



ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ

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✓ **Editorial**

✓ በዘመነ ግሎባላይዜሽን፣ በቀጣዩ ሩብ ምዕተ አመት የበለጸገች ዲሞክራሲያዊት ኢትዮጵያን ለመገንባት፣ የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ፖሊሲ ሊያበረክት የሚችለው ተዋጽኦ መንግሥቱ ደስታ

✓ **The Role of Ethiopia's Foreign Policy in the Building of a Prosperous and Democratic Ethiopia Within the Next Quarter-Century Mengiste Desta**

Translated by: Yonas Admassu

በአምባሳደር መንግሥቱ ደስታ ጽሁፍ ላይ የተሰጠ አስተያየት

✓ / ካሳሁን ብርሃኑ

✓ / መድኃኔ ታደሰ

ሌሎች

✓ **Female Faces of Poverty/ Ancy Thomas**

✓ **E-Waste and the Third World/ Tessy Kurian**

✓ የግል ማሳሰቢያ/ ኤርምያስ ኬ.

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EDITORIAL

This issue of Economic Focus mainly contains the eleventh set of presentations in the EEA's Vision 2020 Ethiopia series that took place on May 28, 2004.

As per the format of the Vision 2020 Ethiopia series, the principal speaker of the evening, Ambassador Mengistea Desta, gave his speech first. He focused on the contributions that Ethiopia's foreign diplomacy could make to democracy and prosperity in the country in the context of an increasingly globalised world. Ambassador Mengistea began his talk by describing the broad nature and functions of foreign diplomacy and proceeded to discuss the specific aspects and circumstances of Ethiopian foreign diplomacy. He then elaborated his vision for 2020 including economic growth that is faster than population growth, the emergence of liberal democracy, and the expanded role of public diplomacy. As one means of realizing this vision, he proposed the establishment of a School of Diplomacy in Ethiopia. Subsequent presentations by Dr. Kassahun Berhanu and Ato Medhane Tadesse, as well as the floor discussion, provided further details and explored a number of critical issues that help deepen our understanding of the role of foreign diplomacy.

Economic Focus would also like to inform its readers that the 2nd International Conference on the Ethiopian Economy was held during 3-5 June 2004. The venue of the Conference was the United Nations Conference Centre in Addis Ababa. It was attended by around 450 participants.

The Conference had three main components - conference lectures, plenary sessions, and parallel sessions. Two distinguished African economists delivered conference lectures on:

1. "The Spread of economic doctrines in post-colonial Africa" by Tandika Mkandawire; and
2. "Is Good Policy Good for the Poor?" by Ali A. G. Ali.

More than 70 papers were presented in the 24 parallel sessions. Five of these sessions were co-organized by collaborating organisations of non-economists, namely: the Ethiopian Bar Association; Forum for Social Studies; Political Science and International Relations Department, Addis Ababa University; Department of Sociology, Addis Ababa University; and Ethiopian Society of Soil Science (ESSS). In addition, more than 15 presentations were delivered during five plenary sessions. Four of these sessions were co-organised by other organisations, namely: the Ethiopian Water Resources Association (EWRA); Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA); the World Bank; and the Ethiopian Bankers' Association.

In part reflecting where we are in terms of our knowledge about the Ethiopian economy, a number of key questions were identified during the Conference including: Is Ethiopia in a low-level equilibrium or trap? Why is private investment relatively low? Are there coordination failures? How could public investment be scaled-up and reoriented to accelerate growth and development? How could the considerable volatility in growth performance be addressed? What are the best avenues for reducing the dependence of agriculture on contemporaneous rainfall? What should the place of urban development be in overall development? How could the policy regime be improved to 'excite' the private sector? Are there alternative ways of attacking poverty, if so which are likely to be most effective in Ethiopia?

The Ethiopian Economic Association has to devise ways of addressing some of these issues between now and the next conference.

Finally, the Organizing Committee would like to thank the sponsors and participants of the Conference as well as the staff of EEA/EEPRI and for their contributions to making the Conference a success.

በዘመነ ግሎባላይዜሽን፤ በቀጣዩ ሩብ ምዕተ ዓመት የበለጸገች ዲሞክራሲያዊት ኢትዮጵያን ለመገንባት፤ የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ፖሊሲ ሊያበረክት የሚችለው ተዋዕኦ*

መንግሥቱ ደስታ (አምባሳደር)

፳፭ ፡፳፻፲፱ ታችን የሚያተኩረው፤ «በዘመነ ግሎባላይዜሽን፤ በቀጣዩ ሩብ ምዕተ ዓመት የበለጸገች ዲሞክራሲያዊት ኢትዮጵያን ለመገንባት፤ የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ፖሊሲ ሊያበረክት የሚችለው ተዋዕኦ» ምን ሊመስል ይችላል በሚል ርዕስ ነው።

ይህን በተመለከተ፤ ዛሬ ማፍንገር እንዳይደርግ የኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚክስ ባለሙያዎች ማህበር ለሰጠኝ ዕድል በቅድሚያ ላመለካኝ ፳፻፲፱ ሆኑ።

የአገራችንን ልማትና እድገት በተመለከተ፤ በልዩ ልዩ መስክ ፳ተሰማሩ ባለሙያዎች በተከፋፈሉ በተደረጉ ውይይቶች አስተያየታቸውን መግለጻቸውን ለመረዳት ችያለሁ። በበኩሉ የዚህ አይነት ውይይት አገራችን በልጽጋ፤ በዲሞክራሲ ሥርዓት ተገንብታ፤ ሰላምና መረጋጋት ሰፍኖ፤ ዜጎች ፳፱፻፲፱ ሩባት ኢትዮጵያ ሳትሆን፤ ፳፱፻፲፱ ኢትዮጵያን ለማየት ለሚሹ የኢትዮጵያ ልጆች ሁሉ በቁጭትና በርብርብ መሥራት እንዳለባቸው ለማትጋት ሳይረዳ አይቀርም የሚል እምነት አለኝ።

ወደ ተጠቀሰው ዋና ርዕስ ከመግባቴ በፊት ግን፤ የኢትዮጵያን ፳፱፻፲፱ ፳፻፲፱ (Overview) እዳስስና፤ አከታትዬ የውጭ ፖሊሲን ምንነት፤ የውጭ ፖሊሲ አላማና ተግባር፤ የውጭ ፖሊሲን ማስፈጸሚያ አካል

በመጠኑ ፳ቃኛለሁ። ከዚህ በኋላ፤ ወደዋናው ርዕስ ግብ፤ ዘመነ ግሎባላይዜሽን በሚቀጥለው ሩብ ምዕተ ዓመት የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ፖሊሲ የበለጸገች ኢትዮጵያን ለመገንባት፤ በአገር ውስጥ፤ በአፍሪካ ቀንድ፤ በአባይ ተፋሰስ አገሮች፤ በአፍሪካና በተባበሩት መንግሥታት የሚጫወተው ሚና ምን ሊሆን ይችላል የሚለውን ለማየት ፳፱፻፲፱ ሆኑ።

ይህም ሙከራ ከፋም በጀም የመተንበይ ተግባር ነው የሚሆነው። አንዳንድ ሰዎች የመተንበይ ስጦታና እይታ ሊኖራቸው ይችላል። እኔ በበኩሉ በእንደዚህ ያለ ስጦታና እይታ ፳ታደልኩ ነኝ ለማለት አልደፍርም። የሆነ ሆኖ የሚቻለውን ፳፱፻፲፱ ሆኑ።

፩. የኢትዮጵያ ፳፱፻፲፱ ታሪክ አጠቃላይ ዕፅፊ

ኢትዮጵያ ለአያሌ ዘመናት ነፃነቷንና ሉአላዊነቷን አስከብራ የኖረች አገር ናት። በኢትዮጵያ ረጅም የነፃነት ፳፱፻፲፱፤ በሰላምም ሆነ በጦርነት ጊዜያት፤ ኢትዮጵያ ከውጪው አለም ጋር የተለያየ መልክ ያላቸው ግንኙነት ነበራት። ይህም ግንኙነት እንዲጠናክር ፳፱፻፲፱ ታሪክ ጸሐፊዎች፤ የሐይማኖት ሚሲዮናውያን፤ ነጋዴዎች መጠነኛ አስተዋጽኦ አድርገዋል።

ጥንታዊት ኢትዮጵያ ከነበረችበት የሥልጣኔ ደረጃ አንፃር ከተለያዩ የመካከለኛ ምስራቅ ፳፱፻፲፱ አገሮች ጋር ጠንካራ የገንዘብ ግንኙነት እንደነበራት የታሪክ መረጃዎች ይጠቁማሉ። በዚህ ረገድ፤ የአክሱም መንግሥት በኢኮኖሚ ተጠናክሮ በመከላከያ ኃይል ደርጅቶ በቀይ ባህር የነበረው ቁጥጥር ኢትዮጵያ በ፳፱፻፲፱ ፳፱፻፲፱ ለነበረው የውጭ ግንኙነት አውግጦ ተፊ ማሪ መረጸ ነው።

ሌላው የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ግንኙነት ፳፱፻፲፱ የጦርነት ነው። በቱርኮች፤ በግብፃውያን፤ በድርቡሾችና በአውሮፓውያን በተለያዩ ወቅቶች በተደጋጋሚ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ወረራ ተቃትቶባታል። ይሁን እንጂ፤ እነዚህን ወራሪዎች ሁሉ በመቀልበስ ኢትዮጵያ ነፃነቷንና ሉአላዊነቷን አስከብራ የኖረች አገር ናት።

ይህንንም በመገንዘብ፤ አንዳንድ ታሪክ ጸሐፊት ኢትዮጵያን የአፍሪካ ዘውዳዊ መንግሥት ተፋላሚ አገር (Africa's fighting kingdom) ፳፱፻፲፱ ላል። ፳፱፻፲፱ የሚያመለክተው ኢትዮጵያ በተለያዩ ወቅት ፍልሚያ ያካሄደችው የሰው አገር ለመውረር ሳይሆን፤ የራሷን የግዛት አንድነትና ሉአላዊነት ለመድፈር የመጡትን የውጭ ፳፱፻፲፱ ኃይላት በመከላከል ወረራቸውን ለማክሸፍ ነው። (Fighting not to commit aggression; fighting not for territorial aggrandizement; but fighting to

* የኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚክስ ባለሙያዎች ማህበር ባዘጋጀው ርዕይ 2020 መድረክ ግንቦት 20 ቀን 1996 ዓ.ም በሂልተን ሆቴል የተደረገ ንግግር።

maintain her age-old sovereignty and territorial integrity)

ኢትዮጵያ በውጭ ወራሪ ኃይላት ላይ ያስመዘገበችው ድል እውቅናን አስገኝቶ፤ የወቅቱ የአውሮፓ ቅኝ ገዥ መንግስታት የኢትዮጵያን ነፃነት ተቀብለው የዲፕሎማቲክ ግንኙነት እንዲመሰርቱ በጎ አስተዋጽኦ አበርክቷል።

በቅርቡም ጎረቤት አገሮች ሶማሊያና ኤርትራ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ወረራ ቃጣታ ተጠቅሟል። በረራ ተቀልብሶ በኢትዮጵያ ድል አድራጊነት መደምደሙ የቅርብ ጊዜ ትዝታ ነው።

የኢትዮጵያ ጀግኖች ለዘመናት ለአገራቸው ነፃነትና ሉአላዊነት የከፈሉት መስዋዕትነት፤ በተለይ በአድዋና እንደገናም በፋሽስት ወረራ ላይ የተቀዳጁት ድል በአለም ርቀት፤ በተለምዶም በዓቁር ሕብ በየትግል ታሪክ፤ ከፍተኛ ሥራ ስህተት ዘንጥ አለም ሲዘከር ይኖራል።

እንግዲህ፤ እነዚህ ሁሉ ጦርነቶች በኢትዮጵያ ምድር የተካሄዱ ሲሆን፤ ለአገራችን ጎረቤቶች ጉልህ አስተዋጽኦ አበርክተዋል ቢባል ማጋነን አይሆንም። ለእነዚህ ሁሉ ጦርነቶች የተከፈለው መስዋዕትነትና የወጣው ወጪ ለልማትና ለእድገት ቢውል ኖሮ፤ የአገራችን የእድገት ደረጃ የት ስታይት እንደነበር መገመት አዳጋች አይሆንም።

፪. የውጭ ፖሊሲ ምንነት፤ አላማና ተግባር

ስለ ኢትዮጵያ ዲፕሎማቲክ ርቀት እይታ ይህን ያህል ካልኩ በኋላ፤ ወደውጭ ፖሊሲ ምንነት፤ አላማና ተግባር አመራሰሁ።

፪.፩. የውጭ ፖሊሲ ምንነት፤

ሁላችንም እንደምናውቀው፤ የአንድ መንግሥት የአገር አመራር ፖሊሲ በሁለት አበይት ጉዳዮች ሊከፈል

ይችላል። ይኸውም የውስጥ ፖሊሲና የውጭ ፖሊሲ ናቸው። ሁለቱም ተደጋጋሪዎች ናቸው። ህግም ማለት የውጭ ፖሊሲ ከውስጥ ፖሊሲ ነው የሚመነጨው።

የውጭ ፖሊሲ በአጭር አነጋገር፤ አንድ መንግሥት የአገሩን ሁለንተናዊ ጥቅም ለማራመድ ከሌሎች መንግሥታትና አለም አቀፍ አካላት ጋር የሚያካሂደውን ግንኙነት የሚወስን ጥቅል መመሪያ ነው ለማለት ይቻላል። ግንኙነቱም በእኩልነት፤ በመተባበርና በጋራ ጥቅም መርህ የተመሠረተ ነው።

፪.፪. የውጭ ፖሊሲ አላማና ተፅዕኖ፤

፪.፪.፩. አላማ

ኅዳር 1989 ፒ.ም. ታትሞ የወጣው የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፑብሊክ ስራ ስህተት አላማዎችን ይዘረዝራል። አጠር አድርጎ በማሰባሰብ አቀርቦለሁ።

- የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦችን ሉአላዊነት፤ ነፃነትና ክብር ማስጠበቅ፤
- ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት እንዲጠናከር ማድረግ፤
- ፈጣን የማህበራዊና የኢኮኖሚ እድገቱን ለማስገኘት አስተዋጽኦ ማግኘት፤
- በአፍሪካ ቀንድ ሰላምና ትብብርን ማጠናከር፤
- ለአፍሪካ ሕዝቦች የጋራ እድገት ሰላምና ጸጥታ እንዲከበር እንቅስቃሴ ማድረግ፤
- በታዳጊ አገሮችና በበለጸጉት አገሮች መሀከል ያለው ፍትህ የሌለበት ግንኙነት እንዲስተካከል በሚደረገው ጥረት አስተዋጽኦ ማድረግና
- ለአለም ሰላም፤ ለእኩልነት ፍትሐዊ ግንኙነት መስራት ማለት።

ከዚህ የምንረዳው፤ የውጭ ፖሊሲ አላማዎች ብዙ ቁም ነገሮችን

ያካተቱ መሆናቸውን ነው። በአገር ውስጥ ከሉአላዊነትና ነፃነትን ማስከበር ጀምሮ ልማትና እድገትን፤ የዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ግንባታን ሲያካትቱ፤ በውጭ ግንኙነት ረገድ ደግሞ፤ በአፍሪካ ቀንድ ሰላምና ትብብርን፤ ለአፍሪካ የጋራ እድገት፤ በሶስተኛ አለም አገሮችና በበለጸጉ አገሮች መሀከል ፍትሐዊ ሥርዓት እንዲኖር፤ እንዲሁም ለአለም ሰላም አስተዋጽኦ ማበርከት ያቅፋል።

እንግዲህ ከላይ በአጭሩ ርቀት የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ፖሊሲ የሚያተኩርባቸው መሰረታዊ አላማዎች ሲሆኑ፤ ከዚህ ለመገንዘብ የሚቻሉ የውጭ ፖሊሲው ዋና ተልዕኮ በአገር ውስጥ የህብረተሰቡን ፖለቲካዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ዕድገት ለማስመዝገብ ለሚደረገው ጥረት ሁሉ መሳካት አስተዋጽኦ ማድረግ ነው።

፪.፪.፪. ተፅዕኖ

ከላይ በቁጥር (1) የተጠቀሱት የውጭ ፖሊሲ አላማዎች እንዴት ይተባበራሉ የሚለውን ግንዛቤ ያሳያል።

ቀደም ሲል አንድ መንግሥት የአገሩን ደህንነትና ጥቅም ለማራመድ ከሌሎች መንግሥታት ጋር የሚያካሂዳቸውን ግንኙነቶች ማመራ ስራ ሲሆን ነው ብለናል። የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስቴር ተብሎ ሰየመው። ስራ እናት መሰሪያ ቤት ሲሆን፤ የውጭ ፖሊሲን በመስክ ለማስፈጸም የሚጠቀሙባቸው ተቋማት አሉት።

እነዚህም፤ ኢምባሲዎች፤ ነዋሪ መልክጥኛ ጽ/ቤቶችና ቆንሰላዎች ናቸው። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ፤ ፕሎማሲ፤ በጉባኤዎች፤ በመሪዎችም ደረጃ በምስጢርም በግልጽም ሊካሄድ ይችላል። (secret diplomacy, open diplomacy) እነዚህ ተቋማት አይነተኛ ተፅዕኖ በወከላቸውና በተወከሉበት አገር ወይም ድርጅት ያለውን ግንኙነት በሁሉም መልክ ማጠናከር ነው።

ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ

፪.፪.፪.፩ ዓቅም ማስጠበቅ

ለአገሪቱ ዘላቂ ጥቅም መጠበቅ መሥራት። በዚህም ረገድ የሚቻላቸውን ሁሉ በማድረግ አስተዋጽኦ ማበርከት ነው። ለምሳሌ፣ በኢኮኖሚ፣ በንግድ፣ በቱሪዝም፣ በኢንቨስትሜንት፣ በባህል፣ በሳይንስና ቴክኖሎጂ መስኮች ትብብር በመፍጠር አስተዋጽኦ እንዲያበረክቱ ይጠበቅባቸዋል።

፪.፪.፪.፪ ወዳጆችን ማፍራት

በየአገሩ ተሰሚነት ያላቸውን የመንግሥት አባላት፣ እንዲሁም የፓርቲ አባላትን፣ ርዕሰ ልማት አባላትን የሲቪል ማህበራትን፣ ምሁራንና ታዋቂ ግለሰቦችን፣ የሚዲያ ባለሙያዎችን በመቅረብ ወዳጅነት ማፍራት።

፪.፪.፪.፫ የዜጎችን መብት ማስከበር

በውጭ የሚኖሩ የኢትዮጵያ ዜጎችን መብት ለማስከበር፣ በማሰባሰብና በማደራጀት፣ ከአገራቸው ጋር ያለው ግንኙነት እንዲጠናከርና፣ ለአገራቸው ገንቢ አስተዋጽኦ እንዲያበረክቱ፣ ሁኔታዎችን ማመቻቸት። ከዚህ በላይ የተገለጹትን በኤምባሲዎች አማካይነት አመራር እየሰጡ የሚያከናውኑ አምባሳደሮች፣ ነዋሪ መልዕክተኞችና ቆንስላዎች ጠቅሟል።

እዚህ ላይ የሚመስለኝ መነሳት የለበት አግባብ ስላለው ዓቅቤ ዲፕሎማቶች ተሰይመው ውጭ አገር ሲመደቡ ምን መስፈርት ማሟላት ይኖርባቸዋል? የሚለው ነው። በመሰረቱ ወደ ውጭ የሚመደቡ ዲፕሎማቶች መመረጥ ያለባቸው በጥቅሉ ሲታይ ችሎታና ብቃትን ማዕከል ባደረገ የአመራረጥ ሥነ ሥርዓት ነው።

ከዚህ አኳያ፣ በአሁኑ ወቅት የዲፕሎማቶችን አመዳደብ ስናይ፣ ከሞላ ጎደል የብሔረሰብ ተዋጽኦን መርህ ያደረገ ፖሊሲ ነው። ርዕዓ ነው፣ ኢትዮጵያ የአያሌ ብሔረሰቦች

አገር በመሆኗ፣ ይህ አሰራር ከአገራችን ተጨባጭ ሁኔታም፣ በዲሞክራሲ መርህ መሰረትም፣ ተቀባይነት ያለው መሆኑ አጠያያቂ አይሆንም።

ፍጥነት፣ ተገቢነት፣ ችሎታ፣ ልምድን ብቃትን ይዘው ካልተገኙ፣ በብሔረሰብ ተዋጽኦ ብቻ የሚደለደሉ ከሆነ ከጥቅሙ ጉዳይ ሊያመዘን ይችላል። ዲፕሎማቶች ችሎታና ብቃት ከሌላቸው፣ ብሔረሰባቸውንም ሆነ አገራቸውን አይጠቅሙም። በሌላ መልኩም፣ ዲፕሎማቲክ ክስረት ሊያስከትል ይችላል። በኢትዮ-ኤርትራ ግጭት ወቅት አልፎ አልፎ በዲፕሎማሲው መስክ የተከሰተው ችግር በዚህ ምክንያት ሳይሆን አይቀርም ተብሎ ጠቅሟል። ይህ ጉድለት መሆኑ ከታመነበት፣ እርምጃ እርምጃ ተወስዶ ማስተካከል ተገቢ ይሆናል።

ለአገራቸው ዕድገትና ብልጽግና ገንቢ አስተዋጽኦ ለማበርከት፣ ዲፕሎማቶቻችን በችሎታ፣ በልምድ፣ በቋንቋ ብቃታቸው ተመርጧል። ለዚህም ሙያዊ ብቃት ያለው Professional Diplomatic Corps መጠቀም ጥሩ ነው።

በዓቅሉ ሲጠቀሙ፣ ሲሰሩ ሲሰሩ አይነተኛ ተግባር፣ መንፅሥት የሚያራምዳቸው አገራዊ ጥቅሞች አዎንታዊ ውጤቶች እንዲያስገኙ የዲፕሎማቲክ ዘመቻ በማካሄድ የበኩሉን እገዛ ማድረግ ነው።

ከዚህ ቀጥሎ፣ ቀደም ሲል የገለጽኳቸውን ሁኔታዎች በመመርኮዝ፣ ወደዋናው የምሽቱ ርዕስ አመራረው።

ጠቅሟል።

፫. በዘመን ግሎባላይዜሽን፣ በቀጠለው ሩብ ምዕተ አመት የበለጸገች ዲሞክራሲያዊት ኢትዮጵያን ለመገንባት፣ የኢትዮጵያ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ሊያበረክተው የሚችለው ተጠቅሟል።

ከሁሉ አስቀድሞ በተባለው ቀጣይ ሩብ ምዕተ አመት የአለም አጠቃላይ ሁኔታ ምን ሊመስል እንደሚችል የራሴን ርክብ አስመልክቶ አጠር ያለ ሥዕል ጠቅሟል።

፩. በዚህ ወቅት አለማችን በከፍተኛ የለውጥ ሂደት ይራመዳል ብብ እገምታለሁ። ዋና ዋናዎቹን ለመጠቀም ያህል፣ የመገናኛ ቴክኖሎጂ (information technology) በስፋትና በጥልቀት መጥቆ አለማችንን ወደ አንድ መንደር (global village) ምስረጫ ጠቅራባታል። የአሁኑ የአውሮፓ ኅብረት፣ አንድ ጠንካራ የአውሮፓ መንግሥት ይሆናል። ቻይና አሁን በተያያዘችው የልማትና የቴክኖሎጂ ፅሁፍ ጠቅላይ ጋዳጅ ትሽጋገራለች። በዚህ አኳኋን የአለም ጋዳጅ ሚዛን ተቀይሮ፣ አሜሪካ የአለማችን ብቸኛ ልክለ ኃይል አገር መሆኗ ይቀራል።

ከዚህም በቀር፣ የጠፈር ምርመር ተጠናክሮ፣ በጠፈር አለም አቀፍ በቢቢ (International Space Station) ይቋቋማል። ከዚያም ጨረቃ ላይ መጋረጫ (Moon base) ይሰራና፣ ከዚህ መሽጋገሪያ ድልድይ በመነሳት ሰፊ ማረጋገጫ ላይ ይገኛል። (Mission to Mars) ከዚህም አልፎ ተርፎ፣ ወደሌሎች ፕላኔቶች ለመዘመት እቅድና ፕሮግራም መነደፍ ጠቅሟል።

የዚህ ሁሉ ሂደት የሕዋውን ሉአላዊነት (Outer space sovereignty) ጥያቄን ያስነሳል። ጉዳዩም አወዛጋቢ ይሆናል። ሕዋው አቀፍ ሕግ (Outer space law) ተረቆ የፕላኔቶችን የሉአላዊነት ጉዳይ

ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ

ለዚህም ነው ለማለት ይቻላል፤ አዲስ አበባ የአፍሪካ አንድነት መስሪያ ቤት መቀመጫ እንድትሆን አፍሪካውያን የመረጧት። በዚህም ረገድ፣ በጊዜው የነበረው የኢትዮጵያ ዲሞክራሲ አንፃራዊ ድል አስመዝግቧል ቢባል ማጋነን አይሆንም።

ከዚህ በመነሳት፣ በቀጣ 25 ገመታት የአፍሪካ ጉዞ ምን አቅጣጫ ሊይዝ ይችላል፤ አቅጣጫው ትክክለኛ መስመር ዘ እንዲሄድ ኢትዮጵያ ምን ሚና ትጫወታለች የሚለውን በአጭር በሰላላሁ።

አፍሪካውያን እስካሁን ባደረጉት ረጅም ጉዞ፣ አያሌ አዎንቶ ውጤቶችን አስመዝግበዋል። አፍሪካን ከቅኝ አገዛዝ ነፃ አስወጥተዋል። የአፍሪካ ነፃ መንግሥታት ተመስርተው በሂደት የአፍሪካ አንድነት አቋቁመዋል። በአፍሪካና በተቀረው አለም አንገብጋቢ ጉዳዮች፣ የአፍሪካን አቋም በአንድ ድምፅ አስምተዋል። ከዚህም በቀር፣ በቅርቡ የአፍሪካ ኅብረትን መስርተዋል። የአፍሪካ ፓርላማም ተመርቆ፣ ሥራውን በሆሯል።

እንዲሁም የአፍሪካ የኢኮኖሚ ማህበረሰብ በክፍለ አህጉራዊ ደረጃ ተቋቁሞ፣ የንግድ ልውውጥን፣ በሥራ ምሩክን ለማሳካት በመስራት ላይ ይገኛል። በህ ከሰመረ በኋላ፣ የአፍሪካ የጋራ በባን ለመመስረት ዕቅድ አለ። ዕቅዱ ሲሳካ፣ የአፍሪካ የኢኮኖሚና የገንዘብ ውህደት (Economic Integration and Monetary Union) ይገኛል።

ይህ ሁሉ የሚያመለክተው፣ አንድ የአፍሪካ መንግሥት (United States of Africa) ወደፊት ለማቋቋም መሰረት እየተጣለ መሆኑን ነው። ገና ግን፣ ይህ ገሀድ ሊሆን የሚችለው የአፍሪካ መንግሥታት ንግግር ማብዛታቸውን ቀንሰው ወደተግባራዊነት ያተኮሩ እንደሆነ

ነው። (Less rhetoric, more action) ሲያደርጉ ነው።

አንድ የአፍሪካ መንግሥት እውነት ከኢትዮጵያ ጥቅም አንፃር ሲታይ የሚደገፍ ነው። ምክንያቱም፣ አዲስ አበባ የአፍሪካ አንድነት መንግሥት መናገሻ ከተማ ሆና የመቀጠሉ ዕድል ሰፊ በመሆኑ ነው። ሰለዚህ፣ ኢትዮጵያም በበኩሏ፣ ለአንድ የአፍሪካ መንግሥት መሳካት ሌሎችን የአፍሪካ አገሮች በማስተባበር በሙሉ ኃይል መስራት በቀበላል።

ከዚህ ላይ ሊሰመርበት የሚገባው፣ አንድ የአፍሪካ መንግሥት መቋቋም፣ ለአፍሪካ ሰላምና መረጋጋት፣ ልማትና ዕድገት ጠቃሚ ከመሆኑም በላይ በተባበረ ክንድ የግሎባላይዜሽንን ተፅዕኖ ለመቋቋም ገረገሏል።

