

# THE ROLE OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTAL STATE IDEOLOGY FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION: AN ASSESSMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE 1995 FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA CONSTITUTION

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## ABSTRACT

*FOLLOWING THE DOWNFALL OF THE ‘DERGUE’ REGIME (1974-1991) IN 1991, MANY PEOPLE THOUGHT THAT ETHIOPIA WOULD BE ‘ANOTHER SOMALIA’ IN THE HORN OF AFRICA. HOWEVER, THE 1995 FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA (FDRE) CONSTITUTION SAVED THE COUNTRY FROM FURTHER DISINTEGRATION FOLLOWING THE CESSATION OF ERITREA FROM ETHIOPIA BY INTRODUCING ETHNIC FEDERALISM. THE CONSTITUTION RECOGNIZES ALL ETHNIC GROUPS ARE EQUAL, AND HAVE FULL RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION UP-TO-CESSATION WITHOUT ANY NEED FOR (BLOODY) WAR. YET, MANY SCHOLARS AND OPPOSITION POLITICIANS HAVE REPEATEDLY CRITICIZED THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT UP-TO-CESSATION AS IF IT FURTHER INSTIGATE REGIONAL STATES AND ETHNIC GROUP CALL FOR INDEPENDENCE. BESIDES, THEY CRITICIZED ETHNIC BASED FEDERALISM MAKES CITIZENS NOT TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES AS THEY ARE ETHIOPIANS, RATHER AS THEY BELONG TO A CERTAIN ETHNIC GROUP. NONETHELESS, THE RULING ETHIOPIA PEOPLE’S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (EPRDF) CLAIMS THAT IT IS NOT ETHNIC FEDERALISM RATHER POVERTY WOULD THREATEN THE COUNTRY’S EXISTENCE. AFTER ADOPTING A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS FROM THE WEST, THE GOVERNMENT FINALLY REALIZED THAT THESE STRATEGIES DIDN’T HELP THE COUNTRY REDUCE POVERTY. AS A RESULT, THE GOVERNMENT ADOPTED ‘DEVELOPMENTAL STATE’ IDEOLOGY FROM ASIAN TIGERS. THUS, THIS DESK STUDY AIMS TO ASSESS THE RATIONALE, SUCCESSES FOLLOWING THE ADOPTION THE NEW IDEOLOGY AND ROLE OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTAL STATE IDEOLOGY FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE 1995 FDRE CONSTITUTION.*

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**KEYWORDS:** ANOTHER SOMALIA; CESSATION; DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTAL STATE; NATIONAL INTEGRATION; POVERTY.

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## INTRODUCTION: INTRODUCING ETHIOPIA- A FLEETING LOOK

The official name of Ethiopia is Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and Amharic is the official working language of the federal government as Art 1 and Art 5(2) of the 1995 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia constitution stated. Geographically, it (Ethiopia) is located in the Horn of Africa at the longitude of 33-48 degree east and latitude of between 3 and 15 degree north. As the Marine Corps Intelligence Activity (nd), indicated Ethiopia's total size is about 1,127,127 square kilometers (435,186 square miles). Besides, Ethiopia is one of the few land locked countries in Africa bordered with countries: Djibouti and Somalia in the east, the Sudan and south Sudan in the west, Eritrea from the north, and Kenya from the south.



**Figure 1. Map showing where Ethiopia is located**

The country is rich with diversity of landscapes from mountains to deep gorges, from flat-topped plateaus to river valleys. The highest peak is mountain Ras Dashen found in Amhara regional state at an altitude of 4,620 m above sea level, and the lowest is Kobar Sink located in Afar Regional State at an altitude of 120 m below sea level. The country is also called as the “water tower of eastern Africa” where it is home of nine major rivers like the Blue Nile, Omo, Tekeze, Wabi Shebelle, Awash, 19 lakes like lake Tana<sup>3</sup>. And, according to Wilson & Reeder<sup>4</sup>, the

<sup>3</sup> MEDIC, “Survey of the Ethiopian Economy: Review of Post Reform Developments 1992/3-1997/8,” (Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation, Addis Ababa, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, D.E. & Reeder, D.M. (Eds.), *Mammal Species of the World: A Taxonomic and Geographic Reference*. (Third Edition). (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2005).

country is also the home to nineteen (19) endemic mammals found exclusively in Ethiopia like Walia Ixobrychus (*Capra walie*), Glada Baboon (*Theropithecus gelada*), Mountain Nyala (*Tragelaphus buxtoni*), Ethiopian Wolf (*Canis simensis*) etc.

