributed to economic mismanagement. Ghura (1995) using a simple pooled multiple regression equation (of 33 African countries) found significant support for the Bank/IMF view. Recently, Easterly and Levine (1996)

considered political instability, low schooling and infrastructure, in addition to poor policies, as sources of Africa's growth problem. They, however, emphasized, improving policies alone would boost growth substantially. Although it is not the intention of this study to exhaust the search for all such supportive arguments, the aforementioned works claim that there is strong evidence to validate the Bank/Fund's view.

According to the ECA (1989a), Africa's problems are related to deficiencies in basic economic and social infrastructure (especially physical capital), research capability, technological know-how and human resource development. These are compounded by problems of socio-political organization. For ECA, inflation, balance of payment deficit, rising debt burden and instability of exports are the direct results of the lack of structural transformation, unfavorable physical and socio-political environment and excessive outward orientation and dependence. The study noted that the weaknesses in Africa's productive base, the predominantly subsistence nature of the economy and its openness (to international trade and finance) have perpetuated its external dependence. Hence, one of the main features of the African economy is the dominance of the external sector. This structure makes African countries quite vulnerable to exogenous shocks. Consequently, perceiving the African problem as an internal and external balance problem and looking for solutions within that framework implies (notably of the structural adjustment programs) not only the wrong diagnosis but also the wrong treatment. The ECA study argues that, '...both on theoretical and empirical grounds, the conventional SAPs are inadequate in addressing the real causes of economic, financial and social problems facing African countries that are of

³ For a recent review article on this issue see White (1996).

a structural nature' (ECA, 1989a:25).

Based on this alternative diagnosis and the major objectives of 'the Lagos Plan of Action' (OAU, 1981), ECA provided the African alternative framework to the Bank's (and the Fund's) policy recommendations. In the ECA framework three dynamically interrelated aspects are focused. First, *the operative forces* [political, economic, scientific and technological, environmental, cultural and sociological⁴,] second *the available resources* [human and natural resources, domestic saving and external financial resources] and third *the needs to be catered for* [i.e. focusing on vital goods and services as opposed to luxuries and semi-luxuries]. This general framework would allow the different categories of forces to influence not only the level and structure of what is produced but also the distribution of wealth. Moreover, the forces can also influence the nature of the needs and the degree of their satisfaction. At concrete level this will take a policy direction (1) of improving production capacity and productivity: with a focus on mobilization and efficient use of resources, human resource development, strengthening the scientific and technological base and vertical and horizontal diversification;⁵(2) improving the level and distribution of income: pragmatic balance between public and private sector, enabling conditions for sustainable development (incentive and political stability), shifting of (non-productive) resources, improving income distribution among various groups; and (3) focusing on the required need: food self-

⁴ This basically includes the system of government, public enterprises, the private sector, domestic markets, research and development, forces of nature and climate, ethnicism and society's value system, external commodity markets and finance and transnational corporations

sufficiency, reducing import dependence, re-alignment of consumption and production patterns and managing debt and debt servicing.

As is with world bank's view, many analysts (incidentally the majority are Africans) have arguments in line with ECA's position. They have emphasized Africa's extreme dependence on primary commodity exports by placing it in a broader historical context (See Ngwenya and Bugembe (1987), Fantu (1992), Adedeji (1993)). They have pointed out the impact of colonialism in establishing the rules by which Africa would participate in the world economy - Africa was to produce raw materials and agricultural goods for Europe's industries - stressing that this has changed very little since the time of political 'independence' (Fantu, 1992: 497-500, Adedeji, 1993: 45). According to Stefanski (1990), understood in the context of direct continuum with the colonial experience, Africa's economy still depends on external factors to a much greater degree than any other developing regions. The result of this dependence has been an economic crisis connected with external factors like falling terms of trade, declining demand for African exports and related external shocks (Stefanski, 1990: 68-77, Adedeji, 1993: 45). Collier (1991) has also argued that abrupt external shocks (be they negative or positive) have been important causes of poor long-term performance in Africa⁵. Ali (1984) has

⁵ Incidentally, Collier (1991) also cited the Zambian economy and copper price as a classic example of negative shocks. In Collier's opinion two errors are made: first price fall was treated as temporary and second foreign exchange shortages were handled by rationing. Notwithstanding an acknowledgment of the negative shocks, he emphasized poor policies in what he called 'controlled' economies as major problems. However, it should be acknowledged (and hence addressed) that the root cause of a possible policy problem is the structure the economy of these countries in general and their external

touched on another dimension of the problem. He has argued that for African countries the mitigation of their problem depends not only on the characteristics of the commodities they export (elasticities) but on the lack of the necessary market staying power. Wheeler (1984) has made an exploratory econometric analysis of the sources of stagnation and suggested that the 'environmental' factors (especially of terms of trade and international condition of demand) had more impact on growth than policy variables. Reading Ghura's (1993) recent econometric analysis,⁶ world interest rate is another significant variable that should be added to Wheeler's adverse 'environmental' variables list.

The negative impact of dependence in export of primary commodities is reflected in interdependent phenomena of (1) declining prices (terms of trade), (2) instability of export earning and (3) declining demand/supply. Attempts to compensate for the declining foreign exchange by increasing supply has resulted in further declining of prices (Fantu, 1992 :502, Stefanski (1990) Stein (1977)). Stein (1977) examined export trends in East Africa (Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania) to determine the causes of the divergence of each country's export growth from that of the world. He found that unfavorable commodity composition⁷ (as

opposed to favorable/unfavorable nature of its market and increased competitiveness) went a long way in accounting for the divergence. The study also reported that the fluctuation of total export proceeds is attributed to a few export commodities which are weighing heavily on the total (e.g., coffee). Because African countries depend on few commodities whose price swings cyclically and declines over time (terms of trade deterioration). In short, they have export earning instability. Such instability adversely affects their economies. However, Fosu (1991) examining the evidence of sub-Saharan Africa, argued that export instability *per se* is less important than fluctuation in capital formation (capital instability) in affecting economic growth in Africa. Yet, as his own work shows, in sub-Saharan Africa high export instability could render export proceeds a relatively unreliable source for funding investment projects (Fosu, 1991: 74-75). This usually forces countries to depend on external finance and shows itself eventually as a debt problem.

The third view differs from the other two in its understanding of what crisis means in the African context. For these analysts crisis '...has a connotation of systemic breakdown, but more generally, it can refer to a moment or a specific time period in the history of a system at which various developments of a negative character combine to generate a serious threat to its survival' (Lawrence, 1986:2). Sutcliffe (1986) for instance, argues that the African crisis is a continuation of a complex process of polarization trends. It emanates from Africa's economic dependence. For him, it is the combined result of long-term secular effects of imperialism suddenly boosted by the impact of world capitalist crisis. Thus, Africa's problem should be seen as the result of a long-term underdevelopment, following

trade in particular. In the light of the latter such possible policy problems are secondary.

⁶ However Ghura (1993) is extremely optimistic in stating that judicious macro and trade policies can stimulate growth in Africa even if external conditions do not improve. This is essentially similar to the type of empirical studies which support the Bank type of policies.

⁷ This is measured as the divergence of the growth rate of a country's export from that of the world over the period under study, multiplied by the total export of the country in question. This is taken from a simple model which specified the different factors which affect export (See Stein, 1977:106).

dependency theory⁸, and short-term vulnerability, following international aspects of crisis theory (Amin 1974, Ake 1981 cited in Ofuately-Kadjoe 1991, Sutcliffe, 1986:19-20; Onimode, 1988: 13, Moyo and Amin, 1992: 210). A similar view is expressed about the causes of Africa's balance of payments problems which is taken as symptoms of the crisis (Harris, 1986:93). These writers, in general, are against the view that there is a norm from which African countries are in a temporary deviation, implying that they can return back to that norm given some adjustment measures (Harris, 1986:84). Harris (1986) and Mamdani (1994) for instance, argue that the IMF's [also the Bank] ultimate objective is not to correct distortions in a free market international system, but to construct such a system (Harris, 1986:88). In doing so, these institutions undermine any attempt to create an independent, integrated and self-sustained [African] economy (Mamdani, 1994:129).

It is worth noting that there are areas where the first two approaches converge and diverge. The third view stands against both, especially of the Bank's. The core of the disagreement between the bank and ECA views centers on 'the role of the market' mechanism⁹ (Oskawe, quoted in Asante

(1991):179). While the Bank believes in market mechanism as the fundamental instrument of resource allocation and income distribution, the ECA strategy questions this. Thus, while the bank focuses on financial balances the ECA considers a much broader transformation as an enabling condition for the former. While the Bank emphasizes the export sector, the ECA strategy advocates selectivity (See also Asante, 1991:180). While the Bank worries about anti-export bias and population policy, the ECA strategy emphasizes failure to ensure total structural transformation and food self sufficiency as worrisome areas. While the Bank emphasizes short term policies without emphasizing Africa's long term needs as defined in Lagos plan of action, the ECA Strategy focuses on long term transformation along side short term policies.¹⁰ However, they do agree on some major issues, like the need for human resource development, efficiency of parastatals, and sound debt management. The ECA analysis is quite comprehensive in addressing the causes and suggesting not only short run solutions but also a framework for long term transformations¹¹. Thus, it is my belief that policy makers in Ethiopia can learn a lot from ECA's diagnosis and its alternative framework.

The bibliographical reference used in this article is given in Alemayehu (1997) "The Historical Origins of African Debt and External Finance Problems" ISS Working Paper Sub-Series on Money, Finance and Development No. 60. The Hague, The Netherlands.

⁸ See Leys (1996) and Ofuately-Kodjoe (1991) for critics of dependency theory in African context.

⁹ Makandawire (1989) summarized the two views about the cause of African crisis as Structuralist and neoclassical. He noted

The Structuralist view is one which highlights a number of features and 'stylized facts' that almost every point contradicts the neoclassical view...class based distribution of income rather than marginal productivity based distribution of income; oligopolist rather than the laissez-faire capitalist market; increasing returns or fixed proportion functions rather than 'well-behaved' production functions with decreasing returns and high rates of substitution; non-equivalent or 'unequal exchange' in the world rather than competitive, comparative advantage

based world system; low supply elasticities rather than instantaneous response to price incentives (Makandawire (1989) quoted in Elhadawi et al (1992).

¹⁰ See Stewart (1993) about this issue.

¹¹ See, however, Helliner (1994) who argues that there is an emerging consensus.

Round-table Discussion

“Structural Adjustment and Macro Economic Policy:

Scope and Limitations in a Subsistence Economy”

A Round-table discussion on this topic was held on February 11, 1998 at the Imperial Hotel. This event was attended by government officials, academicians, NGOs and persons from the private sector. Panelists presented short papers and provided their views on the topic. The papers are presented below.

Ato Neway G/Ab

In February, the Ethiopian Economic Association held a panel discussion on a “Structural Adjustment and Macro Economic policy. I gave a talk as a panel member. The following is the gist of the impromptu speech I made.

The topic of the panel discussion is very wide. I shall therefore select three issues for presentation: economic stabilisation, financial and exchange market liberalisation, and the medium-term agenda for reform.

A. Stabilisation

Structural adjustment in Africa has been linked with the occurrence of inflation and devaluation. It is therefore natural if in the minds of many Ethiopians there is a lingering question as to when this country might be visited by these ills which have tended to become the hallmark of structural adjustment polices. I want to put this question to rest by stating that the task of

stabilising the economy is already behind us, and that we need not fear being caught by a vicious circle of devaluation and inflation.

During these years of economic reform, Ethiopia has achieved growth with stability. Between 1991/92 and 1996/97 GDP grew at an average rate of 7 percent annually, the average rate of inflation stood at 3.6 percent, and public savings increased from -0.9 percent of GDP to 5.6 percent.

Economic Performance

	92/ 93	93/ 94	94/ 95	95/ 96	96/ 97
GDP Growth Rate	12	1.7	5.4	10.6	5.6
Inflation Rate	10	1.2	13.4	0.9	-6.4
Public Savings (%of GDP)	-0.9	-2.3	2.6	4.5	5.6

The increase in the saving ratio of the public sector evidences that there was a considerable strengthening of the fiscal position. By 1996/97, well over half of the capital budget was being financed from government revenue source. Obviously, the overall budgetary deficit remains high, but it

does not impose unsustainable debt burden, since the deficit financing comes from external grant and concessionaire credit. Domestic bank borrowing has been stopped beginning from 1994/95 fiscal year.

Since adjusting the exchange rate from 2.07 to 5 birr per US dollar in October 1992, the rate crept upwards to 6.86 by the end of 1997. Meanwhile, the parallel market rate remained more or less constant, and recently fell below 7 birr per US dollar. The two rates, in fact, have virtually unified. This is a remarkable achievement, given that exchange control has not been removed.

B. Liberalisation of financial and exchange markets

Liberalisation of interest and exchange rates is a complex matter. The process needs to be handled carefully, since premature liberalisation can bring more harm than good. For instance, we believe that deregulation of the interest rate should be preceded by the development of securities markets, particularly for bonds of one year or more. This does take time. As to exchange rate deregulation, which means total removal of exchange control, it would be unwarranted to undertake in the absence of a clear prospect of being able to redress an imbalance on current account through capital flows responding to marginal differences between internal and external interest rates.

I do not see prospects for complete deregulation of interest and exchange rates in the medium-term.

C. Areas of further reform

The government is committed to making the private sector competitive globally. This

implies that tariffs will continue to be lowered. Domestic enterprises should improve their productivity to withstand the competition from imports that will ensue. At the same time, the government for its part will have to be ready to provide training assistance, both managerial and technical. Other forms of support could also be considered, which would have to be targeted at improving efficiency.

Along with lowering of tariffs, further relaxation of exchange controls for payments of invisibles, such as foreign travel and overseas education are envisaged.

Privatisation is expected to gather momentum in the coming years. There is, of course, a need to obtain a fair price for the assets that will be divested. Also different modalities of privatisation may be tried out. Ultimately, the pace of privatisation will depend on availability of buyers rather than the speed with which enterprises are put for sale.

Improvement in the functioning of the urban land lease system is another issue that awaits further measures to be taken. Lease holding ought to be made readily marketable, and to enable this the operationalisation of the system would need to be improved.

Lastly, various measures could be taken to strengthen the financial system. To strengthen banking, a foreclosure law will be introduced in the near future. This will reduce substantially delinquency in loan repayment, and also help improve the quality of loan applications. Interbank lending, initiated recently, will reduce liquidity problems, particularly of the private banks, thus, contributing towards greater efficiency and competition in the banking sector.

These are some of the unfinished tasks that await the reform process. The list is not meant to be exhaustive, and should be read as indicative of the measures foreseen.

The Impact of Structural Adjustment in the Context of Ethiopia

By

Sudarshan Gooptu, Sr. Economist, World Bank

Thank you very much for inviting the World Bank to this round-table. I have been asked to speak about the impact of structural adjustment especially, in the context of Ethiopia.

In this regard, I do not want to tell you the challenges that we face in Ethiopia today since you know them already, perhaps better than me. However, let me highlight a few issues about the structure of the Ethiopian Economy and how it has "adjusted" (or as some of us would say, "reformed") in the past few years.

As you know, Ethiopia's development is closely linked to the fortunes in the country's agricultural sector. Close to 90 percent of the population live in rural areas and agriculture accounts for 85 percent of employment and exports. Agriculture has seen strong progress in the last five years, with food output increasing from an average of 6 million tons a year to over 10 million tons. This increase largely reflected the removal of price controls and restriction on the private sector. Nevertheless, the potential for increasing yields (through

irrigation and use of fertilizer and improved seeds) has barely begun to be tapped. The small industrial sector is heavily dependent on agriculture, which supplies 40 percent of the raw materials used.

Human and capital needs are also great. The civil war destroyed much of the infrastructure. Roads are a priority, not least for food security in times of drought. So is energy. Health and education are the other two key sectors for Government and donor investment.

In the case of Ethiopia and the new Bank, any adjustment must be country-owned. The ongoing economic reform program is, indeed, homegrown. When the Bank and fund came to negotiate the first Policy Framework Paper (PFP), we were given a 120 page document from the authorities which contained a detailed program or reforms and projects that they wanted to undertake in the next few years. **Today there is no World Bank Structural Adjustment Operation in Ethiopia. The last one (SACI) closed on September 30, 1996.**

The macroeconomic performance since 1991 has been good. Major accomplishments have been:

- ▶ Successful stabilization and a fast-growing economy,
- ▶ Reorienting of public expenditures, and
- ▶ Policy reforms to increase the role of the private sector.

