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Специализация: этнические проблемы Африки, межэтнические отношения и конфликты, традиционные социальные и политические институты и их роль в современном обществе, федерализм.

Изучением этнографии Африки начала заниматься с 1950 г., со времени учебы в аспирантуре Института этнографии АН СССР. Она ученица выдающихся ученых: этнографа С.А. Токарева и африканиста И.И. Потехина. Научный сотрудник Института этнографии (1954–1960). С 1 февраля 1960 г. – со времени создания Института Африки АН СССР – работает в данном Институте. В 1979–1998 гг. возглавляла Сектор национальных и культурных проблем, в 2000–2010 гг. – зав. Центром по подготовке энциклопедии «Африка», в настоящее время главный научный сотрудник Центра изучения стран Северной Африки и Африканского Рога.

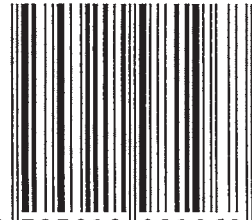
Полевые исследования и наблюдения в 24 африканских странах, в том числе в Эфиопии. В 1964 г в составе миссии ЮНЕСКО изучала лингвистическую ситуацию в Нигерии, Нигере, Уганде.

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Член зарубежных и российских научных организаций: Международный африканский институт, Лондон, член Исполнительного совета (1984–1986); Международная социологическая ассоциация, 05 Исследовательский комитет по этническим, расовым отношениям и проблемам нацменьшинств, член Бюро (1985–2006); член Ассоциации по изучению этничности и национализма, Лондон (1998–2001); зам. председателя Научного совета по проблемам Африки АН СССР / РАН (1966–1998); председатель Научного совета по истории мировой культуры РАН (1990–2002).

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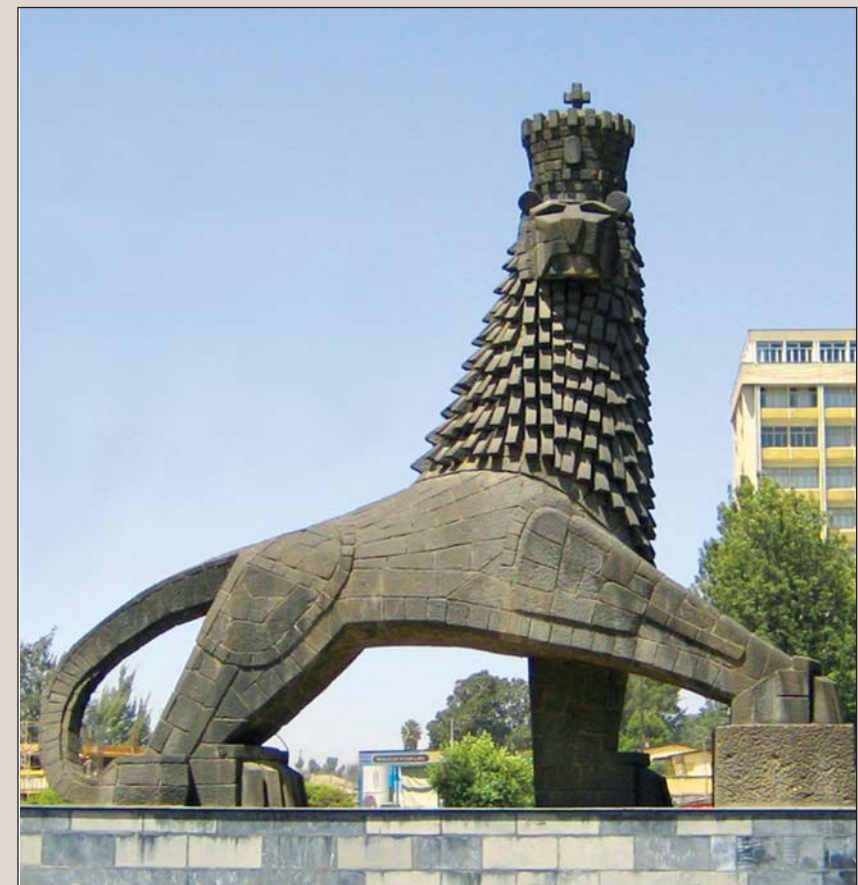
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Р.Н. Исмагилова ЭФИОПИЯ: ОСОБЕННОСТИ ФЕДЕРАЛИЗМА