Besides, Ethiopia hosts twenty eight (28) endemic amphibian species like Malcolm's Ethiopia Toad (*Altiphrynoides malcolmi*), Ethiopian Snout-burrower (*Hemius microscaphus*), Shoa Forest Tree Frog (*Leptopelis ragazzii*) etc<sup>5</sup>. Furthermore, Ethiopia is also to nineteen (19) endemic birds, as Dickinson<sup>6</sup>, noted like: Harwood's Francolin (*Francolinus harwoodi*), Wattled Ibis (*Bostrychia carunculata*), Spot-breasted Lapwing (*Vanellus melanocephalus*), Yellow-fronted Parrot (*Poicephalus flavifrons*) etc.

Based on the projection from the United Nations (2016), Ethiopia's total population is about 102,803,038 out of which 19.4% (20,202,815) is expected living in urban areas. Ethiopia is the second most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa next to Nigeria<sup>7</sup>. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy and main source of employment. In 2011, agricultural sector accounts 46% of the country's GDP, 70% of foreign exchange earnings and more than 80% of total employment (Ibid). Despite the country ranks the first in terms of number of cattle in Africa, and is suitable for agriculture, millions of people are yet suffering from drought and shortage of food due to low productivity, rain-dependent agriculture, and high vulnerability to climate change<sup>8</sup>.

Ethiopia is the home of multitude of ethnicities of more than 85 ethnic groups and languages with more than 200 dialectics where Oromo and Amhara ethnic groups are the largest in number. They account 33% and 29% of the country's total population respectively<sup>9</sup>. The Somali, Tigrins, Afars, Sidama, Guraghes and Wolayta are also significant numbers. Based on ethnicity and geography, the country is divided in to nine regional states and two self-administrated cities<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, Ethiopia is known for the tolerance among millions with different faiths that has been there for centuries. Statistically, 43.5% and 33.9% of Ethiopians are Orthodox Christians and Muslims respectively while Protestants and catholic Christians are about 18.6% and 0.7% of the country total population respectively, and the remaining 3.3% are thought be followers of traditional religion and others<sup>11</sup>.

Ethiopia is also "the origin of mankind." Archeologists have discovered a number of human fossils in Ethiopia like *Australopithecus Afarensis* commonly known as "Lucy" with about 3.2 million years old discovered in Afar regional state in 1974<sup>12</sup>. The country is also rich in historical and natural tourist attraction sites. And, some of these sites are registered by the United Nations Education Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) as world heritage sites: Lalibelle rock-

<sup>5</sup> Frost, D.R. "Amphibian Species of the World: an Online Reference. 3.0" (American Museum of Natural History, New York, USA, 22 August 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Dickinson, E.C. *The Howard and Moore Complete Checklist of the Birds of the World* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> Breuil, Christophe and Grima, Damien. (2014). "Baseline Report Ethiopia. Smart Fish Programme of the Indian Ocean Commission," (Fisheries Management FAO component, Ebene, Mauritius, 2014:24).

<sup>8</sup> OECD et al., "Ethiopia", in *African Economic Outlook 2013: Structural Transformation and Natural Resources*. (OECD Publishing, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> Karbo, Tony., "Religion and social cohesion in Ethiopia." *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies* (2013), Vol. 4(3), pp. 43-52.

<sup>10</sup> FDRE. "Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995."

<sup>11</sup> Karbo., *Religion and social cohesion in Ethiopia...*

<sup>12</sup> William H. Kimbel and Lucas K. Delezenne (2009). "Lucy" Redux: A Review of Research on *Australopithecus afarensis*. *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 52:2-48.

hewn churches, Harar Jugol, Tiya carved stelae, Axum Monolithic Obelisks, Semien Mountains national park, Lower Valley of the Omo, Lower Valley of the Awash, Fasil Ghebbi, and Konso Cultural Landscape<sup>13</sup>.

Currently, the country is ruled by the Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of four ethnic based political parties: Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM) and Amhara People's Democratic Movement (APDM), assuming political power for more than two decades following the down fall of the Dergue regime in May 1991.

Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, is used to be called as "the capital city of Africa" for hosting African Union Head Office on its soil. These days, Ethiopia becomes known for its huge infrastructural projects that began to re-write its history of poverty and civil war like Ethio-Djibouti rail way project, Gilgil Gibe Hydroelectric projects, Grand renaissance hydroelectric project, Addis Ababa light electric rail way project etc.

### **A SHORT HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA: MAKING THE STATE OF ETHIOPIA**

Ethiopia as a state has gone through a number of historical, political, economic and cultural transitions from the so called pre-Axumite era to have its current form<sup>14</sup>. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> C when Emperor Menilik II completed the project of creating a single Ethiopian state that have its current shape, Ethiopia was divided among various dynasties, kingdoms and local princes/kings<sup>15</sup>. The glorious civilization in Ethiopia's history of civilization was the Axumite Empire (100 AD to 940 AD) ranked the third in the world after Byzantine and Persian empires as the most powerful empire<sup>16</sup>. However, Ethiopia's political power transitions are characterized as not smooth. While the Axumite civilization falls, power was transferred to the Agaw people, and established a dynasty called "Zagwe" that remain in power until 1270 AD<sup>17</sup>. However, since the Zagwes are Cushitic do not belong to the sematic Solomonic blood of Israel unlike the Axumites. Thus, the Zagwes were considered as illegitimate to rule<sup>18</sup>.

By the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, a successful movement lead by king Yekunoamlak called "restoration of Solomonic dynasty" was made in 1270 AD to retake the power from the illegitimate Zagwes, and handover to the legitimate to rule Abyssinia who belong to king Solomon of Israel through Menelik I, son of queen Sheba of Ethiopia and King Solomon of Israel, in blood lines<sup>19</sup>. The medieval Ethiopia rulers were known for their mobile capitals in establishing their own political and military centers<sup>20</sup>. Later on the 17<sup>th</sup> century political power was moved to Gondar,

<sup>13</sup> UNESCO, "Ethiopia-UNESCO World Heritage Centre," (2017). Available on: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/et>, accessed on 24/09/2017.

<sup>14</sup> Karbo., *Religion and social cohesion in Ethiopia...*

<sup>15</sup> Pankhurst, Richard., *Economic History of Ethiopia (1800-1935)*. (Addis Ababa: Hailesselasie University Press, 1968).

<sup>16</sup> Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia (1800-1935)...*

<sup>17</sup> Zewde, Bahiru. *A History of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1991)*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Oxford: James Currey; Athens: Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002). Xviii + 300 pp. ISBN 0821414402 12.95.

<sup>18</sup> Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1991)...*; Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia (1800-1935)...*

<sup>19</sup> Bruce, J. *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile in the years 1768-1773*. (Edinburgh, Printed by J. Ruthven, for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, London, 1790).

<sup>20</sup> Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1991)...*

and Gondar was the capital and architectural, economic, military and political center for about two centuries from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>21</sup>. In the decline of Gondarian rule, the dynasty become fragmented and weak followed by a period called “Zemene Masafint”- rule of the kings. There was no a single king of kings. The Abyssinian state was divided among local rulers.

It was at that time Ras Kassa Hailu (1818 AD-1868 AD), later called “Emperor Tewodros II” remain in power from 1855 AD to 1868 AD, credited for beginning the project of creating a unified Ethiopian empire<sup>22</sup>. But, he died at the battle of Mekedella in 1868 while fighting British troops without completing his mission of creating a unified Ethiopia, and succeeded by Kassa Mircha (1837 AD- 1889 AD) of Tigray latter called “Emperor Yohannis IV” assumed power from 1871 AD until his death while fighting the Derbush forces in Gondar region, and succeeded by a new emperor from Showa called emperor Menelik II (1844 AD-1913 AD). Unlike other Abyssinian kings, Menelik II was successful in creating the Ethiopian empire, and Ethiopia took the shape what it has now<sup>23</sup>. Menelik II was glorious and credited not only for his successful job of unifying Ethiopia, but also he was so popular outside Ethiopia for defeating Italian forces on the battle of Adwa in 1896 AD<sup>24</sup>. As a result of which Ethiopia is one the two African countries (i.e. Liberia) that are not colonized. In the post Menelik II period, Ethiopia was ruled by Lij Iyasu for three years from 1913-1916 AD, by Emress Zewditu (1916-30), and Haileselesie I ruled Ethiopia from 1934-1974 AD who is the last emperor of the Solomnic dynasty overthrown by the military junta called Dergue in 1974. Degue remain in power until 1991 AD<sup>25</sup>.

