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ECONOMIC FOCUS

Bulletin of the Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA)

**VOL. 2 NO. 6
DEC1999-JAN 2000**

Economic Focus is published bi-monthly by the Ethiopian Economic Association and partially sponsored by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung of Germany.

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FROM THE EDITOR



This issue of the Economic Focus contains some of the papers presented at a round-table discussion conducted on the theme "Economic Policy in the 1992 E.C. Election." This round-table was aimed at providing EEA members with information on the economic policy concerns and priorities of different sections of the society in terms of the upcoming parliamentary election.

As evidenced by the presentations from representatives of different stakeholders, the round-table revealed that economic policies do matter in election. It also demonstrated the possibility that stakeholders might have different policy priorities reflecting their economic interests. The preferences thereby revealed, it is hoped, can inform the identification of appropriate policies and the proper evaluation of their effectiveness by economists.

Owing to the intricate and delicate relations between economic, political and social issues, it is difficult to examine economic policies without considering aspects of the latter. Accordingly, different views are reflected in the presentations and subsequent discussion. However, at the risk of belaboring the obvious, we would like to emphasize that EEA's round-table discussions and this issue of the Economic Focus do not constitute a political platform. We invite you to read the papers with this note of clarification in mind.

As usual your active participation is always welcome

Enjoy your reading.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

To: The Editor-in Chief
Ethiopian Economic Association
Addis Ababa.

Dear Sir,

I had read the article entitled "ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM OF THE MARGINALIZED IN ETHIOPIA", written by Dr. Berhanu Nega (Economic Focus Vol. 2 No. 5 Oct-Nov/1999). I am writing this letter to give some of my comments on this issue since the objective of the paper is to generate discussion on the overall idea.

First of all, I would like to note that I was very impressed by the proposals made, and I fully agree with the writer by saying that we cannot continue to ignore the problem. We have to find out practical solutions to the problem. I believe if the coins we give to the poor children who are begging on the street are coordinated systematically and go to one purse something tangible can be done from which poor people can benefit a lot. Of course, to avoid overlapping, we should have to coordinate the activities of this new program with other NGOs doing similar work. Maybe it will be elaborated in the proposed details to be worked out in the future. I really can say the proposal recommended by Dr. Berhanu is a novel idea which we have to start it now. As the Chinese say, a long journey starts by a single walk.

I believe that the first proposal has to be done at a national level if we want to tackle the problem widely. As a start, we can focus on the city of Addis Ababa. I suggest that the fund to be created should be revolving.

It was not clear to me where the aged people without supporters should fall in the categorization. I

believe these people have to be included in proposal no. 2. Of course, targeting our priority to find a solution to the problem of the poor in the third category, I believe the effort has to be extended to the first and second categories of people gradually.

In addition to proposal no. 7, to familiarize the people, to facilitate to our future contributors, and to start practical activities, I think a discussion program is vital. This can be done, say, through TV or Radio as it was done earlier.

I personally agree on the overall value of the proposal and its potential applicability by promising to contribute and hoping to see the idea being implemented soon.

Best Regards,

Tesfaye Berhanu (MoF)

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COMPASSION SAVES LIFE

Dear editor,

Having gone through the last edition of your magazine, I am really happy that open concern is scholarly discussed on the practical subject of poverty. Options, bold and modest, have been presented. The economic wisdom of putting resources into 'aid' or the challenge to bring economic thought into 'aid' is indeed an interesting subject worthy of further pursuance.

I admire the attempts of some to bring hope to the hopeless. And I got this impression or shall I say fear: commitments to tackle the problem or being part, one way or the other, in the solution demands a compassionate heart. This, I believe, is the necessary ingredient to bring about a vested will to labour

in the practical field where poverty and destitution are tackled. While I admire the association in lifting up the issue, there is also a tendency to be kind of argumentative by some quarters or social groups. You hear some saying "no need to have a glance at the horror drama of poverty. It is everywhere. Who are we to concern our selves in this. Or what possibly can we do considering the size of the problem measured by the degree of destitution exhibited around street corners like in the capital." And still others say; "the problem has deep rooted origin and somebody has to start from there. The small charities are no solutions if not a factor to increase the problem. Besides, to whom can you give. Most of them are not real destitute, they must be confidence artists".

This is usually heard from some middle class and high income people who would not want to provide little handout while they can. It is not unusual when the natural tendency or ability to positively react to the needy is attacked by such seemingly scholarly but carelessly thought arguments.

But deep inside the protagonists of such arguments, there is the urge, but a fading urge, to help the destitute as this is continuously overruled by the help of these brutal arguments. I am saying the arguments should not be used as excuse to hold back support from dying souls. If, on the other hand, this argument is cherished by the average citizen, probably this could lead to hardening of hearts— heart as hard as ebony before the poor creatures. I think this is one of the reasons that explains the deadly silence of the average middle and high-income class people before the agonizing implore of the destitute.

But this arguments are results and

not as such causes of such cruelty towards the poor. People seem to allow themselves to be engrossed by such arguments to give color to the inner desire of self-centeredness and for hoarding.

People do hoard because many are obsessed by the competitive life that they always compare themselves with the higher class and judge themselves by what they do not have. For such people the accounting conscious is so sensitive that every expense down to a penny should not affect this ego. Therefore, to guard this ego and to protect the moral fiber from the self-accusation for being irresponsible to be destitute, for some the prescribed therapy is to avoid the site of the poor or any mention of them.

And they have no experience of kind giving that they should explain by the ethics of the accounting. I am not arguing that they should not keep what they have for a noble purpose. But this has to be balanced with humanistic obligations. After all do not some countries have a 'good Samaritan' law putting it as a citizen's obligation to offer help to a dying soul. That is where we are rationalized as human specie submitting to the common denominator.

However, for most of us, while moving around the city, it is definite that we do make contact to the panorama in the poverty arena. Coming from the same species, we are made to feel the suffering borne by others without necessarily being at their place. But it takes to put a little thought.

I believe this is more than enough to prompt quick action to share love and care as expressed in our compassionate giving. That is healing materially and more psychologically.

While compassionate attitude to the needy is God-given feeling it may as well be eroded by the love of money. This is dangerous and suicidal even to those who harbor the idea. It is a soft poison. Easy to sip

but hard to overcome once fallen a prey to.

I have asked myself how the destitute might survive. If such people manage to keep body and soul together, they must have consumed from what is produced: the gross domestic product, if you like to call it. Therefore, as there is somebody at the production end, so are they at the consumption end. But what do they consume; in most cases the thing that has the least social value, what we do not even recommend to house pets.

But how do they manage to put their hands on the consumable. Yes, the answer is simple and direct. They know the budget for their survival is in our possession. For this, they need no schooling on national income and its distribution. Life speaks more than books. All they count for getting it out of our pocket and in to their hand is compassion as they presume it to reside in our make. They only came with a sentimental appeal. And if they are lucky they would find it well preserved and capable enough to yield to their need, though meager it may be as is usually.

I do not think that they have to put up art to their approach, neither do they have one. For the average observer to grasp the strong bite of destitution would not require even verbal expression. Because it is there with its powerful visual effect. What more would they require to demand our attention?

The vacant eyes of babies, stretched on street sides, whose white skin tells that they just came right from the womb and lack enough closing. The rags that are barely enough to cover that little baggy fouled skinny body. Innocent faces of babies blankly staring at passers-by sending the unmistakable message that they are strangers to the planet earth. That they have no knowledge of the rules for sharing wealth as they probably feel it to mean something to satisfy their immediate need: above all food. They need love and protection. The

innocent faces of babies staring at a hard corn they hold up in their tiny hands trying in confusion to make a meal out of it, but in vain. And crying over the impossibility because of the sharp pain of hunger.

Teenagers sneaking around garbage dumping sites alongside street dogs trying to assuage the pangs of hunger by ruffraff mixed with dirt exposing themselves to the deadly bacteria. Old men and women barely surviving the hardship of street life and still find the energy to produce the 'SOS' in a faint voice and pleading eyes. Disease-ridden people from all groups of ages openly exhibiting their body to attract charity.

The list could go on and is readable to the average citizen. Is this not enough of a fact to demand a citizen concern? Has it ever occurred to you that last winter has seen many deaths among these people, mostly because of the depth of the cold and the prolonged malnutrition. How many could have been saved had we been able to extend a generous hand. Everyday we witness the depth of destitution and its strong bite on the poor. It is true that we keep a blind eye to many. I do not think that, to give, one has to wait until one becomes a millionaire.

To save life, one does not have to go into a heated debate over the "philosophy of poverty". A true giver gives out of the little he has. Blessed are those who give than those who receive. So says the proverb.

Dear reader your giving can save life. For the weak and poor we are their source of living. So why ignore the poor when you know that you always have some thing to give as an expression of humanly love to a dying soul? I should say that is the bottom line challenging us whether will be part of this or not to prove ourselves. ■

Getahun Moges Kifle

የኢኮኖሚ ሽግግርና የፖሊሲ ሚና

ከሀይሌ ክብረት (ዶ/ር)

በአ.አ.ዩ. የኢኮኖሚክስ ት/ክፍል ኅብረት (visiting) ፕሮፌሰር

የአንድ የፖሊሲ ጥያቄ ጠቃሚነት የሚመዘኑ ምን ያህል የወቅቱንና የአካባቢውን ሁኔታ በማገናዘብ ነው። የአንድ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ መመዘኛዎችም ከዚህ አይለዩም።

ከዚህ መመዘኛ አንጻር አሁን የኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚ ካለበት የእድገት ደረጃ፣ ሊጋዘበት ከሚገባው አቅጣጫና በጎጃናው ይገተሙታል ተብለው ከሚገመቱት መሰናክሎችና እድሎች (ሃገራዊም ሆነ ዓለም አቀፋዊ) ዋና ዋና መነሳትና መመለስ ያለባቸው የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ ጥያቄዎች ምንድን ናቸው? የሚለው ጥያቄ ማንኛውም ፖሊሲ አውጪ፣ ተርጓሚና እንዲሁም የሀብረተሰብ ክፍል ሊያነሳቸው የሚገቡ ጥያቄዎች ናቸው።

በተለይም እነኚህ ጥያቄዎች የአንዳንድ አገር የፖለቲካና የኢኮኖሚ አቅጣጫ በሚመረመርበት እና አማራጮች በሚመዘኑበት ጊዜ ተቀዳሚ ሥፍራ ይይዛሉ። ፖሊሲዎች የህዝብን ጥያቄ ማቀፋቸውን ከሚቀርቡት አማራጮችም በልጠው መገኘታቸውን ለመለካት ከፖለቲካ ምርጫ ሂደት የተሻለ መፈተኛ የለም።

ከላይ ከጠቀስኩት መንደርደርያ ሃሳቦች አኳያ የፖለቲካ እውነቶች በአጠቃላይና በተለይም የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች ሊያነሳቸው የሚገቡ ጥያቄዎች ምንድን ናቸው?

በአጠቃላይ በፖለቲካ ምርጫ ወቅት የሚነሱ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ ጥያቄዎች በርካታ ሊሆኑ ከመቻላቸውም በላይ በሚሰጡት የጊዜና የአካባቢ ትኩረት ሊከፋፈሉ ይችላሉ። ይህም ማለት የፖሊሲው ትኩረት ሀገር አቀፍ ወይም የአካባቢ ችግሮችን የገናዘበ ሊሆን ሲችል፣ እነኚህ ነጥቦች ከአጭር ጊዜና ከረጅም ጊዜ የእድገት አንጻር ሊተኮርባቸው ሲችሉ ነው።

ዝርዝር (specific) የፖሊሲ ጥያቄዎችን ከማንሳቱ በፊት ግን ለመወያየት ያገለግሉ ዘንድ ከሀገሮች እድገት ተመክሮና ጥናቶች ከሚጠቀሙት በመነሳት የሚከተሉትን የመንደርደሪያ ሀሳቦች እንደ stylized facts ልሰንዝር:-

1. ጥናቱና ተሞክሮው ገና ባልገለበጠበት ደረጃ በገሀንም እስካሁን ያሉት ጥናቶች

እንደሚጠቁሙት የዓለም አቀፍ የኢኮኖሚ ትስስር እያደገ በመጣበት በአሁኑ ወቅት፣ ያሉት እድሎችን ለመጠቀም በቂ ዝግጅት ያደረጉ አገሮች አጥጋቢ እድገት ሲያስመዘገቡ፣ አለማቀፋዊ ሁኔታውን አጠነው በቂ ዝግጅት ያላደረጉ (በተለይም ምክንያቶች) ወደ ጎን ተነጥለው (marginalized) ሆነው ይታያሉ። ለምሳሌ በቱርክ፣ በህንድ፣ በቱኒዥያ እና በመሳሰሉት አገሮች በቅርቡ የታየው እድገትና በአንጻር በአብዛኛው የአፍሪካ አገሮች የሚታየው የኢኮኖሚ ማሸቆልቆል እንደምሳሌ መጠቀስ ይቻላል።

2. ንቁና በጥናት የተደገፈ መንግሥታዊ ድጋፍ (initiative) ሳያገኝ ያደገ አገር የለም። ከኢሲያው ተግምር ጀምሮ እስከ ቺሊው የአጭር ጊዜ እድገት የሚጠቀሙት ይህንኑ ነው። ይህ ግን እውነታው ይበልጥ የሚታየው የሚቀጥለውንም ነጥብ ሲያገናዝብ ነው።

3. መንግሥትም የግሉ ክፍል ኢኮኖሚም መግባት በሌለባቸው የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፎች በገቡ ቁጥር የኢኮኖሚ ውድቀት እንጂ እድገት አይሰተዋልም። ለምሳሌ የኢንፎርሙሽን ቴክኖሎጂ ዝርጋታን ለግሉ ክፍል ኢኮኖሚ ትቶ በአንጻር ግን የክፍፍል (distribution) ዘርፉን በመንግሥት ማስገባት በአጠቃላይ መልኩ የኢኮኖሚ ህግጋትን (incentive compatibility) የሚፃረር ነው።

4. ሥራና ሠራተኛን በተገቢው ሳያዘምድ፣ ከሙስና ነፃ የሆነና በቅልጥፍና (efficiency) ላይ ተመርኩዞ የተቀረጸ መንግሥታዊ አሠራርን ሳይዘረጋ ያደገ አገር አይታይም። በሌላ አንጻር ሲገመገሙ ከፍተኛ እድገት ያሳዩ የኢሲያ አገሮች እንኳ በቀጥታ ከዚህ በተያያዙ ድክመቶች በቅርቡ የደረሰባቸውን የኢኮኖሚ ቀውስ አይተናል።

ከእነኚህ የኢኮኖሚ የፖሊሲ ትልሞች ዋና ዋናዎቹ ምን መሆን አለባቸው።

1. ለሁሉም ግልጽ እንደሆነው የኢትዮጵያ የኢኮኖሚ የእድገት ፖሊሲ የተኮረው በእርሻው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ መሆኑ ግልፅ ነው። ይህም ከምግብ ዋስትና (food security) አንጻር ተገቢነቱ ባያከራከርም ከዚህ

ፖሊሲ ጋር ተያይዘው መነሳት ያለባቸው ሁለት ነጥቦች አሉ።

ሀ. የእርሻው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ የኢንዱስትሪውን ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ አጎልባችና እንዲሁም ተጠቃሚ ሆኖ ካልተቀናጀ (Backward and forward linkages) የረዥም ጊዜ የእድገት ጉዞው አስተማማኝ አይሆንም።

ለ. በሌላው አኳያ መጠራጠርን (uncertainty) ለማስወገድ፣ ከየአቅጣጫው የሚሰሙትን አስተያየቶች ምላሽ ለመስጠት አያይዘም ለእርሻው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ እድገት መሰናክል የሆኑትን ችግሮች ለማቃለል የመሬትንና የከተማ ቦታን ይዞታ የህዝብን ተሳትፎ ባካተተ ሂደት ተገቢ መልስ መስጠት አስፈላጊ ነው።

መሬት በማን ሥር ይሁን የሚለው ጥያቄ በጥናት ደረጃ በአወዛጋቢ ደረጃ ላይ ያለ ቢሆንም የአብዛኛው ህዝብ ፍላጎት ያቀፈ መሆኑ ለፖሊሲው ተገቢነት ዋና መለኪያ ነውና ይህን ማረጋገጡ የአንድ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሂደት መፈተኛ ነው። በእርግጥም እያንዳንዱ የፖለቲካ ድርጅትም ሆነ ግለሰብ የፖለቲካ እውነት እንደመሬት ይዞታ በመሳሰሉት ቁልፍ ጥያቄዎች ጥርት ያለ አቋም ይዞ ከመቅረብም በተጨማሪ መንግሥት በደንብ አስበበት የብዙ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲዎች ወሳኝ ጥያቄ ነውና ጥያቄው ራሱን ችሎ ከምርጫው ጊዜ ለህዝብ ውሳኔ (referendum) መቅረቡ ከዚህ ጥያቄ ጋር የተቆራኘ ችግሮችን እንደሚያቃልል አያጠራጥርም።

2. በመንደርደርያው እንደገለጸኩት መንግሥት ለኢኮኖሚው እድገት ከሚያደርገው አስተዋጽኦ እንዲሁ አጠቃላይ የአጭርና የረዥም ጊዜ የእድገት ስትራቴጂ መንደር ነው። ይህ ስትራቴጂ የትኛቹ የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፎች የእድገት ምሰሶዎች እንደሆኑ የትኞቹ ደግሞ አጋጥሞች እንደሆኑ ሃገራዊና ዓለም አቀፋዊ መልኩን አገናዝቦና በዝርዝር ጥናት ተደግፎ የተቀነባበረ የፖሊሲ ያድፍ ያካትታል። ከዚያም በተጨማሪ እንዲህ ዓይነቱ ንድፍ ሁለት ነገሮችን ማቀፍ አለበት።

1ኛ/ በረዥም ጊዜ እቅድና በአጭር ጊዜ እቅድ ሊኖሩ የሚገባቸውን መጣጣሞች (consistency) ሊያዋሁድ

ሲገባ፡ በሁለተኛ ደረጃም ሊተነበዩ የማይችሉ የኢኮኖሚ ክስተቶችን (ሃገራዊም ሆነ ኃላም አቀፋዊ) ሊያካትት በሚችል መልኩ መንደፍ ይኖርበታል።

ከዚህ ጋር ተያይዞ መነሳት ያለበት አንድ ዐቢይ ነጥብ አለ። ቀጥተኛ በሆነ መልኩ ድህነትንም ከመቀጋት (Poverty Alleviation) ጋር ያልተቀናጀ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲና የኢኮኖሚ እድገት የማህበራዊ ኑሮ ማቃወስ ብቻ ሳይሆን የወደፊት አምራች ዜጋም አያፈራም። ስለሆነም በግልጽ የሚታየው ያገጠጠ ድህነት (object Poverty) እና የገበያ ኢኮኖሚው የሚፈጠሩባቸውን የኑሮ ቀውሶች አሉታዊ ገጽታቸው ቢያንስ ሊቃለልበት የሚችልበት ንድፍ ከረዥምና ከአጭር ጊዜው የፖሊሲ ንድፎች ጋር ተጣምረው መካተት ይኖርባቸዋል። እነኚህ እሳይ የተጠቀሱት ነጥቦች በተቀናጀ መልክና ተገቢ ጥናት ተደርጎባቸው ለመራጭ ሀዘብ ቀርበው አይታዩም።

3. ትምህርትንና የጤና አገልግሎትን በተመለከተ በገጠር ላይ የማትከፋ አስፈላጊነት አያከራክርም። ገጠሩ እሳኩን የነኝህን ድርሻ ያልተካፈለ አካባቢ ነው። ከዚህ ጋር ተያይዞ መነሳት ያለበት ጉዳይ ግን አለ። የአንዲት አገር የኢኮኖሚ እድገት ወሳኞች የሰለጠነ የሰው ጉልበትና

የኢንፎርሜሽን ቴክኖሎጂ መስፋፋት ዋናዎቹ በሆኑበት በአሁኑ ወቅት እነኚህን የፖሊሲ ዘርፎች ዘንግቶ ማለፍ አይቻልም። እሳኩን እንደታየው እነኚህን ግንዛቤዎች ያካተተ በቂ ጥረት አይታይም። እንዲያውም የተዘረጋው የትምህርት ሥርዓት የሀገሪቱን አብላጭ ጠቀሜታዎች (Comparative advantage) ተመርኩዞ የተዘረጋ አይመስልም። ይህም ቀዳሚ እንጂ በሁለተኛ ደረጃ የሚታይ ፖሊሲ መሆን ያለበትም።

እሳይ ካነሳኝቸው አጠቃላይ ሀሳቦች በተጨማሪ ለኢኮኖሚ እድገት ጠንቆች ናቸውና ማንኛውንም የፖለቲካ እው ሊያስብባቸው አቋሙንም ሊያረጋግጥባቸው የተመረጠ መንግሥትም ተግባራዊ እርምጃዎችን ሊወስድባቸው ይገባል የምላቸውን ሳልጠቁም አላልፍም።

1. ያለው የሥራ ቅልጥፍናና የተዘረጋው ቢሮክራሲ ለኢኮኖሚ እድገት ጠንቅ ነው። "ደብዳቤው ይመራ" በሚለው መርህ የተዘረጋው የአሠራር ሰንሰለት ከመርዘሙና ከመጥበቁ የተነሳ አደናቃፊ ነው።

2. የሥራ አክብሮትና (Professional ethics)፣ ተጠያቂነት (Accountability) በአሠራሩ ሂደት ቶሎ ሰርፀው የሚገቡበት ዘዴ ካልተፈለገ የሥራ ቅልጥፍናና የኢኮኖሚ እድገት መጠበቅ

ሳይዘሩ ከምር መጠበቅ ነው። ከምሩ ድንገትም ከተገኘ የአሁኑ ከምር አይሆንም። ለሁሉም ግልፅ እንደሆነው የአንድ ፖሊሲ ፍሬያማነት ወሳኝ የፖሊሲው ትክክለኛነት ብቻ ሳይሆን ፖሊሲውን በተግባር ሊያውል የሚችል ቀልጣፋ መቀቅር ጭምር ነው። የተለያዩ ሀገሮች የእድገት ተመክሮዎችም የሚያረጋግጡት ይህንን ነው።

