

Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg
Department of Social Sciences
Institute of Comparative Politics
Postfach 2503
26111 Oldenburg

Title of Dissertation:

**Challenges to Democratic and Economic Transition
in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan:** -A Comparative Study of the Political,
Economic and Social Structures in the three Countries-

Dissertation

Submitted to the Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg Institute of Social Sciences
Department of Comparative Politics, in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the award of
Doctor Degree in Political Science (Dr. rer. Pol.)

First Supervisor: Professor Dr. Wolfgang Rudzio, Department of the Social Sciences Institute
of Comparative Politics

Second Supervisor: Professor Dr. Antonius Holtmann, Department of the Social Sciences,
Institute of Political Science (II)

Berhane G. Mariam

MA. in Political Science

Oldenburg, 21 August 2001

Date of Doctoral defence 23 January 2002

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A b s t r a c t

This dissertation examines the political, economic and social structures in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. It generally traces in particular since the 1980s and demonstrates the challenges to the democratic transition and economic development until June-July 2001. Most of the literature sources used in this thesis demonstrate the course of political changes and other related issues to economic policies, which may influence processes of achieving developments or failure during the period under study.

The research objective tries to identify particular predicaments to political, socio-economic characteristics and the dilemma of human rights that often have affected any development changes in the three countries society. It is a typical analysis for this thesis to find out and compare with, if the three countries under review have had the same patterns of experience like other economically developed countries during the transition process to democratic and economic developments.

Although the political and economic problems of the three countries have been interrelated, they are different in emphasis. Therefore, arguments based on historical and cultural grounds about the causes and hindrances of social changes in connection to the countries political structures, possible efforts if any have been done to overcome these problems are also assessed. The result of this analysis highlights the last historical performance data standpoint of the three countries in the course of their future developments.

The conclusion would contend that dynamic multi-faceted approaches like any other nations in the world are necessary for Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan to accept the painful wind of change, which has been sweeping across the world in this modern time.

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Berhane G.Mariam

Oldenburg, August 21, 2001

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AACC	All Africa Conference of Churches
AAPO	A II Amhara Peoples Organization
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
ACP-EU	African Caribbean Pacific European Union
ALF	Afar Liberation Front
ANDM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
ASS	Africa South of the Sahara
COTU	Central Organization of Trade Unions
DP	Democratic Party
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EDU	Ethiopian Democratic Union
EIU	Economic Intelligence Unite
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization (United Nations)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FORD	Forum for Restoration of Democracy
FORD-A	Forum for Restoration of Democracy Asili
FORD-K	Forum for Restoration of Democracy Kenya
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICJ	International Commission of Justice
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KADU	Kenya African Development Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KTN	Kenya Television Network
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCP	National Congress Party
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NDP	National Democratic Party

NIF	National Islamic Front
NSCC	New Sudan Council of Churches
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OPDO	Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
ROAPE	Review of African Political Economy
RB	Republican Brothers
SCC	Sudan Council of Churches
SCP	Sudanese Communist Party
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Party
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDHR	United Nations Declaration of Human Rights
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UP	Umma Party
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization
UASU	University Academic Staff Union
WSLF	Western Somali Liberation Front
WUS	World University Service

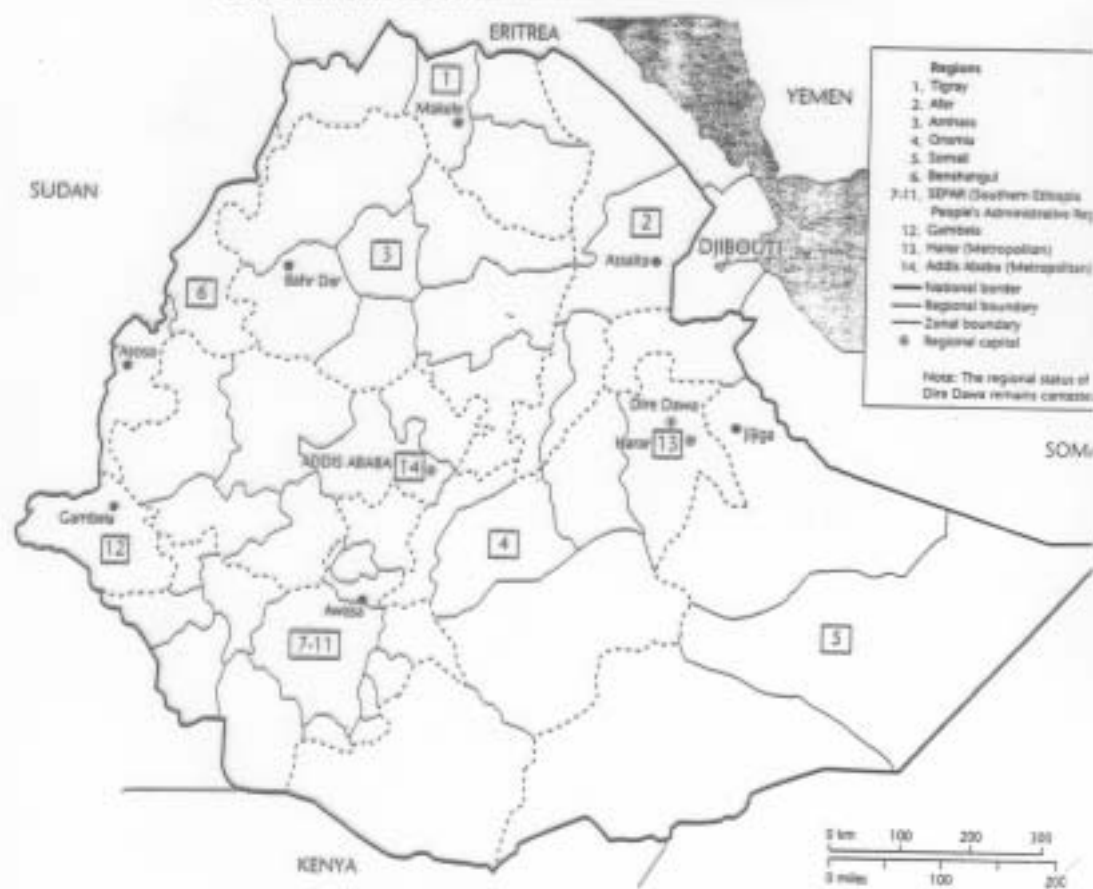
Maps of the Three Countries

1. (a) Ethiopian Traditional Administrative Regions and International Boundaries Before 1991



Sources: Kaplan, Irving et al, *An Area Handbook for Ethiopia* (1981), p. 264; Marcus, Harold G., *A History of Ethiopia* (1994), p. 222; Michler, Walter, *Afrika, Wege in Die Zukunft* (1995), p. 104

1. (b) Ethiopian Administrative Regions and International Boundaries Based on the 1994 Constitution and Formations of the Federal Government in 1995



Sources: Marcus, Harold G. (1994); Mischler, Walter (1995), p. 113; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000 and 2000, p. 8; Henze, Paul B., A History of Ethiopia, Layers of Time (2000), p. XXIV

2. Kenyan Administrative Regions and International Boundaries



Sources: EIU Kenya Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 28; EIU Kenya Country Report, November 2000, p. 7; New African Yearbook, London 2001, p. 254

Chapter 1. Conceptual Framework of the Study

According to the modern Western views of democracy, many African countries are still far from fulfilling the criteria for a democratic political system. Although African leaders common characteristics are the roots of their political failure, one should recognize that the problems could only be explained by considering African traditions, cultures and the current political situation.¹ Popular participatory democracy based on African community concepts appears to be essential elements of any meaningful answer to the endemic political and economic troubles.

Especially since the 1980s, many African leaders have faced widespread demonstrations and demands to alter economic austerity policies and to pave the way for multi-party political systems. For example, some African leaders like President Moi of Kenya have strongly resisted efforts to reduce their authoritarian power by promising to introduce reforms.² However, not much reform was implemented but what turned out to have been a strategy of suppressing these demands in order to stay in power. The brutal regimes of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia and al-Beshir of Sudan have some times also promised to implement democratic reforms because armed insurgents had weakened their survival/rule.³ On the other hand, democratic systems have been operating intermittently in some African countries. But in most cases, for example in Sudan (1969, 1989), it was often discredited and **short lived**.⁴ Military coups and other violent events have often terminated those democratic regimes and political repression had affected the movement and quality of mass participation largely. For example, widespread demands for democracy has continued since then and had strengthened the democratic impulse giving the leaders trouble and search alternatives that helped them to stay in power. The American Scholar Samuel Paul Huntington writes about this issue: "While authoritarian regimes came in many forms-military government, one-party system, personal tyranny, absolute Monarchy, racial oligarchy, Islamic dictatorship-by the 1980s, they were not by and large, perceived as alternatives to each other.

¹ Macharia, Kinuthia, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.30, No.2 (1992), pp. 221-236; Stremlau, John, in: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.79, No.4, July-August 2000, pp. 119-120, 124

² Glickman, Harvey (1995), pp. 177-178, 180; Ken Menkhaus and John Prendergast, in: *Current History*, Vol.98, No.628, 1999, pp. 213; Ibid., Lesch, Mosely Ann, p. 220

³ Bruene, Stephen, in: Abebe Zegeye and Sigfried Pausewang (1994), p. 118; EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter (1999), p. 11; Young, John, in: Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 48

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter (London 1996), p. 2

Outside Africa, and a few countries elsewhere, democracy has become the only legitimate and viable alternative to an authoritarian regime of any type".¹

Frequently, the problems have been lack of political willingness to bring about changes. Many African countries have not succeeded to implement democratic system although some of them have made several attempts in bringing about political and economic changes. Some transitions to democratic processes like those of Ethiopia and Kenya were aborted as soon as they have emerged, while others were eroded as much as they have consolidate.² But the challenges of communal conflicts and social decay have produced many other problems that are inherited from the previous authoritarian regimes.

Like many other African countries, Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan have failed to implement a democratic form of government that promotes economic development in the past decades. But it can also be viewed against the background of the political and economic conditions prevailing in these countries. From these and other related points of perspectives, special attention will also be given to the situations of political, economic and socio-cultural frameworks of the three countries. According to the World Bank reports, an extremely rapid growth of the population, poverty and repression have also posed a major threat to both democratization and economic development in the three countries.³ The failure to promote political changes has also been related to traditional power interests and the absence of a democratic political culture that still challenges to any development. But the growing demands for democracy, the collapse of Communist regimes in East Europe and the breach of Berlin Wall have led to a powerful renewal of ideology to democratic demands.⁴ This resurgent ideology has animated protesters in Africa and induced the masses to demand democracy and a multi-party political system.

Given all these and other related predicaments, the demands to promote democracy and to achieve political rights, civil liberties and economic development in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan are intensified and there is still much to be done. Thus, the following 4 points are posed to highlight how these demands have been meat:

¹ Huntington, Samuel Paul, *The Third Wave* (1991), p. 58

² Joseph, Richard (1999), pp. 50-53

³ World Bank, *African Development Indicators* (1995), pp. 87, 9; World Bank, *African Development Report* (2000), pp. 318, 321-324; United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, No.69(1996), p. 5

⁴ Diamond, Larry et al, *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies* (1997), p. 307

1. The leaders have often refused to give ways to the pressure for political rights and democratic practices. Instead, they often have tried to destroy all efforts that could bring about significant political change at the early stages of development by exerting political repression. Some African leaders have been fraudulent as well as an obstacle to serious considerations of viable democratic alternatives rooted in local cultures. In this case, when the Western countries have chosen to be engaged with states they have considered useful, their strategy has not been built in mechanisms that could deal threats to a transition and regional instability.¹

2. Even in countries like Ethiopia and Kenya, where political liberty has been introduced and opposition parties have particularly been permitted to some extent, political freedom is limited and party activists are frustrated because state resources have been manipulated to the advantage of the incumbent party and by politically dominant groups.² Nearly everywhere in Africa, exploitation of the masses by the better organized and more powerful middle-class civilian and military have common experience to monopolize the state and the administrative machinery of centralized bureaucracy against the legitimate needs and wishes ordinary population bringing them hardship and untold sufferings.³

3. One of the main hindrances to the introduction of democratic structures have been multi-ethnic and regional tribal groups which share power with the ruling party and do not permit the foundation of political parties and a fair distribution of economic benefits.⁴

4. Last but not least, the extensive economic crises that were the most powerful force generating political opposition have been a constant challenge to the stability of the states and the competition among rival groups to hold on power. However, one of the most serious impediments to democratization has been the low level or lack of a real commitment to democratic values among the political leaders, whether incumbents or opposition parties in the three countries. Huntington writes to this:

¹ Owusu, Maxwell, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.30, No.3 (1992), p. 380; Africa: Useful or not? In: *The World Today*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol.56, No.5, London, February 2000, p. 27

² Glicksman Harvey (1995), pp. 185, 191 ff.; Joseph, Richard, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.4 (1998), pp. 56-57

³ Larry Diamond et al, *Consolidating the Third Wave of Democracies*, Themes and Perspectives (1997), p. 287

⁴ Katsuyoshi Fukui and John Markakis (1994), p. 227

"Political leaders out of office have good reason to advocate democracy. The test of their democratic commitment comes when they are in office. However, elected leaders themselves were also responsible for ending democracy while they had little commitment to democratic values and practices".¹

To highlight the above challenges the basic question that can be presented for analysis is what could be done to promote a possible political transition process to democratic and economic development in the three countries? Of course, there are other related issues, which could also highlight the challenges and constraints, hence would be discussed during this research process below.

1.1 Introduction

Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudanese governments continue to grapple with political uncertainty, economic adversity and social inequalities that became major challenges. The countries are not only threatened by political instability and violent of social conflicts, but also by 'poverty', backwardness, and absence of viable democracy.²

During the last decades, regional and international mass media have been reporting about tremendous numbers of displaced people and refugees in the wakes of civil wars (in Ethiopia, Sudan), and ethnic conflicts including Kenya. For example, from the 3.9 million refugees in Africa, more than 1.1 million are in Eastern Africa region, all of them who have fled their countries out of fear for their lives and in search of liberty.³ This became an additional burden to the three countries economies and a shock to social life. Moreover, owing to several droughts which at times culminated in famines have caused increasing poverty and misery soared the political unrest that became harder. Disputes and rivalries among the authoritarian leaders in the three countries have been another obstacle to a transition to democracy and economic development.⁴

On the basis of these historical and other related analysis, this study examines the effects of existing concepts of democratization on economic development efforts in the three countries. Taking the position that the process of political democratization influences the economic development in the three countries, it will concentrate on the given issues of broad political economic and on social structures, which have challenged the impact to the transitional process.

¹ Huntington, Samuel Paul, *The Third Wave* (1991), p. 297

² World Bank, *Implementing the World Bank's Strategy to Reduce Poverty*, Washington D.C. 1993, p. 25

³ UNHCR, *Briefing Note Kenya*, Nairobi 1997, p. 1; Human Development Report (UNDP 1999), pp. 147-148; UNHCR, *World Population Monitoring 1993, With a Specific Report on Refugees*, Washington D.C. New York 1996, pp. 9-10; EIU Sudan Country Report, London June 2001, pp. 25-26; Horn of Africa Bulletin, Vol.13, No.3, Uppsala, May-June 2001, p. 29

⁴ Horowitz, Donald, in: Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy* (1994), p. 37; Rothchild, Donald, In: Joseph, Richard (1999), p. 330

Studying the systems of three different countries also includes looking into how the governments' characteristics, which more or less face the same problems and have often been ignoring or repressing to respond to the needs and demands of the citizens.¹ An effective comparison of the three countries systems can accurately describe and explain the similarities and differences satisfactorily. But the steps in **this analysis process are to understand how individual systems, or parts of those systems function**. To identify differences and similarities between the three countries, only to some extent are to be illustrated in the process of the research. Some scholars have also tended to focus on the role, those political leaders and elites should have played or could play strategically to retain popular support that might have offered the best hope to meet the challenge to development for their action. For example, Samuel P. Huntington has emphasized that "democratic regimes that last have seldom, if ever been instituted by mass popular action".² In the three countries, there have been tendencies to focus the role of political leaders and elites that should have played or could play strategically to retain popular support which offers the best hope to meet the challenges to development for their action. This could have defined the rule of the game and gives individuals the right to enforce fundamental laws of market economies and political/legal institutions of a transitional development. From this point of view, the leadership in the three countries has failed to fulfill its responsibility, consolidate democratic, economic and social developments. Committed strong leadership, who can ensure democratic law enforcement capacity is needed to overcome these predicaments.

Keeping those characteristics in mind, the following **two** remarks can be presented for illustration: **First**, the present situation in the three countries and the factors favorable to political transition towards democracy will be outlined and discussed. **Second**, there will be an attempt to find out an approach by which hunger, poverty and chronic conflicts in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Sudan can be alleviated in the future. However, problems that cover some selected predicaments in the three countries will be discussed in the analysis.

In this descriptive and explanatory thesis, the answers to the questions that will be tackled lie not in a single isolated variable but in the complex interconnections among politics, economics and social structures. Moreover, historical legacies, available resources and future prospects are taken into consideration. In analyzing the mechanisms dominating political change and its directions, common political themes that indicate diverging trends are to be considered which

¹ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1984), pp. 58-59, 66-67; Jean Healey and Mark Robinson (1992), p. 140; United Nations Center for Human Settlement (HABITAT) (1996), 137;

² Huntington, Samuel Paul, In: Political Science Quarterly 99 (Spring 1984), p. 212; See also World Bank, World Development Report, The Challenge of Development, World Development Indicators (1991), pp. 10-11

may exemplify some comparative emerging patterns of issues in dealing with the three countries themselves.

To carry out the study, there is a working hypothesis formula, which highlights the chain of historical factors and leads to the current fundamental problems. There is also a recommendation to how the problems that have arisen in the three countries can be challenged.

The study comprises **seven chapters** and has been carried out in several stages. As it has been indicated above, **chapter one** outlines the conceptual framework of the dissertation. It covers the introductory part, which provides the background information on challenges to a transition to democratic and economic developments in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Sudan. The other parts of this chapter include presentation of the specific objectives of the research, and basic hypothesis from which the dissertation proceeds and approaches to methodology and coverage in literature.

Chapter two provides an overview of the three countries historical backgrounds. It covers state development theories, territorial boundaries and their implications as well as the relationships between the political and social integration of the three states. Furthermore, the possible causes of the ongoing ethnic/tribal conflicts and political instability in the three countries are discussed and summarized in this chapter. **Chapter three** presents the legal and political framework conditions in the three countries on the basis of aggregated documentary data. It deals with the constitutions of the three countries and the ongoing political conflicts, patterns of political interaction, government systems and prevailing ideological concepts. The discussion concentrates on the composition of political parties and interest groups, party policy guidelines, elections and the degree of citizens' participation in decision-making processes.

In order to assess the present regimes capability to promote democratic and economic developments, this chapter also provides an overview of political performance; the level of political stability after the elections, political institution and changes in the policies pursued.

Chapter four, like chapter three, comprises two parts, which cover the economic and social structures and examines selected indicators to identify whether their standpoint has been suitable to adopt democratic process. **Chapter five** compiles human rights protections and the uncertainty of the future while they have been disregarded since decades. **Chapter six** covers the complex possibilities of political democratization prior to the economy's further development in the three countries. By citing complex theory to the related historical backgrounds, this chapter generally examines the prospects of political and economic developments.

Chapter seven, the last part of the study, concludes with a summary of the overall research findings and cites recommendations. It deals with four selected main challenges to democratic, economic and social developments. This research conclusion pledges hopping to induce

interested researchers to be engaged in the region and lays some recommendations that could be possible solutions to the ongoing problems once for all.

1.2 Research Objectives and Basic Hypothesis of the Dissertation

The overall general objective of this study is to analyze the challenges to a transition to democratic, economic and social developments in the three countries. An assessment will be made based on the experience of the actual development situations and how a possible appropriate interpretation could be prospected. Issues that could promote economic development processes and the implementation of democratic concepts will also be examined. Based on these research objectives, the process of democratization and the possible economic developments that have been achieved or otherwise failed, will be highlighted by posing the following set of questions, which are relevant during the analysis.

- How is the current state of struggle for democracy in the three countries? What kind of system is presently applied? In how far does it differ from the one applied in the past?
- Do the leaders come to power constitutionally? Do free and fair elections take place periodically?
- Is there enough political communication between the government and other active citizens, like the opposition parties and interest groups among others?
- Why did efforts to bring about political and to promote economic development in the three countries fail? Under what circumstances could the challenges be measured effectively?
- Why did the Westminster Model of democratic government fail to develop in Kenya and Sudan?

As it has been outlined in the beginning, what is wrong has certainly to do with 'politics.' Within these **sets of questions boundaries in mind**, this study will try to identify how political processes could give priority to the schemes of promoting democratic transition. However, a possible change that may occur to democracy in both its favour and its disfavour is certainly a very difficult challenge to examine in this thesis.

The question **why it is necessary to make research especially on the three countries has to be illustrated here**. I have found the characters of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan's different government systems an interesting diversity to highlight in a study process. The complete study consists of this complex and could code at events for discussion comprising some circumstances that may prevail in the past and present.

The entire region is covered in fierce and has much political significance on the three countries determining political events, economic conditions and other related issues. Even if the

situation has remained remarkable, **not much research has been done so far like that of mine** on this region's political and economic mismanagement. In particular, it has not been investigated to what extent the landscape, political structure as well as the ethnic distinctive feature of the three countries have affected for decades remained volatile and unresolved. Considering the above questions in mind that constraints the political, economic and social structures in the region, **I have also found it advisable to conduct research** on the three countries. As I am the product from the region's complex society, it is my personal consciousness to:

- Fulfil the gaps or loophole of the research studies
- Present innovative idea which provides an objective solution to the existing problems
- Contribute to the continuing debate of transition to democracy and economic development
- Try to demonstrate an essential fact-finding purpose for the political conflict that brought such a misery to the learning curve and other related issues.

With these points of view in mind, **it is also my wish** that this thesis will make a worthwhile contribution to understand the three countries problematic issues and other related challenges.

Basic Hypothesis of the Dissertation: The hypotheses to this research are derived from the current state of knowledge on political, economic and social events and indicators proposed as a framework for analysis. From this prospective, the following two basic hypotheses are formulated for this study, which intend to provide fundamental explanatory power feasible to the research observations.

1. Political democratization should be implemented in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan prior to the economic development
2. The violation of human rights causes permanent conflicts and has often been a hindrance to political, economic and social developments

This study then proceeds from these hypothetical contention that strategies for development should be adopted at a national level to identify specific opportunities in promoting accelerated transition to democracy. Hence, the hypothesis urges governments of the three countries to make viable efforts and raise their citizen's commitments to participate in politics and other events that concerns them.

It should, however be stressed that the decentralization of power per se is not likely to promote economic development in the short run. But democratic governments, which will succeed to achieve a national consensus, will find their policies easier to promote development than the attempt of autocratic strategies to sustain implementing economic reforms. Agreements in favour of democracy will promote to the assumption that democrats do allocate better

whatever resources they mobilize.¹ Therefore, the hypotheses perceive the effects of political regimes on democratization and economic development. Moreover, the mode of comparison can be employed to explore whether democratization does indeed contribute to the enhancement of citizens' well being and improve the impoverished as the World Bank generally assumes.²

This **descriptive survey** reveals that problems have arisen in the three countries during the attempt to implement democratic reforms. It attributes that politicians and administrators have been unwilling to accept transfer of power by peaceful means. They regard participation in politics as a threat to their own overall influence in national decision making and on this account they disregard human rights by neglecting political rights and civil liberties of their citizens.³ On the basis of these explanatory hypotheses, my intention is to examine the symbolic domain of democratic legitimacy by looking into the challenges and their effects on the political and economic performances.

1.3 Approaches to Methodology and Literature

The study is carried out by empirical documentary and descriptive methods in a correlative way. Literature data on Ethiopia, Kenya, and Sudan have been collected selectively from **primary** and **secondary aggregated** sources. To associate the comparative political, economic and social affairs, literatures from **regional** and **international** backgrounds have also been considered. These sources were obtained by the following **three different methods**:

1. Literature observations and collecting quantitative and qualitative scientific data from different political, economic and social related fields
2. National, regional and international mass media observations
3. Structural and open interviews, and Questionnaires have been conducted on selected significant number of expertise to acquire valuable information on the subject of the research topic. Designed efforts were made to cover areas of individual candidates to those of practical nature or related directly to their experience that could provide supplementary research evidence to another data resources and test the predicted hypothesis and related issues. While personal interviews are not recoverable data for other researchers, they are not included in the bibliography reference list, but are cited only in the text, by using initials as well as surname and description of an exact date.

¹ Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, in: Hadenius, Axel (1997), p. 164; Adam Przeworski et al, in: Larry Diamond et al, Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies, Themes and Perspectives (1997), p. 296

² World Bank, "The Challenge of Development," in World Development Report (1991), p. 134; Africa Economic Digest, Vol.20, No.14, London, July 12-25, 1999, p. 9

³ Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1999, p. 16

In order to compare the major political and socio-economic indicators, quantitative and qualitative data have been considered which provided the basis to carry out the study in the three countries and explain the interrelations between political institutions, economic and social structures. While comparative studies of the three countries political, economic and social affairs **have hardly been conducted**, combinations of quantitative and qualitative research methods are required to devise data analysis, highlight the nature of the problems and to determine if there is a correlation between socio-economic status and political performances. The following five points were considered to collect the sources data for the study analysis.

1. Available aggregated data sources have been considered from different research institutions collections
2. To test the relationship between socio-economic development and the process of democratic transition hypothetically, statistical correlation approach is compiled which was obtained from the social and economic statistics of the United Nations Statistical Yearbooks and National Statistical Surveys that are also collected from different sources.
3. Interviews were conducted to collect information, whether political democratization could be implemented before economic development or vice versa. The possibilities of free and fair elections and other related government policies were also suggested to discuss with most of the interviewees where they have very often preferred to discuss matters that brought me uncertainty and frustration. Nevertheless, it was possible to collect and observe some necessary data sources for the study with patience.
4. During six-weeks research trip to Kenya in November 1997, I have conducted observations, consultations with both short interviews and visits in Nairobi and vicinity areas. For example: Monitoring the 1997 Kenyan pre-general elections and other social relevant sites.

This was the way I have gained an insight to different source documents. Some literature sources for both Ethiopia and Sudan were also obtained in Kenya (Nairobi, during the research trip). This made it possible to compare the situation in Kenya with those of Ethiopia and Sudan. Another goal of the study trip was to gain access to primary sources, especially from the government agencies of Kenya and Sudan, and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from Sudan and Ethiopia whose Liaison offices are sited in Nairobi.

5. To measure the achievement and the process of transition to a democratic and economic development in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Sudan, my research task includes examining literature data from some African Study Center collection sources, especially in Germany (Hamburg, Heidelberg etc.) and the Netherlands (The Hague and Leiden).

During the evaluation of the above-mentioned data sources, I have tried to take all aspects into account, that were crucial for an extensive study to the three countries. It is anticipated that the study will create an atmosphere to promote further dialogue on how to correct the previous

mistakes and prevent in the future. Recommendations made in the thesis refer to the present development policies pursued in the three states and their interrelation to the past and the future. Apart from this, it provides applicable information and questions for further debate about the three countries political, economic and social policies currently pursued to implement transitional approaches to democratic and economic developments. The data used for this research cover the period from 1980s until the time of closing in August 2001. For convenience, detailed footnotes are given at every end of the pages so that readers can follow the literature source references consecutively.

Chapter 2. An Overview of the Three Countries Historical Backgrounds

The historical backgrounds of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Sudan comprise complex nation state and a multi-national empire which have been going on for decades but the making of a nation has remained unfinished. From this perspective and other related problems, the three countries in the region share the following common characteristics:

- They have a history of multi-ethnic problems
- A history of authoritarian regimes
- They all lack experience of stable democratic political Institutions
- They are economically backward and depend on foreign aid
- Their citizens suffer more often from lack of basic provisions etc.¹

The states and their citizens have been hit by a combination of some or all of the above problems. The existing predicaments are evidently the result of historical problems, which were never dealt with effectively by all successive governments and their Western partners.² Because of these shortcomings, civil war is continuing in Sudan, as factional and regional conflicts in Ethiopia and Kenya do.

To come to the question of historical backgrounds of the three countries, the governments have taken over the boundaries within which they now exercise state authority from the colonial rulers.³ They have reformed the political institutions and social arrangements, which were inherited from colonial period and adjusted them to their own purposes. But there is often tension

¹ Zartman, I. William (1989), pp. 259, 261-262; Graham P. Chapman and Kathleen M. Baker (1992), pp. 126, 131, 178, 184-185, 237; UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children*, Oxford University Press, New York 1996, pp. 80, 84, 86; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows to AID Recipients, Country Indicators 1994-1998*, Brussels 1998, pp. 140-143, 164-165, 231-233

² Woodward and Forsyth (1994), p. 7; Marcus, Harold G. (1994), p. 201

³ Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson (eds.), (1986), p. 1; Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), pp. 56, 59, 156

and regional conflicts between the international boundaries of Kenya and Sudan. Ethiopia and Kenya also fought against Somalia for the control of the lines drawn by the colonial cartographers.¹

Given these diversities, it is difficult to draw general conclusions about the three countries' geopolitical and economic performances during the previous periods. In the light of this, the most I can gain a deeper insight into the history and current situation of the three countries is to conduct thorough research about the challenges to political and economic developments. On the basis of the above mentioned features, an overview historical backgrounds of the administrative regions, the disputes over boundaries and their characteristics in relation to the population, languages and religious affiliations will be outlined.

The concentration of this chapter will be to investigate, in particular, to what extent the historical background of landscapes, political structures as well as the ethnic distinctive features of the three countries have been affected. From this prospective, how these diversities can challenge the transition to democratic and economic development in the three countries will shortly be analyzed.

2.1 Historical Background of Ethiopia: The Breakdown of an Old Imperial State and What More?

Ethiopia is an old independent Christian Empire in Africa and one of the oldest in the world. But its unity had lapsed due to the conflicts with Italian, British and American geopolitical interests in the region. This geopolitical interest of the classical colonialists in the region (Britain and Italy) has created a chronic conflict within the Ethiopian traditional monarchy's state leadership.² In these courses of time, an element of Eritrea region came to existence with the invasion of the indigenous Ethiopian coastline by the Italians in 1882, 1885 and 1890.³ The Eritrean question became a headache to the modern Ethiopian leadership but it was never attempted to settle with political solutions and left behind by King Haile Selassie and his successors.⁴ This has devised the main obstacle to any development of the Ethiopian nation and caused destruction of unaccountable human and material resources.

¹ Zartman, I. William (1989), pp. 83-84; Graham P. Chapman, and Kathleen M. Baker (1992), p. 116

² Kaplan, Irving et al (1981), pp. 40, 45; Henze, Paul B., *Layers of Time* (2000), p. 22

³ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), p. 111; Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 15; Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 163

⁴ Marcus, Harold G. (1994), 201

Even after the declaration of independence in 1993, the Eritrean authorities that became repressive and aggressive have practiced the remnant of colonial intrigues. This became a headache to the geo-political scene of the region due to the outrageous Eritrean leaders who seek to wage war constantly against all their neighbours (Yemen 1995, Sudan since 1996, Djibouti 1997 and Ethiopia since 1998).¹ In the time of completing this thesis, there was a peace agreement after Eritrean troops were drawn out by force from the Ethiopian territory in May 2000.² But the cause of conflict to settle with political solution remains still on the brink of collapse. Comparing to Kenya and Sudan, Ethiopia is the only country, which was not colonized by European colonial forces. For example, it had repelled the Italian invaders at the Battle of Adua in 1896. But between 1936-1942, the Italians have occupied Ethiopia briefly.³ Ethiopia's success over Italy at the Battle of Adua was considered the first victory of an African nation over European colonial power,⁴ remaining the only country in Africa to withstand colonialism.

In the early years of World War II, Ethiopia was liberated from the Italians by the joint forces of its Resistance Movements and the British army.⁵ Throughout its history, the old empire and ancient state has resisted the onslaught of European and Asian influences. Through this symbolic status, Ethiopia became the permanent headquarter of the OAU and to this day enjoys a somewhat special standing.

The major Ethiopian unifying factors in its political life were the monarch and the Orthodox Church. The kings whose powers remained almost unassailable for centuries have usually served as heads of the church as well as heads of government. When it was challenged, it was maintained through personal strength and the frequent application of brutal forces.⁶ The two major institutions (the monarch with their nobility's and the church) have represented the social, cultural, economic and political lives of traditional imperial Ethiopia. But the political authorities that have assumed modernization without altering the traditional personal could not succeed the challenges to economic and social relationships among the various segments of this diverse society.⁷ While such diversity was not guided properly, it could not continue to withstand the country's challenges to national identity.

¹ p. Lefebvre, Jeffrey, in: *The Middle East Journal*, Vol.52, No.3, Summer 1998, 368; *Africa Analysis*, (Nos.299 and 352), London, 12 June 1998 and 28 July 2000, p. 6, 2; *The World Today*, Vol.56, No.5, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, May 2000, pp. 11-13; SIPRI Yearbook (1998 and 1999), pp. 126; 20

² SIPRI Yearbook (2001), pp. 26-27

³ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 19

⁴ Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 15; Marcus, Harold G., *A History of Ethiopia* (1994), p. 99

⁵ Peter Duignan H. and Robert Jackson (1986), p. 254; Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 12

⁶ Wagaw, Teshome G. (1990), p. 3

⁷ Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 89

This diversity has splintered the nation into factors, which seems irreconcilable and the country has probably undergone more conclusive social and political dislocations than any other African nation. After the abolition of monarchy in 1974, the old imperial state has marked a complete break under the EPRDF government's ideology, which has been spoken to provide a possible broadest democratic condition for contemporary Ethiopia,¹ but its democratic credential remains in question. The greatest internal challenge presented in to days Ethiopia comes from its internal political system influenced by foreign geopolitical interests. Contemporary developments in its complex neighboring regions appear to have far-reaching implications for the future of the Ethiopian State. Indeed, for better or worst, the negative dimensions of all neighbouring states hardly present significant challenges to one another. Nevertheless, less armed conflict is hopped in the new century, which could give the country a chance to promote stability more than the previous decades.

Border disputes: The southern half of the boundary with Somalia, **Ogaden**² is within Ethiopian provisional administrative line, which has often been territorial dispute over years.³ Successive Somali governments have claimed this territory that they refer as Western Somalia and waged wars to control this area but they did not succeed.⁴ Most of Ethiopia's borders have been delimited by treaty, however the Ethiopia-Somalia boundary has long been an exception.

One of its sectors has never been definitely demarcated, due to the disputed interpretations of 1897 and 1908 treaties signed by Britain, Italy and Ethiopia. A provisional "Administrative Line" that was defined by a 1950 Anglo-Ethiopian agreement, when the United Nations established Somali as a trust territory has delimited this sector.⁵ After Somalia became independent in 1960, it has refused to recognize any of the border treaties signed between Ethiopia and the former colonial powers, instead, demanded a revision of the boundary that would ensure self-determination for Somali speaking people living in the Ogaden. Since then, Somalia has posed the only serious external threat to Ethiopia. Consequently, the frontier became the scene of recurrent violence and open warfare between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977-1978.⁶ This territorial claim or question by the Somalis remained unsolved, but in the late 1980s, however, the nature of this threat has changed, as the Somali government became more involved to maintain with its

¹ Ibid., p. 103

² A desert area inhabited by Ethiopian Somalis and administered by Ethiopia as part of its province

³ Zartman, William I. (1989), p. 102; Graham P. Chapman and Kathleen M. Baker (1992), p. 116

⁴ Peter Duignan H. and Robert Jackson (1986), pp. 255, 277-278; David, Munro and Alan J. Day (1990), p. 21

⁵ Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 727

⁶ Hodd, Michael (1991), p. 138; Graham Chapman and Kathleen M. Baker (1992), p. 116

internal security and became less capable of recreating a "Greater Somalia."¹ But there is uncertainty to what will happens next about this border question.

Ethiopia's relation with neighboring Sudan has also been uneasy. Scores of signed friendship pacts have failed to improve it. After the EPRDF has taken power, Ethiopia has enjoyed support from Sudan and summarily expelled the southern Sudanese rebels, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).² But their relations deteriorated following the apparent Sudanese complicity in the attempted assassination of President Mubarak of Egypt in Addis Ababa in June 1995.³ During 1996 and early 1997 Although Sudan had protested at alleged border incursions by Ethiopian troops, relations have began to improve since 1998.⁴

Under King Haile Selassie's regime, Ethiopia had a close alliance with the USA, which maintained a major communication base in Ethiopia's northern province (Eritrea), but the alliance was faded away as the military government has abolished the monarchy and proclaimed Marxism-Leninism in 1974.⁵ Although the USA has continued supplying arms for a couple of years to Ethiopian, the military regime has announced that it would seek arms and military aid from the socialist bloc by signing a 20-years treaty of friendship and cooperation with the then USSR in November 1978. But in later years, Moscow became increasingly vocal in its criticism of the government and in the beginning of 1991 expressed its intention to cancel arms supplies. In pursuit of this, the US government unexpectedly found itself acting as mid-wife to the EPRDF government sponsoring the so called Democracy and Reconciliation London Conference in May 1991.⁶ After this, Ethiopia seemed to have good relations with several Western countries, which have provided food and development aid, although the level of aid was far lower than might have been expected on account of the new government's human rights record and economic policies.⁷ As the EPRDF and other party allies have formed a Transitional Government, a rapid increase in aid and cultivated good relations with all potential donors, particularly the USA was incepted where Ethiopia became again a key regional ally. Ethiopia has also had to cope with the subdued hostility of its River Nile, Red Sea neighbours who feared the danger of an ideological spillover.⁸

Strong traditional and diplomatic relations with Israel, which reviewed the old question every time, instigated who controls the Red Sea? In November 1989 diplomatic relation with Israel was

¹ Zartman, William I. (1989), p. 123

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 10; Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 58

³ *Africa Confidential*, Vol.38, No.10, 9 May 1997, p. 5; *Ibid.*, Vol.39, No.12, 12 June 1998, p. 3; EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 12

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, London, June 2000, p. 16; EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 12

⁵ Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux (1981), pp. 87-88; Henze, Paul B. (2000), pp. 280-281

⁶ Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 9

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Africa Confidential*, Vol.39, No.12, London, 12 June 1996, p. 3

restored and maintained by the transitional government. Building on the biblical links of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, King Haile Selassie's government had close ties with Israel, which were broken only reluctantly in line with the policy of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war that greatly reduced the strategic importance of Ethiopia to Israel.¹ Israel met one objective from the restoration of relations when it secured the immigration of 50,000 Ethiopian Jews by organizing under 'the operation Moses' since the early 1980s and the final days of Mengistu's rule under the name of 'Operation Solomon' in May 1991. According to the Israeli law of return, they had the right to Israeli citizenship.²

Ethiopia has adopted an assertive regional role, heading OAU efforts to foster a peace settlement in Somali. It supports efforts to give the Djibouti-based Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which includes Djibouti, Kenya, Eritrea, Sudan and Uganda, a more active political and security role regionally, including mediation in the conflicts in Somalia and Sudan.³ Internationally, the Ethiopian ruling party (EPRDF) continued to maintain good relations with the USA and European governments.⁴ But after many decades of imperial history, Ethiopia struggles today with its own identity. Hence in search of better neighbourhood tomorrow, Ethiopians should look back to their diversified past and make integrated approaches to both internal and external affairs. Determination to maintain good relations with the neighbours is needed to protect Ethiopia's territorial integrity.