Emperor Haileselesie I is credited among Ethiopians for establishing Organization of African Unity (OAU) hosted in Addis Ababa and merging Eritrea to become part of Ethiopia through federation in 1952<sup>26</sup> which later declared independence after bloody 30 year of armed struggle from Ethiopia in 1991 following the down fall of the military rule. After the military rule was over, the transitional government of Ethiopia, coalition of various opposition political parties including Ethiopia People’s Revolutionary Front (EPRDF), Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) which is later outlawed as terrorist group after it go back an armed struggle leaving the coalition and others, took the mandate to rule the country for 4 years up to 1995 where the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia constitution formulated and general national election was held and EPRDF won the election<sup>27</sup>. As of 1995, the EPRDF is ruling the country winning five general national elections.

According to Art (47) of the FDRE constitution as of 21<sup>st</sup> day of August 1995., Ethiopia is divided in to nine member states: The State of Tigray, The State of Afar, The State of Amhara,

<sup>21</sup> Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia (1800-1935)*...

<sup>22</sup> Araia, Ghelawdewos. *The Great Unifier: Emperor Tewodros II of Ethiopia*. (Institute of Development and Education for Africa (IDEA), Inc, 2006), 1-8.

<sup>23</sup> Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1991)*...

<sup>24</sup> Raymond A. Jonas, *The Battle of Adwa: African Victory in the Age of Empire*. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2011. Harvard Univ. Press, 2012), Pp. x, 413. Pp. x, 413. Pp. x, 413. ISBN 978-0-674-05274-1.

<sup>25</sup> Henze, Paul B., *The Rise of Haile Selassie: Time of Troubles, Regent, Emperor, Exile" and "Ethiopia in the Modern World: Haile Selassie from Triumph to Tragedy, Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia* (New York: Palgrave, 2000). ISBN 0-312-22719-1.

<sup>26</sup> Haile, Semere., "The Origins and Demise of the Ethiopia-Eritrea Federation". Issue. Issue." *A Journal of Opinion* (1987), Vol. 15. 15: 9.

<sup>27</sup> Praeg, Bertus., *Ethiopia and Political Renaissance in Africa*. (New York: Nova Science, 2006). p. 94. ISBN 1-59454-869-2.

The State of Oromia, The State of Somalia, The State of BenshangulUGumuz, The State of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, The State of the Gambela Peoples, The State of the Harari People and two self-administered federal cities namely, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, where Addis Ababa is the capital city of the country and the seat of the federal government<sup>28</sup>.



Figure 2. Political map of Ethiopia after 1995

### **AN OVERVIEW OF ETHIOPIA’S ETHNIC FEDERALISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS: CONSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS**

As the 1995 FDRE constitution Art 46(1) clearly stipulates, Ethiopia is a federal state comprises of regional governments. The nine regional states are mainly formed based on ethnicity besides geography. Though many politicians and scholars credits the 1995 FDRE constitution for acknowledging Ethiopia as the home of multicultural, multi-linguistic, multi-ethnic state with equal rights (Art 47(4)). Besides, the same constitution empowers Ethiopia’s people as the source of all powers, and are all sovereign (Art 8 (1)). The constitution also give all ethnic groups full inviolable right to establish their own state government and administer themselves at any time (Art 47 (2)). However, some people used to criticize Ethiopia’s ethnic based federalism as it would reduce citizens to the extent that they would not identify themselves not as Ethiopians, but as they belong to a certain ethnic group<sup>29</sup>. Thus, this might result in reducing national consensus, and

<sup>28</sup> FDRE. “Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995.”

<sup>29</sup> Daba, B., & Mulu, F. “Incorporating “Democratic Developmental State Ideology” into Ethiopia’s Ethnic Federalism – A Contradiction? *Üniversitepark Bülten* (2017), 6(1), 109-117.

sense of belonging to one country. And, this would further affect the country's Democratic Developmental State Ideology since this ideology needs popular mobilization to one common and utmost goal i.e. economic growth<sup>30</sup>. Besides, according to Africa Report N°153 of 2009, the unlimited constitutional right to self-determination would further encourage nation, nationalities and ethnic groups to make themselves busy of not be or live with other ethnic groups under the same single administration of any level or form.

