



**ልሳነ  
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## የመሬት ጥያቄ በኢትዮጵያ LAND POLICY IN ETHIOPIA

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P. O. BOX

34282

TELEPHONE

116902 553900 EXT 232

ADDIS ABABA

ETHIOPIA

E-mail Economic.dept@telecom.net.et (Attn EEA)



# ከአዘጋጁ

ያለፈው ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ ከወጣ ወዲህ በማህበራችን አካባቢ የተለየ እንቅስቃሴዎች ተደርገዋል። የግህበት 7ኛ ጠቅላላ ጉባኤ የኢትዮጵያን የመሬት ፖሊሲና ያሉትን አማራጮች ከዳሰሰ ውይይት ጋር ተዳብሎ ተካሂዶአል። የዚህ ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ ዋና ማጠናጠኛ ሃሳብም ይኸው የመሬት ጥያቄ ነው። ማህበሩ ያካሄደው ሌላ ውይይት ደግሞ ከኢትዮጵያ አልፎ የአካባቢ አገርች የኢኮኖሚ ጥምረት (Regional Economic Integration) ያለውን ጥቅምና ጉዳት በተለይም እንዲህ ዓይነት ሙከራዎች በአፍሪካ የደረሱበትን ደረጃና የገጠማቸውን ችግር የዳሰሰ ነበር። ከእነኚህም በተጨማሪ የማህበራችን መስራችና የመጀመሪያ ፕሬዚዳንት ዶ/ር አሸቱ ራሴን የመጀመሪያ ሙት ዓመት ምክንያት በማድረግ ግማሽ ቀን የሚፈጅ የትውስት ፕሮግራም ተካሂዷል። በአጭሩ ያለፉት ሁለት ወራት ለማህበራችን የሥራ ጊዜ ነበር።

በውኔቱ የመሬት ፖሊሲ ጉዳይ በአገራችን እጅግ አወቃቀጠ እየሆነ መጥቷል። ምንም እንኳን የመሬት ፖሊሲ የአብዛኛውን ህዝባችንን ኑሮ በተጥታ የሚመለከትና ከጠባብ የጅኮኖሚ ጥያቄ አልፎ መሠረታዊ የማህበራዊ ኑሮአችንን የሚመለከት ቢሆንም ለአጠቃላይ እድገታችን የሚያደርገው አስተዋጽኦ አውንታዊ ወይም አሉንታዊ መሆኑ በጥንቃቄ ሊታይ ይገባል። በእሁኑ ጊዜ በአገራችን ከመንግሥት አካባቢ ከሚሰሙ ድምጾች ውጭ ያለው የመሬት ፖሊሲ (የከተማ የገጠርም) ለዕድገት የሚኖረገውን ትግል እያገዘ ነው የሚል ነጻ የሆነ አስተሳሰብ አለ ለማለት ይቸግራል። በመንግሥትም አካባቢ ቢሆን መሬት በተለይም የከተማ መሬት አጠቃቀማችን ለእድገት እያገዘ ነው የሚል ድምጽ ብዙም አይሰማም። ያለው ክርክር የመሬት አጠቃቀም ችግሮችን መሠረቱ ፖሊሲው ራሱ ሳይሆን ፖሊሲውን በመተግበር ሂደት የገጠሙ ችግሮች (implementation problems) ናቸው የሚል ብቻ ነው። በመሬት ጥያቄ በተደረገው ውይይት ላይ ከአቶ ንዋይ ገ/አብና ከአቶ ሀገሩ ኪሮስ የተረበ መከራከሪያ ነጥብም የሆነው ምንም እንኳን የአቶ ንዋይ ዕሁፍ ለዚህ ዕትም ባይደርሰልንም ውይይቱ መቀጠል ያለበት ስለሆነ በሚቀጥለው ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ ላይ እናቀርባለን።

በእንግሩ አቶ ደግላሻ ራህመድ በእሁኑ ጊዜ መንግሥት የተከተለው ያለው ፖሊሲ ከጥቂት ማሻሻያዎች በስተቀር እንዳለ በደርግ ጊዜ የነበረውና ይህም እያስከተለ ያለውን ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ችግሮች በመተንተን አገራቱም በተለይም የገጠሩ ኢኮኖሚ በዚህ ፖሊሲ ምክንያት ከፍተኛ አደጋ ውስጥ እንደሚገኝ ይተነትናሉ። መንግሥት እየተከተለ ያለው የኢኮኖሚክስን ፕሮግራም በዚህ ፖሊሲ ምክንያት የተጠበቀውን ጫጣ ሊያስገኝ አይችልም የሚል ፍርሃት አላቸው። እንደመፍትሼም የሚጠቀሟቸው ብዙ መፍትሼ አላቸው። የከተማውን የሊዚ ፖሊሲ በሚመለከት አቶ አሰፋ የአተገባበር ችግር ብቻ ሳይሆን ፖሊሲው ለአብዛኛው ከተሜ፣ ለአጠቃላይ አንቅስቃሴውን እንቅስቃሴና በአጠቃላይ በአገሪቱ የማይፈይድ ፖሊሲ ነው ይላሉ። የከተማን በታ ባለቤትና ወደግል ይዞታ ማዛወር የተሻለ አማራጭ ነው ይላሉ። ፕሮፌሰር መስፍን በውይይቱ ላይ ተካፋይ ባይሆኑም ከዚህ በፊት በዚህ ጥያቄ ላይ ብዙ ምርምር የሠሩ በመሆናቸው ሃሳባቸውን በአጭሩ እንዲያካፍሉን በጠየቅናቸው መሠረት እጥር ምጥን ያለች ጽሁፍ ለከውልናል። እሳቸው ከአቶ ደግላሻም አላብ ፈንጠቅ ብለው የገጠሩን መሬት ባለቤትነት ለግለሰብ መስጠት ብቻ ነው ያለው መፍትሼ ይላሉ። በጥያቄ ላይ ያሉትን ልዩነቶች እንዳሉ ሆነው በጉዳይ ላይ ሳንል የማናልፈው ነገር ቢኖር የመሬት ፖሊሲ በየጊዜው የሚፈጠሩ ክስተቶችን አካቶ መለዋወጥ የሚችል (Flexible) መሆን አለበት።

በአጠቃላይ የመሬት ጥያቄ በዚህ የሚቋቋም አይደለም። ደግመን ደጋግመን እንመለስበታለን። አንባቢዎቻችን በዚህ ጉዳይ ላይ ያላችሁን የሰከነ አስተያየት እንድትልኩልን እንጠብቃለን።

እንደወትሮው ይህች ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ ሌሎችንም ቀምነገር የያዙ ጽሁፎች ይዛ ወጥታለች። በአገርች ኢኮኖሚ እጥረት ላይ ባደረገው የክብ ጠረጴዛ ውይይት ላይ የተረቡ ሁለት ጽሁፎችን አካታለች። ስለአነሳተኛ የብድር ተቋማት ረጅም ልምድ ካከበተው የግራሚን ባንክ ልምድ በመነሳት የተጻፈው አጭር ጽሁፍም ወደ አማርኛ ተመልሶ ቀርቧል። በደብዳቤዎች አምጻችን ከሌላው ጊዜ የተለየ ዕሁፍ አቅርቦናል። የህይወት የመጨረሻ ዓላማው ደስተኝነት ከሆነ፣ ደስተኝነትን የኢኮኖሚ ብልጽግና የመጣዋል ወይ ብሎ አስተያየት ያቀርባል። ከዶ/ር አሸቱ የትውስታ ፕሮግራም ላይ የተነበቡ የእሱን እንድትሰጡት ግጥሞች ጨምረናል። መልካም ንባብ

From the internet

**HEALTHY, WEALTHY AND UNHAPPY**

Why is it that Economic Success does not Necessarily Bring Personal Contentment?

Gerd Behrens

Some years ago, the story goes, a large corporation gave African peasants fertilizer so that their crop would double. And indeed it did. The businessmen thought they had sown the seeds of efficient agriculture. Alas, when the next season came the peasants didn't plant anything. "Why don't you plant?" the businessmen asked. The peasants thought this question somewhat silly. "Our last harvest was double," they replied. "We have enough to feed our families till next year.

"Whether a rural legend or not, the story illustrates the different answers people give to the question, How much does man need? One says, "Enough to subsist." Another may say, "As much as possible. The latter certainly creates more wealth. But does he also create more happiness?

Any seasoned traveler can attest to the fact that wealth and happiness do not usually cohabit. Visit Europe and be mystified by the unsmiling faces and furrowed brows in the most affluent countries. Visit Africa and marvel at the laughter and general merriment, even in the most impoverished ones.

For those who prefer empirical to impressionistic evidence, there are opinion polls. I recall that back in the '80s, a survey asked Western Europeans the mother of all questions: Are you happy? The Germans, the richest, were the most miserable. The Irish and Portuguese, the poorest, turned out to be the most contented. In 1998, a global survey by the Angus Reid Group constructed a

Hope Index, asking people how optimistic they felt about the future. Pessimism reigned supreme in Europe, particularly in the countries along the Rhine. In Germany (per capita GDP \$28,000) only 18% of the respondents were upbeat about the future, and in France (\$26,000) it was 17%. By comparison, South Africa (\$3,500) and Brazil (\$4,400) scored 42% and 64% on the Hope Index. It is not a new insight that the relationship between material and emotional welfare seems to be an inverse one. When the carpenter of Galilee declared that man does not live by bread alone, he reminded all those who see man as Homo economics of their materialist blinkers.

What is the explanation for this strange phenomenon? Maybe it has to do with the cerebral and the visceral. Mankind has known for a long time that too much self-scrutiny is not conducive to happiness. "Ask yourself whether you are happy, and you cease to be so," John Stuart Mill wrote more than 100 years ago. To intellectuals, the pursuit of happiness is something unbecoming of cultured people. It is appropriate, the elite might argue, only to the shallow and unsophisticated. How many novels or movies about happy people win critical acclaim? Anguish and discontent are taken as the mark of a deep thinker, a well-rehearsed frown as his badge. Pace Epicurus, a happy intellectual is an oxymoron.

To the cerebral, it is not so much that ignorance is bliss, but that bliss is ignorance. Suffering is

often seen as a precondition not only for great insights, but for any meaningful existence. I suffer, therefore I am.

Marcel Proust, one of the great malcontents of all times, held that the only possible paradise is the one we've lost. And if there are no obvious problems one can always invent some. Thinking up problems serves as a makeshift scheme for the problem-solving classes.

The realization that wealth breeds unhappiness calls for a new yardstick to measure human development. The current scale, the United Nations Human Development Index, classifies countries according to per capita income, literacy rate and life expectancy.

These criteria, unsurprisingly, were drawn up by people with high per capita income, high literacy rates and high life expectancy. On this index a nation with a large proportion of short-lived illiterate subsistence farmers scores virtually zero. A nation of neurotics with two Ph.D.s each who will live to 90 gets full marks. The Bakutu, a tribe living in the Congo region of Central Africa, have always considered the white man's logic a bit batty. They call him *lolema djola feke*, "the bat that flies intensely but knows not where to." According to the parable of the businessman and the fisherman, some Mexicans agree with the Bakutu. On holiday in a fishing village, an American businessman watches a local fisherman haul in a rather small catch. "Why don't you stay out at sea longer and bring in more

fish?" the visitor inquires. "I like to spend my time playing with my children, taking a siesta with my wife, playing the guitar with my friends," the Mexican answers. The American is not impressed. "If you worked harder you could buy a second fishing boat, then a

whole fleet. You could head up a large corporation, move to New York and list it on Wall Street. Eventually you could sell your stock and become very rich. "And then, *senor?*" the fisherman asks. "Then comes the best part", the businessman replies. "You retire.

You move to a Mexican fishing village. You take a siesta with your wife and play with your children....."

(ESSAY, JULY 19, 1999 154(3). ■

## THAT 'S HOW WE MOVE AWAY

Eshetu Chole

We call it life  
An endless strife

Of love and hate  
Of good and bad  
Of life and lifelessness.

We toil, we work  
And yet there is no rest

Until the will shall die  
On the final day  
When work will be no more.

We laugh  
We weep

It is our fate  
To mock ourselves  
Consoling our loss.

We fight  
To lose or win

We march and yet retreat  
During we seem  
And yet we have our fear.

We hope  
And we despair

Sorrow following joy  
Loss following victory  
Despair following hope.

Night following day  
Death following life

Man following man  
In an endless caravan  
That's how we move away.

Something: The Literary Magazine of the University College. 1(1962):73. ■

## WELCOMING SPEECH BY DR. BERHANU NEGA TO THE 7<sup>TH</sup> GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ETHIOPIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION

Members of the Ethiopian  
Economic Association  
Invited Guests  
Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the EEA, let me start by formally welcoming you to the 7th General Assembly of the Ethiopian Economic Association and the panel discussion on the thorny issue of land and land policy in Ethiopia..

As you all know, the EEA was formed with a few modest objectives in mind. Like all professional associations, it is concerned with the activities and professional development of its members. This means, creating the conditions for the professional development of its members by encouraging research in economics and related subjects, networking among members to exchange ideas and outcomes by organizing annual conferences on the Ethiopian economy and publishing our bi-annual journal of Ethiopian economics and in general creating a conducive atmosphere for members to talk about and discuss various issues in economics in general and the Ethiopian economy in particular.

Our association is also interested in the quality and spread of economic education in the various educational institutions of the country. In this regard, the association has been convening an annual conference on the Ethiopian economy on a theme that is deemed worthy of professional focus. The proceedings of these conferences are published annually. We are glad to note that these proceedings serve as textbooks for teaching and provide the input and point of departure for research in various areas. The

various conferences that were held since 1992 and the articles published in the journal are also hoped to improve the quality of teaching and new research in the country.

Another clearly stated objective of the association is the objective of "contributing towards the development of the Ethiopian economy." This was born out of, as our late president Dr. Eshetu Chole stated in the inaugural meeting of our association, "the availability of so many capable Ethiopian economists at home and abroad is simply not matched by the miserable state of our country's economy." In this area, the hope was that the various researches on the Ethiopian economy, conducted by our members and others would find their way to policy makers and the general public to better inform public discussion on economic issues in general and the policy making process in particular. In the last two years, the association took a number of initiatives to make available, in a general reader friendly approach the generation and dissemination of ideas and options to our policy makers and the public at large.

Our bi-monthly economic round tables which brings policy makers, academicians and the business community to discuss contemporary economic policy issues and our bi-monthly bulletin, *Economic Focus*, where these discussions are published, were designed with this objective in mind.

Your association has also ventured into the new and uncharted territory of preparing an annual report card on the performance of the Ethiopian econ-

omy. The annual report on the Ethiopian economy, which will appear in the near future for the first time, is also intended to inform the public on the state of the Ethiopian economy and hence broaden and deepen the debate on economic issues in our country.

I believe seven years is long enough a time to take a quick stock on the performance of the association in meeting its stated objectives. How has the association fared in achieving these stated objectives over the last seven years?

In the area of creating a forum for economists to regularly meet and exchange ideas and researches in order to improve their professional competence, it is fair to say that the association has been reasonably successful. In achieving its stated objective. We had eight annual conferences on the Ethiopian economy since the formation of the association and a number of workshops on specific issues which, by any account, have helped both in increasing the research interest of economists in the country and the research output of Ethiopian economists.

It is fair to say that there has been more academic research on economic issues by Ethiopian economists in this country in the past seven years than any time before in the country's history. It is safe to say that we have a better knowledge about the workings of the Ethiopian economy because of these researches than we had before and we hope this better knowledge could eventually be translated to better policy formulation and improved economic performance.

We can also claim success in our effort at bringing together policy suppliers and consumers. In the 12 rounds of our bi-monthly forum we have been inviting relevant govt. Officials, the business community and intellectuals to brainstorm over issues. In this regard, I would like, on behalf of our association and the public at large, express our gratitude to Ato Neway, the chief economic advisor to the Prime Minister, who has been generous with his time and for being a true member of our association.

Another area of success is our effort at educating the public. From the demands for our *Economic Focus* in the market, we know that our reach is expanding. But we need to have more of our research published in Amharic as the message is to our citizens for whom English is as well known as Chinese.

Regarding the second objective, I cannot, unfortunately, report success as clearly as in the first case. On the positive side, as I said earlier, the association's activities have helped the teaching of economics at higher education institutions by making teaching materials available and by helping to improve the quality of instructors. However, the teaching of economics is not immune to the overall decline in higher education and, I am afraid, we have not succeeded in mitigating the deteriorating quality of education. As we all know, our higher education institutions suffer from lack of basic instructional materials, including books, that are crucial for a good education. Where computers are becoming as common as notebooks in the elementary and secondary schools in many countries in Africa, they remain distant physical acquaintances to our university graduates. We have observed the bloating of class size (in some cases to double and triple its size of previous years) with out any commensurate increase in resources with strong and negative effect on the quality of teaching.

There is little academic or other intellectual activity to stimulate the higher education community (other than the one that takes place in classrooms) making these institutions rather intellectually dull.

It is a well-known fact that the university has lost and is losing some of its bright scholars owing to a combination of factors including ill advised political decisions, mal administration and a horrible remuneration system. The economics department of AAU is under staffed so much so that it currently has only ten full time staff of which 5 have Ph.Ds 4 with M. A. degrees and one BA degree, and over 25 part time teachers with very little contact time with students other than in class rooms. Given the observed low moral of the university community, and its lack of institutional focus, it certainly is not a place that attracts and retains highly motivated and capable scholars.