A substantial fiscal adjustment has been accompanied by tight money. The Government has been a net repayer to the banking system for the past two years. The impressive economic performance of recent

years was aided by favorable weather and largely reflects the successes in macroeconomic stabilization and an end to the war.

Successful Stabilization...		
	1993-97	
GDP growth	7%	
Inflation	4%	
	1996	1997
Fiscal balance/GDP	-8.1%	-5.3%
Broad money growth	8.7%	4%
...and reorienting of public expenditures		
Capital investments (% of total)	86/87-90/91	95/96
Roads	5.9	20.5
Education	3.0	13.4
Public Health	2.6	4.3

Also noteworthy is that

- ▶ levels of investment have been rising.
- ▶ the volume of exports have been rising sharply, albeit from a very low base. International reserves have been well managed, with reserves hovering in the range of 6 to 8 month's worth of imports.
- ▶ The Government has managed food supplies well even in the drought year of 1993/94 there was no famine of the sort seen in the past.

The Government has made a good start in dismantling central planning by:

- ▶ **Decontrolling prices:** the only commodities whose prices are still administered are petroleum (a study to remove these has been completed).
- ▶ **Relaxing restrictions on the private sector:** including allowing domestically owned private banks and joint ventures with foreign investors;
- ▶ **Privatization:** many of the service sector state-owned enterprises have been sold; now the more complex task of selling large-scale enterprises such as textile firms and state farms, is underway;
- ▶ **Realigning the exchange rate:** it was depreciated by 59 percent vis-à-vis the dollar in October 1992 and has been set by an auction system since May 1993.
- ▶ **Changing the investment code:** liberalizing interest rates, lowering taxes and tariffs.

Looking forward, public expenditure programs and the nexus of exports, foreign investment and private sector development (including in agriculture) will be the keys to Ethiopia's continued progress. The Bank is now doing projects that are consistent with the overall macroeconomic policy framework. Any conditionality that one sees is specific to the project. This is always true for Bank loans anywhere in the World.

Let us, for the sake of argument, address some of the concerns about structural adjustment that one hears all the time.

The buildup of debt

Ethiopia's debt owed to the World Bank accounts for about 15% of total external debt. Debt service payments on this debt account for 7 percent of total debt service. The new International Development Agency (IDA) credits (for roads, energy, health, and education) have 0 interest, 12 years grace and a maturity of 40 years with a 0.75% administrative charge. Back of the envelope calculations will tell you that you need a rate of return of less than 3% to break even on this type of financing. The Bank requires that all IDA projects have at least a 12% rate of return before we approve them. This year IDA commitments to Ethiopia are expected to be close to 700 million while Ethiopia's debt repayment on our existing loans will be \$25 million- this is a "net flow" of \$675 million (on commitment basis)!

Unemployment

Slimming down a bloated civil service and doing away with loss-making State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) is an inevitable consequence of restructuring. But, what is the alternative? For example, in some countries there has been the practice of providing automatic employment to college graduates, as was the case here before the reform. Someone has to pay for these civil servants, be it out of inflationary monetary financing, higher taxation, larger fiscal deficits and more external borrowing. This is not sustainable. Clearly, there will be winners and losers, the crucial challenge is to identify the vulnerable groups from these programs and devise effective and efficient safety net mechanisms to cushion the adverse effects of retrenchment. In Ethiopia, we have played an active role in promoting the implementation of a program for demobilized soldiers of the war that

currently is in place. In addition, we are devising "Poverty Targeted Interventions" in the social sectors under the Sector Investment Program (SIP) approach with other donors. The ongoing Ethiopian Social Rehabilitation and Development Fund (ESRDF) project in Ethiopia is a social Fund project that is geared towards community based development interventions in the poorest regions and communities of the country.

I would like to end by reiterating the sentiment expressed by Mr. Wolfensohn, our president, at the speech in Africa hall a few weeks ago- let us look forward in addressing the needs of Ethiopia and not get bogged down in finger-pointing --we are completely open to your suggestions in this regard.

The reforms that will have the most impact, in our view, are :

- ▶ Allowing greater foreign private participation in infrastructure,
- ▶ Reducing red tape for both domestic and foreign investors,
- ▶ Greater clarity on land leases' including allowing land to be used as collateral,
- ▶ Encouraging exporters by ensuring access to inputs at world prices and to pre-shipment finance, and
- ▶ Facilitating small-scale investment in agriculture as well as more fertilizer use, improved seeds and irrigation.

In short, a greater role for the private sector to ensure investment levels that are consistent with the target GDP growth rate of 8%.

Relevance of Structural Adjustment Policies in a Subsistence Economy

by
Befekadu Degefe

Stylized Facts

Let me begin my reflections on the relevance of SAP to a subsistence economy by pointing two stylized facts.

First and foremost, adjustment in an economy is a natural phenomenon. If demand exceeds supply, prices rise. If population increases faster than food production, people would starve. If an economy is not transferring excess population from agriculture to non-agricultural activities, environmental degradation sets in and so on. The issue, therefore, is not whether we need to undertake adjustment, but how we can manage adjustment in such a way that the benefits are maximized and the costs are minimized.

Secondly, we have to admit that we have messed up our economy during the past two decades and in this process of destruction, we have been abated, assisted and at times even forced to do so by our external development partners. The opportunities we lost in the past are likely to make the task difficult, but there is no escaping the fact that we need to attain and sustain high rates of growth to initiate and maintain socio-economic development.

Does SAP offer us the opportunity?

One modality of reversing the decline and locating the economy on the path of growth and development trajectory is the IMF/World Bank inspired and financed SAP. This has been the principal strategy that African countries have been implementing during the last decade and half. The results measured, however, have been insufficient and inadequate.

There is no need to go into a detailed account of the limitations of SAP, since this is a well trodden territory. As all of you are very much aware, the SAP is actually a combination of two programs - stabilization and adjustment. In the words of I. Hussien, I quote

Reform measures must be correctly identified for what they are and are not. If, in the first phase of reform, the emphasis was on restructuring the budget and shifting the balance in the current account through expenditure reductions, it would be incorrect to call this a structural reform. These are stabilization measures and their impact is very different from that of structural reforms. Several countries have called their stabilization efforts structural adjustment programs. The wrong labeling of adjustment has been the single source of confusion.

Secondly, in the implementation phase, it is the stabilization component that is accorded pride of place, since this is considered a necessary precondition for the resumption and sustainability of growth. Furthermore, inflation and the current account deficit are taken as the indicators and measures of instability and excessive government deficit is inexorably identified as the singular source, the solution is very simple (and simplistic ?). You have to reduce the fiscal

deficit, minimize the role of the government and leave everything to the dictates of the market.

While this modality may be correct for those economies where markets are very well developed and are at the full employment level (and are therefore facing a vertical supply curve), this one-model-fits all approach is wrong for those countries suffering the consequences of high unemployment of natural and human resources and the market is in the process of development.

Even if the stabilization model is correct and leads to stabilization and growth as underlined in the policy framework paper, would it deliver the goods in countries such as Ethiopia? The answer is no, because of the behavioral and structural assumptions of efficient and instantaneously clearing markets that are necessary to close the SAP model. In a country suffering from structural rigidities and markets are more important social institutions rather than as mechanisms for resource allocation, the market only paradigm is not appropriate. We need to exploit the power of the government in creating these institutions, as well as the private sector. I believe that without the active participation of both the Federal and Regional governments, Ethiopia's development would remain a mirage. The issue is not whether but what it should do.

Nature of the role of the government

The two agents for growth and socio-economic development, and the factors that define the role and extent of government intervention in an economy are the availability of:

- ▶ entrepreneurs and
- ▶ educated labor force.

What role the government would play in the economy depends on the existence and capacity of these two engines of growth. This has been true in the past and it would remain true in the future.

From my reading of the literature on the history of economic development four models are easily discernable.

Model I: is where the government would not engage itself in any economic activity and would limit itself with minimal regulatory functions.

This is the model we observe in 18th century England during the first industrial revolution.*

Model II: is a situation where there are sufficient entrepreneurs and educated labor force. What they lacked were the means. They knew what they wanted to do but they did not have the capital. Even where they had the capital they could not survive the intense competition from abroad.

Obviously the role of the government in such an environment is

- a. to help the entrepreneurs acquire capital and
- b. provide them with protection.

The first country to develop and effectively implement such a program was the US, latter duplicated in Western Europe, and Japan. Fredrick List wrote his famous book on the National Economy following his long stay and careful observation of the US economy in the 19th century.

Model III: are those countries who had neither entrepreneurs nor educated and skilled labor force. If such a country was to develop, it was necessary for it to create

these two engines of growth. Consequently, we need to have the role of the government expanding to

- ▶ establishing heavy and light industries,
- ▶ encouraging and supporting small scale operators,
- ▶ expanding education and training as part of their effort to create and empower entrepreneurs.

Examples here are South East Asian countries of S. Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and Indonesia.

Model IV is the collectivist or socialist model where the government takes over the entire economic activity not for lack of entrepreneurs but because of ideology.

Which of this models is (are) relevant to Ethiopia?

We can dismiss model I and IV immediately for reasons that are obvious. The first model is what the SAP is trying to do and it is obvious, at least from purely institutional point of view that it is doomed to failure.

This leaves us with the second and the third models. Of these two development modalities, the one that is most relevant to Ethiopia is model three. Model two assumes that the country has sufficient quantity of entrepreneur and that the problem they face are capital and protection from external competition. We have no private sector capable of assuming the responsibility of developing the country.

A second factor that needs to be taken into account is the fact that the Ethiopian economy is currently not under the control of the policy maker but is determined by forces beyond its control. These are the

weather condition and the external economic environment. When the weather is favorable, we enjoy bumper crops and post high growth rates. If the weather turns unfavorable the economy is depressed. The external economic environment impinges upon the economy in two ways - prices of our exportables and resource inflow.

We must put our economy under the control of our policy makers and that requires structural transformation and institutional development. I am a strong believer of individual freedom and private initiative. But in the circumstance we find ourselves in, we must humble ourselves and accept the fact that we have neither the agents nor the means to deliver us from poverty. My only hope is to use the government effectively and efficiently. The fact that we have misused it and were mis-used by it in the past should make us weary but we should not throw out the baby with the bath water.

**ሰለ መዋቅር ማስተካከያ ፕሮግራም
በኢትዮጵያ፡-የንግድና ኢንዱስትሪ
ሀብረተሰብ አመለካከት**

ብርሃነ መዋ

ህመም ተሰምቶኛል ብሎ የገመተ ሰው ትኩሳቱን በእጆቹ ይመጥንና ፣ የሚስማውን ስሜት ያመዛዝንና ፣ ሰለመታመሙ ይሁን ጤነኛ ስለመሆኑ የራሱን ግንዛቤ ይወስዳል።

ይኸውም ሰው የህክምና ባለሙያ ዘንድ ሲቀርብ የትኩሳቱ መጠን በቴሮሞ ሜትር ይለካለታል። በላቦራቶሪ ጠቁሚ የሆኑ ምርመራዎች ይደረጉለትና ህኪሙ በውጤቱ ላይ ተመስርቶ ህመም መኖሩንና አለመኖሩን ካለም አይነቱን ጠቅሶ መድሀኒት ያዘለታል።

እንግዲህ የህኪሙ ውሳኔ ምንም ሆነ ምን ዋናው ጉዳይ ሰውየው ታምሚአለሁ ብሎ ማመን

ያለማመኑ በቅድሚያ፣ ቀጥሎም ለመታመሙ ወይም ላለመታመሙ ከሚሰማው ስሜትና በግል መመዘኛ ተነስቶ የሚሰጠው የራሱ ውሳኔ ለመንፈሱና ለስሜቱ የሚያስተላልፈው መልዕክት የጉዳዩ መደምደሚያ ይሆናል፤ ደህና ነኝ ወይም አይደለሁም ለማለት።

በሀገራችን ያለው ለውጥ ከመጣ ጀምሮ የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ ፕሮግራም በኢኮኖሚ እንቅስቃሴያችን ዋነኛ ፈር ቀዳጅ ሆኖ ቆይቷል። የሀገር ወስጥ፣ የውጭ ባለሙያዎች (ኢኮኖሚስቶች)፣ የአለም ባንክና የአለም ገንዘብ ድርጅት ይህንን ፕሮግራም በመገምገም በአሁን የተደገፉ አስተያየቶችን ያሳርፋሉ።

ከአሁኑ ምስክርነት ባሻገር ግን ዋናው ቁምነገር በአንደኛ ደረጃ የሀገሪቱ ህዝብ ስሜት፣ ኑሮና ህይወት ከአሁኑ ትርጉም ጋር መጣጣም ወይም መቃረኑ ነው።

የዚህ ጽሁፍ አቅራቢ የኢኮኖሚክስ ባለሙያ አይደለሁም። ነገር ግን እንደተራ ሰው የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ ፕሮግራምና በተለይም የንግድና ኢንዱስትሪው ህብረተሰብ እንቅስቃሴ ሂደት መዛመድ፣ መጋጨት፣ መጣጣም ወይም መቃረን ስለሚሰማኝ ከኢኮኖሚክስ ምሁራዊ አቅራቢ ፈንጠር ብዬ ህይወትን በጥራው ተግባርን በቀሙ እያየሁ ግምገማዬን ለመሰንዘር እመርጣለሁ።

ከመዋቅር ለውጥ አላማዎች ጨምቁ እንደግብ ለንግድና ኢንዱስትሪው ህብረተሰብ እንዲሁም የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በጉጉት ይጠብቃቸዋል የሚባሉትን ውጤቶች በሶስት ነጥብ እስቀምጣለሁ።

1. የመንግስትን ለህዝቡና ለኢኮኖሚው መልካም ተግባር የማከናወን አቅም ማሳልበት፤
2. የግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚውን በአገር የልማት እንቅስቃሴ ዋና አጋርና አንቀሳቃሽ ሞተር እንዲሆን ምቹ ሁኔታ ለመፍጠር ማስቻል፤
3. የዲሞክራሲ ባህል እንዲጸናና ፍትሃዊ የሆነ የውድድር መድረክ እንዲኖር ማገዝ።

ማንኛውም የመዋቅር ለውጥ ተጠቃሚም ሆነ ተሳጂ የህብረተሰብ ክፍል ይኖረዋል። የመዋቅር ለውጡ ስኬታማነት ሊለካ የሚገባው የአብዛኛው ህዝብ ዘላቂነት ያለው ጠቀሜታ ሊሰጥ በመቻሉ ላይ ተመስርቶ ነው።

የመንግስት ለህዝብና ለኢኮኖሚው መልካም ተግባር የማከናወን አቅም ማሳልበት

ይህን ጉዳይ ለመመዘን የሚከተሉትን እንመልከት።

- ሀ. በህዝብ ላይ እምነት ማሳደር ተችሏል ወይ?
- ለ. ህዝብ በሚተዳደርበት መሰረታዊ ህጎች ላይ እምነት አለው ወይ?
- ሐ. ህዘቡ በባለስልጣናት ላይ እምነት አለው ወይ?

ብዙ ጥረቶች መደረጋቸውና ስኬታማ ውጤቶችም መመዘገባቸው በተጨማሪም እናውቃለን። ከዚህ ውጭ ደግሞ ብዙ ጊዜ የሚጠይቁ ተግባራት እንዳሉ እናውቃለን።

- > የህግ ተርጓሚው አድሎአዊ ያለመሆኑ ህዝብን ለማሳመን ጊዜ ይወስዳል።
- > የተለያዩ ክፍሎች የስልጣን ገደባቸውን አውቀው እንዲያከብሩት ለማድረግ ጊዜ ይወስዳል።
- > የፖሊሲ ማውጣቱን ስርአት በተለያዩ ሀሳቦች ማዳበርና ማስተካከል ወሳኝ መሆኑን መገንዘብ ጊዜ ይወስዳል።
- > አመች የሆነና ከሁኔታዎች ጋር የሚጣጣም ድርጅታዊ መዋቅር መዘርጋት ጊዜ ይወስዳል።

በተጨማሪ መንግስት በአግባቡ መሰረታዊ የሆኑ ተግባሮችን ለማከናወን የመቻል አቅሙን መመዘን ተገቢ ነው።

- > ህግና ስርዓት በሚገባ ለማስከበር መቻልን፤
- > የግለሰብን የንብረት መብቶችን ማስጠበቅ መቻሉን፤
- > የፍርድ ቤቶች በብቃትና በጥራት ይንቀሳቀሳሉ ወይ?
- > የፍርድ ቤቶች አድሎአዊ አይደሉም ወይ?
- > ፍርድ ቤቶች ከተጸለፍ ነፃ ናቸው ወይ?

- ህጎች፣ መመሪያዎችና ደንቦች የግለሰብን የንብረት መብት ይጠብቃሉ ወይ?