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ЭФИОПИЯ:

ОСОБЕННОСТИ ФЕДЕРАЛИЗМА



ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ
БЮДЖЕТНОЕ УЧРЕЖДЕНИЕ НАУКИ
ИНСТИТУТ АФРИКИ
РОССИЙСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУК

Roza N. Ismagilova

ETHIOPIA: THE PECULIARITIES OF THE FEDERALISM

Москва



ИАФр РАН

2018



Р.Н. Исмагилова

ЭФИОПИЯ: ОСОБЕННОСТИ ФЕДЕРАЛИЗМА



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Монография посвящена детальному и многоплановому анализу системы этнического федерализма в Эфиопии и этнополитической ситуации в ее штатах, особенностей межэтнических взаимоотношений и конфликтов, роли традиционных механизмов урегулирования конфликтов в современном обществе. Она написана на стыке трех дисциплин: этнологии, истории и политологии, что дает возможность более полно охарактеризовать особенности происходящих в стране процессов. Эфиопия – единственная страна в мире, где этничность официально признана политической идеологией. В результате произошла политизация этничности и этнизация политики. Опыт Эфиопии важен для всех полиэтничных государств, а именно: законодательное закрепление и передача властных полномочий штатам, а также основ этнокультурной автономии путем создания зон и вород на узкоэтнической основе; придание центру мультикультурного характера путем включения в федеральные органы власти многочисленных этнических меньшинств; предоставление всем этническим группам возможность изучения и использования в обучении родных языков, а также развития традиционных культур. Подобная работа подготовлена впервые в мировой и отечественной эфиопистике.

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SUMMARY

The research was done on “the crossroads” of Social Anthropology, History and Political Science, and includes the results of the field research conducted in Ethiopia by the author. The evidence and observations from the field from more than twenty African countries visited by the author since the 1960s, especially Nigeria, were also helpful.

The Ethiopian experience with its multiculturalism which the author believes, last for a very long time, is interesting and important for all multiethnic states. The history of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia can be divided into two periods: 1991–2012 with Meles Zenawi and since 2012 with Hailemariam Desalegne as the Prime Ministers.

The book consists of two parts. Part one: **Ethnicity as a Multifaceted Phenomenon**, describes the ethnic composition, ethnographic characteristics of the biggest main ethnic groups, ethnic processes and ethnic stereotypes; analyses the role played in contemporary Ethiopia by traditional institutions like professional groups (“castes”), the remnants of domestic slavery, ethnic hierarchy; interethnic relations and conflicts; traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution still existing among different Ethiopian peoples.

Part two: **Ethnic Federalism**, describes the history of the ethnic problem in Ethiopia; the new system at the federal and the regional levels; analyses the ethnopolitical situation in Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz, Afar Regions, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State; the problem of the Oromo; irredentism of the Somali. A special chapter discusses the relationship between the state and the ruling party.

Federalism means wider power of the subjects of a federation and civil equality of all ethnic groups regardless their number and level of socioeconomic development. Another important issue is representation in the supreme government bodies both in the centre and in the regions.

Federalism must be in conformity with a strong local self-government. It is primarily at the regional level that not only socioeconomic and other problems but those related to interethnic relations should be solved.

Exterritorial ethnic and cultural autonomy is an important mechanism of resolving ethnic problems in multiethnic societies. It is this institution that makes all peoples subjects of the nationality policy. First of all, it is aimed at preserving their ethnic identity. This manifests itself in the striving to preserve and develop their traditions, language and culture, and resolve ethnic problems at the local level, what is more effective. However, ethnic and cultural autonomy should not only ensure the preservation of the ethnic culture but also facilitate the equitable representation of ethnic groups in administration.