As an association with lots of members from higher education institutions and housed in one of them to boot, we have closely observed this decline and lamented about it in private. But we have done pretty little to make our concerns public let alone to positively act to change this sorry state of our higher education. As economists, we are doubly guilty of this silence, because we know, and we constantly preach, the importance of human resources to a country's development. The decline in the quality of education must improve and our association is willing to assist this endeavor if those in authority have the will and drive.

The third objective is also the most difficult to accurately measure success or failure. This is very difficult to measure partly because it is almost impossible to delineate the factors contributing towards the development of an economy or lack of it, especially in relation to subjective factors such as intellectual con-

tributions by professional associations. Even more difficult to measure, in countries such as ours, is the degree to which ideas that are developed in such professional associations (or by individual intellectuals) have influenced the policy making process through which they are supposed to make their contributions to the larger economy and society. Let me explain this a bit.

In developed democratic societies, there are a number of structural links between professional associations and the policy making apparatus. Policy makers, whether the policy initiative is coming from the legislative or the executive branch, from the very beginning of the design of a policy, make sure that they get opinions from professionals in the field, particularly independent professionals. This is crucial, not only because such a consultation usually reduce the chances of error in the policy making process, but equally importantly because, for policies to get public support, (and public support is extremely important for the success of a policy) it is important to have the appearance (and reality) that those whose profession it is to think about the policy area have carefully looked at the policy and support, or at least not strongly oppose it.

The trust in the professionalism of professionals by the general public is such that the public would have difficulty accepting policy measures that are not publicly discussed by professionals. Accordingly, democratic governments would find it difficult to bull dose policy measures with out such public discussions by professionals.

Unfortunately, for countries such as Ethiopia such a tradition scarcely exist and is usually deliberately avoided by policy makers. The more familiar "public discussions", when they take place, are usually conducted in the kebelles (in our case) among the larger citizenry with very little

detailed knowledge about the policy area being discussed.

The public hearings conducted by the legislative organ are nothing but window dressing since more of the ideas articulated through the discussions are neither incorporated nor influence the outcomes. This is not to say that such discussions have no value. It is rather to suggest that such discussions would have more value if these policy issues are first discussed among independent professionals in the field publicly. Otherwise, the exercise becomes a meaningless and a half witted public relations exercise (that reminds us of the public support meetings and demonstrations of the past) with very little import by way of enriching the policy making process.

At the core of this absence of close consultation between policy makers and professionals, is partly lack of experience in, and discomfort with, the democratic process or suspicions on motives. Disagreements in ideas are rarely seen for what they are, disagreements in ideas. Instead, they are seen as reflections of strongly held political positions.

Contrary to the basic premise of democratic principles, the dominant attitude seems to hold that reasonable people will never disagree or agree to disagree. Accordingly, public display of disagreements are considered a manifestation of hostility and thus as little chance as possible is provided for their occurrence.

A related issue here, I think, is a misunderstanding about the role of the "intelligentsia" (YETEMARU SEWOTCH) in society. There is a tendency to see this group as the "natural leaders" of the society even when their particular training has very little to do with public administration and politics or when they have no personal or professional interest in power in general and political power in particular.

This very attitude has made politicians particularly suspicious of professionals. Rather than thinking of them as experts usually in a very narrow field of study and willing and able to help the development process given a free hand to contribute in their field, (which I think most professionals are) most of the educated group are sought for their support of or opposition to a government in toto. The dominant attitude, in our short, modern, and brutal political history is that "if you are not with us you are against us."

Such an attitude, unfortunately for the country, closes the possibility of seeking honest and independent opinions from intellectuals by political leaders. What is sought from intellectuals rather, is full and complete support and justification for positions already taken if they are not going to be considered the enemy of those in power. With such an attitude, the possibility for close and fruitful working relationship between the leaders and the intelligentsia is missed at a tremendous loss to the development of society.

I think it is high time for the government, or politicians in general, to come to terms with the intelligentsia of this country. Rather than taking them as a threat, they should consider them as friends and allies in the struggle against all the challenges that are facing this country and whose resolution requires every ounce of energy from every citizen. And this alliance should be established while holding or even respecting political and/or ideological differences.

It is not only politicians that are to blame for this state of affairs, however. The intelligentsia in our society have not played their part in making their voices heard as professionals and earn their respect from citizens as independent voices of truth. Rather than taking a firm and public position on issues they are convinced to be true, they are mostly found in taking only popular and safe po-

sitions publicly holding their true beliefs in private or, as is usually the case in our country, air these views in close circles among the already converted. This, I am afraid, only enhances the hopeless marginalization of the intelligentsia in the affairs of our country.

If we look at our profession for illustration, significant economic policy shifts were taking place in two historical watersheds in the last quarter century in our country. What was conspicuously absent in both periods was a systematic and learned debate about the economy among *professional economists*. Whatever debate was taking place during these transitional periods and after the consolidation, to determine the fate of the country and millions of its people, was largely driven by political and ideological imperatives and mostly by political hacks.

The few "professional" economists who participated in these debates were in it mostly to defend a prior held and ideologically determined positions rather than supplying learned arguments and analysis supported by data and based on the priorities, capacities and capabilities of the country. In other words, the role of economists in Ethiopia, when they had any role at all, whether those working for the governments or in academia, has been largely one of either providing intellectual justifications for the positions advocated by the politicians or simply implementers of whatever policy is pursued at the time. To put it harshly, economists like all other professionals, unfortunately, were nothing but intellectual mercenaries.

I do not want to get into the reasons for such state of affairs here. Neither is the above comment designed to put blame on individual economists. In an atmosphere where advocating any independent position could cost the life of the perpetrator as during the Derge period, or at best

as in the case of the dismissal of the 42 university faculty, it could lead to a summary dismissal from work exposing the person and his/her family to serious financial difficulties, the requirements of self-preservation, might dictate or even justify such "unprofessional" behavior.

My comment here is to simply raise the issue of the degree to which we, as professionals, have seized opportunities when they arose and to stop blaming only others and sometimes be introspective. It is also to suggest that the need to go beyond the current state of mistrust on both sides and create the conditions for future close cooperation with the government requires some change of attitude on our side. We should take our obligation as professionals seriously, and freely and constructively engage in discussions with the clear aim of advancing the interest of knowledge and truth in our professions and contribute towards the formulation of informed policies based on these findings. This is not only a requirement of true professionalism, but equally, if not more importantly, the requirement of citizenship in a free society.

Given this tradition, it is almost impossible to gauge the success of the association's activities in influencing the policy making apparatus simply because there has not been any official and direct consultations between the association and policy makers. However, especially in the last two years, the association has been successful in bringing important government officials to its functions for direct participation in discussions. Although it is difficult to tell how much of these discussions have found their way in policy debates, among official circles, there is no denying the fact that we were able to closely look at the rational behind government thinking about policy, and hopefully, the government was able to look at the thinking of academicians and the private

sector on policy matters. In short, this is a good beginning that need to be strengthened and the association will do its best to pursue this cooperation with the government.

Today's discussion on land and land policy is nothing but a continuation of this process. When we selected this topic, we are aware that it is a rather sensitive and ticklish issue. We know that some people hold that land is not just another factor of production whose allocation can be judged by the narrow confines of efficient resource allocation in predominantly peasant societies such as ours. That, I think, is partly why it was enshrined in our constitution to reduce, if not totally eliminate, the possibility of easy change or modification.

But, we as economists, also recognize that it is too important a factor to be grossly misallocated. We have been hearing a lot about the problems faced by investors in securing land for investment in the cities particularly in this city. In fact the issue is no more about the efficiency or effectiveness of the current urban land allocation system. Rather it is whether the problem lies in the Lease Policy itself or in the inefficiency of implementation. In relation to rural land policy, there are serious problems related to tenure security, reduced farm size...etc. that have bedeviled Ethiopian agriculture and the overall ecosystem since the 1975 Rural Land Proclamation.

There are researchers who have strongly argued that the success of the government's current Agriculture Led Industrialization Strategy is seriously threatened because of the existing land policy. In other words, there are a number of issues about our current land policy that requires non-political non-ideological and sober discussion and analysis between policy makers, academicians, and other development practitioners. Hopefully, such close consultations could lead to

a rethink about existing positions and eventually open a wider and meaningful discussion among all the stake-holders.

Let me finally add a point about our profession which is relevant to this discussion that I have said before in one of our conferences. Economists are not engaged in the business of "scientific research" if by scientific we mean that our findings are universally true irrespective of social choices. Our profession is at its best and technically well-equipped in identifying optimal solutions to economic problems given clearly defined objectives and social choices. In other words, we are professionally qualified to freely and authoritatively discuss in the realm of positive economics. When it comes to defining objectives and social choices, however, we can not fully rely on our professional training. Instead, we have to consult other disciplines and when we decide to engage in such discussions, which we should, we must be clear in our minds that we are participating as interested citizens without the implied authority of professionalism. In discussions such as land policy, our discussion on optimal allocation need to be informed and strengthened by considerations of issues that are non economic in nature. However, we can contribute as economists quite a bit by clearly providing the associated economic costs of the alternative options available to policy makers.

Before I close, allow me to thank the presenters for accepting our invitation and sharing their ideas publicly with us. Ato Belay, the vice minister of Agriculture for accepting our invitation and opening the seventh general assembly and his good words about our association, the FES for sponsoring our events including this one and to all of you for coming here today.

Thank you. ■



# REVISITING THE LAND ISSUE: OPTIONS FOR CHANGE

**Dessalegn Rahmato**  
*General Manager, Forum for Social Studies*

## Introduction

The debate on the land question (in Africa) cannot be conducted in a political vacuum. Land is not solely an economic resource, and tenure cannot ignore social and political relationships. Land legislation has often been used to promote a specific political agenda, or to benefit the dominant forces in society, many of which often reside outside the farming world. The question of the state and issues of governance are therefore important elements in the debate. Is the goal to encourage the rise of an assertive rural population? or a pliant, docile peasantry? How do we promote a dynamic rural economy and improve rural livelihoods? Such questions are important aspects of the debate on the land question.

We should not approach tenure issues from what may be termed a "systems perspective". That is to say, we should NOT first ask: what is the best tenure system to recommend, but rather, what has been the agrarian experience of the country concerned? We should not get bogged down on the question: which is better, state, customary, private, collective, etc. tenure systems? The systems approach goes something like this: property systems have historically evolved from "inefficient" and backward forms to more dynamic and efficient forms, culminating in private ownership, or the capitalist property system. The formula adopted by the World Bank/IMF (i.e. pri-

vate property, land market etc.) is taken as a universal panacea irrespective of economic, historical, demographic and political differences.

What can be done to improve rural livelihoods? What in the Ethiopian context are the elements pertinent to sustainable livelihoods? This may be a better way to approach the land question than to ask what kind of tenure arrangement should we adopt. I think we all agree that tenure security is primary, but the search for security can take many forms.

While equitable land distribution may go some way to ease the problem of rural poverty, it cannot by itself be a sufficient solution. Ill-advised reforms may in fact be counter-productive, and as is the case in Ethiopia, exacerbate the problem of rural poverty. Poverty reduction will have to go hand in hand with improving livelihoods, and it is here that land policy can play an important role.

The Ethiopian experience at present is similar in some ways to the "post-socialist" experience of countries such as Tanzania, Mozambique, and others. That is, the issue should have been how do we make the transition from a command-based, collective form of rural economy to a more open economy? The transition in Ethiopia has been partial: while the liberalization of grain prices and the market for rural products, which was initiated by the previ-

ous government in its dying days, has been maintained, the land system has largely remained unchanged.

Sara Berry in a recent book makes the point that land tenure is fluid in much of Sub-Saharan Africa. People get access to land through a variety of means: through their social networks, customary institutions, family relations, through service and renting arrangements, and only occasionally through the law. In Ethiopia in contrast, rights to land are defined by law, which abolished customary and other forms of tenure, replacing them with usufruct rights. The movement of land from one user to another is now possible either through short-term renting arrangements or through land redistribution. The Ethiopian land system is thus very inflexible. Changes to the tenure system are also precluded because land has now become a constitutional issue.

## The Problems

The main weaknesses of the prevailing tenure system are the following: a) lack of tenure security; b) lack of legitimate institutions to ensure the rights of landholders; c) discriminatory practices in land distribution; d) discouragement of the mobility of the rural population. The system has given rise to diminishing family holdings and pasture, and to environmental degradation. Because of the high sense of tenure insecurity, peasants can-

not employ sound land management practices and are reluctant to invest on the land. The system is also responsible for the recurrence of food shortages and famine. With per capita farm plots less than a hectare and getting smaller in a majority of the rural areas, peasants do not produce enough food to sustain themselves through the year even under normal circumstances.

I have discussed the damaging consequences of the land system in more detail in an earlier issue of Economic Focus (Issue 2, December 1997), and I shall not repeat the arguments here.

The land system has discouraged peasant mobility and trapped the population in the rural areas. More than 85 percent of the country's population lives in the rural areas, and this has put enormous pressure on the land and environmental resources.

Improvements in livelihoods are impossible unless a considerable proportion of this population is released from the land and moves out of the rural areas. I am not here talking about resettlement which merely shifts populations from one part of rural Ethiopia to another.

The greater mobility of peasants out of agriculture will stimulate the greater mobility of land. Land will be able to move "freely" from those who cannot use it efficiently to those who can. This does not necessarily mean that the urban capitalist will have a field day and that the structure of holdings will immediately be transformed in which large-scale capitalist farming will immediately dominate.

The destination of a mobile peasantry will be the urban areas, but many of the provincial towns in the country cannot provide sufficient employment to absorb a large influx of migrants. There will thus have to be a concerted effort to promote investment by Government and the private sec-

tor in such towns. Moreover, a revitalized urban economy should provide the stimulus to expand the rural economy and add value to rural work.

## The Options

I am strongly convinced that the present land system must be reformed, though under the present circumstances reforming the system will entail reforming the constitution, which will be a difficult task. Despite that the debate on the land issue and alternative options should continue. The first step in the reform process is to hold a series of public debates on the issue involving the main stakeholders and a wide spectrum of public opinion. An important policy such as this one cannot be formulated without public participation and the input of the farming population.

What is offered below as options for change are points for discussion and should not be taken as a blue print for a new land system. The elements of a new land policy should include the following:

The first principle that should be recognized is that land is the fundamental basis of the livelihood of the farming population. As an old Japanese saying puts it, a farmer without land is like a man without a soul. Land thus belongs, directly and without ifs and buts, to the people who use it. The state or any other authority has no right to a natural resource that it does not directly utilize. Public ownership of land merely perpetuates the paternalist "ideology" of the state, and extends its hegemony over the peasantry.

As noted above, a sound land policy should provide secure tenure to all landholders at all times. Access to secure rights is an indispensable element if we wish to invigorate the rural economy and induce the land user to invest on the land and to improve production.

Secure rights means that landholders have the right to dispose of their land in any way they choose. The argument of the state is that if the peasant is given absolute rights over the land he will immediately sell, or will be quickly deprived of it by unscrupulous urban-based capitalists, and the result will be large-scale landlessness.

This argument is not only foolish but assumes the peasant to be either irresponsible or child-like who will quickly throw away the most valuable asset in his possession. The peasant values the land very highly and is strongly attached to it; he or she will not give it away under any circumstances unless there is a compelling reason to do so. Moreover, selling the land is not a mortal sin.

Given the agrarian experience of the last two to three decades in this country, tenure security cannot be accomplished overnight. It will take a long time before the peasant will be assured that he or she has secure rights to the land he/she is farming. The first step in reaching that goal is to convince peasants that there will be no more redistribution of land.

Land tenure issues must not be politicized as it is done at present. There must be a recognized institution (a court of law or a special land tribunal, for example) which is responsible for ensuring rights of land and adjudicating conflicts over land when they arise. Such an institution must be politically independent and must have a strong presence in the rural areas.

At present, land redistribution, consolidation and similar measures have become political issues and are taken by the political agents of the state. There will be no secure ownership until the politicization of land is brought to an end.

A new land policy must enable the rural population to move out

of agriculture and seek alternative employment (see above).

The points noted here do not necessarily mean that private ownership of land in the capitalist sense of the term is the ultimate solution. I have argued instead that what I call associative ownership, which combines private rights with community responsibilities, is a viable option. Under this system, the peasants have secure and individual rights to their holdings but the community, in the form of the peasant association, for example, protects this right if it is threatened by outsiders. The community acts as the guarantor of rights of individual ownership.

We cannot assume that private ownership will ensure security of holdings under all circumstances and in all social contexts. It is, for instance, the institution of private property that is in part responsible for peasant insecurity and agrarian conflict in Latin America. Similarly, the privatization of land in Kenya has had mixed results. It has not succeeded in institutionalizing private control over land, and has instead given rise to con-

licts and litigation among farm households and social groups. Indeed, it has undermined the very security of tenure that the reform was supposed to protect.

A new land system must promote the autonomy of the landholder and the empowerment of farming communities. It is important to remember that rights to land have to be defended from encroachments and violations in order to be or remain secure. An autonomous peasantry is the best guarantee that such rights will be vigorously defended when the occasion calls for it. Autonomy involves independence from the influence or control of the state and other external forces, and the ability to pursue one's interests through one's own economic, social and political institutions.