የመንግስትን ለህዝብና ለኢኮኖሚው መልካም ተግባር የማከናወን አቅም ማጎልበት ለመመዘን ከላይ የተጠየቁት ጥያቄዎች አዎንታዊ መልስ ማግኘት ይገባቸዋል።

የግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚውን አቅም ማሳደግ

የግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚው በሁኔታዎች አጠራጣሪነት ሁሉ በቀላሉ ሊጎዳ የሚችል ክፍል ነው። በአብዛኛው በእንቅስቃሴው ወይም በእድገቱ ላይ ተጽእኖ የሚያሰከትሉት ነገሮች እንደሚከተለው ቀርበዋል።

- የፖሊሲና የህግ አጠራጣሪነት (Predictability):- (ምሳሌ፣ ህጎች ወደ ጎሳ ሂደው እንዲሰሩ ማድረግ)
- የፖለቲካ መረጋጋትና የንብረት የሰራዊትነት:- (ምሳሌ፣ የመራት ባለቤትነት ጥያቄ፣ የንግድ ስራዎች በአስተዳደር ውሳኔ መዘጋት)
- የመንግስት አገልግሎት የመስጠት ኃይል መዳከምና፣ የቢሮክራሲ ውስብስብነት:- (ምሳሌ፣ የፍ/ቤቶች ስራ መዳከም፣ የየመስሪያ ቤቱ አሰራር ግልጽነት፣ ጥራትና ፍጥነት ማጣት)
- የመንግስት በንግድ እንቅስቃሴ ጣልቃ ገብነት

በዚህ በኩል ከፍተኛ የሆነና የሚያበረታታ ጥረት ይታያል። በተለይ የፕራይቪታይዜሽን እንቅስቃሴ የሚፈለገውን ያህል ባይሆንም የሚደረገው ጥረት ግን ከፍተኛ እንደሆነ ይታያል። በአንጻሩ ግን የጦር ኃይሉ በንግድ እንቅስቃሴዎችና አገልግሎቶች እንዲወዳደር መፈቀዱ በግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚው እድገት ላይ ከፍተኛ ተጽእኖ ይኖረዋል። ለዚህም ዋና ምክንያት ሆነው ሊጠቀሱ ከሚችሉት ውስጥ፡

- ሀ. የጦር ኃይሉ ያለው ከፍተኛ መላሪያዎችና አደረጃጀት፤
- ለ. በጦር ኃይሉ የታቀፈ የሰው ኃይል ከፍተኛ ዲሲፕሊን ያለውና መሰረታዊ ፍላጎቶችና ጥቅሞቹ የተሟሉለት (the

most motivated work force) መሆኑ ናቸው።

- ሐ የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች በንግድ ስራ ጣልቃ ገብነት።

ይህ ጉዳይ እነጋጋሪና ወቅታዊ ጉዳይ ቢሆንም ጉዳዩ የሚመለከታቸው ሁሉ በሽ-ክሹ-ክታ እንጅ በግልጽ አልተወያዩበትም። የጋራ ጉዳዮችን በመሆኑ ግን ልንወያይበት ይገባል። ይህ ሁኔታ ፖለቲካዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ሁኔታውን የሚመለከት ይሆናል።

በመሰረቱ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች በግልጽ በንግድ ስራ የተሳተፉበት ሁኔታ የለም። ሆኖም ግን የእነሱ እጅ ያለባቸው የንግድ ድርጅቶች መኖራቸው በግልጽ ይታወቃል። የሚገቡበት የንግድ መስመር መሰረታዊ የሆነ ማህበራዊ አገልግሎት ያለው እንደ ትምህርት ቤት፣ ሆስፒታልና የመሳሰሉት ቢሆን አለዚያም ከፍተኛ መዋለ ንዋይ የሚጠይቅና ሌላው የህብረተሰብ ክፍል ሊደፍረው የማይችል ለምሳሌ እንደ ማእድንና ኢነርጂ፣ ቢሆን የተፈጠረ ክፍተትን ለመሙላት ነው ተብሎ ግንዛቤ ሊወሰድበት ይችላል። ከዚህ ባሻገር ግን በማንኛውም የንግድ እንቅስቃሴ በተለይም አትራፊነቱ እየተመረጠ እሰክ አነስተኛ ደረጃ ድረስ ባሉት ላይ ሲገባ የጉዳዩን አሳሳቢነት ያሳያል።

እንደዚህም ሆኖ እንደማንኛውም ንግድ በእኩልነት የመወዳደር ሁኔታ ቢኖር አሁንም የጉዳዩ አሳሳቢነት ይቀንሳል። አሁን እንደሚታየው ግን እነዚህ ድርጅቶች ካላቸው የፖለቲካ ድጋፍ አንጻር የሚሰጣቸው ቅድሚያ፣ የሚደረግላቸው ድጋፍና የሚለገላቸው ኢንፎርሜሽን የውድድሩን ሚዳ አንድ ወጥ መሆኑን አግዶታል። ከዚህም በተጨማሪም በራስ መተማመን የሸሸው ቢሮክራሲ እንኳንስ ተጠይቆ እነሱ ሳያውቁትም ተወዳጅነት ለማግኘት ሲል አለዚያም በፍርሃት አድልዎ ያደርጋል። ብዙ ክስተቶች እንዳሉም በሰፊው ይታያል።

የግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚው ጉዳይ ሲነሳ አብሮ ሊጠቀስ የሚገባው ጥያቄ አለ። ለመሆኑ እርባና ያለው "የግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ማዳበር" ፕሮግራም (Private Sector Development) አለ ወይ? ለግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ግንባታ ተብለው የሚመደቡ እርዳታዎች እንዴት ነው ወጪ የሚደረጉት? ከተያራጁ የግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚው አካላት ጋር ለመጠየቅ ፈቃደኝነት አለ ወይ? የሀገር ውስጥ ምርቶችና አገልግሎቶች ድጋፍና ጥበቃ ይደረግላቸዋል ወይ? (በተወሰነ ደረጃም ቢሆን ያለመንግስታዊ ጥበቃ ኢኮኖሚ የለም።)

እነዚህ ጥያቄዎች በአብዛኛው መልሳቸው አዎንታዊ እስካልሆነ ድረስ የግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚውን የማሳደግ ጥረት ደካማ ነው ብሎ መደምደም ስህተት አይሆንም።

የዲሞክራሲ ባህል ማዳበርና ፍትሃዊ መድረክ እንዲኖር ማገዝ

በተለይ ኢኮኖሚያዊ በሆኑ ጉዳዮች ላይ ፓርቲው፣ መንግስት፣ ፓርላማውና ህዝቡ ሊደግጡ ይገባል። ሀሳቦች ሁሉ ያለምንም ተቃውሞ በቀጥታ ማለፋቸው ጎጂነታቸውን ያበዛዋል። የግል ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚውን ጥቅም ሊያንፀባርቁ የሚችሉ ሀሳቦች ውክልና የሚያገኙበት መንገድ መፈጠር ይኖርበታል።

ፍትሀዊ የሆነ የውድድር መድረክ መፍጠር የነፃ ገበያ ኢኮኖሚ መሰረታዊ ግዴታ ነው። በዚህ ጉዳይ ላይ በተለይ አሁን ካለው የአለም አቀፍ

ንግድ ድንበር ዘለልነት አንፃር አገር አቀፍ አገልግሎቶችና ምርቶች ለውድድር ለመዘጋጀት ብቃት እንዲኖራቸው ጥበቃ ሊደረግላቸው ይገባል።

ከላይ የተጠቀሱትን ሁኔታዎች ተመልክተን እድገታችን እንዲፋጠን ከፈለግን ጥያቄዎቹ በአብዛኛው አዎንታዊ መልስ እንዲያገኙ መጣር ይኖርብናል። በተለይ ሶስቱ ሀይሎች የአስተዳደር የፖለቲካ ስልጣን፣ የጦር ኃይልና፣ የኢኮኖሚ ሀይል አንዱ የአንዱን ተግባር ከማዘዝ አልፎ ሊተገበሩ እንዳይችሉ ማድረግ በእጅጉ አስፈላጊ ሆኖ እናገኘዋለን።

እንግዲህ የንግድና ኢንዱስትሪ ህብረተሰብ የመቀየር ለውጡን ስኬታማነት የሚመዘነው ከላይ በተጠቀሱት ተግባራዊ መስፈርቶች ሲሆን ከሚቀርቡት አህዛዊ ማስረጃዎች ጋር መጣጣምና ያለመጣጣሙን ማገናዘብ የአንባቢ ፋንታ ይሆናል።

Comments From Participants

Articles presented under this heading are comments by participants who were present at the Panel Discussion on "Structural Adjustment and Macroeconomic Policy: Scope and Limitations in a Subsistence Economy". This feature is designed to promote discussion and provide a chance for those who did not have adequate opportunity to express their ideas and views during the discussion.

Tekalign Wolde Ammanuel

In the early 70s we, i.e. a section of the Ethiopian Left, converted an Egyptian joke about Nasser that goes like this: all these troubled heads of state went to confer with Christ and asked him for his advice on their most thorny problems. Nixon asked when he would see Vietnam defeated by the US, but Christ answered that Vietnam would win and soon. Nixon sobbed heavily. Pinochet of

Chile, Marcos of Philippines, Franco of Spain, Duvalier of Haiti and many of the dictators at the time asked when they would be loved by their peoples but, Christ told them that they would never be popular upon which they all sobbed. All the leaders asked only to end up in sobbing heavily of frustration. At last, it was Haile Selassie's turn. He asked Christ if in his lifetime Ethiopia would ever develop. Christ sobbed heavily and said, "Not even in my lifetime." That was an extreme form of pessimism. Thirty years later, nevertheless, I felt a great disappointment and frustration after listening to Ato Neway's and Mr. Gupta's (from the World Bank office in

Addis) presentations at the last round-table. When will we ever embark on the right track to map a proper strategy of social development? And when will we ever admit our mistakes when we go wrong?

Equally frustrating indeed is the fact that, all the four speakers share a similar vision of what social development means. The difference among them lie whether or not SAP can bring this development. In their minds, there is no doubt that they share the definition of development according to what the dominant discourse dictates. Development is taken strictly in its technically economic sense to mean material development. But, apt and legitimate questions are being raised everywhere from Mexico to India if 'development' defined to us by the forces who dominate this world, the North and Bretton Woods Institution in particular, are the kind of development that we in the South need and can achieve. The idea that equates development with industrialization and Modernization is being seriously questioned and challenged by Southern scholars. Should the world and the South in particular suffer and perish only because we have to develop a la the industrial revolution and the North? Can't the South define its own way of development? Development should not just be material and economic. It should also be cultural and spiritual, social and above all political. The United State is presented as the most developed country. Materially may be, save the 50,000 homeless in Chicago alone, the absolute poverty of Afro-Americans, high level of illiteracy among Afro-Americans, incredible level of crime, violence against women, drug abuse, etc... What does this really constitute: Development or underdevelopment? How can we have development with an impoverished civil society in the political sense? Since the late 70s it has been concluded by scholars of both the North-South divide that democracy is a

crucial component of development. In the contemporary language, this means development is synonymous with the active participation of civil society in the development process. Except for Ato Birhane of the Ethiopian Private Industrialists' Association, none of the three economists mentioned this crucial aspect of development. That was the frustrating part of that round-table. This should lend the idea that a serious reflection on development and development strategies is, in fact, the order of the day. Having said that let me comment on some of the points that seemed to me unfathomable.

Ato Neway wanted us to believe that the consequences of structural adjustment programme (SAP hereafter) in other African countries is much worse than it is in Ethiopia. Except retrenchment, nothing negative that happened in other African countries happened in Ethiopia. In assessing the impact of SAP in Ethiopia in comparison to what happened to other countries what is important is drawing a global picture of the consequences. As a political scientist, I rather focus on the social consequences of SAP which seemed not to be measured by any school of economics in this country. Ato Neway did not and cannot tell us about the environmental degradation of Ethiopian agriculture as the result of massive use of chemical fertilizers, about the increase in prostitution, trafficking of women to the Middle East (Ethiopia's most favoured "export item", probably?) and the debilitating effect of the massive retrenchment. If the consequences of SAP is not as debiltating as in other African countries, why did Ethiopia rank now 175th on the UNDP's human development index? (Incidentatly, the UNDP has since 1993 been using both social and economic indicators as determinants for development.)

Ato Neway also told us that government's economic strategy also includes making the

economy competitive. I couldn't help asking myself whether I was really listening to the chief economic advisor of the prime minister or a visiting economics professor from the North? As this was indeed a sensitive issue, some body asked him about party businesses which are favoured by the state in the alleged "competition." To my surprise, Ato Neway flatly denied that to his knowledge there are no party businesses in Ethiopia. I expected the World Bank representative to shout out 'foul!' not surprisingly, he didn't.

The party business in this country is a most bizarre phenomenae. On the morrow of the overthrow of Mengistu 's dictatorship, the new regime accepted SAP and opted for a free market and privatization of state enterprises. At the same time, however, the patry (i.e. EPRDF) businesses were made to dominate the market and effectively replace the role of the state business under Mengistu. How can there be fair competition in such state of affairs and in a country where the notion and culture of democracy is extremely weak? The guarantee for fair competition is the complete withdrawal of the state or party from the economy if at all a free market economy is indeed desired. On the other hand, state corruption is strongly linked to the intervention of the state in the economy. That is why the withdrawal of the state is advanced by scholars as the principal condition to do away with state corruption. No wonder then in Ethiopia, where the state is strongly involved in the economy, state corruption persists.

From the technical angle of the organization of the roundtable, it would be useful to have various perspectives advanced. A discussion/debate on SAP can't be complete with out having various perspectives advanced. SAP has enormous impact on exacerbating women's bondage, degrading the environment, contaminating indigenous culture with the commercial one, etc... In

future roundtables, it will be useful to invite a few people to present various perspectives related to the theme. Two main speakers, for and against, and two discussants will be quite enough.

**የሀገር ውስጥ አምራችና አለም አቀፍ ውድድር፡፡
አንዴት ተቋቁሞ መኖር ይቻላል?
ብርሃኑ ነጋ**

የኢትዮጵያ የኢኮኖሚ ባለ ሙያዎች ማህበር በአገራችን የሚደረገውን የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ በሚመለከት ያዘጋጀው የክብ ጠረጴዛ ውይይት ሰፊ ያሉና የወደፊት የአገራችንን የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ አቅጣጫ የሚጠቀሙ ጠቃሚ ውይይቶች ተካሂዶበታል። ምንም እንኳን ዘርዘር ተብሎ ባይታይም በዚህ ውይይት ላይ ከተነሱት ነጥቦች አንዱ የአገሪቱን ኢኮኖሚ ለአለም አቀፍ ነፃ የገበያ ውድድር መተው የሚሰጠው ጥቅምና ሊያስከትል የሚችለውን ችግር ይመለከታል። በአጋጣሚ ሆኖ ይህ ውይይት በተካሄደ ማግስት በዚያው የሰብሳቢ አዳራሽ የኢትዮጵያ የግል ኢንዱስትሪዎች ማህበር የአገር ምርትና የገበያ ውድድር በሚል ሌላ የውይይት ፕሮግራም አዘጋጅቶ ነበር። ይህን ውይይት ለማዘጋጀት ምክንያት የሆነው እንደማህበሩ አገላለፅ "የገበያ ኢኮኖሚ ስርአት አመጣጥና አለም አቀፋዊ የኢኮኖሚ ግንኙነት ንፋስ ሽው ማለት ከጀመረ ወዲህ የውድድር ምንነት ለአገር በቀል ኢንዱስትሪ አስከፊ እየሆነ ነው። አብዛኛው የአገር ኢንዱስትሪ ውጤት ከውጪው አለም ጋር የመወዳደር ብቃቱ ገና ባልዳበረበት፤ በነፃ ገበያ ፖሊሲ የውጭ እቃዎች እንደልብ ገብተው በማይታመን ዋጋ ባጥለቀለቁበት ወቅት፤ የአገር ውስጥ ኢንዱስትሪዎች እጣ ፋንታ ምን ይሁን? "ይዘጉና ወደ ንግድ ይገቡ... ወይስ የመንግስትን ጥበቃ ይጠይቁ" በሚሉ ጥያቄዎች ላይ ለመወያየት ነው ይላል።

የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ ፖሊሲና ይህ የግል ኢንዱስትሪዎች ማህበር ያነሳው ጥያቄ በተወሰነ ደረጃ የተዛመዱ ናቸው። ሆኖም በአገራችን የኢኮኖሚ ባለ ሙያዎች በመጀመሪያው ላይ በተለያዩ ጊዜና በተለያዩ መድረኮች ሰፊ ያሉ ውይይቶችን ያካሄዱባቸው ቢሆንም አለም አቀፍ የገበያ ውድድር በአገር አምራች ላይ ሊያመጡ የሚችሉትን ችግሮች በንድፈ ሀሳብ ደረጃም ሆነ በተጨማሪ በቂ ውይይት ተደርጎል ለማለት

ያስቸግራል። በመሆኑም እነዚህን ችግሮች ለመቅረፍ ሊወሰዱ የሚችሉትን እርምጃዎች በተመለከተ (እርምጃዎች መወሰድ አለባቸው ተብሎ ከታመነበት) የተባለ ብዙ ነገር የለም። በእኔ ግምት ጥያቄው በባለ ሙያዎች በደንብ ታስቦበትና ሰፊ ያለ ወይይት ተደርጎበት፤ የሚመለከታቸው የመንግስትም ሆነ የግሉ ዘርፍ አካላት በሰፊው መክረውበት የረጅም ጊዜ ስትራቴጂካዊ ፖሊሲ ሊነደፍበት የሚገባ ወሳኝ ጥያቄ ነው እላለሁ። ከዚህ እምነት በመነሳት የኢኮኖሚክስ ባለ ሙያዎች ለጥያቄው ትኩረት እንዲሰጡት በማሰብና ለውይይት ለመጋበዝ በግሉ በጥያቄው ላይ ያለኝን አስተያየት ከዚህ በታች በአጭሩ አሰፍራለሁ። ምንም እንኳን ጥያቄው የተወሳሰበና ዝርዝር አቀራረብ የሚጠይቅ ቢሆንም ጉዳዩ ከባለ ሙያዎች ባሻገር ሰፊ ያለን የህብረተሰብ ክፍል ሰለሚመለከት በተቻለ መጠን አንክር ጥያቄዎቹን ብቻ በአማርኛና በቀላሉ ለመረዳት በሚያስችል መልኩ የእኔን አስተያየት ለማቅረብ ሞክራለሁ።

ጥያቄው ምንድን ነው?