የኅብረቱ መንግሥት መመስረት አስፈላጊ መሆኑ ሌላው ምክንያት፣ እንደምንገነዘበው የውጭ ግንኙነት መሰረት ሆኖ ሲያገለግል የኖረው የሉአላዊ አገር ሥርዓት (Modern nation system, the basis of international relations) ማለግ ለግሎባላይዜሽን፣ በተሸረሸረ በቻል። በቀ (Henry Kissinger, Does America Need a Foreign Policy) ብሎ በመሰጠም በቅርቡ በደረሱት መጽሐፋቸው፣ የአገር ሉአላዊነት ጽንሰ ሐሳብ በመሸርሸር ላይ መሆኑን ያስረዱ። የዊስትፊሊያ (Westphalia) ስምምነት አሁንም ይሰራል ወይ ብለው ይጠይቁ፣ ጥያቄያቸውን በገዛ ራሳቸው በመመለስ ይህ ሥርዓት (doctrine) ፈተና በግምል ላሉ።

ይህንንም ሲያብራሩ፣ በ1648 በአውሮፓ መንግሥታት መሀከል የተደረገው ስምምነት የአገሮችን ሉአላዊነትና እኩልነት ዕውቅና ሰጥቶ፣ አንዱ በሌላው አገር ጣልቃ እንዳይገባ የደነገገው ድንጋጤ ተፃሶ፣ በሰብአዊ መብት መጣስ

ሰብ አስባብ ጣልቃ ገብነት በተካሄደ በቻል ላሉ።

ይህንንም በማጠናከር፣ William PFAFF በቅርቡ በ International Herald Tribune, The Decline of Nation State, በሚል በርሰቱ፣ ከ150 አመታት በፊት የCommunist Manifesto በዘውዳዊና በክብርቱ ሪፐብሊክ ይመራ የነበረውን የአገዛዝ ሥርዓት በሪፍራክሽን የሰጠውን ገዥነት ቀምተው ወስደዋል ብሎ ይኮንናቸዋል ይልና፣ በአንፃር በአሁኑ ወቅት የአሜሪካ መንግስትም የራሱን Manifesto አውጥቷል። ይኸውም፣ የአሜሪካን ጥቅምና ደህንነት የሚያደፈርስ ስጋት በማናቸውም አገር ቢፈጠር፣ ስጋቱን ለማስወገድ የአገር ሉአላዊነትን በመጣስ፣ አሜሪካ ጣልቃ ትገባለች። ካስፈለገም የመንግስት ለውጥ (Regime Change) ታደርጋለች ይላል። በቅርቡ በአፍሪካስታንና በኢራቅ የአሜሪካ ማኒፌስቶ የተባለው አላማ ተፈጻሚ ሆኖ እናገኛለን።

ይህንን ለማንሳት የቃጣሁት፣ በአሁኑ ወቅት፣ አለማችን በብቸኛ ልክለ ኃይል አገር በመመራት ስለምትገኝ፣ የውጭ ግንኙነትን በተጠናል ለማካሄድ ችግር እንዳለበት ነው። ያለው አማራጭ፣ በቡድን ተደራጅቶ የውጭ ግንኙነትን ማካሄድ ነው። ይህንንም በመገንዘብ፣ አሁን በነፃ ገበያ ስም በቡድን በየተደራጁ ነው። ለምሳሌ በአውሮፓ፣ የአውሮፓ ኅብረት፣ በሰሜን አሜሪካ NAFTA በደቡብ አሜሪካ፣ MERCOSUR፣ በቡብ ምሥራቅ በስፍ፣ ASEAN፣ ተቋቁመዋል። ከዚህ እውነታ በመነሳት ነው፣ የጠነከረ የአፍሪካ ኅብረት ያስፈልጋል የምለው።

የኢትዮጵያም የውጭ ፖሊሲ እነዚህን ታሳቢዎች ግንዛቤ ውስጥ በማስገባት፣ አዲስ አበባም የአፍሪካ ኅብረት መዲና ሰለሆነች፣ በቀጣ አመታት፣ የአፍሪካ የጋራ የውጭ ፖሊሲ (African Common Foreign Policy) እንዲጠናከር፣ ከፍተኛ ሚና

ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ

መጫወት ይኖርበታል። በባህ አካላት፣ የግሎባላይዜሽንን ተጽእኖ ለመቋቋምና የአገርንም ጥቅም ለማስቀመጥ ስራዎችን ማረጋገጥ።

፮. በተባበሩት መንግሥታት፣

እንደሚታወቀው ኢትዮጵያ ተባበሩት መንግሥታት ድርጅት መስራች አባል ናት። የድርጅቱ ቻርተር አላማዎች የታለሙላቸውን ፅብ እንዲመቱ ኢትዮጵያ ሙሉ ተሳትፎ አድርጋለች። እያደረገችም ነው።

አፍሪካ ከቅኝ አገዛዝና ከአፓርታይድ የባርነት ሥርዓት ነፃ እንዲወጣ፣ ድርጅቱ ባቋቋመው ነፃ አውጭ ኮሚቴ አባል በመሆን፣ ኢትዮጵያ ሙሉ ተሳትፎ ከማድረግም በላይ፣ ደቡብ ምዕራብ አፍሪካ (ናሚቢያ) በጊዜው ከነበረው የደቡብ አፍሪካ ሚኒስትር መንግሥት አገዛዝ ነፃ እንድትወጣ፣ ኢትዮጵያ ከላይቤሪያ ጋር በመሆን፣ በአለም አቀፍ ፍርድ ቤት ለሰባት አመታት ተሟግታ፣ ናሚቢያ ነፃነቷን እንድትጎናጸፍ ተጠቅሟል። በባህ ረባባ፣ እነሆ!

ኢትዮጵያ ጉልህ አስተዋጽኦ አድርጋለች።

ከዚህም በቀር፣ ኢትዮጵያ ለድርጅቱ የሰላም አሰከባሪ ስራዎችን አስተዋፅኦ በማበርከት ለአለም ሰላምና ጸጥታ መከበር ድርሻዋን ለግሳለች።

በድርጅቱ ስራዎች ምክር ቤት እንዲሻሻል ከሌሎች አገሮች ጋር በመሆን ኢትዮጵያ ጥረት እያደረገች ነው። እንደሚታወቀው፣ የፀጥታው ምክር ቤት ቋሚ አባላት የባህ አሰላለፍ፣ በ1945 ዓ.ም. የነበረውን አለም ነው የሚያንፀባረቀው። አምስቱ ኃይላን ቋሚ አባላት የሚባሉት ሥልጣንን በሞኖፖል ይዘው በራሳቸው ፍላጎትና ጥቅም አለምን እንደፈለጉ ያዙበታል። ይሁን እንጂ፣ በአሁኑ ወቅት አያሌ የድርጅቱ አባላት፣ ኢትዮጵያም ባህም፣ ስራዎች ምክር ቤት ቋሚ አባላት ቁጥር ተሻሽሎ አሁን ያለንበትን አለም እንዲያንፀባርቅ ግፊት እያደረጉ ነው። በቀጣዩ አመታት፣ ግፊቱ ተሳክቶ፣ ጃፓን ከሩቅ ምሥራቅ፣ ህንድ ከደቡብ

እስያ፣ ጆርመን ከአውሮፓ፣ ብራዚል ከላቲን አሜሪካ፣ /ናይጄሪያ/፣/ደቡብ አፍሪካ/፣ /ፅብ/፣ /ኢትዮጵያ/፣ ከነዚህ አንዳቸው ከአፍሪካ የጸጥታ ምክር ቤት ተጨማሪ ቋሚ አባላት ይሆናሉ ተብሎ ይገመታል።

ለማቃለል፣ በባህ ስራዎች ስራዎች ስራዎች እንደሞክርኩት፣ በሚቀጥለው ሩብ ምዕተ አመት፣ በአለም ከፍተኛ ስራዎች እንደሚደረግና፣ በዚህም የለውጥ ሂደት፣ የበለጸገች ዲሞክራሲያዊት ኢትዮጵያ ተገንብታ፣ በአፍሪካና በቀሪው አለም ሰላምና መረጋጋት ሰፍኖ፣ ለሰው ልጅ ደህንነት፣ እኩልነትና ብልፅግና በሚደረገው አለም አቀፋዊ ጥረት፣ አገራችን ታላቅ ሚና ትጫወት ዘንድ፣ «ኢትዮጵያ ታበጽህ አቋጥህ ሀበ እግዚአብሔር» በሚል ጸሎት ንግግራን አበቃለሁ።



THE ROLE OF ETHIOPIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE BUILDING OF A PROSPEROUS AND DEMOCRATIC ETHIOPIA WITHIN THE NEXT QUARTER-CENTURY

Mengiste Desta (Ambassador)

Tonight's topic has as its focus "the kind of contribution Ethiopia's foreign policy could make within the next quarter of a century to the building of a prosperous and democratic Ethiopia in this age of globalization."

I would, before all else, like to thank the Ethiopian Economic Association for providing me with this opportunity to present this talk tonight at this forum.

It has come to my attention that professionals in different disciplines have presented their views and expressed their opinions regarding the development and growth of our country in a series of discussions held at this forum. It is my opinion that such discussions would provide the forum that will help encourage those children of Ethiopia, who have the desire to see not an Ethiopia of which they would be ashamed but one that is prosperous and democratic and in which peace and stability will have prevailed, and of which, consequently, they will be proud, to make concerted efforts to build such an Ethiopia and work towards its concrete realization with all the zeal that they can muster.

Before I delve into the main issue, however, I would like to give some overview of Ethiopia's diplomatic history, followed by the basic concept of foreign policy, its aims and functions and the implementing body of the policy. Having done this, I shall, then, tackle the main topic, in the process of which I shall attempt to explain the role Ethiopia's foreign policy could play within the next twenty-five years in terms of building a prosperous Ethiopia and with regard to the country's internal operations and the relationship she has with the countries of the Horn, the rest of Africa and, particularly, with those of the Nile basin, and its place within the United Nations, all viewed within the framework of globalization.

This attempt of mine, whether for better or worse, is bound to be one of prophesying [or a projection of visions]. Some people may have the gift of prophecy and vision. I, for my part, cannot dare claim to possess such a gift. Whatever the case, I shall try to do as best as it is [humanly] possible.

I. A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF ETHIOPIA'S DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

Ethiopia is a country that has for several centuries managed to defend its independence and sovereignty. In this long period of its history, the country had different types and forms of relationship with the outside world, both in times of peace and war, to the strengthening of which expatriate historians, missionaries and merchants have made their respective contributions.

Historical sources indicate that ancient Ethiopia, given the high level of civilization it had attained at the time, had strong commercial dealings with different countries in the Middle East and Asia. The fact that the Axumite Empire had control over the Red Sea, as a result of the strong economy and the well-organized military force it could muster, serves as an additional evidence for the network of foreign relations that Ethiopia had built at the time.

Another aspect of Ethiopia's foreign relations concerns the various wars it conducted against invaders. The Turks, the Egyptians, the Dervishes,

* A speech made at the Vision 2020 Ethiopia Series organized by the EEA, May 28, 2004 at the Hilton Hotel.

as well as the Europeans, had made repeated attempts to invade the country. However, Ethiopia is a country that has managed to counter all these invaders and maintain its independence and sovereignty.

Cognizant of this fact, some historians have invested her with the epithet "Africa's fighting kingdom." The epithet is an indication of the fact that Ethiopia 'dueled' its enemies at all those different times, not to commit aggression against other people's territories or for territorial aggrandizement but to maintain and defend her age-old sovereignty and territorial integrity against the colonial interests of the aggressors.

The repeated victories Ethiopia won over those foreign forces of invasion have contributed to the recognition of Ethiopia by the then European colonial powers as a free and independent country, which recognition forced the said powers to establish diplomatic relations with her.

The latest such attempts of invasion by Somalia and Eritrea, in which Ethiopia once again emerged victorious, are still fresh in our memory.

The sacrifices made by Ethiopia's heroic children for the impendence and sovereignty of their country, and more particularly the victories won, first, at the battle of Adowa and, then, during the fascist invasion [of 1935], which have been accorded a special place in the history of the world, but particularly in the history of the struggle of black people all over the world, shall always be remembered.

It will then not be an exaggeration to speak of the negative contribution of all these wars to the backwardness of our country. It would not be difficult to imagine what level could have been attained in our country's growth had all the sacrifices paid and expenses incurred in the course of all these wars been invested in its development.

II. THE NATURE, AIMS AND FUNCTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Now that I have said this much about the history of diplomacy in Ethiopia, I shall proceed to explain the nature, aims and functions of foreign policy.

2.1. The Nature of Foreign Policy

As we all know, a given government's administrative policy can be classified under two major categories: namely, internal [national] policy and foreign policy. The two are mutually supportive. Or, to put it in another way, a country's foreign policy draws a lot from its national or domestic policy.

Briefly put, foreign policy can be defined as being constitutive of those general guidelines that determine and guide the relationship a government enters into with other governments and international bodies, with the view to promoting its overall national interests. This relationship is based on the principles of equality, cooperation and mutual benefit.

2.2. The Aims and Functions of Foreign Policy

2.2.1. Objectives

The foreign policy document of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, published in November 1996, has itemized the following objectives, which I shall summarize as follows:

- To safeguard the sovereignty, independence and dignity of the peoples of Ethiopia;
- To strengthen a democratic order;
- To contribute to the realization of a rapid social and economic development;
- To strengthen peace and cooperation in the Horn of Africa;
- To actively engage in ensuring peace and security for the mutual development of the peoples of Africa;
- To contribute to the efforts to alleviate the unequal and inequitable relationship between the developing and the developed countries;
- To work towards world peace, equality and equitable relations.

We can see from the above that the objectives of foreign affairs policy involve many issues. Internally, the focus of the objectives ranges from the safeguarding of the country's sovereignty and independence to the building of a democratic order, while externally, they focus on the ensuring of peace and cooperation in the Horn of Africa, mutual development of the nations of Africa, the existence of equitable relations between Third World countries and the developed nations, and contributing to world peace.