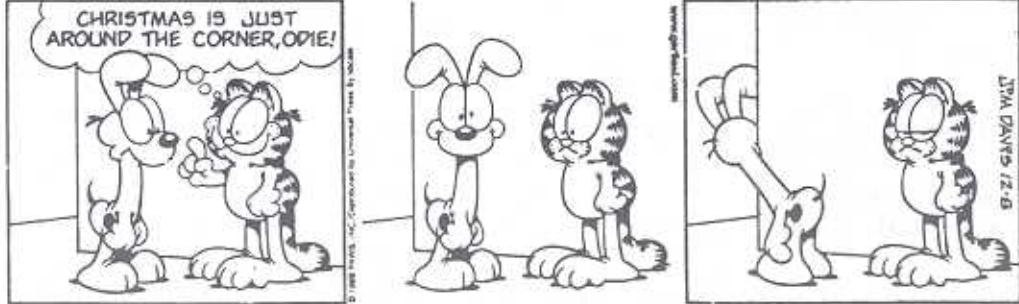
3. ለሥራ እድገትና ሀሳፊነት የሥራ ትጉነት (Productivity) ገሽሽ አድርጎ የአገልግሎት ዘመንና የምስክር ወረቀትን ብቻ እንደ መለኪያ የሚጠቀም የሠራተኛ ደንብ ብቁ ሠራተኛን አያፈራም። የተለያዩ ጥናቶች እንደሚጠቁሙት የሥራ ንገህላልነትን ያልቀጣና የሥራ ትጉህነትና ያልሸለመ (merit based) የአሠራር ደንብ ያልተከተለ አገር ሲያደግ አይታይም።

ከሳይ በተዘረዘሩትና በመሰል ዓበይት ሃገራዊ ጥያቄዎች ግልፅ አቋም የሌለው፣ ከዚያም አልፎ ተገቢ የፖሊሲና ተግባራዊ መፍትሔዎችን ያላቀረበ የፖለቲካ እው (ግለሰብም ሆነ የፖለቲካ ድርጅት) እድገት ጎታች እንጂ አራማጅ ሊሆን አይችልም። ■

PEANUTS



GARFIELD



International Herald Tribune, Dec 8, 1999

የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ገፅታዎች

ከዘውዴ ተክል (ኤ/አርኪቴክት)

የቀድሞ ኤ.አ. ከንቲባ

ይህ ጽሁፍ የኢትዮጵያ የኢኮኖሚክስ ባለሙያዎች ማህበር በ1992 ዓ.ም. ግንቦት ወር ሊካኚድ የታሰበውን ብኬራዊ ምርጫ ምክንያት በማድረግ "ከፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ምን ይጠበቃል" በሚል መሠረተ ሃሳብ ባዘጋጀው የውይይት መድረክ ላይ የአዲስ አበባ ከተማን በሚመለከት ባቀረብኩት ሃሳብ ተመሥርቶ የተዘጋጀ ጽሁፍ ነው።

ይህን አጋጣሚ በመጠቀም ጽሁፌን ከማቅረቤ በፊት በሀገራችን የዲሞክራሲያዊ አሠራርን ሃሳብ ለማጎልበት በኢትዮጵያ የኢኮኖሚክስ ባለሙያዎች ማህበር በኩል እየተደረገ ያለው ጥረት አበረታችና ወቅታዊ ከመሆኑም ሌላ ለዘላቂታውም ጠቃሚ ስለሆነ ሊመሰገን የሚገባው መሆኑን ለመግለጽ እፈልጋለሁ።

የአዲስ አበባ ከተማን በሚመለከት ከፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ምን ይጠበቃል በሚለው ጥያቄ ላይ ሃሳብ ለመስጠት በመሠረቱ የከተማችንን ልዩ ልዩ ገጽታዎች የሚወስኑት ጉዳዮች ከየዕለት ኑሮአችን ጋር በቅርበት የተያያዙ በመሆናቸው ሁላችንም ወይም አብዛኞቻችን እንደሁኔታው በየቦታውና በየጊዜው የምናነሳቸውና የምናስቀምጣቸው አብረውን የሚኖሩ ጉዳዮች ስለሆኑ እዲስ ነው ተብሎ የሚቀርብ ሃሳብ ባይኖርም፤ የፓርቲዎችን ትኩረትና ግንዛቤ ለማሰባሰብ እንዲረዳ በሚል ግምት የሚከተለው ሃሳብ ቀርቧል።

በቅድሚያ የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ገጽታ በአሁኖ አገላለጽ ምን ይመስላል የሚለውን ብናይ ቀደም ሲል በነበሩ ስታቲስቲካዊ መረጃዎች መሠረት የአዲስ አበባ ህዝብ ብዛት በ1976 ዓ.ም. 1,400,000 የነበረ ሲሆን ባለፉት 16 ዓመታት በአማካይ በዓመት 75,000 ህዝብ እየጨመረ በ1992 ዓ.ም. 2,600,000 እንደሚሆን

ተገምታል። በተጨማሪም በመሪ ፕላን መሠረት በ1998 ዓ.ም. 3,000,000 እንደሚደርስ ታስቧል።

የመኖሪያ ቤቶች ጠቅላላ ብዛት በ1976 ዓ.ም. 259,555 የነበረ ሲሆን በ1986 ቆጠራ መሠረት 374,742 እንደነበረና በአማካኝ በአንድ ቤት ውስጥ 1.39 ቤተሰብ የሚኖሩ መሆኑን መረጃው ይጠቁማል።

የከተማችንን መኖሪያ ቤቶች አጠቃላይ የአሠራር ሁኔታ ስንመለከት በ1976 መረጃ መሠረት 97% የሚሆኑት ቤቶች በመደዳ በአንድ ወለል የተሠሩ ሲሆኑ ከነዚህ ውስጥ 96% ባለቆርቆር ጣሪያ 51% ኮርኒስ የሌላቸው 82% በጭቃ ግርግዳ 4% በሽክላ 4.9% በድንጋይ ግርግዳ የተሠሩ ናቸው።

የአገልግሎት መሟላት ሁኔታን ስንመለከት 85% የግል ማድቤት የሌላቸው 28% ማድቤት በጋራ ያላቸው በመፀዳጃ በኩልም 8.7% በውሃ የሚሠሩ የግል መፀዳጃ 1.4% በውሃ የሚሠሩ የጋራ መፀዳጃ 30% መፀዳጃ የሌላቸው፤ የቀሩት ጉድጋድ በጋራና በግል ያላቸው ናቸው። በውሃ አቅርቦት በኩል 4% የሚሆኑት ቤቶች ብቻ የቤት ውስጥ ውሃ ያላቸው ሲሆኑ የቀሩት በግቢ ውስጥ በጋራና በግል የውሃ አቅርቦት ያላቸው ናቸው።

በነዚህና በሌሎች ተጨማሪ ምክንያቶች 80% የሚሆነውን ቤቶችና አካባቢያቸው የመኖሪያን የከተማ መለኪያ ስለማያሟሉ ፈርሰው መተካት እንዳለባቸው ጥናቶች ያሳያሉ። ይህ ማለት በሌላው ዓለም በተሠራበት ልምድ መሠረት እንደሁኔታው የማሻሻል፤ ጣልቃ የመግባት የማደስ፤ የእንደገና ግንባታ፤ ቆሻሻን የማፅዳት በሚባሉ

ልዩ ልዩ ዘዴዎች መሠረት እንዲሟሉ ማድረግ ማለት ነው።

የከተማው ገቢ በ1980 ዓ.ም. ብር 41,000,000 ያህል የነበረ ሲሆን ከከተማው ነዋሪ የ70% የወር ገቢ ከ300 ብር በታች የነበረና 61% ሚሆነው ሠራተኛ ገቢም በወር ከ100 ብር በታች የነበረ ነው። ሥራ አጥነት ከ50% በላይ የነበረ ሲሆን 60% የሚሆነው ነዋሪ በኪራይ ቤት ይኖር የነበረ ነው። በከተማው ውስጥ ከነበሩት 550 ኪ.ሜትር ያህል መንገዶች ውስጥ 50% ያህል ብቻ ለአስፋልትነት የደረሱ ደረጃ ነበሩ።

ማህበራዊ ችግርን በሚመለከት በ1976 መረጃ መሠረት በከተማችን ውስጥ ለተለያዩ ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ችግሮች የተጋለጡ የተለያዩ የህብረተሰብ ክፍሎች የነበሩ መሆኑ የሚታወቅ ሲሆን ከነዚህም ውስጥ 980 ወጣት ጥፋተኞች 498 ህፃናት 395 አረጋውያን 1070 አካለስንኩላን 2550 በሥርቆትና በቅሚያ ተግባር ላይ የተገኙ 2470 ለዝሙት ተግባር ውጪ የሚቆሙ ሲቶች ነበሩ።

ከተማችን ባላለፈችው የ100 ዓመት ጊዜ ውስጥ የህዝቧ ብዛት በየጊዜው እየጨመረ ቢኾኑም ግንባታን በሚመለከት በአንፃራዊ መልኩ ፈጠን ያለ ዕድገት ያገኘችው ሁለት ጊዜ ሲሆን ይህም ከ1928-1933 ማለትም በጣሊያን ጊዜ እና ከ1954-1966 በነበረው የሠላማዊ ዕድገት ጊዜ ነው የሚል አስተያየት አለ።

ከዘያ ወዲህ ያለው ጊዜ ከፍተኛ ጥቅም ያስገኘው የፕላን ሥርዓትን ተክትሎ ከተማዋን ለማሳደግ አመቺ ሁኔታ የተፈጠረበት ጊዜ መሆኑ ነው። ይህ ጊዜ በሦስት ተከፍሎ

ሲታይ፣ የመጀመሪያው በማዕከላዊ ፕላን በምንመራበት ዘመን በግል ለሚሠሩ መኖሪያ ቤቶች በመንግሥት ለሚሠሩ ትላልቅ የመኖሪያ ቤቶችና ለመንግሥት ተቋሞች ግንባታ የመሬት ፖሊሲው አመቺ የነበረ ሲሆን የግል ኢኮኖሚው ተሳትፎ የሚበረታታ ስላልነበረ ከግል ይገኝ የነበረውን ግንባታ በማስቀረቱ በአጠቃላይ ግንባታ ላይ ተጽዕኖ ነበረው።

ሁለተኛው በገበያ ኢኮኖሚ በምንመራበት ጊዜ የግል ኢኮኖሚው ተሳትፎ አመቺ ሲሆን በመሬት አቅርቦት በኩል ግን የመሬት ዋጋ ከፍተኛነት ከአብዛኛው ግንባታ ፈላጊ አቅም በላይ በመሆኑና ቀደም ሲል በመንግሥት ይካኔድ የነበረው የትላልቅ ፎቆች የመኖሪያ ህንፃ ግንባታም በመቋረጡ በአጠቃላይ ግንባታ ላይ ማነቆነት አለው።

በሁለቱ መሀከል የነበረው ሦስተኛው ጊዜ አጭር ቢሆንም በመሬት ፖሊሲው አበረታችነት በኩል ከሁለቱም ጊዜያት የተሻለ ሁኔታ የታየበት የቅይድ ኢኮኖሚው ጊዜ በመንግሥት በግልም ለሚደረግ ጥረት ከፍተኛ መንገድ የተሰጠበት ጊዜ ነበር።

ወደሌላ ዝርዝር ሳይገባ በነዚህ በሦስቱ ጊዜያት የታዩት አፈጻጸሞች በከተማ ግንባታ ላይ ብሎም በቀላሉ የየራሳቸውን ተጽዕኖ ማስከተላቸው ይታያል። ስለዚህም ምንም እንኳን የአንድ ከተማ ልማት መሠረቱ የነዋሪው የኢኮኖሚ አቅም መሆኑ ቢታወቅም ከዚህ ባልተናናሰ መልኩ የግንባታ ፖሊሲ ወሳኝነት ስላለው ተገቢው ትኩረት ተሰጥቶ አመቺ ሁኔታ ሊፈጠር ይገባል።

የከተማችንን አጠቃላይ አደረጃጀትና ውበት በሚመለከት እንደሚታወቀው የአንድን ከተማ ሥርዓትና ውበት የሚወስኑት የመንገዶች አቀያይና አሠራር የአጥርና የቤቶች ዓይነትና አቀማመጥ የክፍት ቦታዎች አደረጃጀት ናቸው። እነዚህን ሁኔታዎች በጥቅሉ ለመግለጽ በአብዛኛው መንገዶችን ቤቶቻችንና ክፍት ቦታዎቻችን እንዲሁም የአገልግሎቶች ሥርዓት አንድ ዘመናዊ ከተማ በሚደራጀበት ሁኔታና ደረጃ ያልተደራጀ ከመሆናቸውም ሌላ በአያያዥና በእንክብካቤ በኩልም በዝቅተኛ ደረጃ

ላይ እንገኛለን። በአጠቃላይ ከተማችን በሥርዓትና በሚገባ ተገንብታ የተዘጋጀች ስላልሆነች ለማስተዳደር ያለውም ችግር ከዚህ ጋር የተያያዘ ነው።

የወደላይ ግንባታን በሚመለከት ቀደም ሲል በተገለጸው አኃዝ መሠረት ከጠቅላላው ቤቶቻችን 3% ብቻ አንድ ፎቅና ከዚያ በላይ መሆናቸው ከሞላ ጎደል ጠቅላላዋ ከተማ በምድር ቤት ደረጃ ብቻ መሠረታን የሚያመለክት ሲሆን ይህ ሁኔታ በነዋሪው የዕለት ክፍለት ኢኮኖሚ ላይ ከሚያደርሰው ጫና ሌላ በአገልግሎት ማዳሪስ በኩል ያለው ኢኮኖሚያዊ ተጽዕኖና ዘመናዊ ከተማን ከመፍጠር አንፃር በወደላይ ዕድገቷ ላይ ትኩረት መደረግ እንዳለበት ያመለክታል።

ቤቶችን በሚመለከት ለመኖሪያም ሆነ ለመሥሪያ ቤት የሚያስፈልጉ ቤቶች ከፍተኛ እጥረት መኖሩ የሚታወቅ ሲሆን ያሉትም ቤቶች ቢሆኑ አብዛኞቹ በመንግሥት እጅ ሆነው ባለፉት ሃያ ዓመታት ምንም ዓይነት እንክብካቤ ስላልተደረገላቸው ባለቤት አልባ ሆነው ተጎላቀሰውና ከቤትነት ጎዳና የወጡ መሆናቸው በግልጽ የሚታይ ነው።

ከቤቶቹ እርጅና ሌላ በተፈጥሮአዊ ወጣጣነታቸው ምክንያት ከአናታ ለምትታዩው ከተማችን የአብዛኞቹ ቤቶቻችን ሥርዓት የለሽ አቀማመጥ ከህገና ካረጀ ጣሪያቸው ጋር ተጻምሮ የሚሰጠው ጎስቋላ ገጽታ ምክንያቱ የቤቶች ለረጃም ጊዜ እድሳት ማጣት ነው።

ከዚህ ጋር በተያያዘ በ1979 ዓ.ም. የተካሄደ አንድ ጥናት እንደሚያመለክተው ከአቅም ማነስና በልዩ ልዩ ምክንያቶች ኪራይ የማይከፈልባቸው 2,996 ገቅተኛ ቤቶች እንዲሁም ከፍተኛ ወጪ ስለሚጠይቁ ሊጠገኑ ያልቻሉ 11,033 ቤቶች የነበሩ ሲሆን ይህም ሁኔታ እየቀጠለ የሚኬድ መሆኑን ይገልጻል።

እነዚህ ከላይ የተጠቀሱ ነገር ግን ከዚህ ጋር የተያያዙ ምክንያቶች ተደማምረው የሚጠቀሙት ነገር ይህንን የመሳሰለው ሁኔታ ሊገታና ሊለወጥ የሚችለው ቤቶች ወደ ባለቤቶቻቸው እጅ ወይም በአዋጁ መሠረት ካሳ ከፍሎ ወደማንኛውም

ሌላ እጅ የተዛወሩ እንደሆነ መሆኑን ነው።

ማህበራዊ ችግርን በሚመለከት ቀደም ባሉት ጊዜያት የነበረውን አኃዛዊ ማመልከቻ ከፍ ብዬ አቅርቤለሁ። በአሁኑ ጊዜ ያለውን ሁኔታ የሚያመለክት አኃዛዊ መረጃ አላገኘሁም።

ማህበራዊ ጉዳይ ስንል በቅድሚያ የሚታሰበው የወንጀል መስፋፋት ሲሆን ቀድሞም ሆነ ዛሬ ከአንዳንድ የሌሎች ሀገሮች ከተሞች አንፃር ሲታይ ወንጀል ወይም ከባድ ወንጀልን በሚመለከት አሳሳቢ ወይም ከቁጥጥር ውጪ የሆነ ሁኔታ አለመኖሩ አዲስ አበባን ሲያስመሰግናት የኖረና ያለ ጉዳይ ነው።

በሌላ በኩል ግን የችግራችን መብዛት እጅግ በጎሳ መልኩ የሚታይና የተሰፋፋ ችግር ነው ማለት ይቻላል። የዚህ ምንጩ ሌሎች የሀገሪቱ አነስተኛ ከተሞችና ገጠሮች መሆኑ ይታያል። ይህ ችግር ከቅርብ ዓመታት ወዲህ እየተባባሰ የመጣ ሲሆን የችግሩ ምንጭ ከውጪ የሚገፋ ምክንያት ወይንም ከውስጥ የሚስብ ምክንያት ወይንም ሁለቱም ሊሆን ስለሚችል ትክክለኛውን መልስ ለማግኘትና መፍትሄ ለመፈለግ የባለሙያ ጥናት ያስፈልጋል። ከችግሩ ያላነሰ አሳሳቢ መስሎ የሚታየው ግን በግለሰብ ደረጃ የሚሰማ የነዋሪዎች ቅሬታና አስተያየት ካልሆነ በስተቀር ጉዳዩ በማንኛውም መድረክ ስለማይነሳና የሚወሰድ እርምጃም ስለማይታይ ባለቤት የሌለው ጉዳይ መስሎ መታየቱ ነው።

በቀድሞ ዘመናት የዚህ ችግር ማቃለያ አንዱ መንገድ አልፎ አልፎ ቆጠራ ማካሄድና የመሥራት አቅም ያላቸውን በተህድሶ ፕሮግራም አዘጋጅቶ ሥራ ወይም ልማት ወዳለባቸው አካባቢዎች መላክና ችግራቸው የባሰውንም ወደሚረዱበት መውሰድ እንደነበረ ይታወቃል። በአሁኑ ጊዜ ምን መደረግ እንዳለበት ወይም እንደሚችል ተጠንቶ መፍትሄ የማይፈለግ ከሆነ ችግሩ እየበዛ ኬዶ ምን መልክ መያዝ እንደሚችል ለመገመት ያስቸግራል።

አቅመ ደካሞችና በምንም መንገድ ሠርተው መኖር የማይችሉ ወገኖችን በሚመለከት በመንግሥትና በህዝብ

ትብብር ምን መደረግ እንደሚችል የሚጠቁም የመፍትሄ ሃሳብ መጠናት አለበት። ከዚህ ሌላ በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ቀድሞም ቢሆን አልፎ አልፎ የነበረና አሁንም በርከት ብሎ የሚታየው በየአውቶቡስ ጣቢያዎች የሚደርሱና በየአጥፋ ጥግና በዕዕዋት ውስጥ የፕላስቲክ መጠለያ እየጋረዱ የሚኖሩ ወገኖች ጉዳይ አለ።

ቀድሞም የነበረ የከተማችን የልመና ጉዳይ አንዱ ገጽታ በትራፊክ መብራት ላይ ያለው እንዳለ ሆኖ በማናቸውም የከተማችን መሀል አካባቢዎች ውስጥ የውጪ ሀገር ሰው ሆኖ በልዩ ልዩ ዓይነት ችግሮችና ችግር ፈጣሪዎች ሳይከበቡና ቁምስቅል ሳያዩ መዘዋወር አስቸጋሪ እየሆነ መምጣቱ ነው። ይህንን በሚመለከት ለችግራችን መፍትሄ መፈለግ የሚገባን እኛ ሆነን ሳለን በተለያዩ ምክንያቶች ማለትም ቱሪስት ሆነው የሚመጡ ኢንቬስተር ሆነው የሚመጡ በልዩ ልዩ የትብብርና የዕርዳታ ሥራ የሚመጡ የመንግሥት የሀገር እንግዳ ሆነው የሚመጡ የኢ.ሲ.ኤ፣ የኢ.ኤ.ዩና በሌሎች ሀብረሀገራዊ ሥራዎች ምክንያት የሚመጡ በርካታ እንግዳች ባለባት ከተማችን ከምንም አንፃር ብናየው የዚህ ችግር እየሰፋ መኬድ ሊያሳስብን ይገባል።

ንዕህናንና ጤናን በሚመለከት ከተማችን ለጤና ምቹ ያልሆነ ሁኔታዎች በእጅጉ የነሱባት ከተማ ነች። የደረቅና የፈሳሽ ቆሻሻ እውጋደ ችግር በስብሰባዎችም በማስታወቂያ ዘዴዎችም በተደደጋጋሚ የተነሳ ስለሆነ አሳሳቢነቱ ተገቢውን ትኩረትና ግንዛቤ ያገኘ ይመስለኛል። ሌላውን ጎን ብናይ ግን በዚህ ሁኔታ አስተዋጽኦ የሚያደርገው በመሠረቱ የእገልግሎት ሥርዓቱ አለመሟላት ቢሆንም የተጠቃሚው ወገን የአጠቃቀም አሉታዊ አስተዋጽኦ የሳላ ሚና እንዳለው ግንዛቤ ሊያገኝ ይገባል ባይ ነኝ።