በመሰረቱ በዚህ ጥያቄ ላይ ዝርዝር ውይይት ውስጥ ከመግባቱ በፊት መመለስ ያለበት ጥያቄ ለአንድ አገር እድገት የኢንዱስትሪ እድገት አሰፈላጊ ነው ወይ የሚለው ጥያቄ ነው። ምንም እንኳን ጥያቄው በራሱ ብዙ የሚያከራክር ቢሆንም እስከ አሁን ድረስ በአለማችን ያለ ኢንዱስትሪ እድገት የበለፀገ አገር እምብዛም ሰለማይታወቅ የእኛ አገር እጣ ከዚህ የተለየ አይሆንም በሚል ጥያቄውን ለጊዜው በዚህ ዘገተን ወደ ዋናው ጉዳይ እንመለስ ። ጥያቄዎቹ

1. እሁን ባለው ጠንካራ አለም አቀፍ የገበያ ውድድር አምራችን በዝቅተኛ ዋጋና በጥራት አምርተው፤ የሽያጭ ዘዴ (Marketing strategy) ኖርአዎቸው በነፃ ገበያ ተወዳድረው ለማሸነፍ ወይም ላለመሸነፍ የሚያስችላቸው ብቃት አላቸው ወይ?
2. ለዚህ መልሳችን አይችሉም ከሆነ በብቃት ለመወዳደር የሚቸግራቸው ለምንድን ነው? በአቅርቦትና (Supply) በገበያ (Demand) በኩል ያሉላቸው ችግሮች ምንድን ናቸው?
3. እነዚህ ችግሮች ያለምንም ከገበያ ውጭ ያሉ ድጋፎችን፤ በራሳቸው አቅም ላይ በመመርኮዝ መፍታት ይችላሉ ወይ? ካልቻሉ እነዚህ ድጋፎች ከየት አቅጣጫ ነው ሊመጡ የሚችሉት? የእነዚህ ድጋፎችን ትክክለኛነት ከምን ንድፈ ሀሳብ

ተነስተን ማስረገጥ እንችላለን?

ይህንን ጥያቄ ለመመለስ በመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ለመልሱ መሰረት የሚሆኑ የንድፈ ሀሳብ ነጥቦችን ማንሳት ያስፈልጋል።

ለንድፈ ሀሳብ መሰረት ለመጣል በንድፈ ሀሳብ ደረጃ የሚነሳውን ጥያቄ በግልፅ ማስቀመጥ ያስፈልጋል። ጥያቄውም፡-

ሀ. በአለም አቀፍ ደረጃ የሚደረገው የገበያ ውድድር ላይ ብቁ ተወዳዳሪ ብሎም አሸናፊ ለመሆን የሚያስፈልገው ምንድን ነው?

ለ. በደህ አገሮችና በሀብታም አገሮች መካከል ያለው የኢኮኖሚ ልዩነት መሰረት ምንድን ነው? ይህ ልዩነት ከመቼ ጀምሮ የተፈጠረ ነው? ልዩነቱስ እየሰፋ ነው ወይስ እየጠበበ?

ሐ. በደህና በሀብታም አገሮች መካከል ያለው ልዩነት እንደዚህ እያለ በመሆኑ የሚኖር የነፃ ገበያ ውድድር በእኩልነት ላይ የተመሰረተ ውድድር ነው ወይ? ሁለቱም እኩል ተጠቃሚ ናቸው ወይ? ደህ አገሮች ብቁ ተወዳዳሪ ለመሆን የማያስችላቸው ችግር አለ ወይ? ካለ ምንድን ነው?

የመጀመሪያዎቹ ሁለት ጥያቄዎች በንድፈ ሀሳብ ደረጃ አንድ መሰረታዊ መልስ አላቸው። ይኸውም በአገሮች ውስጥ የሚገኙ የኢኮኖሚ ተቋሞች (Economic Institutions) እና የአለም አቀፍ ውድድሩ ይዘት አሁንም ላደጉት አገሮች የሚሰጠው ድጋፍ ወሳኝ ናቸው የሚል ነው። በአገሮች መካከል ያለው የሀብት ልዩነት ዋና መሰረቱ መነሻው በምርታማነት (Productivity) ላይ ያለው ልዩነት ነው። በአለም አቀፍ ደረጃ በሚደረገው ውድድር ብቁ ተወዳዳሪ ሆኖ ለመቅረብ የሚቻለውም ምርታማነትን በከፍተኛ ፍጥነት ማሳደግ ሲቻል ብቻ ነው። ይህ መልስ ግን በራሱ ትልቅ ጥያቄ ይዞ ይነሳል። የኸውም በአገሮች መካከል ያለው የምርታማነት ልዩነት ምክንያቱ ምንድን ነው የሚለው ነው። ስለዚህ በመጀመሪያ ይህንን ጥያቄ ለመመለስ እንሞክር ።

በአገሮች መካከል ያለን የሀብት ብሎም የምርታማነት ልዩነት ለማስረዳት የተለያዩ የህብረተሰብ ሳይንስ አጥኝዎች ብዙ መላምቶች ሰንዘረዋል። የሰው ልጅ በመሰረቱ ሲፈጠር ጀምሮ ውስጣዊ ልዩነት አለው ብለው የሚያምኑ ዘረኞች የሀብት ወይም የእድገት ልዩነት መሰረት በተለያዩ ዘሮች መካከል ያለ ውስጣዊ ልዩነት ነው (ለምሳሌ ነጮች ባላቸው የጭንቅላት ብስለት ተፈጥሮን ለመቆጣጠር የሚያስችል ችሎታ ያዳበሩ ሲሆን ሌሎች ዘሮች ግን በዚህ አኳያ ድክመት አለባቸው)

ብለው ደምድመዋል። በሌላ በኩል ባህል በሰው ልጅ የሥራ ባህሪይ ላይ ከፍተኛ አስተዋፅኦ አለው የሚሉ ተመራማሪዎች የኢኮኖሚ ብልፅግናን ሀብረተሰቡ ለስራ ካለው ባህል፣ አዲስ ነገር ለመቀበል ካለው ፍላጎት፣ ለቁጠባና ገንዘብ ለማካበት ካለው ባህላዊ ተቀባይነት ጋር በማያያዝ ለአውሮፓና አሜሪካ እድገት መሰረት በተለይ ከፕሮቴክሽን ህይወት ህይወት መምጣት ጋር ሲያይዙት የአፍሪካን፣ የእስያና የላቲን አሜሪካንን የኢኮኖሚ ጎሳ ቀርነት በጎሳ ቀር ባህል መሸብብን እንደ ዋና ምክንያት ያቀርቡታል። በአገሮች መካከል ያለ የሀብት ልዩነት መሰረትም ከየአገሩ የተፈጥሮ ሀብት ብዛትና ማነስ ጋር የሚያያይዙም አሉ።

ምንም እንኳን በመጨረሻ የተጠቀሱት ሀላት ምክንያቶች ለእድገት የተወሰነ አስተዋፅኦ እንዳላቸው ባይካድም በተለይ በቅርብ ጊዜ የእድገት እቅጣጫ ፊትን ከአውሮፓና አሜሪካ ወደ ጃፓንና ሌሎች የደቡብ ምስራቅ እሴት አገሮች ማዞር ከጀመረ ወዲህ እንኳን ምክንያቶች እንደ ዋና ምክንያቶች አድርጎ ማቅረብ አስቸጋሪ እየሆነ መጥቶል። የዚህ ስህተት መነሻ እምነት የእንኳህ ልዩነቶች በእጅግ እየሰፋ መምጣት ከታሪክ አንፃር የከበርቴው ስርአት በአውሮፓ ማቆጣጠር ከጀመረበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ እንደሆነና (በ14ኛው መቶ ክፍለ ዘመን በአውሮፓና በሌሎች የአለማችን ክፍሎች መሀከል ይህ ነው የሚባል የእድገት ልዩነት እንዳልነበረ የታሪክ ተመራማሪዎች አስረግጠዋል) የልዩነቱም መሰረት ከላይ የተጠቀሰው የምርታማነት ልዩነት መሆኑን በመቀበል ምርታማነትን የሚወስኑት ጉዳዮች ላይ እንመለስ።

የምርታማነት ዋና ዋና ወሳኝ ጉዳዮች

ምርታማነት (Productivity) አንድን ምርት ለማምረት የሚወስደውን የግብአት መጠን የሚለካ ሲሆን የነዚህ ግብአቶች መጠን ሲያንስ ምርታማነት አደገ እንላለን። ምርትን በተመለከተ አገሮች በየጊዜው ቴክኖሎጂን ለማሻሻል የሚባዙት አንድን ምርት ለማምረት የሚያወጡትን ግብአት (የጉልበት ወይም የማቴርያል) ብሎም ወጪ ለመቀነስ ነው። የማምረቻ ወጪ ቀነሰ ማለትም ምርቱን በአነስተኛ ዋጋ በመሸጥ ከሌሎች አምራቾች በተሻለ ሁኔታ ገበያውን ለመቆጣጠር ወይም ደግሞ ሌሎች አምራቾች በሚሸጡበት ዋጋ በመሸጥ ከሌሎች የተሻለ ትርፍን ማግኘት ያስችላል። በአጠቃላይ በአገር ደረጃ ምርታማነትን የሚወስኑ አራት ነጥቦች አሉ። እንኳህም።

ሀ. የሰራተኛውና የአሰሪው ችሎታና (Skill) ለሰራተኛውና (Motivation)፡- ይህ ደግሞ በበኩሉ በአገሪቱ ባለው የትምህርት ይዘታና ጥራት፣ በስራ

በታ የሚገኙ ልምዶችና፣ አዲስ እውቀት ወይም ችሎታ ለማዳበር ያለው ተነሳሽነት ሲሆኑ እንኳህም በተለይ በሰራተኛው በኩል ለሰራው የሚያገኘው ክፍያ ከፍተኛ ሚና ይጫወታል።

ለ. ለማምረት የሚጠቀሙበት ቴክኖሎጂ ጥራት፡- ይህም በበኩሉ በአገሪቱ ውስጥ ባለው የእውቀት መጠን፣ ባለው የቴክኖሎጂ ደረጃ፣ በሰራተኛው አዲስ ቴክኖሎጂ የማወቅና የመረዳት አቅምና ፍላጎት፣ በሀገር ውስጥ ከሚገኘው አጠቃላይ ትርፍ ምን ያህሉ አዳዲስ ኢንቬስትመንቶች ላይ እንደሚውልና እንኳህ አዳዲስ ኢንቬስትመንቶች ላይ ንብረትን በማፍሰስ የሚገኘው ጥቅምና ሊደርስ የሚችለው ኪሳራ (Risk) ይወስኑታል።

ለ. በአገሪቱ ውስጥ የሚገኘው ሀብረተሰብአዊና ቁሳዊ የመሰረታዊ መዋቅር (Social and physical infrastructure)፡- የመንገዶች፣ የሀይል ማመንጫዎች፣ የቴሌኮምንዜሽን... ወዘተ መሰራት በብዛት መኖር በአጠቃላይ ምርታማነትን ያሳድጋል። እንኳህ መሰረታዊ መዋቅሮች በአብዛኛው በመንግስት የሚዘረጉ ስለሆነ ብዛትና ጥራታቸው መንግስት በዚህ ላይ የሚያውለው ኢንቬስትመንት ይወስናቸዋል።

መ. በመጨረሻም የሚመረተው ምርት ብዛት ምርታማነት ላይ ከፍተኛ ጫና ይኖረዋል። ይህም ማለት የምርት መጠን በበዛ ቁጥር በእያንዳንዱ ምርት ላይ ሚወጣው ወጪ እየቀነሰ ይኔዳል። የምርት ብዛት በበኩሉ በአገሪቱ ህዝብ ብዛትና የመግዛት አቅም ይወሰናል። ብዙ ህዝብና ሀብት ያላቸው አገሮች ምርትን በብዛት ማምረት በመቻላቸው ምርታማነታቸውን በአንድ በኩል ሲያሳድጉ በዚያው ልክ የምርታማነታቸው ማደግ የህዝባቸውን ገቢ በጣም ያሳድገዋል።

በአገሮች መካከል ያለው የእድገት አለመመጣጠን ማለት ከላይ በጠቀስናቸው ምክንያቶች ላቢያ ምርታማነታቸው እጅግ በጣም የተለያዩ አገሮች መካከል የሚደረግ የገበያ ውድድር ላይ ድህዎቹ አገሮች ውስጥ ያሉ አምራቾች በእኩልነትና በነፃ ገበያ መስክ ተወዳድረው ለመቁቁም ያላቸው አቅም ከፋኛ የቀጠጠ መሆኑን በግልፅ ያሳያል።

ይህ ማለት ግን ሁልጊዜም ከፊት የቀደመው ብቻ ነው በዚህ ውድድር የሚያሸንፈው ማለት አይደለም። በታሪክ እንደምናውቀው በአንድ ጊዜ ገናና እና በገበያ ውድድር አይበገሬ የነበረችው እንግሊዝ በአሜሪካና በጀርመን ስተቀደምና እንኳህ የጎረቤቶቿም ጭራሽ አዝግማ በተነሳችው ጃፓን እየተረቱ መምጣታቸውን አይተናል። ይህ ግን በአለማችን በጥቂት አገሮች ላይ የታየ ጉዳይ ነው። ለአብዛኞቹ ከጎሳ መጪ አገሮች በአለም አቀፍ ደረጃ በሚደረገው የገበያ ውድድር በእኩልነት

ተሳተፈው አሸንፈው የመውጣት እድላቸው እጅግ ደካማ ነው። የዚህም ምክንያት የኋላ ቀር አገሮችን አሸመድምዶ የያዘው የድህነት አዙሪት ነው። ይህ አዙሪት ቢያንስ ስድስት መልኮች አሉት እነኚህም፤

ሀ. የገበያው መጠን፡- ከተወሰኑት እንደ ቻይናና ህንድ ከመሳሰሉት አገሮች በቀር አብዛኛቹ ድህ አገሮች በህዝብ ብዛታቸው ማነሰና በአለውም ህዝብ የመጣት አቅም ውሳኔነት ምክንያት ያላቸው የገበያ መጠን ሰፊ ምርቶችን ለመደገፍ የሚችል አይደለም። በዚህ ምክንያት የሚመረቱ ምርቶች ደረጃ አነስተኛ ነው። ይህም ደግሞ ከብዛት የሚገኘውን የምርታማነት ጥቅም እንዳያገኙ አድርገዋል። በአንጻሩ ያደጉ አገሮች በህዝብ ብዛታቸው ቢያንስ እንኳን የህዝብ የመጣት አቅም ከፍተኛ ሰለሆነ (ለምሳሌ ህንድ 30 ጊዜ የካሊፎርኒያ የህዝብ ብዛት አላት ግን ግማሽ ያህል የገበያ አቅም፤ የአሜሪካን ገበያ በአለም ላይ ካሉት ደህና መካከለኛ አገሮች ድምር ይበልጣል)። በሌላ በኩል ወደ ውጪ ገበያ እንዳይወዳደሩ አቅም ከማጣታቸው በላይ የሀብታም አገር መንግስታት ይህንን ለመከላከል ብዙ ጋራጣ ይጥሉባቸዋል።