Above all, the constitution goes to the extent that "Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession" (Art 39(1)). This is the way out while there is dissatisfaction among member states and nations to separate or solve their differences/problems without the need for any bloodshed. For some scholars and opposition political parties, though it is appreciable to include a peaceful way of separation one ethnic group of regional state without any war, the term "up to cessation" is dangerous (Ibid). Even, a number of opposition political parties were repeatedly were calling for the removal this sub-article as it threatens the country's further existence though the ruling EPRDF party rejects the claim<sup>31</sup>.

Art 61 of the FDRE constitution stated that members of the house of Federation are representatives of Ethiopia's Nations, Nationalities and Peoples. But, the problem here is not who is representing whom, but the power to interpret the constitution (Art 62(1)). A political body is to do judicial work to interpret the constitution. This section the constitution limits and violets the judicial power to interpret laws stated under Art 79 of the same constitution.

### **ETHIOPIA'S ADOPTION OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTAL STATE IDEOLOGY: RATIONALE, TRIUMPHS AND ROLE FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION**

The ruling EPRDF under the leadership of the strong man former president under the transitional government and later prime minister of the Federal Democratic republic of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi, in the late 2000s Ethiopia has made a U-turn for adopting a developmental state from Asian Tigers ignoring neoliberal ideology that was there in the country for more than a decade. The late prime minister used to say "neoliberalism is dead! It is finished!"<sup>32</sup>, in various occasions to meant neoliberalists' policies and programs have failed to help less developing countries of the third world countries of the global south reduce the level of poverty. Rather, the gap between the developed and poor countries is ever increasing, and makes developing countries just suppliers of raw materials to the western manufacturing sectors<sup>33</sup>.

In principle, in Developmental state, there are two actors in the market: the government and the private sector<sup>34</sup>, with their own respective role to play. The notion of developmental state notes that if there is only one player in the market either the government (i.e. socialism) or the private

<sup>30</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology...*

<sup>31</sup> Vaughan, Sarah., "Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia." PhD Dissertation (unpublished), The University of Edinburgh (2003).

<sup>32</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology...*

<sup>33</sup> Zenawi, M., "State and markets: neoliberal limitations and the case for a developmental state," In Noman, A., Botchwey, K., Stein, H., & Stiglitz, J. (Eds.), *Good growth and governance in Africa: rethinking development strategies*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 140-169.

<sup>34</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology...*

sector (i.e. capitalism or liberalism), there would be a market gap<sup>35</sup>. But, this does not mean that the government shall intervene in each and every aspect of the market affairs. Rather, in some selected areas where there is a gap that is not or wouldn't filled by the private sector that the government make intervention<sup>36</sup>. In this case, the government is not passive and "a night watchman," rather active and make active intervention in the market if necessary.

The main goal of developmental state is to realize fastest economic growth<sup>37</sup>. Ethiopia has experiencing a remarkable fastest growing economic growth an average of 9.9% per annum in the last decade following its adoption and execution of developmental state in its own context (i.e. democracy from the west and developmental state from the east = democratic developmental state to Ethiopia's political and economic context ). Poverty level per head count decreases from 41.9 in 2005 to 29.6 percent in 2011, and an increase in Human Development Index (HDI) by 16% from 2005 to 2011 (Ibid). All these are good indicators of Ethiopia's remarkable development following the adoption of developmental state ideology. The government has been repeatedly saying it is poverty nor art 39(1) of the constitution of ethnic federal the threat to the country's existence. Thus, as it is shown above level of poverty is declining in Ethiopia, and thus, it means in other ways, the threat for national existence is decreasing.