The emphasis of the agricultural development strategy of the government, which is based on a widespread dissemination of modern inputs (mainly agrochemicals) is increased food production achieved through improvements in land productivity. But, what is equally needed is improvements in labour produc-

tivity which cannot however be achieved with micro-holdings that are today the basic feature of peasant agriculture. The enlargement of farm sizes is necessary, but this will mean some significant changes in the social profile of the rural society.

Today, rural society is by and large socially undifferentiated, thanks mainly to the prevailing land system which has been in force now for well over two decades. But I believe rural differentiation should be welcomed, and we should encourage the better-off elements of the population to improve their status.

The change from "peasant" to "farmer" is I believe essential, and the pioneers in this change will be the richer peasantry. So, let there be "kulaks"! I am not convinced that we will have to wait for the urban bourgeoisie to rescue the rural economy. The real force behind sustained improvements in livelihoods will come from those who were peasants once but managed to change themselves into farmers. ■

## EXECUTIVE SUITE

By William Wells and Jack Lindstrom



Business Day, June 15, 1999

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ፕሮፌሰር መስፍን ወልደማርያም

## መግቢያ

በኢትዮጵያ የባህል እስተዳደር መሬት ዋናው ሀብት መሆኑ በሚገባ የታወቀ ነበር። ሌላ ሀብት በሌለበት አገር መሬት ብቻ የሀብት ምንጭና የኑሮ መሠረት መሆኑ የሚያስደንቅ አይደለም። ገበሬው ከመሬት አይለይም። እስተዳደሪውም፣ ዳኛውም ወታደሩም ቢሆን ደመወዙን የሚከፍለው በመሬት ነበር። ዘመናዊ ሥልጣኔም መግባት ሲጀምር የፖስታ ጫኝ መሬት የሚባል ተጀምሮ ነበር። የወህኒ ዘበኛ መሬት፣ የድንኳን ጫኝ መሬት፣ ወዘተ እየተባለ ባለመራቱ ለመንግሥት የሚከፍለው ግብር በሥራው ወይም በጉልበቱ ነበር። (ይህ ስሪት እሁን መልኩን ለወጥ አድርጎ በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ለባለሥልጣናት መሬት መትከያ ሆኖአል ይባላል።)

በኢትዮጵያ ባህላዊ እስተዳደር ገባር ሁሉ የመሬት ባለቤት ነው። መሬት የሌለው ገባር ሊሆን አይችልም። መንግሥት ጥሬ ገንዘብ ስላልነበረው ለሚያገለግሉት ሰዎች ሁሉ በጥሬ ገንዘብ ሊከፍላቸው አይችልም ነበርና ከገባር ጋር ያያይዛቸውና እህልና ሌሎችም የእርሻ ምርቶች በቀጥታ ከገባሩ እንዲያገኙ ያደርጋቸው ነበር። ጉልት መሬት የሚባለውም ባለጉልቱ ከባለመሬት ገባር ችለው መንግሥት የሚገባውን ግብር እሱ በቀጥታ የሚቀበልበት ስሪት ነበር።

በኢትዮጵያ ባህል ሁሉም ባለመሬት አልነበረም። የመሬት ባለቤትነት የማይፈቀድላቸው የንብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ነበሩ። ቀጥታዎች፣ ሽክላ ሠሪዎች፣ እንጥረኞችና ሽግጌዎች

የመሬት ባለቤት ሊሆኑ አይችሉም ነበር። ይህ በሥራ ክፍፍል ላይ የተገነባ ጫኝ በሁሉም የንብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ከእርሶራ እስከ ቦረና የነበረ ነው። በእርሶራ፣ በትግራይና በጎንደር ትንሽ ለየት ያለ ሁኔታ ነበር። እስላሞች በእርሶራና በትግራይ፣ ቤተእሥራኤሎች በጎንደር በአብዛኛው የመሬት ባለቤቶች ሊሆኑ አይችሉም ነበር። እንደሚመስለኝ ከሃይማኖት ጋር የተያያዘው ባጋጣሚ ነው። ለኑሮአቸው በመረጡት ሥራቸው ላይ የተመሠረተ ይመስለኛል።

በጭራሽ መሬት የሌላቸው ገበሬዎች የተፈጠሩት ለእኔ እንደሚመስለኝ ከአጣልያ ወራራ በኋላ የኢትዮጵያ ባህል መናጋት በጀመረበት ጊዜ ነው። እንደ ቡና ያሉ ጥሬ ገንዘብን ከሚያስገኙ የእርሻ መሪዎች ጋር በጣም የተያያዘ ነው። ስለዚህም በእዚያ ኃይለሥላሴ ዘመን ጭሰኛ ገበሬ በብዛት የተፈጠረበት ቢሆንም አብዛኛው የኢትዮጵያ ገበሬ ባለመሬት ነበር።

የኢትዮጵያ የስታቲስቲክስ ጽህፈት ቤት ባወጣው መሠረት 48.4 በመቶ ያህል ገበሬ ባለመሬት ነበር። ከአጠቃላይ የገበሬዎች ቁጥር ውስጥ 61.4 በመቶ የሚሆኑት በአማካይ 0.6 ሄክታር መሬት የሚያርሱ ደህ ገበሬዎች ነበሩ። መሀከለኛ ገበሬዎች የምንላቸው 20.6 በመቶ ያህል ሲሆኑ በአማካይ የሚያርሱት 1.5 ሄክታር ነበር። ሀብታም ገበሬዎች የሚባሉት ደግሞ ከአጠቃላይ ገበሬ 18.1 በመቶ ሲሆኑ በአማካይ ከአራት ሄክታር በላይ የሚያርሱ ነበሩ። የእነዚህ የሀብታም ገበሬዎች ይዞታ ከአጠቃላይ የታሪሰ መሬት 52.6 በመቶ ነበር።

ከአጠቃላይ ገበሬው 38.8 በመቶ ያህል ደግሞ ምንም መሬት ያልነበራቸው ጭሰኞች ሲሆኑ 12.8 በመቶ ያህል ትንሽ መሬት የነበራቸውና ከፊል ባለመሬትና ከፊል ጭሰኛ ሆነው የሚያርሱ ነበሩ። ይህ ነበር ችግር ሆኖ ስንጠቃበት የነበረው፣ የባሰ ችግር እንዲመጣ ሳናውቅ ደርግ መጣና የመሬት ባለቤት እኔ (ራሱን መንግስትም ሀዝብም አድርጎ ነበር) ብቻ ነኝ አለ። ስለዚህም ኢትዮጵያ በከፊል ቢሆን የባለርሶቶች አገር መሆን ቀርቶ ጠቅላላ የጭሰኞች አገር ሆነች። ከዚያም በላይ በኢትዮጵያ በአዲስ መንፈስ ተጀምሮ የነበረውን የእርሻ እድገት አቆመው። የእርሻ እድገቱ ቢቀጥል ኖሮ የት ይደርስ እንደነበረ የማንም ግምት ነው። ደርግ እንደ ጉድለት አርግሎ ብሎ በኢትዮጵያ ሊኮኖሚ ላይ ከባድ ጥፋትን ሠራ። የእርሻው ሀብት ልማት ደርግ ሀዝቡን አፍኖ ለመግዛት ለነበረው የሥልጣን ጥም ተሰዋ።

በገጠር መሬት በኩል የተደረገው ድልደላ የመሬትን ቁምነትና የህዝብ ቁጥርን ማደግ ያላገናዘበ ስለነበረ ብዙ ችግሮች ተፈጥረዋል። ከሁሉም የባሰው ከፍተኛ ገበሬውን ከመሬት ባለቤትነት እንዳለ ወረሰ። እንዲያውም ወያኔ አባባሰው፣ የኢትዮጵያን ህዝብ በሙሉ ጭሰኛ በማድረግና በተለይም ከፍተኛ የመሬት ኪራይን በመጠየቅ የኢትዮጵያን መሬት ገንዘብ ላለው በጨረታ አቀረበው። ወያኔ በኢትዮጵያ መሬት መንገድ ጀመረ። ይህ በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ አዲስ ነገር ነው። የመሬት ኪራይ ዋጋም ከሀብታም ኢትዮጵያውያን እቅምም በላይ በመሆኑ የማይደፈር ሆኖ

የአገሪቱን እድገት ሰንጠረዥ ይህን ይህ ይህ እንደተቆየው የሚታዩት የአገሪቱን የሚያሳድግ ስራት ህዝቡ ፈልጎት ነው። እየተባለ በአደባባይ መለፈፍ ነው። የአገሪቱን ህዝብ ደህ የሆነውና በችግር የሚቆላው በፈቃዱ ነው ማለት ነው።

በ1977 የደረሰው ችግር የዓለምን ህዝብ ያሰቆጣና የአገሪቱን ህዝብ ያሳፈረ ነበረ። ከዚያን ጊዜ ጀምሮ እሳካውን ድረስ በሚልኩ የሚቆጠር የአገሪቱን ገበያ የሚኖረው በውጭ አገር ምዕዋት ነው። እንደ 1965 ወይም እንደ 1977 ያለ ችግር የማይከሰተው ገበሬው በቂ ምርት አግኝቶ ሳይሆን፣ የምዕዋት ሰጪዎቹ ወኪሎች በአገሪቱ ውስጥ በተሞላበት ተተክለው ስለሚጠበቁ ነው።

ሁላችንም እንደምናውቀው በገጠራው ላይ ችግር ሲያንገብብ በደርግም ዘመን ሆነ አሁን የአገዛዝ ሥርዓቶቹ ለዓለም ህዝብ ኡ!ኡ! ይላሉ። ለአገሪቱ ህዝብም ያለባቸው ኃላፊነት ከዚህ አያልፍም። እንደምናውቀው የተገኘውን እህል እንኳን ገበሬውን የመቆጣጠሪያ እንደሚያደርጉት የታወቀ ነው። አገሪቱንም በምዕዋት የተሸፈነ ችግር ተሸከማ የምትኖር አገር ነች። እስከጠግብ የሚበላ ገበሬ ለአገዛዝ ሥርዓት አይመችም። ሲራብ ነው ተገዢ የሚሆነውና ወደጥይት ተለብኝት ተገድዶ የሚገባው።

እሳካውን ድረስ አገሪቱ ያላት የተረጋገጠ ሀብት መሬት ብቻ ነው። ገበሬው መሬቱ የራሱ እንዳልሆነና ሲያስፈልግም ወያኔ እንደሚነቀው በተጨማሪ አይቶልል። የራሱ ባልሆነውና ሊነቀል በሚችልበት መሬት ላይ ገበሬው የመሬቱንና የገብትን ምርታማነት የሚያሳድገው እንዴት ብሎ ነው? ገበሬውን እንደ ህግ ልጅ በመቆጠር የመሬት ባለቤትነት መብት ከተሰጠው ይሸጠዋል የሚባለው ከምን ታሪካዊ መሠረት የመነጨ ነው። የአገሪቱን ገበሬ በችግር ሲቆላ መሬቱን የሸጠው መቼ ነው? የተሻለ የሚጠቀም ሥራ ለመጀመር

ሲል ቢሸጠው የቱ አገር ነው በደህ ገበሬዎች ምርት የበለጸገው? ከባድ የመሬት ኪራይና ከባድ መዋጮ እየከፈለና የየአካባቢው ችግሮችን የአዝመራ ጊዜን እየጠበቁ እያራቁት ደህ ገበሬ ለምግብ እንኳን አይበቃም። በምንስ ተአምር ነው የደህ ገበሬ ይዞታ ወደዘመናዊ እርሻ የሚሸጋገረው? ልማት በጥርጋጋ እይሆንም።

ገበሬው የመሬቱ ባለቤት ሆኖ ያዋጣኛል ካለ ይሸጠው። ሲሸጥ እንደይገዳ ሆን ማውጣት ይቻላል። መሬቱን እየሸጠ ከግብርና ለሚወጣውም በገጠር ከተሞች የተለያዩ ሥራዎች የሚፈጠሩበትን መንገድ ማመቻቸት ይቻላል። ልማት ማለት ደህ ገበሬዎችን ወደሌላ ተግባር መምራት እንጂ በማያስተማምንና በማያዋግ የግብርና ሥራ በጭሰኝነት አጥምዶ ማቆየቱ አይደለም። ይህ በትኝ ግዛቶች ከኪንያ እስከደቡብ አፍሪካ ሲሠራበትና ህዝብን ሲያደከይ በማቆየቱ የታወቀ የአገዛዝ ስራት ነው።

በደርግ ዘመን በከተማ መሬት በኩል ግን ለሥራም ሆነ ለመኖሪያ መሬት የሚፈልግ ሁሉ በተላላው ባይባል መሬት ያገኘ ነበር። ዛሬ በአዲስ አበባ የሚታዩት አብዛኛዎቹ ትልልቅ ህንፃዎችና ቢያለበት የተሠሩት ብዛት ያላቸው የመኖሪያ ቤቶች በደርግ ዘመን በተገኘው መሬት ላይ ነው። የተባለው ቢባል ደርግ ነጋዴ አልነበረም።

አሁን ግን በከተማም ቢሆን የመኖሪያ ቤት ለመሥሪያ ያህል እንኳን መሬት ለማግኘት አልተቻለም። በቡድን ሆነው ቤት ለመሥራት የፈለጉ ከመቶ የሚበልጡ ሰዎች በሜትር ካሬ አንድ መቶ ሰባ ብር ሂሳብ በአጠቃላይ ወደ 21 ሚሊዮን ብር እንዲከፍሉ መጠየቃቸውን ሰምቻለሁ። በጋዜጣ ያየሁት ማስታወቂያ ደግሞ ለሃያ አምስት ሜትር ካሬ ቤት የመሬቱን ኪራይ ጨምሮ በዱቤ ለሚገዛ ሃምሳ ሰባት ሺህ ብር ያስፈልጋል ይላል። ይህ እንግዲህ ለደህው መሆኑ! መሆኑ ነው። ግብር ሁሉ ተቀንሶ በወር አንድ ሺህ ብር የሚያገኝ ጸሀ ሶዳውን ከፍሎ ለመጨረስ ለሥር ናመት ያህል ይፈጅበታል።

ይህም ሁሉ ከሆነ በኋላ ምን ማስተማመኛ አለ? ቤት ያላቸውም እንኳን ያለምንም ካሳ ወይም ያለፍላጎታቸው ለአገር ውስጥም ሆነ ለውጭ አገር ባለሀብቶች መሬታቸውን እየታደሉ መሆኑ የአደባባይ ምሥጢር ነው። ያለንበት ቀደም ሲል ከነበሩት የአገዛዝ ሥርዓቶች የባሰ መሆኑን የሚያመለክተው የአገሪቱን የሚያሳድግ አለኝታ የሆነውን መሬት መነገጃ ማድረግ ነው። ከዚህ በፊት በሥልጣን፣ በእምቻ ጋብቻን በማንላለብን የተገኘው መሬት ሁሉ ለልጅ የማይተላለፍ ሆኖ ቀርቶአል። የአሁኑ ጥፋትም ወደፊት እንደሚታረም እርግጠኛ ነኝ። ዛሬ የህዝብን ድምፅ ሰምቶ ማረመኩ ከብዙ ችግር ያድነን ነበር። ነገር ግን ዋነኛው የአገዛዝ ሥርዓት መሠረታዊ ባህርይ ራሱን ማረም የማይችል መሆኑ ነው።

የገበያ ኢኮኖሚ እናራምዳለን እየተባለ ብቸኛውን የአገር ሀብት በምኖራል ይዞ፣ በግለሰብ ይዞታ የሚገኘውን መሬት የአገር ውስጥም ሆነ የውጭ ባለሀብት ሲመጣ ሻጭና ገዢ ተነጋግረው በመስማማት ፋንታ አገዛዙ የሰው ንብረትን ለመሸጥ ጣልቃ እየገባ ገዢው ሆነ ባለንብረቱ እንዴት በሙሉ ልብና በእምነት ለማቀድና ለመሥራት ይችላል?