While the above-mentioned objectives constitute the fundamental aims the Ethiopian foreign affairs policy, what is particularly discernible is that the major mission of the policy is to contribute to the overall effort toward the realization of the society's political and economic development.

2.2.2. Functions

In this section we shall look into how the objectives of the foreign policy itemized under (1) above can be integrated in practice.

We have earlier said that it is a foreign affairs policy that determines and steers the relations a government enters into with other governments, with the view to promoting the security and interests of the country it heads. There is a separate government institution responsible for the follow-up and implementation of a foreign policy, which is assigned the name 'ministry of foreign affairs'. While this institution constitutes the parent agency, it has under its jurisdiction additional institutions responsible for implementing the terms of the foreign policy out in the field.

These institutions are embassies, resident diplomatic missions and consulates. In addition to this, diplomatic activities can be undertaken both openly and secretly, either through meetings of diplomats or at the level of heads-of-state only.

The principal function of these institutions is strengthening the link between the government they are representatives of and those of the countries where they have been established for the mission.

2.2.2.1. *Protecting their country's interests*

Ensuring that the country's long-term interests are protected and doing everything in their power to contribute their share toward this end. They are expected to contribute toward the creation of collaboration between the concerned governments in the areas of trade, tourism, investment, culture, and science and technology.

2.2.2.2. *Making friends/creating allies*

Approaching influential government officials, party members, members of parliaments, civic associations, intellectuals and prominent personages, and media professionals in the different countries and winning them over as friends/allies.

2.2.2.3. *Protecting the rights of citizens*

Creating favorable conditions for bringing together and organizing Ethiopian citizens living abroad in order to better protect their rights, consolidate their link with their country and enable them to constructively contribute to its welfare. Ambassadors, envoys-in-residence and consulars shall be assigned to coordinate the above-mentioned duties/responsibilities through embassies.

An important and legitimate question that I think should be raised at this point is: 'what criteria should diplomats meet for them to be assigned to a mission in a foreign country?' Essentially, diplomats assigned on a foreign mission should be selected, through a process that has as its fundamental

criterion the twin attributes of ability and competence.

When we look at the process of assigning diplomats currently in practice in the country, we see that it is based, more or less, on a policy that takes into consideration the fulfillment of national/ethnic quota. It is true that, considering that Ethiopia is a land of many nationalities, this system of selection goes in accord with the concrete reality of the country and, also, finds acceptability within the principles of a democratic order.

However, unless the would-be appointees have both experience and competence alongside their nationality, the practice of assigning individuals on the basis alone of their national origin could do more harm than good to the country. Unless diplomats have ability and competence, they will be of benefit neither to their respective nationalities nor to the country as a whole. Seen from other angles, such a process could even entail diplomatic bankruptcy. The problems in diplomacy that emerged during the Ethio-Eritrean conflict, it is assumed, could have been due to such a process of selecting the country's diplomats. If one is convinced that this mode of operation is in principle defective, due measures should be taken to rectify it.

In order for our diplomats to make significant contribution to the development and prosperity of their country, they should be assigned on the basis of their abilities, experiences and linguistic competence. In order to make this a reality, we need to create a

professionally competent diplomatic corps.

Generally considered, the major function of a country's foreign policy is to provide its share of contribution toward enabling the national interests promoted by that country's government to yield positive results by engaging in a diplomatic campaign.

Having said all this, I shall now proceed to the main topic of the evening, using what I have said so far as my launching pad, and addressing the issue under the following headings.

III. THE CONTRIBUTIONS ETHIOPIA'S FOREIGN POLICY COULD POSSIBLY MAKE WITHIN THE NEXT QUARTER CENTURY IN THIS AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

To begin with, I would like to give a brief description of my visualization of the global situation within the next quarter century.

1. **It is my estimation that our world will undergo a radical change in the coming twenty-five years.** To point out the major changes: information technology will have expanded to such a magnitude as to steer our world toward transforming itself into one global village. The present European Union will have forged itself into one strong European state. Given its current progress in the area of development and technology, China will have attained a superpower status. Given this

trend, America will have ceased to be the only superpower of the world.

In addition to this, space science research will have been consolidated, entailing the establishment of an international space station. Then a moon base shall be constructed, and with this as a launching pad, humankind shall be able to take a mission to Mars. Moreover, plans and projects shall be drawn to travel to other planets.

This process shall in turn usher in the question of outer space sovereignty, which will inevitably become controversial. As a result, outer space law shall be promulgated to determine planetary sovereignty. Based on this, outer space foreign policy shall be drawn and form the basis for interplanetary relations. My vision, therefore, is that this shall be the reality of our world within the next twenty-five years.

2. **In connection with this, I shall now turn to the question of the contribution foreign policy could make to the building of a democratic Ethiopia in the next 25 years.**

As we all know, since the end of the cold war, liberal democracy and free-market economy have been on the rise. Specifically, globalization has helped the world's economy assume an international dimension. I shall leave the details to experts of economics and let the issue stand at that.

Ethiopia itself cannot but be part of this process. That is why she is in the process of building, *grosso*

modo, a democratic and a free-market system. In confirmation of this fact, the *Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy*, published in November 2002, has the following to say in the section titled "Globalization as the Basis of Foreign Policy":

The efforts to bring about rapid economic development, democracy and good governance cannot be seen outside of the regional and global contexts." And it goes on to add: "We cannot attain democracy and development by closing our doors and taking refuge in our mountainous country. . . . It is through fully exploiting the opportunities globalization provides us . . . that we can promote our [national] interests and security."

What we understand from the above and need to underscore is the fact that, in this age of globalization, because the economy constitutes a focal point of foreign relations, Ethiopia's foreign policy is expected to chip in its share of contribution in the effort to make the country a prosperous one.

This being the case, a result-yielding effort is expected of our diplomats to ensure the realization of a rapid economic growth that will improve the livelihood of our people, to secure foreign aid, have the country's debts cancelled, ensure the massive flow of foreign investment into the country and the development of tourism.

Let us now look at some of the changes that will take place during the envisioned period of time.

3. Within the Country

Population growth and economic development

To start with population size, it is estimated that, 25 years from now, our country's population would soar up to about 150 million. Compared to the population size of the neighboring countries, this figure is quite high. Positively looked at, such a huge population size could be considered an asset to the country's development, while at the same time creating a wide market for the country and the surrounding regions.

Seen negatively, however, if the population growth exceeds that of the economy it poses a great problem, becoming a liability rather than an asset. Consequently, the growth in population must balance with economic growth. Anything short of this means perennial poverty for the country and its people.

It may help us a lot to draw lessons from the experiences of India in order to solve the problem of poverty in our country. And I have my reasons for suggesting that.

In the second-half of the twentieth century, specifically in the 1950s, when India was stricken by famine, Ethiopia had, like other countries, contributed its share of food aid, as unlike today when she herself has become a victim of a similar famine.

The Indian government on its part had, in the 1960s, designed a policy titled "the green revolution" and managed to withstand the problem of food shortage. Not only that, at

present India has not only been able to provide sufficient food to its people amounting to about one billion, but it also produces enough surplus for export to other countries.

By therefore learning from the experience of India, Ethiopia, too, can make use of the same kind of technology and be able to at least feed its people a decent three meals a day. This briefly covers the economic aspect of our development.

3.2 Politics

If the process of democracy building we have started continues with the same trend--and I don't see why it can't--the principle of revolutionary democracy now espoused by the EPRDF will wither away, giving place to the flourishing of liberal democracy. Genuine democracy shall prevail in which elections will take place with the democratic participation of the people, as a result of which a system will be ushered in whereby new governments will come to power peacefully, making an end to change of regimes through armed violence once and for all.

3.3 Another event to take place in the envisioned period

The Axum Obelisk now standing in Rome shall be returned to its motherland and reinstated on its original site. Similarly, the fallen obelisk that has been lying down for centuries will once again proudly stand upright. Thus will our glorious Axumite relics be resurrected and occupy their proper place in a new Ethiopia.

3.4 Establishment of school of diplomacy

This institution will continuously produce would-be diplomats equipped with sufficient know-how in the art of diplomacy. What we must realize, however, is that the individuals thus trained would not automatically make diplomats simply because they have graduated from the institution.

People can make capable diplomats only when, after equipping themselves with adequate professional knowledge, they have served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs starting from scratch, participated in conferences, properly oriented in the art of negotiation and proved themselves useful when assigned on diplomatic missions abroad.

Diplomats thus seasoned will be able to strengthen mutual relations between their country and those to which they have been assigned. They will further be able to penetrate society, that is, create links with the media, businesses, political parties, members of parliament, prominent personages, etc. and win over friends/allies for their country by thus strengthening the country's relations with other countries.

Moreover, by establishing a close link with Ethiopian citizens living abroad, capable diplomats will encourage them to act as ambassadors of their country. One of the missions of such ambassadors should be to do public relations work so that those citizens can return to their country and invest their capital and participate in the process of her development.

3.5 Public diplomacy

Although the government has the primary responsibility of ensuring the successful running of both the internal and external affairs of the country, it cannot, however, cover all aspects of these affairs because of the huge workload it already shoulders. Accordingly, in order to strengthen the burden-sharing capacity of the people, due attention should be given to public diplomacy.

In this respect, then, non-government organizations, professional associations, the business community, political parties, media professionals, members of parliament, sports and art associations, etc. all must be able to take it upon themselves and make it their national duty to create links with their counterparts abroad and contribute to the democratization and rapid development of our country by making and winning over friends and allies for her.

Public diplomacy must not be restricted to activities undertaken abroad; it must also be actively pursued in a coordinated manner within the country itself. The groups I mentioned above must play their share of role in ensuring the realization of rapid economic development, the strengthening of good governance, the observance of the supremacy of the law, the protection of human rights, the prevailing of peace, the government's acquiescence to the trust and confidence of the people and the inspiration of patriotism in the minds of the youth by raising their awareness.

What I have enumerated so far are the things that would take place within the country in the envisioned period of time. Let us now look into what the situation would look like in terms of the relations she has with foreign countries.

4. What I think will take place abroad

4.1 *The neighboring countries (the Horn of Africa)*

Ethiopia's closest neighbors are found in the Horn of Africa. As we all know, the Horn of Africa region is the melting pot where Europe, Asia and Africa meet. The Red Sea that links the Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean Sea is also located in this region. This makes it suitable for controlling the commercial and transportation passageways the location provides. Moreover the proximity of the region to the oil-rich Middle East countries brings to prominence the geo-political importance and benefits of the Horn.

Ethiopia is the nucleus of the Horn of Africa. Since it has the largest population in the region and has a strong military force, it wields quite an influence in the affairs of the Horn. The political atmosphere of the Horn countries is constantly shifting. This has both positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, Ethiopia has a relation of good neighborliness with the Sudan, Kenya and Djibouti, while its relations with Eritrea and Somalia can be marked down as negative.

In my view, however, within the next twenty-five years, Ethiopia and its neighbors will develop good

relations and create some kind of rapprochement. My reasons for this are as follows:

4.1.1 The formation of a good relationship between the Sudan and Ethiopia is already in the making. Moreover, situations indicate that the process already begun would be intensified.

With regard to the civil war in the Sudan, an intensified negotiation has just been completed and the two parties have reached agreement. The agreement has as its core objective that, after six years, referendum will be held to determine whether southern Sudan will remain part of the present Sudan or will secede and become an independent state. In my estimate, I think the referendum will result in the separation of southern Sudan and the formation of an independent State.

4.1.2 It has now been several years since Somalia became a country without a state (government). In my view, the peace negotiation now underway in Kenya shall be concluded with the formation of a separate state of southern Somalia.

4.1.3 Since Somaliland in the north is on the way to proving itself able to run its own affairs as a stable government, and because it has no desire to unite with southern Somalia, it will secure international recognition and establish itself as an independent state. Peace and stability will prevail among the seven countries of the Horn; namely, the Sudan, Eritrea, southern Sudan, Djibouti, Somaliland, southern Somalia and Ethiopia, in the wake of which a confederation of the Horn of Africa shall be

established, with Ethiopia as its nucleus. In this system of confederation, each member state will retain its sovereignty, while the union shall have activities it will undertake in common. For instance, it could have a common development policy, a common defense structure, a common market, a common foreign policy, and common use of the ports available. In this process, our country, Ethiopia, will rid itself of the anxiety of remaining a land-locked country.

The countries of the Horn of Africa thus structured within the framework of a confederation could make a transition to unification in a future process. If things proceed as I envision them, the union of the Horn of Africa will form a strong basis for and an integral part of the African Union.

5. The Countries of the Nile Basin

The issue of the equitable sharing of the waters of the Nile has been a long-standing controversial issue among the countries occupying the area along the basin. Especially, however, the countries of the lower Nile basin, the Sudan and Egypt, who do not even have a legitimate claim of proprietorship over the River, have been sole beneficiaries of the waters of the Nile by repeatedly signing unilateral agreements between them, without even consulting the countries of the Upper Nile--namely, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda--who happen to be the legitimate owners of the Nile.

Since Ethiopia contributes most of the water that drains into the Nile basin, successive Ethiopian governments have on many occasions given their warnings, in the most unequivocal terms, to the countries of the Lower Nile basin about the inviolability of their right to use the waters of the river. To quote from the English version in brief: "Ethiopia has the right and obligation to exploit its water resources for the benefit of present and future generations."

Moreover, in 1959, Ethiopia had managed to rally the countries of the Upper Nile basin in a campaign to have the exclusionary and unjust agreement, entered into by the Sudan and Egypt to apportion the waters of the Nile between them, abrogated and to have a new agreement, which includes all the countries of the Nile basin, to be drawn. The reason for Ethiopia's playing a central role is clear. It is Ethiopia that contributes 85% of the water volume of the Nile, while the rest of the countries of the Nile basin put together contribute only 15%.

This diplomatic pressure has of late resulted in some positive signs. It has now transpired that all the countries concerned have been convinced that the waters of the Nile should be used through the collaboration of all and, accordingly, an organization embracing all the countries of the basin, called the Nile Basin Initiative, has been established as of 1999. The main objective of the Initiative is to promote the social and economic development of all the countries of the Basin by ensuring the equitable

apportionment of the waters of the Nile.