የቆሻሻ እያያዝና አውጋደ ችግር አለን፤ የእገልግሎቱን ክፍል ጨምሮ የአብዛኛዎቻችን የከተማነት ሥነልቦና አለመሟላት ችግር አስተዋጽኦ ያደርጋል። ቆሻሻውን የሚያመነጨውና የሚያነሳው ክፍል የተግባባ ግንዛቤና የአሠራር ሥርዓት ሊኖራቸው ከቻለ ግማሽ ሥራ እንደተከናወነ ሊቆጠር ይችላል። ለማንኛውም አለቅጥ የቆሻሽ ከተማችንን እገልግሎት ሰጪው

ክፍልም ሀዘቡም ተባብሮ ማዕዳትና መጠበቅ ያለበት መሆኑን ልንገነዘብ ይገባል። በተጨማሪ ግን በአጠቃላይ በከተማ ጉዳዮች በተለይ ደግሞ ዕዳትን በመጠበቅ አካባቢን በመንከባከብ በኩል ሁለንተናዊ የሆነ የከተማነት ባህል ማዳበር ብንችል ከፍተኛ ጠቀሜታ እንዳለው ብንረዳ ጥሩ ነው። ከተማነትን ብንሰብክም ተገቢ ነው። ከዚህ ጋር መጠቀስ ያለበት በከተማችን ውስጥ እየበዛና ሥርዓት እያጣ የመጣው የእንስሳ መንጋ ነው፤ በተለይ አሁንና በግ። መንገዶችን በሚመለከት ያሉት በየጊዜው የመፍረስና ጥገና የማጣት ችግር በየጊዜውም አስፋልት የሚደረጉት መንገዶች ማነስ ችግር አብሮን የቆየና ከተማው እየሰፋ እንደመኬዱ መጠን እየሰፋ የሚኬድ ችግር መሆኑ ይታወቃል። ቀደም ብሎ እንደተጠቀሰው ከከተማዎ መንገዶች በአስፋልት የተሰራው ከ50% የማይበልጥ ከመሆኑም ሌላ የመንገዶቻችን በየክረምቱ መፍረስ መጠን ከፍና ዝቅ ይበል እንጂ የከተማችን የታወቀ ገጽታ ሆኖ ቢቆይም በአሁኑ ጊዜ መጨመሩ ይታያል።

አሠራሩን በሚመለከት ተገቢው የሥራ ዝርዝር መሠረቱና አስፈላጊው ገንዘብም መውጣቱ ሳይቀር የመንገዶቻችን ቶሎ ቶሎ መፍረስ ምሥጢሩ በአመዛኛ የከተማችን ወጣ ገባ አቀማመጥ የጎርፍም ሆነ የቤት ፍላሽ ማስተላለፊያዎች አለመኖር የአፈርና የአየር የተፈጥሮ ጠባይ ከአሠራርና ተቆጣጣሪ ባለሙያዎች ኃላፊነትን በአግባቡ አለመወጣት ጋር ተዳምሮ ነው የሚል ነው። ከዚህ ሌላ መንገዶቻችንን በሚመለከት በአስተዳደሩ መደረግ ያለበት ጥረት እንዳለ ሆኖ ትኩረት ሊሰጠው የሚገባው ጉዳይ አብዛኛው የከተማችን መንገድ ከገጠር መንገድ ደረጃ ያላለፈ መሆኑ ታውቆ እንደጠጠር መንገዱ ሁሉ ለአስፋልት ሥራውም የሀብረተሰቡ ተሳትፎ የሚታከልበትን መንገድ መፈለግ ተገቢ ነው። አስተዳደሩ ብቻ ተጠብቆ የሚዘለቅ ችግር አለመሆኑ ይታወቃል።

ከፍት ቦታዎችን በሚመለከት እንደደንቡ በአንድ ከተማ ውስጥ ያለ ቦታ ማንኛውም በቦታ አጠቃቀም ፕላኑ መሠረት ለአንድ

የተወሰነ ጥቅም እንዲውል ከተመደበ በኋላ ማሟላት ያለበትን ደረጃና ሥርዓት ጠብቆ ተገንብቶና ለምቶ በእንክብካቤ መያዝ እንዳለበት ይህ ሁኔታ ለተለያዩ ተግባሮች እንዲውሉ በከፍትነት የሚተው ቦታዎችንም ማለትም የመንገድ አካፋይ ቦታዎችን በመንገዶችና በአጥፎች መሀል ያሉ ቦታዎችን በፓርክነትና በተፈጥሮ ደንነት የሚተው ቦታዎችን በልዩ ምክንያት ክፍት የሚሆኑ ቦታዎችንም የሚጨምር ነው። የእነዚህ ቦታዎች መልማትና በእንክብካቤ መያዝ ለአንድ ከተማ የሚሰጠው ውበት ወሳኝነት ያለው ቢሆንም በከተማችን በርካታ አካባቢዎች በአፈርና በድንጋይ ቁልል የተያዙ እንዲሁም በልዩ ልዩ ምክንያት ተቆፍረው በጉድጋድነት የቀሩ ቦታዎችና አካባቢዎቻቸው የቆሻሻ መጣያ ሆነው ለከተማችን ማስቀየም አስተዋጽኦ እያደረጉ ናቸው።

በዚህ በኩል ቀደም ሲል ተጀምረው በነበሩ ጥረቶች የተከናወኑ የእጠቃላት ልማት ሥራዎች ቢኖሩም ቀጣይነታቸው ካልተጠበቀ እየጠፋ ስለሚኬዱ እንዲያውም እየጠፉም ስለሆነ ተገቢው ትኩረት ሊሰጠው የሚገባው ጉዳይ ነው።

ለማጠቃለል መነሻችን የሆነውን ከፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ምን ይጠበቃል የሚለውን ጥያቄ ለመመለስ ከተማችንን ለማስተዳደር የሚነሱ ፓርቲዎች በአጭሩ ከዚህ በላይ የተነሱትንና ሌሎችንም በዚህ ጽሁፍ ያልተጠቃለሉ ከተማችንን ነክ የሆኑ ጉዳዮችን በቅርበትና በአትኩረት ተገንዝበው መፍትሄ የማፈላለግ ሀዘቡንም የማገልገል ኃላፊነት እንዳለባቸው የተረዱ መሆን አለባቸው።

ከዚህ ሌላ ግን መጨመር ያለበት ጉዳይ እንደ አዲስ አበባ ያለ የሀገሪቱ ርዕሰ መዳኛና የማዕከላዊ መንግሥት መቀመጫ የሆነ አንድ ከተማ ምንጊዜም ቢሆን ለዕድገቱ የማዕከላዊ መንግሥት ልዩ ትኩረትና እገዛ ሊለየው የማይገባ መሆኑ ነው። የሀገርም የሥርዓትም ልዩ መግለጫ ስለሆነ።

በ1992 ዓ.ም. በሚደረገው የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ ምን መሆን አለበት?

ክብርህን
የአዲስ አበባ ም/ቤት

ማረጋገጫ

ክብርህን መዋ
“የአዲስ አበባ ም/ቤትን በመወከል”
የሚለው በስህተት ስለሆነ
“የኢትዮጵያ የግል ኢንዱስትሪዎች ማህበር
ፕሬዚዳንት”
ተብሎ እንዲነበብ ከይቅርታ ጋር እንጠይቃለን።

ይህን ሰፊ ያለና ጥልቀት ያለው አርዕስት በዚህ አጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ በዝርዝር ማቅረብ ቢያገዛትም ዋና ዋና የሆኑ መሠረታዊ ጉዳዮችን ለውይይት መንደርደሪያ ይሆኑ ዘንድ ለማንሳት ይሞክራል።

በቅድሚያ የአንድ ሉአላዊ ሀገር መሠረቱ በሥነምጅር አቅማመጡ የተወሰነ ድንበርን ባካተተ ሥፍራ የከተመ ህዝብ ነው ብለን እንነሳለን።

የዜጎች ሁለንታዊ ገጽታ ማለትም የኢኮኖሚ አቅም የአስተዳደር ብቃት የማህበራዊ ኑሮ ዘይቤ ተመሳጥረው የማንነት መግለጫ ይሆናሉ።

ዜጎች ሥርዓት ያለው ኑሮ ይመሩ ዘንድ መንግሥት የተሰኘ ተቀጥላ ይፈጥራል። ሆኖም ከታሪክ እንደምናየው መንግሥትነት የህዝብ ፈቃድና ምርጫ ውጤት ከመሆኑ ይልቅ፣ በህዝብ ላይ የሚዘፈዘፍ ጉልበተኛ፣ የጀብደኝነት ቡድን እየሆነ የዜጎችን ፍላጎት፣ ምኞት፣ ኑሮና ማንነት ሲጫን፣ ሲጨፈላቅ ህዝቦችን ከማስተዳደር ይልቅ ሲገዛ እናስተውላለን።

እሻፈረኝ፡ እምቢ አንገዛም ያሉ የሥርዓት መስተካከልን በጥሞና ይጠይቃሉ። ሰሚ ሲያጡ መሳሪያ ያነሳሉ፣ ይገላሉ፣ ይጋደላሉ። በዚህ ወቅት የፈሰሱ ደሞች ይጮሁና የሰርዓት ለውጥን ያስገኛሉ። የተለወጠው ሥርዓት ለህዝብ ፈቃድ መገዛትን ሲተው ከዚህ ሌላ ለውጥ ይሻሉ ይገላሉ። ይጋደላሉ... ደሞችም ይጮሁሉ...።

ይህን ዓይነት የሥርዓት ሽግግር መራራ በመሆኑ ዘመናዊው አማራጭ በመቻቻል፣ በመደማመጥ፣ በሀገር ተገዢነት፣ በሰብዓዊ ፍጡር ታላቅነት እምነት ላይ የተመሠረተ የዲሞክራሲ ሥርዓትን መቀበል የግድ ሆኖ ተገኝቷል።

እናም ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ የዓለም ታሪክ ውልድ ናትና እንደሌሎች ሁሉ እየተደማማን እዚህ ደርሰናል። አሁንም ግን ለውጥ እንሻለን። ለዚህ ለውጥ ግን የምንመርጠው ከላይ የተጠቀሰውን ዘመናዊ አማራጭ ሊሆን ይገባዋል!!

ስለዚህ ለፍትህዊ ምርጫ መዘጋጀትና ዜጎች እንደዜግነታቸው መንግሥት

እንደመንግሥትነቱ ተቃዋሚዎች እንደተቃዋሚነታቸው ሀላፊነት በተሞላው መልክ መንቀሳቀስ አማራጭ የሌለው ግዴታ ነው።

የግል ክፍለ-ኢኮኖሚው አባላት በሰላማዊው ሽግግር ያለምንም ማመንታት የምናል። ስለሆነም በሚቀጥለው ምርጫ መምረጥ መብቱ ነውና የሚመለከታችሁ ሁሉ ፍትህዊ ምርጫ እንዲካኔድ ጥረት አድርጉ ብሎ ጥሪ ያስተላልፋል። ይህ ብቻም አይደል፣ የምመርጣቸውን ሰዎች ብቻ ሳይሆን የምመርጣቸው ሀሳቦችም ይቅረቡልን ይላል። የተለያዩ ሀሳቦች ካልቀረቡ ግን የመምረጥ መብቱን ነክታችኋልና መንግሥትን፣ ገዥውን ፓርቲ ተቃዋሚዎችን እፋረዳለሁ ይላል።

በተጨማሪም፣ የንግድ ሀብረተሰቡ፣ የሀገር እድገት መሠረት ህዝብ ነውና የህዝብ ልእልናና ብልፅግና ላይ ያተኮረ፣ የዜግነት መብትን ያከበረ፣ ሰብአዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ መብቶችን ያረጋገጠ ፖሊሲን የምትደግፉ የህዝብ ወገን ናችሁና እደግፋችሁ አለሁ ብሎ እምነቱን በሀገራችን በታሪክ ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ እንደ አጀንዳ ይዘረጋል።

የአጀንዳው መነሻና መንደርደሪያ “የግል ክፍለ-ኢኮኖሚው የእድገት ሞተር ነው” ከሚል መሠረታዊ ሀሳብ ነው። ስለሆነም ዝርዝር አጀንዳውን ለውደፊቱ ማቅረብ እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ አንኳርነት ያላቸውንና ከኢኮኖሚው ጋር የተሳሰሩ ወቅታዊ ጉዳዮች እንጠቅሳለን።

የልማት አቅጣጫ

- (Visionary የሆነ)፣ ነገን አልፎ የሚያይ የልማት አቅጣጫ መቀየስ
- አብዛኛው ህዝብ የሚተዳደርበት ግብርና ከግለሰብ የእጅ ወደ እፍ እናናር አልፎ ትርጉም ያለው የተደላደለ ኑሮ ሊያኖረው የሚያስችልበትን አቅጣጫ መሻት፣ ለዚህም ሰፋፊና ሚካናይዝድ እርሻዎች እንዲሰፋፉ፣ ኢንዱስትሪ በመርህ ደረጃ

ቅድሚያ እግኝቶ ገበሬውን ሊያቅፍ የሚችልበት ትልም መቀየስ።

የንብረት ባለቤትነት

- ያልተሸራረፈ የንብረት ባለቤትነትን የሚያረጋግጡ አዋጆችን መመሪያዎችን እንሻለን።
- በሂደት መሬትን በባለቤትነት መያዝ፣ መሸጥ፣ መለወጥ ህገ መንግሥታዊ መብት እንዲሆን እንሻለን።
- የንብረት ልውውጥን በሚመለከት ያሉ ብልሹ አሰራሮችና መመሪያዎች እንዲስተካከሉ እንሻለን።

የሀገር የበላይነት

- ሰንካላ ምክንያቶችን ወደዳር አድርገው በነፃነትና በቅልጥፍና የሚሰሩ ፍ/ቤቶችን ባስቸካይ ከዳር እስከዳር እንዲሰየሙ እንፈልጋለን።
- ከሀገር ውጭ በአጠቃላይ በህዝብ ላይ በተለይም በንግድ ሀብረተሰብ ላይ አስተዳደራዊ እርምጃዎችን የሚወስዱ ተመራጮችን፣ ባለሥልጣናትን፣ እርምጃ መውሰድ፣ ማስወገድ፣ ይህ እንዳይደገም ማረጋገጥ (በዋናነት የክልል 14)
- ፀረ ልማት፣ ፀረ-ነፃ ገበያ፣ ፀረ-እድገት፣ ፀረ ንግድ የሆኑ መመሪያዎችን፣ አዋጆችን፣ ደንቦችን፣ ለማውጣትና ለማስፈፀም የሚሞክሩ ባለሥልጣናት በሀገር ልንፋረድ የምንችልበት ሁኔታ ማመቻቸት።
- ከፍ/ቤት ትእዛዝ ውጭ የዲሞክራሲ ጽንሰ ሀሳብ ባልታኘካቸው የአስተዳደር ባለሥልጣናት ትዕዛዝ የዜጎችን መብት የሚጋፉ፣ የፖሊስና የፀጥታ አባላት ላይ የማያገዛም እርምጃ መውሰድ።

ልሳነ ኢኮኖሚክስ

- የፓርቲ ካድሬዎች በአለት ተአለት ኑሮአችን የለህግ እና የላ ፍርድ ቤት ትዕዛዝ ጣልቃ እንዳይገቡብን መገደብ፤

የውድድር አቅም ግንባታ

- በአለም አቀፍ ትሰሰርና (በግሎባላይዜሽን) በነፃ ገበያ ፖሊሲ (በሊብራላይዜሽን) ምክንያት አቅማችን እንዳይዳከም ከመንግሥት፣ በፖሊሲም ሆነ በቴክኒክ ከፍተኛ ጥበቃን እንሻለን፤
- ለመወዳደር ብቃት ሊሰጡን የሚገባቸው የመሀረተ አውታሮች በጥራትና በብዛት እንዲኖሩና እንሻለን፤ በተለይ የከተማ ውስጥና የገጠር መንገዶች፣ የቴሌፎን አገልግሎት፣ የትራንስፖርት የኢነርጂ ሀይል የመሳሰሉት፤ ከአቅም ማነስ ባሻገር በአስተዳደር ብቃት የሚፈጠሩት ችግሮች እንዲወገዱ እንሻለን፤
- የማምረትና የአገልግሎት ዋጋችን ላይ ተጽዕኖ የሚፈጥሩ ማናቸውም አሰራሮች እንዲወገዱ እንሻለን፤
- በዓለም ባንክ፣ አይ.ኤም. ኤፍ. በተለያዩ በWTO

ተጽዕኖ በብሽራዊ ኢኮኖሚያችን እድገት ላይ አሉታዊ ተጽእኖ ያላቸውን እርምጃዎች መቃቃም፤

የገንዘብ (ለኢንቨስትመንት) አቅርቦትን ዋጋ እንዲቀንሰና ስርጭት እንዲጨምር እንሻለን፤

የለዋጋቸው በገበያ እንዲገቡ (ዳምፕ) የሚደረጉ ለቃዎችና በኮንትራባንድ ምርቶች ላይ ጥብቅ እርምጃ እንዲወሰድ እንሻለን፤

ኢፍትህዊ የሆኑ ልማትን የሚጎትቱ፣ ገንዘብ በመሰብሰብ ላይ ብቻ ያነጣጠሩ፣ የገቢ ግብሮችን ታክሶችን ተመጣጣኝ ያልሆኑ የአገልግሎት ክፍያዎች እንዲወገዱ እንሻለን።

የሀገር ውስጥ ምርትና አገልግሎት ሊያሳድጁ የሚችሉ የኢትዮጵያ ባለሀብቶች ጥረት ሙሉ እገዛ እንዲደረግ እንፈልጋለን።

የሀገር ውስጥ ምርትንና አገልግሎት

- ለአዲስ ኢንቨስትመንቶች ተጨማሪ ማበረታቻ

እንዲደረግ፤

የሀገር ውስጥ ምርቶች ጥራታቸውን እስከጠበቀ ድረስ የብሽራዊ አቅርቦትን ከማሳደግ አልፎ የሥራ አጥ ቁጥርን ስለሚቀንሱና በልዩ ልዩ ታክሶች ለብሽራዊ ኢኮኖሚው ስለሚያግዙ ይሉኝታ በሌለበት ሁኔታ አግባብ ያለውን ጥበቃ ማድረግ፤

የመንግሥትና አፍቃሪ ፓርቲ የንግድ ድርጅቶች በግል ባለሀብቱ እንቅስቃሴ ተጽእኖ እንዳያሳድሩ የማያዳግም እርምጃ መውሰድ፤ ማሳገድ፤

በፖሊሲ ጉዳዮች የግል ንግድ ክፍሉን የመደመጥ መብት ማከበር፤

የልማት አፍቃሪ ያልሆነ ባለሥልጣናትን ማሰወገድ፤

ጥራትና ብቃት ያለው ቢሮክራሲ በቂ በሆነ ክፍያ መመደብ፤

ሙስናን ሊያስከትሉ የሚችሉ ግልጽነት የሚጎድላቸውን አሠራሮች ማጥፋት።

BEETLE BAILEY



BLONDIE



በ1992 ዓ.ም. በሚደረገው ምርጫ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ ምን መሆን አለበት?