Population: Ethiopia has been the scene of many migration and settlements. There have been Semitic influences from Arabia, Nilotic in the West and some Bantu-speaking people in the south etc. From this perspective, the culture and language of the population are extremely diverse.⁵

The Diversity has been more complicated as the influential ethnic group Amhara (Semitic) which comprise about 25% of the total population have mobilized the Ethiopian people and implemented their culture and language since decades. Traditionally, they have dominated the political, cultural and religious life of the country.⁶ The next influential ethnic groups of Ethiopia are Oromo (Hamitic and Cushitic) (35-40%), who are most numerous group in the country and live in every region except in Gonder. They are diverse in terms of their culture, social organization and religion. In Some areas, they are too assimilated and mostly integrated into the

¹ Erlich, Haggai (1994), p. 185

² Lazin, Fred A., The Housing Policies for Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel, in: Nationalism and Politics, Vol.3, No.4, Frank Cass pubs. London, Winter 1997, pp. 41, 44; Erlich, Haggai (1994), p. 184

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 3rd quarter (1996), p. 9; Ibid., Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 39; Africa Confidential, Vol.39, No.14, London 1998, p. 2

⁴ Woodward, Peter, The Horn of Africa (1996), p. 104

⁵ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, 11th edition (1997), p. 158; The World Factbook, Central Intelligence Agency's edition Brassey's, Washington D.C. 1999, p. 156

⁶ Conteh-Morgan, Earl (1997), p. 109; Stewart, John, African States and Rulers, London 1999, p. 91

Amhara culture and language.¹ Components of other ethnic groups are Tigray (Semitic) (7%), Sidama (Cushitic) (4%), Gurage (5%), Afar (Hermitic) (2-3%), and Somali (Hamitic) (3%).² The other ethnic groups comprise Bantu and Nilotic people who reside in the arid areas along the border with Kenya and Sudan.

Some ethnic groups feel insecure in Ethiopia, while its political state has been torn between ethnically based protective response and the ideology of collective nation building. Afar, Oromo, Sidama and Somali support secessionism, while the All Amhara People's Organization and other groups are against the breaking of the nation state. Many Ethiopians dislike the idea of splitting the country along ethnic lines.³ Under the 1995 constitution, Article 39 permits the secession of ethnically based regions from the federation theoretically. But the authorities have been detaining and jailing activists from both pro-and anti-secessionist movements what they call they 'have failed to follow the constitutional procedures'. Article 39/a states: "when a demand for secession has been approved by a two-third majority of the members of legislative council of any nation, nationality or people" the right to self-determination, including secession shall come into effect. But the Afars have a more tenuous link with the Djibouti, which has a large Afar population may not be allowed. The administration of Ethiopia's Afar region is complicated by the fact that there is sizable Afar population in Eritrea and Djibouti who have sympathy with to stay in an autonomy under the Ethiopian unity.⁴ The government of EPRDF faces twin problems of ethnic identity and state control whose constitution cannot be implemented easily. What has been certain is that the ongoing internal conflict obstructs the transition to a democratic and economic development that subjects its people to misery.

Languages: There are over eighty different languages with about 200 dialects spoken around the country. These many languages can be broken down into the following main groups, Semitic, Hamitic, Omotic, Cushitic/Bantu and Nilo-Saharan.⁵ For decades, the main Ethiopian language has been identified to relate with the old Semitic-Speaking of Christian population. The origins of Amharic and Tigrigna are from the principal Semitic languages, which have relations to both Hebrew and Arabic, that are mostly spoken in the North and center of the country.⁶ The Nilo-Saharan, Bantu etc. Languages are spoken in a wide area toward the Sudan and Kenyan frontiers. The main Hametic language speakers are Oromos and since 1992, they are trying to adopt the Latin alphabet that seems to cause bitter conflict with the other ethnic and traditional

¹ International Minority Rights Group (London 1997), p. 414

² Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Addis Ababa, Vol.I, June 1998, p. 52

³ Ibid., p. 416; International Minority Rights Group (1997), p. 414

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 2nd quarter (1999), p. 7

⁵ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, p. 158

⁶ Chris Prouty and Eugene Rosenfeld (1994), pp. 26-27

Ethiopian languages.¹ Of course, they all (the Oromos) have not agreed about how Latin Alphabet's extent and form can be used. Some of the other indigenous languages spoken in Ethiopia are Afar and Somali (who inhabit in the eastern region) etc.² Given all these explanations, there is a great deal of language interchange and bilingual capability in the country.

Amharic and English remain the de facto language of the state, English being the major foreign language taught in schools which also remained a working language of the government with great emphasis, placed on other languages in schools and official media.³ Under the general provisions of the first chapter of the Ethiopian Constitution, Article 5 provides both for the equality of languages and for their practical application in government. The general principle is first laid down that, "all Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition." This means, efforts to the language development, the preservation of its literature; the provision for a script, the further study of each language among others, will be done with both state blessing and support to the possible extent.⁴ According to the 1995 Constitution Article 5:3, the Federal State in all its official dealings shall employ Amharic as its language. But member states of the Federation are allowed by the Constitution to determine their respective working language by law.

Religions: Since the early middle ages, Ethiopia was known in Europe as the only Christian Kingdom in Africa. Christianity had been introduced in the fourth century on the doctrine of Saint Mark and was the established church of the empire as such supported by the state.⁵ This explains that, the Christian heritage of Ethiopia predates that of Europe. Thus, Ethiopian people are predominantly orthodox or Monophysite Christian. The second major religion in the country is Islam, which has been spread through the Arabian Peninsula in 610 A. D.⁶ Other indigenous religions include traditional beliefs, which are mainly practiced in the southern regions of Ethiopia, to the borders of Sudan and Kenya.⁷ About 50% of the Ethiopian population are Christian, mainly belonging to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church particularly in rural areas where it remains predominant (The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has incorporated elements of Judaism into its Christian faith), and 40-43% Sunni Muslims.⁸ In some cases, the degree of similarity has developed because of the impact of Christian or Islamic (perhaps in rare cases Hebraic) notions on groups that retain their traditional systems however modified.⁹ Predominantly, Amharas,

¹ Kaplan, Irving et al, Area Handbook for Ethiopia (1981), p. 109; Thomas P. Ofcansky and Laverle Berry (1993), pp. 94-95; Fellner, Christian (2000), p. 10

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 11

³ Federal Constitution, Addis Ababa 1995, Article 5:2

⁴ Ibid., Article 39:2

⁵ Parken, Ben (1995), p. 53; The 1955 Imperial Constitution Article 126

⁶ Thomas P. Ofcansky and Laverle Berry (1993), p. 120

⁷ Kaplan, Irving et al (1981), p. 110

⁸ Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux (1981), p. 52; New Africa Yearbook 1999-2000, p. May 1999, p. 174

⁹ Kaplan, Irving et al, Area Handbook Ethiopia (1981), p. 121

Tigreans and some Oromos are Christians. Somalis and Afars are exclusively Muslim and the majority of Oromos follow Islamic religion. Handfuls of Ethiopian population follow traditional and other beliefs.¹

Even if Islam recognizes no distinction between religion and state it has not supplied some kind of political unity to its ethnically diverse adherents in Ethiopia. But it has been a more flexible religion than Christianity as practiced in Ethiopia which had been marked by more diversity of practice.² The 1995 Ethiopian Constitution lays down general principle to separate religion and state. Accordingly, there shall be no state religion and the government shall not interfere in the affairs of religion. Similarly, religion shall not interfere in the affairs of the government.³ The constitutional right of individual freedoms of conscience and religion provides for by the constitution, which includes the right to worship, change, exercise and propagate one's religion, individually or collectively in public or private.⁴

Apart from the constitution, Ethiopians have had a positive tradition of peaceful coexistence and tolerance between Christians and Muslims. Coptic Christianity has for centuries been the state religion, despite the confiscation of its property, politicization of its leadership and uncomfortable encounter with Marxist atheism during the military regime,⁵ which has codified by constitutional decree to separate the state and church after 1974. Even if the Coptic Church has maintained its position as the dominant religion in Ethiopia, there has been significant cohabitation with the Muslim community, which remains strong enough to withstand any incitement of confrontation.⁶ For example, in the rural areas, people seem to feel quite aware of the positive relationship and determined to defend it. However, this positive relationship seems to become volatile due to the region's political events and influence of Islamic fundamentalist military government in Sudan that might have contributed a lot to it.⁷ But it is hoped that the responsibilities of the Ethiopian and the Sudanese governments will try to defuse and find a long lasting solution to this conflict on time before it goes beyond its limits.

As with the Orthodox Christians, traditional beliefs in natural spirits have been amalgamated into the monotheistic religion of Islam.⁸ Although some changes were introduced in the organization of the church and clergy after 1974, there has been no significant modification of beliefs of ordinary Christians. Similarly, the Ethiopian Muslim Communities faith is also

¹ Hunter, Brain (ed.), *The Statesman's Yearbook*, 134 edition, London 1997, p. 479; Clapham Christopher (1988), p. 25

² Kaplan, Irving et al (1981), pp. 108-109

³ Federal Constitution, Addis Ababa (1995), Article 11:1-3

⁴ Ibid., Article 27:1

⁵ Fed Halliday and Maxine Molyneux (1981), p. 100

⁶ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 25

⁷ *Africa Analysis*, No.231, London, 22 September 1995, p. 6; Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 58

⁸ Parker, Ben (London 1995), p. 55

associated to the neighbouring Sudan and Somalia but no member of specific orders have been seen. Religious communities used to bring people of various interethnic backgrounds of population together which defines a strong social stratification. Religion beliefs play a central part in the day-to-day life of Ethiopians, which has been one of the dividing lines of the society and politics in history that can not be ignored at any time easily. Given all this shortcomings about the breakdown of an Old Imperial Christian Ethiopian State, where does the country's future lay and what comes next remains a striking question and not easy to answer. More about this will be explained in chapter three as far as the present Ethiopian political scene and religious institutional activities are concerned.

2.2 Historical Background of Kenyan: Post-Colonial State with Market Economy

The most geo-political Kenya's administrative region is situated in a coastline on the Indian Ocean bordering between Somalia and Tanzania (536 km) with the lowest point on Maritime claims. For this reason, the East African Coast became exposed to different nationalities and cultures beginning with the Arabs, who were the main traders in the 18th and 19th century, and later Europeans and Asian nationalities.¹ The country is divided into 8 administrative provinces, and 54 districts constituting the focal point for local administrations and development.²

The provincial administration was the symbol and substance of colonial rule, which became the primary instrument of governance and political control.³ Kenyan authorities and administrative agencies have behaved in such away to promote the success have that had the capacity to do with the large colonial political system even if they have modified and transformed them into Africanization.⁴ Both the character of Kenya's political system and the capacity of its state for a relatively strong and autonomous action explain its development success that has created an African propertied class to replace the European and Asian elites. This relocation of economic power to correspond more closely with the transfer of political power that had already taken place was conducted well beyond the usual extension of patronage to the regime supporters.⁵

Kenya has achieved a considerable post-independence success in both political and economic development by managing to establish a capitalist economy, improving the post-

¹ International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), *Democracy and the Rule of Law in Kenya*, ICJ Mission Report, Nairobi, April 1997, p. 8

² *Africa Today*, Kenya Country Survey, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 853

³ Leonard, David K. (1991), p. 290

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276

⁵ Zartman, William I. (1989), p. 91

colonial structure, which African capitalists have been able to move into industrial production items.¹ The government's continuity with colonial legacy by retaining the capitalist oriented economic policy, which was originally built by European settlers in the so-called "**White Highlands**" (the most successful agricultural fertile farming production region in Africa) of southern Kenya became the economic backbone of the country's success story of market economy.² Hence, the Kenyan State had managed to create many collective goods for its society in the context of capitalist economy. The government has also used the authority to encourage private firms, including foreign companies to Africanize their local operations.³ The Kenyan government has tried to retain the well-established Central Administration inherited from the colonial state authorities, which represented a dominance continuity in practice after independence. However, given the instability of political alliance between the multi-party system after independence, KANU government was unwilling to practice the principle of the Westminster Constitution fully.⁴

The principal question to associate why Kenyan post-colonial state had followed market economy is that the government's alignment with the Western countries and the international private enterprise systems have helped to stem the European capital investment in the country.⁵ The direct involvement of the state to create an African capitalist class in both agricultural and modern sectors of market economy have witnessed the country's post-colonial capitalist system character in Africa.

Border disputes: Kenya's northern frontiers bordering with Somalia and Ethiopia have been volatile with bandits, who try to control the vast dry land with the power of the barrel.⁶ Somalia had traditionally laid claim to part of northeastern Kenya, where there is a large ethnic Somali speaking population on a possible unification of ethnic Somalis.⁷ President Moi has pledged to increase bilateral co-operation between his country and Somalia and discussed arrangements for monitoring the Kenya-Somalia border. He has undertaken to consolidate existing good relations with the Somali leaders in 1987.⁸ But in the early 1990s, friction has developed again between the Kenyan government and ethnic Somalis from both northeastern Kenya and Somalia, and the mutual agreement has always been on trial.⁹ In the late 1989, the Kenyan government has

¹ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, 11th edition, London 1997, p. 223

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 16; Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), p. 156

³ New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition, London 1999, p. 244

⁴ Barkan, Joel D. (1984), p. 114

⁵ Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson (1986), pp. 234-237

⁶ Zartman William I. (1989), p. 84

⁷ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, 11th edition, London 1997, p. 220

⁸ Zartman William I. (1989), p. 115

⁹ Africa Research Bulletin, Blackwell pubs., London, August 1st-31st 1999, p. 13645; New African Yearbook 1997-1998, 11th edition, London 1997, p. 220

began to scrutinize the status of ethnic Somalis, in order to determine whether they held Somali or Kenyan citizenship. It was reported that several thousand ethnic Somalis had been ordered to evacuate the conflict areas. But more than 50,000 Somali refugees still shelter in Kenya.¹

Calling for their repatriation, President Moi has declared recently that Somali refugees and ethnic groups became a source of insecurity and have regularly caused trouble in Kenya's northeastern region.²

Despite the ideological differences between Ethiopia and Kenya, there seems to be a relaxed traditional relationship with Ethiopia while the two countries have subsequently signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation, and a mutual defense pact. Despite the border skirmishes, bilateral relations between the two countries remain cordial. Kenya was often prepared to support Ethiopia, which has protected her own immediate interests.³ But in 1997, the relationship between the two countries was under strain following an increased incidence of cross-border cattle rustling. To avoid such conflicts, a number of communiqués were again subsequently signed by representatives of the two countries, agreeing to tighten border security, by taking measures to prevent arms smuggling and to enhance trade among others.⁴ Kenya and Ethiopia have historic links and affinity as well as constant relations.⁵

Upon this basis the co-operation between the two countries should be enhanced in order to give their people better life and hope for the future. While Kenyan international boundaries have been colonial inheritance, drawn by the British to define their spheres of influence, uncertainties remain among the border of Sudan, which constitutes a grave permanent factor of dissension's.⁶ On the other hand, Kenyan foreign policy efforts seem to be dominated by the issues of promoting greater regional integration through the East African Economic Community and resolve the Horn of Africa's problems of political instability, which causes bandit activities and flows of refugees into its territory.⁷ Despite its poor record in governance, Kenya is being seen increasingly as an island of stability, most notably by the US in the region.⁸

Population: Kenya is a country of great ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural diversity. It has been a meeting place of different racial and ethnic groups and a point of convergence of major population movements in the past. The Kenyan indigenous population is divided into linguistic families and cultural base groups. The dominant ethnic groups are (Bantu) Kikuyu (20.8%),

¹ UNHCR The State of the World's Refugees in Search of Solutions, Oxford University Press, Geneva 1995, p. 248; UNHCR Annual Report (2000), p. 352

² EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, p. 16

³ New African Yearbook 1995-1996, London 1996, p. 202

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1999, p. 12

⁵ Horn of Africa, Vol.12, No.1, February 2000, p. 12

⁶ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), pp. 66-67

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Report, London May 2001, pp. 7-8

⁸ EIU Kenya Country Profile, London 1999-2000, p. 10

(Nilotic) Luhya (14.4%), (Nilo-hamitic) Luo (12.4%), (Nilo-Hamitic) Kalenjin (11.5%), (Cushitic) Massai and its sub-groups (11.4%).¹ But there are other small tribes of non-African structures like Somali and non-African minorities, which comprise European, Asian and Arab origins who were settled during the British colonial period.²

The density is extremely unevenly distributed with very high rates in the areas that are suitable to agricultural cultivation. Most of the African population live in these areas, while the majority of non-African minorities like Asians, Arabs and a number of European colonial remnant settlers live in cities or towns. Persians and Arab influences are evident at the coast especially around the port city of Mombasa, which reflects the Kenyan Islamic Culture.³ On the one hand, conflicts based on religious divisions can particularly be hard to defuse and may have a destabilizing impact to the government. On the other hand, a continued government involvement to abuse religious rights could also likely worsen the general condition of political deterioration in the country.

Languages: The official language is Swahili, with English (Official language of communication) widely spoken and understood. Swahili or some times called Kiswahili is the national and administrative language. Numerous African indigenous languages like Kikuyu, Luhya, Kamba and other Anglo-Asian languages are also spoken.⁴ There is no problem of language domination or inferiority among the ethnic groups in Kenya like it has been the case in Ethiopian and Sudan.

Religions: The religions practiced in Kenya include Christian, Islam and traditional beliefs, which comprises Protestant 38%, Roman Catholic 28%, traditional 26%, Islam 6%, the Bahai faith and others account for the rest.⁵ Kenya has indigenous churches, such as the African Inland Church, at which President Moi is a regular worshiper.⁶ EIU has reported that most of the Christian population is member of Anglican affiliated mainstream Protestant churches or independent Protestant churches, and the small Muslim community population is influential in Coast Province.⁷ Roman Catholic Church, which has the next largest followers to the protestant church, has helped to maintain the momentum for political change towards multi-party system.

¹ International Minority Rights Group (London 1997), p. 490; James R. Scarritt and Shaheen Mozaffer, in: Frank Cass Journal, Vol.5, No.1, London, Spring 1999, p. 99

² New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition, London 1999, p. 232; International Minority Rights Group (London 1997), p. 491

³ Africa South of the Sahara Statistical Survey, European Publications 1997-1998, London 1998, p. 566

⁴ Constitution of Kenya, Nairobi 1992, Article 53:1; New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition, London, December 1999, p. 232

⁵ International Commission of Justice, Democracy and the Rule of Law in Kenya, Geneva, April 1997, p. 8; New African Yearbook 1997-1998, 11th edition, London 1997, p. 216

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile, London 1997-1998, p. 9

⁷ Ibid., p. 10

Kenya has avoided the descent into ethnic fragmentation and civil war, which had been predicted, but levels of tension along ethnic and religious fault lines remain unsolved. The government has given every impression of allowing or promoting such conflicts in pursuit of the narrow sectarian and political interests.¹ While the damage done will be difficult to reverse, the government should realize and encourage this to move away from the brink.

2.3 Historical Background of Sudan: Military Islamic Regime and Cultural Ethnic Dichotomy?

The modern political background history of Sudan was formed by Anglo-Egyptian Condominium from 1898 until 1955 that constitutes its administrative designation.² Because of all ethnic and cultural diversities of many neighbouring countries within Sudan borders, the country reflects as an Afro-Arab Microcosm.³ British colonialists have established the administrative systems and provinces of the contemporary Sudan State in the wake of their conquest in 1898. Sudanese indigenous territory was the eastern reaches of what medieval Arabs called "the Land of the Black People" a broad band that extended through central Africa.⁴ To quote Lesch Ann Mosely:

"Independent Kingdoms and Sultanates controlled a large area of territory who were engaged in trade, cultural interchange and military conflict. They have spread Arabization through immigrants from Egypt who journeyed up the White Nile, contributed to the islamization of the indigenous people's".⁵

Because of this and other related factors, the nation is built out of both divergent and convergent cultures. Sudanese leaders have discovered their national entity through cultural backgrounds or religious professions. But this nationhood has been torn since independence by an intractable civil strife, based on ethnic and social dislocation, economic and religious considerations which have great impact on political instability. For example, the political instability in the successive civilian and military governments has been the product of a complex set of these interacting factors.⁶

In the course of history, Sudan has undergone through these experiences since its independence like other African countries. For example, in Feb. 1994 the former regional locations were subdivided to what the government calls 26 federal states. The authorities could not save the country from failure and the system they have tried to build tends to be in a state of

¹ International Minority Rights Group (London 1997), p. 493

² David Munro and Alan J. Day (London 1990), p. 1

³ Hunwick, John O. (1992), pp. 39-40

⁴ Mosely, Lesch Ann (1998), p. 25

⁵ Ibid., p. 29

⁶ Khalid, Mansour, The Government they Deserve (1990), p. 131

collapse decreasing from bad to worse.¹ Sudanese people have suffered a chronic domestic conflict while the issues involved are complex and multi-faceted. The central theme in the conflict has been the north-south religious, racial and **cultural dichotomy**, with its attendance of disparities or inequalities in the shaping of power, wealth and other related ideology values.²

As it has been explained repeatedly, the people from the north are Islamic and Arabized, who have benefited more than the south from opportunities of political, economic, social and cultural influences. But people from the south who are predominantly African inhabitants, have hardly benefited from socio-economic development.³ Non-Muslims are theoretically excluded from high level offices including the judiciary, the military and any position in which a non-Muslim would exercise authority over a Muslim.⁴ This has been the principal source of conflict and instability in modern Sudan, which targeted the civil war and discredit successive governments.

The present government that is also discredited by its opponents is leading the country's political nightmare like in the past. During the time of closing this thesis, the government has extended the state of emergency for one year until the end of 2001 which has been imposed since December 1999, because of what the government says for security reasons.⁵ The question that needs to be asked is how long can the Islamist military regime continue to sway forward to the past and backward into its failure? The number of dramatic events that the country had witnessed in the past decades may be repeated again. But whether its cost and the direction it will take place would bring either peace or prosperity to the country remains Bleak.

Border disputes: Sudan's administrative boundary with Kenya does not coincide with international boundary.⁶ Egypt asserts its claim to the "**Hala'ib Triangle**," a barren area of 20,580 sq. km under partial Sudanese administration that is defined by an administrative boundary which supersedes the treaty boundary of 1899. This area bordering the two countries has created tension between them in 1992 which remains still unsolved.⁷ Tensions have also arisen along the border with Uganda especially since 1995 accusing each other of armed incursion into their sovereign territories, and there is uncertainty of peace and stability.⁸

¹ Africa Today, Country Survey Sudan: London 1996, p. 1443; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 4

² Hunwick, John O. (1992), p. 40

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile, London 2000, p. 4

⁴ International Minority Rights Group (1997), p. 461

⁵ Sudan Negarit Gazette, Year XI, No. 122, London, August 2000, p. 11; Ibid., Year XII, No.127, London, January 2001, p. 12; EIU Sudan Country Report, London June 2001, p. 7

⁶ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), p. 67

⁷ Africa Confidential, Vol.37, No.23, 15 November 1996, p. 2; Sudan Country Profile, London 1996-1997, p. 7; EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1998, p. 18; The World Factbook, Washington D.C. 2000, p. 457

⁸ EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1998, p. 19

Relations with Ethiopia and Eritrea have also worsened in 1997 after both countries accused Sudan of supporting Islamic extremists within their borders.¹ Ethiopia states that, Sudan was exporting an "ideology of intolerance" to Ethiopia, which has blocked the chance of a breakthrough to peace talks for years. The Sudanese government has been trying to "homogenize Sudanese society around Islamic precepts" and Ethiopia remains actually aware of the potential of Sudan to stir up trouble among Ethiopian Sunni Muslim population. Sudan in its turn has accused Ethiopia and Eritrea of assisting Sudanese rebels in the north and the south.²

Since President al-Beshir has began his campaign against al-Turabi at the end of 1999, there have been a number of positive developments in Sudan's relations with its neighbours under the auspices of a peace process coordinated by Inter Governmental Authority Development (IGAD).³ This has improved Sudan's links with all its neighbours to restore diplomatic relations by signing trade and economic agreements designed to cement the political ties.

Population: Because of ethnic, religious and linguistic complexes, Sudanese people are as diverse as the country's geographical characteristics. There has been strong north-south divisions whereby southern regions comprised about 34% Nilotic, Bantu and Cushitic people's; 39-40% Arabized (mostly in the north) and 26% non-Arab of the total population.⁴ The Muslims are numerically greater and have been dominant in national affairs for decades. The non-Muslims have no clear status in the Islamic State.⁵

The overall Sudanese African population are the majority which comprise 60% (Muslims and non-Muslims), but they are divided into many sub-ethnic groups. The southern region contained about 25% of the total population which is dominated with the ethnic groups of Dinka, comprising 12% followed by about 6% of the West African and Nuer groups and Beja 7% population.⁶ African population dominates the southern region and the northern and Arabs and Nubian people populate central third of the country. Subsequent population displacements caused by the war, inter-ethnic fighting and the refugee exodus to neighbouring countries have been considerable.

Languages: The republic of Sudan has officially Arabic language, with English widely spoken and understood. About 60% of the population who speak Arabic language are in the center and

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile, London 1997-1998, p. 8

² EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1998, p. 19; Ibid., Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 9; The Economist, London, May 1999, p. 49

³ EIU Sudan Country Report, London November 2000, p. 17

⁴ The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Oxford University Press, London 1999-2000, p. 275; Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), pp. 16-17

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, London 1996, p. 9

⁶ James R. Scarrit and Shaheen Mozaffar, in: Frank Cass Journal, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Vol.5, No.1, London, Spring 1999, p. 103; EIU Sudan Country Profile, London 2000, p. 15

north and in the major towns. But African languages like Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic, Bantu and various other dialects especially in the south are also spoken.¹ Arabic educational institutions are imposed and the southern Sudanese people are deprived and have no freedoms to use their indigenous languages and to develop their culture.² Both by the Islamic nature of the system and the Northern Arabic dominated central regime, the vast majority of non-Muslim Sudanese have been suffering from oppression, discrimination of languages and other related basic rights.

Religions: Islam is Sudan's State religion, but only about 60 % of the population are Sunni Muslims. Southern Sudan is predominantly a Christian population.³ About 15% of the Sudanese total population are Christians who mostly reside in the South and in Khartoum. The remaining 25% of the population follow a variety of African traditional religious beliefs.⁴ Islamic culture is very strong in the northern two-thirds of the country, which permits also Arabic culture and oppressed the non-Muslim population. The distinction between Sudan's Muslim and non-Muslim people has been of considerable importance in the country's history and provides a preliminary ordering of the varieties of ethnic groups.⁵ Muslims are the majority of the population and Islamic identity has been intermittently associated with Arab racial and cultural identities for historical and geographical reasons. This association has in turn deepened the racial and cultural dichotomy between the north and the south.⁶

Even if the majority of the Sudanese population has no Arabic origin, a program of Arabization and Islamization has been in process by the government.¹ One of the sources for the rift between the north and the south is the religious intolerance of the northern Muslim elites. To keep Sudanese unity, the government must implement an integration policy between the Muslim and other religious ethnic groups. If this intolerance against the Southern Christian and traditional religion follower population of Sudan continues, Sudan's unity will be threatened.

2.4 Comparison of the Historical Backgrounds

Similarities: The boundaries of Kenya and Sudan were drawn arbitrarily by colonial policies. Once Kenya (1963) and Sudan (1956) have attained independence, there was a revision on the system of cooperation between them that had existed under the colonial period. People residing among the three countries borders are mostly traditional religion followers, African origin-Bantu-

¹ Hodd, Michael (1991), p. 307; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 2; Peters, Chris, in: An Oxfam Country Profile, United Kingdom and Ireland 1998, p. 61;

² The World Factbook (Washington D.C. 1994, 1999), pp. 372, 455

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile, London 2000, p. 15

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 2; New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition, London 1999, p. 446

⁵ Nelson, Harold D. (1982), p. 87

⁶ Hunwick, John O. (1992), pp. 42-43

Cushtic, Nilotic and Nilo-Hamatic.² The boundaries of the statehood in the three countries have not been finished. Because of the political and social aspects, governments of the three countries have failed to protect minority ethnic groups, who do not belong to the ruling class and have often demanded fair distribution of political power as well as economic equality. There had been ethnic conflicts and the countries authorities are engaged in repressive activities to prevent free competition and access to the state sources, political power and other related issues.

Differences: The old Ethiopian state had been created by the efforts of its own rulers at their disposal, rather than by the intrusion of alien colonial forces, and partly the political structure of the country, with its contrast degree of peripheral resistance.³ The Ethiopian boundaries are drawn by its inhabitants, and the country has a special significance in the world history than Kenya and Sudan in its state power by defeating the Italian colonial invaders in 1896.⁴ Ethiopia has resisted outside forces successfully in comparison to Kenya and Sudan such as Arab influences from the Middle East regions and elsewhere.⁵

In Ethiopia and Kenya, ethnic groups have been much more politically significant than in Sudan whose struggle has been mostly between religious Arabs and African indigenous groups. For example, the Kikuyu of Kenya, the biggest ethnic group in the country has contributed for independent struggle called the Mau-Mau Rebellion⁶ against colonial authority/British settlers and led to Africa's first war liberation in the 1950s.⁷ Similar to this, the Tigrayans in the North of Ethiopia and the Amharas and others in the central region and elsewhere have sacrificed to defend their country from foreign powers.⁸ The religious sectarian Mahdist of Sudan has also resisted British colonial power but was crashed in 1898 before independent.⁹ To compare Ethiopia with Kenya and Sudan, the following explanations address to Ethiopia:

- Ethiopia, an ancient nation, a Christian African Kingdom between the Black Continent and the Muslim Middle East has managed to survive to modern times when other local civilizations have scrambled in the face of European colonizers.

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, London 1997, p. 9

² Katsuyoshi Fukui and John Markakis (1994), pp. 81-82, 222

³ Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson (1986), p. 265; Henze, Paul B. (2000), pp. 110, 152

⁴ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), p. 53; Stewart, John (1999), p. 92

⁵ Compare Pakenham, Thomas (1992), pp. 475, 480

⁶ Land Freedom rebellion, a revolt uprising of African majority ethnic Kenyan Kikuyu

⁷ Young, Crawford, The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective (1994), p. 203; David W. Throup and Charles Hornsby (1998), p. 7

⁸ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), p. 50

⁹ Pakenham, Thomas (1992), p. 471; Esposito, John L. Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World, Vol.3 (1995), p. 22

- The reasons and consequences for Ethiopia's victories in this long and multi-dimensional struggle for survival implies its historical uniqueness that the country has succeeded the combined challenges of internal revolution and external threat.¹ On the other hand, the Ethiopian history has offered a fruitful lesson to liberate African countries from their colonial powers with a continued strength of its flexible sociological pragmatism, which, for so many decades, proved its durability in the face of challenge and sacrifice. Smith, writes about Ethiopia in this connection: "That it developed a sense of African dignity and "redemption" which fed the stream of Pan-African sentiments and helped to retain a new generation of African leaders imbued with the idea of Black consciousness".²

After independence, the new African leaderships have created African millennia movements that denounced European penetration and contributed to the growth of nationalist feelings, despite lacking a secular ideology and a concept of the "democratic nation." Ethiopia has taken the lead in the establishment of the OAU and drafted the Charter, which was finally adopted by the 32 founding independent member states.³ Not only that but Ethiopia had also a great deal of influence over the OAU charter, which has included the eradication of all forms of colonialism from the African continent and advocated to present the image of an African unity.⁴ The credible comparison here is that Ethiopia's role on the decolonization of African states has been confirmed more than Kenya and Sudan did. In deed, the carriers of those traditions gave Ethiopia its uniqueness among the African nations.

Conclusions: To conclude this chapter, the outcome of my analysis confirms the following remarks for observation. The three countries political, economic, social and combination of domestic conflicts have an ambition of regional character due to the superpower rivalry which has left a complex and bitter aftermath in the context of the Post-Cold War. Internal conflicts and disputes between states over the legitimate border came to be perceived as past of a wider question of border and societies. For example, when one observes the common boundaries of the three countries, they are often a composite of topographical features, geometrical lines and concessions to the pattern of human settlement.⁵ The political and social organizations of pre-colonial Africa were ignored during the politics of colonial boundary making. Boundaries of tribes were rarely demarcated and the power of pre-colonial African empires and kingdoms simply

¹ Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 17; Henze, Paul B. (2000), pp. 160, 168 ff.

² Smith, A.D. *State and Nation in the Third World*, London 1983, p. 40 ff.; Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 18

³ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), pp. 52-53

⁴ Keller, Edmund J. (1988), p. 93

⁵ Zartman William I. (1989), p. 84; Graham P. Chapman and Kathleen M. Baker (1992), pp. 114-116

faded away.¹ The colonial boundaries took no account of indigenous population instead, they were cut across ethnic boundaries.

To quote Larry Diamond in connection with this: "Throughout Africa, colonial powers carved up the map of Africa without regard for the integrity of existing cultural groups and state systems. Hence, some large ethnic groups were split between colonial states, while others with little in common, save in some instances a history of warfare and enmity, were drawn together into the new state boundaries".² African boundaries in general were therefore delimited by the ex-colonial powers according to the variety of their geopolitical and economic interests.³ The demarcation of frontiers, many of which still remain the concern of conflict because the principle of delimitation agreed could not uncontroversial be implemented on the ground, or unilateral demarcation by one state was declared unsatisfactory by the neighboring state or even because boundary markers were secretly moved.⁴ As it has been mentioned above, the significant numerous demarcation disputes of Egypt and Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia traditional boundaries arose problems because ex-colonialists have ignored the proper delimitation.⁵ The then strongest colonial power in the region, Britain might have recognized the problem on time but failed to resolve it.

However, not all frontier disputes are the result of the legacy of the colonial powers. For example, other important factors include the specific administrative, political history of the area involved, inter-ethnic violence like that of Ethiopia-Tigreans and Eritreans, Oroms and Amhara; Kikuyu, Luo and others in Kenya; North and South in Sudan. Political rivalries, economic resources and occasionally the peculiar geography and topography of the countries have played an important role in inter-ethnic violence in the three countries and elsewhere. For instance, rivers in the three states regions have attracted settlement with the same ethnic group setting on both banks, particularly in semi-arid areas where flood plains are suitable for agricultural use (Somalis Kenya and Ethiopia, Anuak Sudan-Ethiopia, Oromo-Kenya and Ethiopia in all the three countries).⁶ To give an example, the Trans-boundary resource disputes, mainly concerning water is politically the most important between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia over the Nile. These inter-state disputes over territory have resulted from the legacy of colonialism.⁷

The movements from one state to the other of starving people and ethnic groups who are threatened with massacre, guerrilla fighters, weapon dealers which also threatens the interest of all neighbors state can only be resolved by regional and international co-operation, if the

¹ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), pp. 42-43

² Larry Diamond et al, *Democracy in Developing Countries, Africa Vol.2* (1988), p. 6

³ Graffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), p. 64-65

⁴ Ibid., pp. 68-69

⁵ Zartman, I. William (1989), pp. 264-265

⁶ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), pp. 176-179

⁷ Graham P. Chapman and Kathleen M. Baker (1992), pp. 166-167

countries themselves can be committed to it. Otherwise, when the leaders politicize ethnic conflicts for their own benefits and purposes, exacerbate inequalities in access to power and control material resources, suppress their opponents by force who demand fair political participation and democracy, a widespread and prolonged turmoil will continue which may threaten not only the governments but also the survival of the states themselves.

Chapter 3. Legal and Political Frameworks: Only a Formal Democracy?

3.1 The Legal Frameworks in the Three Countries

The French political thinker and historian Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) who have had a broad pluralistic vision of society and was recognized as one of the greatest political and social thinkers of the nineteenth century once said: "Men are not corrupted by the exercise of power or debased by the habit of obedience, but by the exercise of power, which they believe to be illegitimate, and by obedience to a rule which they consider to be usurped and oppressive".¹

Many democratic theoreticians who were trying to save their country from instability and economic backwardness in the nineteenth century in Europe have largely shared Tocqueville's view project of European Revolution that had put foundation to the fundamental idea of democracy. His vision had served in building the brightest prospects of legitimization and improvement of the Western Democratic System that we experience today.² The real depth and significance of Tocqueville's thought probe in France and the United States and his teachings had been overlooked on the mid of the twentieth-century more profoundly than most current ideologies.³

African theoreticians and leaders did take any lesson neither from their indigenous fellow citizens nor from other related sources to subdue poverty and overcome political and social chaos, that democracy could have been promoted in their societies. Instead, they have often welded unlimited power by silencing opposition groups or individuals that could contribute to those developments. This has remained one of the challenges to political and economic developments. On the other side, the acceptance of democratic principles is a slow and difficult process, not only for the incumbent governments but also for opposition parties and other organizations that arise from the same historical experiences and political cultures⁴.