The fact that the countries of the Nile Basin, after having gone through so many ups-and-downs, have made a transition from a stance of confrontation to the spirit of cooperation to use the waters of the Nile in common and have thus arrived at a common agreement could indeed be considered a big historical step. Ethiopia's diplomacy concerning the Nile has played a significant role in getting the matter to where it is at present.

Consequently, it is inevitable that this positive spirit of cooperation will continue through the years to come. In other words, the Nile issue has reached that stage where things cannot be retracted. If this remains to be the case, the cooperation among the countries of the Nile will be consolidated. While this spirit of cooperation will contribute to the growth and development of the countries of the Basin, peace and stability could prevail in the Nile Basin, which could, in turn, lead to political cooperation among the countries beneficiary to the waters of the Nile. In order that this cooperation may achieve its goals, Ethiopia's diplomatic efforts concerning the Nile should be sustained and pursued even more strongly.

6. Africa

Since the time of Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia has been pursuing the concerns of Africa as if they were her own concerns. And that is why African issues are said to constitute the backbone of Ethiopia's foreign policy.

In those dark days of colonialism, Ethiopia, the sole independent country at the time, represented a beacon of freedom for Africa's struggle for independence. Because of its repeated victory over the forces of invasion and the preservation of its independence, Africans and their progenies all over the world both admire and respect her.

Consequently, the other African countries have emulated Ethiopia's historic example to intensify their struggle for independence from colonialism. But Ethiopia did not simply pride itself in being example for the rest of Africa and leave matters at that. Rather, it has gone further to make sacrifices for Africa's struggle for independence as well as the establishment of African unity. Its contribution includes resolving conflicts between African countries, training guerilla fighters, sheltering refugees, offering scholarships to students from the other African countries, and so on.

One could, therefore, surmise that it is for this reason that African countries chose Ethiopia to be the seat the secretariat of the Organization of African Unity. It wouldn't, therefore, be an exaggeration to say that Ethiopia's diplomacy has registered a glorious success in the continent.

With this as a point of departure, I shall now try to map out the course Africa's journey into the future would follow in the coming twenty-five years and, at the same time, point out what role Ethiopia could play in this journey.

Africans have registered many positive results in the long journey they have traveled heretofore. They have secured independence for the African continent. Independent African states have been established and they have managed to found the Organization of African Unity. They have articulated their position in unison on important issues of concern both to Africa and the rest of the world. They have recently established African Union. The African Parliament has been inaugurated and has started its functions.

Similarly, the African Economic Community has been established on a regional basis and is currently working towards the realization of trade exchange and a common customs structure. A plan to establish a common African market is underway once this has been attained. When the plan has been realized, there will be economic integration and monetary union embracing the whole of Africa.

All this is a precursor to the establishment of the United States of Africa. But this can be transformed into a concrete reality only if and when African states focus less on rhetoric and more on action.

The idea of one African state has acceptance on the part of Ethiopia when seen from the vantage point of her interests, because the chances of Addis Ababa remaining the capital of the United States of Africa are great. Consequently, Ethiopia must exert all the effort it can to rally the other African countries toward the successful realization of the United States of Africa.

What ought to be emphasized at this point is that the establishment of one African state, over and above being beneficial in terms of ensuring peace and stability as well as development and growth for Africa, will also help withstand the pressures of globalization.

The other reason for the necessity of establishing a united African state is that, thanks to globalization, the modern, sovereign nation-state, which has hitherto formed the basis of international relations, is slowly being undermined. The renowned statesman Henry Kissinger has indicated so much in his recent book *Does America Need A Foreign Policy?* In this book, the author poses himself a question to the effect of whether the Convention of Westphalia is still functioning, to which he answers that the doctrine is facing challenges.

By way of elaborating on this point, he says that, in 1648 the agreement reached among the European states recognized the sovereignty and equal status of each state and decreed that no state should interfere in the affairs of another. But this agreement, he says, was violated on the pretext of stopping the violation of human rights by some of the countries, with the result that some states began to interfere in the affairs of others.

In support of this, the author tells us that, recently, William Pfaff, in an article titled "The Decline of the Nation-State," which appeared in the *International Herald Tribune*, condemns such states for usurping the proletarian rule that *The Communist Manifesto* had divested from the imperial-bourgeois regime 150 years ago and passed on to the

working class. Similarly, he says, the American government has issued its own manifesto. The purpose of this manifesto is to give America the power to intervene in the internal affairs of any given country if it feels that its interests have been threatened, all in total disregard of that country's sovereignty. The author further says that, if found necessary, America will engineer a change of regime in the concerned country. We have seen how this American manifesto has been put to practice recently in Afghanistan and Iraq.

I went into all this to point to the fact that our world is at present dominated by a single super-power [i.e. America] and to stress, along the way, the inherent problem in trying to conduct foreign affairs unilaterally [by any of the African states]. The alternative available to us, therefore, is to organize in groups and conduct our foreign affairs as a collective. It is in recognition of this threat that continents have begun organizing themselves in groups in accordance with the principles of free-market economy. For example, we find such organizations as NAFTA in North America, MERCOSUR in South America, and ASEAN in southeastern Asia. It is with this reality in mind that I urge for a strong African Union.

Taking these factors into consideration, and because Addis Ababa is the capital city of African Union, in the coming years, Ethiopia's foreign policy has to play

an important role in the strengthening of an African common foreign policy. In this manner, it will be possible to withstand the pressures of globalization and, at the same time, protect the interests of the country.

7. The United Nations

As we all know, Ethiopia is a founding member of the United Nations Organization. Ethiopia has fully participated in ensuring the fulfillment of the objectives of the Organization's Charter.

Ethiopia has further participated as a member in the Committee for the Liberation of Africa from colonialism and apartheid. It has also contributed to the realization of the independence of Southwest Africa (at present Namibia) by taking the case, along with Liberia, to the International Court of Law and advocating and lobbying the case for seven years. Clearly, then, Ethiopia's contributions in this respect have been shining.

Besides, Ethiopia has also contributed her share to the Organization's security forces and helped maintain world peace and stability.

Ethiopia is currently working with other countries toward the improvement of the United Nations' Security Council. As we all know, the alignment of the permanent members of the Council reflects the same alignment that was in place way back in 1945. The five

permanent members of the Council use their veto power to order around the rest of the world.

Currently, however, several members of the UN, including Ethiopia, are pushing for improvement in the constitution of the Council's membership, such that it would reflect the present global situation. It is hoped that the lobbying currently undertaken by the members of the Council would meet with success within the coming few years, as a result of which one from each of the following groups of countries is expected to be a permanent member: Japan from the Far East, India from south Asia, Germany from Europe, Brazil from Latin America, and one of the following from Africa (Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt, and Ethiopia).

To sum up, in the next quarter-century, as I have attempted to point out in this presentation, there will come about a big change all around the world. In this process, a prosperous and democratic Ethiopia shall be built, while peace and stability will prevail in Africa as well as in the rest of the world. I will, therefore, conclude my presentation with the prayer that "Ethiopia shall stretch her hands to God," so that she may play a big role in the concerted global effort to ensure the well-being, equality and prosperity of all of humanity.

I thank you all!



በአምባሳደር መንግሥቱ ደስታ ጽሁፍ ላይ የቀረበ አስተያየት

ካሳሁን ብርሃኑ

የአምባሳደር መንግሥቱ ደስታ ዘገባ ከውጭ ፖሊሲ አንጻር አንዳንድ መሠረታዊ የሆኑ ነገሮችን ማስገንዘብ የቻለ በመሆኑ አቅራቢውን በማመስገን እጅምራለሁ።

ሀ. የኢትዮጵያ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ገዢነት ገጽ 1-2፤ በዚህ ሥር አቅራቢው ኢትዮጵያን ጥንታዊና ነፃነቷን አስከብራ የቆዩት ሀገር መሆኗን ከጥንት ጀምሮ ከውጭው ዓለም ጋር ግንኙነት ፈጥራ እንደቆየች፤ የራሷን የሥልጣኔ ጎዳና አዳብራ በቀይ ባህርና በመካከለኛው ምሥራቅ አካባቢ በየዘመኑ ከነበሩ መንግሥታትና ኃይሎች ጋር የተለያዩ ግንኙነቶች (ሰላማዊና ሰላማዊ ያልሆነ) መሥርታ እንደነበር ገልጸዋል። ብሔራዊ ነፃነትን ለማስከበር በተለያዩ ኃይሎች የተቃጠባትን ጦርነቶችና የመስፋፋት ፖሊሲዎችና እርምጃዎች ለመቀልበስ በግዳጅ የገባችባቸው የመከላከልና የተጋድሎ ሁኔታዎች የሀገሪቱ የተወሰነ ታሪክ የጦርነት ታሪክ እንደሆነ አድርጎታል። ይህ እንግዲህ በመንግሥት ምሥራታ ሂደት የተካሄዱ ግጭቶችንና የሥልጣን የበላይነትን ለማረጋገጥ የተደረጉ ፍልጫዎችንም ይጨምራል።

እዚህ ላይ ዘገባው የሚጎድሉት አይነተኛ ነገሮች አሉ፤ በእኔ ግምት 1ኛ. ዘመናዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ግንኙነት የተጀመረበትንና የተስፋፋበትን ዘመን ማለትም

በዘውድ፣ በወታደራዊ አገዛዝና በኢህአዴግ ሥርዓቶች ውስጥ ያለፈበትን ታሪክ አይዳስስም፤ 2ኛ. የእያንዳንዱን ጠንካራና ደካማ ጎኖች ከነምክንያቶቻቸው አያመለክትም፤ 3ኛ. የመንግሥት መለዋወጥ በተከተለ ቁጥር የትኛው የውጭ ፖሊሲና የዲሞክራሲያዊ ግንኙነት አዝማሚያ እንደተለወጠና የትኛው እንዳለ እንዲቀጥል እንደተደረገ ከነምክንያቶቹ አያሳይም።

አሁን የጠቀስኳቸው ነገሮች በሚገባ ተዳስሰው ቢሆን ኖሮ ከእነዚህ በመነሳት መጭውን ለመተንበይ እንደመንደርደሪያ ያገለግሉ ነበር ብዬ እገምታለሁ።

ለ. ገጽ 2 የውጭ ፖሊሲ ዓላማና ተግባር በሚለው ሥር የ1989 የኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ ሰነድ ውስጥ የተካተቱ ዓላማዎች ተዘርዝረዋል። ሆኖም እነዚህን ዓላማዎች ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ የተደረጉ እንቅስቃሴዎችና ጥረቶች፣ ውጤት የተገኘባቸው መስኮችና ያጋጠሙ እንቅፋቶችን ለማስወገድ ምን መደረግ እንዳለበት በግልፅ የተነገረ ነገር አላየሁም።

እነዚህን ነገሮች በጥቅሉና በአጭሩ መነካካት ተችሎ ቢሆን ኖሮ በመጭው ጊዜ የውጭ ፖሊሲዎችን የሚኖረውን አስተዋፅኦ ለመገመትና ለመተንበይ እንደመነሻ ያገለግል ነበር ብዬ አምናለሁ። ስለዲሞክራሲያዊ የአመዳደብ መስፈርት አሁን ካለው አሠራር

አንጻር በተገለጸው እስማማለሁ። ችሎታና ብቃት እንደመስፈርት መወሰዳቸው ምንም አጠያያቂ አይደለም። ማንም ይሁን ማን በእነዚህ መመዘኛዎች መመረጡ አስፈላጊ መሆኑን ከግምት ማስገባት ይበጃል። ሆኖም ከእነዚህ በተጨማሪ ቅንነት ለሀገርና ለሕዝብ ጥቅም ታማኝ ሆኖ በተነሳሽነት ጭምር ለመንቀሳቀስና ለመሥራት ዝግጁ መሆንም አብሮ ሊጤን ይገባል እላለሁ። በቅጣትም ሆነ በሽልማት መልክ፤ በአኅብዳሮችና በእሺ ባይነት ሚዛን የሚደረግ ምደባ በሀገርና በሕዝብ ጥቅም እንዲሁም በመንግሥት ሕልውና ላይ የሚያስከትለው ጉዳት የታየባቸው የተለያዩ አጋጣሚዎች እንደነበሩ ማስታወስ ይገባል። አምባሳደሩ ያነሳቸውና እኔም ያከልኩት መመዘኛዎች ባለመሟላታቸው በቅርቡ በኢትዮ-ኤርትራ ግጭት ወቅት ያስከተሉትን ሁኔታ ማስታወስ ያስፈልጋል። የሀገሪቷን አቋም፣ የደረሰውን ወረራ በመንግሥት በኩል እየተደረገ ያለውን ጥረት ለዓለምአቀፍ ሕብረተሰብ ለማስረዳትና ፍትህን ለመሻት በውጭ ያሉትን ኢትዮጵያውያን በማቅረብና በማቀራረብ ድጋፍ ለማስባሰብ በሙሉ ልብ ከቦታ ቦታ በመዘዋወር በብቃትና በአመርቂ ሁኔታ የተንቀሳቀሱት ዲሞክራሲያዊ ቁጥር አነስተኛ ይመስለኛል። ከተሳሳትኩ እታረማለሁ፤ ቁጥራቸው አነስተኛ የማይባሉት በችሎታና በብቃት ማነስና በሌሎችም ምክንያቶች የሚይዙት የሚጨብጡት ጠ ፍቷቸው ሲደነባበሩ ተስተውለዋል።

ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ

አምባሳደር መንግሥቱ በገጽ 4 ላይ ኢትዮጵያ አሁን በመንሰራፋት ላይ ከሚገኘው ከግሎባላይዜሽን ሂደት ውጭ ልትሆን አትችልም ባሉት እስማማለሁ። እንደሚነገረው ግሎባላይዜሽን ዕድል ብቻ የሚሰጥ ክስተት ሳይሆን ችግሮችንም የሚጋብዝ ሂደት መሆኑ ታውቆ የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ፖሊሲ ሊከተለው የሚገባው አቅጣጫ ጣምራ አካሄድ መሆን ይኖርበታል ብዬ አስባለሁ።

1. «ተወደደም ተጠላ ከግሎባላይዜሽን ማምለጥ አይቻልም፤ በሚያስገኘው ዕድል መጠቀም ነው» የሚባለው እውነት ከሆነ ምን ምን ጥቅሞች ሊገኙ እንደሚችሉና እንዴት መገኘት እንደሚችሉ በግልጽ አውቆ እንቅስቃሴዎችን፣ ጥረቶችንና ትኩረቶችን በዚህ ረገድ ማሰማራት፤ ይገባል።