ቅን መንፈስ ቢኖር እንደ ሲኔጋል ካሉ አገሮች ልንማር የምንችለው ብዙ ነገር ነበር። በመሬት አጠቃቀም ጉዳይ ከኢርትራም መማር ይቻላል። ቅን መንፈስ ካለ ሌላም ነገር ማድረግ ይቻላል። በአዲስ አበባ አንድ ወረዳ በሙከራ መድቦ ህዝቡ በሙሉ ነፃነት ወኪሎችን እንዲመርጥና እንዲያስተዳድር ማድረግ ይቻላል።

በደርግ ዘመን ትግራይንና ወሎን ለአምስት ዓመት ሰጡና በምግብ ትርፍ አምራቾች ላድርጋቸው ብዬ ነበር። ይህንን ለማድረግ ለግል ጥቅምና ለግል ስልጣን ያልተገዙ ሰዎች ያስፈልጋሉ።

መሬት የማንጠቀምበት ሀብት፣ የሰው ጉልበት የማንጠቀምበት ሀብት፣ እውቀት የማንጠቀምበት ሀብት በሆነበት አገር ልማት-ልማት እያሉ መጭሀ ለይስሙላ ነው። ■

# በሥራ ላይ የዋለው የከተማ ቦታ አዋጅ አማራጭ አለውን?

ዐጋዬ ኪርስ

የአዲስ አበባ መስተዳድር የሊዝ ዕ/ቤት ኃላፊ

## 1. መግቢያ

ኢትዮጵያ ትኩረት በሰጠው የዕዝ ሊኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ አማካኝነት የሀብረተሰቡን ሊኮኖሚያዊና ግህበራዊ ችግሮች ለማታለል አልተቻለም። በ1983 ዓ.ም ሥርዓቱ ከተገረሰበ በኋላ በምትኩ የግል ባለሀብቶችን የሚያሳትፍና ነፃ ሊኮኖሚ ለማራመድ የሚያስችል አማራጭ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ መቀየስ አስፈላጊ ሆኖ በመገኘቱ፣ በርካታ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲዎች እየተነደፉ ተግባራዊ በመሆኑ ላይ ናቸው። ፖሊሲዎቹ የሀገር ውስጥ ሆነ የውጭ ካፒታል ያለምንም ገደብ በተለያዩ የኢኮኖሚ መስኮች ሊሰግራ የሚችልበትን ሁኔታ ከመፍጠርና በግል ካፒታል ተሳትፎም ውስጥ የሀገር ውስጥ ካፒታል ቅድሚያ የሚያገኘበትን አሠራር ከመንደፍ ባሻገር ልዩ ልዩ ዘዴዎችን ቀይሶ በመንቀሳቀስ ላይ ይገኛል። ከእነዚህም ፖሊሲዎች አንዱ የከተማ ቦታዎች በሊዝ እንዲተዳደሩ ያደረገው አዋጅ ቁጥር 80/86 ነው።

የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ መስተዳድርም ለብሽራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳድሮች በተሠጠው ሥልጣን መሠረት ከላይ የተጠቀሰውን አዋጅ ተከትሎ ዝርዝር የአፈፃፀም ደንብ ቁጥር 3/87 ከማውጣቱም ሌላ ደንቡን ለማስፈፀም የሚያስችል የሊዝ ቦርድና ራሱን የቻለ ጸ/ቤት እንዲቋቋም አድርጓል።

መሪትን በሊዝ የማስተዳደር ፖሊሲ እንደ አማራጭ የተነደፈውና እንዲተገበር የተደረገው ሀገሪቱ ከምትከተለው የነፃ ገበያ ሊኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ አንፃር የተቀላጠፈ የመሪት አስተዳደርን ለማስፈን፣ በመስተዳድሩ የሚሰተናገደውን የኢንቨስትመንት አካሄድ ይበልጥ ለማጠናቀቅ፣ የመስተዳድሩ ሊኮኖሚ እንዲያድግና የመሠረተ ልማት ሥራዎች ቀጣይነት ባለው መልኩ ለማስኬድ እንዲቻል እንዲሁም ከገበያ ውጪ ሲሰተናገድ የቆየውን የኢኮኖሚ አካል ማለትም መሪት ወደ ገበያ ልውውጥ ሥርዓት ማሸጋገር አስፈላጊ ሆኖ በመገኘቱ ነው።

መስተዳድሩ እነዚህን ዓላማዎች ለማስፈጸም የሚያስችሉት ደንብና የተለያዩ መመሪያዎችን ያዘጋጀ ሲሆን እነሱም፡

## ደንብ ቁጥር 3/87

- ደንቡ የከተማ ቦታን በሊዝ ለመያዝ እንደሚቻል የሚደነገግ ሲሆን ቦታዎቹም
- በኪራይ ደንብ ያልተሸፈኑ የንግድ ሥራ የሚካኘድባቸው ነባር ይዞታዎች
- አዲስ የግል መኖሪያ ቤት ለመሥራት የሚውሉ የቦታ ይዞታዎች
- ለንግድ ሥራ ለሚውሉ አዲስ የቦታ ይዞታዎች
- ከኪራይ ደንብ አስተዳደር ወደ ሊዝ ደንብ አስተዳደር ለመዛወር ለተፈቀደላቸው ባለይዞታዎች
- ተጨማሪ የቦታ ይዞታ የማስፋት ጥያቄ ቀርቦ ሲፈቀድ በጠቅላላ ይዞታው ናቸው።

## የጨረታ አፈፃፀም መመሪያ

መመሪያው የከተማ ቦታን በጨረታ ለማግኘት የሚያስችሉ የጨረታ አፈፃፀም ዝርዝር ሁኔታዎች አካታል። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ (መመሪያው) ግንኙውም ሰው መብትና ግዴታውን አስቀድሞ እንዲያውቅ ይረዳል።

## ነባር ይዞታዎችን ለማልማት የወጣ መመሪያ

አሠራሩ ከሚሰጠው በርካታ ጠቀሜታዎች መካከል፡

- ነባር ቦታዎች በከፍተኛ ሁኔታ ለምተው ሊኮኖሚያዊና ግህበራዊ ጠቀሜታ እንዲኖራቸው ለማስቻል፤
- ከተማውን ወደ ጎን ከመለጠጥና ከማስፋፋት ለመከላከል፤
- የመስተዳድሩን የመሠረተ ልማት አቅርቦት ለማሳልበት፤
- የከተማውን እድገት ጥላን ጠብቀው ለማልማት ለሚሹ ሊንቪስተሮች ቀዳሚ እድሉን ለመስጠት የተዘጋጀ መመሪያ ነው።

## በማኅበራዊ አገልግሎት ሊንቨስትመንት የመሪት አሰጣጥ መመሪያ

በዚህ ዘርፍ የሚቀርቡ ጥያቄዎች በጤና፣ ትምህርትና ስፖርት ዙሪያ የሚሸከረኩ ናቸው። በዘርፉ ሥር ያሉትን ተቋማት ግንኙነት ለመለየት የሚያስችል ደረጃ

/Standard/ ተዘጋጅቷል። በጤና፣ ትምህርትና ስፖርት አገልግሎት አቅርቦት ለናግ በመሆኑ ባለሀብቶች በመስኩ እንዲሳተፉ ለማበረታታት ቦታዎች ከሚያስገኙት የሊዝ ዋጋ ከከፍተኛ ተቀናሽ እስከ ቦታ በሊዝ ከከፍተኛ ነፃ የሚያገኙበት ሁኔታ በመመሪያው ተገልጿል።

በዚህም መሠረት በግህበራዊ ዘርፍ የተደረገው የማበረታቻ ቅናሽ እንደሚከተለው ቀርቧል።

- አንደኛ ደረጃ፡ መለስተኛ ሁለተኛ ደረጃ ት/ቤቶች እንዲሁም ከፍተኛ የትምህርት ተቋማት፣ ስቲዲዮም ለማቋቋም ቦታ በሊዝ ከከፍተኛ ነፃ፤
- ጤና ግቢያ፣ እናቶችና ህፃናት ሆስፒታል ለማቋቋም ቦታዎች ከሚያስገኙት የሊዝ ዋጋ 95 በመቶ ተቀናሽ፤
- ጠቅላላ ሆስፒታል /General Hospital/ ቦታዎች ከሚያስገኙት የሊዝ ዋጋ 85% ተቀናሽ፤
- ለመዋለ ህጻናት ተቋማት ግንባታ ከቦታዎች የሊዝ ዋጋ 65% ተቀናሽ ይሆናል።

## 2. በሊዝ የቦታ አሰጣጥ ሥርዓት አካሄድ

በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ መስተዳድር አስቀድሞ የተገለጸውን ደንብና ከላይ የተጠቀሱትን መመሪያዎች መሠረት አድርጎ ቦታዎችን በጨረታና ያለጨረታ በመፍቀድ ላይ ይገኛል።

ሀ. **ጨረታ፡** ለጨረታ የሚቀርቡ በከተማ ውስጥና ከከተማ ዳር የሚገኙ ባዶ ቦታዎች ናቸው። ቦታዎቹ በማስተር ጥላኑ መሠረት ለገንባታ አመቺ የሆኑ በሥራና ከተማ ልማት ቢሮ እየተዘጋጁ የሚቀርቡ ናቸው። ቦታዎቹ ከተዘጋጁ በኋላ በብዙኃን መገናኛ ለአልሚዎች እንዲሟረቁ ይደረጋል።

ተጨማሪ ስፍራዎች የቀረቡት የጨረታ ፎርማሊቲ ያማሉት እንዲሟረቁ ይደረጋል። ተጨማሪ ስፍራዎች የቀረቡት የጨረታ ውጤት ትንተና እየተዘጋጀ ውሳኔ ይሰጣል።

መሪት እንደ አንድ የኢንዱስትሪ ምርት የረጀውን ወጪ በማስላት ዋጋውን ለማስተማጥ አይቻልም። በመሆኑም የቦታዎች ዋጋ የሚወሰነው በጨረታ ባስገኙት ዋጋ መሠረት ነው።

**ለ. ያለጨረታ፣ ያለጨረታ መፍቀድ የተጀመረበት ዓባይነት ምክንያቶች፡**

- ለጨረታ የሚቀርቡ ቦታዎች በተወለኑ አካባቢዎች በመሆናቸው የአንዳንድ አልሚዎች የቦታ ምርጫ ፍላጎት የሚያገለግሉ ሆነው ሰላላተኝና እንዲሁም በጨረታ የሚቀርቡ ቦታዎች ስፋት አልሚዎች ከሚያቀርቧቸው ፕሮጀክቶች ባህሪይ ጋር ተጣጥመው ባለመሆናቸው፤
- ኢንቨስትመንት በማንኛውም ጊዜ የሚፈጠርበት ሁኔታ ስላለና በዚህም በኩል በአጋጣሚ የሚቀርቡ ጥያቄዎችን ለማስተናገድ እንዲቻል፤
- ጠቃሚና ትላልቅ የኢንቨስትመንት ጥያቄዎች ለምሳሌ እንደ ራሲካት፣ የግንባራ ግዢና ዘርፍ ተቋማት ኢንቨስትመንት ወዘተ ለማስተናገድ እንዲቻል፤
- ከተማውን በመሪ ጥላኔ መሠረት ለመገንባትና መሠረተ ልማትን በአግባቡ ለመጠቀም እንዲቻል ታስቦ ነው።

በዚህ ሁኔታ ቦታዎች ያለጨረታ በድርድር የሚሰተናገዱ ሲሆን አሠራሩም፡

- አልሚው ቦታ በመጠቀም ጥያቄውን ከጥናቱ ጋር አያይዞ ያቀርባል፤
- ፕሮጀክቱ ከመሪ ጥላኔ አንጻር ተገምግሞ ለውሳኔ ይቀርባል።
- ፕሮጀክቱ ውሳኔ ከተሰጠው በኋላ አልሚው አስፈላጊውን በመፈጸም ቦታውን እንዲያገኝ ይደረጋል።

**ሐ. የዋጋ ማስፈጸሚያ ስልት/ዋጋ እንዴት ይወሰናል**

**1. በጨረታ**

በጨረታ የሚፈቀዱ ቦታዎች ዋጋ የሚወሰነው ቦታዎች በሚያስገኙት የጨረታ ዋጋ ነው

**2. ያለጨረታ**

ያለጨረታ የሚፈቀዱ ቦታዎች ዋጋ የሚወሰነው በየጊዜው በጨረታ የሚወጡ ቦታዎችን ዋጋ መነሻ በማድረግ ነው።

ከላይ የተጠቀሱትን መመሪያዎችና ደንብ ቁጥር 3/87 በመከተል ቦታዎችን በሊዝ በመፍቀድ የሥራ ሂደት ወቅት ካጋጠሙት ችግሮች ዓባይቶች፡

- በየጊዜው መሻሻል ቢታይበትም የቦታ ፍላጎት በገበያ ትንበያ ላይ የተመሠረተ ጥናት በትድሚያ በበቂ ሁኔታ አዘጋጅቶ አለመገኘት ወይም አለመቅረብ፤ ይህም ሲባል የቤት መሥሪያ ቦታ ብዙ እየተፈለገ የኢንዱስትሪና ንግድ ቡድኖች ይቀርባል - የንግድ ቦታ ብዙ እየተፈለገ የኢንዱስትሪ ብዙ ይቀርባል - የግንባራ ስራ በሚፈለገው መጠን ቀርቶ የሌላውን ያህል አለመቅረብ ዓይነቶች ናቸው።
- ከጥላኔ ቦታ ጋር ግንኙነት ያላቸውን መረጃዎች ማለትም የኢንፎርሜሽን ልማት ከተማና የማስተር ጥላኔ መረጃዎች አስቀድሞ አዘጋጅቶ ለፈላጊ ወገኖች ለመስጠት አለመቻሉ፤
- በሊዝ የፖሊሲ ማስፈጸሚያ ሥልት /Mechanism/ ላይ በቂና የዳበረ ልምድ አለመኖር፤
- መሪት ከተሰጠ በኋላ መሠረተ ልማት ባለመሟላት ምክንያት ወደ ልማት ለመግባት አለመቻል፤
- የሚቀርቡ የቦታ ጥያቄዎች ስፋት ያላቸው በመሆኑ በአፋጣኝ ለአልሚዎች ምላሽ ለመስጠት አለመቻል፤
- አልሚዎች በገቡት ውል መሠረት ግንባታ አለማካሄድና ሌሎችን ገደብዎች አለመወጣት ማለትም ዓመታዊ ክፍያ በገቡት ውል መሠረት አለመፈጸም፤ ግንባታ አለማካሄድ፤ ክትትል አለ ማድረግና ቦታ ሲፈቀድም መልስ አለመስጠት የመሳሰሉት ናቸው።

**የመፍትሔ ሃሳቦች**

- በሊዝ የሚፈቀዱ ቦታዎች ቅደም ጥናት እየተጠናቀቀላቸው ፍላጎትን መሠረት ባደረገ መልኩ በርካታ ቦታዎች ለጨረታ ተዘጋጅተው እንዲቀርቡ ከሚመለከታቸው አካላት ጋር በቅንጅት ተጠናክሮ መሥራት
- በፍላጎት ላይ ተመስርተው የሚቀርቡ የነባር ቦታዎች የልማት ጥያቄ በተጠናከረ መልኩ እንዲካሄድ ለማድረግ በነባር ቦታዎች ላይ የሚገኙት ነዋሪዎችን የማስላት ሥራ አጠናክሮ ማካሄድ
- የተተላጠፈ መስተንገዶ ለመስጠት እንዲቻል የሊዝ ጽ/ቤቱን በባለሙያ በይበልጥ በማጠናከር ሥራዉን ማከናወን፤
- የአልሚውን ጥያቄ ለፋጣኝ ምላሽ ለማግኘት እንዲቻል የሥራና ከተማ ልማት ቢር ሥራዎች በዘመቻ እንዲሠሩና ቦርዱም በንዑስ ኮሚቴ

ተከፍሎ እንዲሠራ ተደርጋል። ለወደፊቱም ሥራው በዚህ መልክ ተጠናክሮ እንዲካሄድ ይደረጋል።

እስከ አሁን ድረስ የሊዝ የቦታ ጥያቄን አስመልክቶ የሚከናወኑ ሥራዎች ሁሉ ማዕከል አድርገው የሚቀርቡት ለሊዝ ጽ/ቤት ነበር። ይህም ኢንቨስትመንት በተፈለገው ፍጥነት እንዲካሄድ አላደረገም። ይህንን ችግር ለመፍታት እንደ መፍትሔ የተወሰደው የሊዝ የቦታ ጥያቄን በተለይም ያለጨረታ የሚሰተናገዱ የነባር ቦታዎች ጥያቄ በየሚመለከታቸው የወረዳ አስተዳደር አካላት በኩል እንዲቀርቡ መመሪያ ተዘጋጅቶ ሥራውን ለመጀመር ቅድመ ዝግጅት እየተጠናቀቀ ነው። ይህም ሊሆን የቻለው ሲከተር ቢርዎች ቅርንጫፍ መ/ቤታቸውን/ ማለትም ጤና፤ ሥራና ከተማ ልማት ቢር፤ ትምህርት/ በወረዳ ደረጃ መዋቅራቸው ስለተዘረጋ የኢንቨስትመንት ጥያቄም በወረዳ ደረጃ ቢቀርብ የበለጠ ቅልጥፍና እንደሚኖረው በመታመኑ ነው።

**ሥራው በወረዳ በኩል እንዲከናወን የማድረግ ጠቀሜታ**

- በወረዳዎች አካባቢ የሚገኙ ክፍት ቦታዎች ተጠንተው /Inventory/ ለኢንቨስተሮች ለማቅረብ አመቺ ሁኔታን በመፍጠር ቦታዎች በበቂ መጠን ለገበያ ለማቅረብ ይረዳል፤
- ወረዳዎች ለልማት ፋክክር ውስጥ በመግባት ኢንቨስተሩን ለመሳብ እንዲፈጠር ከፍተኛ በተሻለ እንዲያስተናግዱት በር ይከፍታል፤
- ለአልሚዎች በተፈቀዱ በነባር ቦታዎች ላይ የሚገኙ ነዋሪዎችን የማስላትን ስራ የበለጠ የተቀላጠፈ ያደርጋል፤
- ወረዳዎች በሥራው በቀጥታ በላይኑነት መንፈስ ስለሚሳተፉ የቦታ ርክክብ በይበልጥ ቀልጣፋ እንዲሆን ይረዳል፤
- በወረዳና በማዕከል የሥራ ክፍፍል ስለሚኖር በየደረጃው ኢንቨስተሩን በተሻለ የማስተናገድ ዕድል ይፈጥራል። በተጨማሪም የማዕከሉ ሥራና ከተማ ልማት ቢር በትላልቅና ሰፊ ጥናቶች ላይ እንዲያተኩሩ ከመርዳቱም ሌላ የቁጥጥርና የክትትል ተግባሩን አጠናክሮ ለማካሄድ ይረዳል።