¹ See about de Tocqueville, Alexis in: Held, David, *Models of Democracy* (1992), pp. 90-91

² Elazar, Daniel Judah (1998), p. 82 ff.; Lipset, Seymour Martin (Washington D.C. 1997), p. 218

³ Elazar, Daniel Judah (1998), p. 89

⁴ Hippler, Jochem (1994), p. 87 ff.; Ottaway, Marina, *Africa's New Leaders* (1999), p. 128; Baken, Bruce, in: *Third World Quarterly*, *Journal of Emerging Areas*, Vol.19, No.1, (March 1998), pp. 115-116

Most African leaders like Moi of Kenya have used flawed legacies to amend the constitution and thus to consolidate their power.¹ Such momentous decisions gave rise to criticism on the grounds of legitimacy that were made constitutionally or forcibly. The 1980s and 1990s have continued to be important years in the constitutional history of the three countries, like in the 1960s which was dominated by independence and transfer of power politics from colonial to African leadership (**Kenya, Sudan**), and the struggle to protect the sovereignty (**Ethiopia**).² At the end of 1980s, the leaders of the three countries have started to loosen their iron grip which had gradually deteriorated the hope from more political liberalization and economic development and had turned them into lands of despair.³

At the end of 1991, the Kenya constitution was amended to conceded multi-party politics. Thus, permitting to form opposition political parties and to challenge KANU's hegemony, that had enjoyed monopoly until that period⁴. Amending the constitution that made KANU de jure one party and legalizing, a multi-party system was achieved due to the continuous domestic and international pressure.⁵ As it can be seen below, the governments of Ethiopia and Sudan have also faced similar difficulties in promulgating or introducing constitutions that are supportive of multi-party systems. They have not ceased to abuse power but merely modified their tactics to stay in power.⁶

Domestic pressure for political liberalization and difficulties to legitimize the framed constitution has grown by the level of increased repression. The reason why the difficulties which the three countries have been engulfed in since the end of 1980s could not be overcome are because the government leaders have violated their own constitution and did not act to the interest of their citizens.⁷ At a descriptive level, it is obvious that the constitution is of enormous interest to the public. But while it may not guarantee full and equal representation of the people in the legislature and the administrative justice etc., the framers face legitimization problems in terms of constitutional principles, like it has been the case in Sudan and Ethiopia.⁸

¹ Human Rights Watch World Report, New York (1997), p. 31

² Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson (1986), pp. 202, 257

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1988-1989, pp. 8-9; Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), p. 179; De Waal, Alex, *Evil Days* (1991), p. 373 ff.

⁴ *Africa Confidential*, Vol.38, No.4, London, 5 December 1997, p. 7; Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1998, p. 220

⁵ Joseph, Richard (1999), pp. 50-51

⁶ *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, Paris, 20 March 1993, pp. 1-2; *Africa Research Bulletin*, Vol.33, No.3, London, March 1st-31st 1996, pp. 12191-12192; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, London 1999, p. 7; Joseph, Richard (1999), pp. 52-53

⁷ Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB), BBC monitoring, 25 October 1999, AL/3674/2

⁸ *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, No.567, Paris, 20 March 1993, pp. 1-2; *Horn of Africa Bulletin*, Vol.9, No.9, Uppsala-Sweden, July-August 1997, p. 31

To limit much complication of the subject matter, detailed stipulation of the three countries constitutions are omitted and only selected articles that are most relevant to this topic will be examined critically. For convenience, I have tried to focus on the paragraphs and articles related to the political and legal frameworks of the three countries under study. For example, I have tried to refer to the law of nations which cover the international law; questions of nationality and the right of minorities; political democracy; freedom of political and civil rights; the ratification of United Nations International Covenants and its consecutive resolutions made; political power and the rule of law and other related issues. Contextually, the constitutional related questions are discussed. As regards to the legal and political frameworks of the three countries are concerned, the following list of questions are addressed for remarks during this discussion. All questions may not be answered, but their relevance to this chapter is particularly instructive for working references.

- Have the constitutions of the three countries been adopted on the basis of considerable plebiscitary elections?
- Have citizens been involved in the working out of the constitution? Can they defend it when it will be subverted or suspended?
- Does the constitution stipulate basic limits on State power? How is political power distributed?
- Does the constitution ensure an independent judiciary and the legacy of elections?
- Are minorities groups protected under the constitution?
- Does the constitution provide for the setting-up of Institutions, which promote respect of political and human rights in the society?
- Does any one challenge the legitimacy of the promulgated Constitution?

The citizens of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan will continue to wrestle with these abiding questions as the constitutional power unfolds over the years and their societies try to move on to democratic and social developments. The concern of this topic is then to examine and identify how constitutions in the three countries have been practiced and whether they were pushed through against or at the will of the citizens or if they have been set up only for a formal democracy.

3.1.1 The Legal Framework Conditions of Ethiopia

The absence of legal political parties and the existence of a traditional non-democratic pattern of government had been obstacles to political, economic and social developments.¹ Ethiopian leaders have had largely concentrated to take the power in their own hands and have strengthened the position of traditional centers of authority. Since the beginning of 1970s,

¹ Compare Tordorff, William (1997), p. 246

popular social movements have appeared strongly to resist the long reign of imperial rule which were subverted into a military government that later degenerated to one-man dictatorship.¹ Mengistu Haile Mariam has transformed the old Monarchy system into the then Soviet oriented Eastern European model of dictatorship and political power. A formal Soviet-styled Communist Party, the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE), was proclaimed on 10 September 1984 by the country's leader, Lieutenant colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam to consolidate his rule and strengthen his control over the society.² This was officially dissolved in August 1991 after the EPRDF came to power unconstitutionally and announced multi-partyism.³

The EPRDF has brought a new situation along the power political forces, which sought what it called to create a multi-party system, that would have enabled Ethiopian citizens to change their government through democratic elections. Even if the 1995 constitution seems democratic in form and there have been plebiscitary events that have confirmed it, the constitutional assembly and parliamentary elections which have been conducted accordingly, could not promote multi-party exercise. The process it was conducted has been incomplete, unrealistic nature and inadequate foundation for a democratic base.⁴ This section will try to find out the causes of failure in promoting democratic developments and steps that were taken to challenge other related issues. The discussion in this topic is taken into consideration based from different relevant aggregated literature data sources observations about Ethiopia and other related issues.

3.1.1.1 The Ethiopian Government System and its Constitution

The Ethiopian Government System: The Ethiopian government system had always been a centralized unitary state under strong emperors and each region was part of the empire only in name⁵. In addition to the traditional monarchy, the country has experienced the then Soviet style oriented totalitarian-military government.⁶ The extent of the empire and complicated topography, lack of ineffective communication, its numerous ethnic groups, repressive military regime's failure of existing democratic institutions etc. all conspired to perpetuate insufficient government systems, to achieve the objectives of democratic political order. Ethiopian leaders, whether monarch, military or others have tried to consolidate their power, but they have to cope with

¹ Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 92

² Chazan, Naomi et al (1988), p. 60

³ Workers Party of Ethiopia Proclamation No.267, *Negarit Gazette* 43rd Year No.17, Addis Ababa 1984; Nahum, Fasil, *Constitution for a Nation of Nations* (1997), p. 30

⁴ Joseph, Richard (1999), pp. 52-53

⁵ Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson (1986), p. 265

⁶ Tordorff, William (1997), p. 246

series events of constitutional legitimacy orders which will have implications for the country's future political scene.¹

King Haile Selassie had restored power after the Second World War and attempted to implement reforms such as modernizing his country, it was nothing more than a centralized monarchical state. He had only constructed an absolutist autocracy and a regime that was committed to preserving traditional imperial ethos. This was not enough to protect the country from internal pressure, conflicts, uprising in search of a democratic and economic development and solve the demands of its citizens.² Massive movements of the Ethiopian civil society calling for radical reforms towards political democratization and social improvements have weakened King Haile Selassie's old state apparatus. In addition to this severe famine placed strains on Ethiopian society that contributed to end the old Ethiopian constitutional Monarchy.³

After the political history of monarchy rule was brought to an end, the military regime has carried out centralization further under the name of Marxist-Leninist ideology. It discredited the country's old constitution (1955) and Ethiopia remained without a constitution until "The First Republic", People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) was established in 1987, which was guided by a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party.⁴ Hereafter, the political scene became beyond the control of the military regime and Ethiopia saw the worst of its civil war with an increasingly civil unrest that led to its demise. Mengistu's regime was unable to crush the ethnic based national liberation movements and refused to settle the national questions by political means.⁵ Instead, he had applied misguided economic and political policies for more than 14 years, which discredited his administration entirely.

The neutralization of the national liberation movements in the northern part and other national movements elsewhere in Ethiopia together with the change in international policies in the post-cold war gave a deathblow to Mengistu's long reign a momentous end⁶. On 1-5 July 1991, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), formally an alliance of four party components, Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF); the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO); the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM); and the Southern People's Democratic Front (SPDF)) who played a role to overthrow the military regime convened a national charter which was called "Peace and Democratic Conference" in Addis Ababa to form an interim government under the EPRDF's leader and interim constitution⁷. The Charter in its preamble have declared the starting of new chapter in Ethiopian history in which freedom, equal

¹ Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 103

² Fred Halliday and Maxime Molyneux (1988), pp. 58-59

³ De Waal, Alex, *Famine Crimes* (1997), p. 106

⁴ Tordorff, William (1997), p. 250; Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 286

⁵ Tordorff, William (1997), p. 256

⁶ Arnold, Guy (1995), p. 34

⁷ Abraham, Kinfe (1994), p. 19 ff.

rights and self-determination of all the people shall be the governing principles of the country's political, economic and social life.¹

After years of destabilization and distraction due to civil war, drought, famine and mass migration, the situation in 1991 seemed as a new effort made to build up a viable system. The TGE headed by EPRDF adopted the National Charter, which formed the supreme law of Ethiopia during the period leading up to elections. When the Transitional period was ended on August 21, 1995 it has embarked on its path to transform Ethiopia constituting an autocratic highly centralized state to a fragmented federal country made up of a diverse ethnic micro-states.²

The EPRDF has played for total commitment to peace, unity and freedoms of speech and respect of human rights. This has opened the way for political parties to campaign under the proposed transitional government towards a multi-party political system. On the other hand, whether Ethiopia had made the transition to democratic statehood or not was an entirely different matter. There were no worrying instances of the abuse of power and real government accountability by the ruling EPRDF. But it has been accused by the opposition and some international monitors of being cavalier in its own approach to critics³. The issue of democracy became not much effective even if it could have flourished in such conditions of an opportunity. Spheres of opposition, urban, internal party dissent and regional ethnic differences have confronted EPRDF's policies.⁴ Further more, an open question remained for many an answered if the EPRDF regime have had a capacity to implement what it has committed just when it came to power or whether the state itself could survive the onset of ethnic federalism.

In political and economic terms, the situation of Ethiopia has been disrupted for many years and even any progressive political group would have found it difficult to fulfill the expected performance within 10 years. Nevertheless, the EPRDF government has dominated all formal institutions of the federal republic. Whether the domestic and international pressure changes or ends the EPRDF political position for good or worse still remained a question of concern as far as the country's political scene is undergoing.

Form of State: Ethiopia is a Federal Democratic Republic (FDRE) which comprises the Federal Government and the nine member states.⁵ The Government is Parliamentary in form and has two chambers or Federal Councils.⁶

¹ Ethiopian Transitional Government Constitutional Charter, Addis Ababa, 22nd July 1991, Article No.2/a-c

² Young, John, in: Third World Quarterly, Vol.19, No.2 (1998), p. 194; Africa Analysis, No.231, London, September 1995, p. 6

³ Woodward, Peter, The Horn of Africa (1996), p. 103

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, London 1999, p. 9

⁵ Federal Constitution, Addis Ababa, August 1995, Article 45:1, 47:1/2, 50:1

⁶ Ibid., Article 53

1. The Council of People's Representatives (CPR- lower chamber), which shall be elected by a direct popular vote for a five years term in a single-seat constituencies on the basis of universal suffrage and by secret ballot.¹ Members of the Council, on the basis of population and special representation of minority nationalities shall not exceed 550 and among these minority nationalities and minority ethnic groups shall have at least 20 seats.² This was a pre-condition argument for rebuilding self-esteem for some minorities who were subjugated for many years by the previous leaders then being convinced to stay with the Ethiopian Federation for their advantage. But practically whether the question of consciousness to succeed federation depends on the consensus of democratic political culture or the will of EPRDF remained another concern.

2. The Federal Council (FC) which shall have 117 members, one each from the 22 minority nationalities and one from each professional sector of the remaining nationalities, designed by the regional councils that may elect them directly or provide their direct elections.³ Both chambers have a speaker, deputy-speaker, and five years term office.

Under the 1995 Federal Constitution Article 47:1, all the nine member states and Addis Ababa, the Federal capital city have equal rights and powers. According to the government reports, Federal regions, largely organized along ethnic lines, are increasingly autonomous, having greater local control over fiscal and political issues.⁴ However, the question lies whether the relationship between the central government and local officials and among various judiciaries functions independently. According to the 1995 constitution, there have been signs that Ethiopia continues its transition from a unitary to a federal system of government. But the country's history of highly centralized authority, great poverty, civil conflict, and lack of experience in democratic culture all combined have complicated to implement the federal system.

What makes the Ethiopian government successful or fail to implement its special ethnic federal system policy fairly and properly seems a long journey. The world community takes attention with cautious to see how much the EPRDF leaders can succeed to show what they mean can be implemented. The formation of a multi-party and the expansion of democracy would have gone far in an integrated Ethiopia in the lamp of true democracy. But the EPRDF is facing many challenges in a constitutional ethnically divided state. The present political situation seems very deem while the internal conflicts are not easy to settle peacefully. Whether the Ethiopian leaders find a solution without paying sacrifice themselves or benefit a political profile by looking scapegoat is a lesson for researchers and policy makers to observe.

¹ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 54:1

² Ibid., Article 54:3

³ Ibid., Article 61:3

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1996, p. 8

The Ethiopian Constitution: Ethiopia's first constitution was promulgated in 1931 and revised in 1955. The country had no written constitution prior to 1931 but have had a traditional, unwritten constitution that included the ideal of monarchy and an imperial Court system which involved the Church and nobility.¹ Ethiopia's traditional unwritten constitution was a codex of law that has provided for secular and religious legal provisions rather than to serve as a base to democratic constitution. Even if it had formed the basis for the constitutional process, the existence of significant traditional documents made it difficult to promulgate a written constitution that could serve to promote democratic development. The introduction of written constitution had invested a cleavage in the monarchy and freed the state from crippling power struggle among the traditional nobility, thereby making the monarchy and its successors the super-power.²

The Imperial constitution was promulgated along a document modeled on the 1889 Imperial Japanese Meiji Constitution (although there were major differences) that had been adopted from the Constitution of Germany's Bismarck time.³ This incorporated the "modernizing" aspiration of Ethiopia by the imperial regime and aspects of the more sophisticated constitution, which has operated to serve the monarchy until it was suspended in September 1974 by a military coup.⁴ King Haile Selassie's long standing monarchy was abolished and his Constitution was replaced by a series of military decrees and ad hoc legislation until the constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) was promulgated in 1987.⁵ The promulgation of the constitution by the WPE in September 1987 had conferred the first republic providing a unitary state, which comprised what it called autonomous administrative regions.⁶ The military regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam accompanied this at least theoretically by a limited form of regional autonomy.⁷

Based on a Marxist-Leninist principles, it has established the Soviet-inspired Workers Party of Ethiopia (**WPE**) whose members were being elected to a parliament and nominated by the party which have had a centrist rather than a federalist structure.⁸ A plane for regional devolution was unveiled in 1987, although this has only been partly implemented and the military regime's highest priority was Ethiopia's territorial integrity by preparing its own ruling class.

Even if Mengistu's constitution had unequivocally demonstrated the intentions to change Ethiopia into a socialist state, his regime and the party structure did not permit progressive

¹ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), pp. 38-41; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, London 1996, p. 6

² Revised Constitution of the Ethiopian Empire, Addis Ababa 1955, Article 6, Chapter II and Article 31

³ Kaplan, Irving et al, Ethiopia, Area Handbook (1981), p. 192

⁴ Woodward, Peter, The Horn of Africa (1996), p. 90

⁵ Mulatu Wubneh and Yohannes Abate (1988), p. 51; EIU Ethiopia, Country Profile 1995-1996, London 1996, p. 6

⁶ Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 729

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, London 1997, p. 5

⁸ Mulatu Wubneh and Yohannes Abate (1988), pp. 61-63

programs and democratic dialogues in the country. To quote Mulatu Wubneh and Yohannis Abate:

“Although the party system may permit local authority, the people’s role at the national level may be negligible. According to the party rules, the Congress of the WPE, which has supposed to meet in five years, is the supreme body. The party rules also state that power emanates from the people and flows to the Congress, the Central Committee and the Politburo. In actual fact, power is concentrated in the hands of Mengistu and the membership of both the Politburo and the Central Committee of the WPE is appointed by Secretary General (Mengistu Haile Mariam) and serves at his pleasure”.¹

On the one hand, it was seen that Ethiopia has experienced a profound social revolution under Mengistu and on the other hand, his regime has been horrifying and was found guilty of gross human rights violations, including large-scale murder that was not experienced in Africa during that time.² As it has been explained above, the new political force of the July 1991 Transitional Charter of EPRDF was supplemented by a series of decrees, notably on regional government, passed by the Council of Representatives which consisted together a constitution. During 1993, working committee of the council has drafted a constitution and was endorsed. A Constituent Assembly that was elected under the universal Suffrage in June 1994 had endorsed the constitution in December 1994 providing for federal government, including provision for 9 autonomous regions to secede from federation.³

After four years, the Transitional Government has handed over power to an elected federal government that brought the new constitution into effect on 24 August 1995 and created the second republic.⁴ The constitution, became the basis for parliamentary elections that was held on 7 May and 18 June 1995 for the first time. Finally, it has provided what the EPRDF authorities call an independent judiciary and a parliamentary federal form of government.⁵ But it is based on the EPRDF’s blueprint for ethnic federalism under which elections for the then newly created regional state councils plus the capital Addis Ababa as a charter city were first held in mid-1992. In theory, the new Ethiopian constitution like the former Soviet Union allows for the secession of individual nationalities or regions.⁶ By large it does not satisfy the demands of nationalities, people’s power and political democracy which one has experienced in the last 7 years after its promulgation but serious popular demands that would have been answered by the system has remarked uncertainty. When one observes the 1995 constitution, important and pertinent to basic

¹ Ibid., (1988), p. 194

² Amnesty International, AI Index: AFR 25/09/91, London, November 1991, p. 3 ff.

³ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 39:1

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 5

⁵ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 53

⁶ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 39:1; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, London 1996, p. 6

political democracy are articles 12:1-3, 29, 30:1-2, 31, 32:1-2, rights of citizenship Article 33, 38 (the right to vote and be elected, which by and large grant basic democratic rights-for example, the question of opposition parties rights (Article 56) among others.

The Constitutional Assembly had a majority of EPRDF Representatives and led to controversial debates on different paragraphs including the decentralization of power on the basis of ethnically defined regions, zones, and sub-divisions which entail considerable risks, both politically and in terms of administrative capacity. For example, Article 39, which declares about nationality questions and self-determination including the right to secession, is strongly criticized and challenged by the opposition.¹ On the other hand, decentralization is necessary in this case because Ethiopia consists of about 70 different nationalities and ethnic groups,² that makes very difficult for one dominant group to win legitimacy without offering these groups self-determination. The federal constitution provides for an independent judiciary that strengthens the major challenges facing the federal republic.³ Ethiopia's future lies in the hands of its leaders. If there is to be peace, democracy, and economic development in the country, there should be willingness to work together, promulgate a permanent constitution, which will be acceptable by all democratic political and social forces.

To keep the notion of ethnic federalism, which under spines the EPRDF constitution, the cabinet includes representatives from the country's principal nationalities.⁴ Not only, that but the federal government structures is also replicated at the regional level. Each of the nine Regional State Councils has a chairman and an executive bureau, which effectively monitors the federal cabinet structure in the region.⁵ The present constitution of Ethiopia is a consolidation of all previous constitutions that the country has experienced since its inception. It sets up a bicameral legislative branch, a judicial system, and guarantees equal rights of freedoms of expression in theory to all citizens of Ethiopia.⁶ Especially, Article 52:2/a of the constitution states that a state administration should be established that best advance self-government, a democratic order based on the rule of law, to protect and defend the Federal Constitution.

In all the three regime types that Ethiopia has experienced (Traditional Monarchy, Marxist-Leninist Military-East Bloc style one party system and the Federal multi-party System), how the state it envisaged and the governments established were different both in form and content, which reflect the following points.

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, London 1996, pp. 8-9

² Federal Constitution (1995), Article 39:3

³ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 78:1

⁴ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 61:2

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 6; Federal Constitution (1995), Article 50:4

⁶ Federal Constitution (1995), Articles 31, 53

1. King Haile Selssie's constitution was reformed to strengthen the King's authority and national sovereignty, vested in the monarch who was proclaimed to be sacred and made the king's power indisputable.¹ However, it became apparent that the pace had not been rapid enough and widespread public grievances have led to the overthrow of imperial regime whose downfall ushered in a military regime.
2. The 1987 constitution proclaimed the first republic of Ethiopia and had provided to a unitary government system, which has failed to make a transition to a democratic system.
3. The 1995 constitution has established the second republic of Ethiopia that provides a republican form of government, and a federal multi-party system. Its fundamental principles in chapter two states with the clear provisions that "all sovereign power resides in the nation and nationalities and peoples" of Ethiopia.² On one side, the constitutional appeal of the present government has been interpreted on its side as a stroke of genius that will uproot Ethiopia from its age-old tradition to the modern era. On the other side, the sign of the first cracks for disintegration especially Article 39:1 which is criticized by many Ethiopians that the new regime have had exposed the nation to disintegration.³ The question here is whether the outcome of the political situation in Ethiopia could be viewed/interpreted properly to protect the country's sovereignty and promotes its citizens' well being.

Whoever says what it may be, the previous constitutional orders, whether of a monarchical nature or Socialist-Marxist type, have failed to deliver what the Ethiopian society has expected from them. In comparison to this, the departure of the 1995 constitution can be remarked as a step forward based on the evaluation of previous constitutional experiences in the country if it can be practiced properly. Generally, the Federal Government has also a considerable difficulty to protect constitutional rights at the local level. Especially local authorities are unable to fulfil their commitments due to lack of experience or consciousness in local administrative and police activities and the judicial systems remain weak in many regions.

Even if it has continued to show signs of judicial independence, the central court is weak and overburdened. However, principal and district Courts have been established and High Court judges use to visit the provincial courts on circuit.⁴ But the efforts have some times been undermined by political interference in other areas of the judiciary. The federal regions, which are largely organized along ethnic lines are increasingly autonomous; having greater local control over fiscal and political issues.⁵ On the other side, some traditional courts still function in remote

¹ The Ethiopian Imperial Constitution (1955), Article 2

² Federal Constitution (1995), Article 8:1

³ Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 337

⁴ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 80:1-2

⁵ Ibid., Article 52:2/a

areas and though not sanctioned by law, resolve legal disputes but are generally beyond the influence of modern judicial facilities.

Whether the EPRDF's constitutional declaration of Federal Democratic Republic has trends to a new beginning for a transition to democracy or will lead to the country's disintegration, can be a remarkable consideration. The answers to these questions design what the Ethiopian authorities have chosen and how the political trend will develop on the salient features of the ongoing EPRDF's political achievements. But the Ethiopian society still expects a constitutional order without sacrifice of the fundamental basic rights and social values that may propel towards a sustainable political and socio-economic development in an orderly and peaceful means which could accompany a transition to democratic system.

3.1.2 The Legal Framework Conditions of Kenyan

Since 38 years after independent, Kenya has witnessed many changes until the present time. However, sufficient changes were not made politically, socially and economical developments. Politically, Kenya has been an island of peace and stability in an African environment that has generally been dominated by ethnic and tribal rivalry and wars, coup d' e'tat and economic stagnation.¹ Sometimes Kenya's political stability has been questioned and found ambivalent, because it has been rooted in a colonial government system in which all administrative powers were concentrated at the office of the Governor who was the British Queen's principal appointee. Thus, the centralized, administrative and political powers of the colonial state were retained by the head of state (President), as the country became independent² which remained until now. Even if the Kenyan government system has undergone a number of significant modifications,³ the indigenous leaders, Kenyatta or Moi did not succeed to implement the Westminster model and thus to promote democracy that continued to be a serious concern for many Kenyan intellectuals and political analysts. This occasion allowed me to identify the formality of Kenyan legal and political frameworks and analyze why the Westminster model has failed to implement democratic institutions, but an authoritarian regime was installed instead.

¹ Glickman, Harvey (1995), p. 161; Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson (1986), p. 416

² International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), Democracy and the Rule of Law in Kenya, Geneva, April 1997, p. 45

³ Berg-Schlosser, Dirk, in: Comparative Political Studies, Vol.1, No.1 (1984), p. 130

3.1.2.1 The Kenyan Government System and its Constitution

The Government System of Kenya: Kenyan authorities have adopted a modified Westminster type of government at independence in 1963, whose constitution chapter one declares the country as "**the republic of Kenya**" and should be a multi-party democratic state.¹ Even if President Moi has resisted demands for a further expansion of democracy, his ruling party and regime have undergone major changes in recent years that have affected some of their authoritative power activities.

Kenya went through one political transition in 1991 when the de facto one-party system was abolished and multi-party competition was established in 1992 to permit organizing and voice dissent. But a host of colonial laws remained that pounded the legal basis for the regime of President Daniel arab Moi to harass the political opposition and ordinary citizens who should be praised of their patience.² Although multi-party electoral competition has been permitted, many features of the legal system remained compatible with the authoritarian rule. For example, Public Security Act Capital 57, Public Order Act 56, Penal Code 63 among others continue in use. These laws and among other restrictions have allowed detention of persons without trial, requirement to register political parties government licensing, barred the opposition from equal access to state-run media etc.³

Until 1997 General Elections, there was a Unicameral National Assembly or Parliament, with a life span of five years consisting of 200 members, 12 of whom were nominated by the President and 188 directly elected by universal suffrage. In addition to this, two Ex-officio members with ministerial status, the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Attorney General shall be nominated by the President.⁴ After partial constitutional reforms have taken place in September 1997, Kenya's unicameral legislature, (the National Assembly) was increased to 222 members, whose 210 are popularly elected representatives, 12 nominated members and two ex-Officio members, the Attorney General and the Speaker of Parliament. The 12 National Assembly members shall be nominated by every parliamentary party according to their proportion in the National Assembly.⁵ The proportions shall be determined and signified by the

¹ The Kenyan Constitution Amendment Act No.9, Nairobi, November 1997, Article A1

² International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), *Democracy and the Rule of Law in Kenya*, Geneva, April 1997, p. 27

³ Kenyan Constitution, Articles 79, 84:1; *The Nairobi Law Monthly*, No.56, Nairobi, August 1995, p. 42; Baker, Bruce, in: *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.19, No.1, Cambridge, Oxfordshire 1998, p. 119

⁴ Revised Kenyan Constitution, Nairobi 1992, Articles 26:1-3, 36-37, 42:2, 109

⁵ Joel D. Barkan and Njuguna Ngethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2, London, April 1998, p. 35

Electoral and chairman of the Commission after every general elections to the concerned parliamentary party leaders the President and the Speaker of parliament.¹

Discontent and lack of accountability with Moi's government to implement the amended constitution has constantly increased even after the multi-party system was partially practiced. To date, the government has partially amended the Constitution to allow a multi-party system that should operate fully but has moved slowly to reform the election process and other related issues. The system of potentially repressive apparatus at the disposal of the Executive (President) had been extensively enlarged to meet new circumstances and repression continues.² In the face of these developments, however, Kenyan democratic forces did not give up to struggle and demand at the same time, the international community increasingly expressed its concern about the expanding statism, corruption, tradition of election rigging and government-sponsored lawlessness as it states in the amended constitution of 1997.³ If President Moi's government does not take swift action on time to promote democratic transition, there is a danger that Kenya could descent into civil war like many of its neighbors and become another international symbol of more human misery.

The Kenyan Constitution

Inspite of extensive changes in the structure of Kenyan constitution in the last 38 years, the constitutional process as envisaged by the original document remains the same. It was formulated at the Lancaster House Conference in Britain just before independence in 1963.⁴ There had been extensive changes in the structure of the country's constitution in the last decades. But the nature of the constitutional process as envisaged by the original document serves the needs of the government.⁵ In the 1990s, there has been a shift but the Presidency had emerged as the central focus of state power in the country's constitutional order and has been overtaken by new events that Kenya is facing today.

This is demonstrated by the retention of basic division of power between the main organs of government namely the Executive, the Legislative and Judiciary (which is theoretically independent of both the Legislative and the Executive).⁶ The Bill of Rights contained in chapter five of the constitution, stipulates and affirms certain fundamental rights of freedom of individuals.⁷ It prevails when there is conflict with any other provision of the constitution. The

¹ The Constitution of Kenya Amendment Act No.9, Nairobi, 7th November 1997, Article 33:4

² Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.5, Blackwell pubs., London, May 1st-31st 2000, pp. 13965-13966, 13977

³ The Nairobi Law, No.56, Nairobi, August 1995, p. 6

⁴ Africa Research Bulletin, Blackwell pubs., London, July 1st-31st 2000, p. 14040

⁵ Kenyan Constitution (1992), Articles 15-16, 24, 59, 61 109

⁶ Amended Kenyan Constitution (Nairobi November 1997), Article 60:1

⁷ Ibid., Articles 70:1/a-c, 85

Constitution also provides for the establishment of the High Courts and its appointment of judges of the High Court, Court of Appeal, Subordinate Courts, **Khadi's**¹ Courts and the Judicial Service Commission.² African Customary law is applicable only in so far as it is not repugnant to social justice and morality.

Certainly, as far as the Kenya is concerned, a distinction should be made often in the constitution between what is prescribed and will be practical. For example, with the will of President Moi, the judiciary became open in recent years to abuse by influential members of the ruling party KANU who used it to victimize and even expel their political opponents or what they call as a disciplinary measures against rising dissidents.³ It is also used to depose rival politicians and government critics under the definition of misconduct "undermining" without referring to a court of law.⁴

The Extension of Constitutional Change: Since independence, four or more major constitutional amendments were restructured to conform to the needs and aspirations of Kenyans. For example, the **first phase**, which occurred from 1963 to 1969, involved the re-ordering of the state from a decentralized, regional system to a centralized parliamentary system.⁵ The authority of the Executive and the Public Service bureaucracy in matters relating to administration and public security was strengthened.

The **second phase** also saw the emergence of a de-facto one party state as the medium of political organization following the dissolution of Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) forcibly in 1964 and the proscription of Kenya People's Union (KAPU) in 1969.⁶ The **third phase** involved the movement from a centralized parliamentary system to one that gave the President complete executive power. This has taken place between 1983 and 1988 in president Moi's one party system.⁷

The **fourth phase** saw the repeal of section **2A** of the Kenyan Constitution that made Kenya a de jure one-party state in 1983. In December 1991, Parliament changed the political order that has made Kenya a multi-party state. Another extension has been the limitation of President's term office for **two five-years** in 1997 and a presidential candidate is required to garner not less than 25 per cent of the votes cast in five of the eight Kenyan provinces.⁸ The Presidential candidate must also obtain the majority of votes cast to be declared the winner. The need for constitutional change has been apparent for many years in Kenya. Such as the unbanning of

¹ Islamic Courts to adjudicated certain matters of civil law in accordance with the Islamic law

² Ibid., Articles 46:1, 65:1-3, 66:1-5

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, London, May 2000, p. 14

⁴ Kenya: Taking Liberties, An African Watch Report (1991), p. 15

⁵ The Constitution of Kenya Amendment Act, No.3, Nairobi 1969

⁶ Barkan, Joel D., in: Hayward, Fred M. (1987), p. 225

⁷ Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), pp. 164-165

⁸ Revised Kenyan Constitution, Nairobi, 7th November 1997, Article 9:1-2

prohibited political organizations in 1991, the return to multi-partyism and the process of constitutional change gained momentum. During multi-party discussion in 1991, the majority of political parties and organizations signed a declaration of intent in which they undertook to draw upon a new democratic constitution for Kenya as of 1992 through negotiation.¹

The latest constitutional amendment on 7 November 1997 seemed to have provided for the orderly and effective conducting of the KANU ruling party to deal with opposition democratically with tolerance that has failed to do so since its inception. For example, new paragraphs (c and d) have been inserted to conduct free and fair elections, to promote voter education throughout Kenya and other repeals and miscellaneous amendments in Article 42(A) of the constitution. On the other hand, the constitution of Kenya Amendment Act 1997, has declared the repeal of many articles of the constitution that gave the President with his ruling party full power inserting new sections which deprive opposition parties and civic organizations to launch their political activities.² However, the constitution of Kenya is unequivocal in declaring that the powers of the president must be exercised “subject to and in accordance with the Constitution” and other laws that are supportive, despite holding certain privileges and immunities.³ On the other hand, whatever changes or amendments had been made on the paper did not bring a real practical change to the Kenyan citizens if it is not realized. In addition to that, section 59:2 of the constitution states ‘The President may at any time dissolve parliament, could call snap elections to allow him a fresh mandate to extend his tenure in office.

At present, discussions on constitutional reforms are taking a center stage in Kenyan political scene. For example, a Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) was set up by the Parliamentary Select Committee (PSC) and debated to pass in the absence of most opposition legislators and dominated by KANU.⁴ The Constitutional Review has been sponsored and constituted at the insistence of President Moi that he is trying to force acceptance of his reform proposal until the next general elections in 2002.⁵ President Moi is trying to remove the constitution 9:2 terms of clause to make him eligible for another 5 years term.⁶ This also means, the executive arm of the government would control the direction and pace of the review process and influences its contents. But the opposition legislators in parliament have threatened to mobilize mass action to force KANU government that it adopts a more consultative process in the constitutional reform.⁷ The question that still remains open is if the long running ruling party KANU has been willing and determined to meet the challenges which the country is facing and

¹ Human Rights in Developing Countries (oslo 1993), p. 199

² The Law Society of Kenya, Act Cap.18 Sect.13:1-2

³ Revised Kenyan Constitution (Nairobi 1992), Article 4

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Report, London, May 2000, p. 13

⁵ Africa Analysis, No.368, London, 23 March 2001, p. 5

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Report, London May 2001, p. 13

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Report, London, May 2000, p. 14

initiate people-oriented constitutional reforms acceptable to all Kenyans that could promote a transition to democratic and economic development. The attempt to review a constitution without the participation of opposition and civic organizations among others will necessarily lack credibility and legitimacy. Given all these explanations and other related examinations elsewhere in this thesis, the analysis concludes by emphasizing the Westminster model of legal and political frameworks of Kenya have been set up and modified only as a formal democracy to serve interest of the ruling class.

3.1.3 The Legal Framework Conditions of Sudan

Like many other African countries, Sudan has experienced greatly different styles of governments (civilian and military) since it became independent in 1956.¹ The different successive regimes have neither appeared to solve the country's political instability, economic decay or social and cultural issues instituted permanent constitution. Apart from this, there were several coup attempts to overthrow the government and some were successful and abolished the transitional constitution or have opposed to permanent constitution. Individual civilian leaders have tended to concentrate their attention and gain powerful positions for themselves and their groups rather than to focus on the legal framework dilemma of the country². At the national level, a small elite of the Arab Muslim community from the North has retained the legal framework conditions to control access to political and economic power of the country. Particularly non-Muslims were largely neglected and marginalized not only under the military rule but also under the civilian regimes.

This section tries to analyze why all types of regimes in Sudan have failed to promulgate the country's permanent constitution. A detailed examination will be made on the government systems that the people of Sudan have experienced in connection to the constitutional and legal issues they have been provided by their leaders. The result of this analysis may give an indication of the ongoing challenges that the country faces.

3.1.3.1 The Sudanese Government System and its Constitution

Government System of the Sudan Republic: The country's present geopolitical entity dates back to the beginning of eighteenth century, when various kingdoms and sultanates along the Nile Valley region were unified and consolidated under Turco-Egyptian rule. But as it became under the British colony, it was provided the principles of English Common Wealth Law and a British oriented administration of justice until the initiation of self-government process in 1953-

¹ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 141

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 4

1955 that led to independence.¹ The Anglo-Egyptian Colonial Rule (1898-1956) has been a model of authoritarian governance in the country. The British administration has introduced the concepts of government and law, education, social sciences and developed the economy to secure its interests.²

Since then, many Sudan's diverse people were not included in the national development priorities. The fragmentation into diverse ethnic and linguistic groups which was provided by the British colonials has been a feature of Sudanese conflicts especially the control over land and trade between pastoralists and settlement of agriculturalists of these distinctions.³ Weak and ineffective civil elected governments have alternated with a harsh military rule. There have been 10 years of civilian and 35 years of military rule since independent.⁴

Sudan's government history since independent has marked periods of constant instability and internal violent conflicts. Problems and armed conflicts with the south have persisted since independence. Southern people are themselves divided into ethnic groups and have been targeted to repression by the northern elites and the armed forces.⁵ After 17 years of military rule, multi-party parliamentary system was reintroduced in 1986, which comprised a Supreme Council, with the National Assembly. Executive power has resided in the cabinet that included both civilian and military representatives. Sadiq al-Mahdi was elected as a Prime minister and has served from 1986 to 1989. However, he failed to settle either of the critical issues facing the country, ending the war in the south and modification of the Shari'a as a state law.⁶

Al-Mahdi's civil government did not install stability government and was threatened from the left by array of regional and secular groups, including most of the alliance which organized the popular uprising that unseated Nimeiri and from the right by the National Islamic Front. The Prime Minister flirted with both wings of the opposition and then moved steadily closer to the NIF, bringing it into government in 1988.⁷ The coalition has failed to play a vital role in implementing the on process liberal democracy fully and had a weak political will to protect itself from being overthrown by the military.⁸ On 30, June 1989 a military coup formally headed by Lt. General Omar Hussein al-Besir and inspired by the Islamic fundamentalist group had overthrown the parliamentary system of government.⁹ Since then, a Revolutionary Command Council has

¹ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 48-49

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 3

³ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 52

⁴ Compare Hodd, Michael (1991), p. 308; EIU Sudan Country Report, London, June 2000, p. 12

⁵ Human Rights Watch Africa, Sudan Civilian Devastation (1994), p. 20

⁶ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.10, No.4(A), New York, August 1998, pp. 11-12; Maliquelim Simone, T. Abdou (1994), p. 86

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1988-1989, p. 11

⁸ EIU Sudan Country Report, No.3, London 1989, p. 4

⁹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, London 1999, p. 5

ruled the country under the state of emergency until it was changed symbolically to a civilian regime in 1994. But the state of emergency continued due to the political instability.¹

There have been factional disputes about access to power. As the struggle for power between al-Turabi and al-Beshir groups first erupted in public in December 1999, al-Beshir the military leader and President has abolished the Parliament to win internal legitimacy and external recognition.² Nevertheless, tension has risen in the country amid widespread expectations that big changes were coming. Nothing has changed in the Islamist principles of the regime which includes forced "Islamization of primary education" etc. Africa Research Bulletin reports in its May 2000 edition that there were fresh accounts of bombing, burning houses and other related accelerated human rights abuses by the government in the south and other unstable regions.³ In spite of the government's proclaimed opening up its political course, more arrests of opposition were reported during the military government's second general elections in December 2000.⁴ The cyclical history of failed parliamentary governments followed by harsh military rule, coupled the problems of state politics that remained serious challenges to implement democratic system.