2. ከግሎባላይዜሽን አወቃቀር ውጭ በተጓዳኝ በሁለትዮሽና ከዚያም በላይ በሚፈጠሩ ግንኙነቶችና ጥምረቶች (bilateral, sub-regional and regional integration) በመጠቀም ከግሎባላይዜሽን የሚመነጨ አሉታዊ ተጽዕኖዎችን መቋቋም የሚያስችሉ ስልቶችን በመንደፍ መንቀሳቀስ ያስፈልጋል። አሁን ያለው ሁኔታ ምን ይመስላል የሚለውንም መዳሰሱ ጠቃሚ ይመስለኛል።

የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ግንኙነት ፖሊሲ ጥረቶች ስኬታማ ሊሆኑ የሚችሉት በሀገር ውስጥ የተረጋጋና የተመቻቸ ሁኔታ ሲኖር ነው።

የውጭ ፖሊሲው የፈለገውን ያህል በመርህም ሆነ በተግባራዊ እንቅስቃሴ ደረጃ ትክክለኛና ቅን ቢሆንም በሀገሪቱ ውስጥ የሚሰፍነው ሆኔታ በአዎንታዊ ገጽታዎች ማለትም በመልካም አስተዳደር፣ ግጭቶች በሚረግቡበት የፖለቲካ ሁኔታ፣ ዜጎችና መንግሥት በተቀራረቡበት ግንኙነቶች እስካልታጀቡ ድረስ ጥረታችን ሁሉ ለፍቶ መና ይሆናል። በሀገር ውስጥ የምንከተለው ፖሊሲና አተገባበሩ አዎንታዊነትን እስካልተሳሰሰ ድረስ የሀገር ውስጥና የውጭ ፖሊሲዎች ተደጋጋፊ በመሆን ውጤት ሊያስገኙ አይችሉም። አምባሳደር መንግሥቱ ከተጨማሪ ሁኔታ በመነሳት የሁለቱን ተደጋጋፊነት ወይም መጣረስ በተመለከተ ቢያስረዱ ኖሮ ለእኛም ግንዛቤ ለራዕያቸውም መነሻ ያስገኙ ነበር ብዬ አስባለሁ።

ገጽ 4. «ኢትዮጵያም እንደህንድ አረንጓዴውን አብዮት አግባብ ባለው ቴክኖሎጂ እየተጠቀመች ብታካሄድ የምግብ ችግራችንን እንቀርፋለን» ብለዋል። ጥያቄው ለዚህ መሠረት እየተጣለ ነው አይደለም?? ጥሩ ጅምርዎች አሉ ከተባለም የቀጣይነታቸው ሁኔታ ምን ይመስላል የሚለውን አብሮ ማንሳት ተገቢ ነው። እነዚህ ከተመለሱ በኋላ ነው የወደፊቱ ይህን የመምሰል ዕድል አለው ማለት የሚቻለው።

ገጽ 4. «የጀመርነው ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ተግባራዊ የማይሆንበት ምክንያት የለም» ለሚለው የአምባሳደር መንግሥቱ እምነት ደጋፊ

ማስረጃዎች አልቀረቡም። አንድ ነገር ስለተጀመረ ብቻ ዘላቂ ይሆናል ብሎ ማጠቃለል አስቸጋሪ ነው።

ገጽ 5. ኢትዮጵያ በአፍሪካ ቀንድ ያላት አንጻራዊ እሴት (comparative advantage) አዎንታዊ ሚና እንድትጫወትና ራሷንም ሆነ ጎረቤቶቿን ለመታደግ የምትችለው የሀገርንና የሕዝብን አንድነት ጠብቆ ሀገራዊ ዓላማን ቀርጾ በተጠናከረ ብሔራዊ አጀንዳና ተልዕኮ ስትንቀሳቀስ ነው። ይህንን አስመልክቶ ሁኔታው ምን ይመስላል የሚለውን በአጭሩ ለመመለስ ቢሞክር የተሻለ ይሆን ነበር። የአባይ ተፋሰስን አስመልክቶ የተነገረውም ከዚህ አንጻር መታየት ይችላል።

ገጽ 8. በተባበሩት መንግሥታት፣ በተባበሩት መንግሥታት ሕልውናና አቋም በልዕል ኃይልና በኃይላን እየተሸረሸረ መሄድ ይህንን አሉታዊ ሂደት ለመግታት ኢትዮጵያ ምን አደረገች፣ በቅርቡ ከተባበሩት መንግሥታት ድርጅት የጸጥታ ጥበቃው ምክር ቤት ይሁንታ ውጭ በኢራቅ ላይ የተደረገውን ወረራ በተመለከተና ሌሎችንም ተዛማጅ ጉዳዮች በማንሳት የኢትዮጵያን አቋምና መጫወት ይገባት የነበረውንና ወደፊትም የሚገባትን ሚና መዳሰሱ ተገቢ ነበር አላለሁ።

በአምባሳደር መንግሥቱ ደስታ ጽሁፍ ላይ የቀረበ አስተያየት

መድኃኔ ታደሰ

መፅቢ

የአምባሳደር መንግስቱ ጽሁፍ የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ግንኙነት ታሪክና የውጭ ፖሊሲን ምንነት አላማና አተገባበር ላይ ያተኮረ ዳሰሳና በቀጣዩ ሩብ ዓመት ምን መጠቀም እንዳለብን እንዲሁም ሚታያቸውን ርዕይ በሚገባ ማስቀመጥ የቻሉ ይመስለኛል። ስማቸው እንደሚገልጸውም ከተግባር በመነሳት ምን መሆን እንዳለበት ለመጠቀም ሞክረዋል። ጽሁፉና አቀራረቡ መድረኩ የሚጠይቀውን ያሟላ ይመስለኛል። ሆኖም ግን ጽሁፉ ንድፈ ሃሳባዊ ትንተና ይጎድለዋል። ከአጠቃላይ የውጭ ግንኙነት መርሆዎችና መሰረታዊ አቅጣጫዎች አንጻር የኢትዮጵያን ሁኔታ መገምገምና ዋና መገለጫዎቹን ማሳየት ተገቢነት ያለው ይመስለኛል። ከዚህ አንጻር ጽሁፉ ብዙ ነገር ጠቅሷል።

በተመሳሳይ መልኩ ሁሉም የኢትዮጵያ መንግሥታት የተከተሉዋቸው ፖሊሲዎች መነሻና ሂደት የሚለያዩበትና የሚመሳሰሉበት ሁኔታ እንዲሁም ኢህአዴግ የሚመራው መንግሥት የሄደበት አቅጣጫ፣ ያጋጠሙት ችግሮች እንዲሁም ከዚህ ልንቀስመው የሚገባን ትምህርትና ለወደፊቱ አገሪቱ ልትከተለው የሚገባ አቅጣጫ በግልጽ አለመቀመጡ ሌላው ድክመት መስለኛል። ከአለም አቀፍ የኢኮኖሚ ትስስር ጋር የተያያዙ ኢትዮጵያ ልትከተላቸው የሚገቡ አቅጣጫዎች በተወሰነ ደረጃ የተጠቀሙ ቢሆንም አሁንና ወደፊት ሊያጋጥሙ የሚችሉ

ችግሮችን በግልፅና በዝርዝር ያልቀረበ መሆኑ ሌላው ጉዳይ ነው። እንደ አብዛኛዎቹ የኢትዮጵያ መንግሥታት/ ኢህአዴግን ፊ ምር/ የውጭ ጉዳይ ፖሊሲ፣ አምባሳደር መንግስቱም ያላቸው ዕይቤ መሰሉ ለሙሉ ከውጭ ግንኙነት በሚያይ መልኩ የተቀመጠ ነው ማለት ባይቻልም ተመሳሳይነት እንዳለው ግን በርግጠኝነት መናገር ይቻላል።

የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ግንኙነት አጠቃላይ ቅኝት

ኢትዮጵያ ካላት ጂኦግራፊያዊ አቀማመጥና ለወደባች ካላት ቅርበት የተነሳ ከጥንት ጀምሮ የተለያዩ የውጭ ግንኙነቶች ለመፍጠር አስችሏታል። በወሳኝ መልኩ የኢትዮጵያ ነገሥታት የውጭ ጉዳይ ፖሊሲ አገር ውስጥ በነበረው የፖለቲካና ወጪዎቹ ሁኔታ ተቃራኒ ነበር። የአብዛኛዎቹ ነገሥታትና የክልል አባቶች ፍላጎት በውስጥ ተቀናቃኞቻቸው ላይ የበላይነትን በማግኘት የግዛት ክልልን በማስፋፋትና የውጭ ወራሪን ፍላጎት በውስጥ ተቀናቃኞቻቸው ላይ የበላይነትን በማፅናት የግዛት ክልልን በማስፋፋትና የውጭ ወራሪን በመከላከል ሉአላዊነትን ለማስከበር የሚያስችል የጦር መሣርያና የኢኮኖሚ ዕርዳታን በማግኘት ላይ ተመሳሳይ ነበር። የባህር በር/ግም ግምገማ/ ግምገማ በተለያዩ መልኩ በዘመናዊው የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ የውጭ ግንኙነት ዘርፍ ውስጥ አብይ ቦታ ነበረው።

አጼ ሚኒሊክ የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ግንኙነት በዘመናዊው የኢትዮጵያ

ታሪክ የውጭ ግንኙነት እንቅስቃሴን በተቋማዊ መልኩ ለማደራጀት የመጀመሪያው ግምገማ ቢጠቅም ግምገማ አልተሳካላቸውም። ከዚህ አንጻር የአጼ ገሰደህመን መንግሥት ብዙ ተራምዶአል። ሆኖም ግን በአመዛኙ በንጉሱ የግል ሰብእና ታዋቂነት ላይ ተመሰረተ ግንብ እንቅስቃሴ ነበር። ንጉሱ የውጭ ግንኙነት ተቋም በማጠናከርና የኢትዮጵያ ግንብ ተሰሚነት በማጎልበት የተጫወቱት ሚና ቀላል ነው ባይባልም እይታው የጠበበና የኢትዮጵያን የውስጥ ችግሮች በሚቀርፍ መልኩ የተቀረፀ የውጭ ጉዳይ ፖሊሲና አሠራር መፍጠር አልቻሉም።

ደርግም ቢሆን የአጼ ኃይለስላሴን የውጭ ጉዳይ መሰሪያ ቤት መዋቅር ከመጠቀም ባሻገር እምብዛም ይህ ነው የሚባል ጥረት አላደረገም። በርዕዮተኛዎች ቅኝት ላይ ተመሳሳይ ግንብ በማራመድም ከምስራቁ አለም በስተቀር ከምዕራባውያን አገሮች ጋር የነበረውን ገንኙነት አቀዝቅዞታል። ይህ አገር ውስጥ ከነበረው ምስቅልቅል የፖለቲካ ሁኔታና የርስበርስ ጦርነት ጋር ተዳምሮ አገሪቱን እየጎዳና እያዳከመ በመጨረሻ ለደርግ ውድቀት የበኩሉን አስተዋጽኦ አበርክቷል።

ስለዚህ ኢህአዴግ 1983 ፒ.ም. ስልጣን ከመያዙ በፊት የነበረው ሁኔታ ከላይ የተጠቀሰውን ሲመስል ሁሉም የኢትዮጵያ መንግሥታት የሚያመሰላቸው ነገር ቢኖር ያራምዱት የነበረው የውጭ ጉዳይ ፖሊሲ የተመሰረተው በዌስትፊሊያ መርህ (Westphalian Principles)

ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ

ነበር ማለት ይቻላል። ይህ መርህ የሚያተኩረው በግዛት አንድነት፣ በአገር ሉአላዊነትና በሌሎች አገሮች ጉዳይ ጣልቃ አለመግባትን ነበር በአብዛኛው በአገር ደህንነት ላይ ያተኮረ ነበር ማለት ይቻላል። ከዚህ አንጻር ኢትዮጵያን የመሳሰሉ አገሮች የሚያራምዱት የውጪ ጉዳይ ፖሊሲ የራሱ ውስንነት ነበረው በርግጥ እንደዚህ አይነቱ ፖሊሲ የውጪ ጉዳይ ፖሊሲ ነው ወይስ የደህንነት /የፀጥ/ ። ሊሲ የሚለው ነገር አሻሚ ነው። ኢህአዴግ አልፎ አልፎ ከወሰዳቸው እርምጃዎችና ከተከተለው መርህ በስተቀር በኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ግንኙነት ፖሊሲ ላይ ያመጣው ስር ነቀል ለውጥ አለ ማለት አይቻልም። ከኤርትራ ጉዳይ በስተቀር በሌሎች ጉዳዮች የሄደበት አቅጣጫ ካለፉት የኢትዮጵያ መንግሥታት ጋር ይመሳሰላል። ይህ አጠቃላይ ስዕል ሲሆን ኢህአዴግ ግን ለተወሰኑ አመታት በዝርዝር የተከተላቸው ፖሊሲዎች የራሳቸው የተለየ ባሕሪ ነበራቸው፣ እነዚህ ባህርያትም የመነጨበት ሁኔታ ከድርጅቱ ታሪካዊ አመጣጥና አደራጃጀት ጋር የተቆራኙ ናቸው። እነዚህም

- 1ኛ የድርጅቱ አካባቢያዊ ቁርኝት /ሰሜን ኢትዮጵያ/
- 2ኛ ከኤርትራ ቡድኖች ጋር የነበረው ትስስር /አካባቢያዊና የብሄረሰብ ሁኔታ/
- 3ኛ የድርጅቱ ዕርዮተ አለማዊ ቅኝትና የነፃ አውጪነት ባህሪ እንግሥት
- 4ኛ የኢትዮጵያ ታሪካዊና አካባቢያዊ ግንባታ ችግሮችና አሳንሶ የማየት ዝንባሌ ናቸው። ከላይ የተጠቀሱት ምክንያቶች ርዕስ በእርስ ተደጋጋፊና የተሳሰሩ ናቸው። አንዱን ከሌላው ነጥሎ ማየት ያስቸግራል።