ከአማራ አለማየሁ
የኢትዮጵያ ሠራተኞች ማህበር ኮንፈረንስ ፕሬዚዳንት

መግቢያ

የዲሞክራሲ ጽንሰ ሃሳብ በዓለም ውስጥ እየተስፋፋ መጥቶ የመንግሥትን ሥልጣን ለመያዝ ዋናው መንገድ በመሆን እነሆ በአብዛኛው ዓለም የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች እርስ በርስ ለመገደብ በመፍከር የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራማቸውን በመንደፍ ወደ ህዝብ በመቅረብ አሸናፊ የሆነው ፓርቲ ሥልጣን ላይ በመውጣት የአገርን የፖለቲካ፣ የኢኮኖሚና የማህበራዊ ተቋሞችን በመምራት ለመረጠው ህዝብ የገባውን ቃል ኪዳን ለመወጣት የበኩሉን ጥረት ያደርጋል። የምርጫው ዘመኑ ሲያበቃም እንደገና ለመመረጥ ለውድድር ሲቀርብ በሥልጣን ዘመኑ ያደረገው አስተዋጽኦ ወይም ያሳየው ድክመት ከመረጠው ህዝብ እይታ ውጭ ስለማይሆን በውጤቱ መሠረት በድጋሚ ሊመረጥ ወይም ላይመረጥ ይችላል። ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ባላለብቱ አገሮች እንዳንድ ፓርቲዎችና መሪዎች በተደጋጋሚ ሲመረጡ ይታያሉ። በቅርቡም የህንድን ምርጫ እንደምሳሌ ማቅረብ ይቻላል።

የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ለመረጣቸው ህዝብ ጠቃሚ ሥራ ሠርተው በድጋሚ ለመመረጥ ሲሉ ከፍተኛ ተግባር ሊፈጽሙ ይችላሉ። የተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎችም ቢሆኑ በገዢው ፓርቲ ላይ የሚታዩትን ደካማ ሳኖች በመዘርዘርና በማጋለጥ የበለጠ ተግባር እንዲሰሩ የሚገፋፉ ሁኔታዎችን በመፍጠር ለአገር እድገት ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽኦ ያደርጋሉ። የተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎች የገዢውን ፓርቲ ፕሮግራሞችና የአፈጻጸም ድክመቶችን አጉልተው በግውጣትና አማራጭ ፕሮግራሞችንና መፍትሔዎችን ይዘው ወደ ህዝብ በመቅረብ ተወዳድረው

አሸናፊ በመሆንም የመንግሥትን ሥልጣን ሲይዙ ይታያሉ። ይህም ሊሆን የሚችለው በአንድ አገር ውስጥ ዲሞክራሲያዊ የሆነ ህገ መንግሥት ሲኖር ነው። ማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ በአገሪቱ ህገ መንግሥት መሠረት ለምርጫ መወዳደር መቻል አለበት። በሥልጣን ላይ የሚገኝ መንግሥትም በህገ መንግሥቱ መሠረት የምርጫ ጊዜውን ሲጨርስ ሥልጣኑን ለመረጠው ህዝብ ማስረከብ አለበት። ይህ ሲሆን ነው የዲሞክራሲያዊ አስተሳሰብና ባህላዊ የሚጎለብተው፣ አገርም የምታድገው፣ የተረጋጋ ፖለቲካ ሥርዓት ካለ መቻቻልና ችግሮችን በውይይት የመፍታት ልምድም እየዳበረ ይኼዳል።

ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት በሌለባቸው አገሮች ግን ሁኔታዎች ከዚህ የተለዩ መሆናቸው ለሁላችንም ግልጽ ነው። አምባገነኖች ሥልጣን በመፈንቅለ መንግሥት ሲይዙ ይታያሉ። እነዚህ መሪዎች በህዝባቸው ላይ አመኔታ ስለማይኖራቸው የህዝብን በአገሩ ጉዳይ ላይ የመወሰን መብቱን የነፈጉ ናቸው። በምርጫ ሥልጣን ያልያዙ በመሆናቸው ከሥልጣን የሚለቁበት ጊዜ እይታውም። በአብዛኛውም በህዝብ አመጽ ሥልጣናቸውን ያጣሉ። በሥልጣን ዘመናቸው የአገሪቱን ኢኮኖሚ ወደ አዘቅት ይከታሉ። በርካታ ገንዘብ በውጭ አገር ባንኮች ያስቀምጣሉ። ህዝብ ይጨርሳሉ። አገራቸውንም ከዓለም ህብረተሰብ ይነጥሳሉ። በጎረቤት አገሮች ላይ የጠብ አጫሪነት ፖሊሲ ይከተላሉ።

የአገራችንን ሁኔታ ስንመለከት ከደርግ ውደቀት በኋላ ለየት ያለ ሁኔታ መከሰቱ የሚታወቅ ነው። ከአንድ ፓርቲ በላይ የማይታወቅባት

አገራችን በርካታ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ተመሥርተው በመንቀሳቀስ ላይ ይገኛሉ። በ1987 በዐደቀው ህገ መንግሥት መሠረት በአገራችን ውስጥ ሥልጣን ላይ የሚወጣው መንግሥት በህዝብ ምርጫ ብቻ መሆኑ በግልጽ ተቀምጧል። በዚህ መሠረት በ1987 በተደረገው የክልልና የተወካዮች ምክርቤት ምርጫ ተካሂዶ አገሪቱን ለ5 ዓመት የሚመራ መንግሥት ተመስርቷል። በህገ መንግሥቱ መሠረት የመጀመሪያው የሆነው መንግሥት የሥልጣን ዘመኑ በዚህ ዓመት የሚያበቃ በመሆኑ ለሁለተኛው ጊዜ በሚደረገው አገር አቀፍ ምርጫ ልዩ ልዩ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ለምርጫ ወደ ህዝብ ሲቀርቡ ጥርት ያለ የፖለቲካ፣ የኢኮኖሚና የማህበራዊ ፕሮግራሞች መቀየስ ይኖረዳቸዋል። በህብረተሰቡ ውስጥ የሚታዩ ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ችግሮችን በሚገባ መፈተሽና እነዚህን ችግሮች ለመፍታት የሚያስችሉ የመፍትሔ እቅዳዎች ይዘው ወደ ህዝብ መቅረብ አለባቸው። የፖለቲካ መሥመራቸውም እንዲሁ በህዝብ ፍላጎትና የአገራችን ህዝቦች መብት በእኩልነት የሚያስጠብቅ፣ ከጎረቤት አገሮች ጋር ጠንካራ ግንኙነት የሚፈጥር ፖሊሲ ሊኖራቸው ይገባል። አንድ ጥሩ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ በህዝብ ወሳኝነት የሚያምን በህዝብ ተሳትፎ ላይ የተመሠረተ፣ በዲሞክራሲያዊ አሠራርና አስተሳሰብ ላይ ጽኑ እምነት ያለው መሆን አለበት። በመጨረሻ ምርጫ የሚወዳደሩ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችም ከወዲሁ ከፍተኛ ዝግጅት በማድረግ በውድድሩ በመሳተፍ ለአገራችን ዲሞክራሲ መካሄድ የበኩላቸውን አስተዋጽኦ ከማድረግ ባሻገር እሳኩን የታዩትን ፖለቲካዊ፣ ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ችግሮችን በመገምገም ለአገራችን

እድገት ከፍተኛ ድርሻ ሊያበረክቱ እንደሚችሉ መገመት አዳጋች አይሆንም።

ከዚህ መሠረታዊ ጽንሰ ሃሳብ በመነሳትም በቀጣዩ ምርጫ ተወዳድሮ ሥልጣን የሚይዘው መንግሥት ከሠራተኛው ህብረተሰብ አኳያ ትኩረት ሊሰጥበት የሚገቡ ነጥቦች ማቅረብ ተገቢ ይሆናል። በጸሁፉ ላይ የተዘረዘሩትን ጉዳዮች በጥሞና ተመልክቶ የፕሮግራሙ አካል በማድረግ ለምርጫ ውድድር የሚቀርብ እካል የሠራተኛውን ሙሉ ድጋፍ ያገኛል። ከዚህ አንጻር ሠራተኛው የሚከተሉትን ፖሊሲዎች ማየት ይፈልጋል።

1. ሙስናን (ኮራፕሽንን) ለመዋጋት ጠንካራ ፖሊሲ የሚነድፍ መንግሥት

በአገራችን ውስጥ እየተንሰራፋ የመጣው ሙስና የሚጠፋበት መንገድ ካልተፈለገ በስተቀር በዕድገታችን ላይ አሉታዊ ተፅዕኖ ማሳደሩ አይቀርም። በመንግሥት መ/ቤቶች በተለይም በልማት ድርጅቶች በሳላ መልኩ ይሰተዋላል። ከመንግሥት ደንብ ውጭ በጨረታ ሰበብ ያለአግባብ እቃዎች ይገዛሉ። ይሸጣሉ። ድርጅቶችን ለኪሳራና ለውድቀት የሚዳርጉ ተግባሮች መፈጸም የተለመደ ነው። የማህበር መሪዎችና ሠራተኞች ሙስናን በማጋለጣቸውና ድርጅታቸውን ከኪሳራ ለማዳን በሚያደርጉት ጥረት ከሥራ ያለአግባብ እንዲሰናበቱ እየተደረጉ ነው። በመንግሥትና በልማት ድርጅቶች መካከል ያለው ግንኙነት እጅግ የላላና ቁጥጥርም የማይደረግበት ሂደት ነው። መንግሥት በነዚህ የመንግሥት ድርጅቶች ላይ የሚከተለው የአሠራር ፖሊሲ ግልጽና ተጠያቂነትን የሚያሰፍን አሠራር መሆን አለበት። በተለይም ሠራተኞች የሚያደርጉት ጥቆማ ትኩረት ሊሰጠው ይገባል። የመንግሥት አሠራር አጥፊዎች ላይ አፋጣኝ ርምጃ በሚወስድ መንገድ መደራጀት አለበት። የመንግሥት ንብረት የህዝብ ሀብት ነው። ጥቂቶች በመንግሥት ሀብት የሚበለጸጉበትን ሁኔታ የሚያስቀር አሠራር የሚቀይስ መንግሥት ያስፈልጋል። በመንግሥት የተሾሙ ኃላፊዎችም ከአጥፊዎች ጋር በመወገንና ሽፋን በመስጠት ጥቆማ በሚያደርጉ ሠራተኞች ላይ ጥቃት

ይሰነዝራሉ። አጥፊዎችም እየተበራከቱ ይገኛሉ።

ለምሳሌ፣ በጅንደር ላይ ያለውን መጥቀስ በቂ ነው። የማህበር መሪዎች በጅንደር ላይ የተፈጸመውን ሙስና በማጋለጣቸው ወዲያውኑ ከሥራ ታግደዋል። አቤቱታ የቀረበላቸው የቦርዱ አመራር አባላትና ተቆጣጣሪ ባለሥልጣን መሥሪያ ቤትም ሠራተኞችን ከማደፋፈርና አጥፊዎች ላይ ርምጃ ከመውሰድ ይልቅ ሽፋን እየሰጡ አጥፊዎችን እያደፋፈሩ ይገኛሉ። በዚህ ዓይነት ህገ ወጥ አሠራር ላይ በመንግሥት ኃላፊነት የተቀመጠ እካል ጠንካራ ርምጃ ባለመሰጠቱ ህገ ወጥነት የበለጠ እንዲበረታቱ ያደርጋል። የጥቃቱ ስለባ የሆኑትን ሠራተኞች በማየትም በሌላ ቦታ የሚገኙ ሙስናን ለማጋለጥና ለመዋጋት ቅን መንፈስ ይዘው የተነሱትን ወገኖች የሚያሳቅቅ ነው። መንግሥት እድሎአዊ አሠራርን በሚከተሉ፣ ህገ በሚጥሱ የሥራ መሪዎችና አጥፊዎች ላይ ጠንካራ ፖሊሲ ማውጣት አለበት። ይህን ከአላደረገ ግን ማንኛውንም ዓይነት የልማት ዕቅድ ቢያዘጋጅ፣ ህግ ቢያወጣ ፋይዳ ሊኖረው አይችልም። ሠራተኛው በማህበሩ አማካኝነት ኮራፕሽንን ለመታገል የጠነከረ አቋም አለው። በትግል ስተራቴጂያችንም ቢሆን እንዲ ትግል የምናደርግበት እካል ነው። በዚህ ረገድ ከሳናችን የሚቆም መንግሥት እንፈልጋለን። የሠራተኛውን ድምጽ አዳምጦ አፋጣኝ ውሳኔ የሚሰጥ መንግሥት ያስፈልጋል። ኮራፕሽንን ለመዋጋት ቁርጠኛ አቋም ያለው ፓርቲ በውድድር የሠራተኛውን ድጋፍ ሊያገኝ ይችላል።

በሌሎች የአፍሪካ አገሮች የሚታየው በሥልጣን ያለአግባብ መጠቀም የመንግሥትን ሀብትና ገንዘብ መመዝበር ወደ አገራችንም ቀስ በቀስ እየገባ ይገኛል። እንደ ናይጄሪያና ኬንያ ዓይነት ሁኔታ ሙሉ በሙሉ ሳይፈጠርም ከወዲሁ ጠንካራ ፖሊሲ ካልተነደፈ ሂደቱ በቀላሉ የሚገታ አይደለም።

ሙስና የዕድገት ፀር መሆኑ በእጅጉ ሊሰመርበት ይገባል። የአፍሪካ አገሮችን እንኳ ብንመለከት በቀድሞዋ ዘመን በሥልጣን ላይ የነበረው የሞላቱ ሴሊሴክ መንግሥት በኮራፕሽን የተዘፈቀ በመሆኑ እጅግ ሀብታም የሆነው አገር የህዝቦቿን ኑሮ

መለወጥ እንዳልቻለችና በመጨረሻም የሞላቱ መንግሥት እጣ ፋንታ ምን እንደሆነ የምናውቀው ነው። የናይጄሪያን የአባቻ መንግሥትም ምን ሲሰራ እንደነበር የአደባባይ ሚስጥር ነው። ኮራፕሽን ህጋዊ ሥርዓት ሆኖ በመቆየቱ የአገሪቱ ህብት በጥቂት አምባገነኖች እጅ የወደቀበት ሁኔታ ነበር።

በአገራችንም አሁን ያለው የሙስና አዝማሚያ ጠንካራ ርምጃ ካልተወሰደበት ቀስ በቀስ እያደገ የአገራችንን ኢኮኖሚ በከፍተኛ ደረጃ መጉዳቱ አይቀርም። በውግንና በአድልዎ መሥራት፣ የመንግሥት ገንዘብ መመዝበር ወንጀል መሆኑ ታውቆ መንግሥት ጠንካራ ፀረ ሙስና ተቋም መመሥረት አለበት። ይህን አሠራር የሚከተል መንግሥት አገሪቱን ወደ ተፈለገው የዕድገት አቅጣጫ ለመምራት ይችላል።

2. የሠራተኛውን ተሳትፎ የሚያረጋግጥ ፖሊሲ

በአገራችን እየተሠራበት ያለው የአሠራር ሠራተኛ ህገ አዋጅ ቁጥር 42/85 ሠራተኛው በሚሠራባቸው የልማት ተቋማት ውስጥ በማህበሩ አማካኝነት በልዩ ልዩ ጉዳዮች ላይ በኮሚቴ አባልነት እንዲሳተፍ ይደነግጋል። ሆኖም ህጉ ይደንገግ እንጂ በብዙ ድርጅቶች ላይ አሠራሩ በድርጅቶች ሥራ መሪዎች ላይ ተቀባይነት የለውም። በዚህም ምክንያት ሠራተኛው በቀጥታ በሚመለከተው ጉዳይም ላይ ተሳትፎው የተገደበ ነው። ለምሳሌም በእድገት አሰጣጥ፣ በዲሲፕሊን፣ በሠራተኛ ቅንሳና በሌሎችም የሠራተኛ ጉዳዮች ላይ ተሳትፎ እንዳያደርግ አሠራሩ ይከለክላል። እነዚህ ሁኔታዎች ፍጹም ከህግ ውጭ የሆኑ አሠራሮች ከመሆናቸውም ሌላ ለአድሎአዊ አሠራርና ለኮራፕሽንም በር የሚከፍቱ ናቸው። ከዚህም ሌላ በህጋዊ አካልነት ተመርጦ ሠራተኞችን የሚወክል እካል ማግለል የመደራጀት ህልውናና መብት የሚረግጥ አሠራር ነው። በዚህም መሠረት በቀጣይ በአገራችን ውስጥ ወደ ሥልጣን የሚመጣ መንግሥት ሠራተኛው የኢትዮጵያ ህገ መንግሥት በሚፈቅድለት መሠረት በራሱ ጉዳይ ላይ ሙሉ ተሳታፊ መሆኑን የሚያረጋግጥ ፖሊሲ የሚያወጣና ለተግባራዊነቱም በጥብቅ የሚታገል

መሆን አለበት።

ከዚህም ሌላ መንግሥት በሚያወጣው ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ፖሊሲዎችና ህጎች ላይ ሠራተኛው በመሪዎች አማካኝነት ተሳታፊ መሆን እንዳለበት የሚታመንበት ነው። እስካሁን ባለው ሂደት ግን የሠራተኛው ተሳትፎ የተገደበ ነው። እነዚህ ፖሊሲዎች በተዘዋዋሪም ሆነ በቀጥታ በሠራተኛው ህይወት ላይ ተፅዕኖ ማሳደራቸው አልቀረም።

ቀደም ሲል የመንግሥት ድርጅቶችን ወደ ግል ይዞታ ለማዛወር አዋጅ ሲወጣ የሠራተኛው ተሳትፎ አልተጠየቀም። ድርጅቶች ሲዛወሩም የሰራተኛው ተሳትፎ የተገደበ ነው። የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ ለማድረግ ፖሊሲ ሲወጣ ሠራተኛው በቅድሚያ አልተወያየበትም። በዚህም ምክንያት በአፈጻጸም በሠራተኛው ኑሮ ላይ ተፅዕኖ አሳድሮአል።

ለምሳሌ፡- በአቃቂ ልብስ ስፌት ፋብሪካ የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ ሲወሰድ የማህበሩ መሪዎች እንዲያውቁትና እንዲሳተፉ አልተደረገም። አፈጻጸሙም ከአዋጅ ቁጥር 42/85 ውጭ የተሠራ ነው። በቀጣዩ ምርጫ ሥልጣን የሚይዘው መንግሥት የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ ሲሰራ የሠራተኛውን ተሳትፎ ሙሉ በሙሉ የሚያረጋግጥ ፖሊሲ መቅረጽ አለበት።

ቀደም ሲል የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ ሲደረግ ከሥራ ለሚቀንሱ ሠራተኞች ማቋቋሚያ የሚሆን የሲፍቲኔት ፕሮግራም ተመድቦ ሲሠራበት ቆይቷል። አሁን መንግሥት ይህንን ፈንድ በማቋረጡ በርካታ ሠራተኞች ከነቤተሰቦቻቸው በችግር እየተጓገላቱ ይገኛሉ።

የመንግሥት ዓላማ ሥራ የሌላቸውን ዜጎች ሥራ እንዲይዙ ሁኔታዎችን ማመቻቸት እንጂ የሥራ እጥነት ቁጥር መጨመር አይደለም። በመሆኑም የመዋቅር ማስተካከያ መሥራት አስፈላጊ መሆኑ ከታመነበት ከሥራ ለሚቀንሱ ሠራተኞች የሲፍቲኔት ፕሮግራም ተመድቦ መዘጋጀት አለበት። ሠራተኞች ከሥራ ከመቀነሳቸው በፊት አማራጭ መፍትሔዎችን መቀየስ እንዳለበት እስቀድሞ ጥናት ማድረግ ይገባል። በተለይም አይ.ኤም.ኤ.ፍ. እና ወርልድ ባንክ

የሚያደርጉትን ተፅዕኖ ተቋቁሞ የዜጎችን ሠርቶ የመኖር ዋስትና የሚያረጋግጥ ጠንካራ መንግሥት ያስፈልጋል።

የመንግሥት የልማት ድርጅቶች ወደ ግል ከመዛወራቸው በፊት በቂ ጥናት መደረግ አለበት። በተለይም የሠራተኛው እጣ ፋንታ በእጅጉ ሊታሰብበት ይገባል። አማራጮች ሊፈተሹ የግድ ነው። ሠራተኛውም በሂደቱ ሙሉ በሙሉ መሳተፍ አለበት። ሂደቱ የሠራተኛውን የሥራ ዋስትና የማያረጋግጥ ከሆነ ፋይዳ ቢሰ ነው። መንግሥትም የለመውን ግብ መታ ማለት አይቻልም። ምክንያቱም የፕራይቪታይዜሽን ዓላማ ግብ ሊመታ የሚችለው ዜጎች ተጠቃሚ ሲሆኑ ብቻ ነው። ከዚህ አኳያ የመንግሥት ፖሊሲ ድርጅቶች ሲሸጡ ሠራተኛውም በእኩልነት መልክ ተሳታፊ እንዲሆን ሁኔታዎችን ማመቻቸት አለበት። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ ድርጅቶች ወደ ግል ይዞታ ሲዛወሩ የሠራተኞች የሥራ ዋስትና እንዲሁም ጥቅማጥቅሞች እንደተጠበቁ የሚቀጥሉበትን መንገድ መቀየስ አለበት። በቀጣይ የሚመሰረተው መንግሥትም እነዚህ የሠራተኛው ፍላጎቶችና እምነቶች መሆናቸውን ተገንዝቦ የፖሊሲው አካል ሊያደርጋቸው ይገባል።

3. የሦስትዮሽ (Tripartite) አሠራርን የሚያጠናክር ፖሊሲ

የዓለም የሥራ ድርጅት /አይ.ኤል.አ./ በጸኑ የሚያምንባቸውና ከሚታገላቸው አሠራሮች አንዱ ይህ የሦስትዮሽ አሠራር ነው። በዚህም መሠረት መንግሥት አሠሪዎችና ሠራተኞች በወኪሎቻቸው አማካኝነት በጋራ ውይይት በማድረግ ለእንዳስትሪ ግንኙነት ጠቃሚ ሁኔታዎች ያመቻቻሉ። በአሠሪና ሠራተኛ መካከል የሚወጡ ህጎችና ፖሊሲዎች በመንግሥት ከመጽደቃቸው በፊት ውይይት ይደረግባቸዋል። የውሳኔ ሃሳብ /ፕሮፖዛል/ ይቀርባሉ። በአገራችንም ይህ ሂደት በቅርቡ ገና የተጀመረ ቢሆንም ወደፊት በመንግሥት ትኩረት ተሠጥቶት መጠናከር አለበት። በአገር አቀፍ ደረጃ አንድ Tripartite Labour

advisory Board ከሦስቱም አካላት በተውጣጣ መንገድ ቢዋቀርም ሥራውን አልጀመረም። ይህ የሦስትዮሽ አሠራር ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ባለፈው ወር በተደረገ የአዋጅ 42/85 ማሻሻያ ሲምጋዚያም ላይ ተጀምሮ አበረታች ውጤት አሳይቷል። ሦስቱም አካላት የጋራ በሆነው የአሠሪና ሠራተኛ አዋጅ 42/85 ላይ ያላቸውን የማሻሻያ ሃሳብ በጋራ ውይይት በማድረግ ህጉን ለማሻሻል የሚረዱ የውሳኔ ሃሳቦችን ለመንግሥት እንዲቀርብ ተስማምተዋል። ይህ ዓይነት አሠራር በቀጣይም ሌሎች ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ፖሊሲዎችና ህጎች ከመውጣታቸው በፊት ውይይት ሊደረግባቸው ይገባል። ሰሻል ዲያሎግ መለመድ አለበት። ችግሮች በውይይትና በድርድር መፈታት አለባቸው። በመቀራረብና በመወያየት ቅሪትዎችን የሚያስወግድ የመቻቻል ባህልም ማጸበር ይጠበቅብናል። ይህም አሠራር እንዲሳለብት አይ.ኤል.አ. በከፍተኛ ደረጃ ድጋፍ እያደረገ ይገኛል። በቅርቡም በአገራችን Social Dialogue በሚል ርዕስ አንድ ዓለም አቀፍ ስብሰባ ተካክሏል።

ይህ አሠራር በተለይ በደቡብ አፍሪካ ሥር የሰደደ ነው። በአገሪቱ ውስጥ የኢኮኖሚም ሆነ የማህበራዊ ፖሊሲዎች ከመውጣታቸው በፊት "NEDLAC" (National Economic Development and Labour Council) በተሰኘው ድርጅት ሰፊ ጥናትና ውይይት ይደረግበታል። ይህ ካውንስል የተቋቋመው ከመንግሥት፣ ከሠራተኛ ማህበር፣ ከአሰሪና ከኮሚኒቲ በተውጣጡ አባላት ነው።