ለ. የትርፍ ማነስ፡- ኋላቀር አገሮች ምርታማነታቸው ደካማ ሰለሆነ በዚያው ልክ ትርፋቸው አነስተኛ ነው። ይህም ማለት በአዲስ ምርቶችና ቴክኖሎጂዎች መሰረታዊ መዋቅሮች... ወዘተ ላይ ሊፈስ የሚችል ብዙ ንብረት የለም። ይህም ባለመኖሩ በምርታማነት ላይ ያለውን ችግር ያባብሰዋል። በአንጻሩ ያደጉ አገሮች ባላቸው ጠቀም ያለ ትርፍ በሚያደርጉት ኢንቬስትመንት ምርታማነታቸውን በዚያው ልክ እያሳደጉት ይኔዳሉ። ይህም ድሆቹን አገሮች እያደር ወጪን በሚጨምር (Dynamic cost disadvantage) የመወዳደር አቅም ማጣት ውስጥ ይጥላቸዋል።

ሐ. ለመማር ያለው ችግር (The learning barrier)፡- ደህ አገሮች ውስጥ ያሉ አምራች አዳዲስና ከፍተኛ አምራችነት ካላቸው ቴክኖሎጂዎች የራቁ ከመሆናቸውም በላይ ብዙዎቹ እውቀቶች በተግባር የሚገኙ በመሆናቸው ችሎታቸውን ለማዳበር ያላቸው እድል በጣም የተወሰነ ነው።

መ. ኪሳራ ፍራቻ (Risk avoidance)፡- በደህ አገር የሚገኙ አምራች ያላቸው ገቢ በጣም አነስተኛ በመሆኑ አዲስ የማምረቻ ዘዴዎችን ለመቀበል ያላቸው ፈቃደኛነት በጣም ውሳኔ ነው። ለዚህም ምክንያቱ ደህ አዲስ ዘዴ በአጋጣሚ የማይሰራ ቢሆን የሚደርስባቸው ኪሳራ የለላት ጉርስን ሊያሳጣ የሚችል በመሆኑ ነው።

ሰ. አምስተኛውና እጅጉን የከፋው የአለማቀፍ ውድድር ተደራራቢነት (Cumulative nature of

interantional competition) ነው፡- የአለም ገበያ ውድድር በውስጥ ይዞታው አንድ ጊዜ ያሸነፉትን የሚጠቅምና የተሸነፉትን የሚነጻ ነው። ውድድሩ እንደ ቴንስ ጨዋታ እያንዳንዱን ግጠሚያ (Set) ከዜሮ የሚጀመር ሳይሆን እንደ ቡጢ የመጀመሪያውን ዙር ከፋኛ የተደበደበ ሰው ለማንሰራራት ይብሰኑ እያዳገተው የሚኔድበት ሁኔታ ነው። በመጨረሻም

ረ. ያደጉት አገሮች የሚከተሏቸው ፖሊሲዎች ያላደጉትን አገሮች ይበልጡ እንዲያድጉ እንችላት የሚሆኑ መሆናቸው ነው። እነኚህ አገሮች በአንድ በኩል በድህ አገሮች ውስጥ የሚገኙ አምባገነን ጭፍሮቻቸው በስልጣን የሚቆዩበትን መንገድ ሲያመቻቹ መቆያታቸው ሳይረሳ በተለይ በአሁኑ ጊዜ ደግሞ በሚቆጣጠራቸው የአለም አቀፍ የገንዘብ ድርጅቶች አማካይነትና በእነሱም በኩል የሚመጣ እርዳታና ብድርን እንደ ማስፈራሪያ በመጠቀም ደህ አገሮችን ለእድገታቸው የማይበጁ ሀብታም አገሮችን ወይም የእነሱ አገር ዘለል የንግድ ተቋማትን ግን የሚጠቅሙ ፖሊሲዎች እንዲከተሉ ይገኛሉባቸዋል።

እነኚህ ሁሉ ተደምረው ነው የድህ አገሮች ገበያ ለአለም ውድድር በተከፈተ ጊዜ የመወዳደር አቅማቸው ይበልጥ እየቀጨጨና እንዲያውም ብዙ የምርት ተቋማት እንዲዘጉ ምክንያት የሆነው። በዚህ ደረጃ አጠቃላይ ግንዛቤ ካለን የሚቀጥለው ጥያቄ የሚሆነው በኢትዮጵያ ያሉ አምራች ኢትዮጵያ ገበያዋን ለአለም በከፊተኛ ጊዜ ያላቸው ሁኔታ ምን ይመስላል የሚለው ነው።

ይህ እንግዲህ ከላይ በመክፈቻው እንደጠቀስኩት የኢንዱስትሪ ባለቤቶች ራሳቸው የገለጹት ሰለሆነ ብዙ ማብራሪያ አይጠቅም። እኔ እንኳን ካለኝ መለስተኛ እውቀት ባሁኑ ጊዜ በአገሪቱ ውስጥ ከሚገኙት ኢንዱስትሪዎች የቴክኖሎጂ፣ የዘይት፣ የሳሙና አምራች መወዳደር የማይችሉበት ደረጃ ላይ ደርሰዋል እንደሆኑብን ዘግተው ሌሎችም የሚዘገቡትን ጊዜ እየጠበቁ ነው። ጫማ አምራች በቅርቡ ይህ እድል ሳይደርሳቸው አይቀርም ነው የሚባለው። የኢትዮጵያ የግል ኢንዱስትሪዎች ካለባቸው ችግሮች አንዱና ዋነኛው ችግር ከውጭ ከሚመጡ ምርቶች ጋር መወዳደር አለመቻላቸው ነው።

ለዚህም ምክንያቱ በጥቅሉ ከላይ ከጠቀስናቸው ምክንያቶች የሚያልፍ አይደለም። እነኚህ በአነስተኛ ደረጃ፣ በእርግጥ ቴክኖሎጂ፣ ዝቅተኛ ችሎታ ባለው የሰው ሀይል የሚሰሩ ምርቶች በምንም አይነት በዘመናዊ ቴክኖሎጂ፣ እጅግ በተማረ የሰው ሀይልና በጣም በስፋት ከሚያመርቱ አገሮች ጋር አሁን ባለበት ደረጃው ሊወዳደር አይችልም። ምንም እንኳን የሰው ሀይል ዋጋችን ከሌሎች እጅግ ዝቅ

ያለ ቢሆንም በሰው ህይወት ዋጋ ካለን ልዩነት ይልቅ በምርታማነት ያለን ልዩነት ስለሚበልጥ በነፃ ገበያ ከነኝህ አምራቾች ጋር ለመወዳደር አይቻልም ምርታማነትን በአፋጣኝ የምንጨምርበት መንገድ ካላመቻቸን በቀር። ያደጉት አገሮች ካላቸው የምርታማነትና የጥራት ብልጫ በተጨማሪም (ይህም የእቃዎች ዋጋ በአገር ገበያ ከአገር ውስጥ አምራቾች እንዲያንሰ ያደርገዋል) እነኝህ አገሮች ያላቸው ባህላዊ ተፅዕኖ በዋጋ ሊወዳደሩ የሚችሉትን ምርቶች እንኳን የአገሩ ውስጥ ሸግቾች የውጪውን እንዲመርጡ ገፋፍቶአቸዋል።

ይህ ሁሉ ተደምሮ የሚፈጥረውን ለመወዳደር አለመቻል ካጤንን ዘንድ የሚነሳው ጥያቄ ስለዚህ ምን ይደረግ የሚለው ነው። ይህንን ችግር ያጤኑ ጠበብቶች ለችግሩ እንደ መፍትሄ የሚያቀርቧቸው ሀሳቦች በአብዛኛው ስለ ምጣኔ ሀብት ሂደት ካላቸው አጠቃላይ ግንዛቤ ጋር የሚያያዝ ነው። ለዚህም ሁለት አመለካከቶች አሉ። የመጀመሪያው የነፃ ገበያ ውድድር ለሁሉም አይነት የኢኮኖሚ ህመሞች ፍቱን መደሀኒት ነው የሚሉና በዚህም ምክንያት በገበያ ውድድር ውስጥ ምንም አይነት ጣልቃ ገብነት ከጥቅሙ ይልቅ ጉዳቱ ስለሚያመዘን ጣልቃ ከመግባት ይልቅ ለገበያው ትቶ መወዳደር የሚችል ተፈትኖ ይወጣ ያልቻለው ሞቱን ያሳምርለት ሲሉ በሌላ በኩል ሁለተኛው አመለካከት እስከአሁን ካደጉት አገሮችና በተለይም ባለፉት ሰላሳ አመታት ከፍተኛ የእድገት እምርታ ካላዩት አገሮች በመማር ብልጠት ያለው፣ መንግስትና የግል ባለ ሀብቱን በአንድነት ለረጅም ጊዜ የአገር እድገት የሚያዘጋጅና አገር ወዳድ የኢኮኖሚ ፓሊሲ መንደፍ ይገባል የሚል ነው። ይህም የሚያዘላቸው የፖሊሲ ሀሳቦች የአገር ውስጥ አምራቾችን በጊዜ ገደብ ከውጭ ውድድር መከላከል፣ የአገር አምራቾችን በተለያዩ መንገድ መደገፍን (በአዋቂዎች፣ በፋይናንስ... ወዘተ) የሚያካትት ይሆናል። ነገር ግን በአንዳንድ አገሮች (በተለይ በላቲን አሜሪካ) እንደታየው እንዲህ አይነት ድጋፎች እና ከገበያ መከላከሎች የአገር ውስጡ ባለሀብቶች ያለአግባብ እንዳይጠቀሙበት በመንግስት ደረጃ ጥብቅ ጥበቃን ይጠይቃል።

ለአገር የረጅም ጊዜ እድገት የኢንዱስትሪ እድገት አስፈላጊ ነው ብለን ካመንን የመጀመሪያው አመለካከት ለአገር በቀል የኢንዱስትሪ እድገት እንደማይበጅና እንደኛ አይነት አገርን በአብዛኛው ለሁልጊዜም የእርሻና የገበሬ አገር አድርጎ የሚያስቀር ስለሚመስለኝ በዚህ ልተወውና (አስፈላጊ ከሆነ የዚህን ውጤት ሰፊ አድርጎ ወደፊት ማቅረብ ይቻላል) ከዚህ ቀጥሎ የሁለተኛውን መስመር ለመከተል የሚያስችለንን የንድፍ ሀሳብ መሰረትን በአጭሩ ላቅርብ።

ለአገር ኢንዱስትሪ ጥበቃ የሚሰጠው የንድፍ ሀሳብ ምክንያትና የሌሎች አገሮች ልምዶች

የንድፍ ሀሳብ መሰረት የታወቀው የጨቅላ ኢንዱስትሪ ጥበቃ ምክንያቶች (Infant industry protection) ሲሆን መነሻውም አገሮች በመገበያየት የሚያገኙትን ጥቅምና አሁንም የነፃ ገበያ አቀንቃኞች ከሚያራምዱት ቂሚ አንፃራዊ በላጭነት (Static comparative advantage) ይልቅ በረጅም ጊዜና ወደፊቱን የተመለከተ አንፃራዊ በላጭነት (Dynamic comparative advantage) ላይ ማተኮር አለበት የሚለው ነው። መሰረታዊ ሀሳቡ ዛሬ ማን ይሻላል ከሚለው ይልቅ ጊዜና ድጋፍ ተስተቶአቸው ወደፊት ሊችሉ የሚችሉ ከሆኑ ወዲያ የሚደርሱበትን መንገድ ማስላት ነው የሚበጀው የሚለው ነው። ይህ ምክንያትና ከዚህም የሚከተለው ተግባራዊ ፓሊሲ እስካሁን በታሪክ ውስጥ (ከእንግሊዝ በቀር) ያደጉ አገሮች በሙሉ የተከተሉትና አሁንም የሚከተሉት ነው። ለምሳሌ አሜሪካኖች ከነፃነት ትግላቸው ጀምሮ የእንግሊዝን ትልቅ ኢንዱስትሪዎች ውድድር ለመቁቂያና የአገር ውስጥ አዲስ ኢንዱስትሪዎችን ለማገዝ ከእንግሊዝ በሚመጡ እቃዎች ላይ ከፍተኛ ቀረጥ ይጥሉ ነበር አሁንም የመኪና ኢንዱስትሪውን ከጃፓንና ከደቡብ ምሰራቅ እስያ በተለያዩ መንገድ ይከላከላሉ። የአገር ውስጥ ኢንዱስትሪዎች በደንብ እስከ ሚዳብሩ ድረስ ከውጭ ውድድር መጠበቅ አለባቸው የሚለውን ሀሳብ ያፈለቀው የጀርመኑ የኢኮኖሚ ተመራማሪ ፍሬደሪክ ሊስት አገሩ ይህንን ፓሊሲ እንድትከተል መገፋፋቱና ፓሊሲውም ተቀባይነት አግኝቶ ጀርመን የአገሩን ኢንዱስትሪ ከእንግሊዝ ሸቀጥ ተከላከላ እንድታደግና በኃላም በእኩልነት ለመወዳደር እንድትችል ረድቷታል። የጃፓን ጉዳይ ሁላችንም የምናውቀው ነው። የጃፓን መንግስት ለአዲስ ቴክኖሎጂ መግዣ ገንዘብ ለግል ኢንዱስትሪዎች በነፃ ይሰጥ ነበር። አሁንም ገበያውን ከውጭ ውድድር ከፋኛ ይከላከላል። የኮርያና የደቡብ ምሰራቅ እስያ ታሪክ በግልፅ የሚያሳየው መንግስት አነስተኛ የብድር ወለድ በመስጠት፣ አዲስና የተመረጡ ኢንዱስትሪዎች ውስጥ ለሚገቡ ባለ ሀብቶች ከውጭ ውድድር በመከላከል፣ የሚገቡትን ፋብሪካዎች መጠን መወሰን፣ ድጎማ በመስጠት፣ ባለ ሀብት መጠኑን እንዳያልፍና ሁሉም ተደጋሚ እንዳይሆን የጊዜ ገደብ መወሰን፣ ወደፊት በነፃ ገበያ ለመወዳደር የሚያስችለውን የሥራ መርህ ግብር ማውጣትና የመሳሰሉ ፓሊሲዎች ለእድገታቸው መሰረት መሆኑ አያከራክርም። ይህ ማለት ግን ከመንግስት ድጋፍ ያገኘ ባለ ሀብቶች ሁሉ ወይም ይህን ድጋፍ የሰጡ ሀገሮች ሁሉ ምርታማነት አሳድገው በአለም ገበያ ተወዳዳሪ ሆነዋል ማለት አይደለም። እንዲህ አይነት ድጋፎችም ለሙስና ሰፊ በር ይከፍታሉ። ለዚህም

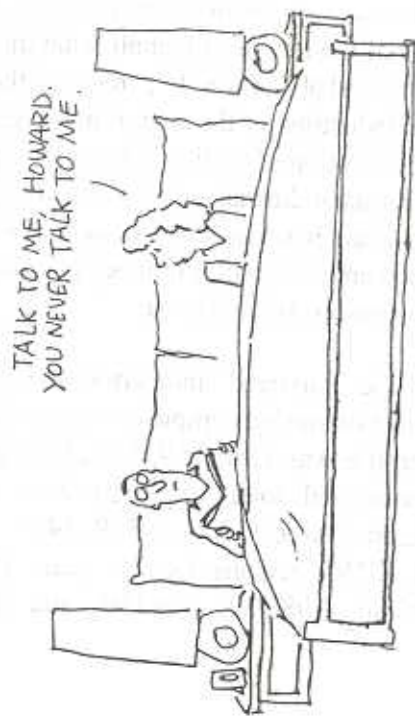
ነው ይህ ፓሊሲ በትክክለኛ ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ የተለያዩ የሀብረተሰብ ክፍሎች (መንግስት፣ የግሉ ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ፣ ሰራተኛው... ወዘተ) በጉዳዩ ላይ ግልፅና ጥልቅ ግንዛቤ እንዲኖራቸውና የመንግስት አካላትም ሆኑ በተለይም የግሉ ኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ጠንካራና የዳበረ የንግድ ግብረ ገብነትና በረጅም ጊዜ የማየት ልምድ ማዳበር የሚኖርበት።