In Ethiopia ethnicity is proclaimed the fundamental principle or criterion of the state structure. Moreover, the idea of ethnicity has become the basis of official ideology. The ethnic group and ethnic identity have become fundamentally important on the political and social levels. Ethnicity defines federal and regional appointments, party affiliation and administrative structure (be it state, zone, woreda or Special woreda (administrative units). An ethnic group has become a political unit. However, all nine states / regions (*kilils*) including Afar, Oromia and Tigray are not ethnically homogenous but include minorities.

The Constitution of Ethiopia has a special Article 39, “Rights of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples”. No other African state has such an article in the Constitution. The Ethiopian Constitution proclaims “an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession”. According to the Constitution, the minorities are entitled for special representation in two houses of the national parliament (the House of Representatives of Peoples and the House of Federation).

The Ethiopian Constitution and other official documents divide ethnic groups into “nations”, “nationalities” and “peoples”. Yet, it does not define clearly what it means by “nations”, “nationalities” and “peoples”. There is a terminological confusion: these categories are entirely different. According to the theoretical concept existing in the Russian (Soviet) Anthropology, nation is the highest type of ethnic community, nationality means ethnic identity, and peoples are all ethnic communities. In other countries nation means state, while nationality means citizenship.

In Ethiopia, this topsy-turvy fixes the existing ethnic hierarchy and is fraught with conflicts, because all peoples, irrespective of their numerical strength and socioeconomic development level, enjoy the right to self-

determination and development of their languages and cultures. It would be more appropriate to apply the neutral term “people” or “ethnic group” to all citizens of Ethiopia in official documents.

For various reasons, the new system has complicated relations between ethnic groups. Past conflicts over land, pasture, and water have taken on a new meaning. The main causes are socioeconomic, political, sociocultural and other factors but not interethnic contradictions or competition, though sometimes they look like interethnic clashes and at times escalate to violence. The main causes of these conflicts include the struggle for power at federal and regional levels, disagreement over budget allocations, and demands for establishing new administrative units on narrow ethnic bases. Another source of discontent is the constitutional codification of ethnic groups as “nations”, “nationalities” and “peoples”, which is a form of ethnic discrimination. Besides all that, the situation is aggravated by the division of the ethnic communities into “titular” (eponymous) and “non-titular” nationalities. Consequently, even the peoples of many millions like the Oromo, Amhara, Tigray and some others, have become discriminated ethnic minorities outside their “titular” regions.

The problem of the minorities and minorities-within-minorities require a flexible and adaptive approach which can dissipate tension and conflicts that may emerge on the basis of the minorities’ identity or representation in the decision-making bodies.

Over a quarter of a century has passed since the introduction of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. The main change was that the country was divided into nine ethnicity-based states and ethnicity became the basis of ideology. According to the architects, the necessity of adopting such a system was dictated by the complexity of so-called nationality question. However, the ethnic factor continues to play a major role in the political life of the country. In most states, the situation remains conflict-prone: in Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz, Oromia, Somali, Afar. Amhara, embittered by the loss of their dominant position, strive to return to a unitary state, while a part of the Oromo political elite has long been fighting for independent Oromia. The Somali of Ogaden support the idea of “Greater Somalia” and are in favor of seceding from Ethiopia and joining their brothers and sisters in neighbouring Somalia. There has also been an idea of expanding Ethiopia’s Tigray State by incorporating Eritrea’s territory inhabited by the Tigray. The Afar want to incorporate their kinsmen and sisters living in Eritrea and Djibouti and create “Greater Afar”. Ordinary

people protest against discrimination, land grabbing, corruption and bad governance.