Form of State: Symbolically, the republic of Sudan has a parliament system with a National Assembly, which comprises 400 members. 275 of them are elected directly for a four years term in single-seat constituencies and 125 members indirectly elected by national conference.⁵ According to the Constitutional Decree No.13, which provides elections for the Federal Assembly and the President of the Republic, the structure of the National Assembly is unicameral. The Sudanese citizens elect their President without fair competitive opposition candidates and party participation for five years term office.⁶

Even before the elections have taken place, the government has assumed federalism in an Islamic autocratic context, what it has called a product of the national democratic consensus but was merely an elevated form of local government.⁷ To ensure its position on the south, al-Beshir's government has divided the country in 1994 into 26 states and many new governors and state ministers were appointed.⁸ The government has explained its action as liberation from the colonial borders and divisions and a step towards development. However, the division did not promote regional integration to the Sudanese population, but had tended to institutionalize

¹ Constitutional Decree No.11, Khartoum 1994

² Africa Research Bulletin, May 1st-31st, London 2000, p. 13984

³ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.5, May 1st-31st, London 2000, p. 13985

⁴ Sudan Democratic Gazette, Year XII, No. 127, January 2001, p. 11

⁵ Constitution of the Republic of Sudan, Khartoum, March 1998, Article 67:1-3; Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, p. 9

⁶ Sudanow, Al-Beshir's Partyless Democracy, Khartoum, April 1996, pp. 4,8

⁷ Sudanow, Federalism of the NIF backed Government, Khartoum, December 1994, p. 4

⁸ 12th Constitutional Decree, Khartoum 1995, Article 108; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 4

tribalism, deepen ethnic consciousness among the different groups and has been considered as a strategy of divide and rule system.¹ While the issue of the status and future of Islam became very much part of the military regime's political agenda, its federalism could not defuse ethnic, cultural and religious diversity that has been a dilemma and aspect of the Sudanese conflicts.² Peace talks have been continuing through many channels, sponsored by different fractious opposition groups, Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and other foreign powers seeking to apply their own strategic interests to the resolution of the war.³ Given all this, the government and the main armed opposition group SPLA have shown limited enthusiasm to bring the war end peacefully.

While the present authorities are still determined to play hardly a greater role for Islamic government and law through Presidential Decrees, there are protests and pressures from domestic and the International Community which may force the government to change its political course.⁴ Unless the government opens an option to work with opposition groups, especially with the dominant political organizations from the south, a transition to democratic and economic development will concentrate as far as Sudan's present condition is concerned.

The Sudanese Constitution

The constitutional structure and provisions inherited by the first Sudanese national administration was the English Westminster model and English Common Law oriented legal system with customary and some Islamic law components combined with it.⁵ Substantially, the system of law and judiciary have functioned based on the English common law, with a separate and independent authority until the Islamic Law was introduced in 1983. Although the Anglo-Egyptian administration has succeeded to keep Islamic law out of the center of civil and commercial life of the community and established English common law and administration in its place, the Islamic factor has reasserted itself immediately upon independence.⁶ The liberal democracy and Westminster type of constitution did not and could not create a national consensus on fundamental issues such as religious or secular nature of the state and national identity in Sudan.⁷

After independent until 1989, 3 constituent Assemblies (1956-1958, 1964-1969, 1986-1989) have failed to provide Sudan with a "Permanent Constitution," which can be acceptable by

¹ Kok, Nyot Peter (1996), pp. 128-134

² EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, p. 15

³ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.5, May 1st-31st, London 2000, p. 13985

⁴ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.38, No. 2, London, February 1st-28th 2001, pp. 14296-97

⁵ Woodward, Peter (1990), pp. 97, 181

⁶ Voll, John O., Sudan, in: The Middle East Journal, Vol.44, No.1 (Winter 1990), p. 586

⁷ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 141

Muslim and non-Muslims that could have codified a national fundamentals of state and nation-building.¹ They have introduced a number of Constitutional Provisional Orders and Decrees that has incorporated pseudo-Islamic model of laws which brought the country's politics under conditions of acute legitimacy crises.² The perspective nature and content of "permanent" constitution in Sudan became always the hottest and most fundamental political and social questions facing the country since independence.³ During the Parliamentary regime, there has been a desire to plan strategic objectives around the issue. For example, the major northern political parties were publicly committed, in principle to the so-called Islamic constitution, but the major southern political parties and some moderate Muslim groups in the north have opposed to it.⁴ However, the whole exercise to formally enact the draft constitution was postponed indefinitely, disrupting every time before it was to be adopted and implemented successfully.⁵

Given this story of justification, the opposition of non-Muslims and moderate Muslims in Sudan should resist implementation of the traditional conception that would bind to lead to the complete disintegration of the country. Fears of Islamization and disregarding civil liberties which are associated with the traditional Islamic Laws have contributed to the feelings of southern peoples antagonism and mistrust which has caused the civil war to continue. A traditional Islamic state, as it has been implemented by the present government seems ultimately in collapse because it is found fundamentally in-consistence to national and international legal principles and democratic implementations.⁶ Since the military coup in 1989, the Islamization issue has been practiced wide open continuously.

Politically successive governments either military or civilians have found it difficult to deal with divisions in the population over the adoption of Islamic laws, and proposals to adopt such laws have infuriated the southern Sudanese Christian and moderate Muslim intellectuals.⁷ Since a long time ago, there has been a classic confrontation that epitomizes the essence of the continuing debate over the Islamization of the constitutional and legal system of the Sudan. Hence, a major source of tension between the North and the South remains the application of Islamic Law in the South where much of the population is non-Muslim. However, no change has been made to that part of the constitution to accommodate the non-Muslims.⁸

¹ Niblock, Timothy (1987), pp. 206, 217, 225; Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, p. 4

² Woodward, Peter (1990), pp. 102, 148

³ Ibid., p. 115

⁴ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 142-143, 160-161

⁵ Duran, Khalid, *Journal for Politics and Economics of the Middle East (Orient)*, Vol.26, No.1 (March 1985), p. 582

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1999, p. 7

⁷ Woodward, Peter, *The Horn of Africa* (1996), p. 49

⁸ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1998-1999, p. 7

Another development is seen since 30 June 1998 that the present Sudanese authorities have promulgated a new constitution to improve their international standing. In addition to its efforts to split the opposition, the government seems to be engaged in improving its international relations.¹ Based on the 1998 constitution, the then Sudanese Parliament speaker Hassan al-Turabi has built up the ruling pro-Islamic National Congress Party under a law passed by parliament on 24th November 1998. Theoretically, this has ended the nine years of de facto one-party during which the National Congress Party has dominated the country and parliament.² But the outcome was interpreted by many Sudanese expertise's that this development has endorsed the government's document.

From domestic as well as by the International Community, the constitutional process has been viewed previously with some cynicism.³ For example, the first Article of the new draft constitution states: "The state of Sudan is an embracing homeland wherein races and cultures coalesce and religions conciliate and Islam is the religion of the majority of the population. Christianity and customary creeds have considerable followers." Shari'a will represent the basis for legislation within Sudan which contains a lot of unacceptable clauses that compromise Islamic Laws.⁴ NIF's pretension to frame a Permanent Constitution for Sudan is still rejected categorically by SPLA/M and moderate Islamist intellectuals.

They have jointly expressed that criminals should not make laws, particularly the basic law of the land.⁵ The opposition spokes person has reiterated in the above released statement that, the new constitution is Islamic manifesto for a modern theocratic State of Islamic community that reflects its ideology and political programme. For example, according to the country's former Prime Minister al-Mahdi, "the Islamic/military regime is simply trying to create the impression of a new climate with political freedoms, but in actual fact the situation has not changed. Our borne of contention with the regime is the fact that it is demanding the opposition recognizes its legitimacy," he added.⁶ Al-Mahdi has described the new constitution as a farce, which represses and deprives Sudanese citizens of their basic rights and freedoms. Al-Mahdi added, as lyrical quest for democratic credentials, "we reject the new tactics as nothing more than a face left for the regime to give another life span".⁷ Observers believe that opening the door once again to a multi-party system will prompt the Islamic group, who are the backbone of the current Sudanese

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1998, p. 6

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 4

³ Sudan Focus, Vol.5, No.1, London, January 15, 1998, pp. 1-2

⁴ The Constitution of the Republic of the Sudan, Khartoum, June 30, 1998, Article 1

⁵ Sudanese opposition rejects new constitution by the military government, in: Horn of Africa Bulletin, Vol.10, No.6, Uppsala-Sweden, November-December 1998, p. 32

⁶ Cited in: BBC monitoring News File (SWB), London, 1st December 1998

⁷ Sadiq al-Mahdi, Leader of the Umma Party, CNN World News, March 8, 1998 (18:25 GMT)

regime, to give more attention to the National Congress Party in order to avoid a possible downgrading of the Islamic Party's Status in Sudanese political life.¹

Theoretically, the new constitution contains a number of worthwhile, democratic clauses and guarantees Sudanese people the right to form political parties or other opposition groups. For example, Article 26:1-2 of the constitution deals with freedom of assembly, association, speech and beliefs. But the question remains about the government's willingness to abide by both the spirit and some of the letter of these clauses, which have to be practiced formally. The leaders of the South (SPLA/M) and exile opposition groups have strengthened their demands and positions repeatedly that religion and state should be separated.²

From these points of view, the repeal of the Islamic law remains necessary to accommodate between the Muslim and non-Muslim population or the whole Sudanese political scene needs correctness. The proper place of religion issue, especially Islamic government and law is to remain central to the future political stability and national unity of Sudan. For a multiethnic and multi-religious society, the issue and role of Islam in state is crucial. The alternative of a secular democratic model or a committed Islamic model may stand as two possible outcomes in a time of dealing with civil conflicts. The authorities, whether from the government or opposition should be concerned to continue a fundamental debate on these issues and provide helpful insights into the problem and subsequent ways of resolving it. As far as constitutional issues are not clear or explained to commit giving full political rights and civil liberties for non-Muslim and moderate Muslim Sudanese citizen's, the transition to democracy will be difficult to achieve.

Summary of the Legal Frameworks in Three Countries

It has been very difficult to accurately determine the content and meaning of the three countries constitutions, which are relevant to political and social affairs. But the technical terms they contain concerning legal framework affairs of the constitutional texts are outlined. Because the majority of citizens were not consulted when the constitution was prepared, in discussions for a possible amendment, most of the suggested constitutional amendments, preparations were rejected, suspended, or there have been more demands that caused legitimacy crisis while it has been flawed.³

Promulgation of constitutions has been initiated to promote and legitimize the political power of the ruling classes. But the rules and organs of the states were mostly of a technical nature. For

¹ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.5, May 1st-31st, London 2000, p. 14036

² See Horn Of Africa, Vol.10, No.4, Uppsala-Sweden 1998, p. 33

³ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 6-7; Southall, Roger, in: ROAPE, Vol.26, No.79, March 1999, p. 101; Ethiopia: Constitutional Dilemma, in: Africa Confidential, Vol.35, No.13, 1st July 1994, p. 3; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.658, Paris, 11 February 1995, p. 3

example, constitutions in all the three states give the head of state a considerable executive and legislature powers, of such degree that the opposition or citizens and their representatives can not usually control. The head of state stays in power as long as he is able to keep off or destroy any of his opponents or is driven out by force. But even if there has been power struggle for long, the Kenyan case is different from the other two countries. It has never been suspended but a very slow constitutional transition has taken place, which could not result to the changing of power.¹

Another fundamental question in this context is, whether division of power challenges legitimacy of the constitution in the three countries and can protect the right of minorities? From my personal experience and the data I have observed the most important stipulations of the constitution accommodates the ruling elite and legitimize the existing regimes.² The constitutions of the three countries hardly recognizes the rights of persons (to religion and languages Sudan) they all neither guarantee political rights nor civil liberties of minority ethnic groups, but encourage excess of power.³

Therefore, the research analysis in this topic concludes that there is an urgent need to create a broad based constitutional political order in the three countries, based on democratic principles that could guarantee the equality of all citizens before the law. The most important components of a constitutional arrangement should ensure that free and fair competitive elections have to be held which can allow changing the governments peacefully among others.

Apart from this, executive councils must set up to promote the implementation of the constitution, to facilitate the passing of necessary legislation, which considers the needs of all citizens without discrimination and ethnic favourism. This in turn can promote more transparent, accountable and participatory governance structures that is with successive constitutional guarantee. While the constitutions did not provide solutions for all these shortcomings, they should rather be considered that they have been only drawn up for formality reasons. A risky political business which has created instability and often became major obstacles to any further political, economic and social developments in the three countries.

¹ Southall, Roger, in: ROAPE, Vol.26, No.79 (1999), p. 102; EIU Kenya Country Report, London May 2001, p. 13

² Baker, Bruce, in: Third World Quarterly, Vol.19, No.1, London 1993, p. 124; Prempeh, Kwasi H., in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.10, No.3, July 1999, p. 140; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, p. 11; EIU Sudan Country Report, London, June 2000, p. 12

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 17-18; Weekly Review, Nairobi, 21 January 1994, pp. 8, 11; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1998, p. 10; Southall, Roger, in: ROAPE, Vol.26, No.79 (1999), p. 104

3.2 The Political Frameworks in the Three Countries

To understand the current Ethiopian, Kenyan and Sudanese political frameworks, it is necessary to look at the past even if it can not easily be achieved. Much of what has been passed for an explanation to the policies pursued in the three countries politics has often failed to cover the actual situation since the end of the Cold War. However, this knowledge is necessary to take steps for further developments, because a failure of understanding the past events might have practical consequences for the future of the three countries political patterns.

As it has been explained in many literatures, the three countries seem to be in a dilemma of political, economic and social crisis. Governments that have come and went undermined to reverse the social, economic and political havoc that devastated the three countries until the verge of collapse.¹ An excessively large number of their citizens suffer because the past and present performance of leaderships have failed to bring progress disregarding the origins and nature of the crises. Fiscal crises and political uncertainty have led governments to narrow the range of political cliques and ethnic groups among which they dispensed patronage in return for political support.² Whatever the origins and nature of the present crises in the three countries are, the certainty of crisis can be understood, especially when it becomes necessary to invoke the hand of destiny or the specters of original sin to explain their political frameworks.

Ethiopia has been engaged in the last two and a half years in an incomprehensible war with Eritrea that caused a series of political and economic setbacks.³ Kenya, once a country of relative stability in this troubled region, has continued its slow and worrisome downward spiral of political corruption, economic decay and social tensions.⁴ The political dilemma in Sudan remains acute and the country continues to be wracked by civil war and localized famine.⁵ Sudan's International Relations Crisis became worsened after the State Department has put on Sudan under the list of countries that support terrorism in 1993.⁶ But as regional and European countries reopened dialogue with Sudan at the end of 1999, a similar process of rapprochement has taken place even if an easing of tension is unlikely because of acute civil war in the south and other related domestic and international political problems.⁷

The three countries are all poorly developed and their human and physical resources and rudimentary administrative systems remark inevitably corrupt leaderships. Conflicts multiplied

¹ Arnold, Guy (London 1995), pp. 29-34, 444-452; Nueschler, Franz (1996), p. 338-344; Wayne C. Macwilliams and Harry Priotrowski (1997), pp. 411-414

² Vanhanen, Tatu (1997), pp. 127-141; Ken Menkhaus and John Prendergast, in: *Current History*, Vol.98, No.628 (1999), p. 213

³ SIPRI Yearbook 2001, pp. 26, 30

⁴ *The Economist*, August 18th, London 2001, p. 31

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 222; Lesch, Mosely Ann, in: *Current History*, Vol.98, No.628, May 1999, p. 218; SIPRI Yearbook, London 2001, pp. 31-34

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 11

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 18

domestically as factions fight over to control power and resources that became an obstacle to establishing durable peace and promote political and economic developments.¹ Considering the three countries historical indicators, their political frameworks can be compared. Some of their strengths and failures are outlined comparatively, and attention is drawn to the future of their political patterns. Furthermore, an attempt is made to identify to all these shortcomings and explain why the political frameworks were not suitable to implement successful democratic and economic measures. The formation and role of party politics and other related frameworks such as elections events are also discussed to some extent. As far as parties and elections in the three countries are concerned, the discussion will be devoted on the following questions:

- **First**, to what extent are and were the ruling political parties of the three countries effective instruments makes public policies?
- **Second**, to what extent have the parties been instruments of democracy or of regime control?

Addressing the analysis to these questions, I shall also compare the distinctive models, which reflect political process and party developments, important historical differences among the three countries' formation of political organizations and pressure groups. Historically, Kenyan and Sudanese legacies have been relatively similar than the Ethiopian case as one can see it in different literatures.² Most African countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan have great difficulties in establishing strong and stable political parties that perform democratic institutions. But a number of recent developments in Africa and elsewhere have called into questions to how the prevailing scholarly understanding of holding political power which could function more than they represent their citizens that can deal with alternative opportunities towards democratic steps. They have difficulties to how they should represent their citizens' interests upon taking power, which can fulfil the status they hold to govern.³ Thus, it is an opportune movement to examine the role and establishment of political parties in the three countries.

In this connection, the consideration of civil liberties such as citizens freedom of speech and assembly, especially the importance of freedom of media as forms of political expression and its role that can play as an instrument bridge for political process⁴ is explained largely in the three country's cases. Even if media linkage with the political parties is used to be complicated, I have categorized it under interest groups. Because, without equal access to politically relevant

¹ Ottaway, Marina, in: *Current History*, Vol.98, No.628, May 1999, p. 204; Jacquin-Berdal, Dominique, in: *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, Vol.27, No.1, London School of Economics pubs. London 1998, pp. 128-130

² *Africa Confidential; Africa Today; Economic Intelligence Unit; Africa South of the Sahara* etc.

³ Compare Rudzio, Wolfgang (1997), p. 60; Human Rights Watch Report, London (1998), p. 44

⁴ Gunther and Mughan (2000), p. 2; Compare Rudzio, Wolfgang (Opladen 2000), p. 485

expressions, democracy as well as economic and social developments in their relation to freedom is difficult to achieve.¹ This section focuses on the rise of parties, examines their historical emergence, and evaluates their functions and performance. In addition to that the organizational features are assessed to the extent they do reflect significant divisions within the society. Readers of this thesis may also find it useful to analyze the process of political development by focussing on the above mentioned major variables in order to identify the character of political parties and their role in the three countries' political scene.

3.2.1 The Political Framework in Ethiopia: An Old Imperial Regime to Marxist-Leninist and Ethnic Democracy?

The Ethiopian Political Framework had been controlled by regional notables and a deliberate authoritarian strategy rather than open participation by citizen's representatives.² Like most African countries, the Ethiopian political framework has lacked political institutions, which have the power to control corruption, abuses of power and safeguard freedom of political rights and civil liberties. Political violence, intolerance, and lack of compromise in connection to the intense ethnic conflicts and poor economic performances have victimized Ethiopia's political scene.³ For decades, the Ethiopian State has existed as a weak society to withstand democratic and economic implementation. Webs of factors in the social and political structures have generated this problem. Institutional procedures have been poorly and some times barely authoritative. Ethiopian intellectuals have long been non-productive or unable to implement administrative elite which respects a widespread representative democratic institution.⁴

On the one hand, Ethiopian intellectuals could not contribute to policy-making, because their ideas have been almost completely ignored by those in power of which ironically they are a part and stand in their way as implacable obstacles. On the other hand, many have felt as if they have been betrayed by the society at large and that they could not sell their ideas to the political scene. This record of mal-administration has placed a heavy burden on their successors. Furthermore, successive civil or military governments have continued to mismanage, distort and plunder human and material resources of the country.⁵ Their **ineffective** political framework policies have only intensified the economic and social problems, which weakened the Great State of Ethiopia. All these mal-administration shortcomings have destabilized the Ethiopian political framework. Hence weakened by corruption among feudal officials, political unrest,

¹ Cole, Robert (1998) p. 15

² Keller, Edmond J. (1988), pp. 50-55; Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 12

³ Young, John, in: *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.19, No.2 (1998), p. 200

⁴ Schwab, Peter, *Ethiopia* (1985), pp. 67-68

⁵ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 31; Abraham, Kinfe (1994), pp. 9-10, Keller, Edmond J. (1988), pp. 267-268

famine and other related policies, the old imperial regime was brought down by a military coup,¹ which has no concept of democratic culture.

The military regime has eradicated and dismantled the ancient imperial order and declared a centralized socialist state. Under a Marxist-Leninist ideology, the military government has consolidated its power and ruled the country until it was disrupted by the EPRDF in 1991.² The Marxist-Leninist military regime's brutal atrocities and mal-administration had ruined and discredited the idea of Ethiopian national unity. The EPRDF on its turn has formed Ethno-basic administrative regime what it calls to have limited powers. EPRDF decided to make ethnicity the basis for all political organizations and administrative structures.³ It has divided the country into ethno-linguistic States that are granted large measures of political autonomy after 4 years of transition period (1991-1995).⁴ EPRDF's form of democratic establishment of multi-ethnic federation may express doubt about its political agenda, which has been under severe taste.⁵ Meanwhile, the growth of official democratic organizations and participation at the popular levels may offer the greatest hope to promote democratic prospects in the future. But as it has been previously explained, the centralization of power becomes constantly a major obstacle. On the other hand, in Ethiopia as elsewhere, calls for greater democracy and multi-party political systems are heard with increasing frequency.⁶ But what democracy in the Ethiopian historical context really means and how Western models can be related to its indigenous political tradition remains questionable.

Since 1991, Ethiopia is struggling to recover from a long history of war and conflicts; steps have been taken to break earlier centralized authoritarian governance. Historically, one of the root problems in the country has been the dominance of one ethnic group over many others for decades. For example, the Amharas' strong sense of ethnic identification has been reinforced by their role as the upholders and custodians of the empire.⁷ The present government has tried to change this constitutionally by far-reaching rights of self-determination to all ethnic groups of the country, should they choose to exercise them.⁸

However, genuine opposition parties face many difficulties and some of their leaders who could have contributed to promote democratization are forced into exile as what the government says they have preferred to confront the ruling party by armed struggle. More frequently, reports

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, London 1999, pp. 4-5

² EIU Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 6; Middleton, John, *Encyclopaedia of ASS*, Vol.2 (1998), p. 61

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile, London 2000, p. 8

⁴ Federal Constitution (Addis Ababa 1995), Article 52:2/a-g, 46:1-2; Ottaway, Marina, *Africa's New Leaders*, (1999), p. 18;

⁵ Conteh-Morgan, Earl (1997), p. 109

⁶ Ottaway, Marina, *Democracy in Africa* (1997), p. 47

⁷ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 59; *Encyclopaedia of the Third World*, Vol.1 (London 1982), p. 591

⁸ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 39:4/c

about human rights violations come from opposition groups and from international human rights organizations.¹ But if the opposition groups are free from human rights abuses and the question of their democratic credentials remains another political agenda. Because of the ruling parties' intolerance character against the opposition and to civil rights activists, dissenting voices are increasingly being heard.² Such events and others that are difficult to address here have created an atmosphere of hindrances for a period of political transition that was supposed to lay the foundation for a transition to democratic political system in Ethiopia.

Other sources of conflicts have been power struggle between political forces at the levels both of regional-ethnic governments and the central government. Most Ethiopians are disappointed for they have expected some thing else than what they can contribute and what their country could afford from its historical context. Political negotiations on the crises have failed, instead appeared to produce a new tension and alienation of both the government and the opposition.³ Some analysis suggest that, a just and effective political response to opposition groups and civic organizations can draw upon not only stability of the state but also concerns for individual autonomy and tolerance.⁴ Moreover, a substantive ethical vision challenges the political framework conditions of the country. By examining EPRDF's political framework characters since the 1990s, whether it withstands the threat to Ethiopian disintegration and succeeds to promote democratic system or what comes next is the central focus of this section. Furthermore, the political parties, interest groups and institutions which are found on the relative periphery of the political system such as churches, universities, the media, free professionals and other political groups are considered in this analysis. Elections, citizens' participation and the political situation of the country before and after the elections are also demonstrated to give more emphasis on the research agenda.

3.2.1.1 Political Parties and Pressure Groups

Ethiopia has no tradition of organized political parties and it has never passed through the period of open politicisation and party formation that the waning of colonialism brought to other parts of Africa.⁵ The absence of parties has been a defining future of the state structure in implementing democratic system. The Monarchy and the military governments have been anxious to establish

¹ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 2000), p. 101

² Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, London, December 1997, p. 35

³ Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.658, Paris, 11 February 1995, p. 3; Africa Confidential, Ethiopia: Oromo Talks, Vol.38, No.24, London, 24 October 1997, p. 8; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.873, 2 October 1999, p. 6

⁴ Boadi, Gyimah, E. in: Larry Diamond et al, Consolidating the Third Wave, Democracy Themes and Perspectives (1997), p. 281

⁵ Clapham, Christopher, in: Woodward and Forsyth (1994), p. 38

political parties what they have thought that may exacerbate divisions on ethnic or religious lines.¹ Ethiopians have had little opportunity to practice even the basis of participatory democracy at the national or regional levels. Almost all Ethiopian political organizations, which have struggled against the repressive Ethiopian rulers, are originally derived from the student movements and their inspirations. For example, TPLF, the hard core ruling party of EPRDF and its coalition members have been an extension from the Ethiopian Student Movements in the country.²

Due to the opening of new political chance since 1991, many political parties and social movements mostly on ethnic bases have emerged and function more or less officially in the country. There have been 60 registered parties (mostly regional) under the Political Parties Registration Proclamation.³ From this standpoint, prospects of the main Ethiopian political parties and their origins, role in the country's political scene and other related issues like the transition to democracy etc. will be analyzed below. Parties, which were and are in parliament, either during the Transitional period or after the 1995 elections will partially be analyzed. Parties, which did not participate in parliament and operate clandestinely in the last consecutive 9 years, are also partially considered under the title of other parties. Most of the parties that are analyzed in this study procedure have either a significant membership or real influence in shaping government policies. Hence, political parties that will be explained in this study procedure are:

Political Parties

-All Amhara Peoples Organization	(AAPO)
-Afar Liberation Front	(ALF)
-Ethiopian Democratic Union	(EDU)
-Amhara National Democratic Movement	(ANDM)
-Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front	(EPRDF)
-Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization	(OPDO)
-Oromo Liberation Front	(OLF)
-Tigray People's Liberation Front	(TPLF)

All Amhara Peoples Organization: Members of the traditional Amhara ethnic elites have established this party in January 1992 to protect their rights and promote the Ethiopia unity. Its foundation was initiated after members of the Oromo ethnic majority groups have attacked some

¹ Encyclopaedia of the Third World, vol.1, London 1982, p. 597

² Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 176; Henze, Paul B. (2000), pp. 292-294

³ National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington D.C. 1992, pp. 128-129; National Election Board of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, August 22, 1996; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 10

Amhara elites (prominent minority) and a number of incidents in local Amhara areas. AAPO maintained its office in Addis Ababa and has branches in the United States and Sweden where many expatriate Amharas live.¹ It is an urban elite circle political organization, whose political programme is for the restoration of the Ethiopian traditional form of centralized power among others.

AAPO is a centralist party, which claims to have a wide spread support in the Amhara region but did not stand in an election except in May 2000, whose total outcome was not enough to take power. It competes with the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), which is part of the ruling coalition party.² AAPO has initially supported the EPRDF regime but it went into opposition after it has disputed over the issue of ethnic regionalism that caused severe confrontation with the EPRDF because of the Eritrean problems and other related issues. AAPO opposes the Federal Constitution Article 39 view that 'nations' should have the right to self-determination up to, and including secession.³ Hence, has been outspoken to argue over the concern that EPRDF policies could lead the country to fragmentation. AAPO's view is that, under the 1995 constitution Article 39, EPRDF's policy has risked to the distraction of long cultural heritage of political unity that was painstakingly developed over time, as what it called EPRDF's policy a 'diconstructionist', aiming to dismantle the Old Ethiopian State.⁴ AAPO recognizes Eritrea as part of Ethiopia and its leaders have reiterated to stand against the position of EPRDF's decentralization policy as well as constructing of a new ethnic based map for the country.⁵

The AAPO political leaders have used to organize mass rallies in order to influence the policies of the EPRDF's regime and tried to spoil its images in domestic and international political stage since 1995. It has always rejected violence but some of its leaders were/are imprisoned and even killed for reasons of their political position, respectively conspiracy, instigating violence and inciting armed rebellion.⁶ On the one hand, due to the intense conflict with the ruling party, AAPO has claimed that government agents have closed down its regional offices in favour of Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM). On the other hand, the ruling party in coalition claims many AAPO leaders feel embittered while they are marginalized after holding the Ethiopian political power for centuries dominantly. But it has been very difficult to verify all claims and charges by both the government and AAPO. Based on such and other related claims,

¹ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.3, London 1997, p. 395

² Human Rights Watch World Report, New York (1997), p. 26; Rock, June, in: *ROAPE*, Vol.23, No.4, London 1996, p. 100

³ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 39:4

⁴ Human Rights Watch World Report (1996), p. 20

⁵ *Africa Today*, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 733; Federal Constitution (1995), Article 47:2; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 8

⁶ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.9, No.8(A), New York December 1997, p. 35

AAPO's ex-chairman, a medical Prof. Asrat Weldeyes, was imprisoned for some years until his release in December 1998 after strong international pressure and on grounds of his ill health. After his release, he went to the USA where he had lived until his death in May 1999.¹ To my knowledge, Prof. Asrat was a respected surgeon and private medical doctor of King Haile Selassie as well as Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam where he was neither involved in politics nor had political credentials throughout his career before 1991.

The fact that accusations by the present government was leveled at Prof. Asrat was, he as a medical Prof. should at least have noisily objected to the atrocities being committed against innocent citizens by the military government for over 17 years (1974-1991). He was then accused collaborating for not disclosing questioning the mysterious death of his patient, Emperor Haile Selassie in 1975.² In addition to that, Professor Asrat and other AAPO members were also accused for alleged 'warmongering' and conspiracy to organize armed rebellion against the government, a charge that was denied by AAPO members.³ The leaders, founders and affiliates of this party, have continued to wage their struggle primarily by sponsoring public rallies against the government and have even pledged before the United Nations, United States Congress and the European Parliament. They have urged the EPRDF to step down and reinstate the Ethiopian unity, which was widely seen by the government and Eritreans as a declaration of war.⁴

Concerning other political activities, AAPO became frustrated and increasingly strident like other opposition groups in the country.⁵ Although AAPO has declined to participate in the general elections held in 1995, it has not withdrawn from the political scene and remained vocal in its opposition to the government.⁶ It has made some well-published attempts to raise support in rural areas where many of its members come from. EPRDF has sought to undermine AAPO by strengthening rival organization in the core of Amhara areas, Gondar, Gojjam and western Wello (Region No.3)⁷ to provide a challenge for AAPO's political pressure.

The competition between AAPO and ANDM in Amhara regions became often a headache for the ruling party. For example, in the 2000 general multi-party elections AAPO has appeared to have good performances becoming the second after EPRDF in Addis Ababa constituency.⁸ It was AAPO's first participation in elections and has been one of the 10 opposition parties that

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1999, p. 13

² Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 98

³ Rock, June, in: (ROAPE), Vol.23, No.4, London 1996, p. 96

⁴ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.35, No.3 (1997), p. 400

⁵ Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.562, Paris, 13 February 1993, p. 3

⁶ Lyons, Terrence, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.34, No.1 (1996), p. 134

⁷ Michler, Walter (1995), p. 113

⁸ Ethiopian Herald, Addis Ababa, 18 June 2000, pp. 1,5

contested the May and August 2000 Federal and Parliamentary elections in the country.¹ What the future of competition may bring remains an interesting theme if both parties play in fair and free elections in their constituencies. It can be in such a political play that the democratic credentials of both parties towards democracy may be exposed when the electorates have a chance to judge them side by side.

Afar Liberation Front: This party is regional and ethnic based organized group, which was created as a liberation movement in 1975 and had operated, in limited number of nomadic regions until 1991. After many internal conflicts, the Afar Liberation Front has re-emerged in the 1980s and began to reassert itself.² ALF has supported the Transitional Government of 1991-1995, but from the outset, it did not formally join the EPRDF coalition when some political organizations have coalesced in 1989 under the leadership of TPLF.³ ALF's main operation base locates in Harar (**Region No.6**), Wollo, Tigray and in the Eritrean border administrative regions.⁴ The Organization has been supported by exile members from its base in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

It occupies a lengthy portion of the Red Sea Coast and had as Afar's principal objective an Afar state within the Ethiopian Federation. This front has suffered splitting into many groups in its political scene. While similar rivalries over legitimacy exist in the numerical smaller region Afar and Somali, where the EPRDF had difficulties to promote its surrogate organization.⁵ The administration of Ethiopian Afar Region has been complicated by the fact that there is a sizable Afar population in neighboring Eritrea and Djibouti who have sympathy with to stay in an autonomy under the Ethiopian unity. Christopher Clapham writes:

"Previously, the military regime has attempted both to sedentarise the Afar and to incorporate them into the national political system through indigenous party representatives and local administrators whose willingness to cooperate with the regime derives in large part from divisions within Afar society".⁶ From this context, autonomous and administrative regions were established based on the Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) constitution of 1987, Article 64:1/a, no. 2 and Article 100 under proclamation No.14/1987.

According to the EPRDF government plans of ethnic Federalism, the Afar Liberation Front is yet another manifestation of regionalism versus centralism, but its objective was not clearly

¹ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.5, Blackwell pubs., May 1st-31st, London 2000, p. 13967

² Abraham, Kifle (1994), p. 171

³ National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (Washington D.C. 1992), p. 13

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 10

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 7

⁶ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 216

defined although self-determination for the Afars is the programs of its struggle.¹ The Afars seem to have entertained a slightly different agenda from other nationalities, and aspire to find an Afar nation, which will definitely upsets Ethiopia and other neighbours like Somali and Djibouti politics in the future². In recent years, the importance of the Afars was risen sharply because of a constellation factor, which favoured them. On one hand, the ALF has an influence in the Oromo milieus that comprise the majority ethnic population of Ethiopia.³ The conflict area here is, some Afars may be associated with the OLF and can ally in its programme of advocating armed struggle against the EPRDF.

On the other hand, some factions have sympathy with the Eritrean government under different names due to the geo-strategic access to the Red Sea. This might be very difficult for the Ethiopian government that had been confronting with the outrageous Eritrean regime, which committed to annex Ethiopian territory in June 6, 1998. There had been diplomatic negotiations for 2 years where the Eritrea authorities have refused and rejected a political solution to the conflict. But at last a murderous war was waged and Ethiopia has retaken its annexed regions at the end of 2000, forcing Eritrea to settle the border disputes since then.⁴

Although ALF seems to be dominant organization in the region, there have been other Afar political movements/factions like Afar Revolutionary Union Front (ARDUF), which was formed in 1991 and claims to represent the Afar people.⁵ ARDUF's political program (area of interest) has been to "liberate Afar territories" of the former autonomous region of Assab from Eritrean domination. ARDUF is still fighting for the unity of Afars within Ethiopia and Eritrea, a policy, which may bring it into conflict with both countries.⁶ The discussion brought about a division within the ranks of ARDUF, between pro EPRDF and anti-government factions. ARDUF's anti-government faction is believed to have been operating in the Somali border nomadic areas with other violent political movements helped by the Eritrean government to destabilize the region.⁷ While the ARDUF has limited presence in other Afar regions, the ALF in turn is dedicated to maintain the political, cultural and religious autonomy of the Afar people. For example, in recent years, ALF became one of the opposition movements to express some interests in EPRDF's plan for creating autonomous regions.⁸ The geo-strategic interest and value of the Afar region had

¹ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 47:2

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, pp. 8-9

³ Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 237

⁴ Africa Confidential, Vol.39, No.11, 29 May 1998, p. 2; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.943, 24th March 2001, p. 7; The Economist, London, May 26th, 2001, p. 48; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, pp. 10-12

⁵ Ken Menkhaus and John Prendergast, in: Current History, Vol.98, No.628, May 1999, p. 214

⁶ Gilkes, Patrick, in: ROAPE, Vol.25, No.77, September 1998, pp. 511-512

⁷ Addis Tribune, Addis Ababa, January 1999, pp. 1, 8; SIPRI Yearbook, 2000, p. 20

⁸ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 10

been a considerable impact on Afar politics. It will remain permanent sources of conflict unless the governments in the region agree to solve it peacefully and accommodate the spread and divided population of Afar.

Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU): Few northern aristocratic monarchist and military officials have formed this party outside Ethiopia in the early 1975. It made its existence official in March 1975 from its office in London.¹ Originally, it was the only non-Marxist opposition party organized in the country, which has been identified as a royalist group. In spite of the fact that its leaders came from the former aristocracy, it appeared later to project a liberal anti-monarchist image by espousing a Western democratic form of government and has appealed to establish a broader ethnic and class base in all regions of Ethiopia as its objective.²

As it was closely associated with the former nobility, EDU has gained the support of the conservative anti-Communist Sudanese and Saudi Arabian regimes that have increasingly alarmed the Ethiopian government's radical policies and the revolutionary tilt they were giving to the region. In response, the Sudanese government has supplied EDU with territory from which to operate, radio station, a base for their fighters, political cadres and the Saudi and the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) have provided them with funding.³ To quote Hagai Erlich from his book about EDU's situation:

"The EDU enjoyed the active support of Saudi Arabia and the Sudan and cooperated from the start with the Eritreans, although as Ethiopian nationalists their ideology prevented them from supporting Eritrean separatism. They favoured "a federal system for Ethiopia" in which "the right of the Eritrean people to determine democratically their own destiny, coupled with the according of proper weight to interests of the rest of Ethiopia," would be implemented".⁴

Accordingly, the EDU should have been well positioned to capitalize the growing discontent among the urban middle and upper classes with such backings, but it has lacked clear ideology and efficiency to influence students and intellectuals who have brought the revolution demanding civil liberty. As Ethiopian nationalists, the EDU could not support Eritrean separatism but it co-operated with them to strengthen opposition movements. Through its strong pressure in Western Tigray and in the northern provinces like Gondar, it has seriously disrupted army traffic to Eritrean rebels.⁵

¹ Irving, Kaplan (1981), p. 272

² Young, John, Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia (1997), p. 102; Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 292

³ Young, John, in: Clapham, Christopher, African Guerrillas (1998), p. 39

⁴ Erlich, Hagai (1983), p. 73

⁵ Young, John, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.34, No.1, London 1996, p. 106

As a result of the party members' lower level of political consciousness and lack of integration into local communities and students who were discontent of the nobility, a few educated youth and intellectuals were drawn into the party but it could not readily accommodate them. In comparison to the TPLF, EDU has lost confidence and credibility among the peasants of its constituency, especially in Tigray, Gondar and Gojjam, due to lack of discipline behaviour within its army as it was operating against its rivals in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, due to the intense conflict with TPLF while they mostly have operated in the same areas, EDU had been driven by TPLF into exile or went underground.¹ Like EPRP and TPLF, EDU had begun its insurrection in Western Tigray with small bases of support in the central Amhara region. It has also tried to combat TPLF by joining other political movements such as Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and EPRP but was defeated bitterly. It was never completely destroyed, but chased from Tigray, which had been reduced to a rump largely operating in small pocket outside Tigray in Gondar and Sudan, where it remained until the total collapse of the military regime in 1991.²

EDU has supported a platform of democracy, individual ownership of land, and a federalist structure to cope with the "nationalist issues." But it did not succeed to develop modern revision of political organizational techniques and remained incapable of responding to the changed conditions of Ethiopian political scene³. After 1991, the party was opposed strategically, and weakened consistently by both the government, and ethnically based insurgency groups operating in its constituencies. It has boycotted the (1992, 1994 and 1995-regional and parliamentary) elections with other parties, which operate clandestinely to play a solidarity role, but it seems not to have much chance to implement a significant political programme in comparison to the ruling coalition.