ለዚህ ም/ቤት መንግሥት ከፍተኛ በጀትና ጽ/ቤትም በመስጠት ድጋፍ ያደርጋል። ሁሉም ተወካዮች በጋራ የአገሪቱን ኢኮኖሚ እድገት ለማምጣት ጎብ ተሳትፎ ያደርጋል። ለሥራ ጉዳይ ደቡብ አፍሪካ በኬድኩበት ወቅት በዓመታዊ የካውንስሉ ስብሰባ ተገኝቼ የተገነቡበት ለዚህ ዓይነት አሠራር በመንግሥት በኩል የተሰጠው ትኩረት የላቀ ነው። በአገራችንም በቀጣይ ምርጫ የሚመሠረተው መንግሥት ለሦስትዮሽ አሠራርና ለሰሻል ዲያሎግ መጠናከር ሁኔታዎችን ማመቻቸትና የፖሊሲውም አንድ አካል ማድረግ አለበት። ምክንያቱም የዕድገትና የብልጽግና ጎዳናዎች ናቸው።

በተለይም አገራችን በምትከተለው የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ በከፍተኛ ቁጥር እየጨመረ የመጣው የሠራተኛው መደብ የሚያበረክተው ሁለገብ ተሳትፎ በቀላሉ ግምት የሚሰጠው አይደለም። ቀስ በቀስ ወሳኝ ኃይል መሆኑ አይቀርም።

4. የሠራተኛውን ሀብረተሰብ የጠረታና ማህበራዊ ዋስትና የሚያረጋግጡ ፖሊሲ

አሁን በአገራችን ያለው የጠረታ ህግ የሚያቅፈው የመንግሥት ሠራተኞችን ብቻ ነው። በዚህ መሠረት በግል ድርጅት የሚሠሩት ሠራተኞች የጠረታ መብትና የማህበራዊ ዋስትና ፈንድ የላቸውም። በተለይም ሠራተኞች ለበርካታ ዘመናት አገልግለው በእርጅናም ሆነ በሞት ከሥራ ሲለዩ በቤተሰባቸው ላይ የሚደርሰው እደጋ የከፋ ነው። ከመንግሥትም ሆነ ከቀጣሪ ድርጅቶች የሚሰጥ የጠረታም ሆነ የማህበራዊ ዋስትና ገንዘብ ባለመኖሩ እድሜያቸውን ሙሉ ከእጅ ወደ አፍ በሆነ ደሞዝ ሲያገለግሉ የኖሩትን ሠራተኞች በስተርጅና ለባለ መከራና ስቃይ ይዳርጋቸዋል።

ይህ የጠረታ ዋስትና በግል ድርጅቶች የሚሰሩ ሠራተኞችን በሚያካትት መልክ እዲስ አዋጅ እንዲወጣ በተደጋጋሚ ስንጠይቅ ቆይተናል። ሆኖም ጉዳዩ በጥናት ላይ መሆኑ ሲነገር የቆዩ ቢሆንም ተግባራዊ አልሆነም። ይህ ጉዳይ በመጨረሻ መንግሥት ቀዳሚ ትኩረት ሊደረግለት የሚገባ ነው። አሠራሩ በሌሎች አገሮች የተለመደና ሁሉንም የሠራተኛ ክፍል የሚያካትት ነው።

5. የፍትህ አካላት የሚጠናከሩበትን ፖሊሲ መቅረጽ

እንደሚታወቀው በአገራችን ብዙ ህጎች ይወጣሉ። ፖሊሲዎች ይነደፋሉ። በሥልጣን ላይ ያለው መንግሥትም በርካታ አዋጆች አውጥቷል። ሆኖም እነዚህን ህጎች በማስፈጸሙ ረገድ ድክመት ይታያል። አዋጆችን ለማስፈጸም ኃላፊነት የተጣለባቸው አካላት የሚሰጡት ትኩረት እጅግ ዝቀተኛ ነው። ህግ ማውጣት ብቻውን

ትርጉም ሊኖረው አይችልም። ለምሳሌ፡ አዋጅ 42/85 በሚደነግገው መሠረት የአሠሪና ሠራተኛ ወሳኝ ቦርድ አንድ ወር፣ የሥራ ክርክር ችሎቶች ደግሞ በ2 ወራት የቀረበላቸውን ጉዳዮች መርምረው ውሳኔ ይሰጣሉ ይላል። በተግባር ግን ሲታይ እስከ አምስትና ስድስት ዓመት ድረስ ውሳኔ የማይሰጡበት ሁኔታ ይታያል።

ከእነዚህ ችሎቶች በላይ ያሉትም የዳኝነት አካላት በተመሳሳይ መንገድ የሠራተኞችን ጉዳዮች ሲያጋትቱ ይታያሉ። በዚህም ምክንያት ሠራተኞች ፍትህ ፍለጋ በሌላቸው አቅም ሲንገላቱ ይታያሉ። እንዳንዶቹም ተስፋ ቆርጠው ይተዋሉ።

ይህ አሠራርም ለህግ ወጥ አሠሪዎች ምቹ ሁኔታ የፈጠረላቸው መሆኑን መረዳት ይቻላል። እነዚህ የፍትህ አካላት ቀልጣፋ የሆነ አገልግሎት መስጠት ያልቻሉበትን ምክንያት መርምሮ የማስተካከል ርምጃ የወሰደ አካል የለም። ሌላው ቀርቶ ብዙ ሺ ሠራተኛ በሚገኝበት እዲስ አበባ ያለውን የአሠሪና ሠራተኛ ወሳኝ ቦርድ ቁጥር በአዋጁ መሠረት መጨመር የሚችል አካል አልተገኘም። ለምሳሌ አዋጅ 42/85 ከወጣ ወዲህ እስከ 1991 ዓ.ም. መግቢያ ድረስ በፌደራል የሥራ ክርክር ችሎት ብቻ ውሳኔ ያላገኙ ከ4ሺ በላይ ፋይሎች እንዳሉ ለማወቅ ተችሏል። በሌሎች የሠራተኛ ጉዳይ ችሎቶችም ችግሩ ከዚህ የተለየ አይደለም።

እነዚህ ሁኔታዎች መቀጠል የለባቸውም። ህጉ እንዲከበር በአስፈጻሚ አካላት ትኩረት እንዲሰጠው ጥብቅ የሆነ የአፈጻጸም ፖሊሲ ያስፈልጋል። የሚወጡት ህጎች የወረቀት ነብር ብቻ ሆነው መቅረት የለባቸውም። ይህም የተጠያቂነትን አሠራር ግልጽ በሆነ መንገድ የሚያሰፍን ተግባራዊ የሚሆን ፖሊሲ መቀረጽ አለበት።

በመጨረሻ ምርጫ ሥልጣን ላይ የሚወጣ ፓርቲ ይህን መሠረታዊ የሆነ የአሠራር ግድፈት ለማስተካከል የፖሊሲው አካል ማድረግ አለበት። ከዚህ በተጨማሪም የአሠሪና ሠራተኛ አዋጅ በተሻለ መንገድ እንዲቀረጽ መንግሥት ትኩረት ሊሰጠው ይገባል።

6. ዝቅተኛ የደመወዝ መነሻን ማሻሻል

በአገራችን እየተሠራበት ያለው መነሻ ደሞዝ በ1985 የሽግግሩ መንግሥት አንድ የአሜሪካን ዶላር 5 የኢትዮጵያ ብር እንዲቀየር ሲደረግ መነሻ ደሞዝ ወደ ብር 105 እንዲያድግ ተደርጋል። ከዚያም በእንዳንድ መሥሪያ ቤቶች እስከ 120 ብር ደርሶ ይታያል። ይህም በአሁኑ ጊዜ አንድ የአሜሪካን ዶላር ከብር 8 በላይ ሲደርስ በእንጻፍ-ብር የመግዛት አቅም እየቀነሰ መኼዱ የሚታወቅ ነው። በዚህም መሠረት በዚህ አነስተኛ የመነሻ ደሞዝ አንድ ሠራተኛ ኑሮውን ለመምራት ይችላል ማለት አስቸጋሪ ነው። በመሆኑም ከወቅቱ የገበያ ሁኔታ ጋር የሚኼድ የተሻሻለ መነሻ ደሞዝ ሊታወጅ ይገባል።

ይህ ሲሆን ነው ሠራተኛው በአግባቡ ምርት በማምረትና ኑሮውን በመቃቃም ለአገሪቱ እድገት የበኩሉን አስተዋጽኦ በበቂ ሁኔታ ሊያበረክት የሚችለው። መጨረሻ መንግሥት ለዚህ ጉዳይ ሰፊ ትኩረት በመስጠት የፖሊሲው አካል ማድረግ ይገባዋል።

7. የሥራ እድልን የሚፈጥር የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ

በአገራችን ውስጥ የተንሰራፋውን የሥራ አጥነት ለማቃለል መንግሥት ዜጎችን ሥራ ረላጊ ሳይሆኑ ሥራ ፈጣሪ የሚሆኑበትን መንገድ መቀየስ አለበት። የሙያ ተቋማትን በማስፋፋት አጫጭር ሥልጠናዎችን በመስጠት አነስተኛ የሥራ ፈጠራዎች የሚሰፋፋቸውን መንገድ መቀየስ አለበት። አነስተኛ የብድር አገልግሎት ተቋሞች እንዲስፋፉ ሁኔታዎች መመቻቸት አለባቸው። በማህበር ተደራጅተው ለሚቀርቡ ወገኖች ብድር በመስጠት፣ የመሥሪያ ቤታ በመስጠትና የምክር አገልግሎት በመስጠት ማበረታታት ይጠበቅበታል።

ከዚህም በተጨማሪ የአገር ውስጥም ሆነ የውጭ ኢንቨስትመንትን በመላብና በማበረታታት የሥራ ዕድልን ማስፋፋትና ሥራ አጥነትን መቀነስ ይቻላል። ከዚህ አኳያ የሚቋቋሙት ኢንቨስትመንቶች በዋነኝነት በሰው ኃይል የሚጠቀሙ

እንዲሁም በፖሊሲ ደረጃ መቀመጥ አለበት።

የእንቅስቃሴውን ቀንሻ ዓላማ የአገሪቱን ኢኮኖሚ ከማሳደግ ገን ለገን ለሥራ አጠቃላይ ህብረተሰብ የሥራ ዕድል መፍጠር መቻል አለበት። እንደገና ትላልቅ ኩባንያዎች ብዙ የሰው ኃይል ከመጠቀም ይልቅ ድርጅታቸውን ከምርጫ-ተራ-ይዘድ በማድረግ በጣም ጥቂት ሰዎችን በመቅጠር ሰፊ ትርፍ ማጋጠን ይመርጣሉ። ይህ ሁኔታ እንዲከሰት መንግሥት በፖሊሲ ደረጃ ማስቀመጥ አለበት። ለዚህም "Labour Intensive" የሆኑ ድርጅቶች ሊበረታቱ የሚችሉበትን መንገድ መቀየስ ይቻላል። የሥራ ዕድልን ለመፍጠር የሚያስችል ግልጽ ፖሊሲ ይዞ የሚቀርብ ፓርቲ ተቀባይነቱ የጎሳ ነው።

8. የዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ግንባታን የማጠናከር ፖሊሲ

የአንድ አገር ዕድገት ሊፋጠን የሚችለው ዲሞክራሲያዊ አሠራር ሥር ሲሰድና ባህሉ ሲሆን ነው። ከዚህ አኳያ ሠራተኛው በዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቱ በመጠቀም በአይ.ኤል.አ ኮንቬንሽኖች 87 እና 98 እንዲሁም በአዋጅ 42/85 መሠረት ከአሠሪዎች ጋር የመደራደር ጥቅምን የማስጠበቅና እንዲሁም የመደራጀት መብቱ ሙሉ በሙሉ ሊከበርለት ይገባል። አሁን ባለው ሁኔታ የመደራጀት መብቱ ሙሉ በሙሉ ሊከበርለት ይገባል። አሁን ባለው ሁኔታ የመደራጀትም ሆነ የመደራደር መብቱን በአንዳንድ የመንግሥትና የግል አሠሪዎች ሲጣሱ ይታያል። ይህ መብቱ በአፈድሪ ህገ መንግሥት አንቀጽ 42 በግልጽ ተደንግጋል። ህገ መንግሥቱን በመጻፈር የሚፈጸሙ ህገ ወጥ ድርጊቶች መገታት አለባቸው። ለዚህም ተፈጻሚነት መገገም ጠንካራ ርምጃ ሙሉ ይጠበቅበታል። ይህን ሲያደርግ ጊዜ ነው መንግሥት በሠራተኛው ላይ ተግባራዊነትና ተቀባይነት ሊኖረው የሚችለው።

ከዚህ በተጨማሪም መንግሥት የህብረተሰቡን ሰብዓዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች ለመጠበቅ የሚያስችሉ የሰብዓዊ መብት ኮሚሽንና የዕንባ

ጠባቂ ተቋማትን ማቋቋም ይጠበቅበታል። እነዚህ አካላትም ነፃ በሆነ መንገድ ኃላፊነታቸውን የሚወጡ ተቋማት መሆን ይኖረባቸዋል።

9. የከተማውን ህዝብ ማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ችግሮች ለመፍታት የሚያስችል ፖሊሲ

በአገራችን በተለይ በከተሞች የሚኖረው ህዝብ በመኖሪያ ቤት ችግር እየተሰቃየ ይገኛል። የመኖሪያ ቤት ለመሥሪት ከሚጠየቀው ከፍተኛ ገንዘብ በተጨማሪ ለቤት መሥሪያ የሚሆን ቦታም ለማግኘት አስቸጋሪ ነው። በተለይ በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ችግሩ እሳሳቢ ነው። ይህን ችግር ለመቅረፍ ቤት ለመሥሪት ለሚፈልጉ ሰዎች በአነስተኛ ወለድ የሚከፈል ሰድር ማግኘት አለባቸው። ቦታም ቢሆን በከተሞች ማስተር ጥላን መሠረት በቀላሉ ሊሰጥ ይገባል። ከዚህ በተጨማሪ ቤት ሠርተው ለማከራየት ለሚፈልጉ ኢንቨስተሮች አስፈላጊውን ድጋፍ ሊደረግላቸው ይገባል።

በከተሞች አካባቢ ሌላው ችግር የመንገዶች መበላሸት፣ የፈላጊና የውሃ መውረጃ ሰዮች አለመኖር፣ የከተሞች የጽዳት ደረጃ ማሽቆላቆል፣ በቂ የሆነ የውሃና የመብራት አገልግሎት እንዲሁም የሌሎች ማህበራዊ ተቋማት አለመስፋፋት ትልቁ ችግር ነው። እነዚህ ችግሮች ትልቅ ትኩረት ሊደረግላቸው የሚገቡ ጉዳዮች ናቸው።

10. መላውን ህብረተሰብ የካተተ የጤናና የትምህርት ፖሊሲ መቅረጽ

የአገራችን የትምህርትና የጤና ሁኔታ ያለበት ደረጃ አሁንም ዝቅተኛ መሆኑ የሚታወቅ ነው። በተለይም ትምህርት ፖሊሲው ከትምህርት ቤት የሚወጡ ተማሪዎች ሥራ ሊፈጥሩ የሚችሉ ዜጎች መሆናቸውን ማረጋገጥ አለበት። ለዚህም ለመቶ ትምህርቶች ትኩረት የሚሰጥ መሆን ይኖርበታል። የትምህርት ፖሊሲው ባብዛኛው በኋላቀርነት ደረጃ የሚኖረውን የገጠሩን ህዝብ ከማህይምነት

ለማሳቀቅ ትኩረት በማድረግ ትምህርቱም በነፃ መስጠት አለበት። የጤና ፖሊሲውም ቢሆን አብዛኛው ህዝብ ወደሚኖርበት ገጠር ትኩረት በመስጠት በርካታ ክለኒኮችና የጤና ተቋማት መስፋፋት አለባቸው። ህክምና ለድሃው ህዝብ በነፃ መሆን አለበት። በቂ የሆኑ የህክምና ባለሙያዎችን ለማፍራት ጥረት መደረግ አለበት። የአገሪቱን ኢኮኖሚ መገንባት የሚችል የተማሪ የሰው ኃይል በብዛትና በጥራት መሠልጠን አለበት። የአገሪቱን ኢኮኖሚ መገንባት የሚችሉ ዜጎችም ጤናቸው የተጠበቀ መሆን አለበት። በተለይ የኤድስን በሽታ ለማጥፋትና ለመከላከል የሚያስችል እቅድ ያላቸው ፓርቲዎች ወደ ሥልጣን ቢወጡ ድጋፍ ይኖራቸዋል።

11. የአርሶ አደሩን ህይወት የሚለውጥ የግብርና ፖሊሲ መቀየስ አለበት

የአገራችን የተፈጥሮ አቀማመጥና የአየር ሁኔታ ለግብርና ለመቼ ነው ቢባልም በተደጋጋሚ ለረሃብ ስንጋለጥ እንታያለን። ከ85% በላይ የአገራችን ህዝብ ኑሮው በግብርና ላይ የተመሠረተ መሆኑ ይታወቃል። ሆኖም በዘመናዊ የአስተራረስ ዘዴ ለመጠቀም ባለመቻላችን በዝናብ ላይ ብቻ ተማምንን ስለምንቀመጥ በየጊዜው ድርት እየደቆሰን ከራሳችን ፍጆታ አልፈን ወደ ጡጭ የአርሻ ውጤቶችን መላክ ስንችል ከሌሎች አገሮች ርዳታ እየተመጠነን እንገኛለን። ይህም አንገታችንን የሚያስደፋ ነው። የገጠሩ የአርሻ ምርት ካላደገ በከተሞችም የምግብና የሌሎችም የግብርና ውጤቶች ምርት አጥረት መፈጠሩ አይቀርም። ይህም የከተማውን ህዝብ ኑሮ በተለይም በዝቅተኛ የኑሮ ደረጃ የሚገኘውን ሠራተኛ በእጅጉ ይጎዳል።

በዚህም መሠረት የመንግሥት ፖሊሲ በግብርናው ላይ ትኩረት ሲሰጠው ይገባል። የተፈጥሮ ደኖችን መጠበቅ፣ ወንዞችን ለመስኖ አገልግሎት መጠቀም፣ ግብዓቶችን በተገቢው መንገድ መጠቀም፣ አርሶአደሩን ዘመናዊ የአሥተራረስ ዘዴ ማስተማር፣ የልማት ተቋማትን በአርሶአደሩ ተሳትፎ እንዲቋቋሙ ማድረግ፣ ለአርሶ አደሩ ተጨማሪ ገቢ ሊያስገኙ

የሚችሉ የገቢ ምንጮችን የሚፈጥርበትን መንገድ ማስተማር ትኩረት ሊደረግባቸው የሚገቡ ጉዳዮች ናቸው።

ማጠቃለያ

በ1992 ዓ.ም. በሚደረገው ምርጫ ሥልጣን የሚይዘው መንግሥት ከሠራተኛው ህብረተሰብ አኳያ ትኩረት ሊደረግባቸው የሚገቡ ነጥቦች ለመጥቀስ ሞክርኩ እንጂ በአገራችን ውስጥ ተቆልለው የሚገኙ ማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ችግሮች በዚህ አጭር ጽሁፍ ዘርዘራ መጨረስ አልቻልንም። ይልቁንም ተወዳዳሪ ፓርቲዎች ከህዝብ ጋር የሚያቀራርባቸውን መድረክ በመፍጠር በአጠቃላይ የህብረተሰቡ ፍላጎት ምን እንደሆነ ማወቅ ተገቢ እንደሚሆን ግልጽ ነው።

በመጭው ምርጫ ሥልጣን የሚይዘው መንግሥት በአሁኑ ጊዜ በከፍተኛ ፍጥነት ቁጥሩ እየጨመረ የመጣውን የሠራተኛ ፍላጎትና ችግር ተረድቶ መፍትሄ የሚሰጥ መሆን አለበት። ሠራተኛው በማህበሩ አማካኝነት የሚያቀርባቸውን ጥያቄዎች ትኩረት በመስጠት ለተግባራዊ ምላሽ ዝግጁ የሆነ መንግሥት ያስፈልጋል። ከሁሉም በላይ የሠራተኛው ህዝብ ተሳትፎ ለአገር ቁልፍ ሚና ሊጫወት የሚችል መሆኑን ሊገነዘብ የሚችል መንግሥት ወደ ሥልጣን እንዲመጣ እንፈልጋለን። በዚህም መሠረት ሠራተኛው ህብረተሰብ ዕጩዎች ለውድድር ሲቀርቡ ጽምግታ ሊሰጥ የሚችልበት ግልጽ የሆነ ፐርግራም ነድፈው በቀጥታም ሆነ በተዘዋዋሪ ፍላጎቱን የሚያሟሉለትን ዘላቂ የሆነ ብልጽግናና የሥራ ዋስትና

ሊያረጋግጡለት የሚችሉ ዕጩዎች መሆን እንዳለበት መግለጹ ተገቢ ይሆናል።

በመጨረሻም በዚህ ውይይት ላይ ሠራተኛውን ወክሎ ጽሁፍ እንዳቀርብ ለጋበዘኝ ለኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚ ባለሙያዎች ማህበር ከፍተኛ ያለ ምስጋናዬን አቀርባለሁ። ማህበሩ ይህን ዓይነት ጠቃሚ መድረክ በማዘጋጀቱ ለአገራችን ዲሞክራሲያዊ ባህል ግንባታ የበኩሉን ጥረት እያደረገ በመሆኑ የሚመሰገን ተግባር ነው። የዚህ ዓይነት ተመሳሳይ መድረኮች በሌሎችም አካላት ቢዘጋጁ ህዝቦች ስለምርጫው የበለጠ ግንዛቤ እንዲያገኙ ሊረዳ ይቻላል የሚል እምነት አለኝ። ■

DOONESBURY



International Herald Tribune Dec. 8, 1999

DESSALEGN RAHMATO

A Luminary of Social Science Research

By Bahru Zewde

If there is one word that best describes Dessalegn Rahmato's (1940, Ethiopia) career as a committed academic, it is consistency. There is a consistent theme that runs through his writings which have earned him a distinguished place in African social science research. That theme is the condition of the Ethiopian peasantry. Few intellectuals have pursued over a period of a life time ideas that they have first articulated in their student days. But that is precisely what Dessalegn has managed to do. His article on 'The conditions of the Ethiopian peasantry', which came out in 1970 in 'Challenge', the journal of the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (ESUNA), has in effect proved to be his clarion call for sustained and committed research in peasant studies. Three decades later, we find Dessalegn still dealing with the manifold dimensions of the peasant's condition- from land tenure to environmental management, from famine to resettlement.