ኢህአዴግ በኤርትራ ላይ የተከተለው ፖሊሲ ግላግ ከተዘረዘሩት ሁኔታዎች ጋር በእጅጉ ግብረኛል። ኤርትራን ያየበት

ሁኔታ በቅድሚያ ራሱን እንደ አገር ግላግ ስተዳድር መንግሥትና የኢትዮጵያን ጥቅምና ደህንነት የሚያስከብር አመራር ሳይሆን እንደ ነፃ አውጭና የርዕዮተከለም የተከተለው ፖሊሲ ነበር ማለት ይቻላል። የውሳኔ አስጣጥና በኤርትራ ላይ የወሰዳቸው ፖሊሲዎችም በአጠቃላይ ግላግ ከተዘረዘሩት ባህርያት የመነጨ ነበር። ይህም የራሱ የሆነ የደህንነት ችግር አስከትሏል ከግብጽ አንጻር የተከተለው ፖሊሲም ከዚህ ጋር በግላግ ግላግ።

በሂደት ግን ነገሮች ሁሉ እየተቀለበሱና የድሮ የኢትዮጵያ መንግሥታት የተከተልዋቸው ፖሊሲዎችን ግላግ ግላግ ታቸው እንረዳለን። በውጭ ጉዳይ መሥርያ ቤት /ተቋማዊ ጥንካሬ/ የተደረገ አዎንግዊ ለግብጽ ከመኖሩም ባሻገር በግላግ ለተካ ስርገቱ ግላግ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ነው። አቋም ማዳከሙን እንረዳለን። የአገር አንድነትና የግዛት ሉአላዊነት ዋናው የውጭ ግንኙነት ዓላማ እየሆነ ከመምጣቱ ባሻገር በጎረቤት አገሮች ጉዳይ ላይ የኢትዮጵያን የፀጥታ ፍላጎት በሚያይ መልኩ የመንቀሳቀስ አቅጣጫ እየተጠናከረ የመጣበት ሁኔታ ታይቷል። እዚህ ላይ መታወቅ ያለበት ኢትዮጵያን የመሳሰሉ አገሮች የውጭ ግንኙነት የሚያተኩረው በጎረቤቶቻቸው አካባቢ መሆኑን ነው። ከዛ በላይ አይዘልም። ካላቸው አቅምና ሁለንተናዊ ቁመና አንጻር ኢትዮጵያና አብዛኞቻቸው የአፍሪካ አገሮች ዓለማዊ አህጉራዊ ሁኔታዎች ላይ ያላቸው ተሰጣኝነትና ተግባራዊ በጣም ከቁጥር የሚይገባ በመሆኑ ትኩረታቸው በአካባቢያቸውና በፀጥታ ግላግ ግላግ መሆኑ አያስገርምም።

በሂደት ግን የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ጉዳይ ፖሊሲ ቢያንስ በመርህ ደረጃ

የአገሪቱን የውስጥ ችግሮችና የአለም አቀፍ የኢኮኖሚ ትስስር ግምት ውስጥ ያስገባ እየሆነ መጥቷል። ከዚህ አንጻር ኢህአዴግ የአገሪቱን ዋንኛ ችግሮች በሚገባ የዳሰሰ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሰነድ ማውጣቱ አዎንታዊ ነው። ከዚህም በላይ ሰነድን በግልጽ ለውይይት ማቅረብ በበጎ ጉኑ በአፍሪካ ደረጃም የሚጠቀስ ሆኗል! ሰነዱ ለውይይት የቀረበበት ሁኔታ ከውስጥ የፖለቲካና የገዢው ፓርቲ አመለካከት ከማስፋትና ተቀባይነትን ከማግኘት ጋር የተያያዘ ነው ቢባልም አሠራሩ በሌሎችም አገራዊ ፖሊሲዎችና የመልካም አስተዳደር ችግሮች ላይ በቅንነት ቢሰራበት ለዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት ግንባታና ለተጠያቂነት መጎልበት የራሱን አስተዋጽኦ ማበርከት ይችላል።

ሌላው በጎ ጎን ፖሊሲው ዋንኛ የአገሪቱ ችግሮች ማለትም የሰላም እጦት፣ ድህነትና የዲሞክራሲ ስርዓት ግንባታን እንደመገሻ ማስቀመጡ ነው። እውነትም እየባሰበት የሄደው ድህነት የኢትዮጵያ ትልቁ የተጋላጭነትና የአደጋ ምንጭ ሆኖ ይቀጥላል። ከግሎባላይዜሽን አንጻርም ለኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚ እድገት ወሳኝ የሆኑት እንደ የገበያ ዕድል መፍጠር፣ ንግድ ማስፋፋት፣ ኢንቨስትመንት መሳብ፣ የቴክኒክ ድጋፍ፣ የፋይናንስ እርዳታና የመሳሰሉት ላይ ማተኮሩ ተገቢና የሚደገፍ ነው። ከዚህ ውጭ ኢትዮጵያ ማደግ አትችልም። ችግሮች በሰላም በመፍታት ላይ ያተኮረና ከበለፀጉ አገሮች ጋር ወዳጅነትና ሽርክና በማጠናከር ከሚፈጠር የኢኮኖሚና የፖለቲካ ግንኙነት ውጪ ኢትዮጵያ የትም ልትደርስ አትችልም። ስለዚህ የአሁኑ መንግሥት የውጭ ጉዳይ መርሆች ትክክለኛና ማንኛውም መንግሥት በቀጣይ ዓመታት ሊከተላቸውና በስፋት ተንትኖና ስትራቴጂ ቀርጾ በቁርጠኝነት ሊተገብራቸው የሚገባቸው ናቸው ግላግ እምነት አለኝ።

FEMALE FACES OF POVERTY

Ancy Thomas*

Introduction

Women are more than half of the world population. They are the mothers of the other half. As mothers and carers, as producers and farmers, the work of women supports their families and communities. Yet, throughout the world, the poorest people in the community are predominantly women and their dependent children. Two-thirds of the illiterate people in the world are women. Women face increasing levels of violence, because of their gender, and half a million die each year as a direct or indirect result of pregnancy.

If development undertakings aimed at benefiting equally both men and women members of a community, development policies, strategies, plans and organization of implementation need to be gender responsive. The eradication of poverty based on sustainable economic growth, social development, environment protection and social justice requires the involvement of women. Gender sensitive development policies and programs at all levels will foster the empowerment and advancement of women. Poverty is not a new phenomenon to Ethiopia. It is a chronic problem made worse by droughts and other calamities.

Meaning of poverty – Lack of purchasing power-income status.

Poverty has a multi dimensional face and is not characterized only by income status of house holds or of other non-monetary social

dimensions. It is characterized by inadequate food and calories in take and lack of access to health, nutrition, education, domestic water supplies and sanitation.

Thus, poverty in general could be defined as to include all dimensions of the hardship people face, (world Bank, 1994).

There are several approaches defining the concept of poverty. They are:

Biological approach – conceptualizes poverty as the inability to meet the requirements for survival. One is defined as poor if she/he fails to meet certain basic needs, such as food, clothing and housing (Sen, 1981).

Normative approach – conceptualizes poverty in terms of value judgment about the minimum adequate level of welfare below which one is said to be poor.

The Social – Poverty – approach views poverty as a reflection of social inequality (Encyclopedia of social science).

Conceptualization of poverty also differs from country to country. The “**chronic poverty**” and “**mass poverty**” are used to categorize poverty in developing countries. Chronic poverty refers to the state of being poor and failure to move out of it. Families in rural areas without basic need of survival, both low quality of land and insufficient productive assets, and low access to education, health and sanitary facilities are identified as chronically poor. Poverty in developing countries, such as

Ethiopia, is characterized as “mass poverty”, where more than half of the population lives in poverty.

The factors for feminization of poverty are

- Increase in the female headed households
- Conflicts, wars, breakdown of traditional family structures, rising mortality due to HIV/AIDS
- The increase of female participation in low return, urban informal sector activities
- Low education level of women
- Globalization
- Structural adjustment program (SAPs)
- Agricultural Development-Led Industrialization Policy (ADLI)

Any development efforts in the past largely misunderstood and neglected the complex human dynamic. Women, 50 percent of the key elements of development sustainability were left in the slipstream and ignored in the mainstream. However women contribute significantly to the economic and social life of their community.

They are involved in food production and running of micro, small and medium enterprises. Quite a large number of them are also engaged in the informal economic sector. Though they have such an involvement and a contribution, women are excluded from economic decision-making, are low paid, and work in poor working condition. They have also limited employment and profession opportunities. Their unpaid work such as domestic and community work is not valued as work. It is neither measured in quantitative

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terms nor valued in the GDP (Gross Domestic Product).

Researchers have been analyzing the female-headed households, which are emerging, in apparently increasing numbers, in a variety of communities around the world. It is important to consider under what conditions – social, economic, political and ideological female-headed households become a significant proportion of the total number. The evidence is complex, but it seems that female-headed households are common in situations of urban poverty; in societies with a high level of male labour migration; and in situations where general insecurity and vulnerability prevail (Youssef and Hefler, 1983, Merric and Schmink, 1983). For example, female-headed households are on the increase in many rural areas in Africa. The prevailing view in the literature is that this is due to male labour migration. It is clear that in some rural economics the strain placed on conjugal relations by the exploitation of rural areas as labour reserves is producing an enormously high proportion of female-headed households (Murray, 1981; Bush 1986).

However, in addition to male labour migration, there is also the suggestion that increasing socio-economic differentiation in rural communities is producing a group of female-headed HHs (Cliffe, 1978). Changes in kinship systems and in the organization of agricultural production have meant that many poorer women have lost the security provided by former kin networks and relationships. It is true that many female-headed HHs are very poor, but as Peters points out, this is not the case for all of them, and we have to be very careful to avoid any analytical elision which suggests; lack of males=female-headed=marginal=poor (Peters, 1983).

Informal sector plays an important role in the maintenance of a great majority of the female population.

In spite many problems they are facing, women are working hard in this unorganized sector for HHs. The informal sector has become the domain of women. Women have to get equal access to education, as it is their right to exercise it. There is general agreement that education increases productivity and a substantial amount of literature exists documenting the positive effects of women's education on human capital development, paid labour force participation and agricultural production. A recent comprehensive Indian study found that formal education of farm wives enhances the productivity of all farm inputs, including a husband's time in farm production.

Rural women have consistently lower literacy than rural men, but also lower literacy than urban women. Educational wastage is higher in rural areas and for girl students. Although girl students show greater rates of educational wastage than boys, their wastage is more often due to repetition of grades. Girls' interest in studies may weaken, if a failure occurs in school for non-scholastic reasons.

Conclusion

International economic policies have aggravated the poverty situation in the third world countries, the burden of which heavily falls on women. Political instability, economic crisis and the resultant social situations have changed the family structure, and female-headed households are increasing.

The situation can be improved to a certain extent by:

- Organizing women in cooperatives for mutual support and exchange of ideas
- Introduction of appropriate technology for improved products and labour.
- Sensitization on the training effects on their businesses, harmful traditional and religious practices

- Empowerment of women at grassroots level

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E-WASTE AND THE THIRD WORLD

Tessy Kurian*

To a layperson, Information Technology is associated with a clean and safe environment. But this notion is far from the truth.

More than 1000 materials are involved in the manufacture of IT hardware. Many of these materials are highly toxic. For example, special gases are used in semiconductor manufacture, lead and cadmium are needed in computer circuit boards, lead oxide and barium are used in computer monitor's cathode ray tubes, mercury is required in switches and flat screens; printed circuit boards, cables and plastic casing use brominated flame retardants.

Even though the health impacts of the mixtures and material combinations in the production are often not known, international research has revealed that high-tech production workers experience premature death, elevated rates of cancer, neurological disorders, miscarriages and even giving birth to children with severe defects. Moreover it is proved that computer-recycling employees have high levels of dangerous chemicals in their blood. The IT industry exploits a community's resources also. The electricity needed to power a city of 60,000 inhabitants may be required by one semiconductor plant alone, over and above several million gallons of water a day. In a number of countries like U.S., Japan, Mexico

and Scotland, highly contaminated groundwater has resulted in community health problems. This is due to thirty years of irresponsible handling of chemicals used in manufacturing!

Of course these health and environmental issues are faced only by the manufacturing regions of IT equipments. But the more widespread ecological disaster of IT is because of its universal adoption and the rapid obsolescence of IT products.

Mountains of obsolete IT products, especially PCs, monitors and printers are accumulated! "E-waste" has become one of the fastest growing and most toxic waste streams affecting the third world countries.

Between 315 million and 680 million computers will become obsolete within the next few years in the U.S. alone. The waste will contain more than 2 billion kg of plastic, 0.5 billion kg of lead, 1 million kg of cadmium, 0.5 million kg of chromium, and nearly 200,000 kg of mercury. This is the prediction of the U.S. National Safety Council. With the popularity of new liquid crystal display technology, an increasing number of old monitors using cathode ray tubes are ending up in the trash. This is another worry of the environmentalists.

This ugly fact of IT is not a problem of advanced countries alone.

As far as the developing countries of the world are concerned, much of this e-waste is being dumped in their territories due to their lax monitoring of waste imports. In February 2002, the Basel Action Network (BAN) and Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition (SPTC) released the ground breaking report, 'Exporting Harm: The High-Tech Trashing of Asia' which stated that as much as 80% of electrical waste collected for recycling in the U.S. was shipped to Asia, mainly China, India and Pakistan, where environmentally destructive processing and disposal such as open burning, acid baths and plain dumping create environmental and health nightmares.

All the developed nations except the U.S. signed the Basel Convention of 1994 and the BAN Amendment. E-waste, according to them is hazardous and prohibit the shipment of such waste from rich countries to poor countries. Consequently, China has clamped down on e-waste imports but many third world countries continue to receive the same.

It is a fact that less than 10% of outdated computer products are recycled. In the U.S., a national Computer Take Back Campaign (CTBC) was started in 2001; it required Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR), that is,

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companies are required to take full financial and physical responsibility for their products throughout their life cycle including end of life recycling, reuse or disposal. In those countries which have enacted environmental regulations, the computer industry has developed sustainable products and started working towards environmentally sound disposal.

