

# **ETHIOPIA: The Liberators Going North or Coming South**

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Seattle, July 2009

## **Introduction**

Certain Political Figures from the wide field of Political Parties of Ethiopia are considering some sort of armed struggle. Their main objective is to remove the dictator who is reportedly preparing to step down. The armed struggle is a noble mission so long it is to free the people from an oppressive regime. However, the implications of the armed struggle are complex to be left to the actors and Engineers of the armed struggle. First, it must be realized that the armed struggle powered by EPLF that helped TPLF to grab power in 1991 is a sticky issue by itself. Objections to the plan are mounting. Second, the armed struggle is seen as a back door to power, and so, a mission to replace a dictator by another. Third, the idea that a dictator of a tiny state, a province of Ethiopia for decades and centuries being consider as a liberator to the proud Ethiopians has become a shameful and humiliating experience. The author explores these issues. With or without armed struggle, the Ethiopian people will free themselves and the dictatorial regime with its "Ethnic Federal System" shall come to pass. Anticipating new era, the author has presented conceptual models by which to establish Economic and Political Administrative regions based on the natural and cultural features of the country. Ethiopians have to undo the damages and restore the nation to its original conditions. And to modernize the country, modern systems must be adopted. For that purpose, the author has presented conceptual models of Economic Regions and Political Administrative entities. These shall give an idea of the frame work for establishing a new Federal System of Government.

## **The Validity of the Armed Struggle**

All forms of political actions and movements, peaceful and armed seem necessary to rescue Ethiopia and liberate its people from one of the most oppressive regimes of this century. Armed struggle is perhaps a natural progression of prolonged peaceful struggles. Both peaceful movement and armed struggle are equally discomfoting to the dictators. The good thing is that the spread of the idea of the armed struggle may also intensify the peaceful movement. The dynamics of politically charged people are hard to calculate and predict. While the discussions about the validity of the armed struggle have taken off, the question how to establish a democratic system of government has not been addressed yet. That may be a distant concern to the Engineers of the war. The armed struggle entails complex political issues, and a close examination and evaluation is in order before clamoring against it or hailing the idea. There are some issues that we can discuss openly; other strategic and logistics of the war may be better left to the leaders undertaking the mission. However, armed struggle cannot be carried out confidentially or secretly from beginning to the end. There are numerous issues and concerns that need to be discussed thoroughly and openly, especially since the armed struggle is to remove a dictator using the forces of another. A war not controlled directly or indirectly by the Ethiopian people is unlikely to succeed. The fact that the Field General is a person whose name is a taboo to the Ethiopians, the mission may die before it gets off the ground. To complicate the mission further, some Political Activists such as Major Dawit Woldegiorgis have come out in full force hailing the mission. Major Dawit Woldegiorgis, author of "*Red Terror*" has emerged as one of the strongest advocates of the armed struggle. He has described the advantages of working with one enemy against the other; in other words, using the external parasites to weed out the internal worms. His article contains detail accounts of his own underground clandestine operation of decades. He has treated us with a classic confession. Concerning the evolution of the Ethiopia-Eritrean armed conflicts, Major Dawit has proved himself as the expert without equal. He has enumerated his roles of decades, which one may regard as the trails of betrayal. Major Dawit has given us a clear idea and a

glimpse into a segment of Ethiopia's dark past. The reader should not be fooled easily however, because one with keen insights may understand the coded messages that were meant to guide the defenders of Ethiopia, in whose arms its existence and continuity rests. If we decipher the codes, we can clearly see his messages. In that respect, Major Dawit shall be known as hero who halted the dangerous journey to North or the tanks coming south! If that is not true, and if Major Dawit has fooled us again, history may record his roles as the ultimate measure of 'betrayal' as the actions of General Legesse Teferra would be the ultimate example of 'heroism. Major Dawit must have been created with the same moral fiber as *Haileselassie Gugsä*. The author has read the splendid articles of Jember Mintesnot<sup>1</sup> and Hassan Umer Abdella<sup>2</sup>. The two Political Scientists have compiled massive information, and their reports give accurate analyses on this particular subject matter. Both are opposed to the use of forces of the enemy to fight another on the Ethiopian soils. This author agrees with their conclusion and asserts that the power that would remove the dictators is the hands of the Ethiopian people.