The late 1960s remain indelibly impressed in the minds of that generation of students whose destiny it became to

take, albeit briefly, centre stage in global politics.

student leaders who have now become heads of governments. It was the time of Vietnam, the one symbol that united radicals all over the world on the side of a small nation holding its head high against a bullying superpower. The ready spirit that propelled students into centre stage also toppled giants like De Gaulle. Ethiopian students were part and parcel of that movement. As the students at home battled with the coercive arm of the state for freedom and social justice, their compatriots abroad were striving to analyze the social and economic ills of their country. Reflection, more than direct political action, was their mode operation. Dessalegn, along with his other colleagues at ESUNA, kept up a tradition of sober and reasoned discussion of Ethiopian issues until forced into the backstage by a more strident edition of student activism.

When the Ethiopian revolution broke out in 1974, Dessalegn was one of the few intellectuals who returned to their homeland. But he did not, as was



ATO DESSALEGNE RAHMATO

Ato Dessalegn Rahmato is an active associate member of EEA. He is an active participant by being a panelist in his area of expertise. EEA on its part is increasingly forging links with him and his colleagues' research center, Forum for Social Studies (FSS).

On December 8, 1999, at a special ceremony held at the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Addis Ababa, Ato Dessalegn was presented with the Prince Claus Award for his life-long commitment and work on Rural Ethiopia. Ato Dessalegn has been working, and is still working, on the rural issue for about three decades. The EEA is proud and honoured to pass its warmest congratulations to Ato Dessalegn and wish him every success in his future career.

Editor's Note:

In the Award ceremony, one senior staff of the Addis Ababa University noted that it is an irony (not really a shame) that the works of Ato Dessalegn has been recognized by foreign countries while his University (AAU), in which Dessalegn worked for years, didn't say a thing.

It is imperative to note, as I personally feel, if AAU doesn't recognize academic excellence and contribution (or does it at the end of the individual's life), it will erode its credibility. This is because one day people could say "Who are you after all to give recognition if you didn't do so for Mr X who has made an eminent contribution in his field of endeavour." Thus, it is high time that AAU woke up to expectation once again. This is really a great blow to AAU, I would add.

It was the time of Rudi Dustchke and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, of radical

intellectuals who returned to their homeland. But he did not, as was

the norm, rush into organized leftist politics. Instead, he chose the less spectacular but ultimately more fruitful path of an academic career at Addis Ababa University. And time has shown the wisdom of that decision. For many of those who chose the political path were devoured by the merciless whirlpool of factional strife and the brutal clutches of a military dictatorship.

At Addis Ababa University, more specifically the Institute of Development Research, with which his name was so closely associated in the 1980s and 1990s, Dessalegn was to emerge as the luminary of social science research. That undoubtedly was the most productive period of his life. There were few issues of rural development that Dessalegn's proficient pen did not tackle. His magnum opus, 'Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia' (1984), has remained the definitive assessment of the implementation of the radical land reform of 1975. In a country whose foreign image has been tragically synonymous with famine, he has established himself as a leading authority on the subject, ranging his investigation from rural poverty to peasant survival strategies, from rural symbolism to food dependency, and from food security to environmental stress.

At conferences and symposia, some of which he himself organized, the figure of Dessalegn Rahmato, with the beret that was his unmistakable and inseparable badge, became a common sight. Why he always volunteered to take off this identity tag when he was presenting a paper or chairing a session has remained a mystery to this day. Perhaps it is a

measure of his respect for formal academic discourse. Be that as it may, it has rarely failed to render all those who have formerly known him only off-stage speechless for some moments until they could absorb the new look. Some would then continue to ponder for more minutes why he has chosen to smother such graceful, if grey, hair under the cover of his preferred headgear. In the field, though, as Dessalegn impatiently urged his colleagues on the next assignment, the famous beret has tended to give him the air of a field commander.

And it is years of dedicated application to field research that have given Dessalegn his unique insight into the mental processes of the peasant, his hopes and anxieties, his expectations and his disappointments. The peasant, who has been the central focus of Dessalegn's study, has not been some distant object of theoretical analysis. Rather, there has always been an intimate and direct rapport between author and subject. Dessalegn has managed to combine to good effect the excitement of fieldwork with the sober analysis of data in the quiet solitude of his office. It is this close identification with the peasant and his life that has made Dessalegn wary of all commandist

cluding the vesting of absolute property rights in the land that he tills and toils upon. Given his intimate knowledge of the peasant, it is not surprising that he had always found arguments that the peasant does not know his true interests, that he would sell away his plot at the first sign of adversity, totally unconvincing.

In 1997, Addis Ababa University lost a social science researcher of the highest calibre when Dessalegn was forced to retire. The world of independent policy research gained an indefatigable organizer. With a group of like-minded colleagues, Dessalegn has founded the Forum for Social Studies (FSS), the first independent policy research centre in Ethiopia. As manager of FSS, Dessalegn has been instrumental in fostering a tradition of public discourse in the formulation and evaluation of national policy. Within the first year of its existence, FSS has organized three workshops which have brought together ministers and other government policy-makers and functionaries as well as well as academics to discuss issues of land, access to information and education. With a penchant for detail that leaves scarcely anything to chance, these gatherings have been remarkable not only for the

wealth of discussion that they have generated but also for the precision with which they have run their course. This well-deserved Prince Claus Award thus comes at a time when Dessalegn closes one glorious chapter of his life and embarks on another perhaps ultimately even more significant one. ■

This well-deserved Prince Claus Award thus comes at a time when Dessalegn closes one glorious chapter of his life and embarks on another perhaps ultimately even more significant one.

solutions to the peasant's predicament. Hence his unrelenting struggle for the full economic empowerment of the peasant, in-

Notes to Contributors

The main objective of EEA Bulletin is to initiate policy-relevant public discussions on national and African economic issues. It presents synopses of research papers, panel discussions, public lectures, readers' comments and new research findings and notes. Readers and contributors are encouraged to submit short articles (not more than 5 pages in double space with 12 point font size) preferably accompanied by an electronic version. If accepted, an edited version of the article will be sent to the author before publication. If the author does not respond within a week, the edited version will appear in the bulletin. Unaccepted articles will not be sent to the author(s). We accept articles in both English and Amharic. Views expressed in the Bulletin are those of the author(s) and are not necessarily of the institution's in which the author(s) work or the EEA.

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CIVIL SOCIETY* :

SOME THEORETICAL NOTES

By Teketel Abebe (Dr.)

INTRODUCTION

Following the economic and political liberalization processes that have been taking place in recent times, the notion of civil society has emerged as an object of intense public discussion and scholarly debate in many parts of the world. In an attempt to depict the emergence of civil society as an important actor in the local, national, and global scene, journalists and scholars are now using catch call terms such as 'global associational revolution', and 'power shift'.

Various networks of civil society organizations (CSOs) from the local to the global level, are now engaging existing powerful and dominant institutions – national states, international organizations and business corporations – on various public issues ranging from the environment, international debt, international trade and investment regimes, poverty and sustainable development, etc. As a result of these developments civil society is increasingly being depicted as an emerging

'third sector' on its own right along side with the dominant institutions of the state (first sector) and the market (second sector).

The notion of civil society is a highly contested concept. The prevailing idea is that civil society represents a public domain of associational life between the family network and the state. Beyond this simple and general idea there is no agreement on several aspects of the subject. Issues such as which types of civic associations and organizations should be included or excluded from the domain of civil society; the application of the concept in different historical contexts; the role of civil society in democratization and development processes; the nature of state-civil relations; etc. are all controversial issues.

This article is not a synthesis of any empirical research on civil society. It merely covers theoretical and conceptual discussion on some of the above-mentioned issues, which might be useful for

future research on the subject.

DEFINITION AND MEANING

It is often noted that the concept of civil society is Western in origin and its emergence was associated with the specific historical transformation to a modern industrial system that occurred in the West (see Seligman 1992). However, this assertion immediately invites a lot of controversy. This is because it is often argued that non-Western societies also have their own historical indigenous civil societies. It is often asked: What are idir and equb (among others) if not our own indigenous forms of civil societies? We will come to this point in the next section in relation to the application of the concept in the African context. Here it suffices to note that, after a long period of neglect in public and scholarly discourse the notion of civil society was suddenly revived since the mid-1980s.

In the context of this short article it is not possible to discuss the origin and historical contexts in

* This article is a shorter and revised version of a paper presented at the 9th Annual Conference of the Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA), October 8-9, 1999, Addis Ababa.

The Western conception of civil society, especially its liberal version has two major and interrelated foundations. The first one is the abstract idea of the legally free and autonomous individual – i.e. freed from so-called primordial/particularistic local ethnic, religious, regional, etc. affiliations – and the implications of these conditions for the relationships between the individual and the social, the private and the public, the particular and universal dimensions of social order. This in turn was a product of a combined historical process of the creation of the nation-state and a wide array of citizenship rights (see Seligman 1992). These are clearly not the ideal typical scenarios prevailing in many contemporary African societies and hence the apparent dilemma encountered by Western scholars in applying the concept of civil society in the African context.

which the idea of civil society emerged, the various intellectual traditions on the subject and the factors which contributed for the recent revival of the idea of civil society. We should, however, note that the revival of the idea of civil society is closely related to the relentless critique and delegitimation of the hitherto dominant state-centered approach to development.

As we have indicated in the introduction, the notion of civil society is often vaguely characterized as the domain of associational life between the family and the state; implying an infinite number and types of associations and organizations. However, one of the major problems in the study of civil society is precisely the question of which types of associations and organizations properly belong to the realm of civil society. The types of associations and organizations included or excluded from civil society by different writers on the subject is simply endless and often contradictory. This situation often leads discussions on the subject to degenerate into semantic squabbles and an endless exercise in classification. In this article we will not attempt to formally define the concept or provide a list or concrete examples of associations which should be included or excluded from the domain of civil society. The aim is to provide a general overview of the main issues and approaches involved in the study of civil society. With regard to definition of the concept there are at least two approaches namely in terms of various ideal-type dimensions or characteristics and in terms of an image of civil society as a sector on its own right.

DIMENSIONS OF DEFINITION

According to Bothwell (1997:1-3), there are three main approaches adopted by most writers in defining civil society. These can be characterized as the attributes,

the preconditions and the composition approaches, which are briefly discussed below.

The Attributes Approach: In this approach much emphasis is placed on the special attributes which animate civil society institutions such as trust, reciprocity, tolerance and inclusion. Additional characteristics often emphasized include peaceful dialogue, transparency, flexibility, etc. Taken together these attributes embedded in the networks of civic institutions constitute a given society's social capital. It may be noted that, currently, the notion of social capital has emerged as a key concept in the study of the role of culture and civic traditions in the development of civil society, democracy and good governance.

The Preconditions Approach: This approach emphasizes what we may call the foundations for the emergence and development of civil society, preconditions such as freedoms of association and expression, the rule of law, absence of war and violence, capable state, etc. These are, in other words, elements of an enabling environment for the development of civil society, which, ideally should be established and consolidated by a democratic state.

The Composition Approach: This is the approach that comes nearest to the conventional understanding of the definition of a concept. However, it is also the most controversial approach in the study of civil society. The approach defines civil society in terms of its composition. The main question is which types of associations and organizations belong to civil society. Although, most writers generally conceive civil society as a domain of associational life between the family network and the state there is wide disagreement concerning which types of associations and organizations are or are not part of civil society. As we have noted

above the types of associations and organizations included or excluded from the domain of civil society by different writers are endless and sometimes contradictory.

CIVIL SOCIETY AS A SECTOR

It is becoming a common assumption to consider civil society as an emerging and important sector of society (both nationally and in global networks) alongside with the hitherto dominant institutions of the state and the market. As Hettne metaphorically put it "To simplify one could talk about three main actors: the prince (First System), the Merchant (Second System) and the Citizen (Third System)" (1990:165). According to a more sophisticated version of this approach, social life constitutes a threefold system with autonomous but interacting subsystems each with its own key institution. These are the economic sphere (the market), the polity or political sphere (the state) and the cultural sphere (civil society) (Perlas 1999, chapter 5). Such an imagery of civil society has some analytical values as well as limitations some of which we shall briefly touch upon below.

First, according to Perlas the three spheres and their key institutions are analytically separate and autonomous but in reality there is no 'Chinese wall' between them. They engage in manifold interactions. Depending on circumstances and the stage of development of civil society its relations with the other dominant institutions can be antagonistic, complementary or based on genuine and equal partnership. Secondly, although civil society organizations are considered to be cultural institutions, it does not mean that they do not involve in political and economic issues. In fact, advocacy and engagement in public policy issues are and should be considered as the

primary tasks of civic organizations.

Civil society organizations are cultural institutions primarily because they embody certain cultural and societal values about the meanings and purposes of development (values such as cooperation, participation, equity, sustainability, etc). The primary aim of civil society is, therefore, to institutionalize its cultural and societal values into the economic and political spheres and hold in check the potentially authoritarian and monopolistic tendencies of the state and the market. Thirdly, the approach provides an additional analytical angle with regard to the individual/private and the institutional dimensions of civil society. The main question is how can we rigidly categorize individuals and their activities into the threefold institutions of society.

According to Perlas, individuals have the freedom and the flexibility to engage simultaneously or sequentially in all three spheres with out much contradiction of principles and interests. On the other hand, civic organizations can not simultaneously and directly engage in all of the three institutional spheres without a serious contradiction and conflict of objectives, which may ultimately lead to a break down. In spite of the above clarifications some problems still remain. Where do organizations such as business associations, labor unions and co-operatives belong?

CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

It is often noted that African societies possess rich associational life dating back to the pre-colonial period (Bratton 1989:411). At the same time it was often argued that civil society in Africa is a weak and highly fragile construct, partly due to co-optation and repression by authoritarian regimes and partly because of the general socio-

economic underdevelopment of the continent. The latter view reflects the general assumption held by many Western scholars that civil society flourishes in the context of a higher level of capitalist development and a strong middle class. However, there is the optimistic assumption that since the beginning of economic and political liberalization, elements of civil society in the continent have undergone "both quantitative expansion and qualitative transformations in their organizational bases"(Eyoh 1996:55).

The development of civil society is in turn expected to further consolidate democracy. Beyond the above mentioned general perceptions there are no agreements on several aspects of the civil society phenomenon in Africa. To illustrate the problems involved in the analysis of civil society in Africa we can take one perspective on the subject. According to a leading scholar on civil society in Africa:

Civil society encompasses only a portion of what has become a complex associational scene. What distinguishes those groups incorporated in civil society from other associations is their partial nature. They are separate from but address the state. These networks do not attempt to offer solutions to existential problems (as do some sectarian organizations), nor do they seek to capture the state (as do some populist groups). They therefore occupy a conceptual - although - not always locational - middle ground, nurturing both horizontal and vertical ties (Chazan 1994: 256, 278 as quoted in Marcussen 1996:16-17).

Chazan's exposition brings us to one of the major problems concerning the study of civil society in Africa. According to Chazan two categories of associations and organizations should be excluded from the domain of civil society in Africa. First, the so-called 'parochial' associations - the various types of local, informal, traditional, indigenous community based associations. These types of associations

should be excluded because, according to Chazan, their agenda does not go beyond the immediate concerns, and day to day 'existential' problems of their localized members which do not 'address the state'. Such associations are excluded from the realm of civil society in favor of intermediate associations and organizations that promote 'vertical and horizontal ties.'

Secondly, what are called 'populist', namely religious, ethnic, regional, etc. associations and organizations. This category of associations should be excluded because they promote 'sectarian' interests and they do not have a concept of the state independent of their own aims. These types of associations tend to fragment the public sphere and even attempt to capture the state. The 'populist' types of associations are excluded in favor of those associations and organizations, which presumably promote modern-universal values and ideologies, and in so doing they address the state and create a shared public sphere within which plural and 'secular' interests can be articulated.

These two categories, undoubtedly, represent the most prevalent types of associations in Africa. If so, what are the assumptions behind the procedure of inclusion and exclusion? Are the procedure and the assumptions behind it conceptually and empirically valid? What is the implication of excluding from civil society these most prevalent forms of associations in Africa? In relation to these questions we can only indicate a few points. First, the above exclusion and inclusion of specific associations from civil society is clearly based on the Western model of civil society.

Secondly, the definition of civil society is mainly based on what we may call an instrumentalist and normative bias because associations and organizations

which promote political and economic liberalization and in so doing engage the state become by definition institutions of civil society. Thirdly and related to the above points, there is an implicit dichotomy between modern versus traditional and formal versus informal as the basis for including or excluding some associations in civil society. Space does not allow us to embark upon a detailed theoretical and methodological elaboration and critique on these issues here. It suffices to note that the above assumptions and approaches contain several theoretical and empirical flaws.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

The characteristics of civil society institutions identified here are ideal-type (i.e., which may diverge from the real world empirical reality) features gleaned from the literature. The main characteristics include institutional plurality, associational autonomy, voluntary participation and trust and solidarity.

Institutional Plurality: The notion of plurality indicates not only the obvious fact of the large number and types of associations and organizations occupying the public sphere between the family and state domain but also the diversities of interests, objectives, organizational forms, capacities, etc of civil society institutions. In other words, civil society is not a homogenous entity. It is characterized not only by harmony and cooperation but also it is an arena of competition, contradiction and conflict. As Marcussen notes "Civil society is not a uniform and homogenous group of institutions. On the contrary, the institutions of civil society are a myriad of particular interests, which have got an institutional form or an institutional expression. They express conflicts, rivalries, and struggles – or consented action. They may

act as integrating or disintegrating elements" (1996:25).

Associational Autonomy: Autonomy is perhaps the most important but at the same time the most controversial characteristics of civil society institutions. Generally, autonomy refers to the freedom and independence of civic organizations to set their own agenda without the direct intervention or dictation of external forces. As noted, like the notion of civil society itself, the idea of autonomy is a conceptual construct. In reality, since civil society organizations exist not in a vacuum but in specific historical, political, socio-economic, ideological, etc., contexts their autonomy is circumscribed by these contextual factors. That is why it is often said that autonomy is relative, i.e., it is a matter of degree and subject to change positively or negatively. In addition to the state, civil society institutions interact with other organized social forces including other civic institutions –internal and external –which in one way or another circumscribe and limit the autonomy and capacity of these institutions.

Voluntary Participation and Trust and Solidarity: Civil society institutions vary from small membership organizations mainly engaged in self-help activities to large and medium scale organizations engaged in all sorts of service, development and advocacy activities. Accordingly, they exhibit differences in their style of organization, internal democracy, level of membership participation (active/passive), etc. The self-image of civil society institutions as democratic, participatory, accountable, etc thus needs a close scrutiny. However, voluntary membership and participation is one of the important characteristics and principles of civic organizations. Authoritarian regimes have, of course, made a mockery of this principle by a blanket co-optation of whole organizations and their member-

ship.

Finally, thrust and solidarity are the 'invisible/intangible' but important properties of civil society institutions. Thrust and solidarity refer to the reciprocal mutuality and confidence individual members place on the reliability of the behavior and actions of fellow members and their organizations. Thrust and solidarity as foundations of associational life are expressed in their most simple and transparent forms in informal community based organizations – where these elements rather than external or officially binding legal rules keep these associations going. Thrust and solidarity, however, do not necessarily imply the absence of competition and conflict in associational life. As civic associations grow in size and complexity the face-to-face and primary basis of thrust and solidarity become diluted and assume a more abstract and remote character.

STATE-CIVIL SOCIETY RELATIONS

Of all aspects in the study of civil society the nature of its relations with the state appears to be the most important, especially in the formative stages of civil society in developing countries. The general problematic is couched in the language of autonomy of civil society institutions, which is often depicted in terms of safeguarding and protecting from the encroachment and interference of the state. It may seem obvious but it needs underlining the fact that autonomy does not necessarily imply isolation, separation or total independence from the state. Although civil society and state are and should be analytical separate they are in reality heavily implicated in each other's constitution (Beckman 1993: 29; Mamdani 1996:15). We can not address the crucial question of the nature and character of state-civil society relations in this article in a systematic and detailed manner it deserves. We can only raise a

few points.

The Creation of Political Space: In its modern manifestations the notion of civil society implies the rule of law. Therefore, as the most inclusive and rule setting organization in modern societies, the state is expected to provide the legal and constitutional guarantees for freedom of association without which the modern notion of civil society is inconceivable. This does not imply that the state just 'grants' the freedom of association and the political space necessary for the development of civil society out of benevolent will.

More often than not, it is the outcome of protracted struggles and negotiations between societal forces in which the state participates. Even then and as paradoxical as it may seem, the political space that civil society needs for its emergence and development ultimately needs to be guaranteed by the very state to which civil society is usually posed as a protagonist.

Beyond this general understanding, the specific nature of the relationship between the state and civil society can not be determined a priori by theoretical fiat for all societies and times.

State-Civil Society Relations are not Static: The dynamic character of the relation requires a historical perspective. For example, certain historical moments of crisis and transition can create 'political opportunity structures' in which state-civil society relations can be dramatically activated and changed. In such historical junctures civil society institutions which hitherto seemed docile and complaint may make a dramatic entry into the political arena. Following stabilization and the end of crisis and transition the scenario changes again.

One general example is the period of the anti-colonial inde-

pendence movement in Africa when civic organizations – labor unions, rural cooperatives, religious associations, etc. – served as the building blocks of the nationalist coalitions linking the urban and the rural world in the common struggle against colonialism (Bratton 1989:411). In the post-colonial period, however, most regimes came to view independent associations and organizations as potentially rival sources of power and influence and sought to suppress or co-opt civil civic organizations (see Mamdani 1990). This was done in the name of national unity and justified in terms of the 'ideology of development'. The recent pro-democracy popular movement in the continent in which civic organizations played significant role can be seen as another such historical moment.