For example, in Europe, the elimination of certain hazardous materials and setting of certain standards for producer responsibility for recycling and take back was adopted by the European Union's Parliament in 2002. Waste Electrical and Electronic Equipment (WEEE) and Reduction of Hazardous Substances (RoHS) directive adopted these conditions.

In Japan, take back of certain electronic products that will soon include computers is ensured by the Appliance Recycling Law of 2001. The disclosure of chemical use in production is also required by the Pollution Release and Transfer Registry (PRTR) of 2002.

In U.S. there are no national laws or regulations. But California and Massachusetts have banned land filling Cathode ray tube monitors and televisions because of the lead content in the glass. Similar legislation is considered by many other states to address electronic waste (e-waste) problem.

Since crucial legislation regarding e-waste management is not passed in many countries, issues like the

hazardous materials used to make products in computer industry and the ever growing pile of waste that results from the dynamic pace of innovation in IT industry are not addressed properly. As a result, double standards exist between countries as well as within companies. For example, computers containing brominated flame-retardants used to prevent fires in circuit boards are sold to American consumers by one of the world's leading computer companies. Some countries prohibit brominated flame retardants which are suspected of blocking hormones leading to biological problems. In those countries the MNC ships machines free of the chemicals.

It is true that in India, Africa and in many under developed countries the mountains of e-waste have not yet posed a problem. This is because of the propensity to not throw away equipment even if it is obsolete till it becomes totally unserviceable. But in the younger generation, this attitude is changing and the throw away culture of the west is slowly creeping. Moreover, these underdeveloped countries do not have sizable IT hardware manufacturing infrastructure as yet. But e-waste is emerging as a threat to the third world. Even now, there should be millions of computers ready for junking and there are chances to scrap millions more every year in the future. In this period of booming mobile telephony, at least a million handset join the scrap heap every year in the developed segment of the third world. We will soon start adding to

this pile a few CRT monitors every year, especially when LCD monitors start coming down in price. Unless the Governments of the third world nations pass legislations compelling computer producers to introduce a take back and recycle mechanism, the dream of IT – the 'mantra' of progress and development – will end up in an ecological nightmare!

የኢትዮጵያን ኢኮኖሚ ዕድገት የበለጠ ለማቀናጀትና ለማፋጠን በሚቀጥለው አስር ዓመታት ከፍተኛ ለ-ዓ ለማስገኘት በአገር ውስጥና በውጭ አገሮች ለሚኖሩ ባለሀብት ዜጋዎቻችን የተባበረ ጥረት መጠየቂያ የግል ማሳሰቢያ

ኤርምያስ ኬ. / ከሜሪላንድ፣ አሜሪካ

ይህንን ማሳሰቢያ ለመጻፍ እንቅልፍ አሳጥቶ የአገሳሳኝ ዋናው ምክንያት ሁላችንም እንደምናውቀውና እንደምንሰማው አገራችን ኢትዮጵያ በገለገም ላይ ካሉት በጣም ድሃ አገሮች አንዷ ናት መባላ አንሷት እንዲያውም በናሽናል ጂኦግራፊክ መጽሔት ላይ በአያንዳንዱ ሰው የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ የመጨረሻውን ደረጃ በዚህ ዓመት መጠን በማንበብ ነው።

የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ብዛት ከስልሳ እስከ ስልሳ አምስት ሚሊዮን ይደርሳል። ከአገራችን ብሄራዊ የአንድ ዓመት ምርት ውጤት ለአያንዳንዱ ዜጋ የሚደርሰው ሰባት መቶ ብር ብቻ ነው። የኑሮ ውድነት ከመጠን በላይ እየጨመረ ባለበት ወቅት ሰባት መቶ ብር ለአንድ ዓመት የነፍስ ወከፍ ወጪ ሊሆን ቀርቶ ለማግኘት ዓመትም አይበቃም። የኢኮኖሚ ዕድገት ከህዝብ ቁጥር ዕድገት በር ካልተመጣጠነ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢም እየቀነሰና የስቃይ ኑሮን የሚጋፈጠው ዜጋ ብዛት እየጨመረ ይመጣል ማለት ነው።

በስተቀኛው ዓለም አገሮች ዋናው ጥረት በዚህ ችግር ላይ ማተኮር ይኖርበታል። ኢኮኖሚያቸውን ለማሳደግ የመዋዕለ-ንዋይ ወይም ኢንቨስትመንት ጥያቄ ወሳኝ በመሆኑ ከአገር ውስጥም ሆነ ከውጭ አገር በሰፊው አቅርቦት መኖር አለበት። ይህ ማለት ከውጭ አገሮች በብር እና የኢኮኖሚ ትብብር የምናገኘውን ገንዘብ ብቻ ሳይሆን ከአገር ውስጥና በውጭ አገር የሚኖሩት ዜጋዎቻችን በተለይ ባለሀብቶች የሚደርጉት የንግድ እንቅስቃሴ መንግስት ካለው የኢኮኖሚ መርህ (ፖሊሲ) ጋር በማጣጣም ያለምንም አድልዎና ማዕቀብ ከሙስና ነፃ በሆነ መልኩ ተቀናጅቶ አገርን ለማሳደግ ከፍተኛ ጥረት ማድረግ አለበት። የዜጋዎች ወደ አደጉ አገሮች ሄደው መስራትና መኖር በማደግ ላይ ያሉትን አገሮች በጣም ሊጎዳ ይችላል። ነገር ግን ሥራ አጥተው በችግር ላይ ያሉ ዜጋዎች እራሳቸውን ለመቻልና ዘመዶቻቸውን እንደችሉታቸው ለመርዳት በተዘዋዋሪም ለአገራቸው ኢኮኖሚ ድጋግ ለማድረግ መስጠት ጥቅሙ ሁለት ድርብ ነው። ለምሳሌ በዚህ በያዝነው ዓመት አዳጊ የሆኑት የኤልሳልቫደርና ቪትናም ዜጋዎች ስደተኞች ምን ያህል ገንዘብ ወደ አገራቸው በመላክ ከፍተኛ መጠን ጎዳ አቅርቦት እንዳደረጉ እንመልከት።

የኤልሳልቫደር ሕዝብ ብዛት ስድስት ሚሊዮን ያህል ነው። በሥራ አጥነት የሚቸገረው ህዝባቸው በጤ መረ በመምጣቱ ከሃያ ዓመታት በፊት ጀምሮ በጦርነትም ምክንያት ከአንድ እስከ አንድ ሚሊዮን ተኩል የሚደርስ

ዜጋዎቻቸው በተራ የጉልበት ሥራ ለመተዳደር ወደ አደጉ አገሮች ይሰደዳሉ። የአገራቸው ኢኮኖሚ የደቀቀ በና ገና እያንሰራራ ስለሆነ በውጭ አገር የሚኖሩት ዜጋዎቻቸው ወደ ዘመዶቻቸው የሚልኩት ጥሪ ገንዘብና የሚያደርጉት የንግድ ልውውጥ ተደምሮ ሁለት ቢሊዮን ዶላር ደርሷል። በአንድ ዓመት ይህን ያህል ገንዘብ ማቅረብ ከተቻለ ባለፈው ሃያ ዓመታት ምን ያህል እንደተላከ ትክክለኛውን ቁጥር ለማቅቀም በማጠቃለያ ላይ አገሮች የእስታትስቲክ መረጃ መቶ በመቶ ባይታወቅም በኢኮኖሚው ክፍፍላት ላይ የሚኖረውን ልውጥ መገመት ቀላል ነው። እንዲያውም በብድርና ከውጭ አገር ባለሀብቶች ከሚያገኙት መዋዕለ-ንዋይ የበለጠ ስጦተኛው ሕዝባቸው ኢኮኖሚያቸውን እያሳደገው መጥቷል ማለት ነው። የቪትናም ህዝብም ከዚህ ባልተለየ ሁኔታ ከአስር ዓመታት በፊት ወደ አገሩ የሚልከው ገንዘብ ቁሳቁስና ማሽነሪ ተደምሮ ሶስት ቢሊዮን ዶላር ያህል ደርሶ ነበር። በዚህ ዓመት ስጦተኛ ህዝባቸው በኢኮኖሚ ከአደጉ አገሮች (አሜሪካ፣ ካናዳ፣ ጃፓን...) የሚያደርገውን የኢኮኖሚ ዕርዳታ መገመት በጣም ቀላል ነው።

ወደ አገራችን የኢኮኖሚ እንቅስቃሴ ወይም ዕድገት ብናተኮር ምን ያህል ጥረት እየተደረገ እንዳለ እንረዳለን። ባለፈው አስር ዓመታት ከውጭ አገሮች በአርዳታ ብድርና የኢኮኖሚ ትብብር በተጠቀሙ ገንዘብ ሰባት ነጥብ ስድስት ቢሊዮን ዶላር ያህል ነው። ይህ እንግዲህ ስደተኞች ዜጋችን የሚልከውን ገንዘብና ቁሳቁስ አይጨምርም። በአጠቃላይ የምንፈልገውን ያህል ባይሆንም በጣም ከፍ ያለ የመዋዕለ-ንዋይ አቅርቦት እየተደረገ ነው ማለት ነው። ዋናው ቁም-ነገር የሚገኘውን በሚገባ አቀናጅቶ ጣራውን መፈለግ ላይ ነው። እንበልጥ በአንድ ዓመት ስደተኞች ዜጋችን አንድ ቢሊዮን ዶላር መዋዕለ-ንዋይ ማቅረብ ይችላል። ይህ በአብ-ጅው ለዘመዶቻችን በክር-ጋታ መልክ የምንልከው ገንዘብ ነው (ወይም ቤት ለመሥራት ትንንሽ ንግድ ለመጀመር) በአለፈው አስር ጥመታት በግምት ይህን ያህል ወደአገራችን ከላክን በሚቀጥለው አስር ጥመታት አገር ውስጥ ካሉ ባለሀብቶች ጋር በመተባበር አክሲዮን በመግዛት፣ የግል ንግድ በመጀመርና የመኖሪያ ቤቶች አሰርቶ ማከራ-የትን የመሳሰሉትን የንብረት ማፍራት ጥረታችንን የበለጠ አጠናክረን ብንቀጥል በአንድ ዓመት ሁለት ቢሊዮን ዶላር እንደ ኤልሳልቫደር ህዝብ ብናስገኝ የአስር ዓመታት ድምር ከሃያ ቢሊዮን ዶላር በላይ ይሆናል። ለአንድ ድሃ አዳጊ አገር የራሷ ዜጋዎች ይህን ያህል መዋዕለ-ንዋይ ማቅረብ

መቻል ከፍተኛ ልውጥን ያመጣል። ከውጭ አገር ባለሀብቶች ጋር ከምናደርገው የኢኮኖሚ ትብብር ጋር ሲቀናጅ ምን ያህል ዋናውን የኢኮኖሚ ችግራችንን እየቀረፍን መጣል እንደምንችል መገመት አያዳግትም። ህዝባችንም የኑሮ ሁኔታው እና ሥራ ማጠቃለያው በሩ የበለጠ ሲከፈትለት የግል ቁጠባውና ንብረቱ እያደገ በአገር ውስጥ ማረጋገጫው የመዋዕለ-ንዋይ አቅርቦት በጣም ከፍ ያለ እየሆነ ይመጣል። በተለይ በአርሻው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ላይ ትኩረት በመስጠት በትላልቁ ከተማዎች በሰባ በሥራ-አጥነት የሚገኙት ተተው ወገናችንን ለመርዳት መንግስት ዘመናዊ የአትክልትና ፍራፍሬ፣ የከብትና ዶሮ አርባታና የትናንሽ ጎጆ ኢንዱስትሪ በገጠር ለመገንባት ጭምር የተለየ የመራት ሊዝ በመፍቀድ ለአገርና ለውጭ ባለሀብቶች ትብብር ማድረግ በቅብታል። ይህ የሥራ አጠገብ ብሶትና የዜግነት መብት ጥያቄውን ከህገ መንግስት አንፃር መልስ ሰጠባል።

በአጠቃላይ የአገራችንን ኢኮኖሚ ላዕላይ መቅቀር እና ትላልቅ ኢንዱስትሪዎችን ለመገባት የምናደርገው ጥረት መሰረቱ የመዋዕለ-ንዋይ አቅርቦት ቢሆንም በሙያቸው አንድ ዓይነት የሆኑ ምሁራንና በጣም የታወቁ ባለሀብቶች የውይይት መድረክ በማዘጋጀት የሃሳብና ተግባራዊ ሁኔታ መረጃዎችን በመለዋወጥ ነፃ የሆነ እንቅስቃሴ (በኢኮኖሚስቶች ኢንጂነሮች የህክምና ባለሙያዎች ወዘተ...) መጠናከር አለበት። በውጭ አገሮችም የሚኖሩ በተማሩ ኢትዮጵያውያንና ዜጎች ከቻሉ በየውይይት መድረኩ በመካፈል አለበለዚያም በኢንተርኔት ውጤቱን በመከተል ተፅዕኖዎች ለማረጋገጥ በተለይ በተማሩ የንግድ ባለሙያዎች ከፍተኛ ጥረት ይጠበቅባቸዋል። ለምሳሌ በጣት የሚቆጠሩ አገራችን ውስጥ የትላልቅ ፋብሪካ ባለቤቶች ከኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚስቶች ማህበር ጋር በመተባበር በየዓመቱ አንድ ወይም ሁለት ጊዜ የኢኮኖሚ ውይይት መድረክ በማዘጋጀት የመንግስት ተወካዮችንና በውጭ አገር የሚኖሩ ዜጋዎቻችንን ጥረት ለማቀናጀት የበለጠ መጠንቀቅል ጎዳ የምናቀርብበትን ሁኔታና ዘዴ ማለት በነገር ፋብሪካዎችና አዳዲስ ፋብሪካዎች ለመገንባት በምን አይነት መንገድ አክሲዮን መሸጥ እንደሚቻል፣ ምርት ለማሳደግ እና ከውጭ አገሮች ጋር ለመወዳደር ምን ማድረግ እንዳለብን መሪና ወሳኝ ሃሳቦችን በመወያየት ከፍተኛ የሆነ ልውጥ በሚቀጥለው አስር ዓመታት ማስመዘገብ ይቻላል የሚል እምነት አለኝ። አመሰግናለሁ!!!