EDU has field 62 candidates to compete for seats in the House of People's Representatives and the State Council elections, which was conducted on May 14 and August 2000. Its candidates have competed in Tigray, Amhara States and Addis Ababa City administration constituencies.⁴ But the question remains how free and fair the elections have been conducted. While there were other competing potential parties who might have participated under favourable political conditions, the chance of EDU to win considerable voters became very low.

Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM): The party was initially established in 1980 under the name of Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM) by former members of the

¹ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 210; Young, John, in: Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 39

² Young, John, in: Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 40

³ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.3 (1997), p. 390

⁴ Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB), BBC Monitoring, London, 25 October, 1999, AL/3674 A/2

Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) under the guidance of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) to represent interests of the Amhara people.¹ ANDM prominent founders originate mainly of Amhara from Wello, Gondar, Gojjam and the northern part of Shoa.² Originally, it has been a multi-ethnic political organization, but was transformed into an explicitly Amhara group in 1994 to match the country's ethnopolitical template and in most regions (Region 3 and Addis Ababa) the party has fostered to mobilize Amhara constituencies.³

In another development, EPRP faction members sought assistance from the TPLF to form EPDM based in Tigray as a multi-national party organization until the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) was formed. For several years, it had a tenuous existence in the province of southern Tigray. The TPLF had offered material as well as moral support to the EPDM, and by early 1980s, it became a viable fighting force in Amhara ethnic regions.⁴ The EPDM has enjoined TPLF's aid, but soon assumed an independent stance both in its military operations and political policies. For several years, EPDM had a tenuous existence in the province of south Tigray.⁵ It has joined TPLF in January 1989 to form the EPRDF and adopted its present name at its third Congress in January 1994 to fit the new federal polity.⁶

In October 1996, the party has experienced internal crisis and dismissed its General Secretary Tamirat Layne from all his posts, as a deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defense because of corruption scandal.⁷ The party's spokesman has explained that, Tamrat had "behaved contrary to the discipline of his party".⁸ Tamirat was a founder member of the EPDM nurtured by the Tigray People's Liberation Front to lead the Amhara components of EPRDF region No.3 and the majority of the metropolitan council of Addis Ababa. But has failed to provide either the ideological justification or organizational structures for an "Amhara" party and became simply the state bureaucracy in predominantly Amhara areas.⁹

Because of these crises, the party has lacked a popular base both in region number 3 and in Addis Ababa metropolitan area where the majority of its representatives came from as the 1992 regional and local elections were held. Confidence in the ANDM's future is not inspired by the choice of Tamirat's appointed successor, Tefera Walwa, who is also an Amhara and has been a senior figure within the EPDM/ANDM and whose leadership of Addis Ababa's Council has also been dogged by allegations of inefficiency and corruption.¹⁰

¹ Young, John in: Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 40

² Abraham, Kinfie (1994), p. 246

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 8

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 313

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, p. 9

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, p. 7

⁸ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, p. 169

⁹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, pp. 9-10

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 7

While AAPO, the potential rival in Amhara regions resists the EPRDF coalition policies; ANDM operates reluctantly to mobilize significant number of voters and political climate in its constituencies. The party's weakness that has to be rehabilitated is its poor leadership having stacked up on dubious charges. On the other hand, ANDM as a component of EPRDF, also acted effectively to mobilize the Amhara population particularly peasants in the countryside, it has high voters' turnout especially in the rural areas.¹ Thus, ANDM became mostly active in predominantly Amhara areas to implement the government policies. If ANDM withstands the problem of leadership inefficiency, there is possibility that it can mobilize supporters even in non-Amhara constituencies with its original multi-ethnic image of political organization.

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF): As I have indicated it above, EPRDF is an alliance of some party components, namely: Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM) which is later called Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Front (SEPDM).² The EPRDF was initiated by the TPLF in its birthplace of Tigray to broaden the process of struggle against Mengistu Haile Mariam's military regime.³ During its foundation, it was open to all political groups and organizations that have accepted its political agenda.

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of ethnic based liberation movements and nationalist groups have adopted a programme and constitution in January 1989, establishing a formal joint leadership.⁴ After it had overthrown the military regime, it has assumed the reign of power in transition and applied a semi-democratic political platform. Its conducts its organizational Congress every two years to discuss and evaluate the political, social, economic and foreign issues. All member organizations do participate equally in these congresses by sending their delegates who are expected to present their views freely and ensure to understand resolutions. The First Congress of the Organization was held from 17th-23rd January 1991 in Ethiopian Territory that was liberated by the organization before it became to power.⁵

The EPRDF called for and organized a Peace Conference from July 1st-5th 1991 in which the Transitional Charter and the foundations of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) was established. During the peace conference, about 24 or more organizations have participated in the coalition government including ALF, OLF and some others but left after one year of working

¹ Lyons, Terrence, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.34, No.1, March 1996, p. 134

² Abebe Zegeye and Siegfried Pausewang (1994), p. 233

³ EIU Ethiopia Country, 4th quarter, London 1996, p. 5

⁴ Tordorff, William (1997), p. 151

⁵ Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller (1998), p. 306

together.¹ But the EPRDF's principle open to all Ethiopian party organizations has not been easy. The problems of cooperation and compromise became at all very difficult for opposition parties to debate how they can compute in the country's political process with EPRDF. At the end of the Transitional Period, the Second Congress of the EPRDF was held in Awassa, the capital of the Southern Regional State, from 20th-25th December 1994. At this congress the membership of the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Front (SEPDP) was discussed and approved.²

Other major issues on this Congress have focussed on the overview of the EPRDF programme and Constitution, the five-year Plan for Peace, Democracy, Development, and the preparation for the election of a democratic government. It was in this Congress that a revised programme of the organization and the new Ethiopian Constitution was adopted. For example, one of the central focal issues debated at the Second Congress was the five-year Development Plan (1995-2000) whose goals were explained as:

1. bringing about rapid economic development which can benefit all
2. ensuring peace and law and order
3. bringing about democracy based on popular participation

The other major policy decision adopted at the Congress was within the coalition that each of the four EPRDF member organizations (**ANDM, TPLF, OPDO and SEPDP**) would have equal representation in all government organs at every level. These groups respectively control the country's four regional states (1,3,4)³, the Southern National, and Nationalities People's region (SNNP), representing 80 percent of Ethiopia's population and the bulk of the country's production resources.⁴ Each of the four main organizations elects five members to the executive committee of the EPRDF. OPDO members elect to the committee included Ethiopia's president and the leaders of region 4 (Oromia) and Region 14 (Addis Ababa) administrations.⁵ The TPLF members included the Prime Minister, the head of region 1 (Tigray) and the armed forces' chief of staff whose term of office is five years.

This power sharing agreement between the umbrella of EPRDF did not give any chance either to legal and registered opposition parties or other banned political organizations like OLF and EPRP who still constantly challenge the government by launching armed struggle in order to unseat its leaders from power. But the constitution about parties objectives that prohibits to

¹ Lyons, Terrence, in: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) No.127, 27 August 1991, p. 6

² Addis Tribune, Addis Ababa, January 1998, pp. 1, 3

³ Michler, Walter (1995), p. 113

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1998, p. 9

⁵ see Ethiopian Regions/Zones in: EIU Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 8

unseat a government by armed force hardened EPRDF's position to deal with its opponents in a harsh manner that became an obstacle for political concessions in the country.¹

Since its inception, EPRDF has implemented many changes within and outside its organization by broadening membership and mobilization of electorates. It has also been able to develop and improve its programme to reflect the prevailing situation and what it calls "meet the national political and economic needs".² Its response to the international perspective in connection to its vision for the people of Ethiopia has been widespread and relevant but its openness, cooperation and tolerance to its opponents remained harsh, which narrowed the chance that should have promoted to the sharing of power. As a ruling party, the EPRDF in general serves like an umbrella organization for a variety of national and multi-national organizations throughout Ethiopia until now. Nevertheless, there are three or more spheres of **potential political opposition** that the coalition party must have to challenge or compromise with: Political activities in urban areas, internal party dissent and regional differences.³ But the threat from the opposition in the near future remains uncertain.

Until the time of writing, EPRDF dominated the Ethiopian political landscape by virtue of its military power, harsh organizational leadership, and the control of agenda and rules of competition. Since the transition period, EPRDF has insisted that any group that denounces violence and accepts the rules developed by its party programmes, could participate in elections and other political activities in the country freely.⁴ But the major opposition parties have rejected EPRDF's formula and tried to develop strategies that would force a new beginning for the transition to democracy with a different area of forces and power alignments. In the course of time, the EPRDF secured its power and narrowed the parity to negotiate with the opposition.

The ruling party sought to undermine many opponents like AAPO, OLF and other oppositions by spawning rival organization such as ANDM in Amhara areas, OPDO in Oromo areas to provide a challenge for its political pressure.⁵ Effective organized opposition to the EPRDF does not exist in the country. For example, the WPE was outlawed and its former members have no effort to change name as it had occurred in Eastern European and the former Soviet Union, nor did it survive as an exile organization.⁶ As multi-ethnic coalition, the EPRDF then seems to have moved on its own political program bounds and consolidate its iron power to disrupt all threatening opponents. For example, in the country's second multi-party general elections in 14

¹ Negarit Gazette Proclamation No.46/1993, Addis Ababa, 15 April 1993, Article 5:3

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 10

³ Ibid., pp. 9-10

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, p. 8

⁵ Rock, June, in: (ROAPE), Vol.23, No.4 (1996), p. 93

⁶ Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 335

May and August 2000, the ruling party (EPRDF) has won landslide victory.¹ But, given the lack of credible opposition, only friction between the internal structure remains EPRDF's main determinant challenge as it is continuing ahead holding power monopoly after the 2000 elections.

Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO): Similar to EPDM/ANDM, this party was also initiated under the direction of the TPLF in 1989 and formed in April 1990 to promote its cue in Oromo regions, based among the Oromo people in the Shoa Region.² Originally, its membership has been largely made up of captured Oromo soldiers of the military regime by the TPLF in sporadic clashes with the OLF, the major Oromo Organization that refused to coalesce forming EPRDF.³ The OLF has immediately challenged the creation of the OPDO as an "unfriendly and hostile gesture" and OPDO's existence remained a source of friction between the TPLF and OLF. The formation of OPDO was regarded by the OLF as a direct attack on their conviction that they alone had the right to lead the Oromo society.⁴

On the other hand, although OPDO has suffered to have lost several of its followers by desertion to OLF in 1992, the present government's President Negaso Gidada, and other leaders in coalition with EPRDF have strengthened its weakness.⁵ Both having been members in the Transitional Government, OPDO and OLF have competed for political control over the same strategic areas and maneuvered for position in anticipating of elections and the establishment of regional administration. OPDO does not have a secessionist aspiration like the OLF, instead it asserts the right of the Oromo people within the context of united Ethiopia.⁶ Hence, it controls the State Council of the Oromo-designed Region 4, but the regional based opposition force (OLF) operates clandestinely in the same constituency while it was banned for advocating violence.⁷

OPDO works in EPRDF's coalition to implement its policies and tried to mobilize the Oromo population in Oromo constituencies by clearing up OLF elements. It is not popular like the OLF but as far as the OLF advocates violence against the EPRDF's political platform, there might be a chance for OPDO to establish strong domination in Oromo areas and remains working under coalition political policies. In the May and August 2000 general elections, OPDO has claimed to have a good performance even if it has to compete with other parties like AAPO mobilizing the political scene. But OPDO's democratic credentials could be measured when free and fair elections would be conducted in the country.

¹ Horn of Africa, Vol.12, No.3, Uppsala, Sweden, May-June 2000, pp. 11-12; Ethiopian Herald, Addis Ababa, 18 June 2000, pp. 1, 5

² Hammond, Jenny (1999), pp. 404, 406

³ Clapham, Christopher, African Guerrillas (1998), p. 48

⁴ Abebe Zegeye and Siegfried Pausewang (1994), p. 236; Harbeson, John W., in: Current History, Vol.92, No.574, May 1993, p. 211

⁵ Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller (1998), p. 307; Africa Research Bulletin, June 1st-30th, London 1994, p. 11471

⁶ Abraham, Kinfe (1994), p. 170

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 10

Oromo Liberation Front (OLF): The founders of OLF initially comprised of young, educated Oromos but by 1976, the organization had claimed a broad-based leadership from all Oromo areas.¹ It was initially conferred in the eastern and mid-of southern Ethiopian regions in July 1973 setting its goal forth to establish an independent Democratic Republic of Oromia. It has later expanded its activities to the West and Southern Ethiopian regions in the inception, expecting that it was to be able to establish the Oromia nation-state. Moreover, the notion of the right of the Oromo to self-determination outside of the Ethiopian context does not have either a widespread international support or there has been no historic nation that can serve the basis for modern Oromia, which the OLF often demands.² From this prospect, it is difficult to say how much support exists for the OLF' agenda of independent Oromia.

On the other hand, OLF forces were loosely organized, while its political movement lacked both legitimacy and mass following among the Oromos whom it claims to represent and most importantly, the Oromos have been the beneficiaries from the land policies of the military regime.³ Therefore, even if the OLF has supposed to represent the largest ethnic group, it did at no time pose any serious threat to the military regime on its own during the course of Ethiopian civil war, and was the least powerful military of the rebel units that toppled Mengistu regime.⁴

After the fall of Mengistu, some OLF leaders have considered to remain part of Ethiopian Federation that was to have provided for substantial regional autonomy. In May 1991, the OLF has allied partially with the EPRDF and held the largest block of 12 seats as a single party next to the EPRDF coalition with 32 out of the 87 Transitional Parliament Seats in the Transitional Charter.⁵ Motivated by the TPLF, OLF became the major opposition party to the ruling coalition government from 1991 to 1992 with other ethnic groups who have strongly asserted their national rights. But OLF's Parliament members have left the coalition of EPRDF on 23rd June 1992, claiming that the democratic power had been "derailed".⁶ Since then, its leadership has disputed to accept EPRDF's control of the existing political institutions. On 29th June 1992, its forces have killed 50 and wounded 30 or more government soldiers, most of them Amharas and Tigreans in 2 attacks in the Western Oromia region, but its insurrection was put don by EPRDF forces easily.⁷

¹ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 163; Ibid., in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.33, No.4 (1995), p. 628

² Ibid., p. 632

³ Harbeson, John W., in: Current History, Vol.92, No.574, May 1993, pp. 211

⁴ Ibid.; Time International, June 10, 1991, p. 16

⁵ The June 21, 1992 Elections in Ethiopia, Washington D.C. 1992, p. 15

⁶ Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.18 8 September 1995, p. 7; Lyons, Terrence, in: Modern African Studies, Vol.34, No.1 (1996), p. 127

⁷ Africa Confidential, Vol.33, No.14, London, 17th July 1992, p. 7; New African Yearbook 1995-1996, p. 153

In early 1995, a number of skirmishes have taken place between government troops and OLF militants that caused imprisonment for several hundred of its members because of its guerrilla activity¹. Since then, unsuccessful mediations had been tried many times to resolve the conflict with the ruling party.² But OLF reportedly remains divided between pro-and anti-dialogue factions where some of its supporters several leaders going into exile and others being engaged in sporadic fighting against the government's security forces. It also campaigns political activities with radical government opponents around Ethiopia's neighbour borders of Kenya, Somalia and Sudan, being helped by the Eritrean government (**who also recruits other Ethiopian opposition groups to fight against the EPRDF government**) and other elements who wish to see a destabilized Ethiopia.³

Against this backdrop, the OLF has been waging a guerrilla war against Ethiopian successive regimes for more than decades since it saw its armed struggle as one of "liberating" the Oromos from Ethiopian "colonialism".⁴ But many Ethiopians see the OLF leaders promoted tendency as a major threat to the country's unity and territorial integrity. Yet, the movement's underlying motives have always been to carve out a distinctively oromo territory which it calls Oromia from the rest of Ethiopia and to develop a cultural identity based on a newly found Oromo nation, that could embrace all provinces except Gondar. According to this brand of Oromo nationalism, being identified with Ethiopia therefore, is not only rejected but also loathed, as this would mean the acceptance of the historical domination of the Oromo inhabited areas by non-Oromo people from other parts of the country⁵ which raises questions on democratic consensus.

Within the context of Ethiopian unity, OLF would have a potential political force to the extent it could mobilize the estimated 40% of the total Ethiopian population behind its program.⁶ It could have embraced a broader agenda of self-determination and resolution to the question of nationalities if it had worked together with the government and other political organizations peacefully. Instead, it has missed the historical opportunity by walking out and vacating its parliamentary seats in the TGE. It could probably have been a viable opposition within the ruling party and would have facilitated with all its attendant legitimacy to organize the Oromo community. In contrary to this, Asafa Jalata prophesied in his book as follows:

¹ Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.8, London, 14 April 1995, pp. 2-3

² Africa Confidential, Vol.33, No.14, 17 July 1992, p. 7; The Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.788, Paris, 22, November 1997, p. 2

³ Africa Confidential, No.873, 2 October 1996, p. 6; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1997, p. 8; Indian Ocean Newsletter, Nos.920 and 924 (Paris October 4th and 7th 2000), pp.7, 6; No.942 (17th March 2001), p. 7; SIPRI Annual Yearbook (2000), p. 20

⁴ Jalata, Asafa (1993), pp. 139-146

⁵ Keller, Edmond, J., in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.33, No.4 (1995), pp. 632-633

⁶ Central Statistical Authority, Addis Ababa, June 1998, pp. 49, 52

"The continuity and the sabotage of transforming the empire peacefully and democratically forced the OLF to withdraw from the coalition government and resume its protracted armed struggle".¹ If OLF's protracted armed struggle will succeed to promote its mission remains questionable.

But if its exiled leadership rejects the legitimacy of Oromo political groups from the outset and is in disarray, OLF's democratic credential can be questionable. Its failure to mobilize the Oromo population may also be attributed to poor organization and lack of conviction on the part of the Oromo about the efficiency of separatism. The distribution of the Oromo over wide areas of Ethiopia may also minimize the sense of belonging to a single ethnic community.² Although it often tries to mount sporadic attacks on government installations through neighbouring Somalia and Kenyan borders,³ it may not succeed to launch effective military campaign against government forces to achieve its aims.

There are many explanations to cite the grave mistakes of OLF's democratic credentials, but they may not save or prevent the organization from destroying its political future. For Example, many fingers have pointed to the OLF that wages war in the southern Ethiopian regions against the regime in Addis Ababa.⁴ In general, the OLF leaders did not learn from all their past mistakes during the previous regimes since the organization was founded. They neither have organized nor mobilized the bulk of the Oromos, which were later to be recruited by EPRDF's coalition OPDO. Even if it has been dedicated to wage sporadic guerrilla activities in parts of south and east of Ethiopia, the organization is facing problems to implement its agenda of liberation or self-determination of the Oromo constituency.⁵ But despite its undoubted influence, the OLF has not been able to inflict any serious damage to its rival (OPDO) forces.

According to many sources, being with no substantiated credible historical existence of the Oromo State, OLF finds it very difficult to pursue its agenda outside the government.⁶ For example, at the time of writing this thesis, OLF has been drawn out by force from Ethiopian territory as well as from its base areas of Somalia and Kenyan borders.⁷ Having sanctuary in Eritrea where there has been a very high tension with Ethiopia due to the border conflict since 1998, OLF leaders have tried to organize anti-government forces.⁸

¹ Jalata, Asafa (1993), p. 177

² Wubneh, and Abate (1988), p. 74

³ Africa Confidential, Vol.38, No.10, 9 May 1997, pp. 5-6; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 14; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 14

⁴ Markakis, John, in: ROAPE, Vol.26, No.80, June 1999, p. 296

⁵ Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.8, 14 April 1995, p. 3; New Africa, No.360, 19 February 1998, p. 21

⁶ Keller, Edmond J., in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.33, No.4 (1995), pp. 632-633; Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.36, No.8, Blackwell publishers, London 1999, pp., 13660, 13666

⁷ Onwumechili, Chuka (1998), pp. 26-27; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, pp. 12-13

⁸ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.38, No.1, January 1st-31st 2001, p. 14277

OLF's chief weakness remained its inability to mobilize and coordinate negotiable activities in the Oromia region. In spite of the large number of Oromo that OLF claims to represent, it either could arouse much interest in Oromo separatism or acknowledge the advantages of peaceful coexistence with its rivals especially the OPDO. While OLF may not succeed by a military action that it has witnessed until the present time, it should cry launching a clear agenda not only to Oromia but also to the Ethiopian people in general, in order to establish a unified leadership and avoid internal division.

Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF): The Tigray Intelligentsia has blamed the Amhara dominated king Haile Selassie and the military regime of Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam for directing capital investment only to the central and southern regions of Ethiopia. Tigray was completely bypassed by economic development under the imperial regime and after its collapse in 1974, there was no single factory in the entire province.¹ The Tigray Intelligentsia colleagues then have started to demand fair representation, equal access to resources and political power for all ethnic groups in Ethiopia.

After King Haile Selassie's regime was overthrown, the caretaker military government has followed the same procedures neglecting the poor Tigray society. As the grievances of the society's demands become worsened, the Tigrean Intelligentsia were concerned to find a solution at their hands by appealing to other Ethiopian ethnic groups who were also economically as well as politically deprived. The educated and commercial classes have formed a regional self-help professional association or social welfare called Tigray National Organization (TNO) in the 1970s.² Its purpose was precisely to supplement government efforts in building schools, clinics, hospitals, or funding a trunk road to some remote parts of their home areas. As the government had failed to take any initiative, to support the association and solve the society's grievances, the TNO had developed into organization that served as the base of political appeal.³

The Provisional Military Administrative Council had intensified Tigrean hostilities, arresting indiscriminately, suspecting them being sympathetic to the Eritrean separatists. Hence, the political oppression and social grievances in the region have forced the Tigray Intelligentsia to change TNO into TPLF in February 1975 in order to launch an armed struggle against political oppression, economic and social marginalization, and cultural discrimination of the Tigrean society.⁴ Many students have joined the organization that helped to strengthen its struggle. As it is explained above, the Tigray Liberation Front was formed first to fight the Self-determination of the people of Tigray and for basic social changes. It was a rebellion against a repressive military

¹ Katsuyoshu Fukui and John Markakis (eds.), (1994), p. 230

² Young, John, Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia (1997), pp. 83-87

³ Wubneh and Abate (1988), p. 71

⁴ Markakis, John, National and Class Conflict (London 1987), p. 253

government but not against a colonial movement like the Umma Party of Sudan or KANU of Kenya did against the British colonial authorities.¹ Hence, it has gone later far from its original political stance of self-determination to an all-Ethiopia United Democratic Front.

It became active in the northern province, whose people have retained a sense of distinct identity based on language and ethnic identity.² It has driven many opposition parties like EPRP and EDU from Tigray and elsewhere whom it called the anti-democratic and obstacle groups for its development.³ After it has began to win control of its home region and became the most successful guerrilla organization in 1982-1983, its main plan were to overthrow the military regime.⁴ In 1988, TPLF has launched a bitter attack on Mengistu's regime powerful military forces and controlled the whole Tigray province after 13 years struggle.⁵ In part, the rise of TPLF was a response to the military regime's denial of provincial and central autonomy and the apparent continuation of Amhara political domination for many years.

The TPLF's declaration as its objective explains to be democratic revolution and national self-determination and believed that internal unity should be based on democracy, equality and mutual benefits. The party was first a radical organization, when it has practiced Scientific Socialism in its stronghold areas forming Marxist-Leninist League of Tigray (MLLT), the political arm of the front which was founded in 1985.⁶ From this prospective, the TPLF has adopted a broader outlook and preferred a political agenda concerning a new democratic order for all Ethiopia within the right of secession, strongly demanded for self-determination and for political and social changes.⁷ After liberating the whole of Tigray, TPLF has created an alliance of other Liberation Movements with essentially regional and ethnic bases to fight the non-Tigrean areas against the military regime.⁸ It has established a base to broaden coalition party in the country and launched another offensive that challenged the military government with a series of major setbacks.⁹ TPLF strategy became successful to create a coalition party (EPRDF), which was a united democratic front to overthrow the Junta in Addis Ababa.¹⁰

On the other side, TPLF members have had a good will for the Eritreans who have fought almost about 30 years for independence (1962-1991), but this caused the party to back-clash

¹ Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Tigray Memorandum presented to the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, September 1983, p. 2

² New African Yearbook, London 1997-1998, p.162

³ Young, John, in: Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 39

⁴ De Waal, Alex, *Famine Crimes* (1997), p. 128

⁵ Henze, Paul, B. (2000), p. 313

⁶ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 157

⁷ Young, John, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.1 (1997), p. 86

⁸ Woodward and Fursyth (1996), p. 101

⁹ Young, John, in: Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 48

¹⁰ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile (1995-1996, 1997-1998), pp. 8, 7

with the concept of Ethiopian historical traditional continuity. Hence, it remained the major element in the EPRDF to overthrow the military regime and implemented a new multi-ethnic state policy determination for Ethiopian nationalities with federal system as the answer to the political problem. For example, as EPRDF came to power, it has opened the door to emerge numerous political parties, which Ethiopia did not experience since its formation as a state.¹ In this sense, it has tried to make remedies that were spoiled by the past consecutive regimes.

In a further development, TPLF has founded an effective rehabilitation organization in its liberated areas (NGO) called Relief Society of Tigray (REST) in 1978. A quasi-autonomous relief administration, presenting itself to the outside world as an independent NGO which has double mission to mobilize the society where it origins by arranging insurgent occupied areas and channel aid which was essential to its subsequent victory in the war and political strategy thereafter.² The Relief Society of Tigray was coordinating relief activities with Church-related and humanitarian organizations like the Catholic Relief Service (CRS) and World Vision repeatedly.³ TPLF and its development has excited many Ethiopian writers that the Tigrayans, who led the revolution to overthrow Mengistu Haile Mariam's ruthless regime, have ancient roots as rulers of Abyssinia. The revolt of Tigrayans against the central government that had been launched for decades certainly made Tigray province the poorest from other regions of Ethiopia. In 1943, the Amhara dominated king Haile Selassie's regime has brutally crushed the first rebellion of Tigray called Woyane I.⁴

As I have mentioned it above, the second revolution of Tigrean's called, Weyane II had started effectively in 1975 in Tigray itself. TPLF has waged a successful modern guerrilla warfare and toppled Mengistu regime's dictatorship.⁵ From this literature and other related information data, the question remains how TPLF deals with the other rival majority ethnic groups and the transition to democratic and economic development in the country. Even if the TPLF and its coalition feel that they did enough and are planning to install their power like Mengistu and other African leaders have done it by neglecting opposition political organization or groups, it is easy to predict that they may fall on the same trap.

Given the complex realities of the current situation and TPLF's government policy character, its formed political pact coalition should be broadened to more inclusiveness. If it is to achieve a genuine commitment and share power with the most significant ethnic groups in the country,

¹ Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 730

² Young, John, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.35, No.1 (1997), p. 85; De Waal, Alex (1997), p. 127 ff.; Clapham, Christopher, Africa and the International System (1996), p. 228

³ Wubneh and Abate (1988), p. 73

⁴ Markakis, John, National and Class Conflict (1987), p. 250; Zewde, Bahru (1991), p. 215; Erlich, Haggai (1994), p. 181

⁵ Erlich, Haggai (1994), p. 182

TPLF has to avoid repeating the past mistakes in order to implement democratic, economic and social developments.

Other Parties

Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP): It was an outgrowth of the shadowy Ethiopian Revolutionary Movement (EPRM), a radical grouping that appeared in the late 1960s among the Ethiopian students in Europe and the United States.¹ By large, EPRP leadership was composed of students, University Professors who had a long-standing solidarity with the Ethiopian Student Movement, trade unions, military among others.² As it was founded, EPRP has revealed to a Marxist-Leninist party in its content of programme and dedicated to the ideas of Socialism. It was the only multi-national political organization in the country with a declared objective to “destroy the rule of feudalism and imperialism” and establish peoples’ democratic republic of the broad masses³. The first group of EPRA fighter was trained by the EPLF and equipped by the Palestinian Liberation Front in the Middle East, and returned to Ethiopia through the Eritrean province.⁴

After Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown, EPRP has continued fighting to overthrow the military regime and planned to use the state apparatus in order to carry out a social revolution. It has also established an army wing called EPRA in its base of northern Ethiopian province Tigray and was actively engaged in military operations against the military regime and other rival political organizations for supremacy. It has conducted fatal tactics of urban guerrilla warfare assassinating Mengistu regime’s officials to end the central government but failed to fulfil its mission.⁵ Consequently, EPRP leaders were hostile to the TPLF by force efforts stimulating what they have derived as Tigray narrow nationalism⁶ and also castigated OLF achievements in Oromia regions. Neither the EPRP nor the TPLF have appreciated the legitimacy of each other’s struggle. Being engaged in all out war to decide which the real representative of Ethiopian people’s could be.⁷

In one way, the EPRP party had initiated an unsuccessful anti-government guerrilla campaign in north central Ethiopia in 1977, which led to its disarray and factionalism. Christopher Clapham writes about this: It had opted the total tactics of urban guerrilla warfare and was mercilessly crushed

¹ Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 293

² Kaplan, Irving (1981), p. 271

³ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 119

⁴ Young, John: Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia (1997), p. 107

⁵ Clapham, Christopher, The Third World Politics (1998), p. 170

⁶ Markakis, John (1987), p. 255

⁷ Abebe Zegeye and Siegfried Pausewang (1994), p. 289

by the military regime during the Red Terror of 1977-1978. EPRP leaders throw themselves into fray adopting postures of alliance with EDU and the Eritrean Liberation Front, which were fighting against the government.¹ On the other way, as relations between the EPRP and TPLF became increasingly fraught, they have to battled for supremacy in Tigray and Gondar areas. But on 2nd March 1978, TPLF has defeated EPRP and several hundred of its members have fled into ELF areas in Eritrea region². Some of its member/leaders were dissolved/surrendered to the notorious military regime and their revolutionary credentials began to be weak and terrific which destroyed themselves. Ghelawdewos Araia writes in his book about the weakness of EPRP as follows:

“EPRP had enjoyed the support of almost the majority of the Ethiopian people. It had consistently fought to maintain Ethiopian unity. It managed to organize and rally its orbit the bulk of the Ethiopian intelligentsia, students, workers and peasants. Nevertheless, the form of struggle pursued by the party was disastrous. It had unnecessary concentrated its forces in the cities and unleashed guerrilla warfare without assessment of its military capability”.³ John Young also writes about the formation and image of EPRP’s political scene in Ethiopia as follows:

“EPRP was pre-eminently an urban-based multi-national student organization that had hoped to assume state power with the collapse of King Haile Selassie’s regime. But increasingly, the party began to appreciate that the struggle for state power would be both longer and more difficult than had been thought earlier and that it would involve struggle in the rural areas. It initiated to operation in the urban center that would promote the conditions that would held its coming to power”.⁴

On the one hand, EPRP has tried to cooperate even with the conservative Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) and other clandestine political organizations to weaken its rivals like TPLF and the military regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam.⁵

On the other hand, although it was committed to overthrow Mengistu Haile Mariam regime, its relations with the TPLF/EPRDF were strained. Failing to assess its weaknesses and internal conflicts, it either formed a genuine cooperation in a consensus political scene or win politically and militarily to mobilize the Ethiopian population and implement what it calls in its programme a popular elected civil government.

Under the prevailing circumstances, the question that needs to be raised is how EPRP could struggle alongside the Ethiopian people and serve as their instrument of combat to pay the necessary sacrifice until what it calls the people’s struggle will be crowned by an inevitable

¹ Clapham, Christopher, *Third World Politics* (1998), p. 170; Kaplan, Irving (1981), p. 217

² Markakis, John (1987), pp. 256-257

³ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 140

⁴ Young, John, *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia* (1997), p. 106

⁵ Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller (1998), p. 308; Young, John, in: Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 40

victory. On the other side, it has advocated violence and was banned/outlawed by all governments.¹

Therefore, even if the internal and external conflicts have appeared since the parties inception, it has initiated to operate in the urban centers that would have promoted the conditions to hold on power. If the struggle for a pluralist and democratic united Ethiopia can be achieved on the basis of equality under the programme of EPRP operating clandestinely, it may take a generation process and no one knows what changes the EPRDF will install in the country.

Ethiopian National Democratic Party (ENDP): This organization was launched on April 2, 1994 by nominal merger of 5 small parties, which have represented in the Transitional Parliament.² It has joined in a widespread debate over the future of Ethiopia constitution. In this process it has opposed the right of secession and favoured private ownership of land in rural areas and the co-existence of private, cooperative and state ownership in urban areas.³ ENDP was one of the few non-EPRDF groups that preferred not to participate in an opposition boycott in the May 1995 general elections and has challenged the EPRDF and other ethnic or regionally based organizations.⁴ ENDP works under the Federal Constitution regulations and competes by peaceful means in the country to implement its programme of action. If such parties get equal access to sources and mass media, they could orient their programmes and may have a good chance to promote democracy significantly.

Gambella People's Democratic Movement (GPDM): Educated Gambella citizens have taken a political initiative in 1979 to form the Gambella People's Democratic Movement. The Gambella society relies highly on peasant agriculture and political consciousness is understood in connection to their daily life.⁵ The GPDM has tried to launch a guerrilla campaign but could not mobilize the Gambella people easily. It has to approach with an appeal to the experienced liberation movements like OLF, TPLF and EPLF, which were operating successfully near its region against the military regime.

TPLF was sympathetic to the GPDM appeal but has set a political demanded for a joint operation. As it has fulfilled the criteria asked by TPLF, it was accepted to operate in strategic interests. GPDM members had then received political and military training in Tigray that has

¹ Ibid., p. 1

² Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 733

³ Arthur Banks and Thomas S. Muller (1998), p. 308; Rock, June, in: ROAPE, Vol.23, No.4 (1996), p. 98

⁴ The Ethiopian Herald, Addis Ababa, 28 May 1995, p. 1

⁵ Young, John, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.37, No.2 (June 1999), p. 326

enabled the organization to attend in conferences held by TPLF. Since then, it became viable to conduct small-scale guerrilla operations in its constituencies supported by TPLF and contributed to the fall of the Military regime in Addis Ababa.¹ After 1992, the GPDM operates in its constituency under the EPRDF guidance of political policies and has representatives in the country's parliament.

Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF): The WSLF was established in 1975 and had long advocated the incorporation of the Somali-speaking Ogaden region into a "Great Somalia."² Reinforced by the Somali regular army personal and weapons during late 1977-1978, the WSLF had gained control of the greater part of Ogaden area.³ But on March 1978, the Ethiopian army had forced it from the areas it invaded and its activity was declined and remained in its base in Somalia, ceasing to advocate violence against the Ethiopian regime.⁴ After the EPRDF came to power, it was invited to participate in the National Conference June of 1-5, 1991 in Addis Ababa and later coalesced with the EPRDF to form a Federation under the Ethiopian unity.⁵

Although there are other Somali factions like Ethiopian Somali Democratic League (ESDL), which was formed on February 10, 1994 by the pro-government Eastern Somali Region groups, the WSLF has tried to gain its control of the region, share power with the ESDL and become member of the EPRDF Coalition party.⁶ The prominent leaders of WSLF foresaw the change in the Ethiopian politics and preferred to use the opportunity of sharing power and work with the EPRDF under the Federal Republic of Ethiopia. They have signed the Transitional Charter and worked to promulgate the Federal Constitution, to the development and rehabilitation of the Western Somali Regional State.⁷

Somali National Regional State is one of the regions, which constitute the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. It is located in the Eastern, Southeastern and Western part of Ethiopia and has 95.6% ethnic Somalis.⁸ From these prospectives, the WSLF leaders seemed to have ended the era of subjugation and oppression by the former Ethiopian Emperor and the military

¹ Ibid., p. 327

² Zartman, William I., *Ripe for Resolution* (1989), pp. 104-105

³ Clapham, Christopher (1998), pp. 214-215; Henze, Paul B. (2000), pp. 295-297

⁴ Zartman, William I., *Ripe for Resolution* (1989), pp. 106-107

⁵ Lyons, Terrence, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington D.C. No.127, 27 August 1991, p. 4

⁶ Arthur C. Banks and Thomas S. Muller (1998), p. 308

⁷ Lyons, Terrence CSIS, No.127, 27 August 1991, p. 4

⁸ Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Addis Ababa, June 1998, p. 52

dictatorship, to start a new chapter.¹ Since the WSLF has assumed to respected the Federal Constitution, it is encouraged by EPRDF, which it is a member, to resolve conflict and disputes by law and order in a peaceful means.

On the accounts of these explanations, formation of parties in the country seems very complicated due to the ethnic based criteria of the government's regulation and political policies. In contrary to these, there are some parties whose position appeals to the historical tradition of great and proud Ethiopian nation continuity under the name of Amhara dominant ethnic group. But because of the contradictory ideological position with the government, they found it difficult to operate in the country. If the criterion to form parties has been in a free democratic process as it states in article 4 of the proclamation No.46/1993, the Ethiopian political scene could have been more attractive to a further democratic move.² Several small ethnic and regional political parties have been formed mostly under the name of democratic indicators/paroles. Having boycotted the 1995 elections, some have participated in the 2000 polls, which gained only a handful of seats,³ but in practice, one can see little democratic credentials. There is no party, which can compete free of ethnic affiliation in all regions. The ethnic based arrangement of party formation brought an illusion, made a complicated situation to a democratic transition, and became an obstacle for the country's future development with its little democratic experience. This, imperative can capture the particular circumstances of Ethiopia's political liberalization in order to understand the fate of its future transition to a democratic system. But again, the question that needs to be raised here is, when the obligation of all political organizations, either those who advocate violence because of power struggle and other related issues or the EPRDF government, which feels that it knows the best what its people needs will think twice to settle the country's chronic problems by peaceful means and promoted democracy.