State-Civil Society Relations are not Homogeneous: Since civil society embodies plurality, we can not generalize its relations with the state a priori and in a uniform manner. It varies from one institution or sector of institutions to another depending on the objectives, approaches and mutual perceptions with state authorities. However, there is, for example, a general perception that unlike conventional service and development oriented organizations, those civic associations engaged in the promotion of sensitive issues such as human rights and the rule of law in developing countries may get into antagonistic and acrimonious relations with the state (Bratton 1989:429). In any case, Bratton argues that instead of pre-judging the nature of the relationships between the state and civil society we should adopt a more flexible analytical framework involving situations ranging between "disengagement versus engagement" (1989: 428). In general and taking a static perspective we can identify from the literature four broad dimensions of state-civil society relations and these include: (1) legislative,

regulative, and encouragement; (2) cooperative or collaborative; (3) advocacy and opposition; and (4) autonomy or independence dimensions.

DEMOCRATIZATION AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The nature of the relationship between democracy, civil society and development has been the subject of longstanding debate in the social sciences and development studies. It is to be recalled that in its hay day in the 1960s modernization theory held as one of its major axioms that democracy and civil society are the by-products of socio-economic development and affirmed the role of the state in development. This axiom has been dramatically reversed in recent times. According to the currently dominant view democracy and civil society are no longer to be viewed as long term outcomes of development, they are on the contrary the essential preconditions for development. A detailed discussion of the various perspectives and inconclusive debates on the subject is beyond the scope of this article (see Leftwich 1994, White 1995). Our aim here is to raise a few points concerning the theoretical dimensions of the relationships between democratization, decentralization and civil society.

It has often been noted that formal democracy without effective self-rule at regional and local levels constitutes a partial political reform. Similarly, formal decentralization without democratization at the local and regional levels tends to merely reproduce 'decentralized despotism' (see Mamdani 1996). Generally speaking, the main elements of formal democracy and decentralization are representation and self-rule respectively, which constitute some level of popular participation through periodic elections. However, it can be argued that formal democratization and decentralization do not necessar-

ily imply effective and continues popular participation in public policy decision making processes.

The question of effective popular participation in decision making process and the organizational basis for such participation in democratic and decentralized settings has not been fully explained in much of the debate on the subject. Currently the debate is couched in the 'populist' notion of 'empowerment'. The idea of empowerment has three elements namely organization, community awareness and self-management of social projects and activities. It can be argued that civil society (as networks of civic organization acting in the public domain) can be seen as one of the organizational basis

for popular participation in policy decision making processes. In this way theoretically civil society (with its element of participation or empowerment) can be viewed as complementary to the representation element in formal democracy and the self-rule element in decentralization in a full reform scenario towards 'democratic governance'.

The above discussion represents an ideal theoretical scenario. In real life situations the complementarity between the elements of democracy, decentralization and civil society noted above is not self-evident or free of rivalries and conflicts. This is because neither the state nor civil society is a homogeneous entity. It should be emphasized that civil society can not be taken as a

homogenizing replacement for the various divisions and conflicts (be it class, ethnicity, gender, etc) between social forces in society in which the state has a prominent role to play.

The plurality of interests and objectives of civil society organizations means that it can not be assumed that all such organizations promote democratic aspirations or they can be effective in promoting democratization processes. Thus the basic point is neither to idealize or glamorize civil society (and its role in democratization and development) nor to dismiss it in toto but to study 'actually existing' civil society in its specific historical contexts (Mamdani 1989; 23, 1996: 13-14). ■

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THE EXPERIENCE OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

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1. INTRODUCTION

The regional integration issue does not seem very sensitive today as it was in the 1950's. When the African integration agenda mooted in 1958, it was with vigour and high sensation. To make a reality the vision of our African forefathers, though many African countries became independent from their respective colonizers and pushed forward with the 'Monrovia Declaration', 'The Lagos Plan Of Action' and 'The Final Act Of Lagos' which underlined economic integration and cooperation as indispensable for the economic transformation of African countries, much has not been achieved in the economy of Africa, except being torn apart by war.

Our sub-region, Eastern and Southern Africa, has established the preferential trade area (PTA) in 1981 which was later transformed to COMESA in November 1993. Did PTA accomplish what it should accomplish in its 12 years of existence? How come that it transformed to a common market than to a Customs union?

How was the leap realized? Is it by mere renaming of PTA as COMESA or because of reality? Did the proliferation of different groupings accelerate integration as expected?

This short paper will try to review issues with regard to the stages of economic integration, the transformation of PTA to COMESA, and the problem of proliferation of regional groupings in Eastern and Southern Africa.

2. STAGES OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Economic Literature knows the following stages of economic integration: Preferential Trading Area, Free Trade Arrangement, Customs Union, Common Market, Economic Union and Total Economic Integration.

A Free Trade Arrangement can be made when a group of countries wish to enhance the expansion of trade among them through the elimination of trade barriers (If it is a reduction of trade barrier, it will be Preferential Trading Area). Member countries of a free trade area usually agree to suppress or gradually eliminate all trade restrictions in about ten or fifteen years period. Member countries are free to impose any level of tariffs against non-member countries.

The principal goal of a Free Trade Area is to gradually achieve a state of perfect competition among the industries of the member states in order to achieve a state of sustained expansion of economic activity, full employment, increased productivity and rational utilization of resources.

The period of gradual elimination of customs and other restrictions gives ample time for the industries of member countries to set themselves on a competitive footing. The general expectation, however, is that a free trade arrangement would increase the flow of trade among member states and this arrangement does not involve the coordination of economic policies.

The second type of economic integration is customs union. It is an association of a group of countries governed by an agreement to remove tariff levies on imports from member countries while establishing common external tariffs on imports from non-member countries. Customs union combines the element of free trade arrangement with policies of protection, since it provides for freedom of movement of goods between the partner states while protecting the market within the union. The member countries of a free trade area are at liberty to fix their own individual tariffs on imports from third countries. Member countries usually do agree to refrain from introducing new customs duties among themselves above the levels existing at the time of the agreement.

Quite often, countries make firm commitments to reduce tariffs gradually over a given period of time at the end of which there is to be complete freedom of movement of goods originating in the partner states. The reduction on the tariffs is made by adopting an arithmetic average of duties to be applied each successive year. An annual rate of reduction between 8 and 10 percent seems to be generally acceptable as a fair basis for starting negotiations towards the total abolition of customs duties. Economic literature on customs union takes for granted that rivalry is a disadvantage and complementarity is an advantage in the formation of a customs union.

A third type and a higher stage of economic integration than a free

trade area or a customs union is a common external tariffs envisaged in a common market. This arrangement allows free movement of factors of production such as capital and labour in a common market. Although the countries may not have a common currency, there often is free convertibility between the currencies of the partner states. Free competition between productive units of the partner states is also implied.

An economic union comes next to a common market when countries agree to integrate all economic activities and to undertake joint decisions in all aspects of economic policies. An economic union embraces wider implications than a customs union or a common market. Harmonious political relationships and identity of political ideologies are prerequisites for adopting joint economic policies in all sectors and at all levels of economic development.

After passing through all the above stages, the final stage of integration is a complete economic integration. This stage presupposes the unification of monetary, fiscal, social and counter cyclical policies and requires the setting-up of supra-national authority whose decisions are binding for the member states. However, full political union is a prerequisite for successful total integration.

In the decision regarding economic development strategy, three main approaches to cooperation can be distinguished. These are the multi-sectoral approach, the sector approach and the project by project approach.

3. BACKGROUND OF PTA AND THE TRANSFORMATION TO COMESA

As stated in the Lagos Plan of Action for economic development of Africa, the continent was unable to point to any significant growth rate since independence from colonialism. This is basically due to the

effects of unfulfilled promises of global development strategies that have been more sharply felt in the continent. Rather than resulting in an improvement in the economic situation of the continent, successive strategies have made it stagnate and became more susceptible to all shocks suffered by the developed countries than any other regions in the world.

After a series of in-depth considerations of the economic problems of the continent, the Monrovia Declaration was issued to achieve the goals of rapid self-reliance and self-sustaining development and economic growth in Africa.

In the Lagos Plan of Action, the Heads of State and Government of the OAU committed themselves

- To promote the economic and social development and integration of their economies with a view to achieve an increasing measure of self-sufficiency and self-sustainment,
- To promote the economic integration of the African region in order to facilitate and reinforce social and economic intercourse, and
- To establish national, sub-regional and regional institutions which will facilitate the attainment of objectives of self-reliance and self-sustainment.

Accordingly, the Eastern and Southern African states established their Multinational Programme and Operation Center (MULPOC) on the basis of (a) of chapter VII of the Lagos Plan of Action to establish preferential trade area for the sub-region with the main objective of reducing or eliminating trade barriers.

Within the framework of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, the treaty establishing the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for Eastern and Southern Africa was signed on December 21, 1981. As defined in the treaty and its protocols, the intent of the PTA was to promote cooperation and devel-

opment in all fields of trade, customs, industry, transport, communications, agriculture, natural resources and monetary affairs with the objectives of raising the standard of living of its member states, to create a common market by the year 2000 in order to allow a free movement of goods, capital and labour within the sub-region, and to contribute to the progress and development of the African continent.

In summary, the main objective of PTA was to procure economic integration and a faster rate of growth and sustainable development through cooperation on a step by step basis. First, by establishing a preferential trade area, then transforming PTA into a common market (by intentionally jumping customs union) and finally to an eventual economic community. But, why didn't this transformation considered customs union as a next stage?

Since its inception, PTA as an institution has made certain progress towards the accomplishment of its objectives in promoting economic integration through cooperation in customs and trade, industry and transport and communication. Its efforts have been recorded in creating the necessary framework and institutions for cooperation and flow of trade between member states.

Despite its minimal achievements between 1982-1992, certain impediments have been faced by member states, either individually or collectively, to move faster towards regional economic integration. Severe droughts, a sharp decline in the prices of primary products, official development assistance reduction in direct foreign investment to the region were some of the major obstacles. In addition, the deteriorating terms of trade of member states created shortage of foreign exchange required to finance imports of all kinds. War in and between member states was also a brake to regional economic integration dur-

ing PTA's period and even after the establishment of COMESA.

On the other hand, Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was established on the April 1, 1980, by the Heads of State and Government of five front-line states, namely: Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, who, were latter joined by Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Namibia and Zimbabwe. EEC's proposal to the creation of SADCC was to reduce the dependence of Southern African Countries on South Africa. Had this really been its basic objective, EEC could have withdrawn all European investment from South Africa by imposing comprehensive sanction. However, it seems that the objectives of EEC, which were either understood or not understood by SADCC member states, was to integrate the economies of the front-line states with the developed economies forming an association of senior (Western European Countries) and junior (Front-line States) partners.

Though the objectives of the Lusaka Declaration of SADCC conform to those of the PTA and OAU, its background are in conflict with the objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action and the final Act of Lagos, namely: generation of self-reliant economic development among the countries of Eastern and Southern Africa with a view to reducing excessive economic dependence of African countries on developed market economies and improve the welfare of all the peoples of Eastern and Southern Africa.

When PTA was created after SADCC, it was undulated and plain that it would serve as an altar of regional integration within the framework of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos. Since its establishment, PTA has embarked on a programme involving trade liberalization and facilitation, improvement of the physical infrastructure in the region as well as the development of the productive sectors of agriculture

and industry. On the other hand, SADCC concentrated on aid coordination through projects especially in infrastructure.

In accordance with the PTA treaty, which was decided in January 1992, that a Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) had to be established. The imperatives of strengthening regional economic co-operation and integration by consolidating different groupings in the sub-region into one strong entity was thoroughly examined in the attendance of nine of the ten SADCC countries (except Botswana). However, the SADCC summit meeting of Heads of State and Government in August 1992 signed the treaty establishing the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) by reaffirming that PTA/COMESA have to continue to exist autonomously, but as complementary entities.

The problem has come to be complex. Over twenty Eastern and Southern African States are members of the PTA/COMESA. And ten Countries, out of which nine are members of PTA, have formed SADCC and approved the existence of SADC side by side with PTA. On top of this, there are myriads of other inter governmental organizations (IGOS) such as CEPGA, EADB, IGAD, IOC, KBO etc. It has to be noted that members of these organizations are at the same time members of either PTA, SADC or both.

As it could be apprehended, the proliferation of groupings contribute to overlapping of membership and heavy financial burden on the member states, which in the final analysis leads to ineffectiveness of the institutions and hindrance to the implementations of various activities to achieve the required goals.

The PTA/COMESA and SADC are found within the same region. They share similar objectives and perform in most cases similar functions. These overlapping ob-

jectives and functions within the same region have created a situation for duplication of activities, which leads to uneconomical use of available scarce financial and human resources and the plethora of decisions to confusion. Hence, if wasteful duplication and conflict are to be avoided, the urgent need to co-ordinate and rationalize these sub-regional integration institutions is fervently recommendable.

4. CONCLUSION

The pursuit for regional and sub-regional co-operation in Africa dates back to the colonial period. This quest, however, was met when the annual summits of Heads of State and Government of the OAU adopted three region-wide development programmes which recognized regional and sub-regional economic co-operation and integration as a necessary condition for the long-term sustainable and stable development of African countries.

The "Monrovia Declaration", the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos have all underlined economic integration and co-operation as indispensable for the economic transformation of African countries and also established major guidelines whereby the African countries would undertake economic development. Consolidating the fragmented African economy through sub-regional common market is a primary objective owing to its importance for the development and expansion of intra-African trade.

Many sub-regional 'integration' groupings have been proliferating before and after the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos.

Existing in the same sub-region, the PTA/COMESA and SADC have overlapping objectives, functions and membership. Overlapping membership involves countries to incur heavy financial burden, overlapping objectives and functions create a strong potential for

duplication of activities leading to uneconomical use of available scarce financial and human resources. Moreover, all these overlapping objectives contribute to the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the groupings. Hence, this calls for the coordination and rationalization of these and other IGOs in the Eastern and Southern Africa for the successful move towards economic integration. The current COMESA, in my opinion, shouldn't have skipped the stage of customs union on top of the setbacks of PTA. COMESA should have been organized as CUESA (Customs Union for Eastern and Southern Africa) and accomplish both what a customs

union should accomplish and all the outstanding issues that should have been dealt with under the PTA.

After the signing of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) in 1947, the European Customs Union had assigned a group to study valuation code and other customs union matters. The free trade arrangement and the customs union have lived side by side having different membership which in fact depend on the level of economic development. This happened in the 1950s. In the 1960's, the customs union and the common market have also lived side by side. But, there was no

proliferation of regional groupings. Most of the international trade conventions under GATT and now under WTO are the contributions of this region.

Nevertheless, in Eastern and Southern Africa, we have seen the PTA transformed into a Common marketing, jumping the stage of customs union. It seems an ambitious move than a reality. It seems renaming of PTA. The question here is, how could this region reached to a stage of a common market in 18 years while it has taken the developed Europe more than that? ■

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ANNOUNCEMENT

THE NEXT EEA ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION WILL TAKE PLACE AT SEMIEN HOTEL ON JANUARY 21, 2000 AT 6:00 PM AND WILL FOCUS ON "GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ETHIOPIAN ECONOMY." THE SPEAKERS INCLUDE, H. E. ATO BERUK DEBEBE, VICE MINISTER, MINISTRY OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY, DR. BEFEKADU DEGEFE FROM THE ECA, MR. D. SUBBARAO, SENIOR ECONOMIST AT THE WORLD BANK COUNTRY OFFICE, ATO KEBUR GENNA, PRESIDENT OF THE ADDIS ABABA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND MR ANDREW DANINO, RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE, INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION.

ቴክኒካዊና ተቋማዊ ግንኙነት በልማት ላይ ያለው ውጤት በኢትዮጵያ ከገዛኸኝ አያለ (ዶ/ር)

ምርታማነት ለኢኮኖሚ ዕድገት ምንጭ ናቸው ተብለው ከሚጠቀሱት ዋና አስፈላጊ ነገሮች ውስጥ አንዱ ነው። ምርምርና አዲስ የቴክኖሎጂ ግንኙነት ቁልፍ ሚና ይጫወታል። ለዚህም አረንጓዴው የቴክኖሎጂ ለውጥ (Green Revolution) እንደምሳሌ ሊጠቀስ ይችላል። በአረንጓዴው ለውጥ አማካኝነት ሀንድ ራስን በምግብነት ወደ መቻል እንደተሸጋገረች ይታወቃል። የማክሮ ኢኮኖሚ ጠበብቶች በተለይም ሶሎ (1957) እንዳመለከተት በመጀመሪያዎቹ 1950 ዓመት ውስጥ 80% የሚሆነው የአሜሪካ የኢኮኖሚ ልማት በቴክኒካል ለውጥ ላይ የተመሠረተ እንደሆነ በጥናታቸው አረጋግጠዋል።

ይሁንና ቀደም ሲልና አሁንም በቅርቡ የቴክኒካዊ ግንኙነት (Technical Innovation) ብቻውን ለልማት መዳበር በቂ እንዳልሆነ የነብረተሰብ ሳይንቲስቶች (ኢኮኖሚስቶች፣ ሶሎ-ጂስቶች፣ አንትሮፖሎጂስቶችና ሌሎችንም ጨምሮ) አስምረውበታል። ዋልተር (1977) የተባሉ የኢኮኖሚ ሊቅ የቴክኒካዊ ግንኙነት ዕድገት ከ3 ዋና የተለያዩ ድርጊታዊ ሂደቶች ጋር እንደሚያያዝ አመልክተዋል። እነዚህም ምርትና አገልግሎት፣ የምርት ልውውጥና ዝውውር እና የምርት ጠቀሚታ በመባል ይታወቃሉ። ከነዚህ ሂደቶች ጋር አብረው ምርትን የማደራጀት የማሸግ ወይም የመለወጥና ተጨማሪ እሴት የመስጠት የማጋገፊያ ለተጠቃሚው በትክክል እንዲደርስ የማድረግ ድርጊቶች ይከናወናሉ።

ከላይ የተጠቀሱት ሂደቶች (Processes) በገጠር የእርሻ ልማት

ሂደት ውስጥ በምርምር፣ በሥርዓት (Extension) እና በተቀባይነት (Adoption) ሰንሰለት አማካኝነት ይገለጻሉ።

አንድ የቴክኒካዊ ግንኙነት ከሥርዓትና ከተቀባይነት ሂደት ጋር ካልተቀናጀ የምርምሩ ውጤት ፋይዳቤስ ይሆናል። ለምሳሌ አንድ አዲስ የእህል ዝርያ (Crop Variety) ከሥርዓት ጋር በጥናት በተደገፈ ድጋፍ ሰጪ ተቋም ጋር (የማዳበሪያ አቅርቦት፣ የዘር አቅርቦት፣ የብድር አግልግሎት፣ የገበያ አደራጃጀት ወዘተ...) በመሳሰሉት ካልተደገፈና ካልተቀናጀ የምርምሩ ውጤት ለተጠቃሚው ሳይደርስ ዋጋ ቢስ ሆኖ ይቀራል። እዚህ ላይ መጠቀስ ያለበት ጉዳይ ቢኖር ባደጉት አገሮች ሁለቱ ምርምሮች ጎን ለጎን ሳይለያዩ እንደሚያደጉና እንዲሁም ሁለቱም ባልተዛባ መልኩ ለምጣኔ ሃብት እድገት ትልቅ ሚና እንደሚጫወቱ ነው።

ከዚህ ከላይ በተጠቀሱት ሃሳቦች ላይ በመመርኮዝ አዲሱ የኢንስቲትዩሽናል ኢኮኖሚክስ (New Institutional Economics) እንደሚያስረዳው የነፃ ገበያ ብቻውን በተለይ ጌላ ቀር በሆኑ አገሮች ውስጥ ለዕድገት የሚፈለገውን ውጤት ሊያስከትል አይችልም። ለዚህም ውጤታማ የሆነ ተቋም (Institution) መኖር እንዳለበት ይገለጻል። አንድ ተቋምን የሚቆጣጠሩት የራሱ የሆኑ ህግጋትና አስተዳደራዊ ፎርም ያሉት ሲሆን በአሰራሩም ውጤታማ እንዲሆን ያስፈልጋል። ስለዚህም በምጣኔ ሃብት ትንታኔ አስፈላጊ የሆኑትን ተቋሞች መርምሮ መለየት ጠቀሚታቸውን ማወቅና

ለዘለቁታቸውም አስተማማኝ የሆነ ዕሴት እንዳላቸው ማረጋገጥ አስፈላጊ ይሆናል።

በተለይም እንደ ኢትዮጵያ ባሉ ጌላ ቀር አገሮች ውስጥ ከላይ የተዘረዘሩትን መልክ የያዙ ተቋማት መኖር እጅግ አስፈላጊ ነው። ለምሳሌ በገጠራቱ ኢትዮጵያ ከመንገድ ከገበያ ከሌሎችም አገልግሎቶች ርቆ ያለ አንድ ገበሬ በነፃ ገበያ ውድድር ውስጥ አስገብተን የቴክኖሎጂ ግንኙነት ተጠቃሚ ልናደርገው እንችልም። ለዚህም ነው ጌላ ቀር በሆኑ አገሮች (ኢትዮጵያን ጨምሮ) በቴክኖሎጂ ግንኙነት መካከልና በተቋማት መካከል የተዛባ ዕድገትና ብሎም ያለመጣጣም የሚኖረው። በተጨማሪም አብዛኛው የቴክኖሎጂ ምርምር ውጤት ዳር ሳይደርስ መካኖ ይቀራል።

በዚህ ዕሁፍ ውስጥ ከላይ የተጠቀሱትን እውነታዎች መሠረት በማድረግ የቴክኖሎጂን አመነጫጫትና አሰራራጫት ግንኙነታቸውን እንዲሁም ለተቀባይነታቸው አስፈላጊ የሆኑትን ነገሮች በኢትዮጵያ የጥቁር አፈርን ቴክኖሎጂን (Vertisol Technology) እንደምሳሌ በመጠቀም ለመተንተን እንሞክራለን።

ሀ. ቴክኒካዊ ምርምር ውጤትና ሥርጭቱ

ጥቁር አፈር ተብሎ የሚታወቀው አፈር በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ እስከ 13 ሚሊዮን ኬክታር የሚሆን መሬት ሸፍኗል። ይህ አፈር ለም አፈር ከመሆኑም በላይ በተለይ በደጋማው የኢትዮጵያ ክፍል በገበሬው ህይወት