Developmental state ideology is also yielding other positive economic results in the country, Ethiopia. Global risk insights (2010), notes that Ethiopia is reviving to former glory of one of the most powerful ancient civilizations during the Axumites, and began to re-write its history of civil war and poverty. Ethiopia ranks the first in east African region by attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The government is aggressively investing in social infrastructures and public goods like water supply, public universities, hospitals, roads, hydroelectric power projects, and industrial parks that attract domestic and Foreign Direct Investments throughout the country where millions of Ethiopians are benefiting from. But, these does not mean that everything is smooth in Ethiopia. The country is not full of autonomous, non-corrupt elite technocrats<sup>38</sup>. Furthermore, the adoption of developmental state ideology threatens regional states autonomy and violets the federal structure as such ideology to meet its economic objectives needs a top to down flow of rules and orders from the center to be executed by each respective bodies at the lower level<sup>39</sup>. Moreover, the Ethiopia government is criticized for its bad human right record due to the nature of developmental state that it mainly focuses on economic goal prior to all goals<sup>40</sup>. Above all, some used to question the adjective "democratic" while Ethiopia governments calling itself as "democratic developmental state" for governments of such nature used to assume political power for a long

<sup>35</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology...*

<sup>36</sup> Yesigat, Z., "Subnational Fiscal Autonomy in a Developmental State: The Case of Ethiopia." *Beijing Law Review* (2006), 7(1), 42-50.

<sup>37</sup> Desta, Asayehgn. "The Continuing Saga of Globalism: Comparing Ethiopia's Developmental State Strategies to those of Malaysia" Collected Faculty Scholarship (2012). Paper 15. <http://scholar.dominican.edu/all-faculty/15>; DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.6007/IJARBSS/v3-i8/123>

<sup>38</sup> Desta, *The Continuing Saga of Globalism...*

<sup>39</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology...*

<sup>40</sup> Alemayehu, T. "The Ethiopian developmental state: requirements and perquisites," *Journal of Business & Economics Research* (2009), 7(8), 11-18.

period of time, thus oppressing opposition factions, and serves as a means to strengthen the power of authoritarians<sup>41</sup>.

Furthermore, some used to criticize developmental states as the governments in the name of economic development, investment and industrialization force local peoples to displace from their land, and this would further creates grievances from the side of the victims on the government<sup>42</sup>. And, in which this would further threatens the country's existence. Despite all these criticisms, Ethiopia is one the fastest growing economies in the world. The headline of Ethiopia are changing. Poverty is declining. An important point has to mention here is that the notion of "democracy" in a developmental state how it is understood by the Ethiopian government. As the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi asserted that "[democracy in a developmental state], and in Ethiopia's context is the inviolable constitutional right of nation, nationalities and people of Ethiopia" in an interview with state media EBC in 2010. In other words, Ethiopia's nation, nationalities have full constitutional right to self-determination, and are equal unless the country's existence would be jeopardized otherwise. Generally, we can understand that the two greatest threats to Ethiopia's existence to sustain as a country are: poverty and any form of oppression or violence against any ethnic group(s). The latter is already solved by the 1995 FDRE constitution. And, the first one is already declining with the adoption of developmental state though it would take a long time. The threats are on the way to be solved. Therefore, we can say Ethiopia is on the right path. But, to continue the existing successes, the country is expected to do a lot. Among others: equipping the state from the top to the low with elite effective and efficient technocrats, 'truly' fight corruption at every level of the state, freedom of speech and press, encouraging opposition political parties to play their role in building national consensus, allow None Governmental Organizations (NGOs) work freely in the state etc<sup>43</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

After forcefully adopting neo-liberalists development programs for more than a decade that results no improvements of economic wellbeing of Ethiopians, the government made a radical move to the east in the 2000s. Ethiopia's new economic and political ideology is something peculiar from that of East Asian mostly known as "Asian Tigers" for incorporating some democratic elements unlike the Asian Tigers<sup>44</sup>. As the late Prime Minister, also credited by the ruling EPRDF as the architect of Ethiopia's renaissance, Meles Zenawi noted that democracy is unquestionably the founding block of the country where its existence is relying on<sup>45</sup>. This is to mean that, though the utmost aim of a developmental state is to achieve a fastest possible economic growth, the achieved growth will not sustain in the absence of democratic rule<sup>46</sup>. That's why Meles

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<sup>41</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology..."*; Matfess, H., "Rwanda and Ethiopia: Developmental Authoritarianism and the New Politics of African Strong Men." *African Studies Review* (2015), 58(2), 181-204.

<sup>42</sup> Emmenegger, Rony. "Decentralization and the local developmental state: peasant mobilization in Oromiya, Ethiopia." *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* (2006), Volume 86, Number 2, pp. 263-287.