በዚህ ላይ በአብዛኛው ከተሰማማን በኢትዮጵያ ተደቅኖብን ያለውን የአምራች ከገበያ መውጣት እንዴት ልንከላከለው እንችላለን የሚለውን በአጭሩ አቅርቤ ላብቃ። በመሰረቱ የመፍትሔው ቁልፍ የመንግስትና የግል ኢኮኖሚው ዘርፍ ጠንካራ ስትራቴጂካዊ ትብብር ነው። በመንግስት በኩል ይህንን ፓሊሲ በተግባር ለማወል በግልፅና በማደግ መንገድ የተጠቀመ ተዛማጅ የፖሊሲ እርምጃዎችን መውሰድ አለበት። በእኔ ግምት እነኚህ የፖሊሲ እርምጃዎች ቢያንስ የሚከተሉትን ማካተት ይኖርባቸዋል።

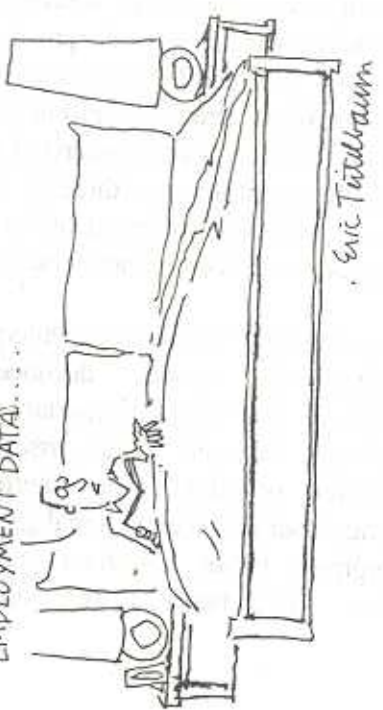
1. ለአገር የረጅም ጊዜ እድገት ጠቃሚ ናቸው የሚባሉ እንዳስትረዎችን በጥናት ላይ በመመስረት ማዘጋጀትና እነኚህን ዝርዝር ጥናቶች ለአገር ውስጥ በሌሎች በእኩልነት ማላወቅ። የተፈጠሩም ካሉ የሚጠናከሩበትን መንገድ ማበጀት።
2. በእነኚህ እንዳስትረዎች ላይ ጥንዘባቸውን ለማፍሰስ ለተዘጋጁ ባለ ሀብቶች ወጥ የሆነ የማበረታቻ እርምጃዎችን በግልፅ ማስቀመጥ (ፋይናስ፣ ለተወሰነ ጊዜ ከውጭ

ውድድር ጥበቃ፣ የመንግስት በለሙያዎች ድጋፍ ...ወዘተ)

3. እነኚህ ድጋፎች እንዲሁ የሚሰጡ ሳይሆኑ በተወሰነ ጊዜ ከአለም አምራች ጋር ለመወዳደር የሚያስችሉ መወሰድ ያለባቸውን ዝርዝር እርምጃዎች ማስቀመጥና ይህም በተግባር መዋሉን መከታተል ካልሆነ ድጋፉን ማንሳት።
4. ትርፍን እንደገና ወደ ማሻሻያ ኢንቨስትመንት ለማዋል የሚያስችል የማበረታቻ የታክስ መስፈርት (Investment tax credit) መዘርጋት
5. ለአንዳንድ እንዳስትረዎች የሚያስፈልገው የካፒታል መጠን በጣም ከበዛ መንግስት እራሱ አክሲዮን በመግዛት ወይንም የውጭ ኢንቨስተሮችን በመፈለግ ባለ ሀብቶችን ማገዝ
6. ካፒታልን አሰባስቦ መስራትን የሚያቀልና የሚደገፍ ህጎች ማውጣት
7. እነኚህን ድጋፎች በግልፅ ለሁሉም ማላወቅና በመጨረሻም
8. መንግስትና የግል በሌሎች በየጊዜው እየተገናኙ እድገታቸውን የሚገመግሙበትና አዳዲስ ስልቶችን የሚቀይሱበት ቂሚ የኢኮኖሚ ተቂም መመስረት ናቸው።



WHILE THE ECONOMY APPEARS SLUGGISH, PRIMARILY IN THE GOODS-PRODUCING INDUSTRIES, THE OVER-ALL SERVICE SECTOR IS BUOYANT, WITH CONTINUED GROWTH IN JOBS AND INCOMES, AS EVIDENCED BY RECENT EMPLOYMENT DATA....



Synopsis of Study Papers

An Analysis of the Development of Small Scale Industries in Addis Ababa Compared With Other Regions

Assefa Admassie

It is widely accepted that industrialization is one of the important and necessary conditions for progress and development. Industrialization influences economic development positively and contributes much towards the overall socio-economic transformation of any society. For this reason, hence, industrialization is often considered as a major agent or force of economic growth and development.

Small scale industries generally use locally available resources whenever possible, create more jobs, employ local unskilled and semi-skilled labour, contribute to the regional distribution of industries. Their need for well developed infrastructure is minimal and have minimal foreign exchange requirements. They use locally available energy sources such as wind power, solar energy, water power, animal or human generated mechanical power. Consequently, the strategy of promoting small scale industries has been popularized in many developing countries and there is a strong argument nowadays in favour of developing small scale enterprises in these countries.

The potential role of small scale enterprises in achieving the spatial deconcentration objective has become an important national objective in Ethiopia. Thus, assessing the significance of small scale enterprises in bringing about balanced regional growth and development is an important and timely exercise. This paper attempts to review

systematically the available evidences regarding the trend and structure of small scale enterprises in Addis Ababa and other regions of the country. More specifically, the paper aims at examining the development of small scale enterprises in Addis Ababa over the past decade, and assessing and comparing the development of small scale industries in Addis with other regions over the same period. The review exercise mainly uses secondary data. Such an analysis could have important policy implications since it sheds some light on the relative importance and growth potential of small scale enterprises in the whole country and their potential contributions in bringing about balanced regional development.

The results of the investigation revealed that on the average textile industries rank first in terms of the number of small scale industries in Addis Ababa. Over 45 percent of the small scale industries in the region are engaged in the production of textile. The next important small scale industrial activity is the production of food and beverages which account for some 20 percent of the total number of small scale industries in Addis Ababa.

For the surveyed industries the average number of workers employed in a small scale enterprise was 5.96, 7.59, 5.48, 12.7 and 10.4 persons and total employment in all the industries were 15576, 19369, 14205, 12357 and 12195 persons for the years 1984/85, 1985/86, 1986/87, 1990/91 and 1992/93

respectively. With respect to employment contributions of different sub-sectors, food and beverage industries account for about 25 percent, textile industries account for about 30 percent, metal production for about 15 percent and leather production from about 10 percent of the labour force. Metallic industries are relatively capital intensive and as a result, the number of workers employed at the metallic industries have been smaller than in other industries.

The gross value of production increased from about 200 million Birr to nearly 360 million Birr over the study period. The Gross Value of Production (GVP) for the year 1985/86 was 243 million Birr which showed an increase of about one percent compared to the 1984/85 value. The GVP increased by more than 30 percent in 1992/93 when compared with that of 1984/85. Since the number of small scale establishments and the number of workers had generally decreased, the increase in the GVP could be due to full capacity utilization and improvement in efficiency. Food and beverage industries, textile and leather industries contribute more than 60 percent of the GVP.

The study has also found that the distribution of small scale industries is uneven with high concentration in few urban areas. The spatial distribution of small scale enterprises is similar to that of large and medium scale industries. Most of the establishments are located in Addis Ababa. Out of 6452 small scale establishments surveyed in the year 1984/85 Addis Ababa accounted for about 2612 establishments or 40 percent. Besides, more than 90 percent of the surveyed paper and leather producing industries, more than 75 percent of the textile, chemical, rubber and plastic industries and about 70 percent of the metallic and non-metallic industries are located in Addis Ababa. In other words, the more modern industries are concentrated in

Addis Ababa. Other regions have higher relative share only in the food processing industries.

Employment opportunities in small scale enterprises in Addis Ababa have also been generally higher than other regions. More than 50 percent of the total employment in small scale industries was generated by small scale enterprises in Addis Ababa. Leather processing industries, paper and printing establishments, chemical rubber and plastic industries as well as metallic and textile industries contribute more towards total employment in the sector.

In terms of gross value of production, again Addis Ababa is dominant when compared with all other regions taken together. More than 65 percent of the gross value of production comes from small scale industries located in Addis Ababa. Almost all gross value of production from the leather, paper and printing industries comes from industries in this city.

Small scale industries in Addis Ababa as well as in other regions are constrained by several factors. They are often constrained by lack of investable capital for the acquisition of machinery and equipment and for the day to day running of the business. The loan policies of the financial institutions have not been conducive and attractive to small scale industries. Often raw material is not available in the domestic market either because it is not being produced or because of poor distribution and marketing system. Small scale industries do not have the necessary foreign exchange to import raw materials from the international market. Lack of skilled human resource is another problem hampering the development of small scale industries in Ethiopia.

One of the major reasons why there is a high

concentration of small scale industries in urban areas could be explained by the lack of infrastructure in relatively backward areas. Lack of power supply, access to water supply and roads to market output as well as to buy inputs have been major constraints to the development and expansion of the small-scale industries. Lack of market information as well as markets have also hampered the development of small scale industries in Ethiopia. The development policies of the different governments in the country have not been very conducive for the development of small scale industries. Investment policies have not been conducive for the expansion of small scale industries. While most of the investment proclamations allow industries to import duty free industrial machinery, implements and the like, there were limits on the size of investment. During the Dreg era the participation of the private sector in industrial development in general was restricted.

It can be concluded that the potential deconcentration argument or objective has not been met in the Ethiopian case. The comparative analysis of the development of small scale enterprises in Addis Ababa with other regions verified the hypothesis of industrial agglomeration in few urban area. Small scale industries like the big ones are concentrated in Addis Ababa as compared to other regions. The concentration of these industries in urban centres puts them in fierce competition with large industries both for input as well as for output markets. The large industries obviously have a comparative advantage over the small ones. The contribution of small scale industries in reducing the gap between the rural (other regions) and urban (Addis Ababa) development by providing off farm income and employment opportunities in Ethiopia has been minimal. Hence, the contribution of small scale enterprises to poverty alleviation

has been insignificant. In order to change this trend and induce spatial deconcentration of industrial development and thereby reduce regional inequalities some concrete policy measures could be suggested.

Small scale enterprises need guidance into areas that have the greatest potential for growth. They can be guided into these areas by the provision of the appropriate incentives as well as by programs for the transfer of relevant technology and training of the labour force. Much is expected from the regional states in creating an enabling environment for the development of these industries. Establishment of small scale enterprises should be encouraged in areas of production where they have comparative advantages over the large enterprises. Tax holidays or similar concessions could also be given to small enterprises whose establishments and development is highly justified on grounds of national priority. Establishment of such industries in economically depressed areas of the country may be put as a national priority.

Small scale enterprises will not grow and develop without an appropriate infrastructure, industrial space, utilities, roadways and communication network. Without compatible government programs for infrastructural development the provision of small scale industries will be useless and will only serve to frustrate the entrepreneurs.

Without the appreciable human resource development program small scale enterprises will not be supplied with a literate work force at the required skill levels. Since literary levels are low, skill training programs are vital.

Access to finance is an important ingredient for the success of small scale enterprises. For this reason, the government must be concerned that finance be available not only in volume but it must be affordable, appropriate and

timely. The recent reduction of lending rates is indeed a move in the right direction although the trend towards increment following the recent liberalization dampens this optimism.

But it needs to be reinforced by expanding the banking facilities to make the service within the reach of small producers.

Economic Information

የክልሎች የገቢ ድልድል ሁኔታ በኢትዮጵያ

ሰሜድ ኑሩ

በመጀመሪያ የግል ሌኮኖሚክስን ወቅታዊነትና አስፈላጊነት ሳበስር ለጥረታቸው ያለኝን አድናቆት በድጋሚ በመግለጽ ነው። ምንም እንኳን የኢኮኖሚክስ ጽንሰ-ሀሳቦችን በአማርኛ መግለጽ አስቸጋሪ ቢሆንም የመጽኔቲን ታዳሚ ለማብዛት እንዲቻል በማሰብ የአገራችንን የገቢ ድልድል ሁኔታ በአጭሩ በአማርኛ ቁንቁ ለመጻፍ እሞክራለሁ። በጉዳዩ ዙሪያ የተጻፉ ንድፈ ሀሳቦችንና የሌሎች አገሮችን ተሞክሮዎች ባካትትና በአገራችን ያለውንም ሁኔታ በጥልቀት ብቃኝ ደስ ባለኝ ነበር። ነገር ግን ሌሎችን አምዶች ላለማጠብብ ሲባል አንኳር አንኳር የሆኑትን ጉዳዮች ብቻ ላቀርብ ተገድጄሁ።

በራሳቸው ባለቤትነት ሥር ካሉት የገቢ ምንጮች በሚሰበሰቡት ጭቢ ዓመታዊ የወጪ ፍላጎታቸውን ላይሸፍኑ ይችላሉ። በተለይ በክልሎቹ ሥር የሚካተቱ የገቢ ምንጮች ከሽያጭና ከኤክስፖርት ቀረጦች በስተቀር በአብዛኛው ከገቢና ከአጠቃላይ ኢኮኖሚያዊ እድገት ጋር አብረው የማያድጉ ሊሆኑ ስለሚችሉ፣ በአንጻሩም በፈደራል መንግስታት ሥር የሚገኙ የገቢ ምንጮች ከገቢ ማደግ ጋር የሚጨምሩ ስለሚሆኑ በክልሎችና በማዕከላዊ መንግስት መካከል ሰፊ የገቢ ልዩነት ይከሰታል። ይህንንም የገቢ ልዩነት ለማጥበብ የተለያዩ መስፈርቶች በመጠቀም የተሰበሰበው ገቢ ከማዕከላዊ ወደ ክልሎች ይከፋፈላል። ይህ ወደ ክልሎች የሚከፋፈለው ገቢ ከቀረጥና ግብር፣ ከእርዳታና ከውጭ ብድር የተገኘ ሊሆን ይችላል።

የፌደራል መንግስት አወቃቀር ሥርዓት በሚከተሉት አገሮች ውስጥ የሚገኙ ክልላዊ መንግስታት (States) የየራሳቸው ማህበረ-ምጣኔ ሀብታዊ እንቅስቃሴዎች ለማከናወን የሚያስችላቸውን ወጪ ክልላቸው ወይም በአጠቃላይ አገሪቱ ባስገኘችው ወይም በአገሪቷ ስም በተሰበሰበ ገቢ ይሸፈናሉ። በእርግጥ ክልሎች የሚያካሂዱት የገቢ መሰብሰብ ሂደትና አጠቃላይ የፈሰሰ እንቅስቃሴዎች በየአገሮቹ እንደሚኖረው የፈሰሰ ፌደራላዊም ደረጃ ይወሰናሉ።

ለአብነትም በህንድ የገምገሃ ዓመት የገቢ ድልድል ተሞክሮ ከተለያዩ ምንጮች የተሰበሰቡ ገቢዎች ለክልሎች የሚከፋፈሉበትን ለአምስት ዓመታት ያህል የሚቆይ የክፍፍል ቀመር የሚወስን አሥር የተለያዩ የፋይናንስ ኮሚሽን ሲሰየም ቆይቷል። በዚህም መሠረት በ1950ዎቹ አካባቢ የህዝብ ብዛትንና የገቢ ማሰባሰብ አቅምን ብቻ ያካትት የነበረው የክፍፍል ቀመር በአሁኑ ወቅት የልማት ጎሳቀርነት ደረጃንና የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ ልዩነቶችን ግምት ውስጥ ያስገባል። የክፍፍል ቀመር በሁሉም ዓይነት ገቢዎች ላይ በወጥነት የሚመሠረት ሳይሆን እንደየገቢው ዓይነትና ባህርይ የተለያየ ነው። ለምሳሌ እ.ኤ.አ. እስከ 2000 በሚያገለግለው የአሥረኛው የፋይናንስ ኮሚሽን የገቢ ክፍፍል ቀመር ውስጥ የገቢ ግብር የሚከፈልባቸው መስፈርቶች የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ ልዩነት (60%)፣ የህዝብ ብዛት (20%)፣ የቆይ