### **Are the Liberators Going North or Coming South?**

If the people of a former province free the people of Ethiopia, it shall be a moment to observe sadly. For Ethiopians there shall be no worst insult than being ruled by hordes of High School drop-outs. However, seeing Ethiopians making long trips to Asmara and parade the leader of the tiny nation must be degrading and painful humiliation to the proud Ethiopians. Ethiopians shall wonder for ever by the actions of those who worshiped Isaias for they know that the dictator in Asmara is another formidable enemy who does not let a day pass by without thinking and planning about the destruction of Ethiopia. The individuals who made the arduous (shameful) journey to Asmara have every right to explore the horizons of opportunities in as far as their political thinking of their camps is concerned. However, it is inconceivable that Ethiopians would accept or expect liberty to be delivered to them by the General from the North. Such action shall defy all the norms of differences known and would lead to unknown areas beyond one's imagination. What is known is the fact that the Dictator in the north would be the last person in Africa to see Ethiopia restored to its historic conditions. It is unthinkable that he would collaborate to a mission that leads to the restoration of Ethiopia. It seems that the advocates of the armed struggle do not have the same vision and aspiration as the other political leaders and ordinary Ethiopians. Major Dawit is against the restoration of Ethiopia, but he also maintains that Ethiopia should defend its territories. He suggests that Ethiopia should accept the 'status quo' and "move on". That is a hell of incoherent thinking, but we also understand his real coded messages. He has enumerated his clandestine roles while he was occupying a high government post and while serving his country in uniform. He has described his unauthorized and secret contacts with the enemies. The messages that one may extract from all his warped ideas and twisted statements are trails of failures that he does not wish to see repeated today. Major Dawit must have realized belatedly that the idea of going North in search of liberators is unwise and against the grains of the main stream thinking and philosophies of Ethiopians.

### **The New Fragile Ethiopia**

Ethiopia was once a powerful nation with considerable diplomatic influences among the Third World nations. It is now an invisible body and a timid observer in every diplomatic arena. Once a dominant nation with substantial roles and voice of fairness to Africans, and once home of freedom fighters and a champion of independence, it is now a victim of the same evil Apartheid System that it helped eradicate from every land of the continent. Once a nation guided by its own crops of elites, it is now represented by global swindlers who are protecting the dictator and maintain the nation he disfigured as is. The enemies of Ethiopia had finally found windows of opportunities to apply their invisible forces to undo Ethiopia. The continuity of Ethiopia's existence as a nation seems timed. The chipping of its sovereign territory and the displacement of its people from the rivers, mountains, valleys, plains and shores that they inhabited for centuries are clear signs of its eventual dissolution. The enemies of Ethiopia have cultivated the brigands and put them in power to complete the mission. They trained the dictators for no vocation other

than obedience. The enemies of Ethiopia have made it impossible to restore Ethiopia to its historic conditions. They systematically made the political problems complex and hard to fix. They delivered the birth of the Dependent-Independent Nation against the International laws and principles that prohibited the actions. They engineered the Ethnic Federalism to pave the road for the disintegration of Ethiopia. They stood on the way of Ethiopians' peaceful democratic changes and blocked every opportunity by providing logistics to the dictators to sabotage the peaceful movements.

### Eritrea Not a Factor to Ethiopia's Progress

Eritrea is not an important land by itself. What makes Eritrea important is Ethiopia. Speaking on the merits of economic, social and political values, Eritrea is less important to Ethiopia today than when it was a province of Ethiopia. Djibouti has more superior significance to Ethiopia than Eritrea. Ethiopia has not experienced hardship as the result of Eritrea's separation, but Eritrea has.