Political Pressure/Interest Groups: Some pressure groups, religious/social associations, as well as non-government organizations have been active in Ethiopia's political, economic and social structures since decades.⁴ On the other side, the Ethiopian working class has historically been poorly organized and constrained by government regulations. While the country's leaders

¹ Zartman, William I., *Ripe for Resolution* (1989), p. 110

² *Negarit Gezzette*, No.35, Addis Ababa, 15 April 1993, Article 4:2/a-b

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 5

⁴ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 176 ff.

have restricted civic organizations and dismantled them against the ILO and international conventions of freedom of civil liberties.¹

The exercise of civil and political rights has been severely curtailed by consecutive governments. Even if trade unions have attempted general strikes during King Haile Selassie and Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam regimes, they were unable to secure the necessary widespread support to protect their interests. Constitutionally, freedom of association was guaranteed, but it has been severely curtailed as activists loyal to the government have targeted the two largest labour organizations in the country, the Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA) and the Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions (CETU), for control.²

As the EPRDF government came to power, it has encouraged all social associations and pressure groups to organize and protect their interests constitutionally, however, the wave of its leniency did not last long. For example, as it has remarked the lack of support to its policies from the civic organizations, the government has attempted to separate each association and other pressure groups in order to devise for its own purposes. As the authorities have seen that the trade union leaders were being engaged in political activities to defend their legitimate rights, they have imprisoned their members and some of them have fled out of the country.³ The government claims that they have been engaged with the banned political organizations who advocate violence to disrupt the country instead of cooperating to instate their own prior interest and contribute to the society's needs.⁴

Their role and contribution to the Ethiopian political scene was seen very difficult because of deficiency of the political, economic and social situations under the country's consecutive regimes' policies. In this prospective, the confrontation has not been considered to resolve by consensus and peaceful means, instead it has reached a climax of death and live, which became the main obstacle for further development of the Ethiopian civil society.

The Ethiopian Labour Movements: Like in other African countries, Ethiopian labour union movements have developed slowly because of hostile authoritarian legislature. For example, the

¹ ILO Annual Survey of Trade Union Rights (ILO), Brussels 1999, p. 15; The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No.87, Article 4; UNDHR Article 20

² New African No.360, London, February 1998, p. 12

³ ILO Annual Survey of Trade Unions Rights, Brussels (1999), pp. 16-17

⁴ Human Rights Watch World Report, London 1997, pp. 28-29

right to organize was not recognized and freedom of association was not allowed to practice.¹ Many obstacles were placed in the principles of freedom of association that have also impeded the establishment of real labour unions.

From the outset, Ethiopian labour unions have run into numerous difficulties. For example, their financial base and ability to mobilize workers were undermined by low membership that reflected not only under industrialization and the country's sluggish economic performance, but also fears of management reprisals. There has also been lack of training union officers among skilled and unskilled manual workers that proved to be a handicap in the context of drawing up basic union policies developments.² But despite these drawbacks, the combativeness of Ethiopian labour unions have never faltered.

Emperor Haile Selassie's Labour Relations Decree, which had been approved and promulgated by Parliament in 1963 was prompted by a series of labour movement strikes and its leaders were severely punished and disbanded by the King's power.³ The government's hostility to the labour activities was based on the potential movement to grow into the political force, as it did in Kenya and Sudan during nationalist movements for independence. Haile Selassie's regime has limited the growth of labour movement's political activities by maintaining a weak and timid labour force, to attract foreign investment. But in between, the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Union petitioned the government of King Haile Selassie for economic justice. After the petition was considered, it was recognized and registered in 1963, which has led to adopting a new constitution in 1965.⁴

Although the weak labour movement was tolerated, its activities were very closely regulated by the Labour Relations Board, which had operated under the Ministry of National Community Development. The board was empowered to settle disputes and enforce agreements between unions and employers. Hence, even if the government had tried to influence the staff of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Union (CELU) administration and recruitment to control it through the Labour Relations Board, it was resisting strongly against the imperial regime's policies. On the other hand, CELU and its leadership were accused by the left wing movements

¹ Chris Prouty and Eugene Rosenfeld (1994), p. 200

² Schwab, Peter (1985), p. 67

³ Mulatu Wubneh and Yohannes Abate (1988), p. 40

⁴ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 177

of being an arm of the imperial government, whose objective was to prevent the emergence of a free genuine labour movement.¹

After the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie, CELU has had an estimated 250,000 members under its organization. It has voiced opposition to the military rights to rule, condemned and rejected the Provisional Military Administrative Council's direction of revolution, which saddled into power in 1974. CELU has also demanded democratic elections to form civilian government in the country.² But despite harassment by the government's, CELU has been struggling constantly to protect the interests of its members who have played a much bigger part to overthrow the absolute monarchy and the military dictatorship. Its members have demanded not only economic reforms but fundamental political changes as well. CELU became more and more politicized and allied itself with elements of radical intelligentsia, pressing the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) to share power with civilians.³

While CELU members were mostly in urban areas, particularly in Addis Ababa, whose ranks and files of its members has reached over 350,000 by 1984, it could not convince the military but it had continued to protest opposing its takeover of power and demanded it to step down.⁴ By dismantling and purging the challenges of the labour organization, the military government then banned the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Union (CELU) and other civic organizations like Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA) among others. and set a martial law detaining and killing its leadership. For example, the military had proclaimed and instituted a new labour code to curb its political activists that also laid to form affiliated trade union organization called All Ethiopian Trade Union (AETU) under its command.⁵

Despite constitutional guarantees in the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE), workers and farmers were not permitted to organize outside the ETU, Ethiopian Peasants Association (EPA) and Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) approved candidates' slates for all union officials.⁶ The right to strike was recognized in principle, but forbidden in practice. The rank and file of the labour organization timidly accepted AETU and unlike to CELU, many labour members

¹ Wubneh and Abate (1988), p. 41

² Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), pp. 76, 82; Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, New York 1997, p. 36; Kaplan, Irving, Area Handbook Ethiopia (1981), p. 217

³ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 218

⁴ Kaplan, Irving (1981), p. 217; Delury, George E. (1987), p. 332

⁵ Keller, Edmond J (1988), p. 249, Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 88

⁶ The Constitution of People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 1987, Article 4:1

had not developed a strong sense of identification with it. While the leadership of CELU served time in prison, some perished there and only a few have escape and went in exile.¹ The International Labour Union Organization (ILO) has consistently interfered attempting mediation between the Ethiopian consecutive governments and the trade union leaders while they have failed to structure on the base of International standard. But ILO could not convince the Ethiopian governments.²

Upon taking power, the Transitional Government of EPRDF National Charter (TGE) has recognized the right to form and join trade unions but it had dissolved AETU at the national level.³ It has organized elections for new union officials (called ETU), barring former members of the WPE (which had controlled ATEU after 1987) and security personnel from voting and holding office. Similar elections were held in those Ethiopian Peasants Association's (EPA's) that survived the transition.⁴ The EPRDF Transitional Government has convened a national labour Congress to discuss the issue of ETU. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affair was responsible for drafting a new labour code but not the EPRDF party like WPE did. Under the new code, the right of affiliation to international organizations was reserved to the Ethiopian Trade Union (ETU).⁵ For example, workers became free to form and join unions of their own choosing without TGE authorization and this right was exercised extensively. By October 1991, approximately 1,500 unions have existed at the plant and factory levels.⁶

These unions were free of state interference, but the new political parties, especially the EPRDF have been involved later in the formation of some unions, which created friction between the government and the union leaders. In the absence of official guidelines, TGE officials have been tolerant of strikes and protests in the workplaces. But they have tried to prohibit trade unions from acting in an overtly political manner under the Federal Constitution.⁷ The ETU in turn has tried to isolate and block the influence of government supporters on its organization. As the confrontation was escalated, the government has extended to repress any trade union that did

¹ News from Africa Watch/Human Rights Watch, Mengistu's Empty "Democracy", Washington D.C., New York and London, March 1991, p. 5

² Human Rights Watch World Report (London 1997), p. 29

³ Proclamation of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, 22 July 1991, Article 1

⁴ Ibid., Article 1/a

⁵ Negarit Gazette of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, 15th 1993, Proclamation No.46/1993, Article 6:3

⁶ U.S Government Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1991, Department of State for Foreign Affairs (February 1992), p. 131

⁷ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 31; Negarit Gazette Proclamation No.46, 15 April 1993, Article 6:3

not respect the constitution under article 31 which is also incorporated with the International Labour Organization Law Article 8:1.

In general, Ethiopian trade unions have responded decisively to the political events after 1991 like that of 1974. This time the climate was more favourable, and their action has often been very effective. The Ethiopian leaders sought to keep trade union activities and structures under control through new labour legislation decentralised policies every time. Labour union members could not exercise their sovereignty through representatives under the mandate of International Labour Law but only through strictly appointed and enforced government rules. Facing harsh punishments during a struggle for political change, the Ethiopian labour organisation has enabled at least to increase public awareness and keep governments under pressure. Persistent tensions have characterized the government's relations with both (CELU and ETA) of which are accused of being manipulated by other opposition forces to carve civil unrest. For example, the EPRDF government has claimed that foreign agents or clandestine political organizations like the EPRP etc. who hoped to benefit from ensuing anarchy in the country have often used to finance ETA and CETU to operate against the ruling party.¹

The 1995 Ethiopian Constitution further stipulates that all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the laws of the country². But there is a limitation of the right of association that worker providing "essential services" cannot strike. According to the government's adoption, essential services include, air transport, city cleaning and sanitation, electricity power, generation plants, railways, water supplies, Bank and Pharmacies, post and telecommunications, police and fire services.³ The Federal Constitution allows the rights of demonstration for Civic Associations like Trade Unions.⁴ Again, this article has been incorporated from the Constitution of the International Labour Organization Law (ILO) Article 5 which Ethiopia is a party.

Given such climate of suspicion, it is not surprising that abuses have often occurred to dominate the political power. On several occasions, white and blue-collar workers in and around Addis Ababa defied the labour code that prohibits strikes have some times resulted in bloody

¹ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, New York 1997, p. 4; New African, No.360, London, February 1998, p. 21

² The Federal Constitution (1994), Article 9:4

³ ILO Annual Report, Brussels 1999, p. 017

⁴ Proclamation of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Negarit Gazette No.1/1995, Article 30:1

confrontations with the ruling class.¹ Like their predecessors, EPRDF leaders have used more subtle methods to silence those demands to political freedom and social justice. For instance, labour unions involvement in opposition movement was not appreciated in EPRDF's circle.

Because of dissatisfaction, the EPRDF government authorities have de-legalized the apparently over-active national trade unions. Meanwhile, it has created its own breakaway group in the same name in 1994 and refused to recognize the Trade Unions leadership Like King Haile Selassie and Col. Mengistu have done it. For example, pro-government activists have established parallel unions apparently to validate government challenges to the legitimacy of the refractory ones. In this course of action, many workers have fallen as victims to the violence between the AAPO, OLF/opposition forces and security forces.² But for all its organizational and political shortcomings, the trade union movement constitutes a major interest group with structures scattered throughout the country, and seems typically non-ethnic in its composition. Therefore, if the present Ethiopian government's main objective is to implement democratic and economic development in the country as it has often used to forecast in domestic and international media, it should make fundamental political changes that favour citizens to participate and form civic organizations on their choice.³

As it has been cited shortly above, the oldest and most established union in the country is the **Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA)**, that boasts membership to about 120,000 teachers.⁴ Nonetheless, its relations with the Ethiopian alternating governments have been tense. Teachers whose professional careers and family lives were directly affected by the difficult relations between the government and their associations (ETA) have often called for governments to abide by the rule of law in dealing with its members and protested against tyranny.⁵ The ETA has opposed certain aspects of the government's education policies such as regional linguistic education, claiming that it threatened the status of Amharic as national language.⁶ Some teachers who have resisted the government's policy to end the ETA by the old as well as the

¹ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, New York 1997, pp. 38-39

² Ibid., pp. 39, 43; Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), pp. 99-101

³ compare UNDHR Article 20

⁴ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, New York 1997, p. 36

⁵ Mulatu and Abate (1988), p. 53

⁶ Africa South of the Sahara (ASS), 30th Edition, (2001) pp. 488-489

present government were mostly detained, harassed, killed and some were sacked from their jobs on the grounds of their political outlook and social related issues.¹

The present government suspects ETA leaders charging to have led clandestine violent groups allegedly dedicated to urban terrorism and rural insurrection that caused to become some of its leaders under arrest.² The International Labour Organization has also reported that, some teachers were accused of conspiracy against high-level government personnel.³ Therefore, some of its members have been silenced as the government called to weaken the association and its leadership under the guidance of labour proclamation.⁴ In order to normalize the relationships, the EPRDF government says that ETA has to condemn violence, accept the 1995 Constitution, and condemn terrorism in a public statement in which it would also undertake not to cooperate with terrorists.⁵ ETA officials often became targets from the Ethiopian authorities that have apparently determined to use any means to break the trade union. The governments' see trade unions as a hive of opponents and major obstacle to the policy of regionalism on its ethnic policy bases.⁶ The raising concern on ETA is about the impact on its members of new national educational, economic and other social related policies.

The major shortcoming of the government is the failure to address violation of unions' rights and prevent them to participate in management. Instead, it has tried to divide the ETA and register an affiliated group under the same name. The challenge to such competition of political authority would have been better to simultaneously address the issues in area of conflicts and solve in consensus ways.⁷ It has not yet been widely perceived that this accountability could only come about through a consensus and tolerance to each other.

However, inspite of this hostile environment, and various attempts by the ruling party to exercise control over the trade unions, they were able to retain some degree of autonomy, which could give them a capacity for independent action that has often been denied to other pressure groups.¹ Their pre-dominantly urban based organizational structure and the possession of the strike weapons put them in a position to pressurize the government. Overall, there can be little

¹ Ethiopian Register, Vol.6, No.5, Atlanta, Georgia, May 1996, p. 10;
Ethiopian Review, Los Angeles, May-June 1997, p. 26

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1996, pp. 8-9

³ ILO Annual Survey of Trade Unions Rights, Brussels 1999, p. 15

⁴ Negarit Gazette, No.46, Addis Ababa, 15 April 1993, Article 6

⁵ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, New York 1997, p. 53

⁶ Ethiopian Review, Washington D.C., May-June 1997, p. 26

⁷ Personal Discussion with Ex-Ethiopian Trade Union Leader, Mr. Dawi Ebrahim, Amsterdam 13/09/97

doubt that in the past 10 years, trade unions have played a more independent and assertive participatory role in the Ethiopian political life than at any time before 1991.

The concern of Ethiopian teachers association remains respect of freedom of political rights and civil liberties and the government's tolerance to opposition groups. Whatever the problems lay ahead, there has been new opportunity of political and economic reforms in the country which should be played by both the government and any organization that avoids violence. Members and friends of Ethiopian labour unions should hope that time may come where significant democratic participation and better managed economy that will enable to improve workers' living condition and favour political consciousness in the country.

Religious Organizations: More than 80% of Ethiopians adhere to either Islam or Christian belief and the power of both religious organizations has been prodigious and of real consequence to the everyday life of the people.² Ethiopians have long been known to be among most traditional loyal peoples, strong in their adherence to religion, whether Christianity or Islamic worshippers.³ Religious leaders have been influential members of traditional Ethiopian society. The powerful Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the strong religious sentiments of the Ethiopian people quite apparently raised the question of good governance in the country.

The Orthodox Church was part of the imperial regime's inheritance that had provided the legitimacy for its rule. The legacy of Ethiopian Orthodox Church with its traditional religious values retains deep roots in rural Amhara and Tigray society, which has been transmitting legitimacy to the emperor by anointment that brought him to uphold his authority through. In turn, the church has depended on the monarchy as the monarchy depended on the church both politically and ideologically.⁴ Until the downfall of the Monarchy in 1974, it was a national church, financially supported by the government and the 1955 constitution made the emperor "head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church." This status was revoked in 1974, and the church properties were nationalized.¹

To confront the church by the Soviet oriented Socialist military regime since the mid of 1970s, it has created upsetting religious-minded peasants that have caused a major obstacle to the regimes legitimacy. Even with the loss of its economic resources and its power position in

¹ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, New York 1997, p. 36

² Schwab, Peter (1985), p. 92

³ Chris Prouty and Eugene Rosenfeld (1994), p. 266

⁴ Schwab, Peter (1985), p. 86; Eide, Oyvind M. (2000), p. 32, 244 ff.

government, the church has survived as a force in the lives of Ethiopian people with more citizens observing its service rituals and holidays than ever before.² While religious leaders did not entirely escape government harassment and detention, they have been in less vulnerable position than the secular opponents of the system who are/were often dealt with the ruthless state security apparatus, that made many to disappear. Apart from that, the church has become a much more socially conscious institution, which overtakes the state burden with its involvement in famine relief that has often stroke,³ the country. It has contributed to create innovative programmes in the areas of housing, health, education among others.

In contrary to the military regime, the ruling party of EPRDF did not attack the church, challenge the religious sensitivities of the peasants, or ill-treated the parish priests and Muslim religious leaders. Instead, it has permitted religious authorities to become members of executive rural councils linking the organization's social and political objectives to humanitarian and spiritual mission.⁴ However, while TPLF's approach has won the favour of peasants, it did at times restrict the scope of reforms and has left the Church a still powerful and some times suspect institution. John Young again writes in the same edition:

"The military regime's approach to the established church was as ill adapted to winning popular support as its victimization of students and teachers. Distributing Church land was widely approved of, but atheism and attacks on Church dogma, practices and priests were abhorred by the consultative Ethiopian Orthodox peasants".⁵

The military government has used its mass association to urge people to end baptisms, grieving ceremonies, fasting and even attending church. Every opportunity to interfere with church activities and subtle or indirect means of undermining the church were not the only methods used. Ethiopian religious leaders had frequently provided a crucial voice in relation to the denial of human rights and other negative aspects of life under the absolute monarchy and opposing the military authoritarian regime's Socialist Marxist Orthodoxy.¹ In this case, the church had a number of advantages, which other potentially critical autonomous groups in the society were not given. Since Muslims had been denied access to land and have suffered religious discrimination under King Haile Selassie regime, the military regime's proclamations on religious equality and land reform should have won it considerable support from the Muslim community.

¹ Middleton, John, *Encyclopaedia-*, Vol.2, New York 1998, p. 82

² Prouty and Rosenfeld (1994), pp. 62-63

³ Schwab, Peter (1985), p. 94; Eide, Oyvind M. (2000), p. 64

⁴ Young, John, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35; no.1 (1997), p. 96

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174

Oyvind M. Eide writes about this situation as follows: "With few exceptions, Muslims have been prohibited from taking part in Ethiopian political life and mostly barred from positions in the state administration and not allowed to acquire land. Until this was corrected latter by Haile Selassie as a tolerance and political necessity, Muslims were dominant only in the substantial commerce sector".²

Previously, Peter Schwab has written on this case as: "Indeed, unlike some of their Christian counterparts, Muslims had few regrets about the collapse of the monarchy (Haile Selassie regime). But they suffered like their Christian counterparts from harassment of the military regime, and suspicion on the military grew when its opposition to religion became better known. Their Mosques were attacked and the execution of local religious leaders alienated just as similar attacks on churches and parish priests alienated Christians. The attacks on both sides were widely interpreted by the religious communities as an attack on their faith. Mosques were curtailed, the Lutheran Churches had been closed and both Islam and Orthodox Church have had reduced their influence and power".³

With its doctrinaire fixation on the establishment of a Marxist state in Ethiopia, the military regime had provided incapable of understanding the peasants' religious attachments. Like attacks on the educated youth in urban areas' the military assaults on the church, Mosque and their rural representatives were a major cause of peasant estrangement.⁴ John Young writes about this as follows: "If the Ethiopian leaders work within and through the religious overlaid society of the country, demonstrate great sensitivity to the majority of peasants' religious devotion and peace constraints on its reforms, it can also serve to preclude religious based opposition and win the support of peasants for its policies".⁵

On the one hand, the exceptional level of public respect for religious leaders in highly religious Ethiopian society gives them an influence and status which can not easily be ignored by political leaders. On the other hand, the combination of popular legitimacy and organizational strength makes it difficult for authoritarian governments to ban the existence of religious organizations in the way what to other organizations like CELU, ETA etc. had been done. At last, the role of churches and other religious organizations to pressure for democratic change in the country can best be seen as the exercise of influence rather than of power.⁶ Their influence has been enhanced by the fact that religious leaders were not seen as competitors for government's power but as more disinterested participants. The clergy are viewed by both government and

¹ Schwab, Peter (1985), p. 94

² Eide, Oyvind M. (2000), p. 35

³ Ibid., p. 93

⁴ Young, John, Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia (1997), p. 178

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Eide, Oyvind M. (2000), pp. 162-163

opposition figures as having fewer vested interests in the state power and political dominance.¹ In this respect, religion may provide a latent challenge to the regime at the level of popular relief.

As it is the case in Kenya and elsewhere, religious leaders in Ethiopia seem to have enjoyed a semi-protected status nowadays, which could be used to defy an undemocratic government. But to solve national problems of conflict, the question of religious leaders and their role in the wider Ethiopian society needs to be developed. This in turn needs active involvement of both the government and religious organizations to advocate the role of human rights and social justice. They need access to their society when a real influence is needed and the idea of accountability should be well established. For this, both the state and religious organizations should have acknowledged the advantage of peaceful coexistence. The question remains for many Ethiopians how far the relationship will develop ahead under the present political circumstances whereby religious authorities urge freedom of political rights and civil liberties. The church's immediate challenge is also how to be independent of the government financially and administratively.

Students and University Staff: Whilst trade union participation in the struggle for democratic movement has provided an important mass base for political organizations, the involvement of students and professional associations in turn could contribute to produce necessary support for the educated elites. Especially, students are differentiated from the bulk of the Ethiopian population for they possess full literacy.¹ Thus, they are likely to be more politically aware and in a better position to comprehend the nature of the political process in their country. On the one hand, the fact of living together, either on campus or its vicinity makes it relatively easy for students to communicate and to be organized politically. On the other hand, higher education is usually conducted through the medium of a single English language and they have no difficulty in communicating on a national basis and international political arena.

In many cases, sympathetic University academic staffs were often willing to provide students with support and organizational assistance. In its turn, the Ethiopian University Teachers' Association has been demanding fundamental political changes and economic reform. In this respect, Ethiopia, a country where there is little democratic tradition, opposition politics was not known and with poor communication infrastructure, students and university academics have

¹ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 156

voiced the aspiration of citizen's fundamental rights.² Beginning from its inception in the 1960s, the Ethiopian Students Movement has been relentlessly fighting for political rights of the people and had identified its interests with the interests of the broad masses of the country. Being the mouthpiece of the oppressed Ethiopian people, Student Movement has attempted to spread the word of struggle through its various publications, rallies demonstrations and panel discussions.³

The Ethiopian Student movement has not only politicized students but also the government employees, teachers, soldiers, peasants and workers. It has created a forum that had effectively challenged Haile Selassie and his predecessor governments. Ethiopian Students have adopted a critical stance toward the imperial regime. They did not accept the legitimacy of imperial rule because they held it accountable for the country's underdevelopment. Their confrontation was not only with the system but also they were alienated from traditional authority viewing that some of its values became as an obstacle to political change and modernization.⁴ Ethiopian students saw to themselves as being advocates of the masses and the transformation of their own mode of thinking manifested in demands from petty reforms to abolish entire feudo-bourgeois system. Students' political activities have challenged the imperial rule with the tools at their disposal, experiencing Ethiopia's underdevelopment through student's service in which they spent a year teaching in rural areas at the end of their third year of university education.⁵ Hence, they had witnessed the country's poverty and official neglect on the livelihood of peasantry.

The students have not developed vested interest in the system but they felt duty-bound to speak on behalf of the deprived Ethiopians and to the center of national political dissent.⁶ They have tried to exploit every opportunity to embarrass the imperial regime through demonstrations as well as circulating Marxist-Leninist literatures, both official and clandestinely.⁷ Their demands were: Land to the tiller, and demonstrated against a variety of abuses like the detention of destitute, lack of educational opportunities, access to quality of education and succeeded in

¹ World Bank, World Development Report, The State in a Changing World (1997), p. 226

² Markakis, John (1987), pp. 239-242

³ Zewde, Bahru (1991), p. 223

⁴ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 176

⁵ Wagaw, Teshome G. (1990), p. 187 ff.

⁶ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.35, No.3 (1997), p. 389; Zewde, Bahru (1991), p. 221

⁷ Wubneh and Abate (1988), p. 37

politicizing the segments of urban population. In its early stage, the Ethiopian Student Movement had firmly endorsed Marxism-Leninism ideology that became a threat to the imperial rule.¹

The repressive atmosphere of the Ethiopian political scene has forced many student activists to flee their country, particularly to North America and elsewhere, where they could form opposition freely in exile. This ideological bent has found fertile ground among Ethiopian University Students in Northern America and Europe, where freedom of association and expression permitted them to voice their concept against the imperial authoritarian regime.² The Student Movement was anti-imperialist and anti-USA, denouncing the United States as the prime supporter of the imperial regime.

The imperial regime did not take students' agitation seriously, but only partly because it was considered the work of "a few misguided students" and their activities were a new phenomenon in the country. The government was uncertain about measures to adopt curtailment to the student movements in general. Several students were arrested but released soon after fearing, when severe jail sentences were given would have alienated parents and hurt the image of the emperor who had always put a great premium on education.³ Consequently, King Haile Selassie's government failure to address student activities encouraged its spread and growth. They joined CELU and other workers' unions' strikes, supported by CELU that caused social turmoil and brought down the imperial rule. Thus, student activities made an important contribution to the fall of imperial rule.

After the 1974 revolution, most students' population had joined other organizations, demanding a civilian rather than a military government. They were then gunned down by the military during the Red Terror (1977-1978)⁴ and some went to the bush to continue armed struggle until they have succeeded in 1991. Although students have possessed political advantages, being the main producers of Ethiopian political elite in power as well as in opposition, they have been weakened by a number of disadvantages. Apart from the government closure of higher education institutions, they are also extremely vulnerable to violent attacks by the police or the army. In many cases, governments under pressure from student opposition

¹ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.3 (1997), p. 390; Zewde, Bahru (1991), p. 223

² Zewde, Bahru (1991), p. 226

³ Wubneh and Abate (1988), p. 38

⁴ Prouty and Rosenfeld (1994), p. 284

have launched attacks on higher education campuses, which have resulted in large numbers of students being killed or imprisoned.¹

In a significant number of cases, violent repressive state security forces have followed student pro-democracy demonstrations. For example, in January 1993, students have protested in Addis Ababa against the Eritrea referendum that was held in April same year, claiming that the great state of Ethiopia would break and provoke other dominant ethnic regions to follow the same procedure.² Students remained highly critical to the EPRDF's lack of transparency and poor political position towards the opposition parties. In recent developments, some students were arrested and punished severely during a peaceful demonstration on March 21, 1997 while protesting against the government's rigid land reform policy.³ The relationship between the EPRDF government and students did not change much but remains in a high tension. For example, Amnesty International has confirmed in 17th April 2001, that there have been serious confrontations as students rallied demonstrations in a number of Ethiopian universities and schools calling for more civil liberties and the Ethiopian unity among others.⁴

In spite of these weaknesses, Ethiopian students have a long history of opposition to authoritarian governments. They have played an important part in maintaining the core of the political system and provided support for the opposition parties, which had adopted a high political profile in the country's politics. The revolutionary appeals and various democratic issues the students have raised had been permanent nightmares to the authoritarian regimes and remain function of hope to the oppressed Ethiopian people.

The ruling party, whose most of its members were student activists and had been fighting for years before they came to power, may not forget that student activity can contribute significantly to the part of much wider struggle for democratic change. The use of repressing tactics on peaceful compliant from students may in the longer term be counterproductive and will lead to increase opposition camps against the government and a total neglect of legitimacy.

On the other hand, Ethiopian students' community generally faces far greater social, economic and educational difficulties than students do in Kenya and Sudan. Most are

¹ Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1998, p. 164

² Arnold, Guy (1995), p. 34

³ Young, John, in: Third World Quarterly, Vol.19, No.2, June 1998, p. 202

⁴ AI Inde: AFR 25/005/01, Ethiopia: Over 40 Students injured on University Campus; see also Indian Ocean Newsletter, No. 932, 6 January 2001, p. 6; The Economist, London, 26th May 2001, p. 48

economically disadvantaged, and some are the sole breadwinners in their family. Higher education is essential for them to break out the cycle of poverty and ignorance so that they can integrate into the society. However, to my experience a few if any, young Ethiopians or their families can afford the cost of higher education. If there might not be sustainable political and economic reform that will favour the transition to political rights, civil liberties and economic development, the student movements may evolve into armed struggle with the formation of national movements like the EPRDF and its components did before they came to power.

Press and Media: Press freedom in Ethiopia had been severely restricted by Emperor Haile Selassie's reign (1930-1974) and was much worse by his successor Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime (1974-1991). Publications and press organizations were tightly controlled, suppressing the opposition as well as independent opinions violently in both regimes. For example, newspapers, television and radio were official propaganda organs and have been working under the government auspices, especially throughout Mengistu Haile Mariam's almost 17 years brutal rule.¹ The Ministry of Information has published all newspapers in the country, and subjected to censorship laws by the Ministry of Information and National Guidance. Communication media were strictly controlled in Mengistu Haile Mariam's reign by a number of means including censorship.²

The official version of international and domestic events was only presented to a small circle of government officials, teachers, army officers and other members of the educated elites.³ All telephone and telegraph facilities were owned by the regime and have operated by National Board of Telecommunications. Theoretical performances and entertainments were also subjected to censorship, which promoted greater popular discontents.⁴ After the military regime was overthrown in 1991, the EPRDF government has made a commitment to civil liberties and pledged to support freedom of opinion, expression and association rights.⁵ It has respected civil liberties and gazetted Press Law as a "Proclamation to provide for Freedom of the Press".⁶ It

¹ Index and Censorship, Vol.25, No.5 (1996), p. 149; Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller (1998), p. 310

² Cole, Robert (London 1998), p. 13

³ Ofcansky, Thomas P.; Berry, Laverle (1993), p. 253; Encyclopaedia of the Third World, Vol.1 (London 1982), pp. 606-607

⁴ Cole, Robert (London 1998), p. 13

⁵ Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1992, p. 66

⁶ Transitional Government of Ethiopia Press Law, No. 34, Addis Ababa, 21 October 1992, Article 8:3/1

states that “The Press stands for the pursuit of fundamental freedom, peace, democracy, justice, equality and for the acceleration of social and economic development”.¹

After many decades of total government control over the media, the EPRDF government appeared to promise a new era of freedom of expression by abolishing formal censorship bodies that existed for many decades.² The Press Law has allowed an independent and privately-financed press alongside the government-funded official media, which included the television service, radio and a number of newspapers and other government publications in English, Amharic, Oromia, Arabic among others.³

For the first time in Ethiopian history, independent newspapers have flourished after the stagnated military regime was unseated.⁴ More than 200 independent publications, including over 60 newspapers mainly weeklies were registered by the Ministry of Information as required under the 1992 Press Law without hesitation.⁵ In pursuit of these developments, increased press freedom was promised by the EPRDF, but state media was given some limited autonomy since 1996. However, they have presented official views, avoiding to criticize the government etc.⁶ There are also small privately financed media enterprises such as Addis Tribune, Reporter, Monitor, Ethio-Times etc. Press Digest and Seven Days Update Provide Weekly compilations of articles from the state press and the private press in English, which are also available in Internet. Exile Magazines, like Ethiopian Register and Ethiopian Review are mostly barred from distribution in the country while what the government says they ‘contain some articles that advocate armed opposition’.⁷ Moreover, these are written in English and are aimed more at foreign readers than the majority of Ethiopians.

In practice, EPRDF has tolerated numerous critical and sometimes misinformed or abusive articles and cartoons, which were published in the private press without taking action.⁸ But on many occasions, the authorities have taken harsh measures against the private press, particularly over articles reporting on armed conflict which disputes the government.⁹ As a result of arrest and intimidation, the number of independent newspapers and publishers are now reduced much. In addition to that, the print media reach only a tiny segment of the population unsurprisingly, given the levels of poverty, low literacy rates and the fact that newspapers

¹ Ibid., Article 8:4/1

² Reporters Sans Frontières, Paris 1993, p. 106

³ Federal Constitution (1995), Articles 29:5, 29:3/a-b

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, pp. 11-12

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 24

⁶ Index of Censorship, Vol.25, No.5, London 1996, p. 175

⁷ Reporters Sans Frontières, Paris 1996, p. 41

⁸ Index on Censorship, Vol.25, No.3, London 1996, p. 107

⁹ Reporters Sans Frontières, Paris 1996, p. 43

distribution barely extends beyond the capital.¹ The EPRDF authorities have responded harshly to those who accused their policy or particularly officials of embezzlement and abuse of power.² Over a dozen of journalists have fled the country, alleging that they have been persecuted for their professional journalistic activities and their published opinions.³

The chapter of the Press Law relating to “Responsibilities of the Press” has established a number of criminal and impressionable offenses designed to replete the previous legislation that restricts media. The press law sets penalties of up to three years’ imprisonment and/or a fine of up to US\$7,700 equivalent for any press reporting which commits.

- a) any criminal offence against the safety of the state or of the administration or of the national defence force
- b) Any defamation or false accusation against any individual, nation/nationality, people or organization
- c) Any criminal instigation of one nationality against another or incitement of conflict between peoples
- d) Any agitation for war⁴

From this perspective, liability for an offense rests with the editor, journalist or publisher but sometimes other people connected to these newspapers publications, office managers and newspaper distributors have been arrested because of the same published article. In addition to these the government has refused to register a Professional media Association founded by the private Press-the Ethiopian Free Press Journalists Association (EFPJA), which should have been a rival to the official Ethiopian Journalists Association (EJA) that works under the press law.⁵ This has been a violation of the ICCPR Article 22:1 and ACHPR Article 10:1.

The independent Ethiopian Free Press Journalist Association, which operates in exile also claims that, the government authorities have detain a number of editors and journalists. It campaigns against the imprisonment of journalists according to the present government’s Press Law and works with the international media associations, such as the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), of which it is a member.⁶ The government’s clumsy repression of both press and opposition forces created a fierce anti-government private press and security forces continue to target journalists. For example, the EFPJA chairman, Kifle Mulat was arrested on 11 February 1998, for issuing an EFPJA press release listing those journalists previously detained. He has refused to delete the name of 3 detained journalists from the list as the government has claimed,

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 17

² Index on Censorship, Vol.25, No.3, London 1996, p. 106

³ Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1998, p. 164

⁴ The Ethiopian Press Proclamation Law, No.34, Addis Ababa 1992, Article 10:2; Federal Constitution (1995), Article 29:6

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1998, p. 10

⁶ Index on Censorship, Vol.25, No.1, London 1996, p. 175

they were charged with armed conspiracy.¹ Kifle Mulat was sentenced to six months in prison on 9th February for disseminating false information in connection with an article on the 3rd December 1995 issue on alleged attempt to assassinate Mengistu Haile Mariam in Zimbabwe and other related political issues.² On 21 January 1998, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) has issued a strong statement criticizing the Ethiopian government's treatment of the press, echoing earlier criticism by US-based human rights' groups.³

On the other hand, the government frequently claims that arrests and prosecutions under the press law is directed against publications inciting "ethnic hatred," "hate crimes" or "war propaganda." With such explanations, the government maintains to protect press freedom through the press law and points out that it has not banned any publications. In a further statement, the authorities claim that they have lenient rather than oppressive in dealing with critical reporting. They have denied also that the press law is inconsistent with the constitution's commitment to press freedom.⁴ The most commonly used charges against journalists on account of their published articles' have been Article 10:2/c of the Press Law. The vaguely-worded offence of "criminal instigation of one nationality against another or incitement of conflict between peoples," supplemented by article 480 of the Penal Code (1957), which provides for imprisonment to even vaguer offences of "spreading false rumours, suspicion or false charges against the government or public authorities or their related activities."⁵ Therefore, disturbing or inflaming public opinion or creating a danger of public disturbances provides imprisonment to defamation.

There has been numerous cases of journalists arrest for criticizing government policies such as reporting on armed conflict, harassment of opposition, particular government actions where official information was scarce, were particularly targeted.⁶ On the other hand, there is some justification for the government's views that some independent publishers and journalists were partisans of Col. Mengistu; the late Emperor Haile Selassie; and others who are affiliated to various ethnic insurgent groups. The government officials believe that opposition groups and former military officials have manipulated the private press as part of their hidden agenda. For example, in the words of Mahteme Solomon, who was minister of Justice, their papers (journalists) orchestrated a continuation of war.⁷ Speaking of the private press, Prime Minister

¹ Reporters Sans Frontieres, (1999), p. 41

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 7; Index on Censorship, No.3, London 1997, p. 117

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1998, p. 10

⁴ Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1999, p. 39

⁵ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, London, December 1997, p. 31

⁶ Index on Censorship, Vol.25, No.2, London 1996, p. 88; Reporters Sans Frontieres, (1999), p. 40

⁷ Addis Digest, No.6/7, Addis Ababa, September-October 1995, p. 20

Meles Zenawi has also told reporters that he "had seen or heard of no improvement in the quality of the press products, which still dwell on destructive and war-inciting false propaganda".¹ However, this does not justify enough the state's intolerance of the expression on opposing viewpoints and there is still no sign of genuine change in the official attitude toward the private press.

In the battle of political control, Ethiopian journalists have been paying a heavy price. The accusations of defamation involve fair criticism of government officials, speech that is protected by Article 19 of the ICCPR and other international standards. But after centuries of feudal rule, 17 years of Communist-military dictatorship, almost three decades of civil war, and no tradition of an independent Press before 1992, Ethiopia is at a crossroads and media are still a battleground.² As one of the African Continent's youngest exercising the transition to democracy, the door was open in Ethiopia that could have served as a true example for political development. But its leaders have established orders that sacrifice freedom of expression and human rights.³ Ethiopia then, joined the ranks of neighbours like Kenya and Sudan whose leaders have assumed office promising respect for press freedom, political and civil rights, but who have since broken these and other related pledges.⁴ They only have paid lip-service to democracy and are trying to gag those media that are not on their side.

Radio and Television: Radio remains the medium that has been most effective to reach at geographically dispersed and linguistically diverse population of Ethiopia. Its role in the development of media is a significant one, especially for the large segments of the population that have little or no access to news to the country outside their own regions. Theoretically, private radio stations are allowed or permitted under the media law⁵. But despite economic liberalization, they remain firmly under government's control. As part of devolution, the government encourages broadcasting in local languages and the formation of regional radio stations.¹

On the other hand, the state monopoly of disseminating information continues to restrict Ethiopian citizens' ability to make informal decisions. The government might be worried of opening up the market place to competition from private broadcaster investors who may offer superior programs as the government's relatively low production values of radio and television

¹ BBC Monitoring Service, Africa, "Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi Urges Government Openness," London, 28 August 1996

² Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.916, 9 September 2001, p. 6

³ Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), p. 35

⁴ Reporters Sans Frontieres (1993, 1996, 1999), pp. 1, 3; 11-13; 15

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, p. 24

editorial qualities. The government has successfully resisted the establishment of private broadcasting facilities with the exception of some private Radio that ostensibly work but belongs to the ruling party members.² However, the compliance by domestic and international community of media has not stopped to urge the government's maintenance of media control. The Ethiopian Television broadcasts under the government auspices. However, importing of satellite dishes for commercial purposes remains illegal, and restrictions on the movement of satellite dishes within the country are in effect. On the other hand, the government has announced that the minister of information would shortly be issuing a Broadcasting Law to open the way for the establishment of private television and radio stations in January 1998 that might have also included satellite dishes.³ But how far the broadcasting regulations and licensing was promoted due to fearing of the likely political implications of private news broadcasts is another open question.