<sup>43</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology..."*; Alemayehu, *The Ethiopian developmental state: requirements and perquisites...*

<sup>44</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology..."*

<sup>45</sup> Daba, & Mulu, *Incorporating "Democratic Developmental State Ideology..."*;

<sup>46</sup> Gebremaraim, F. Mulu, "Good governance nexus economic development: examining western rhetoric in reference to Easter realities." *International Research Journal of Social Science* (2017), Volume 6(4), 34-37.

Zenawi, in an interview with the state sponsored Ethiopia Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), in 2010 asserted that:

“Democracy is the means, but not the only means, to realize the country’s [Ethiopia] existence sustainably and unquestionably. Unequivocally, realizing sustainable economic growth that benefits its citizens is equally necessary to realize the country’s [Ethiopia] existence. [But, realizing democracy is more crucial than and prior to economic growth]. Without realizing equality between and among Ethiopia’s ethnic groups, languages and religions, it is impossible to mobilize the people to fight poverty. They would rather begin killing each other. The same is true with regard to other rights to equality. Ethiopia is the home to various ethnic groups, languages and religions. In the absence of equality of ethnic groups, languages and religions, it is hard to live in peace and sustain the country’s existence. Democracy in Ethiopia’s context is the issue of existence, not a matter of choice. In the aftermath of the Dergue regime, there were 17 ethnic based armed groups out of majority of the groups cessation from Ethiopia was their main agenda. Still after 18 years such issues are promoted in Ethiopia by various armed groups, scholars and individuals. Thus, the agenda of democracy is too crucial where Ethiopia’s existence or fate of survival relies on.” (Meles Zenawi’s word, 2010, translated by the researcher).

Ethiopia has achieved a remarkable economic growth in the last decade. Millions of Ethiopians are benefiting the fruits of the country growth. Income gap between the rich and the poor is decreasing, and income per capita of citizens is increasing. In 2016, GDP per capita of Ethiopia was 511 US Dollars which was around 163 US Dollars some 24 years ago in 1992 (accessed from URL: <https://tradingeconomics.com/ethiopia/gdp-per-capita>, retrieved on 25/09/2017). Even, while Ethiopia faces the worst drought in a millennia in 2015/16, and tens of millions of people were facing extreme hunger, the government supports and feed them with the help of stakeholders that the drought results no death of humans. Above all, the country is building environmentally resilient green economy<sup>47</sup>. Furthermore, Ethiopia has become attractive to foreign investors due to a number of favorable treatments and supports made by the government especially those who invest on manufacturing, textiles including tax holidays, lease free lands, supplying cheap labor, constructing industrial parks, constructing social goods like roads, electricity, and water etc<sup>48</sup>.

The government is aggressively investing in various social infrastructure and in manufacturing sector that would employ millions of its citizens, and transform the economy from

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<sup>47</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. “Ethiopia’s Climate-Resilient Green Economy: Green economy strategy” (2011). Available on: [www.undp.org/content/dam/ethiopia/docs/Ethiopia%20CRGE.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/ethiopia/docs/Ethiopia%20CRGE.pdf), accessed on 25/09/2017.

<sup>48</sup> COLOFON. “Business Opportunity Report Ethiopia: Textile & Apparel Industry” (2015). Available on: [https://www.rvo.nl/sites/default/files/2015/11/Rapport\\_Textile\\_Ethiopi%C3%AB.pdf](https://www.rvo.nl/sites/default/files/2015/11/Rapport_Textile_Ethiopi%C3%AB.pdf), accessed on 30/09/2017.

agricultural lead to industrial led one, and by the year 2023-25 the government aims to make the country among the middle countries. Thus, the major threat for the country's existence is not ethnic federalism, not Art 39(1) of the FDRE constitution either. Rather, it is poverty. But, as various figures show level of poverty is declining in the country. The wellbeing of citizens is improving specially following the adoption of the new political economy-"Democratic Developmental State Ideology." Thus, it is sound to conclude that Ethiopia is saved from being disintegrated with the wise policy of the ruling party, EPRDF, and his "golden son," Meles Zenawi.

#### **DECLARATION OF CONFLICT OF INTERESTS**

The authors declare no conflict of interest of any form regarding this work, and is, thus, their (own) original work done together. Besides, all sources and materials used for sake of this article have been duly acknowledged.

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