**RIVERS OF ETHIOPIA**  
**FIG. 3**

Eritrea has been fighting each minute for survival ever since the free flows of Ethiopia's resources to Eritrea were halted. Eritrea has been deteriorating economically, socially and politically and there is no end to it. Eritreans did not know that the social and economic strength of Eritrea depended on the social and economic power of the whole of Ethiopia. The Eritreans who fought for independence and supported the separation did not know and still do not know that the back bone of Eritrea's economy is Ethiopia. The enemies of

Eritrea are its misguided people and the vast dry land; where as the enemies of Ethiopia are the dictators. Eritrea planned to use Assab as a bargaining chip for its *economic* reunion with Ethiopia. That wrong strategy has hurt Eritrea more than it did Ethiopia. The leader of Eritrea has learned that little Eritrea cannot control Ethiopia's economy and progress by controlling its seaport and only gateway to the World. Because of the selfish positions of TPLF's leaders, Isaias has been unsuccessful to force Ethiopia to take what it wants (Assab) and allow the free flow of resources to Eritrea. No land on this planet is void of resources. Eritrea has abundant minerals that can be exploited. Intensive developments, however will lead to irreversible environmental degradation that would spoil Eritrea's small arable lands. The offshore exploration for oil has been abandoned for lack of discoveries of sufficient deposits (Anadarko, 1999). No large scale exploration of mining can be undertaken without serious environmental impacts. Secondly, compounding the problems of industrial developments of Eritrea is Ethiopia's capacity to produce significant quantities of industrial products supported by its own resources of raw materials. Therefore, Eritrea's economy and progress is controlled by its conditions with Ethiopia and not the other way around as Isaias hoped and assumed. Eritrea cannot compete with Ethiopia. Comparing Ethiopia with Eritrea is like comparing Ethiopia to one of its provinces. It is like comparing the rest of the United States to the state of Mississippi. Ethiopia has more population and more land mass than Eritrea (See Table 4). Ethiopia is surrounded by countries whose urban centers and population in proximity will encourage developments in Ethiopia. The proximity to the rich lands of Southern Sudan, Northern Kenya, Djibouti and Somalia make Ethiopia the future economic center of the region. Ethiopia with its larger population and resources will be the major catalyst to the economic activities of this region and the rest of Africa. Eritrea on the other hand is surrounded by Sudan's uninhabited and forbidding lands in the North and West. It is surrounded by water body in the East, and beyond the sea are nations with whom Eritrea cannot compete except fight. Eritrea is disadvantageously located far from the straight route of the shipping lines of Red Sea. There is no significant economic activity to justify detour to the port of decaying *Assab*. In the south, Eritrea is also surrounded by unfriendly neighbor, Ethiopia. All roads in Eritrea lead to cities and towns of Ethiopia, but they stop miles before the border. These are not indications of any bustling economic activities of present or future Eritrea. If Ethiopia had to look North ward, it was simply to feed and protect its people. The developments that took place in Eritrea were

	<b>ETHIOPIA</b>	<b>ERITREA</b>
<b>Area (sq. km)</b>	1,127,127	121,320
<b>Population 2008</b>	77,825,4090	5,502,026
<b>GDP 2008 (\$Billions)</b>	55.07	4.75
<b>Export 2008 (\$US Billions)</b>	1.2	0.0168
<b>Import 2008 (\$US Billions)</b>	4.54	0.5659

Source: CIA World Factbook

done at the expenses of the people and regions of the South. It does not have to do that now after Eritrea declared its political independence.