Despite failure in broadcasting, the print media exemplifies changes in the past 10 years in terms of pluralism, political views and the primacy of free-market economies, although the government publications remain heavily subsidized. Notwithstanding the repression, which they face, the private print media remain vigorous and healthy, even if they are read only by a narrow segment of the urban population⁴. But the circulation is poor due to both rural concentrations of media and low literacy in the country, a burden that may worsen repression further.

News Agencies: As it has been explained earlier in this topic, Ethiopia's track record with its local and foreign media has been clumsy, that is often viewed with a lot of suspicion.⁵ Foreign journalists, of whom there were few based in the country, have worked under considerable difficulties from the authorities while they were trailed in all cases wherever they go.⁶

The domestic news facility is the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and a number of foreign bureaus maintain offices at Addis Ababa, which is also available in the Internet. Regional reports from international wire services, such as Agency France Press (AFP), Associate Press (AP), Reuters, BBC and CNN are incorporated into the Ethiopian News Agency English wire. All reports of military matters to both domestic and international media have been channeled

¹ EIU Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 17

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 18

³ Ibid.

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, pp. 11-12

⁵ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.9, No.8/A, London and Washington, December 1997, p. 31

⁶ Reporters Sans Frontieres (Paris 1992, 1993), pp. 66, 106

through an official government spokesperson, with little opportunities to critical questioning.¹ Foreign journalists are obliged to fill a number of formula at the airport, something that which doesn't happen in other African countries." Regulations introduced on 22nd January 1998 had obliged journalists to apply visa for 15 days in advance and to provide details of interviews and writing what they wanted to undertake while in Ethiopia.²

Even without the new regulations in place, it has been very difficult for foreign journalists to visit Ethiopia and the situation has not practically changed much. But after more prompted extensive protests from the Nairobi-based Foreign Correspondent Association (Media for Democracy (MED), the government has reversed a decision to restrict foreign journalists. On 20th February 1998, the Ministry of Information has announced the lifting of new visa restrictions placed upon foreign journalists.³ The swift reversal of the policy seemed to reflect a realization that such restrictions would inevitably prove to be counter-productive to the government's political image. Meanwhile, the Ethiopian government has improved to use the modern communication "Internet" in order to disseminate private news responding to the conflict propaganda with Eritrea internationally. Because they had overall, supported the government's position.⁴ But the Internet media communication has virtually no impact at all within Ethiopia, and remains the government's main means by which the vast Ethiopian Diaspora in the West particularly, the donor countries like the United States and elsewhere, could follow the conflict. On the other way, the government fears of electronic news dissemination by Diaspora communities hostile to its policies, while virulent anti-EPRDF propaganda circulates on the Internet, predominantly from North America and Europe.⁵

In order to fulfill its constitutional responsibilities as well as its treaty obligations under the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and African Charter for Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), the Ethiopian government needs to regulate the exercise of freedom of expression and should frame clearly and explicitly in respect to what is permitted and what should be criminalized. The press needs adjustments accompanied by a shift in the political and economic winds of Africa, including increased qualitative and serious training of journalists.

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 13

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1998, pp. 9-10

³ Ibid., p. 10

⁴ Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1999, p. 39

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 18

Regarding the offence of 'publication of false information,' regulations on press freedoms should allow for a wide latitude of reporting in the interests of concerning open discussion on matters of legitimate public concern. Otherwise, they place disproportionate restrictions on freedom of expression, which cannot be justified under international standards as being necessary in a democratic society. Freedom of expression and information are nationally and internationally recognized rights, set out in the Ethiopian Constitution theoretically in connection to the ICCPR (Article 22:1), ACHPR (Article 10:1) etc. to which the country is a party. For example, Article 5 of the Ethiopian Press Act authorizes foreign media outlets, international organizations and Embassies in the country to carry on press activities they deem necessary for the accomplishment of their mission.¹

However, Article 8:3-4 put serious constraints on press access to information that the Council of Representatives and the Council of Ministers have designed as secret or classified. Under these articles, editors and publishers are held responsible for the information they publish and may be required by Court order to record sources of information, names of correspondents and authors of articles to facilitate police work. The possible limitations on freedom of expression required to safeguard limited and legitimate national security, as by preventing publication of military secrets under Article 19:2/a-b ICCPR are described in Article 19:3 that any restrictions must be proved by law.

The interpretation of ICCPR Article 19 shows a consensus that peaceful criticism of governmental policies does not amount to a threat of national security and free expression is permissible. The freedom of press and the development of a well-informed society where the right to information is respected are closely connected to the enjoyment of the full range of human rights, civil liberties, political, social, economic and cultural rights. The present government's intensified attacks against the private press have put it at the forefront of repression of the press in Africa, despite its claims to well-come a free and critical press immediately as it came to power at the end of 1991.²

Generally, there seems to be no open ban but one experiences a deliberate pattern of suppression and frequent persistent rejection of international criticism. The balance between

¹ Press Proclamation No.34/1992, Addis Ababa, Article 5

² News from Africa Watch, Vol.4, No.7, 8 May 1992, pp. 1-3; Reporters Sans Frontieres (Paris 1993, 1999), pp. 106, 7; Amnesty International Report AFR 25/10/98, London, April 1998; Addis Tribune, Ethiopia:

protecting press freedom and protecting national security or the reputation of officials has been tipped in the government's favour. The right to information has been severely and unjustifiably diminished. *What domestic and the international communities should be concerned is that whether media in Ethiopia is used for the intention of exercising freedom and human rights under the international standard or otherwise.*

If there is a support of establishment and creation of awareness among citizens' on public issues, politics and international relations, it can be one of the solutions. On the other side as one experiences from South Africa and elsewhere, news media can be vital to democratic decision-making, consultation and negotiating rights for the workforce of citizens', national reconciliation, including defending human rights in order to protect and promote democratic liberties. What remains for those who are concerned is, whether the Ethiopian government or any media agency, should pay more attention to implement it properly. The stance that the present Ethiopian government's administration chooses to adopt forward the independent press will have significant repercussion.¹

The existence of free press in the country is dependent upon a clear commitment from the government to support the development of private media and to lift restrictions on reporting and competition of independent sector. Media liberalization in the country still makes little progress.² What should be expected from the EPRDF authorities is that they promote press media on the right stage, encourage and safeguard freedom of expression and human rights.

3.2.1.2 Elections and Citizens' Participation

Election events have an impact on the research while they help to demonstrate the political process of a country.³ An examination of the electoral process also illustrates the relationship with the limits of state power and its institutions, gives references to elite competition, legitimacy, party competition, and other related issues that can measure democratic values. They should also educate matters about policy choices, the right to form political parties or organizations to influence or oppose the existing government, organize interest groups among others.¹ This in turn can make clear what differences in the type of political systems the elections represent whether it is competitive, semi-competitive, non-competitive and demonstrate the diversity of organizational execution. For example, the elections of 1996 in Sudan were efforts to restore

Journalists in Prison-Press Freedom under Attack, Addis Ababa, 31 December 1999, p. 2

¹ Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1999, p. 39

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London November 2000, p. 13

³ Tordoff, William (1997), pp. 138-140

legitimacy to a regime that was seriously discredited due to its Islamic fundamentalist ideology in the region while it has banned other parties from participation.²

Similar concerns have fostered the 1992 elections to implement multi-party politics in Kenya and the creation of one party dominated democracy in Ethiopia since 1995. For Kenya, the problem of regime legitimacy does not become an issue, because it had maintained relatively high levels of legitimacy and stability through the post-independent period.³ The Kenyan ruling elite has maintained its legitimacy in spite of authoritarian tendencies and marked disparities in income and well being. Similar to this, the present Ethiopian leaders have worked as possible as they could to deal with the tension between political participation and control using elections to limit elite power and domination in the ways which was designed to foster legitimacy.⁴ On the one hand, the question remains here whether legitimacy requires equality or any other set of values or citizens' believe that the political system operates properly. On the other hand, they perceive their own values that reflect in the distribution of power and other related benefits.

What is striking in the election context can be the extent to which political elites in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan define controls and benefits from the electoral process in ways that go far beyond their role. The role of elites in the three countries is crucial in defining the parameters of the election process and has ensured that it operates only as the governments' efforts have demonstrated it. The temptation to manipulate the process and create the impression of legitimacy or seeking to obtain legitimacy illegitimately has been, in effect frequently hard for citizens' to resist. These cases have illustrated sharp limits to how much manipulation will be tolerated and prevent the erosion of legitimacy and loss of popular support. For example, elections have been held primarily in response to crises of legitimacy but they have mostly failed to produce what was expected. The countries' ruling parties have used elections to exclude minority factions and their supporters, demonstrate considerable manipulation and control of power.⁵

Thus, the governments' of the three countries have used elections in an attempt to establish a legitimacy that had become badly tarnished due to the ethnic conflict and political mal-administration. Several of the cases discussed in this section illustrate intense internal conflict

¹ Dahl, Robert A. (2000), pp. 85, 90

² Sudan Human Rights Voice, London, March-June 1996, p. 3

³ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.3, (1997), pp. 718-719; Southall, Roger, in: *ROAPE*, Vol.26, No.79 (1999), p. 94

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 8

⁵ *Africa Confidential*, Vol.37, No. 15 November 1996, p. 7; Southall, Roger, in: *Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE)*, Vol.26, No.7 (March 1999), p. 98; *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1st-31st 2000, p. 13967, *Ibid.*, February 1st-28th 2001, p. 14297; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London, June 2001, p. 8

about political legitimacy and an underlying lack of consensus about the values to be enshrined in the state institutions. Elections in the three countries did not provide a vital mechanism for demonstrating and asserting legitimacy. Instead, they have frequently failed to confirm democratic reforms that could have played more significant political role and provide instruments open to civil society like trade unions, religious organizations, media and all other types of interest groups. In pursuit of this context, the following questions need to be raised in connection to this section.

1. What were the essential election characteristics that had been held in the three countries?
2. Were there institutional conditions that could have allowed democratic elections?
3. Were freedom of political rights and civil liberties respected during the election process?

These and other questions that have been raised previously will be analyzed in this section during the examination of the three countries' election processes.

Elections in Ethiopia: According to the constitution of the monarchy (which was revised in 1955), both men and women Ethiopians should vote for national representatives under the universal suffrage.¹ But with a widespread illiteracy and lack of viable communication infrastructure, most people have comprehended neither the issues nor the election process of deputies who were largely continuously being appointed to the chamber.²

The imperial authority thus, has provided a framework within which decisions could be worked out partially and inefficiently. The Emperor has not only controlled the organ of the government machinery and other apparatus, but had also directly ordered all ramifications of the state including the administrative regions and districts.³ Even if there was parliament, Council of Ministers or other authorized institutions etc. power rested in the hands of the King, where he has dictated all walks of political life in the country. To sustain legitimacy, a process of election was held every four years under the king's supremacy until the semi-illiterate military regime had suspended it in 1974.

In a further development, constitution of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) article 63 stipulates that Ethiopian citizens should elect the supreme organ of the state power, which should represent to delegate the people in the country.⁴ While the military regime has needed legitimacy for its authoritarian power and it had conducted an election in 1987 to select members of the legislative body under the Election Proclamation No.314 what was called the People's Assembly in the then Soviet style single party (WPE) system that existed until 1991.

¹ The Ethiopian Imperial Constitution, Addis Ababa 1955, Article 93

² Prouty and Eugene (1994), p. 103

³ Fred Halliday and Maxine Molyneux (1981), p. 70

⁴ The Constitution of Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE), Addis Ababa 1987, Article 63

Given the proclamation and formation of electoral districts, it reminds observers that the conducted elections were phony which could be important to discuss as far as the regime's character was concerned. In the election process, Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) has solely determined the nomination of candidates.¹ As I remember, the election purposes did not matter as long as a candidate was loyal to the government. Elections have taken place partially while millions of people who were in the areas controlled by TPLF (Tigray) and EPLF (the Ethiopian province Eritrea) were not able to vote.²

In all aspects of the military dominated PDRE system, the supreme organ of the state has suffered to be as instrument to a one personal dictatorship and isolated the masses systematically from political participation to countercheck the parliament. When they have elected peoples' power was curved indirectly. Mengistu regime's Constitution was not in the nature of implementing democratic party state and grant genuine political democracy, but to install military dictatorship. No matter what the prescription of the constitution was, it has only operated within the framework of the military guided "revolution" and could not express different ideas that can favour freedom of political rights and civil liberties in Ethiopia, that led to its demise.

Therefore, elections have lost their credibility as they were conducted during the absolute Monarchy and the military rule, because they were implemented in non-party and non-competitive processes. As it had promised to conduct democratic elections when it came to power, the EPRDF led government had reorganized the country's regions setting up into 47 ethnic groups, which it called them "nationalities" to compile councils in its transitional period.³ Based on this, the TGE has established new administration and legal structure before the elections have taken place.⁴ The TGE has issued proclamations that allowed the establishment of regional councils, authorized to exercise some autonomy in promulgating legislation and implementing policies, for regions based upon ethnic lines. Designing on its article of electoral regulations, it has also provided regional and local elections to take place.⁵ The 1991 further development of Ethiopian political transition, which has attempted to revalue the electoral process, can be linked to one of the first steps taken in other African countries towards democracy.

¹ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 94

² Young, John, in: Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), pp. 39, 47

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, p. 10

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p.7; see also Map VIII, 1.b

⁵ Negarit Gazette of Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE), Addis Ababa, 22 July 1991, Articles 12-13; National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, *African American Institute* (1992), p. 21

Accordingly, the elected regional and local representatives were designed to empower Ethiopian nationality groups by decentralizing authority and create a federal structure of government. This approach has demonstrated the political platform of EPRDF, which dominated the TGE. But, it was at first endorsed by the goal of decentralization, which also has enjoyed by the then tactical TGE partner, OLF that sought autonomy in its constituency of Oromia region.¹ In February 1992, National Election Council (NEC) that comprised 10 members was set and empowered to organize an electoral process, which was drawn from the TGE Council of Representatives in December 1991. It seemed in the beginning to reflect the balance of political forces within the Council, representing different parties and interest associations.² In the country's absence of democratic constitutional order and lack of democratic institutional history, the organizational structure of the election was set in a workable fashion. But by controlling the election-related responsibilities, EPRDF could easily marginalize its opponents that were forced to boycott and call for armed struggle to implement their mission.³ Indeed, as elections in Ethiopia are concerned, many think this does not appear to be the case for reasons that will be discussed in the net proceedings.

The 1992 Local and Regional Elections

The local and regional elections have marked relative efficiency and peace. But the election events and national media etc. were controlled by the state and could not be judged with on the basis of universal election standard.⁴ The Transitional Government of Ethiopia has invited an international observer group to witness the election. About 200 observers were designated by 23 nations, among them the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs for African American Institute among others. The German political foundation Heinrich Boell (affiliated with the Green Party) has arranged logistics for the Election developments. Members of the United Nations personal living in Ethiopia have also participated in the observer operation.⁵

On one hand, the withdrawal of opposition parties has led many Ethiopian and the international community to doubt the competitive nature of the local and regional elections. On the other hand, the EPRDF's step toward a multi-party democracy was appreciated, but the lack of credible opposition that characterized the June 21, 1992 elections has undermined the

¹ Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.8, London, 8 September 1995, p. 7

² Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) Election Commission Bulletin Press Release, No.1, Addis Ababa, 27 July 1992, p. 5; National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, African-American Institute (Washington D.C. 1992), p. 19

³ Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.38, London September 1995, p. 7

⁴ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.35, No.3, London 1997, p. 400; Ibid., Vol.35, No.4 (1997), p. 736

⁵ National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, African-American Institute (Washington D.C. 1992), p. 59

government's democratic reform process. The opposition parties who have boycotted did not legitimize the elections, instead they pressed for the scheduling of new elections and demanded an even more extensive international pressure to ensure the fairness of the process.¹

Voting did not take place in some locations because of lack of information, voting materials or insufficient training of election officers. Intimidation by both the EPRDF based government and opposition like the OLF against local population of the EPRDF affiliated administration was reported.² But the election observers have concluded that, it was a step in the right direction toward democratization. It has also estimated voters' turnout at 80% where elections have been conducted. According to the NEC report, the election results for 1,147 contested regional and local councils, EPRDF and its affiliated groups had won 1,108 seats. According to the observed literature data on the 1992 elections, the break down of the 1992 election results among parties and independent candidates were distributed as: EPRDF 81 (7.06%); EPDM 279 (24.32%); OPDO 433 (37.75%); TPLF 243 (21.19%); 8 small parties 97 (8.46%); and independent candidates 14 (1.22%) which brought the total number of seats 1,147 (100%).³

Given a little-competitive nature of the elections, not much popular interest has existed to monitor the counting process or learn about the outcome of particular elections. The withdrawal of the main opposition parties (especially OLF) 4 days before the elections,⁴ which had invested heavily in preparing it, was a major blow to the credibility of the election process and a transition to democracy, that brought enormous challenge to the TGE.

Despite what might have been the TGE's intentions, the 1992 voting exercise did not teach the majority of Ethiopian population regarding about genuine multi-party elections and policy choices. Instead, it has presented a sterile and formalistic affair, which has disappointed many Ethiopians and their friends in the international community. The objective that societies like Ethiopia should move towards the atmosphere of political freedoms that would have promoted a liable transition to democracy were abused. The political organizations and their supporters have also buried the open chance to a democratic transition preferring to struggle for their own interest.⁵ From this prospective, the June 21, 1992 local and regional elections have exacerbated

¹ Lyons, Terrence, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.34, No.1 (1996), p. 127

² Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.3 (1997), p. 399

³ National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, *African-American Institute* (1992), p. 34; *African Research Bulletin*, June 1st-30th, London 1994, p. 11471; Lyons, Terrence, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.34, No.1, (March 1996), p. 128; *Africa Today*, 3rd edition, London 1996, pp. 732-733; National Election Commission, *Negarit Gazette Proclamation*, Addis Ababa, 27 July 1992; *The TGE Press Release No.1, Election Commission Bulletin*, Addis Ababa, 15 August 1992

⁴ Woodward and Forsyth (1996), p. 101

⁵ *Africa Confidential*, Vol.33, No.14, London, July 1992, p. 7

the by existing tensions reinforcing the hegemonic power of EPRDF while marginalizing other pledging democratic parties.¹ The withdrawal of the main opposition party from TGE and the return to war in some regions like Oromia became the central factor.² Due to the lack of these disparities, many voters in several regions could only select individuals designed by the EPRDF and its allies, which won about (96.6%) regional and national assemblies and the rest (3.4%) went to other small parties and independent candidates.³ From the very beginning, registration did not occur in an open and transparent process by the vast majority of eligible voters. Whereby in Afar, Somali and Harar regions were postponed due to logistical differences and security problems. The International Observer groups have reported that "the conditions under which open political competition could take place did not exist in most areas of the country. In contrary to this, the TGE has insisted that the elections have represented a significant step toward the establishment of a democratic political order, and they were 'a remarkable success'".⁴

Before the elections have taken place, the ruling party has insisted that any groups, which have denounced violence and accept the rules developed by the EPRDF could participate. However, the major opposition parties have rejected the EPRDF's formula and some have focused strategy on appealing to the Western democratic countries, particularly the United States, to use its influence and convince the TGE to engage in talks on the agenda that could include all political parties.⁵ Other opposition leaders have tried to increase their influence during the transition by participating in a series of meetings in the country as well as in exile. They have also tried to build a coalition that united the major political forces outside the EPRDF's transitional political framework.⁶

As the opposition has tried to increase its leverage and find a means to reform the transition by holding a "Peace and Reconciliation Conference," the EPRDF has boycotted the proceedings and arrested some dissident leaders what it called, they were engaged in criminal acts during the previous regime's.⁷ At last, these elections have created new political facts that the EPRDF dominated regional and district assemblies remained controversial in regions where the elections were marred in doubt and suspicion. It has left many important questions that could not be answered in the Ethiopian political scene until the present time. The dilemma has been how the

¹ Woodward, Peter; Forsyth, Murray (1996), p. 101

² Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.8, 14 April 1995, pp. 2-3

³ Lyons, Terrence, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.34, No.1 (1996), p. 127

⁴ The National Election Commission Bulletin Press Release, No.1, Addis Ababa, 27 July 1992

⁵ Woodward, Peter; Forsyth, Murray (1996), p. 102

⁶ Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.562, Paris, 13 February 1993, p. 3; The Washington Post, 18 February 1993, p. A33; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.658, Paris, 11 February 1995, p. 3

⁷ The Washington Post, 18 December 1993, p. A22; Ibid., 23 December 1993, p. A16

observed challenge in Ethiopia could have been transformed to lessons desired by the majority of the population into a pluralist society and policies that would have permitted the emergence of a genuine multi-party democracy.

Given those shortcomings, the question whether the June 21, 1992 elections did contribute to promote democratic development as it states in the TGE programme what it meant that could lead the country towards a democratic transition has been doubtful.¹ To observe more what has been achieved after the 1992 elections in the Ethiopian political scene and its characteristics the strategy of EPRDF and its affiliates and opposition parties can be judged in the following consecutive elections. All of them have an agenda of democratic implementation, but the reliability of their democratic credential remains the point of uncertainty.

The June 1994 Elections for Constituent Assembly

Next to the regional and local elections (1992), the Ethiopian people have elected a Constituent Assembly on June 5, 1994 for the first time in the country's history. Accordingly, out of the total 23 million eligible voters, 15,162,725 (65.93%) were registered to choose 547-members of the National Assembly. The Office of the National Elections Board of Ethiopia Statistical Bureau in Addis Ababa and other sources have reported that, 13,187,000 (86.97%) of those registered went to the polls.²

The NEB has indicated that in the number of illustrated member of constituencies, the ruling EPRDF group has won polling stations in each region, which was justified by other political organizations and independent candidates.³ There were 534 party candidates from 39 political organizations mostly EPRDF affiliated, and 937 candidates from whom 60% of them claimed to have been independent⁴. Accordingly, the Constituent Assembly's responsibility was to approve a constitutional framework for a new decentralized political system, which seeks to enshrine the nation of a voluntary union between ethnically defined regions established by the TGE, that comprised mostly ethnic based parties and independent groups.⁵

Domestic and international observers have seen the Ethiopian steps as a major departure for Africa that started to recognize different nationalities, allow for the right of self-determination

¹ The TGE Charter Proclamation No.7/1992, Addis Ababa, January 1992

² The Washington Post, 6 June 1994, p. A13; The National Election Board of Ethiopia, Election Update, No.2, Addis Ababa, 4 June 1994; Africa Confidential, Vol.35, No.13, London 1994, p. 3; EIU Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 7; Rock, June, in: Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE), Vol.23, No.67 (1996), 97

³ African Research Bulletin, London, June 1994, p. 11470

⁴ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.35, No.3 (1997), p. 402

⁵ Proclamation No.46 of the Ethiopian Transitional Government, Addis Ababa, 15 April 1993, Article 2/c, Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) Charter, 22 July 1991, Article 39

up to, and including secession under complicated conditions. For example, 18 Western Embassies and donor Groups have congratulated the Assembly for the government's open debate, its free expression of dissenting views, and have declared the process as 'an important milestone on the path towards the establishment of democracy in Ethiopia'.¹ According to the government's English daily Newspaper, The Ethiopian Herald reports, 148 foreign observers from U.S., Europe, Asia and International Agencies like UNDP have monitored the elections and 448 domestic observers have also been engaged in the election venture.² The prominent of them, the Ethiopian Congress for Democracy (ECD), a non-governmental civic organization has compiled a report about the outcome of the elections that 'the level of competitiveness and inclusiveness among others was low', and for this reason found it 'doubtful whether the elected members of the Assembly would satisfactorily represent the range of Ethiopian opinions on the constitution'.³

Like the 1992 regional and local elections, major opposition parties have again boycotted the polls. The EPRDF swept the board winning 484 of the 547 seats on the assembly and 63 went to independent candidates and the parties who have participated in the elections.⁴ The main EPRDF affiliates ANDM, OPDO and TPLF have also made it clear that they have swept in their own constituent areas. Only in Addis Ababa did genuinely won 8 independent candidates of the 22 seats assigned by the National Election Board (NEB).⁵ The government was strengthened to some extent by these election results, but it has faced serious challenges among the Amhara's, the traditional ruling ethnic group who felt relegated to a less dominant position, as well as the Somali ethnic groups who have enormous disagreements between them.⁶ Opposition parties, which draw their main support from the Amhara ethnic group have argued that a draft constitution likely to be approved by the 1994 elected body, could lead to the disintegration of the country by granting the rights of secession to its many ethnic groups.⁷

In the 1994 constituent election process, many non-EPRDF Constituencies, independent candidates have received surprisingly low votes. This event can be understood that most of them might have failed to attract voters while they are mostly urban-based. In Oromia (Region 4), Somali (Region 5), Benshangul (Region 6) and Southern People's Regional Administration (Regions 7-11) elections were either postponed or did not take place partially on time in some

¹ Quoted and published in Ethiopian Register, Los Angeles, January 1995, pp. 64-65

² The Ethiopian Herald, Addis Ababa, 4th June 1994, p. 1 ff.

³ Ethiopian Congress for Democracy, Constitutional Assembly Election Monitoring Mission Summary Report, Addis Ababa, 22 June 1994, p. 7

⁴ The Washington Post, 6 June 1994, p. A13; Africa Confidential, Vol.35, No.13, 1st July 1994, p. 3

⁵ New African Yearbook (London 1995-1996, 1997-1998), pp. 154, 169

⁶ Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 733; New African Yearbook 1997-1998, pp. 168-169

⁷ Africa Research Bulletin, June 1st-30th, London 1994, p. p. 11470

constituencies because of political feuds.¹ It can also be either due to the absence of clear-cut zonal locations or cancellations of results by the NEB. Like the 1992 regional and local elections, the results of June 1994 Constituent Assembly elections have caused alarm and doubt on the EPRDF's political democratic credentials.

The extensive marginalization of numerous political groups, whose ranks have grown in a short time that claimed much pluralist and representative nature of the system became in doubt. The question of rule of law, transparency and accountability of the ruling party (EPRDF) to implement democratic governance became also more uncertain. The formal political process conducted by EPRDF did not include the significant political forces either as part of the government coalition or recognized as a non-violent legal opposition.² The lack of legitimacy to this democratic process caused enormous difficulties to achieve a transition to a democratic development in the country.

But after the election was concluded, the Constituent Assembly has continued to debate the new constitution to include various demands in it. Among these were the policies of decentralization and related issues, educational reforms, self-determination policy with the right of secession among others. It was opened to public discussion and after several months debate, the TGE National Assembly has approved the constitution in 8th December 1994.³ The constitution has provided for continuous decentralized government based very much on ethnic groups that followed the EPRDF's own policy which was applied since 1991.

A census was held in October 1994 with an inclusion of ethnic membership question in it. There were to be 9 ethnic-based states under the constitution: Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Benishangul, Gambella, Harari and the Southern People's State (made up of 45 ethnic groups).⁴ The final stage of the constitutional process came in May 1995, with elections to be held for the Council of People's Representatives (Lower House) and the regional state councils which has elected representatives to the council of the federation (Upper House). Since August 1995, the constitution came into effect,⁵ but the chance of parliamentary opposition has been reduced to a very small space than it states in the constitution. Indeed, this does appear to be the reason I should proceed to examine more about in the net section.

The May 1995 Parliamentary Elections

According to the 1994 Federal Constitution, Ethiopian citizens went to the polls on 7 May 1995 for parliamentary elections, the first its kind held in the country's history.⁶ These elections marked

¹ see Map, VIII, 1.b

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, London 2000, p. 8

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 6

⁴ Census of Statistical Authorities, Addis Ababa, June 1998, pp. 36-41

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 5

⁶ Federal Constitution of Ethiopia (1995), p. Article 38:3

the end of four years transitional government that had began in 1991. Like the regional/local (1992) and constituent (1994) elections, the main opposition parties have again boycotted the 1995 parliamentary elections. Negotiations between the opposition parties and the government were held in Washington in February 1995 and subsequently in Addis Ababa in March 1995 after the elections were announced on February 6-9, 1995. But the conflict parties could not resolve their differences or reach any agreement to participate in the general elections.¹ In the 4 years transitional period, the TGE leading coalition parties (EPRDF) formed in ethnic basis have won a landslide victory in the Parliamentary elections.²

On the one hand, domestic as well as international communities have raised the question whether the elected government has the level of popular support that reflected from the election results or not. On the other hand, the conduct and results of the elections will be marked by considering the question whether there existed a realistic alternative to the EPRDF in this difficult time to rule Ethiopia. The boycotts were over alleged intimidation and in some cases, the arrests of party leaders, members and individual candidates by the EPRDF cadres for conspiracy against the state and alleged warmongering.³ Those who boycotted have complained that to campaign in the elections could have placed their candidates and supporters in danger. Most of the intimidation and reported harassment were vague and by their nature difficult if not impossible to verify.⁴

But the Ruling party has countered these claims by arguing that the reluctance of these boycotted parties to participate in the elections in order to avoid exposing their lack of support among the electorate.⁵ According to the government complaints, the opposition knew that they did not have the level of support they claim for themselves, while they do not have political platform other than the achievements of individual power.⁶ It was reported that about 21,387,818 number of voters were registered which was higher than the previous constituent, regional and local elections. 1,881 candidates from 58 political organizations and 960 independent candidates have competed for both the national and regional elections in 548 constituencies.⁷

Independent as well as small opposition parties have challenged the powerful institutionalized ruling party. It was reported that most of the small parties' candidates were affiliated to EPRDF.

¹ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, p. 169; Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.18, 9 September 1995, p. 7; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.658, 11th February 1995, p. 3

² Henze, Paul B. (2000), p. 335; Federal Constitution (1995), Article 50:1

³ Henze, Paul B., In: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.4, (October 1998), p. 46

⁴ Lyons, Terrence, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.34, No.1, London 1996, pp. 140-141

⁵ Henze, Paul B., in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.4, October 1998, p. 48

⁶ Rock, June, in: ROAPE, Vol.23, No.67, London 1995, p. 97

⁷ The Ethiopian Herald, Addis Ababa, 28 May 1995, p. 1

There were other opposition candidates like the centralist Ethiopian National Democratic Party (ENDP), which has campaigned against the EPRDF's regionalist policy, advocating for the privatization of land and return of all properties nationalized under the military regime to their original owners.¹ The ENDP showed a great deal of promise at its formation, being composed of major political figures who have served in the transitional government and consistently opposed the right of own land and self-determination for nationalities.²

Except for Regions, (**Afar Region 2**) and (**Somali Region 5**)³ where polling was postponed until June 18, voting has taken place on the scheduled date. But, as elections were held later, the EPRDF and its affiliated groups have scored narrow victories in both areas.⁴ In the 1995 parliamentary elections organized by the political will of TGE, some concessions or improvements were seen. For example, the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), a party that had boycotted the previous 1992 and 1994 elections as allowed to participate in the 1995 parliamentary elections. The ONLF, composed of a number of factions changed its old policy of armed confrontation to one based on the recognition of peaceful political participation⁵. Its new leadership and policy was recognized during subsequent negotiations with the TGE thereby allowing to field candidates.

Another concessions made by the TGE observation of electoral rules was the fact that members of the former defence and security forces and members of the defunct WPE were excluded from participation during the previous elections. These restrictions were lifted in the 1995 parliamentary elections,⁶ which was considered a step forward that could have led the country to democratic transition. In the event after all voters had been counted, EPRDF and affiliated parties won 540 out of the 548 seats in the national Parliament (the Council of People's Representatives). The coalition of EPRDF which were assigned regionally;⁷ as TPLF Region 1, ANDM Region 3, OPDO Region 4 and others related to EPRDF have won the majority of votes in their constituencies like in the 1994 elections.⁸ In Addis Ababa, which is considered as an opposition stronghold and with a political openness was fair in relation to the countryside that EPRDF has won 21 out of 23 national parliament seats, which also won all the regional Council seats.

Other positive perspectives were that smaller ethnic groups have automatically received a seat in the Council of Representatives. As a result, 22 groups, especially from the South and West of the

¹ Rock, June, in: (ROAPE), Vol.23, No.4 (1996), p. 98

² The Monitor, Addis Ababa, 6 June 1994, p. 2

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, May 2000, p. 13

⁴ Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 734

⁵ New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition, May 1999, p. 181

⁶ Rock, June, in: (ROAPE), Vol.23, No.4, London 1996, p. 97

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1996, p. 8

⁸ Ibid.

country, some of which who had never seen previous dealings with the central government got a free seat in the Council of Representatives.¹ The number of seats won by the parties and independent candidates in the Federal Council and the Regional Assemblies, extracted from different literature sources² were recorded as follows:

Results of the 1995 Parliamentary Elections

Regions	Total number of Votes cast	Parliament Seats	Percentage
1. Tigray	1,341,850	38	6.89
2. Afar	503,483	14	2.59
3. Amhara	4,690,255	132	24.09
5. Oromia	5,855,695	165	30.08
6. Somali	2,086,889	59	10.72
7. Benshangul	191,140	5	0.98
8. SEPA	4,204,693	118	21.60
9. Gambella	32,228	1	0.17
10. Harar/Diredawa	114,740	3	0.59
11. Addis Ababa	<u>445,068</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2.29</u>
Total National Parliament Seats			<u>548</u>
Total Votes	<u>19,466,041</u>	<u>100.00</u>	

The northern Region Tigray (1) was EPRDF's stronghold areas where no rival political organizations have competed the elections (see map VIII/1.b), it could mobilized its voters without difficulty. There were some independent candidates, but caused no real challenge to the rival party. TPLF candidates have won each of the regional and national seats reluctantly.³ The other EPRDF component (ANDM Region 3) has acted effectively to mobilize the population especially in the rural areas of Amhara region and has won all regional seats.⁴ Ethiopian National Democratic Party (ENDP), a largely unknown to voters has won only a very limited seat in one urban area (Dessie, Wollo).⁵

¹ Rock, June (1996), p. 98

² African Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 734; Lyons, Terrence, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.34, No.1 (March 1996), pp. 135-136; Rock, June, in: ROAPE, Vol.23, No.67, London 1996, pp. 100-102

³ Lyons, Terrence, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.34, No.1 (March 1996), p. 134

⁴ see EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 10

⁵ Lyons, Terrence, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.34, No.1 (1996), p. 134

Even if the OPDO seemed less effective because of the OLF pressure in its constituency, it has also managed to win almost all regional and national seats in Oromia and other constituencies where there are Oromo minorities.¹ (Regions 7-11), the Southern Ethiopian People's Regional Administration (SEPA) with 5 regions composed of smaller ethnic groups were emerged into southern peoples and nationalities region in 1992 and have their own constituencies.² In the 1995 general elections, some of the southern regional ethnic parties have participated and those affiliated to EPRDF have won 118 parliamentary seats. Other candidates who were not affiliated to the EPRDF have also participated in the elections, but won insignificant voters.³

Each EPRDF's coalition party credential was to defend the given ethnic groups' interests, which made it difficult to others. The EPRDF coalition parties constituencies have ran on the coalition plan, adopted similar styles of campaign, used common symbols and have appealed to voters on the same record of accomplishment and promises for continued EPRDF political programme's progress.⁴ Candidates who have campaigned not under EPRDF's banner (independent/opposition parties) have rarely challenged the domination of the political agenda. They have campaigned on policy issues that differed from EPRDF. According to the country's National Election Board, some 280-election observers were registered to monitor the elections including about 220 international representatives from Europe, U.S, Canada and the OAU. Some local political organizations have also observed the election process.⁵

The above election results show that an overwhelming registered voters went to the polls which marks the turnout significantly higher than the 80 percent participation rate in the previous elections. The 1995 election turnout was contested about 85%.⁶ The Elections were generally considered to be much improved in planning and execution than the Regional and Local Elections (1992) and the Constituent Assembly Elections (1994). They were described as peaceful and seemed to be fair in comparison to the previous ones.⁷

After the elections, the 2 elected Councils of Representatives have formally installed a constitutional government on August 21, 1995 ending the 4 years transition period (1991-1995). Dr. Negasso Gidada, OPDO leader and from an Oromo ethnic group was elected as a President of the Federal State. Meles Zenawi (a Tigrean whose mother's origin is an Eritrean), TPLF and EPRDF leader was elected as a Prime Minister and remained the effective ruler of Ethiopia. The Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) leader became minister of defence and a

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, May 2000, p. 13

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 8

³ Lyons, Terrence, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.34, No.1 (March 1996), pp. 135-138; *Ethiopian Herald*, Addis Ababa, 28 May 1995, p. 1; *Federal Constitution* (1995), Article 47:7

⁴ Rock, June, in: (ROAPE), Vol.23, No.4 (1996), p. 98

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ *Human Development Report* (UNDP 2000), p. 246

⁷ *The Ethiopian Herald*, Addis Ababa, 24 June 1995, pp. 1, 6

Deputy premier.¹ From the outset, the EPRDF has continued to rule as it had done since 1991. But under the Constitution, it came into full force of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, whereby the Prime Minister has real executive power and the President remaining a titular head of state.² Besides the Council of Representatives, a Federal Council of 117 members were elected, including one from each of the 22 minor nationalities and one from each professional sector among the major nationalities.³ The May 1995 General Elections have represented the final act in four-years power of political closure and endorsed the political hegemony of the EPRDF. The EPRDF skillfully conducted a variety of mechanisms to control the transitional period assuming that it has ended with the ruling party in a firm command. It overpowered any armed challenge by the main opposition parties who seemed to advocate violence or else manifested armed struggle against its policies. In this aspect, elections seemed to marginalize and delegitimize opponents who have refused to participate in the national and regional elections under the EPRDF's political framework.⁴

The decision of many parties not to participate in the elections has played a critical part allowing the EPRDF to emerge as the only national institutions of any strength. The opposition leaders have argued that the behaviours of EPRDF from the very beginning has prevented their participation. Whether their fear in this respect was justified through the alternative political platform they presented is another question. But the results of their boycott allowed the ruling party to control and dominate the Ethiopian political agenda un-opposed. On the other side, the presence of EPRDF officials in urban dwellers and peasant associations has provided the most significant advantage, while almost all opposition political organizations are urban based.