ውስጥ ከፍተኛ ኢኮኖሚያዊ ሚና ይጫወታል። ነገር ግን ይህንን ምርታማነቱን የሚቀንሱና የተፈለገውን ያህል ውጤታማ እንዳይሆን በሚያደርጉት ነገሮች መካከል የውሃ ማቆር ዋነኛው ችግር ነው። ይህንን ችግር ለመቅረፍ ሲባል የተለያዩ አገር ወለድና የዓለም አቀፍ የምርምር ድርጅቶች እንዲሁም ዩኒቨርሲቲዎች በጋራ አንድ የምርምር ፕሮግራም ነደፉ። ይህም የጋራ ምርምር የአፈር ማጠናፊፊያ መሣሪያ ወይም የሰፊ መደብ ማውጫ ማረሻ (Broad Bed Maker) በመሥራት ወሃን በማጠናፊፍ እንዲሁም አዲስ ዝርያን በማውጣትና አስቀድሞ የመዝገብ ዘዴ በመጠቀም በአዲስ አሠራር ምርትን ከአጥፍ በላይ ለማሳደግ ችሏል። ይህ የምርምር ውጤት በተከናወነው ውጤቱ በፓኪጅ ወይም በጥቅሉ ለገበሬው እንዲደርሱ ቅንጅቱም በተቻለ መጠን ከፍተኛ (Optimum Mix) እንዲሆን በምርምሩ ተረጋግጧል። ለዚህም ምክንያት የሆነው ቴክኖሎጂው በጥቅሉ በፓኪጅ መልክ ለገበሬው ካልደረሰ በተናጠል ውጤቱ አነስተኛ ከመሆኑም በላይ በተለምዶ አሠራር ከሚገኘው ምርት እንኳን ያነሰ ሊሆን ይችላል።

ለ. ሥርዓትና ተቀባይነት - የገበሬውና የመንግሥት ተቋማት ሚና

ከላይ የጠቀስነው ቴክኖሎጂ (Technical Innovation) በተለያዩ መንግሥታዊና መንግሥታዊ ባልሆኑ ተቋማት አማካኝነት የገበሬውን ተቋማት ጨምሮ ለገበሬው ተሰራጭቷል። በነዚህ ተቋማት መካከል የግብርና ሚኒስቴር የማዳበሪያ አቅራቢ የሆኑ የግል ተቋማት የምርጥ ዘር ድርጅትና እንደዚሁም ሳሳካዋ ግሎባል 2000 የተባለ ግብረሰናይ ተቋማት ተካፋይ ሆነዋል። ይህ ጥናት በናሙና አማካኝነት 142 ገበሬዎችን በመውሰድ የቴክኖሎጂውን ሥርዓትና አቀባበል ለመገምገም ሙከራ አድርጓል።

በውጤቱም መሠረት ቴክኖሎጂውን ተቀባይና ተጠቃሚ ከሆኑት ገበሬዎች መካከል 70% የሚሆኑት በጥናት የተረጋገጠውን የማዳበሪያ መጠን (Optimum) ሲጠቀሙ 60% የሚሆኑት ደግሞ ትክክለኛውን የማዳበሪያ መጠን ተጠቅመዋል። እስከ 80% የሚሆኑት በወቅቱ በመዝገብ በምርምር የተደገፈውን የዘር ወቅትን

ተከትለዋል። ይህ ጥናት በተጨማሪ ቴክኖሎጂውን በተጠቀሙና ባልተጠቀሙት መካከል ያለውን ልዩነት ተመልክቷል። ቴክኖሎጂውን በጥቅሉ (Package) የተጠቀሙት ገበሬዎች ምርት ሙሉ በሙሉ ካልተጠቀሙት ገበሬዎች በእጥፍ ብልጫ አሳይቷል። 96% የሚሆኑት ከተጠቃሚዎቹ መካከል የውሃ ማቆር ችግር ሙሉ በሙሉ እንደተቃለለላቸው ተረጋግጧል። እንዲሁም የአፈር መሸርሸርና መወሰድ ችግር እንደተገታላቸው ያረጋግጣሉ።

በአቀባበልና ቴክኖሎጂውን በመጠቀም በኩል ያለው የሰፊ ልዩነት ሊከሰት የቻለበት ዋነኛ ምክንያት የቴክኖሎጂው ግኝት በበቂና በተቀናጀ ተቋማዊ ሥርዓት ያለመደገፍ ነው። ገበሬዎቹ ቴክኖሎጂውን ለመጠቀም እንኳን ፍላጎት ቢኖራቸውም የቴክኖሎጂው አካላት (Components) ሁሉም በበቂ ሁኔታ ተሟልተው አለመቅረባቸው አንዱ ጉልቁ ችግር ሲሆን ቴክኖሎጂውን ባመነጨው ክፍልና ቴክኖሎጂውን በሚያሰራጨው ተቋም መካከል ያለው የላላ ግንኙነት ሌላው ችግር ነው። እዚህ ላይ ሳይጠቀስ የማይታለፈው ጉዳይ ቢኖር ቴክኖሎጂውን አፍላቂ የሆነው ተመራማሪው ክፍል ቴክኖሎጂውን ተቀብሎ ከሚያሰራጨው ሌላው ክፍል ጋር በቅርብ ግንኙነት ካልሠራ መልዕክቱ በትክክል ለተጠቃሚው ሊደርሰው አይችልም። ከሌላ አንጻር በምናይበት ጊዜ በገበሬው ተቋማትና ፍላጎት በቴክኖሎጂ አሠራጭ ክፍሎች መካከል ያለው ግንኙነት በአቅርቦትና (Supply) በፍላጎት (Demand) ላይ የተመሰረተው የተጣጣሚ አይደለም። ለምሳሌም በወቅቱ መዝገብ አንዱ ለቴክኖሎጂው ውጤታማነት አስተዋጽኦ ሲኖረው በወቅቱ እንዳይዘራ የማዳበሪያ ወይም የምርጥ ዘር በወቅቱ አለመቅረብ፣ በወቅቱ ቢቀርብ እንኳን ትክክለኛውን የቴክኖሎጂውን መሥሪርት የግያሚላ መሆን የቴክኖሎጂውን ተቀባይነትና ውጤታማነቱን ዝቅ ያደርገዋል። ብድርንም ብንወስድ ተመሳሳይ ችግር አለው። ገበሬው ብድሩን የሚከፍልበት ወቅትና ምርቱ ለገበያ የሚቀርብበት ወቅት አለመጣጣም ገበሬው በዝቅተኛ ዋጋ በርካሽ ሽጦ ብድሩን እንዲከፍል ያስገድደዋል። ይህ ችግር ከትራንስፖርት እጦትና ከሌሎች ለምርቱ መጋጠሚያ አስፈላጊ ከሆኑት ጉዳዮች ጋር ተዳምሮ ችግሩን ያሳሳዋል። እንግዲህ ከላይ

የዘረዘርናቸው መሠረታዊ ጉዳዮች በዝርዝር እንኳን ባንተነትናቸው በገጠራቱ ኢትዮጵያ የእርሻ ልማት ውስጥ የሚጫወቱት ቁልፍ ሚና በቀላሉ ሊታይ አይችልም።

ማጠቃለያ፤

በአጠቃላይ እንደ ኢትዮጵያ ባለ-ሷላቀር አገሮች ውስጥ አንድ የምርምር ውጤት በበቂ ውጤታማ በሆነ ተቋማዊ (Institutional Innovation) ካልተደገፈ ምርምሩ ውጤታማ እንደማይሆን የተረጋገጠ ሃቅ ነው። በቴክኒካዊ ምርምር ብዙ እርምጃና ውጤት ሲደረግ በአንጻሩ ግን በተቋማዊ ምርምር አንጻር ግን በቂ ምርምርና ውጤት አልተካኔደም ማለት ይቻላል። በተለያዩ ደረጃ ያሉ የምርምር ተቋማትና የገበሬው ተቋማትም ቢሆኑ ለቴክኖሎጂ ተቀባይነት ብቻ ሳይሆን የገበሬውን ፍላጎት የሚያንፀባርቁ መሆን አለባቸው። ይህ ሲሆን ብቻ ነው እንግዲህ በምርምር ጣቢያ ውስጥ ባለ የምርምር ውጤትና በገበሬው ማሳሳይ ያለው የሰፊ ልዩነት ሊጠብ የሚችለው። ለዚህም የሚከተሉት ሃሳቦች ጠቃሚ ናቸው።

1. ትክክለኛና በገበሬው ፍላጎት ጋር የሚሽጉ ትንተና ተቋማት (Institutions) በጥናት ተመርኮዞ መምረጥና ከገበሬው ተቋማት ጋር ግንኙነታቸውን ማጠናከር እንዲሁም ከገበሬው ነባራዊ ልምድ/አውቀት ጋር ማዛመድ።
2. በምርምርና በአስፈጻሚ ተቋማት ወይም ምርምሩን ውጤት በሚያሰራጨው መካከል የቅርብ ግንኙነት መመሥረት ይህንንም በማድረግ ቴክኖሎጂው ከተሰራጨ በኋላ ሊከሰት የሚችለውን የረጅም ጊዜ ችግር መመርመርና መቅረፍ ይቻላል። ■

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INVISIBLE HAND OR CHAOS

By John Kay

Extract from *The Financial Times*, December 8, 1999.

Theories on how markets work may diverge sharply but all help our understanding of the efficiency of market economies

Economists always disagree with each other. Commentators have been quick to connect the appointment of one prominent American economist (Larry Summers) as US Treasury Secretary with the departure of another, Joe Stiglitz, from the World Bank. Mr. Stiglitz's opponents feel he had been injudicious in criticizing western policies towards Russia, and even more injudicious in suggesting the rantings against global capital markets by the prime minister of Malaysia were anything other than ridiculous.

Yet behind these alleged differences lie some deep, technical arguments about economic theory. And although arcane, they raise issues of significant practical importance. They concern our understanding of how markets work. Not whether they work, which is taken for granted.

Exactly why has the economic performance of market institutions been so much superior to that of central planning? Among economists, there are two principal explanations. One is that market mechanisms are efficient because they provide a system of singling - prices adjust to dem-

onstrate where resources are required, and where they are not. The other explanation is that market mechanisms represent a process of natural selection among ideas in businesses and economics. Innovations can be tried, some with success, some without. Those that succeed persist and are emulated.

Those who emphasize signaling, and draw attention to the role of the price system in driving resource allocation in market economies, draw their inspiration from Adam Smith's metaphor of the invisible hand. Smith claimed that individually selfish behavior could lead to collectively desirable outcomes. His successors prefer mathematical sophistication to literary effusion. Nearly 200 years later, Kenneth Arrow and Gerard Debreu received the Nobel prize in economics for their development of general equilibrium theory. Essentially, what they did was to elaborate Smith's insights with the aid of advanced topology.

General equilibrium theory encapsulates the idea of markets as singling mechanisms, in which prices rise and fall to reflect scarcities and surpluses. The

most important conclusions of general equilibrium theory for market efficiency are known as the fundamental theorems of welfare economics. These theorems claim that any socially desirable outcome can be achieved by a competitive market provided the initial distribution of rights and resources is appropriate. Here appears to be the intellectual underpinning for a *laissez-faire* approach to market economies. So long as government ensures an initial level playing field and enforces the rules of a competitive economy, no further intervention is required or appropriate. Rarely does algebra have such powerful ideological content.

Like all economic models, the fundamental theorems of welfare economics depend on assumptions. And both sides of the debate I am describing acknowledge that some important assumptions are required. The invisible hand requires some guidance if the activities of Smith's self-interested baker or butcher have environmental consequences: this is known as the externality problem. The theorems require that markets are competitive. But some cannot be competitive, because economies

* The author is a director of London Economics.

of scale mean there can only be few producers, and others are just not competitive.

The assumptions of the fundamental theorems of welfare economics also insist that both buyers and sellers agree on what it is that they are buying and selling. If there are differences in the knowledge each party brings to the transaction - what economists call asymmetric information - then these basic results of general equilibrium theory may not hold.

Those economists who believe that the signaling function of the price mechanism is the main explanation of how markets work hold that the assumptions of the Arrow-Debreu model are sufficiently close to reality for the model to fit the observed facts. Now no model will ever provide a perfect description.

Take a physical model, such as the laws of motion of falling bodies to objects in the atmosphere. Strictly speaking, these laws explain motion in a vacuum. But for cannonballs or bird droppings, the air we breathe is

enough like a vacuum for the difference not to matter.

Now Mr. Stiglitz, and other economists like him, believe that these assumptions of general equilibrium theory are way off the mark. Mr. Stiglitz's work is best brought together in his book. *Whither Socialism?*, published in 1994. In this, he argues that problems of information and management of information are pervasive, and become more so as the knowledge economy grows. Most trading in financial markets has nothing to do with efficient resource allocation. It is based on real or imagined difference in information - which the booms and busts of south-east Asia, or post-Communist Russia, illustrate well. To deal effectively with these problems of imperfect information, we need a complex range of social and economic institutions. In successful market economies, such a range has evolved over time. So there is no single universal model of how markets function, and the attempt to prescribe one will lead to inevitable disaster.

Adherents to this position are unconvinced by the invisible hand metaphor. They think constant fluctuations in asset prices have little to do with the division of resources and much to do with irrational changes in expectations.

They see economic progress as a chaotic, unpredictable system. The effectiveness of markets comes because good decisions are rewarded more often than bad ones. As in biological natural selection, the reward system only slightly favours the fittest and the best. But over time, that small margin is enough to secure continuous improvement.

We don't have to choose one story rather than the other. Both signaling and selection contribute to our understanding of the efficiency of market economies. Still, if I had to choose, I would back Mr. Stiglitz and put more money on the selection school than on the signaling explanation. (Financial Times, Dec 8, 1999) ■



SIMPLY, ACUTE SENSE OF SALESMANSHIP

By Engida Bayou

About 10,000 taxis cater after commuters of Addis Ababa everyday. In volume of service, taxis come next in line to the Anbessa City Bus. One cannot think of taxis apart from *Woyalas* (helpers to the driver). The general public feeling towards *Woyalas* could be as varied and as mixed as can be expected. Everyone is entitled the privilege of holding his views. The writer of this article does not have a discord with the prevalence of such divergence of views.

The first impression that comes to one's mind with the name *Woyala* is lack of discipline, roughness in dealing with passengers, a bulging chin from *khat*, etc. A unanimity, which is difficult in most issues of public life, is guaranteed at this point.

Let us ponder a bit: from the duo managers of taxi, the Driver and the *Woyala*, the upper hand goes to the *Woyala* regardless of his age, physical fitness or any other measure. The driver takes the place of a robot who takes instructions from the *Woyala* to speed up, to turn right or left, to overtake a taxi which is already in front, etc. The driver simply takes orders even in areas that require his decision or observance of traffic rules is expected.

Whether cursed or praised *Woyalas* keep on performing their duties as diligently as ever. I have a vantage point whereby certain activities of the *Woyala* can be translated and seen positively in light of a modern business activity.

1. Income maximization: in the morning or evening hours the

Woyala either shortens or stretches the trip to exclude passengers that may depart on stations where replacement may not be available.

Lesson: Timing. A Company could command a higher price or better volume of sales as a result of the timing of its product release.

2. Advertisement: in the low and dull hours of midday, the *Woyala* can hardly get full seat passengers. He also knows the impatient traveler will not wait until he gets full seat. So the *Woyala* brings in dummy passengers who will slip away as additional clients take their seats in relaxation with a feeling that they have caught a readily taxi.

Lesson: Appeal to your clients as convincingly and attractively as possible.

3. Maintaining the market: when you loose your patience and are about to change a taxi, the robotic driver will be instructed to move the taxi back and forth. By so doing the passengers inside are pleased that finally they are about to go while those waiting for a faster taxi will queue for the taxi assuming he is just leaving.

Lesson: Maintain your market. Try to satisfy clients already made while appealing for a potential new market.

4. Sub contracting: when the *Woyala* is left with few passengers and when waiting could mean unnecessary waste of time, he takes on board passengers whose destination is beyond his current route. He starts his trip with these people only to transfer them to another taxi at a convenient location. The

transfer is effected without letting the passengers' involvement in setting the transfer price.

Lesson: Develop an alliance for mutual benefit. Bigger or complicated contracts could be won and handled with a joint effort of companies engaged in similar activities.

5. Market segmentation: the *Woyala* who was addressing a certain destination could swiftly change and be working on or serving a new route. Add to this, the taxi could shorten or extend its destination as it goes along.

Lesson: Quick decision making in response to market demands. A delay in decision making amounts to lost revenue and customer.

Lesson: A Company's target needs to be revised in light of prevailing situations.

6. Speed: the incessant *Woyala* pressurizes the driver to shift to higher gear. Time is valued as the most crucial resource.

Lesson: Always try to remain in front of your competitors. A company that remains behind in innovative thinking forfeits the advantage of being a price setter or losses a potential market, which accrues to early entrants.

7. Keep on moving: one can observe a taxi speeding up with just few seats occupied. The driver is instructed to move ahead though the seats are barely occupied.

Lesson: Knowledge of future market trend. A Company can start a service or a production in anticipation of a growing market – a market that will eventually justify a reasonable return.

8. Extra passengers in short distance: the Woyala could force a passengers to share a seat with others in excess of the acceptable limit. The accompanying modestly polite request is "tebaberuachew" (Please cooperate with them) with a justification that someone will exit around the adjacent corner. He bets not to miss passengers specially those going longer distances.

Lesson: Plan the future or the next move. A Company needs to plan ahead of time so that adequate resource is deployed for the execution on the plan.

9. Highly geared towards fulfilling a target: The duos are bent on meeting a daily net revenue target set by the Owner of the taxi. Meeting the targeted revenue early in the day would mean that additional income, if any, could go as a bonus between the two.

Lesson: Set an achievable goal against which performance is measured. Review performance at appropriate Intervals. Create awareness among employees that meeting the target could be a benefit for both the Company and the employees alike- create incentive-compatible work environment.

10. Availability: taxis are available round the clock and throughout the year. They do not leave any chance for other considerations.

Lesson: Once in service do not fail

to meet customer expectations. Interruption would mean dissatisfaction or change in customer taste, loyalty, etc.

On the negative side, the high-flying salesman lacks certain basic qualities of salesmanship in its modern and business context.

1. Manner: most Woyalas are not polished or polite in dealing with passengers.

Lesson: Behold the motto "Customer is a King."

2. Blocks your way: the Woyala could be blocking one's way and may dare to force passers-by to take a seat in his taxi without his/her consent.

Lesson: Do not over power customers by undue information

Lesson: Provide adequate and appropriate information and let the decision come from the customer.

3. Moving before the passenger is seated: in a bid to save time and overtake the taxi in front, they may not allow you enough time to be properly seated.

Lesson: Ensure customer satisfaction that is in your list before addressing a new market.

Finally, one cannot afford to overlook the vital links between the Woyalal and the Change-handlers. The change-handlers' service deserves a mention here. They are available at every taxi

stop or traffic light corner. The change-handlers in effect are the lubricators to taxi service. The change handling is a job opening for all. It is expedited by the young, the child, the grown up, the elder, the handicap, etc. who survive by a modest 5-10% charge for their service. In a way it has provided a job opportunity for many. Think of the mess that would prevail in the absence of these people. For the time being let's not think of it.

By way of note: This article is not intended to defend or champion the cause of the Woyala rather a tribute in appreciation of their acute sense of marketing and salesmanship skills. ■

CORRIGENDUM

WE WOULD LIKE TO INFORM OUR READERS THAT IN THE LAST ISSUE OF ECONOMIC FOCUS (VOL. 2 NO. 5) PAGE 22, SECTION 4, PARAGRAPH 2, LINE 10, IN SISTER JEMBERE TEFERRA'S ARTICLE, SHOULD READ 42,000 PEOPLE AND NOT 4,200 PEOPLE. WE REGRET THE ERROR.

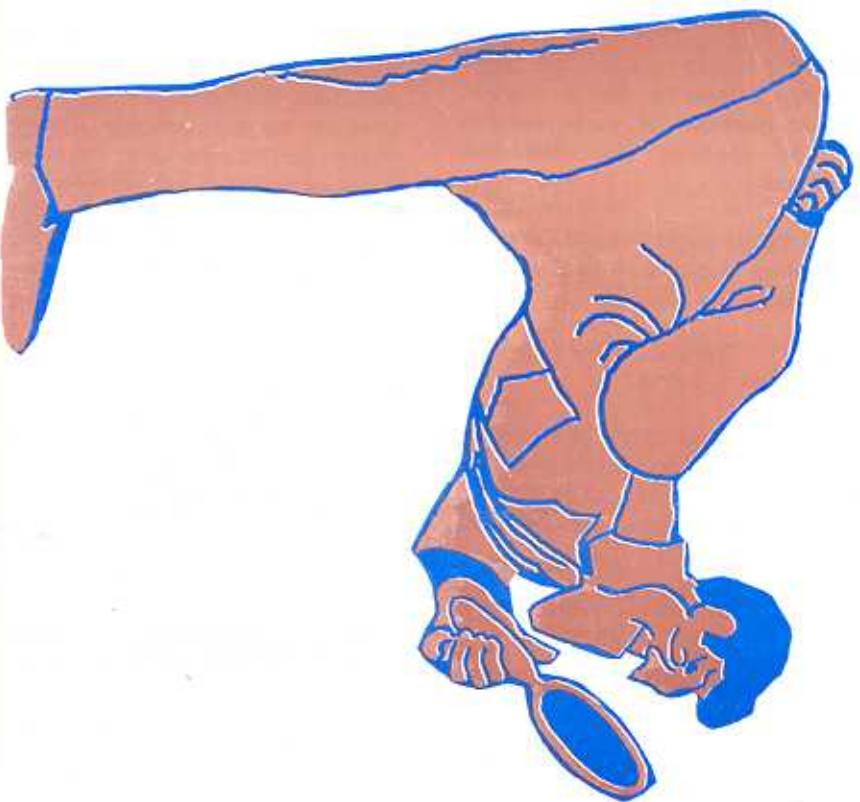
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