ከዚህ በላይ እንደተገለጸው በአዲሱ ነባር ይዞታዎች ያለጨረታ ለማስተናገድ በሚያስችለው መመሪያ መሠረት የፕሮጀክት የቦታ ጥያቄዎች ለወረዳ አስተዳደሮችና በሥራ ለሚዋቀሩት ሌሎች መሥሪያ ቤቶች የሚቀርቡ ሲሆን ዝርዝር የአፈጻጸም መመሪያ ተዘጋጅቶ ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ ቅደም ዝግጅቱ እየተጠናቀቀ ነው።

ኢንቨስትመንትን ለማሳደግ ካጋጠሙ ችግሮች አንዱ በሊዝ ደጋጊ ለማስፈጸም ሥልጣን ላይ በቂና የዳቦረ ልምድ ባለመኖሩ ሲሆን ይህም ያለፉት ሥርዓቶች የመሬት አስተዳደር ሥርዓት አሁን ካለው የተለየና አዲስ የቦታ አሰጣጥ ሥርዓት ስለሆነ ልምድና ተግባር ባለመወሰዱ ነው። ይሁን እንጂ የተለያዩ አገሮች ተግባር በሂደት መቅሰም እንደሚቻል በመገመት የህዝብ ሀብት የሆነውን መሬት ወደ ገበያ በማትረብ ኢንቨስትመንት እንዲሰፋ ማድረግና ከዚህም በሚገኘው ገቢ ቀጣይነት ያለው ልማት ለማካከል እንዲቻል ቦታዎችን በሊዝ መፍተድ የግድ ብሏል። ስለሆነም ይህንን ያልተሟላውን ልምድና ተግባር በሊዝ አሥራር ላይ በቂ ልምድ ያላቸውን አገሮች ጉብኝት በማድረግ ከአገራችን

ተጨማሪ ሁኔታ ጋር በማዛመድ አሥራሮችን የበለጠ ለማሻሻል እንዲቻል ዝግጅት እየተደረገ ነው።

ጽ/ቤቱ የሚመራው በቦርድ ሲሆን አባላቱም የተዋቀሩት ከመስተዳድሩና ለልማት ዕገዛ ለማድረግ ከሚችሉ የሊክተር ቢሮዎች/ኮሥራና ከተማ ልማት ቢሮ፣ከአዲስ አበባ ውጋና ፍላጎት ባለሥልጣን፣ከአዲስ አበባ መንገዶች ባለሥልጣን፣ ከኢትዮጵያ መብራት ጋይል ኮርፖሬሽን፣ከኢንቨስትመንት ባለሥልጣንና ከፋይናስ ቢሮ/ኖቸው።

የጽ/ቤቱ ሥራ በየወቅቱ በቦርድ እየተገመገመ የሚሄድና በቦርዱም ለሥራው ቅልጥፍና ሲባል በገዑሳን ኮሚቴዎች በመከፋፈል ሥራውን

እንዲመራ ተደርጋል።

የሊዝ ጽ/ቤት ሥራውን ስኬታማ በሆነ መንገድ ለማካከል እንዲቻል የመሠረተ ልማት የተሟላላቸውና ፕላን የጠበቁ ቦታዎች እንዲቀርቡለት ያስፈልጋል። ይሁን እንጂ ጽ/ቤቱ የአልሚዎችን ፍላጎት ለማሟላትና እነዚህን አገልግሎቶች በማግኘት ያቀዱትን ልማት በብቃት ለማካከል እንዲችሉ ጥረት ቢያደርግም የተፈለገውን ያህል ውጤት ለማግኘት አልተቻለም። ስለዚህ ጽ/ቤቱ ከሚመለከታቸው የሊክተር ቢሮዎች ጋር የአሥራር ቅንጅት በመፍጠር አልሚዎ የተሻለ አገልግሎት እንዲያገኝ ጥረቱ በተጠናከረ መልክ እንዲቀጥል ይደረጋል።

# ምቀኝነት

እሸቱ ራሱ (10A)

የኑሮ እንቅፋት መዘዙ እንደ ጣር  
 የሥራ ቁርጥማት የዕውቀት ችነፈር።  
 የመፋቀር ጠላት የትብብር አጥፊ  
 የሀገርን ዕድገት ግንባር አሳጣፊ።  
 የሰላም ነቀዞች የዕውቀት ነቀርሶች፤  
 ቅናት ምቀኝነት ኢምንት ተግባሮች።  
 አቶ ምቀኝነት አንተ እግረ ሰባራ፤  
 ቀኝ ቀኙን ሲያሳዩህ ሁሌ ወደግራ።  
 ቅን የማታናግር ዘላለም ሃሚታ፤  
 መግቢያህ ወዴት ይሆን ይህ ዓለም ሲፈታ?  
 በላት ሲፈርድብህ የሚዛኑ ጌታ፤  
 ኑ ተሰብሰቡ ሲል ነጋሪት ሲመታ፤  
 እንዳበደች ውሻ ጌላ ከመርበትበት፤  
 አሁን ደግ ብትሠራ እስቲ ምን አለበት?  
 አዝመራው ውርደት ነው ምረቱም መዋተት፤  
 ትርፋም እስከዚህ ነው የምቀኝነት። ■

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የሚገዙትም ቦታ ባለንብረት በመሆናቸው አስተማማኝ ካፒታል ይኖራቸዋል። የከተማዎ ባለቤት በመሆን የከተማዎ ዕድገት ተጥታ ጥቅም እንደሚያስገኝላቸው በማመን ያልተቆጠበ ጥረት ያደርጋሉ።

ከተማዎ ከሊዝ ችግር ተላቃ ህዝብ የሚጠይቀውን አገልግሎት በተፋጠኑ ሁኔታ በመስጠት ተገቢ ክፍያ ታገኛለች፤ በብዛት ከሚሠሩና ከሚሻሻሉት ቤቶች አስተዳደሩም መልካም አገልጋይ በመሆን አባሪ ተባባሪ ሆነው ለከተማቸው ልማትና ዕድገት አብረው ይሠራሉ።

የቤት ሽያጭ ውል ሲቀርብ ቦታው በመሪ ጥላኔ የታተደለትን ተግባር አገልግሎት ላይ የሚውል መሆኑን አስረድቶ ተገቢ የሆነ ታክስ በማስከፈል፤ ውሉን መመዘገብ፤ የባለንብረት ማረጋገጫ ሰነድ (ካርታ) ጊዜ ሳይወሰድ መስጠት፤ በዚህ መሠረት ነባሩ የከተማ ማዕከል እየፈረሰ

በአዳዲስ ህንፃ እንዲተካ የምክርና የጥላን ድጋፍ ለጠያቂዎች መስጠት ያስፈልጋል።

የከተማዎን ልማት ለማፋጠን ከዚህ ቀደም ለሁለት የከተማ ማሻሻያ ፕሮጀክቶች እንደተደረገው ከዓለም ባንክ ገንዘብ ተበድሮ የቦታ ሽንሽና የመንገድ፣ የመብራት፣ የውሃና የፍላጎት ቆሻሻ መስመሮች በሥራ ተቋራጮች እውርቶ፣ ለመኖሪያ ለማምረቻና ለማከፋፈያ የሚሆኑ ቦታዎች መዘጋጀትና፣ መሸጥ አለባቸው።

ቦታ ጠያቂዎች ሲቀርቡ እንደ ፍላጎታቸው እየተቆረሰ በሽያጭ ከአገልግሎቱ ዋጋ ጋር ብድር እንዲያገኙ ማድረግና የባለንብረት ማሰሪያ በአጭር ጊዜ መስጠት፤

ለህንፃ ገንባታና ለመሣሪያ መግዣ ገንዘብ ለሚያጥራቸው በእነሱተኛ ወለድ ብድር የሚያገኙበትን መንገድ ማመቻቸት፤

የካፒታልን እጥረት በዚህ ዘዴ ማቃለል፤ ሥራ በሰፊው እንዲከፈት ማድረግና፤ ከተማዎን ማሻሻልና ማሳደግ፤

ይህን ሥራ ለማስፈጸም ያለውን የፕሮጀክት ቢሮ በማሟላት፤ ቦታ መሸጥ እስከ ገንባታው ያለውን ተግባር በኃላፊነት እንዲመራ ብድሩንም በትጋት ተከታትሎ እንዲሰበሰብና ዕዳው እንዲከፈል ማድረግ።

ከዚህ በላይ በአጭር በተዘረዘረው ሁኔታዎች የቦታ ጥያቄ ቢስተናገድ ከተማችን በዕቅድና በቁጠባ ትለማለች፤ ሥራም በሰፊው ይከፈታል፤ ከተማችን ጤናማ የመሥሪያና የመኖሪያ አካባቢ ትሆናለች፤ የአገሩንም ሆነ የውጭ ባለሀብት በብዛት ትስባለች፤ ለዚህ ተግባር ታጥቀን እንሳ። መልካም ዕድል ለአዲስ አበባችን። ■

# ትውስት

## እንቅልፍ

ነገቶ... መሸቶ  
(ወጥተን - ወርደን)  
እንዲያው ላጭር ጊዜ አረፍ እንላለን፤  
ዕረፍቱ በሞት ነው - እንቅልፍ በሚባለው።

ያድሳል ሲነቁ፤ ያድሳል ይኼ ሞት  
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# REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN AFRICA FROM AN EU PERSPECTIVE

Kurt Cornelis

Economic Adviser, Delegation of the European Commission in Ethiopia

In its relationship with third countries, the European Union attaches a high importance to the promotion of regional economic cooperation and integration. The EU itself is of course a product of an almost 50 year old economic integration process and probably the most advanced form of regional economic integration in the world.

As you probably know, EU's cooperation with Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) is, since almost 25 years, based on the Lomé Convention. This very comprehensive treaty has important sections on, for instance, development cooperation, commerce and also political matters. One of the underlying principles of Lomé cooperation is the support the EU will provide to attempts to come to genuine economic cooperation between ACP countries. I may quote article 7 of the Convention:

*"The EU and the ACP States shall give special importance and high priority to regional cooperation and integration. In this context, the Convention shall offer effective support for the ACP States' efforts to organize themselves into regional groupings and to step up their cooperation at regional and inter-regional level with a view to promoting a new, more just and more balanced economic order".*

In practice this principle has been given body through the instrument of regional cooperation between the EU and groupings of

ACP States. Part of the resources of the consecutive EDFs (European Development Fund) has been allocated for cross-border projects between two or more ACP States. Each five years the EU negotiates with the different ACP-Regions the envelope and the content of a Regional Indicative Programme. This RIP indicates the areas of concentration and determines the principles and guidelines for the implementation development related projects. For the East Africa Region, of which Ethiopia is part, usually an amount of around 200 million Euros is available for a five year period for regional projects based on the RIP.

Under EDF 7 (1990-95) and EDF 8 (1996-2000) the areas of concentration for East Africa have been:

- food security and conservation of natural resources;
- transport, trade and regional integration.

To give you an idea of which kind of projects are financed, I will mention a few projects which are currently under discussion: a huge programme to improve the health situation for livestock and the quality of veterinary services; support for the upgrading of the Djibouti-Ethiopian Railway and rehabilitation of the road between Dobi and Djibouti. We also provide assistance to regional organizations like COMESA and IGAD. The introduction of a new customs registration system (ASYCUDA) within the COMESA-

countries, for instance, has been supported by EU Regional cooperation.

Although this particular type of development assistance looks good on paper, we have experienced over the years that cooperation with ACP-countries on a regional basis is quite cumbersome and difficult. Identification, preparation and implementation of projects are particularly slow processes, especially in this East Africa Region which comprises the following countries: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda.

There are many reasons why this type of regional cooperation has proven to be so difficult. I will mention the most important ones:

1. of the 10 countries of East Africa, at least seven are currently engaged in domestic or international wars, with all the devastating effects this entails;
2. East Africa is a very heterogeneous region with an important variety of cultures, religions, languages and colonial histories;
3. compared to other ACP-regions (Southern and West Africa, Caribbean), regional cooperation is still young and rudimentary. There are several regional bodies (IGAD, EAC, COMESA) that

all have to find their role and niche.

4. Member states are often reluctant to cede some of their power and authority to regional organizations.
5. transborder infrastructures are often so poor that it hampers the promotion of exchanges of cultural and economic contacts between the individual countries.
6. for a long time, the African countries were perhaps not yet convinced of the necessity to develop close links and cooperation within a Region. They saw their neighbours as competitors, often exporting the same products, mostly commodities that were exchanged for capital goods from Europe or elsewhere.

The combination of these reasons causes problems for the implementation of our regional cooperation programmes. It is often very hard and time-consuming to reach an agreement, especially on the prioritisation of regional projects. At a recent meeting of the National Authorizing Officers of the participating countries, the European Commission had therefore suggested to increase the coordinating and preparatory roles of the existing regional entities like COMESA, IGAD and EAC. However, the individual countries do not like to give up their authority and are still reluctant to empower the regional organizations. Of course, the biggest problem of all in this particular Region, is the big number of conflicts. Regional cooperation, let alone regional integration, will never become a success story when the participating countries are continuously in state of war or conflict.

Having said this on our past and present experience with regional economic cooperation in Africa, let us now turn to the future. Despite all the problems, there are

some rays of hope in Africa as far as regional cooperation is concerned. SADC and ECOWAS in particular prove that it is possible to realize forms of close economic cooperation or integration. COMESA has made good progress in recent years in trade liberalization and has embarked on an ambitious project, namely to establish a Free Trade Area, by abolishing intra-Comesa tariffs by October 2000. After that the organization will try to get common external tariffs adopted by 2004. Hopefully the COMESA member states will remain committed to these goals, although some of them have called for transitional measures to protect the weaker economies. EAC (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania) has been revived and is making good and rapid progress on different areas.

The most problematic subregion for the time being—apart from Central Africa—is the Horn. All the Horn countries are members of IGAD and all but one of them of COMESA at the same time. This, plus the fact that most of its member countries are in conflict, clearly weakens IGAD's position and effectiveness. Since COMESA is already well advanced in harmonising trade related matters, the importance of IGAD could lie more in conflict prevention and management, rather than in real economic cooperation.

It is beyond any doubt that the role of regional organizations and the importance of regional economic integration will substantially increase within the framework of cooperation between the EU and the ACP countries, especially where we talk about future commercial cooperation.

You may have read that the EU and the ACP partners are currently negotiating a new Convention, a new framework, for their post year 2000 relationship. Both parties are aware that the Lomé partnership needs substantial renovation to make it more apt to

cope with new realities and circumstances like: economic globalisation, regional integration, the diminishing role of Governments in economic management, information highways etc. Changes are envisaged not only in the development aid part of the relationship but also, and perhaps foremost, in the commercial regime of the Lomé Convention.

The EU is proposing a new concept for regional cooperation and a new trade regime to its ACP partners in order to make the commercial provisions compatible with the multilateral WTO framework. The present Lomé trade arrangement, with its system of trade preferences for the ACP countries, is only made possible by an annual WTO waiver. After all, the preferential treatment of the imports from the ACP contradicts the WTO principle that all WTO countries should be treated equally. In order not to remain dependant of an annual waiver and to avoid challenges from other WTO partners, the EU proposes to move gradually towards a system of reciprocity in the form of free trade areas with regional groupings of ACP states.

You should know that article 24 of GATT allows exceptions to the Most-Favoured Nations treatment in the form of Free Trade Areas or Customs Unions, provided that "substantially all" trade is liberalised and barriers towards third countries not increased. The word "substantially" is interpreted by analysts as at least 90%. Since trade liberalisation on EU's side is already 99% for imports from ACP countries, this would mean that ACP states could be allowed to liberalise less than 90% of their imports from the EU. There would therefore be scope to leave out sensitive products, although this should not be used as a pretext to maintain costly trade barriers.

In view of the above described situation, the EU proposes in its negotiations with the ACP Group to establish Regional Economic

Partnership Agreements (REPA) with individual regional groups of ACP countries. The establishment of a free trade area would be embedded in the larger cooperation framework of such a REPA.

Bringing the trade regime in harmonisation with WTO is not the only objective of this proposal. The deeper and long-term objective is the smooth and gradual integration of ACP countries into the world economy. Free trade areas can be a first stage of regional integration, after which a gradual move towards customs unions or even deeper forms of integration (common market; economic union) would become easier to achieve.

As regards the economic results of deeper regional integration one can mention for instance increased competition, trade creation, economies of scale, increased investment and a more stable macro-economic environment. Closer regional integration can also be instrumental to improve the security situation between the participating countries.

The EU is of course aware that the ACP countries, and especially some African regions, still have along way to go before free trade areas can be established. Therefore, a transition period will be respected, in which the current preferential system will remain effective. The length of this period is subject to negotiation: it can be 5,7, maybe even 10 years. But the EU is trying to convince

the ACP countries that there is no alternative.