የአብዛኛዎቹ የፌደራል መንግስት አወቃቀር ያላቸው አገሮች የገቢ ምንጮች እንደ ገቢ ምንጭ አገራዊ ወይም ክልላዊ ባህርይና የክልሎችን የወጪ ፍላጎት በራስ አቅም ለመሸፈን በሚኖረው ዓላማ የፌደራል መንግስት ገቢዎች፣ የክልል መንግስታት ገቢዎች እንዲሁም የፌደራልና የክልል መንግስታት የጋራ ገቢዎች ተብለው በሦስት ይከፈላሉ። ነገር ግን ክልሎች

ሰፋት (5%)፣ በመሠረተ-ልማት የኃላፊነት ደረጃ (5%) እንደዚሁም የክልል የገቢ ማሰባሰብ ጥረት (10%) ናቸው። የማዕከላዊ መንግስት የኤክሳይዝ ቀረጦች የሚከፋፈሉበት ቀመር ከላይ ከተጠቀሱት መሥሪያቶች በተጨማሪ የበጀት ጉድለትን ሲያካትት በሽያጭ ታክሶች ምትክ የሚጣሉ ተጨማሪ የኤክሳይዝ ቀረጦች ደግሞ በፍጆታ መጠን ቀመሩ የህዝብ ብዛትን፣ ክልላዊ የንፍስ-ወከፍ ምርትንና አማካይ የሽያጭ ቀረጥ አሰባሰብን (ክልል ዘለል ያልሆኑትን ሳይጨምር) እንዲያካትት ተደርጓል።

በተመሳሳይ ሁኔታ ኢትዮጵያ ከአሃዳዊ (Unitary) የመንግስት አወቃቀር ወደ አሁኑ ዓይነት የፌዴራል የመንግስት አወቃቀር ስትሽጋገር በአገሪቱ ለብዙ ጊዜ ሲሠራበት የነበረውን የተማከለ የገቢ አሰባሰብና የወጪ ሥርዓት በአሁኑ ጊዜ ወደ ሚሠራበት ዓይነት የክልሎችን የራስ ገቢና ወጭ ሥልጣን የሚያረጋግጥ የፌስካል አሠራር (Fiscal decentralization) መለወጥ ግድ ነበር።

በፌዴራል መንግሥቱና በብኔራዊ ክልላዊ መንግስት መካከል የሚደረገው የገቢ ክፍፍል ዓላማዎችም፡-

- ▶ የፌዴራል መንግሥቱና የክልል መንግሥታት በህግ የተሰጧቸውን ኃላፊነቶችና ተግባሮች እንዲወጡ ማስቻል፤
- ▶ ብኔራዊ ክልላዊ መንግሥታት በራሳቸው አነሳሽነት አካባቢአቸውን ለማልማትና ለማላደግ እንዲችሉ ማድረግ፤
- ▶ በክልሎች መካከል የሚታየውን የልማት ልዩነት ማቀራረብ እንዲሁም
- ▶ ለክልሎች የጋራ ጠቀሜታ የሚሰጡ ተግባሮችን ማበረታታት ናቸው።

በኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ ህገ-መንግስት በተደነገገው መሠረት ፌዴራላዊ መንግሥቱና የክልል መንግስታት የራሳቸው የሆነ የታክስና የግብር ሥልጣን አላቸው። በአጠቃላይ ሁሉም የግብርና የቀረጥ ምንጮች የፌዴራል መንግስት፣ የክልል መንግስታትና የፌዴራልና የክልል መንግስታት የጋራ የገቢ ምንጮች ተብለው በሦስት ይከፈላሉ።

ከነዚህም ውስጥ የጋራ ገቢ የሚባሉት የፌዴራል መንግስትና ክልሎች በጋራ በሚያቀቁማቸው የልማት ድርጅቶች ላይ የሚጣሉ የንግድ ትርፍ ግብር፣ የሥራ ግብር፣ የሽያጭና የኤክሳይዝ

ክልል	አማካኝ ለ ኃይሌክ						ክብሩት			ለ ኃይሌክ		የ1989 የመቆያ ድርጅት	የ1989 ለዩነት
	ሀዘብ(ሀምሌ 1989)	የተገቢው የልማት ድርጅት ለዩነት	የክልል ገቢ አስተዋጽኦ	ሀዘብ	የልማት ድርጅት ለዩነት	የክልል ገቢ አስተዋጽኦ	ሀዘብ (60 ክሬቶች)	የልማት ድርጅት ለዩነት(25 ክሬቶች)	የክልል ገቢ አስተዋጽኦ	ለ(7+8+9)/100	11=10*102		
ቫገራቱ	3,358,358	24,3112	0.2129	0.0602	0.1143	0.0793	3.6134	2.8588	1.1892	0.0766	7.6688	8.3310	0.6302
አፋር	1,131,437	29,8359	0.0359	0.0203	0.1403	0.0208	2.173	3.5078	0.3122	0.0504	5.0374	3.6073	1.4301
አማራ	14,769,360	20,0803	0.1689	0.2648	0.0944	0.0629	6.8908	2.3608	0.9434	0.1920	19.1951	20.7245	-1.5295
ላሮሚያ	20,012,952	20,3183	0.2447	0.3589	0.0956	0.0911	21.5325	2.3888	1.3668	0.2529	25.238	27.4816	-2.1935
ላማሌ	1,978,600	35,3982	0.2292	0.0355	0.1665	0.0853	2.1288	4.1618	1.2802	0.0757	7.5708	4.2186	3.3522
ቤጎንገራ-ጎምዝ	492,689	23,1571	0.0683	0.0088	0.1089	0.0254	3.5301	2.7225	0.3815	0.0369	3.6342	2.6339	1.0003
ደቡብ-ብሀ	11,064,818	25,8176	0.1726	0.1984	0.1214	0.0663	1.9050	3.0354	0.9641	0.1590	15.9044	16.5796	-0.6752
ጋምቤላ	194,755	19,2246	0.0590	0.0035	0.0904	0.0220	0.2095	2.2602	0.3295	0.0280	2.7983	2.2047	-0.5946
ሐረሪ	143,587	5,0986	0.1842	0.0026	0.0240	0.0686	0.1545	0.5994	0.3863	0.0734	1.7825	1.0124	-0.7704
አፍላ ሰበብ	2,341,964	3,2857	0.7945	0.0420	0.0155	0.2958	2.5198	0.3863	4.4377	0.0788	7.3438	12.2786	-4.9348
ድሬዳዋ	277,245	6,1125	0.4953	0.0050	0.0287	0.1844	0.2983	0.7186	2.7665	0.0378	3.7835	0.9278	-2.8557
ድምር	55,765,765	212,6600	2.6855	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	60.0000	25.0000	15.0000	1.0000	100.0000	100.0000	0.0000

የ1990 የክልሎች የበጀት ድጋግ የሚያሳይ ሰጠት

ታክስ፣ በድርጅቶች የንግድ ትርፍ ላይ እና በባለ አክሲዮኖች የትርፍ ድርሻ ላይ የሚጣሉ የግብርና የሽያጭ ታክስ እንዲሁም በከፍተኛ የማዕድን ሥራዎችና በማንኛውም የፔትሮሊየምና የጋዝ ሥራዎች ላይ የሚጣሉ የገቢ ግብርና የሮያሊቲ ክፍያዎች ናቸው።

እስከቅርብ ጊዜ ድረስ የጋራ ገቢዎቹ ተለይተው በክልሎች ባለመታወቃቸው ምክንያት በአንዳንድ ክልሎች በራስ ገቢነት ሲሰበሰቡ የቆዩበት ሁኔታ አለ። በሌላም በኩል የህገ-መንግስቱ አንቀፅ 98 ገቢዎቹ በክልል መንግሥታትና በፌደራል መንግሥት በጋራ እንደሚሰበሰቡ የሚደነግግ ቢሆንም ለአሠራር አመችነት ሲባል ገቢዎች በፌደራል የአገር ውስጥ ባለሥልጣን እንዲሰበሰቡ በሚያስችል መልኩ አንቀፁ እንዲሻሻል የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤትና የፌደሬሽን ምክርቤት በጋራ በ1989 ዓ.ም. በወሰኑት መሠረት ይኸው ተፈጻሚ እየሆነ ይገኛል።

በፌደሬሽን ምክርቤት ውሳኔ መሠረት የጋራ ገቢዎች በክልሎችና በፌደራል መንግስት መካከል የሚከፋፈሉበት ቀመር የሚከተለው ነው።

የጋራ ገቢው ዓይነት	ድርሻ	
	የፌደራል መንግስት	የክልል
በጋራ የሚቀረጡ የልማት ድርጅቶች		
የንግድ ትርፍ ግብር	***	***
የደመወዝ ገቢ ግብር	50%	50%
የሽያጭና ኢኮኖሚ ታክስ	70%	30%
የግል ድርጅቶች		
የንግድ ትርፍ ግብር	50%	50%
የሽያጭና ኢኮኖሚ ታክስ	70%	30%
የግል አክሲዮኖች ትርፍ ድርሻ (ዲቪደንድ)	50%	50%
ከፍተኛ የማዕድን የፔትሮሊየምና የጋዝ ሥራዎች		
የንግድ ትርፍ ግብር	50%	50%
ሮያሊቲ	60%	40%

*** ከንግድ ግብር የሚሰበሰብ የፌደራል መንግስትና የክልል ድርሻ በአዋጁት የካርታ መጠን ይወሰናል።

እስከ አሁን በአገር ውስጥ ገቢ ባለሥልጣን ገቢ የተሰበሰቡባቸው የጋራ ገቢ ምንጮች ከድርጅቶች የንግድ ትርፍና ከባለ አክሲዮኖች ድርሻ ግብር እንዲሁም ከሽያጭ ታክሶች ብቻ ሲሆን ከአጠቃላይ የ1989 የጋራ ገቢ የክልል ድርሻም

94% የሚሆነው ከአዲስ አበባ መስተዳድር የተሰበሰበ ነው። በዚህ ረገድ የድሬዳዋ መስተዳድርና ኦሮሚያ በተከታታይ በ3.4% እና በ2.4% ይከተላሉ። ለጊዜው ከጋራ ገቢ ምንጮች የሚሰበሰቡ ገቢዎች መጠን አነስተኛ ቢሆንም ወደፊት የግል ኩባንያዎች እየተበራከቱ በሚገዱበት ወቅት መጠኑ እንደሚጨምር ይታመናል።

አሁን ባለንበት ሁኔታ የክልል መንግሥታት ራሳቸው በሚጠሉትና በሚሰበሰቡት ቀረጥና ግብር እንደዚሁም ከጋራ ገቢ ምንጮች በሚያገኙት ገቢ ብቻ የሚያከናውኑአቸውን የማህበረ-ሰው ሀብታዊ እንቅስቃሴዎች ሊሸፍኑ አይችሉም። በዚህ ምክንያት በአሁኑ ጊዜ ማዕከላዊ መንግስት ከሚሰበሰበውና በእርዳታ በብድር መልክ ከውጭ ከሚያገኘው ገቢ ለክልሎች "በድጎማ" መልክ ያከፋፍላል።

የጋራ ገቢዎችን ድልድልና ለክልሎች ከማዕከል የሚሰጠውን የድጎማ ሁኔታ የሚወሰነው የፌደሬሽን ምክር ቤት ነው። ድጎማው ለክልሎች የሚከፋፈልበት ቀመር የሚወሰነውም በዚህ ምክር ቤት ነው።

በ1984 ለተዋቀሩት የክልል መስተዳድሮች በአዲስ መልክ የመደበኛ በጀት መዘጋጀት የጀመረው በ1986 ሲሆን በዚህ ዓመት የህብረ-ሰው የካርታ በጀት ድልድልም በአመጣኝ ነገር ፕሮጀክቶችን በማጠናቀቅ ላይ በማተኮር የተከናወነ ነበር።

በ1987 የበጀት ዓመትም የክልሎች የመደበኛ በጀት የወረዳና የዞኖችን ብዛት፣ የሚጠገን መንገድ ርዘመትን (በኪ.ሜ.)፣ የግብርና የቡናና ሻይ ሠርቶ ማሳያ ጣቢያዎች ብዛት፣ 1986 የጤናና የትምህርት በጀትና ከማዕከል ወደ ክልል መስተዳድሮች የተደረገውን የድጎማ መጠን መሠረት በማድረግ የተሠራ ሲሆን የካርታ በጀትም የክልል የህዝብ ብዛትን (30%)፣ የክልል የልማት ደረጃ ልዩነት ጠቂሚን (25%)፣ የክልል የገቢ አስተዋጽኦን (20%)፣ የ1986 የክልል የካርታ በጀት ድልድልና (15%) የክልል የቆይ ስፋት (10%) መሠረት የተከናወነ ነበር።

በ1988 የበጀት ዓመት የኢትዮጵያ መንግስታዊ አወቃቀር ፌደራላዊ እንደመሆኑ መጠን የካርታና የመደበኛ ወጪዎቻቸውን እንደ ልማት ፍላጎታቸው የሚደለድሉት ክልሎች በመሆናቸው በጀቱ በማዕከል እንደወትሮው በካርታና በመደበኛ በጀት ተለይቶ የተሠራ አልነበረም። በዚህ መሠረት ለክልሎች የተከፋፈለው ገቢ የተመሠረተባቸው መስፈርቶች የክልል ህዝብ ብዛት፣ የልማት ደረጃ ጠቂሚና

የክልል ገቢ አስተዋጽኦ (በ1987 በእትድ የተያዘ) ነበሩ።

ከድርጅቶች የንግድ ትርፍ፣ ከባለ አክሲዮኖች የትርፍ ድርሻ ግብርና ከሽያጭ ታክስ የተሰበሰበ ገቢ (በሚሊዮን ብር)

ክልል	የክልል ድርሻ			የፌደራል መንግስት ድርሻ			ጠቅላላ ከጋራ ገቢ ምንጭ የተሰበሰበ		
	1987	1988	1989	1987	1988	1989	1987	1988	1989
ትግራይ	-	0.02	0.01	-	-	-	-	0.02	0.01
አፋር	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
አማራ	0.02	0.09	0.05	19.58	17.75	12.70	19.6	17.84	13.28
አሮሚያ	1.46	3.04	7.20	108.98	210.01	202.75	110.38	213.05	209.95
ሶማሌ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ቤንሻንጉል/ጉምዝ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
የደ.ኢ.ብ.ብ.ሀ.	0.04	0.03	0.04	4.00	5.99	5.26	4.04	6.02	5.3
ጋምቤላ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ጠረራ	-	0.02	0.04	-	-	-	-	0.02	0.04
ድራዎ	0.062	3.37	10.33	49.32	51.08	53.49	49.94	54.45	63.82
አዲስ አበባ	161.89	265.87	285.81	1081.93	1542.36	1666.02	1243.82	1808.73	1949.83
ድምር	164.03	272.44	304.01	1263.75	1827.19	1938.22	1427.78	2099.63	2224.23

ምንጭ:- የእገር ወስጥ ገቢ ባለሥልጣን

በ1989 ከማዕከል ወደ ክልል መንግሥታት ገቢ በድጎማ መልክ የተከፋፈለበት ቀመር የህዝብ ብዛትን፣ በልማት የጎሳቀርነት ደረጃንና የክልል ገቢ አስተዋጽኦን ያካተተ ሲሆን ሁሉም መስፈርቶች እኩል ከብደት (33.3%) ነበራቸው።

በ1990 የበጀት ዓመት ጥቅምት ላይ የዋለው የድጎማ ቀመር በ1989 የበጀት ዓመት የነበሩትን መሥፈርቶች የተጠቀመ ቢሆንም ከብደታቸው እንዲለያዩ ተደርጏል። በዚህም መሠረት የህዝብ ብዛት 60%፣ በልማት የጎሳቀርነት ደረጃ 25% እና የክልል የገቢ አስተዋጽኦ 15% ከብደት ነበራቸው።