**Table 4**

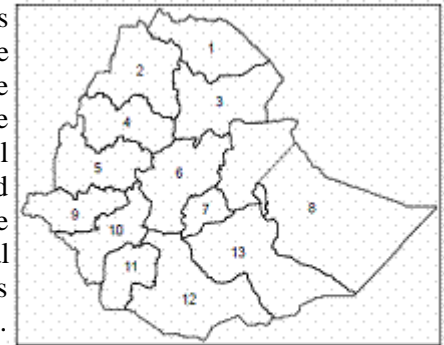
**The End of Dictators**

Change cannot happen over night. It has required unreasonable sacrifices in the case of Ethiopia. The struggles of the Ethiopian people have been long and tragic. That is because Ethiopia has numerous competing interests groups. The Political Parties are polarized by lack of compromises, and lack of political visions and sophistication to overcome and withstand the enemies. They face internal and external political forces that easily sabotage their unity and common missions and goals. The external interest groups have vested interests same as the people in the outcome of the political actions. The external interest groups exert insurmountable obstacles supporting the oppressive regime and its political machinery and crippling the opposition parties. The political power of the regime shall in due time begin to wear out. Signs of fatigue and disarray are becoming visible and soon may reach critical breaking point. If that is not the case and if the dictators cannot be forced out by peaceful means, then, the enemies of Ethiopia shall prevail and the World shall soon be without Ethiopia. That would definitely mean the end of the World. But, there is a force that maintains peace and harmony in Ethiopia in the interest of stability in the rest of the World. That force shall maintain the continuity and existence of Ethiopia, and Meles and Isaias shall never be the factor for the end of Ethiopia!

**The Revival of Ethiopia**



Meles has ruled Ethiopia by sheer force, and he has partitioned the country his way or perhaps as ordered. He has used the military force to implement them. Isaias has taken sovereign lands of Ethiopia, which he never administered. Nothing will prevent the Ethiopian people to do the same. Ethiopians have to dissolve the Ethnic Federalism, and rearrange the political administrative system in the manner they wish and see fit and suitable to modern administrative systems. Meles had dissolved the social and cultural systems that the people knew and used for decades and centuries. The Ethiopian people have right to dissolve the unfamiliar system and establish administrative federal system in the manner they choose. The Ethnic Federalism was not invented by TPLF. TPLF however marred by anti-Ethiopia sentiments was not capable to formulate the partition of Ethiopia. The leaders of TPLF did not have the expertise to invent or formulate the intricate schemes of partitioning the country. The map was prepared by enemies of Ethiopia in Europe or else where and delivered to the Dictator to implement it. The Ethnic Federal system has been protected. The enemies are monitoring the dynamics of the society functioning in the experimental social system. They are watching every social or political development that may reverse the Apartheid system. Federalism is not a bad idea. Ethiopians will have opportunity to establish a federal system that will be suitable and fit to the existing social and economic conditions and the natural resources of the regions. The existing social and economic conditions as well as the natural and cultural features will guide the formation of New Federal States.



<u>FEDERAL STATES</u>	<u>ECONOMIC REGIONS</u>	<u>REGION III</u> (CENTRAL ECONOMIC REGION)
1. STATE OF TIGRAY	<b>REGION I</b> (NORTHERN ECONOMIC REGION)	6. STATE OF SHEWA
2. STATE OF BEGEMDIR	1. STATE OF TIGRAY	7. STATE OF ARUSI
3. STATE OF WOLLO	2. STATE OF BEGEMDIR	8. NORTHERN PORTION OF HARERGE
4. STATE OF GOJAM	3. STATE OF WOLLO	<b>REGION IV</b> (SOUTHERN ECONOMIC REGION)
5. STATE OF WOLEGA	4. STATE OF GOJAM	11. STATE OF KEFFA
6. STATE OF SHEWA	WITH OR WITHOUT	12. STATE OF SIDAMO
7. STATE OF ARUSI	14. STATE OF ERITREA	13. STATE OF BALE
8. STATE OF HARERGE	<b>REGION II</b> (WESTERN ECONOMIC REGION)	<b>REGION V</b> (EASTERN ECONOMIC REGION)
9. STATE OF ILLIBABUR	5. STATE OF WOLEGA	8. STATE OF HARERGE
10. STATE OF GEMUGEFA	9. STATE OF ILLIBABUR	
11. STATE OF KEFFA	10. STATE OF GEMUGEFA	
12. STATE OF SIDAMO		
13. STATE OF BALE		
WITH OR WITHOUT		
14. STATE OF ERITREA		

PROVINCES OF ETHIOPIA  
(LESS ERITREA)  
**FIG. 1**

The boundaries of the former provinces (See Fig. 1) can help establish the new Federal States as proposed by the author (See Fig. 4 and Table 1). The Federal System configuration must consider several factors. The aim must be to enable the utilizations of the resources to achieve

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**TABLE 1**

maximum economic prosperity of each region and the contributions of each region to the national development. Ethiopia has vast fertile lands, suitable climate, and abundant mineral deposits all over the country (Kebede, 1998). Ethiopia is blessed with rivers and lakes (See Fig. 3) to encourage developments every where. Once it is established as a democratic nation, Ethiopians will be able to eradicate diseases and famine quickly. The nation had achieved a fantastic development starting from scratch during the life time of a king. Ethiopia with its abundant human and natural resources and accesses to technologies, has the capacity to dramatically improve the standard of living.