The REPA concept that will be developed will not only cover trade in goods, but will also deal with important trade related areas such as standardisation, environmental and social rules, services, intellectual property and competition. The EU recognizes that the moving towards REPAs will require important reforms and adaptations, not only from the Governments involved, but also, and perhaps in the first place, from the private sector. Governments will need to reform the fiscal system away from trade taxation. Private companies will need to reposition in a wider market. But these adjustments are necessary anyhow for a beneficial integration into the world economy. There is also a need for capacity building to deal with trade and trade-related areas. The EU is obviously ready to assist with this restructuring process, especially with regard to the least developed countries.

The REPA-concept is new and still needs to be worked out in detail. The EU is trying to convince its ACP-partners, during the ongoing post-Lomé-negotiations that everybody can gain from it. It will be introduced gradually, applying a long enough transition period. The basis will be a free trade arrangement, but the concept will be much larger than this. Financial and technical assistance will be provided to regional blocks, flexibly differentiating in form and extent, according to the

specific needs of each individual region and their participating countries. After all, the Caribbean has other characteristics and a higher level of economic development than for instance Central Africa.

In a world economy with an increasingly dominant role for multilateral bodies like WTO there appears to be no alternative for African countries to closer regional cooperation through free trade areas, or even more sophisticated forms of integration. Since benefits from the trade preferences given by the EU under the Lomé commercial regime will be more and more eroded through global trade liberalisation, it would not make much sense to stubbornly stick to the current arrangements.

The post-Lomé negotiations are in full swing at the moment. The EU still has a lot of convincing to do. But ACP countries become increasingly aware that there is no alternative to liberalisation and regional economic integration.

Remains the problem of putting theory into practice. There is still a long and bumpy way ahead. But in fact all African states have already embraced the idea of creating a common African market through the OAU sponsored idea of an African Economic Community. If we could only stop existing wars and prevent new ones, then such faraway economic objectives would become much easier to achieve. ■

## ANNOUNCEMENT

WE WOULD LIKE TO INFORM OUR READERS THAT VOLUME V NUMBER 2 OF *ETHIOPIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS* HAS BEEN JUST OUT OF THE PRINTING PRESS AND IT IS NOW ON SALE.

# REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA

With Particular Reference to the Southern African Development Community

Peter Oesterdiech Hoff

Resident Representative, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung of Germany, Botswana

## 1. Record of RI in Africa

RI became a prominent political issue in Africa in the 1960s, following the wave of independence which swept the continent. Two schools of thought emerged, both of which have left their marks until today: whilst the continentalists were in favour of an African Union, the so-called United States of Africa, the functionalists promoted a less ambitious concept of sub-regional co-operation. Although only the latter's intention came to fruition, the pan-African approach is still alive and may even have gained additional significance recently as evidenced by the call for an African Renaissance. The Lagos Plan of Action and its update, the Abuja Agreement of 1991, present a blend of both approaches: they envisage a pan-African Economic Union, based on the prior establishment and consolidation of sub-regional units. Regional integration schemes like ECOWAS, COMESA and SADC therefore tend to refer to themselves as building stones of a continental union.

So far, however, only sub-regional units have come into being. Considering the number of integration schemes, Africa is by far the most prolific continent, with probably more than 200 regional groupings and agreements covering a wide variety of arrangements and issues. Some of these schemes have gone quite far, especially the West and Central African countries of the CFA area which have jointly established a central bank for each region and adopted identical bank regulations. But the overall progress was dismally slow, and

there are even incidences of retrogressive development, the most prominent one being the collapse of the East African Community in 1977. Judged by the level of intra-regional trade, economic convergence and policy harmonisation, regional integration in Africa can hardly be labelled a success story. Furthermore, the share of Africa's regional trade in total world trade has diminished continuously.

Research has attributed the lack of success to structural characteristics of the economies involved as well as to the approach pursued in promoting regional integration. The main problem areas can be listed as follows:

### Deficiencies of Regional Integration Schemes

- ◆ Production structures of member countries are not complementary
- ◆ Tariff reductions cause public revenue losses
- ◆ Benefits of market integration not assured to individual countries
- ◆ Unequal distribution of integration benefits
- ◆ Long-term integration benefits vis-à-vis short-term losses
- ◆ Weak institutions at national and regional level
- ◆ Lack of co-ordination and harmonisation of economic policies
- ◆ Civil society is hardly involved in the integration process

Let me briefly discuss each one of these problems.

- As production structures of member countries are deficient and do not complement

each other, there is a lack of tradable goods for regional exchange. In a stylised non-industrialised economy, a domestic sector of non-tradable co-exists with a dominant commodity sector geared to raw material exports. The very sector able to boost regional exports, manufactured goods production, tends to be weak and not competitive. For such economies to effectively launch intra-regional trade, demand-side measures such as reducing customs duties are necessary, but not sufficient adjustments.

- Lowering or entirely dismantling tariffs will affect custom revenues. This constitutes an immediate effect of establishing a preferential trade area, free trade area, or custom union (if CET is to be lowered), which can be quite severe considering the high share of custom duties in public revenues (50 to more than 70% for many African countries). Considering the need for a tax reform even in the absence of market integration, with a view to strengthening and widening the tax base, this dilemma has to be addressed anyway.
- Whereas the revenue losses are for certain and immediate, the benefits of market integration are a rather long-term prospect, particularly for countries that are not in a regionally competitive position. Empirical research on static and dynamic integration gains are scarce, but the available evidence indicates that the static gains tend to

be low, although positive, while dynamic gains can be considerable. The latter need more time to unfold their potential which will mainly happen after the benefits generated by mere reallocation of resources have been realised. Hence the bulk of benefits from integration seem to accrue mainly in the middle-to long-term.

- Individual countries are not assured of any benefits, they may even find themselves on the losing side indefinitely. Therefore, compensation schemes and solidarity funds are a crucial concomitant of market integration. However, they used to be under-resourced and thus were often found not to be helpful in alleviating the fears of economically weaker countries and maintaining the momentum towards regional integration. Compensation schemes need to be designed carefully to avoid disincentives to intra-regional trade as evidenced by ECOWAS's scheme which rigidly penalised net exporters.
- Even if there is no doubt about the overall generation of net economic benefits through regional integration, there are often legitimate concerns that gains accrue mainly to industrially more developed countries. They are obviously in a vantage position to capture the bulk of the additional opportunities through export of products, services and factors of production. If not somehow contained and directed by regional policies, spatial polarisation and biased industrialisation patterns are bound to arise from unfettered market processes. This is a very serious issue which has caused the slow-down and even the breakdown, as happened with the East African Community in 1977, of

regional integration schemes. It has affected the Andean Pact as well as ASEAN and UDAO and UDEAC. I will later refer to SADC which is faced by the same problem.

- Political leaders have apparently no straightforward position towards regional integration, which is quite understandable considering the fact that they have to weigh instant negative effects in terms of loss of revenue and sovereignty against long-term, vague and not necessarily assured benefits. What is often critically referred to as lack of political will, is in fact a rational cost-benefit calculation. Integration arrangements have obviously not taken into account that they need to be predicated on proper incentive structures that ensure the balance of each participating country is in favour of regional integration.
- Political commitment was also diluted by the multitude of regional groupings with similar or overlapping objectives. The evolution of firm allegiances and a sense of regional identity was effectively thwarted by unhealthy competition of regional organisations.
- As a result of what appears as lack of political resolve, the incorporation of regional commitments and agreements into national plans and procedures is notoriously weak. National development plans and sectoral programmes do not reflect regional decisions and initiatives. The priority the latter receive in the context of national development planning seems to be too low as to warrant the allocation of scarce resources.
- A similar observation can be made for regional institutions. They use to be under-

resourced and inadequately staffed. Member countries tend to accumulate huge arrears and thus deprive the very institutions that are meant to promote regional integration of resources needed to fulfil their mandate. Regional bodies did not enjoy sanctioning powers, and if penalties were spelt out, costs of non-compliance were low.

- Harmonisation of trade policies and reduction of import restrictions have not received sufficient attention. Often trade policies were (mis-)used as substitutes for necessary exchange rate adjustments. Generally, the import-substitution philosophy was not compatible with trade liberalisation.
- A salient feature of probably all regional arrangements is the lack of involvement of the civil society. Regional integration appears to be an exercise of the political elite, bureaucracies, and in some cases foreign organisations. The population which is supposed to be the ultimate beneficiary often hardly knows what regional integration is all about. So far, trade unions, employer associations, and NGOs of various walks of life have hardly had any say in the design of integration processes. To be fair, the same can be said about the European process which became a topical issue only in the 1990s, that is forty years after its commencement.

Regional integration has always been a crucial ingredient of development strategies in Africa, even before the advent of the Lagos Plan of Action. The approach pursued in earlier attempts as well as in the new initiatives triggered by the resurgence of interest in regional integration during the 1990s is obviously inspired by the European integration process. The



latter can be characterised as trade-led, market-based, and incremental. Incrementalism implies the well-known step-by-step progress through the formation of a free trade area, followed by a customs union, a common market, and eventually an economic union.

The theoretical foundation has been laid by Jacob Viner who developed the theory of customs unions in the context of which he introduced the notions of trade creation and trade diversion. He demonstrated that a general presumption concerning the welfare gains of regional integration is not valid, as the net gains from a customs union are a function of the relative strength of trade creation versus trade diversion effects.

These conclusions are reflected in the GATT and WTO stipulations which seek to minimise the diversion effects and provide maximum scope for trade creation in regional set-ups. The conventional pessimistic view of regional trade integration as an impediment to multilateral trade stems from the perceived strength of trade diversion effects.

It is questionable whether the concepts of trade creation and diversion are able to capture the welfare effects of regional trade integration at all. Although they are still widely used in trade policy parlance, there is common understanding that the major effects are not covered, in particular the impact on consumer welfare and, more importantly, the dynamic effects (economies of scale, increased competition, technology transfer).

The crucial question in this context, however, is as to whether the approach as such fits the conditions, characteristics and prerequisites of developing countries. The structural problems referred to above, like weak industrial base, high geographical and commodity concentration of trade, indispensability of cus-

tom revenues, permeating scarcity of foreign exchange that has thwarted the operations of sub-regional clearinghouses and solidarity funds, enormous discrepancies in terms of all relevant economic fundamentals and other factors strongly militate against the workability of the classical concept of market integration in the African context.

The Southern African Development Community presents an interesting case study, as this organisation departed from a set of objectives different from the other regional groupings. While the latter used to take trade integration as their point of departure, SADC started as a political creation aimed at supporting the frontline states. During the 1990s, however, it changed its course in response to the advent of democracy and majority rule in South Africa, and since then began to reveal problems which resemble the ones mentioned above.

## 2. The Southern African Development Community

The majority of integration schemes in Africa came into being in an era which was marked by inward-looking concepts of development, mainly industrial development based on import substitution. The goal of self-reliance and collective self-sufficiency was to be pursued through creating sub-regional markets with a view to eventually establishing the Pan-African Community. Although protectionist towards the rest of the world, liberalisation of intra-regional trade was the hallmark of these integration arrangements.

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) was not established as an integration organisation. Its objectives were mainly geared towards supporting the frontline states, i.e. those bordering the hostile apartheid state, to cope with their precarious dependence upon South African economic and infrastructural resources.

Consequently, in 1980 the founding states agreed that the first priority was to be accorded to infrastructural projects, with a strong focus on transport and communication. Later the emphasis slightly shifted towards co-ordination of sectoral plans and to measures intended to promote investment and production. Thus SADCC adopted a functional co-operation type of approach which is characteristic of a discrete project by project procedure. It has advantages in the area of infrastructure projects with cross-border effects (e.g. roads), state-run activities with economies of scale (joint research) and with external effects (use of riverain resources). No attempts were made, however, to create a common economic region or to harmonise economic policies.

In 1992, SADCC was transformed into the Southern African Development Community (SADC) based on the SADC Treaty and the Theme Document "Towards Economic Integration". This move obviously reflects the development in South Africa and the impending changes in the political dispensation. The prospects of friendly and co-operative relationships with South Africa under majority rule opened up new opportunities of integration with a view to creating a strong, competitive economic region. The accession of South Africa to the new SADC made it the strongest bloc in Africa judged by the level of income and industrial production. Based on the preceding phase of functional co-operation, the member countries have gathered experience in planning and running regional activities and are comparatively well endowed with infrastructural facilities. SADC is in the fortunate position to be able to build on solid grounds, including a sense of regional identity and common belonging that contribute to the, comparatively speaking, peacefulness and stability in this sub-region. Hence SADC is often considered the flagship of regional

integration in Africa.

By its own assessment, SADC did not embrace the predominant trade-led type of integration as applied by most other regional schemes in Africa. It was felt that following this route would replicate the notorious problems inherent in this approach. Considering the huge economic discrepancy between South Africa and the rest of SADC, major concerns were raised with respect to prospects of unequal distribution of gains and, even worse, the likely scenario of polarisation effects depriving weaker economies of what little industrial base they had. SADC therefore decided to adopt a development integration approach that provides for carrying on with functional co-operation, along with trade and market integration as a new component. It is aimed at creating a regional market through reducing barriers to cross-border investments, intra-regional trade and the movement of labour.

The development integration approach was conceived as an elaboration of the functional co-operation or project co-ordination approach. In view of underdeveloped production structures and incompatible trade patterns, it stresses the need for close political co-operation, in order to overcome existing impediments and to pave the way for increasing market integration. Converse to the gradualism featuring the classical approach, political intervention takes place at an early stage of integration in order to facilitate market processes. Moreover, the development integration approach places considerable emphasis on compensatory and corrective measures in support of "least developed" member countries, and stresses the need for coordinated regional industrial development and a regional fund to support industrially weaker countries.

In 1993, the African Development Bank published a comprehensive study on "Economic Integration

in Southern Africa", the results of which had a strong bearing on SADC's integration concept. The major conclusions are:

1. Priority should be given to investment in productive capacities and infrastructures aimed at increasing levels of production in all sectors.
2. Sector and project co-ordination retains a crucial function in this context and needs to be continued.
3. Macro-economic convergence, being a prerequisite for market integration, must be pursued vigorously in pursuance of harmonising the economic fundamentals between member countries (fiscal and monetary policies, inflation and exchange rates).
4. The role of the private sector has to be enhanced through a conducive enabling environment. The transition from sector coordination to market integration cannot make do without private business.
5. In a pragmatic manner the concept of variable geometry should allow for multi-speed implementation of the various agreements.

Since 1992, protocols on trade, drug trafficking, energy, water resource, mining, and transport and communication have been approved. One draft protocol (on free movement of persons) was rejected, while three are currently being drafted (tourism, the SADC tribunal, and finance and investment). A study in support of drafting a regional industrial development strategy has just been completed.

Unfortunately, however, as can be observed in many instances, grand schemes are often excellent in design, but bedeviled in the stage of implementation. The impressive number and the scope of protocols, declarations and studies is rather deceptive if they are taken as measurement of practical achievements. For instance, the Protocol on Trade and

Development adopted in August 1996, is still ratified by five countries only and therefore not yet in power. A structural weakness bequeathed to SADC by its predecessor, the Co-ordination Council, is the institutional set-up. SADC has not developed truly supra-national institutions that command powers to monitor and enforce regional decisions (like the EU). The inherited structure, which was originally intended to engender a sense of ownership, provides for the allocation of sectoral responsibilities to individual countries. The Sector Co-ordinating Units (SCU) are part and parcel of national administrations which are supposed to provide the necessary resources.

There are at least three drawbacks of such a decentralised setup:

- The allocation of resources to SCUs does not reflect their respective significance in promoting the integration process, it rather depends on the host country's budgetary discretion.
- SCUs, being part of a national administration, tend to be faced by conflicting responsibilities as to their national and regional mandate.
- The adoption of the development integration approach in 1992 has posed challenges across and beyond sectoral boundaries. In particular, the separation of trade and industry on the one side, and finance and investment on the other side is most unfortunate and will definitely hamper further steps towards economic integration. A well-grounded proposal to revamp the organisational structure with a view to merging the SCUs into five clusters has been rejected by the SADC Council of Ministers in 1998.