በዚህም መሠረት የክልል የመቶኛ ድርሻ እንደሚከተለው ተሰልቷል።

$$hድ = \frac{0.6hu + 0.25Δደ + 0.1hገ}{\sum_{i=1}^n (0.6hu + 0.25Δደ + 0.15hገ)}$$

hድ = የክልል ድጎማ የመቶኛ ድርሻ፣
hu = የክልል ህዝብ ብዛት፣

Δደ = የክልል አንጻራዊ የልማት ደረጃ፣
hገ = የክልል የገቢ አስተዋጽኦ
ሀ = የክልሎች ብዛት

በልማት የጎሳቀርነት ደረጃ፣ የሚከተሉትን ያካተተ ነበር።

- ▶ የትምህርት ጥምር አመልካች (የተማሪዎችና የመማሪያ ክፍሎች ጥምርታ፣ የተማሪዎችና የመምህራን ጥምርታ እና የአንደኛና የሁለተኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ተሳትፎ ደረጃ አማካይ)
- ▶ የጤና ጥምር አመልካች (የክልሊኮች ብዛት በሺህ ሰው፣ የህኪም ብዛት በሺህ ሰው፣ የነርሶች ብዛት በሺህ ሰው፣ የጤና ረዳቶች ብዛት በሺህ ሰው፣ የሆስፒታል አልጋ በሺህ ሰው እና ከ5 ዓመት በታች የሚሞቱ ብዛት)
- ▶ መንገዶች (ኪ.ሜ. መንገድ በሺህ ኪ.ሜ.ካሬ)
- ▶ የንፁህ የመጠጥ ውሃ ተጠቃሚ ህዝብ በመቶኛ ድርሻ

የመብራት ሽያጭ (ኪ.ዋት) በሺህ ሰው

የሰልክ መስመር በሺህ ሰው

ልልማት ደረጃ ልዩነት ስሌት ጥቅም ላይ የዋሉ አመልካቾች (የማጠቃለያ ሠንጠረዥ)

ክልል	አመልካቾች											
	የትምህርት ጥመር አመልካቾች	የጤና ጥምር አመልካቾች	የመገንደ	መብራት	ቲሌፎን	ንፁህ የመጠጥ መሀ	ጥምር አመልካቾች	የተገለበጠ	የልማት ደረጃ ልዩነት እንደክስ	ደረጃ	የልማት ደረጃ በተሰጠው ክፍት ተባብሮ (25ክፍት)	
ትግራይ	0.0799	0.0532	0.0433	0.0089	0.0069	0.0540	0.0411	24.3112	0.1143	4	2.8583	
አፋር	0.0878	0.0328	0.0419	0.0026	0.0029	0.0331	0.0335	29.8359	0.1403	2	3.5078	
አግራ	0.0939	0.0411	0.0912	0.0115	0.0067	0.0544	0.0498	20.0803	0.0944	7	2.3608	
አሮሚያ	0.0903	0.0431	0.0675	0.0278	0.0094	0.0572	0.0492	20.3183	0.0956	6	2.3888	
ሶማሌ	0.0774	0.0422	0.0110	0.0098	0.0021	0.0270	0.0283	35.3982	0.1665	1	4.1618	
ቢንሻንጉል ጉምዝ	0.0897	0.1001	0.1169	0.0020	0.0041	0.0403	0.0432	23.1571	0.1089	5	2.7226	
ደቡብ ብሔራዊ	0.0766	0.0388	0.0581	0.0056	0.0042	0.0491	0.0387	25.8176	0.1214	3	3.0354	
ጋምቤላ	0.0887	0.1186	0.0159	0.0126	0.0084	0.0679	0.0520	19.2246	0.0904	8	2.2602	
ጠረፍ	0.1139	0.2790	0.3235	0.1835	0.01152	0.1617	0.1961	5.0986	0.0240	10	0.5994	
አዲስ አበባ	0.1159	0.1283	0.1858	0.4318	0.7156	0.2457	0.3044	3.2857	0.0155	11	0.3863	
ድራዎ	0.0857	0.1228	0.1858	0.3039	0.1244	0.2001	0.1636	6.1125	0.0287	9	0.7136	
ደምር	0.9998	1.0000	0.9998	1.0000	0.9999	1.0000	0.9999	212.6399	1.0000		25.000	

ከዚህ በላይ ለመገንዘብ እንደሚቻለው የድጋግ ቀመሩ በየጊዜው እየተሻሻለ የሚኒድ ነው። በእርግጥ በማንኛውም የጎሳ ቀርቦት መሥፈርት ውስጥ ሌሎች የጎሳ ቀርቦት ጉዳዮች ይካተቱበታል በሚል አስተሳሰብ በግንባር ቀደምትነት የሚመረጠው የነፍስ-ወከፍ ገቢ ቢሆንም በአገራችን የክልላዊ ሀብት ማጠቃለያ (Regional Income Account) በሁሉም ክልሎች ያልተጀመረ በመሆኑ በጥቅም ላይ አልዋለም። በአሁኑ ወቅት

የትግራይ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መንግሥት የሀብት ማጠቃለያ መሥራት የቻለ ሲሆን የአማራና የአሮሚያ ክልሎችም ይህንኑ በተግባር ላይ ለማዋል በእንቅስቃሴ ላይ ይገኛሉ።

በመጨረሻም ወደፊት ክልሎች በራስ አቅም በሚሰበሰቡት ገቢ የወጪ ፍላጎታቸውን መሸፈን ሲችሉ ይህ ከማዕከላዊ የሚከፋፈል "ድጋግ" የሚቀንስ ይሆናል።

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Major Economic NEWS in the Last Two Months

In this column we present major economic NEWS in the past two months. We highly encourage members' (professional) analysis and commentary on the NEWS.

I GENERAL

The Chemical Society of Ethiopia (CSE) disclosed that even though the attention of local and foreign investors have been attracted, since the declaration of free market economy in Ethiopia, the very little environmental concern will lead to widespread damages during the production phase. (The Ethiopian Herald, VOL. LIV, 18, Jan. 28, 1998).

Ethiopia plans to launch next Ethiopian Year a program aimed at boosting its meat and hides and skin supply to the international market. (The Ethiopian Herald, VOL3, Jan. 20, 1998).

The government will make every assistance to promote activities at each administrative echelon in its bid to foster export trade as part of its national mission to revitalizing the economy, a senior Government official underscored. (The Ethiopian Herald, VOL. LIV, 110, Jan.18, 1998).

Some 75 percent of the Federal Government capital budget was spent on three economic sub-sectors according to Ato Girma Biru, Minister of Economic Development and co-operation. (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol. IIV Feb. 11, 1998).

The Government spares no effort in helping the private sector build up its capacity to come out competitive in the world market said Minister of Trade and Industry. (The Ethiopian Herald, Vol, LIV, 126, Feb. 8, 1998).

Addis Ababa, Combolcha, Ethiopia and Mojo Tannery factories are to be privatized through the Ethiopian privatisation Agency (EPA). (Addis Tribune, 282, Feb. 27, 1998 and the Ethiopia Herald, Feb. 20, 1998).

About 4.5 million Birr that belonged to various public and government offices in Arsi zone had been embezzled during the last four years, and over 323,000 Birr was embezzled from 18 public schools in Addis Ababa, ENA said quoting the zonal Justice Department the Education Bureau respectively. (The Reporter, II, 70, Jan. 7, and Jan 1, 1998)

II. AGRICULTURE

Dr. Kassu Illala, Head of Economic Affairs in the Prime Minister's Office with the rank of Deputy Prime Minister, said that the emphasis given to Ethiopia's agricultural extension program should be repeated with respect to the government's strategy for export promotion. (Addis Tribune, Feb.20, 1998).

The World Food Program (WFP) said it will continue to purchase through intermediary aid agencies grain from food surplus states for distribution among food deficit areas in the country. (The Ethiopian Herald, VOL. LIV, 136, Feb. 20, 1998).

Agriculture Minister, Dr. Seifu Ketema said between 1979/80 and 1993/94 food production grew at a very low rate of 0.5 percent per annum

while population grew at a high rate of 3 percent. (The Ethiopian Herald VOL. LIV, 137, Feb. 21, 1998).

The Ethiopian Authority for Environmental protection announced that 53.7 percent of the Ethiopian land is said to be exposed to drought and desertification. According to ENA, an estimated land of 110,430,000 hectares in the country is at the verge of drought and desertification. (Addis Tribune, 280, Feb. 13, 1998).

FAO estimated that Ethiopia will have an overall food deficit of approximately 5300,000 MT in 1998. This is based upon estimated meher production of almost 8.8 million MT and estimated losses, other uses, stocks and human consumption. In its final report, the World Food Program (WFP) food supply assessment team estimated that Ethiopia has relief food aid needs of 420,000 MT for an estimated 5.35 million people for an average period of five months in 1998. (Addis Tribune, 279, Feb. 6, 1998).

III. EXTERNAL SECTOR ASSISTANCE

The Ministry of Finance announced on February 2 the signing of a 78 million dollars debt rescheduling agreement between Ethiopia and Italy. The agreement signed by Finance Minister, Sufian Ahmed and the Italian Ambassador to Ethiopia, Mr. Mavrizo Melani reduces the total burden by 67 percent. (The Ethiopian Herald, Feb. 3, 1998).

IV. INVESTMENT

On Monday, February 9 a British Trade Mission showed marked interest in the possibilities of investing in the power and infrastructure sectors of Ethiopia. The delegates said they would be particularly interested in privatization developments in the capital. (Addis Tribune, 280,

Feb. 13, 1998).

HE Ato Izedin Ali, Minister of Mining and Energy, recently disclosed that 25 foreign and domestic investors have deployed some 288 million Birr in the Mining sector in different regions of the country. (Addis Tribune, 282, Feb. 27, 1998).

V. TRADE

The poor quality of skins and hides supplied by the local market annually cost Ethiopia over 200 million Birr according to Ethiopia News Agency (ENA). (Addis Tribune, 281, Feb. 20, 1998).

The Federal Government reduced the excise and duty tax on whisky. (The Reporter, VOL, II, 27, Feb. 25, 1998).

VI. CREDIT

Ato Mulugeta G/medhin, Assistant Vice-president of the Credit Analysis and Processing Department in the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia disclosed that the Bank has planned to give loans amounting to 10.5 billion Birr in the 1990 Ethiopian Fiscal year. (Addis Tribune, 276, Jan. 16, 1998). Both the Commercial and Development Bank of Ethiopia announced their plan to grant loans amounting to over 11.3 billion Birr during the current Ethiopian fiscal year. The Development Bank alone has planned to lend 4 million Birr to co-operatives and farmers in ten woredas of Arsi and Bale zones. (The Ethiopian Herald, VOL, LIV, 105 & 117, Jan. 13 & 27, 1998).

Ethiopia will be the leading debtor of the World Bank below the Shara between 1998 and 2000 by receiving loans amounting to 1.2 billion dollars, as the Bank reported. (The reporter, VOL, II, 71, Jan. 14, 1998). Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and

World Bank President James Wolfensohn were on hand to witness the formal signing on January 25, 1998 of a USD 500 million World Bank soft loan to Ethiopia between Finance Minister Sufian Ahmed and World Bank Vice President for Africa Cauisto Madavo. (Addis Tribune, 278, Jan. 30, 1998).

The three government owned commercially oriented Banks are facing serious problems with loan recovery for a variety of reasons including lack of financial discipline and outright breach-of-contract cases. (Addis Tribune, 279, Feb. 6, 1998).

VII. REVENUE

Ethiopia has earned over 234 million Birr in revenue from items exported to several counties via Dire Dawa over the past six months the Dire-Dawa Export Trade Branch office disclosed. The Moyale customs office said it has obtained over 21 million Birr from the sale of contraband goods and taxes from businesses during the last six months. (The Ethiopia Herald, VOL, LIV, 113 & 118, Jan. 16 & 22, 1998).

VIII. BUDGET

At the regular session of the Council of Ministers held on January 30th, 1997, five Ethiopian government institutions asked for a budget reallocation and an additional budget of 65,834,790 Birr. The council approved the request. (Addis Tribune, 279, Feb. 6, 1998).

IX. FINANCE

In its regular session, the House approved bills pertaining to bank collaterals. Guarantees for business institutions and the tax on the export of

coffee. (The Reporter, VOL. II, 27, Feb. 25, 1998).

Effective as of January 1st 1998, the National Bank of Ethiopia (NBE) reduced the minimum interest rate to be paid by Commercial Bank on savings and time deposits. The Bank also discontinued its control over lending interest rate, leaving it to the Commercial Bank to decide what rate to charge their credit clients. (The Tribune, 276, Jan. 16, 1998).

XI. SOCIO-ECONOMIC

On February 20th, 1998, the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce organized a half-day work shop on Urban Housing Economy Ownership and Administration. Opening the work shop, Ato Berhanu Tamrat, Vice minister of the Ministry of Works and Urban Development, said that the government is ready to transfer the administration and ownership of the housing sector to private investors. (Addis Tribune, 282, Feb. 27, 1998).

Next Round-table Discussion

The next round-table discussion will be held at the end of April and the topic will be "**Privatization and Domestic Entrepreneurial Capacity**." As the Association can not invite all interested members, we request your co-operation to participate in the debate by sending relevant articles for publication on the next **Economic Focus**.

“The Ethiopian Journal of Economics ”

The Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA) publishes the Ethiopian Journal of Economics (EJE) that comes out biannually. Numbers one and two appearing in April and October, every calendar year. The Association devotes this journal to the advancement of economic science in Ethiopia. Contributions by non-Ethiopians and Ethiopians on economic experiences of other lands are also considered for publication.

Authors can send their articles to the editor in electronic and hard copy, double-spaced and printed on one side. Current editorial policy limits articles to a maximum of 40-50 pages (for text only). An article submitted to the EJE needs to have the following features:

- ▶ Front page:- authors' full names and their institutions, acknowledgments, and abstract (not more than 100 words).
- ▶ Articles: need to be divided into sections and subsections, sequentially arranged and numbered, followed by Notes, References and Appendices. References used in an article should be arranged alphabetically, numbered sequentially and placed under a heading "References" at the end. Diagrams should also be drawn carefully, labeled properly and kept in a form suitable for photographic reproduction.
- ▶ Tables need to be sequentially numbered with descriptive headings and kept within the space provided in a page (at most). Details of mathematical and statistical work that support the manuscript should be sent for use by referees.

Authors should submit a statement explaining the status of their manuscripts (whether or not they have published or submitted them for consideration elsewhere). The Association vests copyright of accepted articles in the Ethiopian Journal of Economics.

Notes to Contributors

The main objective of EEA Bulletin is to initiate policy-relevant public discussion on national and African economic issues. It presents synopses of research papers, panel discussions, public lectures, readers' comments and new research findings and notes.

Readers and contributors are encouraged to submit short articles (not more than 5 pages in double space with 12pt font size) preferably accompanied by an electronic version. If accepted, an edited version of the article will be sent to the author before publication. If the author does not respond within a week, the edited version will appear in the Bulletin.

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We accept articles in both English and Amharic.

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Articles should be addressed to:

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Ethiopian Economic Association

ሰለ መጽሔታችን የአማርኛ ስያሜ

ይህን መጽሔት "ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ" ብለን ስንሰይመው፣ ከቀረቡልን አያሌ ስያሜዎች ቀለል ያለውንና ቀጥታ የሆነውን መምረጥ ይሻላል በሚል ነው። የእንግሊዘኛውን "Economic Focus" ቃል በቃል ይተካል የሚል የዋህነት የለንም። ያንን ለማድረግ መጣር ማለት መለሰተኛ ዐረፍተ ነገር መፃፍ ሊሆንብን ሆነ። የግደስ እንግሊዘኛውን የሚያክል ቃል- በቃል የሆነ ትርጉም መገኘት አለበት ወይ ብለን ለመጠየቅም ተገደናል። "ልሳን" በግዕዝ ሲሆን፣ የቀም ትርጉሙ "ምላስ" ማለት ነው። ሌላው፣ አብይ ትርጉሙ፣ አማርኛውም ወስዶ የሚገለገልበት፣ "ቂንቂ"፣ "ድምጽ" የሚለው ነው። እኛም ስንገለገልበት በዚህ በሁለተኛው "ድምጽ" በሚለው ፍቅር ነው። "ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ" ስንልም፣ ሰለኢኮኖሚክስና ተጓዳኝ ነገረ ትምህርቶች፣ ሰለሙያው፣ ባለሙያዎች የራሳቸውን ድምጽ አሰምተው፣ ሌሎችንም ድምጻቸውን እንዲያሰሙ የሚያስችል መድረክ ከማለት ውጭ ሌላ ጣጣ የለበትም። በመጽሔቱ ውስጥ የሚሰፍሩት ሀሳቦች፣ የሚሰነዘሩት መላዎች፣ ማጠጋጠሻቸው፣ ትኩረታቸው በኢኮኖሚክስ ጉዳይ ላይ ሰለሆነ፣ የእንግሊዘኛውን "Focus" በአማርኛ ለመተካት አላማጥንም። ማማጣንም አስፈላጊ ሆኖ አላገኘነውም። የትኩረት" ጽኑ ሀሳብ ከግብሩ ይሥረጽ ብለን ትተነዋል። ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ ፣ ሰለኢኮኖሚክስ በትኩረት የምንወያይበት መድረክ! ይኸው ነው።

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