Although the Ethiopian experience shows that the federal system has made little progress in improving the ethnopolitical situation and eliminating tension from the interethnic relations, there are some positive changes in this sphere. First of all, federalism is needed to draw the government institutions closer to the interests and needs of various ethnic communities and develop their cultures, and to create favorable conditions for overcoming interethnic tensions and conflicts. Does Ethiopian federalism meet this yardstick? Despite all its shortcomings, one can detect some positive trends towards the implantation of ethnic federalism in the country:

- legislative fixation of the states’ constitutional powers;
- formation of the local self-government bodies (though not free of shortcomings), what makes it possible to solve a sizable part of the problems of preserving ethnocultural diversity and improving interethnic relations;
- imparting of a multicultural character to the federal centre;
- granting the citizens opportunities to study and develop their mother tongues and use them in education;
- legislative fixation of the fundamentals of ethnocultural autonomy by forming zones, special woredas and woredas in some regions;
- coming out on the arena of numerous ethnic minorities with increased not only ethnic but also political consciousness, what has resulted in the struggle for their constitutional rights. This is certainly an outcome of the new system of ethnic federalism.

There are many achievements in the sphere of education and culture. All ethnic groups have the right to speak, write and develop their languages; to express and promote their cultures, to preserve their history and cultural heritage. These rights have been realized or, in some cases, are in the process of realization.

The introduction of the new system increased ethnic self-awareness, stimulated the processes of consolidation of each ethnic group and highly diminished the integration processes at the national level. But the events in the country in last years showed clearly that the situation is changing: more and more people want to be called “Ethiopian” as a sign of belonging to one nation-state. The manifesting this desire concept of “Ethiopiawinnet” becomes more and more popular.

At the same time, highly centralized administration, domination of the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) in politics and economy,

poverty and lack of financial and human resources in some regions, as well as persisting ethnic tensions and conflicts together with ethnic mobilization and politization of ethnicity complicate the perfection of federalism.

There are difficulties within the ruling party – The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). EPRDF is a coalition of Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), TPLF and South Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Movement (SEPDM). Sister parties are more and more discontent of the TPLF's domination and demand more autonomy.

There are also tensions (maybe even a split) within TPLF itself. This was showed by the events of October-November 2017: a complete change in the party's leadership and mass "gemgema" (critic and self-critic sessions).

The situation in Ethiopia nowadays is extremely tense. Ethiopia is plunging into a serious crisis. The protests have intensified since summer 2016 and included almost all the Oromia state and some parts of the Amhara state. On 9 October 2016, the government proclaimed the emergency situation which lasted until the beginning of August 2017. But in September-December 2017 the protests started again. Mass protest actions clearly showed that political crisis is deepening and involve all the strata of Ethiopian society. It is evident that people's willingness to accept the rule of the TPLF has been weakening. The use of force to put down the resistance does not work so far. Some observers even predict the failure of the state in Ethiopia.

The government promised "deep reforms" and renewal, including through struggle against rampant corruption, abuse of power, problems of bad governance, etc.

At the end of December 2017 the EPRDF Executive Committee adopted the Statement which analyses the current situation and a strategy for future. It explained the roots of existing shortcomings: «The prevalence of parasitic decadence in the leadership led to the shrinkage of intra-party democracy, which in turn led to the lack of quality and unity of opinion and action. Lack of intra-party democracy and prevalence of chameleon-ship led to the spread of unprincipled relations aimed at advancing narrow group interests. This weakens the front as a whole and the parties individually and is contrary to the discipline and unity expected of a developmental government. The weakening of intra-party democracy have also resulted in a tendency of narrowing the democratic

space... The executive committee decided not only faithfully implement the constitutional democracy but also to scale up to meet current challenges and also decided to address the causes of conflicts and restore peace shortly... The party have also failed to work adequately in terms of nurturing ethno-national identity and Ethiopian unity side by side...The aforesated shortcomings are the faults of the top leadership. ..Tendencies of violating the human and democratic rights shall be thwarted and additional steps shall be taken to ensure respect for these rights...Multifaceted activities to strengthen national unity shall be implemented»^{*}.

The Constitution has been in force since August 1995 but its provision for solving numerous acute problems still has to be tested.

The future of Ethiopia as a federation and its political stability heavily depend not only on the relations between the Amhara, Tigray and Oromo but also on effectiveness of the government's attempts to involve numerous ethnic minorities in the federalization process and realization of the constitutional principle of equality of all peoples.

^{*} *Daniel Berhane*. The EPRDF ExeCom Statement. <https://hornaffairs.com/2018/01/01/>.