What has been said about the weakness of institution building affecting regional groupings in Africa, obviously applies to SADC

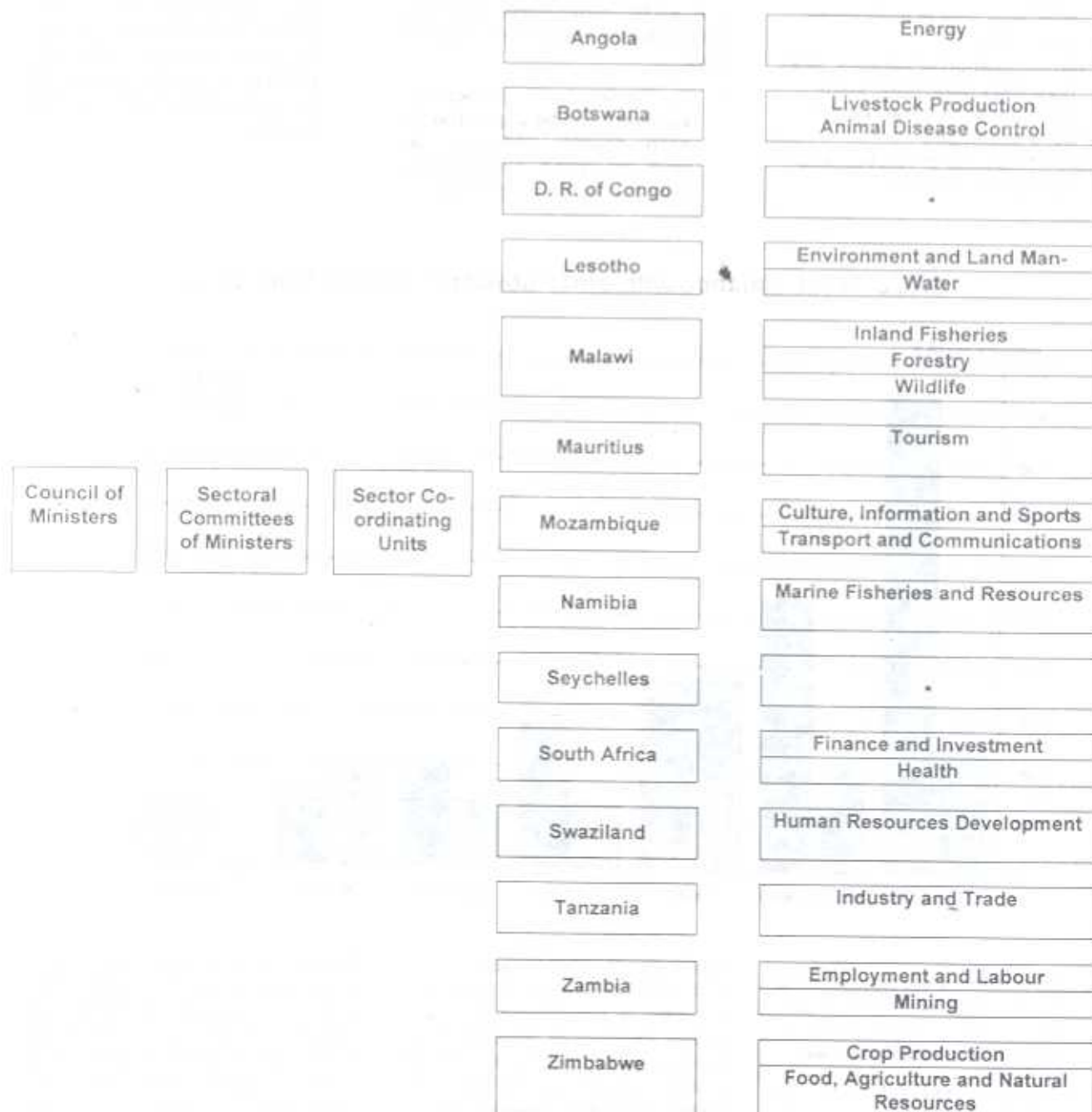
as well.

Currently, the Trade Protocol is the most important project. Although it has been approved by the Summit of Heads of States and Governments in 1996, it left a

host of intricate issues for further negotiations. The Protocol provided for the establishment of a Free Trade Area (note: CU is not envisaged) within a period of eight years, but did not specify the modalities. It leaves room for

further negotiation on critical issues. Hence only five countries have ratified the Protocol which needs the approval of at least eight countries in order to enter into force.

**SADC Sector Structure**



\*Sectors still to be allocated

### Essentials of the SADC Trade Protocol

- ◆ Elimination of tariffs and quantitative restrictions within a period of eight years
- ◆ MFN and national treatment of all traded goods
- ◆ No new subsidies that "threaten to distort competition" and only in conformity with WTO
- ◆ Harmonisation of sanitary, phytosanitary measures, standards and technical regulations envisaged
- ◆ Infant industry protection and safe-guard clauses

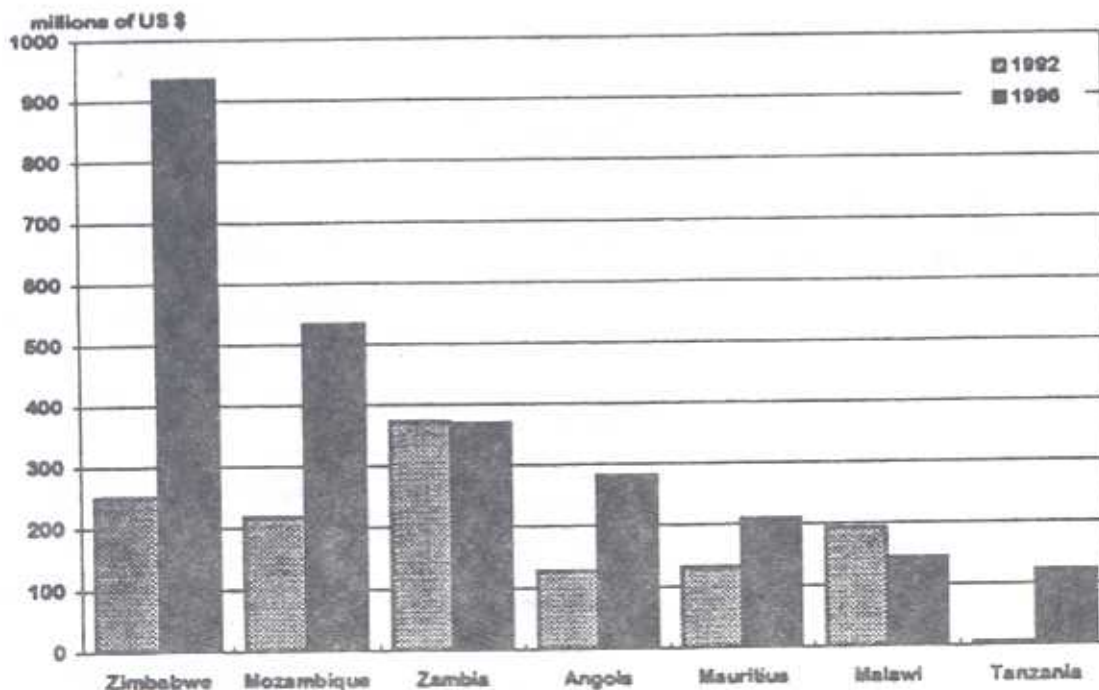
- ◆ Anti-dumping in conformity with WTO rules
- ◆ Detailed specifications of rules of origins
- ◆ Notification under Art. 24 of GATT

A Trade Negotiation Forum was established to seek further clarification and to develop proposals for the implementation of the FTA. So far, broad agreement has been reached along the following lines:

1. A "linear tariff reduction" approach will be applied, with each country reducing its tariff by given percentages over the eight year period.

2. South Africa and SACU will reduce tariffs faster than other SADC countries.
3. Products will be classified in three categories. Besides the list of products for immediate liberalisation, a list for gradual liberalisation which contains the majority of products will be established. The sensitive products list covers goods, defined by each country, which are eligible for liberalisation only five years after entry into force of the protocol.

SACU Trade Balance with other Southern African Countries



4. All members are requested to submit lists of non-tariff barriers they experience in trading with other members.
5. Trade documentation will be standardised and harmonised.

The major contentious issue relates to the trade relations be-

tween South Africa and the rest of SADC. Although all members are alert of the danger of polarisation inherent in building a regional market, there is no proven recipe against such a development. Economic powers are in fact enormously divergent, as judged from any statistics on trade and production of SADC countries. In 1996, 71.5% of the

total flow of intra-regional exports originated in South Africa. During the same year, SA imported at the tune of \$ 1.170 billions from SADC, while exports reached \$ 6,276 billions. Thus the export/import relationship was 5.4:1. The trade gap has grown unabatedly over the years.

Current trade patterns have de-

veloped in the absence of any SADC trade arrangements, fostered by unilateral trade liberalisation under structural adjustment programmes and other liberalisation initiatives (CBI, COMESA). They indicate a structural regional trade imbalance which can only be maintained if offset by concomitant reverse flows of capital in the form of investments. Unqualified opening of national markets would exacerbate the imbalance. The FTA-agreement therefore needs to be fine-tuned to accommodate these concerns, and especially closely linked to the proposed Protocol on Investment. There are, however, rumours that SA which is hosting the SCU for Finance and Investment (FISCU), is dragging her feet in finalising the draft protocol. It is in fact of less importance to SA, but crucial for coun-

tries that are eager to catch up in terms of industrial development. SA has a convenient fall-back position anyway, for it has concluded a number of trade agreements bilaterally and, most importantly, with SACU. The SACU countries absorb about 70% of South Africa's regional exports, which are already duty-free. Thus a failure of the Trade Protocol to come to fruition would not seriously undermine SA's regional export prospects.

Other countries are, however, in a similarly comfortable position. Due to the multiple membership in regional organisations of all SADC countries, the plethora of bilateral trade agreements, and previous moves towards trade liberalisation, the actual impact of the advent or otherwise of a regional free trade arrangement is limited. It would actually affect

only a tiny fraction of intra-regional trade, bearing in mind that 70% is already covered only by SACU. Not different from other regions in Africa, there exists a multitude of regional organisations in Southern Africa with partly different, partly overlapping objectives. Tanzania, to pick just one example, is member to the East African Community, COMESA and SADC. While the two former aim at establishing a customs union, SADC is geared towards creating a free trade area. Implementation of all the regional agreements requires the deployment of scarce management skills, for instance to administer the diverse rules of origin. Besides, it dilutes commitment and allegiance to one particular organisation, and suggests a wait-and-see-posture.

Initiatives Towards Trade Integration in Southern Africa

Organisation	Establ./Changed	Objective	Time Frame
SADC	1980 - 1992	FTA	2008
COMESA	1982 - 1994	Common Market	FTA in 2000, CM in 2004
SACU	1910	Customs Union	Re-negotiation in 1999
EAC	1967 - 1996	Common Market	
CBI	1992	FTA	2000
IOC		(COMESA, CBI)	

The existence of other initiatives towards trade liberalisation does, however, not negate the significance of an overarching regional agreement. Bilateral agreements tend to favour the more powerful party which in this context will be South Africa wherever she is involved. Zimbabwe and Zambia faced the consequences of unilateral liberalisation which paved the way for industrial imports from the still protectionist South Africa. The former country is said to have lost more than 50,000 jobs in the textile sector only. Polarisation in conjunction with de-industrialisation suffered by

weaker countries would ensue from unchallenged continuation of uni- and bilateral liberalisation. Only through a regionally coordinated approach encompassing not only trade but investment and related issues as well can SADC hope to attenuate such tendencies and create a mutually beneficial trade system. Demand-side incentives to boost industrial diversification through liberalised access to regional market need to be complemented by supply-side support aimed at transforming inefficient production structures of the "least developed" member countries.

Although SADC is concerned about the looming prospects of a hub-and-spoke system of trade relations with SA in the centre, the Trade Protocol does not properly address this issue. It does not, for example, afford preferential treatment for member states categorised as "least developed countries" by the WTO. As LLDCs, Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia qualify for "differential and more favourable treatment" involving a number of derogations under WTO. Even Zimbabwe with a comparatively advanced industrial base, is entitled to spe-

cial treatment (e.g. exempted from prohibition of export subsidies). The surprising silence on this issue of the Trade Protocol is tantamount to denying rights granted to LLDCs by the international trade law.

### Defects and weaknesses of the SADC Trade Protocol

- ◆ Focus on tariff barriers, while main obstacles are NTB. Trade Protocol merely exhorts members to address issue of NTB.
- ◆ No differential treatment for "least development" member states (such as GATT concessions in the area of agricultural tariffs and export subsidies)
- ◆ No compensation mechanism envisaged
- ◆ No provision of supply-side measures to promote diversification (industrial development and cross-border investment)
- ◆ Discriminatory taxes which could be imposed in lieu of customs duties, are not proscribed
- ◆ No guidelines for link to sector co-ordination programmes which are called upon to provide trade-related infrastructure

However, there is still hope that the Trade Negotiation Forum may come up with more palatable modifications. Currently, negotiations centre around the long-standing trade conflict between Zimbabwe and South Africa. Without concessions offered by South Africa in terms of tariff cuts for textile imports, the negotiation process is at the risk of failure. The TNF had its mid-term review during the second week of June 1999. This meeting is considered to mark a turning point in either way: failure to come to terms concerning the contentious issues could jeopardise the thrust towards market integration and, by implication, the development integration approach; a breakthrough, however, would pave the way for other agreements to follow, in particular the

pending Protocol on Finance and Investments.

Without going into further details, these observations allow the conclusion that SADC, after the transformation from a sector co-ordination to an economic integration organisation, is going to be faced with a set of problems which are characteristic of regional market integration, such as weak institution building, unequal distribution of actual or perceived benefits, and lack of commitment. For good reasons, SADC has incorporated market integration into its concept of development integration with the ultimate aim to foster productive investments. The development component, however, requires government intervention and public resources to be spent for building capacities. With South Africa's decision to join SADC rather than COMESA, the prospects to implement a development integration approach were greatly enhanced owing to the superior resource endowment of South Africa. However, although South Africa is a regional economic champion, the country's economy is not competitive in the global market. Fraught with daunting social and economic problems, the country cannot be expected to be overly generous in putting up resources for regional projects at a large scale or granting preferential treatment to neighbouring countries. Hence the future route SADC is going to take is still in the mist.

### 3. Prospects of Regionalism in Southern Africa

The formation of economic blocs is most likely the most efficient way to overcome development barriers posed by fragmentation of markets. In view of the generally small volumes of national markets this can be reasonably assumed for African countries in particular. Traditional approaches aimed at providing economic space behind protectionist walls,

however, are entirely discredited by a general lack of sustainable progress. Even a Pan-African unified market would not be sufficient in terms of volume and structure to support effective industrialisation based on economies of scale. Hence, the notion and implications of open regionalism has increasingly attracted attention by economists and policy-makers. It is not conceived as a special recipe for Africa, but is reflected in regional initiatives in the Western Hemisphere, Europe and Asia as well, and mirrors conditions as set by trends towards globalisation.

Regional integration was for a long time considered a hampering factor to the process towards a global rule-based trade order based on the principles of MFN and national treatment. Yet the new regionalism is not antithetical to the emergence of a multilateral order. Especially in view of characteristics such as the drive towards lowering the external tariffs in tandem with intra-regional trade liberalisation, consistency with WTO rules, clear-cut rules of origin and non-discriminatory treatment of foreign enterprises, it can hardly be argued that multilateral trade is doomed to suffer from the new surge of regional integration. On the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that new regionalism will promote the emergence of a multilateral liberal trade system, due to its openness and inclusivity, and through strengthening pluralistic processes taking aboard weaker countries which had no voice yet in the international trade policy arena. Such features were absent in old regionalism which therefore was regarded as a threat to multilateralism. The new schemes, however, do reflect a different approach as exhibited by SADC:

- External tariffs are being reviewed and decreased by all member countries (unilaterally, as a CU is not envisaged). Most member countries have adopted or undertaken

structural adjustment measures including a tariff reform. SADC participates in the CBI (individual members as well as the regional organisation) which has committed member countries to stringent reductions of external tariffs.

- SADC's inclusivity is proved not only by granting access to new members, but more so by its endeavours to reach outwards through agreements with other regional entities. Trade agreements are being considered or actively pursued with the United States, European Union, MERCOSUR and ASEAN. As yet no conclusive results could be achieved, because the intra-regional trade system is not yet in place. This is also the main reason for SADC's reservation towards the EU's proposition of basing the post-Lomé world on REPA.
- Obviously, the new global order is going to be built on regional blocs anyway. Nation states, in particular smaller ones, will have a direct impact only on a regional level. SADC provides a platform for a number of LLDCs to voice their interests and concerns in international negotiations. Through policy positions SADC presents, for example, to Brussels and Geneva, the voice of countries not heard before is being amplified and rendered relevant.

For designing regional integration in a fashion compatible with WTO disciplines, four options have been discussed by economists:

1. Regional integration could avoid to deal with intra-regional trade integration at all and focus on sector co-operation, harmonisation of policies and co-ordination of projects. Contentious and complex issues relating to market integration would be left to the multilateral level,

whereas regional integration would concentrate on activities that create win-win situations. Attempts at trade and factor market integration are portrayed as futile, as national discrepancies and difficulties of establishing compensation mechanisms are too great. This is actually the route SADCC followed exclusively until 1992, i.e. before the development integration approach was substituted for mere sector co-ordination.

2. Another option is to first embark on regional co-operation aimed at building infrastructures required to intensify trade links, followed by market integration in the second stage. This is the current position of SADC, and the fact that SADC is ranked the most promising regional initiative in Africa, owes a lot to the preceding phase of laying the foundation for intra-regional market integration.
3. A simultaneous approach argues for coordinated progress on all fronts in parallel, encompassing sectoral investment cooperation, trade integration, and the evolution of an appropriate institutional framework. In contrast to most integration efforts nowadays which tend to place a narrow focus on trade, this approach also addresses the infrastructural and institutional prerequisites. It is predicated on a significant re-orientation of national policies towards the regional level, and a concomitant re-allocation of resources to regional development strategies.
4. This option is compatible with yet another which is inspired by NAFTA. North-South regional groupings seem to become the rule rather than the exception, considering the formation of AFTA and the expansion of the EU towards the East and Mediterranean

area. The greatest advantage is the creation of credibility, i.e. the guarantee that trade liberalisation and policy reforms are not liable to reversals. Lack of credibility is singled out by many economists as the most important deterrent to private investors, and identified as prime cause of the fact that Africa trails other regions with regard to inward flows of FDI. Regional agreements with the North would provide a lock-in effect concerning policy commitments, and a sanctioning mechanism through preferred access or loss of Northern markets. Such agreements might also cover technical assistance, debt relief and any other area of development cooperation.