## Conclusion

Ethiopians know and understand the deep rooted relationship and ties with the people of the provinces of Eritrea now a new State. Eritrea is still dependent on Ethiopia as is Ethiopia on Eritrea even though less now. They will be more dependent on each other when Eritrea becomes reunited with Ethiopia economically and politically. Ethiopia is a creation of every province and each region is important for its

economic and political strength. Eritrea is the creation of enemies whose aim was to hurt both Eritrea and Ethiopia. Ethiopia with Eritrea would be the most powerful nation in Africa both economically and politically. Eritreans will not realize the prosperity if excluded from the privileges and benefit of the resources that Ethiopia can provide. Ethiopia will not reach the economic and political might that it could with Eritrea. Eritreans have been denied from their rights to exploit the vast resources of the lands that their ancestors explored and founded. They have been confined to a lesser and forbidden lands. The leader of Eritrea often talks about his aspiration and wishes to reunite Eritrea with Ethiopia via Federation and Confederation. However, he faces stubborn resistance from within and the cadres of TPLF with deaf ear from outside. He cannot tell the people who lost their beloved ones and parts of their own bodies in wars for independence that their sacrifices were for nothing. Eritreans unable to face the truth hurt more and more. Isaias' attempts to forge economic reunion with Ethiopia via war or other means did not work. It is unlikely that Isaias will resort to war assisting any political faction in Ethiopia. He has learned a big lesson from TPLF. Ethiopians understand that Ethiopia is a country to be desired and loved and they will not go out of their ways to make Eritreans believe in their Eritrean-Ethiopian heritages and accept Ethiopia as their country. The Ethiopians must wait until Eritreans find out the truth and decide to be part of the great society that they are.

Meles is preparing to step down. It will be a blunder to change the expected huge event. He will anger not only the Ethiopians, more so the entire World. Meles has given all the reasons for his departure, and he cannot afford to fool the World that is waiting to shower him with accolade for his good example for leaving peacefully. An award of some sort if not Nobel Prize must be on its way and if so, it shall be delivered to him on the same day he gives his sad farewell speech. That act may impress every Ethiopian both admirers and foes alike. This author may not weep and cry like a few others will, but he shall salute the tough leader seeing him step down and leave with dignity and honor.

In restoring Ethiopia and paving its great future, the frame work for the Models of Federal States to establish a true Federal System of Government must be in the mind of each Political Leader. The author realizes that the configurations of each Federal State can be infinite. The author believes that the boundaries of the provinces will be helpful to delineate the new administrative boundaries of each State. It may be practical to create Thirteen Federal States (less Eritrea) based on the thirteen provinces. It may also be practical to combine the provinces (See Fig. 4) and create seven (many or fewer) Federal States. The detail study on the physical characteristics of the regions and the cultural features will help refine the final boundaries of each State. The knowledge and wisdom necessary to establish the Federal States cannot be quantified. It is a great task. The other important consideration is establishing the economic regions essential to develop the nation evenly. Each economic region is run by regional authority. The author has proposed a model of the potential regions. Like the Federal States, the economic regions have infinite ways to delineate the boundaries. The models proposed by the author are meant to introduce the general concept.

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<sup>1</sup> Dawit Wolde Giorgis (addisvoice.com, June29, 2009)

<sup>2</sup> Jember Mantesnot (Amharic, Commentary on Future Ethiopia & Eritrea Relationship, July 2009)

<sup>3</sup> Hassan Umer Abdalla (addisvoice.com, July 6, 2009)

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