The EU's proposal of establishing Regional Economic Partnership Agreements (REPA) in succession of the Lomé IV Convention seems to aim at such a regional arrangement. For the African region, the EU has identified UEMOA, UDEAC, EAC and SADC as possible partners. As far as SADC is concerned, the proposal has not met consent. The resolutions of a SADC workshop held in Harare mid of May 1999, clearly dismiss the idea of establishing REPA. The reasons given are that REPA are not yet clearly defined and their possible outcomes uncertain, in particular as they do not provide for economic disparities within a given region. Furthermore, REPA are based on reciprocity which is not acceptable to SADC, and to ACP countries at large, which suggest to apply for a waiver to maintain non-reciprocity under the EU-ACP agreement until at least 2010.

In general, however, SADC is not opposed to regionalisation of the EU-ACP relationship. The same workshop suggested Alternative Trade Arrangements (ATA) providing for non-reciprocal trade, along with arrangements on aid, investment and development issues. The main issue is the ques-

tion of reciprocity and the maintenance of special trade preferences, particularly those provided under the commodity protocols. A study on the impact of introducing reciprocity into the trade relationship between the EU and SADC, commissioned by the latter, came to the conclusion that SADC does not yet have enough cohesion to negotiate a REPA with the EU, and that not much progress is to be expected within the next couple of years before negotiations would have to start. SADC lacks truly supra-national institutions, therefore all agreements on the regional level will have to be approved by national parliaments. In view of the protracted and cumbersome procedures in dealing with the Trade Protocol, and the apparent discrepancies in assessing trade policies as manifested in South Africa's and Zimbabwe's different reaction to the US Africa Growth and Opportunity Bill, prospects for reaching an agreement within the anticipated time frame are gloomy. In a SADC-EU meeting held in May 1998, SADC delegates felt that the region is not yet ready to negotiate a REPA with the EU, and that more progress needs to be made with internal trade arrangements before integration with Europe can become an issue. It was also emphasised that due to the huge economic discrepancy between Europe and SADC free trade cannot be a feasible option, even if asymmetry is allowed for.

There are, however, strong indications pointing to divergent views in SADC about the importance of non-reciprocity. It has been suggested to link the gradual opening of SADC markets in the context of ATA to agreed benchmarks, e.g. defined improvements in the HDI, CAP reform and export diversification. But SADC's majority seems to be in favour of strictly adhering to the non-reciprocity stance, in keeping with the ACP negotiation mandate.

Not only the Lome negotiation exerts its influence on SADC's future route. Concurrently, there are other trade negotiations shaping the integration process and the evolving regional market. SACU is under negotiation as both parties, South Africa and the BLNS countries, are not satisfied with the allocation of the common revenue pool, the lack of equality in decision-making, and the alleged negative impact on industrial development in BLNS countries. The presentation of a draft agreement was envisaged in April 1999, but negotiations are behind schedule and said to be difficult. The recently signed EU-South Africa agreement will inevitably affect regional markets, as European products are allowed preferential access into the SACU markets, and after entering into force of the SADC Free Trade Area, into all SADC markets. Further complicating factors are the progress COMESA envisages in reducing tariffs involving the

majority of SADC countries.

Considering these complex factors which are interwoven in an almost inextricable manner, it is impossible to predict the course regional integration is taking in Southern Africa. There is reason to assume, however, that SADC is strongly resolved to muddle through current difficulties and to build on the achievements of the past. The challenges facing SADC since the transformation in 1992 into a regional integration grouping, are as anticipated and resemble experiences other regional initiatives embracing market integration had to cope with.

At the current stage, two major challenges have arisen for which solutions are not yet in sight. Besides promoting market integration on a sustainable and equitable basis, the inherited institutional weaknesses need to be addressed. No further steps were taken in this matter after a viable proposal was rejected in 1998. Nevertheless, considering the broader integration approach embedding market integration into a concept that aims at investment, production, enhancing industrial capacities and capabilities in the first place, and with the solid foundation laid during the sector co-ordination phase, SADC is certainly in an advantage position to successfully meet the challenges and demonstrate that regional integration can be an asset for development in Africa. ■

The next EEA Round Table Discussion will take place at Imperial Hotel on August 9, 1999, at 6:00 PM and will focus on "Addressing the Problem of Poverty in Ethiopia: what are the Policy Options?" The speakers include Ato Mekonnen Manyazewal, Vice Minister, MEDaC, Ato Kibur Ghena, President of the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce, Sister Jember Tefera, General Manager of Integrated Holistic Approach, Urban Development Project and Ato Abebe Shimelis from UN-ECA.

All members of the Association as well as those who are interested to be members of the Association are cordially invited to attend and participate in this event.



**ግራሚን ባንክ - በዝቅተኛ የኑሮ ደረጃ ለሚገኙ የኑብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ልዩ አጋር**

**ትርጉም: በታዲያስ አሰፋ  
ተ/ቅ/ሥራ አስኪያጅ: ናይላ ኢንሹራንስ**

ግራሚን ባንክ የባንግላድሽ ተወላጅ በሆነው ምዕር በአሜሪካን አገር የተመሠረተ ሲሆን ዋናው ዓላማውም በአገር ቤት ያሉ ደህ የገጠር ነዋሪዎችንና በከፍተኛ የኑሮ ደረጃ ወይም ሥልጣን ላይ ባሉ ሰዎች (elites) የተረሰቡትን የኑሮ ሁኔታ ማሻሻል ከሚል ልባዊ ፍላጎት የመነጨ ነው።

በ1976 በሺታጎንግ ዩኒቨርሲቲ በተካሄደ እንደ የሙከራ ፕሮጀክት ተጀምሮ በመቀጠል የግራሚን ባንክ በመላው ባንግላድሽ እየተስፋፋ መጥቷል። ለእነዚህ ደህ የኑብረተሰብ ክፍል ትልቁ አበዳሪዎችው የነበሩት በየአካባቢው የነበሩት የአራጣ አበዳሪዎች ሲሆኑ የሚያስከፍሏቸውም የወለድ መጠን እጅግ የበዛ፤ አማራጭ ስለሌላቸው ግን የማይመልሱት አስፈላጊ ግን የማይወደድ ሆኖ ቆይቷል።

**የግራሚን ባንክ አማራጭ**

ግራሚን ባንክ ሁለት አማራጮችን ይዞላቸው ነው ብት ያለው። የገቢያቸውን መጠን ከፍ ለማድረግና በአራጣ አበዳሪዎች ላይ ያላቸውን ጥገኝነትም ትርጉም ባለው መልኩ ለመቀነስ። ወደ ንግድ ባንኮች መሄድ የሚይታሰብ ሆኖ ለቆየባቸው ለእነዚህ የኑብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ደህ አማራጭ አንድ ትልቅ ለውጥ ነበር።

መያዣ (Collateral)ን በተመለከተ ደህ ባንክ ለየት ያለ ዘዴ ነበር የተጠቀመው። ተበዳሪዎች የሚያቀርቡት መያዣ ማህበራዊ ዋስትና (Social guarantee) ሲሆን ይህም አንድ ደንበኛ ሊበደር ሲመጣ ሌሎች አራት እሱን መሰል ይዞ እንዲቀርብ ይደረጋል። ብድርን ያለመክፈል ማንኛውንም ዓይነት ችግር (default) በሚያጋጥምበት ወቅት ተባብረው ሊከፍሉ ይሰማገሉ። ደህ በአንድ ወገን ለባንኩ አመቺ ሁኔታን የሚፈጥር ሲሆን (በአንድ ቡድን የሚገኙ አባላት የሚተማሙ ስለሚሆኑ) በሌላ ወገን ለብድር የተሰጠው ገንዘብ እግባብ ባለው ሁኔታ የሚወጣ እንዲሆን ይረዳል።

እነዚህ ቡድኖች በአብዛኛው ሲቶችን የያዙ ሲሆን የተውጣጡትም በኢኮኖሚ ደረጃ ዝቅ ብሎ ከሚገኘው የኑብረተሰብ ክፍል ነው። ስለሚያጋጥሟቸው ችግሮችም በየሳምንቱ እየተሰበሰቡ ይወያያሉ።

እያንዳንዱ አባልም የሚከተሉትን ሁኔታ እንዲፈፀም ከትታል ይደረጋል።

ቤተሰቡን በሚገባ መያዙን መጥኖ መውለድን እየተገበረ መሆኑን ባህላዊውንና ትልቅ ዕዳ ውስጥ የሚዘፍቃቸውን በትዳር ጊዜ የሚሰጠውን ጥሎሽ ማቆም መጀመራቸውን

ይህ የየመንደሩ ቡድን ስብሰባም አባል ተበዳሪዎች ብድራቸውን በወትቱ መክፈላቸውን፤ እንዲሁም የተወሰነውን ደግሞ ወደ ቁጠባ ሂሳብ ማስገባታቸውን ይቆጣጠራል። እገዛም ያደርጋል። ከሚያካሂዱት ፕሮጀክቶች መሀከልም እንደ የዶር አረባታ፤ በአድሚኒስትሬትን ሆኑ ከብቶችን ገዛቶ ማሳደግ፤ ለአርሻ የሚያገዙ መሣሪያዎችን በመግዛት በተሻለ የለበተራሪስ ዘዴ መጠቀምን ...ወዘተ ይገኙበታል።

**ገቢ የሚያስገኙ ፕሮጀክቶች**

እያንዳንዱ አባል የራሱን የሥራ እቅድ የሚያወጣ ሲሆን ይህንንም ዕቅድ ለባንኩ በማቅረብ እንዲፀድቅ ያስደርጋል። ብዙውን ጊዜም ባንኩ የሚቀበለው ሆኖ እንደሚያገኘት የየትርጉሜ ገንዘብ ሥራ አስኪያጆች ይናገራሉ። እነዚህ ሥራ አስኪያጆችም በሳምንት አንድ ጊዜ በየመንደሩ በመሄድ ብድሩ ለተባለለት ሥራ መዋሉንና የፕሮጀክቱንም እንቅስቃሴ ይገመግማሉ። ባንኩ ምንም ጊዜ ሲሆን በሥራ ላይ የማይውለውን ገንዘብ ንግድ ባንኮች ዘንድ በግስቀመጥ የ4.50% ወለድ እንዲያስገኝ ያደርጋል።

ግራሚን ባንክ በርከት ያሉ የብድር ዓይነቶች የሚሰጥ ሲሆን ቅድሚያ የሚሰጠው ግን ገቢ ለሚያስገኙ ፕሮጀክቶች የሚውል ብድር ነው። ይህም አዲስ ሥራን ፈጥሮ ለሚጀምሩና ጀምረውት የነበረውን በበለጠ ለማሻሻል ለሚፈልጉ ተብሎ ይታያል። ነገ ለሰንም ዘለቂታ ያለውና ለሥራቸውና ለቤተሰቦቻቸው እመቺ ሁኔታን የሚፈጥር የመኖሪያ ቤት እንዲሠሩ የሚያግዝ ብድር ይሰጣቸዋል። በ1995 ዓ.ም የወጣው የባንኩ ዓመታዊ ሪፖርት እንደሚያሳየው 98% የሚሆነው ብድር ለእነዚህ ሁለት ዋና ዋና ተግባራት ላይ ነው የዋለው።

ለንግድ እንቅስቃሴ እንዲውል የሚሠጠው ብድር በአንድ ዓመት ውስጥ ተካፋይ

ሲሆን የሚታሰብበት የወለድ መጠን 20% ነው። ለመኖሪያ ቤት መሥሪያ የሚውለው ብድር የ8% ወለድ የሚታሰብበት ሲሆን ተከፍሎ የሚያልቀውም ቢበዛ በአሰር ዓመት ውስጥ ነው። በንግድ ባንኮች ከሚሰጠው የ15% የብድር ወለድ መጠን ጋር ሲታይ ደህ እህዝ ከፍ ያለ ነው። ይሁን እንጂ ለእነዚህ የኑብረተሰብ ክፍል ወደ የአራጣ አበዳሪዎች ከመሄድ በስተቀር ከንግድ ባንኮች ብድር ማግኘት የማይታሰብ ነው። የአራጣ አበዳሪዎች የወለድ መጠን ደግሞ እጅግ እጅግ ትልቅ ነው። በሌላም በኩል እጅግ ብዛት ያላቸውን የማይክር ከፈጸት ተቋማትንና በጣም ተደጋጋሚ ግን ትንንሽ የተበዳሪዎች ፕሮጀክቶችን ማስተዳደር ከፍ ያለ ወዲን ስለሚያስከትል ነው።

ተበዳሪዎች ከስድስተኛው ቀን ጀምሮ ብድራቸውን መክፈል መጀመር አለባቸው። ይህም ሁለት ዓላማ አለው። 1ኛ ቶሎ ውጤታማ የሚሆን ነገር ለመሥራት/ለመፍጠር/ ሳይታከቱ እንዲያልሙ ይረዳቸዋል።2ኛ፡ ብድሩን ከጊዜያት በፊት ከአራጣ አበዳሪዎች ተበድረውት ለነበረውና ላልተከፈለው እዳ እንዳያውሉት ያግዛል።

በእርግጥ በአንዳንድ ተበዳሪዎች ላይ የጊዜው ማጠር መጠነኛ ቅሬታ መፍጠሩ አልቀረም። ይሁን እንጂ ቀደም ብሎ እንደተጠቀሰው በአንድ ቡድን የሚሰባሰቡት አባላት የጋራ ጋላፊነት ስላለባቸው ለሚሠሩት ሥራ የበለጠ ትጋት የሚወምር ሆኖ ነው የተገኘው።

በቲያሪ ደረጃ ተበዳሪዎች መክፈል ሳይችሉ ሲቀሩ ከባንኩ ጋር ያላቸው ግንኙነት ውዲያውኑ ይቋረጣል፤ ቡድኑም ይፈርሳል ማለት ነው። በተግባር ደረጃ እኩሪነት ያለው ግን በተቻለ መጠን ገንዘብ ከባንኩ ወደ ተበዳሪዎች የሚፈሰስበት መንገድ እንዳይቋረጥ ማድረግ ነው። ቀደም ሲል መክፈል ሳይችሉ የሚቀሩትን ተበዳሪዎች ጉዳያቸው በፍርድ ቤት እንዲታይ ይደረግ ነበር። ይሁን እንጂ ከፍተኛ የሆኑ ማህበራዊ ችግሮችን (እንደ ሰፈርና ጥሎ የመከብሰል፤ ልጆችን ያለምንም አሳዳጊ ጥሎ መጥፋትና ወደለየለት የድህነት እዘት ውስጥ መግባትን) በማስከተል ይህን እርምጃ ለማስቀረት የግድ ሆኗል። በእሁኑ ሰዓት እየተደረገ ያለው የአካባቢው ተመራጮች በባንኩና



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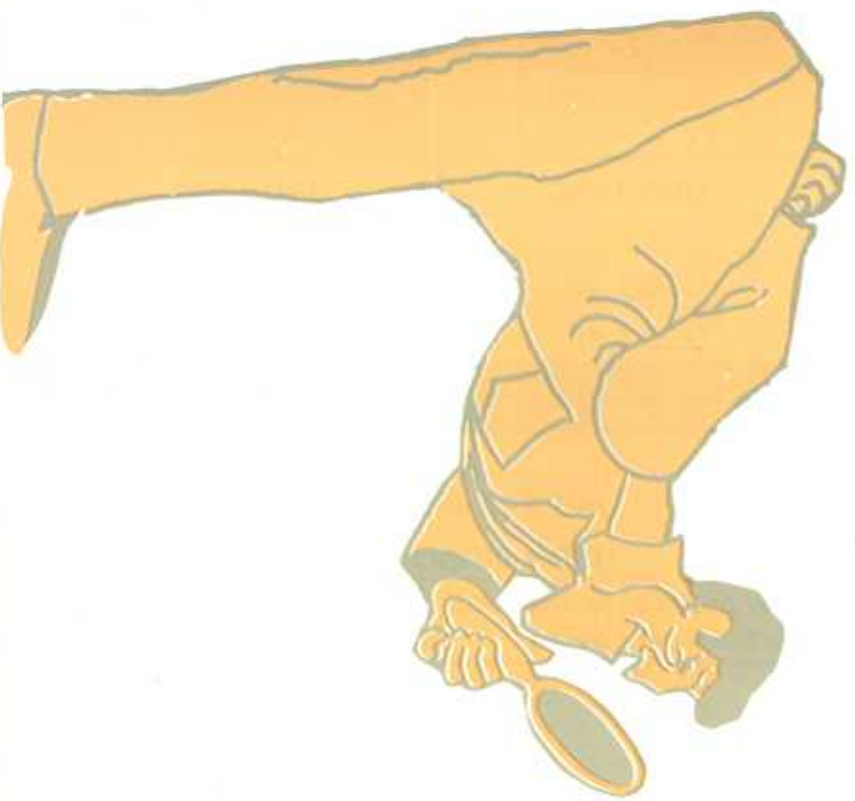
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