Given the importance of these local institutions to the citizens' daily life, many Ethiopians felt such pressures difficult to resist. Despite all this problems, the United States Embassy in Addis Ababa has released a favourable two-paragraph Press Statement by its Staff Reporter: **'In our judgement, the 1995 elections were conducted in a manner that was, on the whole, free and fair---** (They) represent an important milestone along Ethiopia's road to greater democracy'.⁵ The OAU Observer Group Statement to the May 1995 Ethiopian Elections in turn has written as: "The

¹ The Monitor, Addis Ababa, Tuesday August 22, 1995, p. 1; New African Yearbook 1997-1998, 11th edition, London 1997, p. 169

² Federal Constitution (1995), Article 71:1-7

³ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 61:1-3; Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 734

⁴ The New York Times, 9 May 1995, p. A6; Africa Confidential, No.683, 2 September 1995, p. 2

⁵ American Embassy (U.S) Applauds Elections as Key Step on Road to Democracy, Press Release, 22 June 1995, quoted in the Ethiopian Herald, Addis Ababa, Saturday 24 June 1995, pp. 1,6; Addis Tribune, Addis Ababa, 30 June 1995, p. 3

Federal and Regional Elections were on the whole, conducted in a free and fair atmosphere".¹ The gap between democratic forms of election process and the international communities' statements of support to EPRDF political policy have increased the pressure of power struggle between the opposition and the ruling party. But EPRDF has managed to complete the transition while the major opposition parties remained in disarray, with little prospect that they could mount a serious challenge to the elected government. A question that needs to be raised at that time was again how Ethiopian citizens' could engage in the sole of EPRDF's political process to practice their political freedom and implement democratic system that remained in doubt without the major competing parties.

The three elections (1992, 1994 and 1995) have ended with EPRDF's dominant political system and the first elected parliamentary government according to the new Constitution has ended its legislative period in 2000. According to the 1995 Federal Constitution, general elections should be held in every 5 years for the Federal Parliament and regional Council seats in a free and democratic manner on the basis of Universal Suffrage.² Even if the country's political policies have been dominated by the war in Eritrea since May 1998, the EPRDF has again conducted the second multi-party general elections in 14 May and 31 August (in draught ridden Somali region) 2000, where a series programme of action by the ruling parties' coalition and opposition political organizations were undertaken.³ A few days before the elections, the conflict with Eritrea was in its highest tension, which had led to the break out of a murderous war.⁴ The war had overshadowed a key electoral campaign and the rallying of national sentiment in the conflict with Eritrea by the EPRDF, further marginalized Ethiopia's small and divided opposition groups, most of which are urban formations which hitherto has queried the ruling party's national credentials.⁵ But the elections were simultaneously held in 8 of the 9 ethnically based regional states making up the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic.⁶ According to some national and international news agencies reports, the ruling coalition party (EPRDF) has won landslide victory. 479 out of the 550 seats in Parliament where 528 shall be elected in single seat constituencies and the rest may be elected by the Council of Federation or their direct elections were to be provided.⁷

¹ Statement by the OAU Observer Group to Ethiopia's 1995 Elections, quoted in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.34, No.1 (1996), p. 142

² Federal Constitution (1995), Article 38:c, Article 54:1

³ *Ethiopian Herald*, Addis Ababa, 22 June 2000, p. 1, 5; *Horn of Africa Bulletin*, Vol.12, No.5, September-October 2000, p. 11; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, November 2000, p. 11

⁴ *Horn of Africa Bulletin*, Vol.12, No.3, May-June 2000, p.11; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, May 2000, p. 12

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, September 2000, p. 12

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12; Federal Constitution (1995), Article 47:1; *Africa Research Bulletin*, Vol.37, No.5, London, May 1st-31st 2000, p. 13967

⁷ Ethiopian Constitution, Addis Ababa 1994, Article 54:1-3; *The Ethiopian Herald*, Addis Ababa, 20 June 2000, pp. 1,2; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, December 2000, p. 10

Accordingly, 10 opposition parties have contested the 2000 elections, including AAPPO that had won 19 and Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) 15 seats. Other 7 opposition and independent candidates have also won to the Parliament seats.¹

On one side, the 2000 Ethiopian general elections were seen as a Key test of the country's transition to peaceful democracy. On the other side, the allegations of violence and fraud have threatened to create fresh tension between the ruling EPRDF and its critics, mostly supported by exiled opposition parties who are under the list of criminals while they have committed genocide during the 17 years of military regimes disastrous period. The opposition parties have discredited the 2000 election process as a "farce" complaining of harassment, lack of media access and undemocratic.² While there was lack of much change after the elections, the cabinet of 1995-2000 remained/retained intact and the council contains only with a few voices to criticize the EPRDF. But if there might be some changes to a democratic transition in the course of time is uncertain. Furthermore, how much the Ethiopian population's political and freedom of rights have been free and fair in the 2000 elections remains a dilemma of the country's political scene. Meanwhile government and opposition leaders lack democratic culture to promote political consensus during and after the elections, which makes the transition to democracy uncertain.

Citizen's Participation

Ethiopians have witnessed little if any, to debate openly concerning their political, economic and social issues central to the country's futures. The period immediately after the overthrow of Haile Selassie was a time of open political debate. Initially, even if the military did not have a clearly defined ideology, it has tried to win the support of the Ethiopian left by declaring socialist intentions in its program statement. But when one articulates the economic and social policies in the military program they were populist in tone and did little to co-opt the civilian left.³ Once it became clear that the military had assigned itself as a vanguard role in the revolution, elements from the left have began to criticize and discredit the government.⁴

Political parties or pressure groups organizations were not allowed to organize on a mass basis, but they could participate in politics through representation on the Politburo of the military programme. The Politburo has provided a forum where the differences among the various political groupings could be clarified and the anti-democratic military elites could monitor the

¹ Africa Research Bulletin, May 1st-31st, London 2000, p. 13967; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, December 2000, p. 10

² Africa Research Bulletin, May 1st-31st, 2000, p. 13967; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, September 2000, p. 12; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, September 2000, p. 13; Ibid., May 2000, pp. 12-13

³ Ofcansky, Thomas P.; Berry, Laverle (1993), p. 235; Harbeson, John W., in: Current History, May 1993, pp. 208-209

⁴ Woodward, Peter, The Horn of Africa (1996), p. 91

tendencies of their opponents.¹ As a result of tight control and power struggle, the civilian groups have stepped up their campaign against the military regime. Human rights violations grew and the regime has severely curtailed relations with the civilian forces. Once it had re-established control, it resumed to create institutions that would enhance its political hegemony and legitimacy. In pursuit of this, the military has destroyed most civilian opposition groups and tried to establish a popular legitimacy among the various ethnic communities who have opposed to its rule².

During the military regime, policies were initiated from the top and approaches to severe problems were never seriously addressed, lacking of genuine participation at the lower levels of Ethiopian masses. Such system of governance has brought about a crisis of confidence because of rampant corruption, poor management and indifference to the interests of the Ethiopian people at large. Different from these shortcomings, the EPRDF Federal arrangement under the 1995 constitution guarantees the rights of the federal states to determine their affairs.³ But how the states or administrative regions dare implement policies determined by central government became a point of everyday discussion for many. Whether they are empowered to formulate policies that are conducive for the promotion of development and able to decide policy and planning issues or directly participate in sectors that are critical for economic development and safeguard law and order is also another dilemma of the EPRDF political platform.

On the one hand, the devolution of power to the regional states has been combined with people's participatory democracy to march ahead with the same destiny. On the other hand, the question whether citizens believe in the Federal process as a means to bring a change in their lives that had been consistently challenged by lack of fundamental political and social rights is a remarkable situation. The 1995 Constitution guarantees universal adult suffrage, that citizen being given the right to vote and to be elected.⁴ Accordingly, the Federal Constitution specifies that elected Council members may be recalled, if they have lost the confidence of the electorate.⁵ In theory, this encourages citizens to participate in the political scene if it could be practiced in reality. As the country is in its beginning to a transition to democracy, choosing the head of state at the people's will may be a matter of experience and political literacy of both the incumbent and political opposition at all levels.

The right to vote is guaranteed in the Federal Constitution, and periodic parliamentary elections should be instituted. Accordingly, parliamentary elections were held in 1995 and on 14

¹ Ibid., p. 93

² Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), pp. 96-97

³ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 39:3

⁴ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 38:1/c

⁵ Federal Constitution (1995), Article 54:7

May and August 2000.¹ According to the Ethiopian Human Rights Council reports, about 50 parties have participated in the 2000 elections, which 23 of them belong to opposition parties.² However, there are great differences in opinion as to how inclusive and pluralistic the elections have been, and whether any improvement is to be expected after the elections in the new legislative period. Like the previous elections, some opposition parties have declared that they have found it impossible to conduct an election campaign in rural areas, nor even to open offices and conduct normal party activities, their candidates were not given equal chance to participate.³

Even in the 1995 general elections, opposition parties have chose to boycott despite a widespread founding that participation was possible, as such, many were not prevented from participation.⁴ From the outset, they have refused to test the government's stated willingness to allow opposition participation. For example, opposition participation was possible in the major towns, but they were considerably frustrated to practice in rural areas. According to the government sources, the 1995 election was described as peaceful and seen to be fair except the boycott of the main opposition groups and lack of genuine competition.⁵

The 2000 elections were conducted as the country was at war with Eritrea to retake the areas, which were overrun, by the Eritrean forces in 1998. Like in 1995, elections did not take place in some regions due to security reasons but had taken place in August that led the EPRDF an overwhelming majority to win.⁶ As it can also be seen in Kenya and Sudan, the nature of participation and its meanings in the Ethiopian political process varies widely. While the model of universal suffrage is also widely accepted, there are many factors that affect its impact, including the openness of the system at different levels to citizens participation. For example, restrictions based on factors like literacy, sex, infrastructure, wide variation in size of constituencies' among others.

One finds evidence of a very real desire for popular participation in the electoral process. The question is if citizens' rights have mostly been free or were suppressed/limited by the governments' to participate in decisions affecting their political lives freely or at least to influence the process of policy determinations. Elite resistance based primarily on concerns about control of power has often countered the driver for mass participation in Ethiopia. Therefore, the

¹ The Ethiopian Herald, Addis Ababa, 18 May 2000, pp. 1,5; World Election Watch, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.11, No.4 (2000), p. 179; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London November 2000, p. 11

² Quoted in Amnesty International Annual Report, German Section, Frankfurt am Main 2001, p. 95

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, September 2000, p. 13; Amnesty International Annual Report, German Section (2001), p. 95

⁴ Rock, June, in: ROAPE, Vol.23, No.4 (1996), p. 96

⁵ Addis Tribune, Ethiopia's Elections Considered Free and Fair by Americans, Addis Ababa, 30 June 1995, p. 3

⁶ Amnesty International Annual Report, German Section (2001), p. 95; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, September 2000, pp. 8, 12-13; Ibid., November 2000, p. 11

transition to a democratic society, in particular depends on a great deal of accommodation and consensus of citizens' participation if it is to function properly.

3.2.1.3 The Political Situation after the Elections

Modern Ethiopian political history has been shaped and dominated by intense conflict for competition of power¹. An oppressive and authoritarian imperial era followed by a military regime had eroded the country's civil society, which remained constantly an obstacle to implement a credible democratic system. Like in other African Countries, the present ruling party (EPRDF) has attempted to 'revalue' the electoral process that had lost its credibility during the absolute monarchy and the military regime's 17 years of rule because of repeated mal-administration and inefficiency.²

On the other side, neither the imperial regime nor its predecessors, the military or EPRDF has allowed Ethiopians to enjoy those basic political rights and civil liberties.³ For the Ethiopians, the end of military regime could have been interpreted as the turn of the century. But the EPRDF and opposition parties have failed to use that golden opportunity to adopt a democratic system. Instead the opposition parties were divided because of their heartily interest to hold on power or some other related political issues. In these occasions, the Ethiopian opposition parties have refused to stand in elections repeatedly, denied legitimacy to the government as well as theirs. In this aspect, they have also denied to move the Ethiopian political scene from a political opening in 1991 to a viable form of multi-party democracy.

In contrary to this, the background history has been that political autonomy is often disregarded and the state is being apart as the minorities compete for power. Since the main opposition parties have often boycotted the parliamentary elections, it had virtually no fairly elected representation in the legislature that convened on August 21, 1995 and after the May and August 2000 elections. Nor did the cabinet named by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi represent a cross-section of Ethiopian politics.⁴ However, as the government calls it '**has been carefully balanced**' along ethnic lines, which includes minority representative groups since 1995 but tension remains in a higher alert.⁵

On the one hand, the government was reported to be under heavy external pressure to bring non-secessionist opposition groups into the federal administration. However, it often has resisted

¹ Clapham, Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 5

² Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), pp. 88, 96

³ Fullerton-Joireman, Sandra, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.3 (1997), p. 403

⁴ *Horn of Africa Bulletin*, Vol.12, No.5 (September-October 2000), p. 12

⁵ *Africa Analysis*, Ethiopia's New Republic, London, 22 September 1995, p. 6; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, December 2000, pp. 10-11; *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, Nos.942 and 943, (Paris 2001), March 17, p. 6, March 24, p. 1,

the appeals, apparently concentrating to overpower any armed challenge to prove that all its opponents are what it called “apprentice terrorists”.¹ On the other hand, the present Ethiopian government leaders have been buffeted by calls from Amhara groups for an end to minority Tigre domination and a strong central administration. While most other groups who have gained only a handful of seats in parliament have insisted on effective decentralization in return for non-withdrawal from the federation.² The greatest threat to the incumbent regime came from the southeast’s 20 million Oromos, with the OLF having long since withdrawn from the ruling coalition (to conduct a protracted war from their sanctuary in Eritrea) leaving the Oromo People’s Democratic Organization (OPDO), as the only Oromo component of the EPRDF.³ The government focuses further scrutiny of its counter-insurgency campaign against OLF and other related rebels to control the state power.⁴

During the 1997, social discontent surfaced in segments of the Amhara population, resulting from the government’s “land reform” projects which were seen by opponents as a policy to serve the peasants close to the ruling EPRDF. Attention throughout the years have been focused by the EPRDF on efforts to negotiate agreements with Oromo, Somali and Afar ethnic groups that would have permitted implementation of what has been at least consistently, a decentralized federal republic and the delayed regional autonomy plan.⁵ But relations between the EPRDF and the regional governments have remained uneasy. Meanwhile, affiliates of the ruling EPRDF have completely dominated the new federal assembly that will continue to be a largely powerless body to mobilize the political scene.

On the other side, EPRDF control of the political process and the political debate left the opposition in disarray. However, the situation may come to an end, if the government shows its willingness to deal with the issue of distribution of power. From this perspective, the frustrating predicament of the Ethiopian political scene has been the endless cycle of ethnic conflicts. This may bring down not only the EPRDF and its affiliates from power but also it challenges the transition prospects to democratic and economic development in the country as a whole. The question that needs to be asked here is, how a broad-based democratic politic can be promoted with less conflict to implement greater peaceful coexistence in the country? If a democratic

¹ Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.783, Paris, 18 October 1997, p. 2; The Economist, London, May 26th 2001, p. 49

² Africa Research Bulletin, London, June 1st-30th 1994, p. 11471; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London March 2001, pp. 5, 8

³ Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.19, London, 22 September 1995, p. 6; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.786, Paris, 8 November 1997, p. 4; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, pp. 12-13

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, p. 8

⁵ Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.776, Paris, 30 August 1997, p. 4; Ibid., No.782, 11 October 1997, p. 2; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, September 2000, p. 13

politics, in terms of the distribution of power and political patronage can be reviewed within the present Ethiopian political structure remains still uncertain.

The country is still moving from one political crisis to another that threatens its stability. Ethiopian citizens require the alternative path towards more inclusive participatory politics that will enable them to far greater extent control over their on lives than at present. The role of citizens as agents of the change should not be underestimated. The EPRDF government should address fundamental problems of the social power structure and set a political agenda of more programs of citizens' participation within a democratic ideological framework that promotes an achievement of culture of peaceful co-existence.

3.2.2 The Kenyan Political Framework: A Western Style!

Like Ethiopia, Sudan and some other African countries Kenya has not been disrupted by the so-called internal liberation struggles. The political infrastructure has been more or less constant and stable since independent.¹ Apart from the democratic character, elections were held constantly and there has been no government change by a violent means. Kenya's economic and political institutions have also remained committed to the system it inherited from the British colonial government.² The purpose of this analysis is therefore to examine, what makes the Kenyan political framework a Western style? The significance of the country's institutional survival, the form it has taken and why it has occurred will be the point of discussion in this section.

As it is explained above, the Kenyan independence constitution of 1963 have had the features of both a unitary and federal state. The country's first indigenous President Jomo Kenyatta had then found federal system of government to be inappropriate for Kenya's multi-ethnic society.³ Three years after independence Kenya's two legislative chambers, the Senate and the House of Representatives were amalgamated to form a unicameral national assembly under one party dominance of KANU, which had also declared the country as a Republic.⁴

By using political institutions that were left from the British colonials, Kenyatta had swiftly moved then to assert his authority. Even if the power of ruling party KANU seemed declined in importance during Kenyatta's administration, its effects of unitary political system and

¹ Africa Confidential, Vol.32, No.24, London 6 December 1991, pp. 1-2; Tordorff, William (1997), pp. 165-166

² David W. Throup and Charles Hornsby (1998), pp. 2-3

³ Miller, Norman N. (1984), p. 39; Lipset, Martin Seymour (1997), pp. 112-114

⁴ The Constitution of Kenya, Amendment No.4, Act No.40, Nairobi 1966

governance had continued. Headed by a President who was assisted by a Vice-President, a cabinet of ministers and their assistance who were all direct appointees of the President maintained further.¹ But towards the end of Kenyatta's life, he was less attentive to governance and dishonesty appeared in his cabinet. He became increasingly reclusive and autocratic until his death on 22 August 1978.² According to the constitution, President Moi, Kenyatta's Vice-President since 1967 has gained the presidency immediately.³

During that time, there had been no serious contests of power and he was busy only to formalize his presidency. Moi has capitalized on a politically bland during that time assuming image to bring in charismatic and influential figures by stressing a theme of "constitution" calling it "footsteps" of Kenyatta in order to create the power base he lacked.⁴ President Moi undertook political policies to strengthen the ruling party KANU so that it would provide a major foundation for his government. Such substantial progress toward this objective was made in consecutive years until 1982, as the President has succeeded to obtain the passage of an amendment to the constitution and established a de jure one-party state.⁵ Over the years, one-party system was adopted and the government has resisted changes towards democracy strongly. Aid agencies have imposed conditions demanding president Moi's government to (1) amend the Constitution, end the one-party state and allow a multi-party system; (2) establish an impartial election board, reinstate the secret ballot, redistribute where population shifts require it and update voters registration roles; (3) relax direct and indirect state censorship of the press among others.⁶

Because of international pressure and domestic protests, Kenya went through extensive political change between 1990 and 1992. By 1991, party branches that facilitated strong control over ethnic interests and competition in the process of elections, which took place without party choices were dismantled. For example, prior to 1990, it was very easy to pass laws in the Kenyan Parliament because of the unicameral system of government and Moi has began to exploit ethnic differences like his predecessor to hang on to power.⁷ After the aid agencies have imposed pressure on the Kenyan government, President Moi, has accepted to recognize opposition parties even if he has resisted political reform towards implementing democracy.⁸ Since then, the Kenyan people have a chance to vote in a multi-party system of government and

¹ The Kenyan Constitution, Amendment Act, No.28 (1964) and Amendment No.2, Act No.14 of 1975

² Miller, Norman N. (1984), p. 61

³ Kenyan Constitution, Nairobi 1964, Article 6:2

⁴ Kenya Taking Liberties, An African Watch Human Rights Report (1991), p. 7; Ajulu Rok, in: ROAPE, Vol.62, No.53 (March 1992), pp. 82

⁵ The Constitution of Kenya Amendment Act, No.7, Nairobi 1982; Maren, Michael Paul, in: Current History, May 1987, p. 210

⁶ Barkan, Joel D., in: Hayward, Fred M., (1987), pp. 213-237

⁷ Kobia, Samuel (Nairobi 1993), p. 20

⁸ Widner, Jennifer, (1992), pp. 174-175

the country has official opposition parties in parliament, but all power remained controlled by the President and his party Kenya African National Union (KANU).

The reform has been the product of domestic and international pressures upon a resistant government, but President Moi stonewalled them until recently by accepting tactically. His strategy has been to amend the Constitution and permit the existence of more political parties, with the idea of harassing or bribing the leaders of any new formed parties until splits occurred or key members defected to KANU.¹ President Moi went on ruling much as before, but at the lead of an emerging one party-dominant system with enough democratic trappings to satisfy the donors. In the past, disbursement pledged aid was held up because the government has failed to carry through reforms that it has already promised.² The Challenge to the government has remained how to sustain the donors' goodwill with its anti-democratic policies.

Opposition parties that have emerged as a result of the introduction of multi-party were generally fragmented along ethnic lines.³ The subtle interplay of repressive and democratic forces in the country's political life has created tensions rather than to promote a functioning parliamentary system. This can be a good example that Kenya was not on a sure path to democracy in the 1990s. But the political opening and the elections that have presented crucial democratic opportunities compromised to the ongoing situation. However, the development in the immediate aftermath of the 1992 and 1997 elections have seen tensions. Series of exceeding grave political violence and uncertainty incidents have continued in the country's political scene.⁴

These factors have put into a question whether the opportunities to transition to democracy will be developed, political and constitutional reforms could continue further. Certainly, for Moi and subsequent regimes, successes will involve more than accommodating the opposition and it will require progress in healing severe social and political divisions in the society. What remains to observe is that the content of democracy may be decided by the struggles within the opposition and KANU on the respective weight of political constituencies.

3.2.2.1 Political Parties and Pressure Groups

Kenyan Political Parties

By comparison with many African countries, the rise of party and political pressure groups in Kenya have taken place slowly and haltingly. Kenyan political parties were first born out of the struggle against foreign domination of one type or as Nationalist Parties. They were formed to

¹ Barkan and Ngethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2, (April 1998), p. 33

² *Africa Research Bulletin*, London March 16th-April 15th 1996, p. 12523

³ Barkan and Njuguna, in: *Journal of Democracy*, No.9, No.2, April 1998, p. 34

⁴ *Africa Today*, 3rd edition, London 1996, pp. 863-864; *Africa Today*, The Future of Democracy in Kenya, Vol.45, No.2, Lynne Rienner, London, April-June 1998, p. 162

mobilize the population mostly affected by colonial rule, such as Kikuyu, Luo, Kamba among others and end the social, economic, cultural and political domination by the British colonialists.¹

In the African context, the main forms of nationalist political organizations like KANU were anti-colonial pressure groups, which have developed latter to political parties. Some of them were spontaneously formed organizations or groups that have reacted to unacceptable events and decisions of the colonial dictatorial administration, while many others like KADU were formed in close links to the colonial establishment and protect the interests of White-Settlers in Kenya.² In the process of struggle against colonialism, the colonial governments have attempted to encourage their favourite African leaders to form political organizations and even parties to thwart the nationalist struggle. The Nationalist Political Parties like KANU's approach to political and economic development remained fairly static and was based on a fixation to the anti-colonial struggle.³

As Kenya became independent in 1963, the constitution has set up a multi-party parliament system which allowed three leading parties, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and the African People's Party (APP) to contest the pre-independence general elections. The country's two largest ethnic groups, the Kikuyu (21%), and Luo (14%) of the Kenyan population have dominated KANU.⁴ The smaller ethnic groups like Luhya, Kalenjin, Kamba and others who have been marginalized in the independence negotiations as well as alienated from their land by the colonial settlers have sought to counter this pervade ethnic domination by forming KADU.⁵ This party was seen as a vehicle to represent the interests of smaller ethnic groups and sought to safeguard the country's minority communities. From this inception, KADU has pursued a political philosophy of federalism, which allowed semi-autonomous regions, based on ethnicity to have substantial decision-making power, and the federal government would in turn have a limited federal role.⁶

As it is indicated above, Kenya was a de facto one-party state between 1969-1982, then became a de jure one-party state from 1982-1991. After the introduction of constitutional multi-party system since the end of 1991, some old parties that were banned by the Kenyan authorities were legalized.⁷ Henceforth, many new parties have emerged to compete for popular support.

¹ Kenya Taking Liberties, Watch Human Rights/Africa Report (1991), p. 5

² Barkan, Joel D., in: Hayward, Fred M., (1987), p. 219 ff.

³ Kenya Taking Liberties, An Africa Human Rights Watch Report (1991), pp. 220-221

⁴ Widner, Jennifer (1992), p. 30 ff.

⁵ International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), Democracy and the Rule of Law in Kenya, Geneva, April 1997, p. 8; Tordorff, William (1997), p. 114

⁶ Barkan, Joel D. (1984), p. 51

⁷ The Constitution of Kenya Amendment Act, No.3, Nairobi 1969; Ibid., Amendment Act No.7 (1982); The Political Parties Bill, Part III, Formation and Regulation of Political Parties, Nairobi 1995, Article 5

Just after the repeal of Section 2A, more new parties were legally registered to contest in the civic, parliamentary, and/or presidential elections.¹ Some parties, which were considered against the political parties Bill by the government were denied registration. For example, the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK), was refused permission to register because it was seen as having a religious platform, in conflict with the constitution that states, “no party shall be formed on an ethnic or age or a tribal, racial, sexual, regional, professional or religious basis” etc.²

From this perspective and other related factors, the rise of the party-state in Kenya has occurred more slowly than in other Sub-Saharan countries where it has appeared, and even if the tendency was occasionally reverted, it has taken place. Henceforth, from the Kenyan political parties political scene, what is necessary to observe and analyze can be the following different character of party formation:

1. Kenya African National Union (KANU) Nationalist pro-independent
2. African People's Party (APP) Mostly ethnic based mixed
3. Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) Minority pro-colonial establishment party
4. Kenya People's Union (KPU) Radical nationalist Parties in the post-independence, FORD and other newly emerged parties after the 1992 constitutional amendment.³

Many such parties saw themselves as mass movements primarily on the account of their large membership, although they were often unable to mobilize large members of active and politically conscious participants. Only a few of them are seen to be all-national parties, the others being radically or ethnically based with ill-defined political platforms⁴. The political parties in general, can also be classified by looking at their origin, the social, political, economic and other conditions which made their formation imperative avoiding to the conditions that generated them. From this prospective, concerning the Kenyan political parties and pressure groups and other related issues, some of the following factors will be examined in detail below.

1. The strengths and the role of the Kenyan political framework, and the success or failure, their relationship to the society they originate etc.
2. The objectives of the political parties and their ideological foundations based on the country's political scene will also be considered.

¹ Constitution of the Kenyan Republic Gazette, Supplement No.7, Act.7, Nairobi, 7 November 1997, Article 2:1A

² Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights Publications Yearbook (1993), p. 201; Kenyan Amended Constitution, Nairobi 1991, Article 2A/2; The Political Parties Bill, Nairobi 1995, Articles 6:1/a and &:2

³ Barkan, Joel D., in: Hayward, Fred M. (1987), pp. 224-225; Widner, Jennifer (1992), pp. 69-70, 196-197; Ajulu, Rok, in: ROAPE, Vol.62, No.53, March 1992, p. 87; David, Throuph and Charles Hornsby (1998), pp. 16-17

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1999, pp. 8-10; Tordorff, William (1997), p. 114

In addition to these two factors, the discourse of Kenyan political parties, pressure and interest groups, which contributed or are supposed to contribute to the political factors on the system, the role they have played or are playing in the current reconstruction/transition of the Kenyan society will be examined. The point of analyses is whether the ruling party or opposition parties, pressure groups and their theories as they emerge from within the country's conditions reflect or represent the kind of societies they propose. The inquiry is a search to the theory of their activities against or for the state power and their contribution to the political and economic development of the Kenyan society.

The explanation covers also initiation of the parties formation, the role they have played in the Kenyan political dilemma and challenges that their members have faced to influence the country's political actors as well as the international community. The list of Kenyan most important political parties who have representatives in parliament and greater influence on the country's political scene are extracted from different literatures¹ and will be analyzed in this section accordingly. Parties, which did not participate in elections and have negligible amounts of support in the society, are not considered in this analysis.

Kenyan Main Political Parties

Kenya African National Union	KANU
Forum for Restoration of Democracy	FORD
Democratic Party	DP
National Democratic Party	NDP
Social Democratic Party	SDP
Safina ("Noah's Ark")	Safina

Kenya African National Union (KANU): The Kenya African National Union (KANU) was formed in 1960, ruling uninterrupted for the past 40 years, it has gone through many political experiences. As a pressure group before independent, as an Independent Nationalist Party, as a de-facto and de-jure one-party, and under a multi-party system since 1992.² After independence, KANU was weak in structure and incipient in ideological formation because it was basically anti-colonial movement group whose main strength has put in its capacity to mobilize the population around general slogans and issues embarking a broader appeal.³

¹ Barkan, Joel D., in: Hayward Fred M. (1987), pp. 213-237; Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), pp. 198-199; EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1999, p.4; Kenya Attorney General's Chambers Press Release, Nairobi, 06.10.1997; Society Act Capital 108 Laws of Kenya, The Economic Review, Issue No.256, Nairobi, 22-28 December 1997, p. 16

² Glickman, Harvey (1995), pp. 166, 168; Maren, Michael Paul, in: Current History, May 1987, p. 209

³ Barkan, Joel D. (1984), p. 45

The social base of KANU's leadership lays in agricultural and commercial elements of the petty bourgeoisie. It has an organizational structure that began at the national and goes all the way down to the local levels. The party is highly hierarchical with the national affairs having overall control of the party decisions and activities, with its leaders always having the last word. The goal of KANU has been a political power, and it is therefore not surprising that like most nationalist movements in Africa, **KANU became ineffective instruments for democratic development** since the era immediately after independence.¹ Hence, the broad nationalist coalitions have begun to fall apart soon after independence as ethnic and class groups have asserted their particular interests. As the changing political configuration in the country has radically brought different roles for the independent political parties, KANU had then influenced the colonial state bureaucracy of Kenya to retain its leading role in decision-making process.²

Henceforth, KANU was considered as much part of the wider political and socio-economic establishment and culture of the country, demanding Kenya since independence and shared a basicall "tribalistic" view of politics.³ As an old nationalist political organization, KANU remained the only Kenyan party with a multi-ethnic core alliance. A wide multi-ethnic support have allied to that core, but KANU has found it difficult to signify what problems its leaders' have faced in trying to define the party in line with contemporary political realities.⁴ The advent of the new mood of political situation has demanded free, fair and democratic practices in the manner the party conducts its own elections in order to run the country and an effective Westminster Model of Parliamentary system. These are completely new concepts for KANU and quite unknown to its conduct of elections in the past, which became a hard task to the ways forward for its own internal organization.

Throughout its history, KANU elections were in the final analysis appointments into office of people most favoured by the top party hierarchy.⁵ As the party tries to perpetuate this approach to politics, it finds itself at odds with the popular leaders who are not the favourites of the top party hierarchy.⁶ The danger in the era of multi-party politics has been that the popular leaders who have rigged out of KANU's leadership could always find refuges in the other new and moderate political parties. In these circumstances, KANU's option to survive as a party in a long run seems to transform itself radically, accept the reality of a multi-party democracy, and embark

¹ Barkan, Joel D. (1984), p. 46; Maren, Michael Paul, in: *Current History*, May 1987, p. 210,

² Barkan, Joel D., in: Hayward, Fred M. (1987), pp. 225-226

³ Schroeder, Guenther, (1998), p. 152

⁴ Glickman, Harvey (1995), p. 184

⁵ Ibid., p. 186

⁶ Maren, Michael Paul, in: *Current History*, May 1987, p. 212; Glickman, Harvey (1995), p. 186

on responding challenges accordingly. This would mean reincarnating itself as a completely new party, with new democratic ideals in keeping line with the actual demands.

When one observes the recent KANU manifesto, it presents simply a general view of Kenya's ills and needs. The manifesto described as its achievements omitting to explain why the election promises made in 1992 were not kept or fulfilled.¹ With the old-new promises, the KANU manifesto has pointedly failed to explain sources of trends to translate the myriad promises into meaningful action. It only pledges freeing airwaves; promoting free and fair elections which it is not accounted to upholding multi-party democracy and rule of law, especially eradicating corruption which it had installed in its 40 years of political monopoly.²

To come back to the research question **whether KANU had been an instrument of democracy or not**, there might be more answers for this. The party has not been an instrument of democracy but an instrument of regime control. The only issue that united KANU's leadership was the desire to establish a unitary state with a strong executive branch. Its de facto and later de jure status has precluded other party formations and its close identity with the presidency and the state allows it a measure of clout that was often to read dissidents out of the political community. That means KANU misused the legal discretion effectively denying opposition parties and pressure groups, fundamental political rights and civil liberties in their country.³ On the other side, it seems that KANU's decentralization character makes it all but impossible for the state or even the president to direct the selection of local party officials on a wider scale.

There were many remarks and warnings from the opposition, but KANU has openly employed the administrative and security machinery of the state in an abusive manner to manipulate power nationwide systematically and to attain political legitimacy that stems from the popular support.⁴ In one way, KANU's leadership did every thing it could to attract more foreign aid and investment. This enabled the party to acquire the amount of force it needed and keep all other political demands permanently out of power by silencing actors who insisted against Moi's undemocratic regime.⁵

On the other way, its critics have castigated the party for a long time while it has failed to govern the country democratically. Hence, to call for democratic behaviour from KANU has been to demand the policies that have never formed part of its political governmental agenda. Kenyan politics under KANU/Moi has been accentuated by endemic corruption, economic decline and

¹ The KANU Manifesto "Our Vision into the next Millennium", Nairobi 1997, p. 23

² Sunday Nation, Nairobi, December 1997, p. 23

³ David W. Throup and Charles Hornsby (1998), pp. 63-66; Haugerud, Angelique (1995), p. 24

⁴ Glickman, Harvey (1995), p. 191

⁵ Ajulu, Rok, Kenya, in: ROAPE, No.53, March 1992, p. 79

increasing popular anti-path to the regime.¹ It is against this background that the other aspects of KANU policies as stated in its manifestos should be understood.

Apart from this, KANU was able to run the government unbroken from 1966 up to date and so no other party has been put to test or it had closed all chances. It had attained the kind of political environment envisaged for effective exercise of power that was accumulated and accelerated by eliminating opposition parties or other potential opponents like Robert Ouko (1990) and others who could run the government in a democratic way.² In addition to that, all the legal and constitutional machinery have been in place to deal with government critics by either detaining them without trial or as it is explained above, it often uses violent means silence them. For example, blocking the opposition parties from entering certain districts, disrupts their campaigns etc. does not any way suggest KANU's commitment to multi-party democracy.³

Such commitment can only be seen as an attempt to introduce a variety of multi-partyism, which leaves KANU as the dominant party. It manipulates the political electoral process to prevent development of other parties, maintain an intention of killing, invalidating all rivals and punishing those who do not support its agenda.⁴ It had persistently turned a deaf ear to parable complaints that the state's administrative and security affairs acting on behalf systematically denied the other parties chance to explain their policies to the Kenyan electorate. In its manifesto, KANU explains what its intention is and restates the party's priority in terms of state security, peace and stability.⁵ But many Kenyans see this as an open promise for the continuation of authoritarian approach which KANU has been accused of employing in order to secure obedience from its citizens.⁶ This does seem to save KANU from the accusation of fraudulently and systematically violating political rights and civil liberties that states in the constitution.⁷

Even if no major breakthrough had been done to a democracy transition, the ruling party has emerged victorious with secured majority in parliament during the general elections held on 29-30 December 1997 once again to rule the country in the legislative period of 1998-2002. Following the two multi-party elections (1992, 1997), Moi's government remained unchallenged and proceeds to rule until the next elections in 2002 if not more. Only on the old occasions parliamentary business is interrupted by troublesome members of parliament as the government has said who instigated the 1998 motion of none-confidence in the president and continued to

¹ Southall, Roger, in: RAOPE, No.84 2000, p. 203

² David W. Throup and Charles Hornsby (1998), p. 58 ff.

³ The Economic Review, Nairobi, 23-29 June 1997, p. 35; Barkan and Ngethe, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.2, April 1998, p. 33

⁴ Daily Nation, Nairobi, 6 July 1994, p. 1

⁵ KANU Manifesto, Nairobi 1992, p. 10

⁶ The Economic Review, Nairobi, October 27th-3rd November 1997, p. 34

⁷ Amended Kenyan Constitution, Nairobi 1991, Articles 78-81

test the regime's armour ever since.¹ KANU looks into the future with determinations to usher the country into the twenty-first century on a second basis politically, socially and economically guided by its commitment to be ahead of problems instead of merely reaching to them.

When the multi-party political structures have forced KANU to internal dynamics and generate new ideas or strategies on how to run the country democratically, more changes could have undertaken in the structure of the party but with little consequence on party politics. Things seem to continue as if nothing had changed on the political arena, and KANU still treats the opposition parties as political shadows that would not withstand the storm of harassment by its repressive state machinery in the heads of KANU. It has enormous reserve powers to frustrate democratization steps.

How long President Moi can continue hanging on power or may make dramatic steps towards a transition to democracy depends on the situation of the opposition parties strength to withstand KANU within the allowed bounds of political playing field in the society arranged by the ruling party. On the one hand, if negotiated this may provide shelter for those who have gained by corruption and abuse of human rights. On the other hand, it may prove to be a workable ways to avoid resistance and pave the way towards a democratic transition.

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy in Kenya (FORD): Initially, FORD was formed as a pressure group or a civic forum on July 1991, whose mission became known to agitate for the restoration of multi-party.² It was the vehicle which reformist Kenyan politicians, the Church leaders and other non-Governmental Organizations and ordinary Kenyans have used to pressure their government demanding to allow a multi-party politics in the country. Some of the founder members of FORD were the late veteran politician Oginga Odinga, Mr. Martin Shikuku, Kenneth Matiba and others who have compiled about the formation of FORD and its endeavor.³

The pressure group, exploiting a legal loophole in the country's statutes and regulating public gatherings have managed to hold strategic meetings and called unlicensed rallies to sensitize the public on the need for more political freedoms.⁴ Many people who had been expelled from KANU or displaced in the period of single party elections, and among others that would have nothing to do with KANU as a party, felt secured and united by this pressure group to challenge KANU's sole party regime.⁵ FORD members have started to embark mobilizing supporters, and became a nucleus opposition organization even if it was denied registration legally under Societies Act

¹ EIU Kenya Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 12

² The Weekly Review, Nairobi, November 22, 1998, p. 10

³ Weekly Review, Nairobi, June 29, 1990, pp. 25-26; Ibid., (December 1991), pp. 3-8; Ibid., (May 7, 1993), pp. 11-12; Ndegwa, Stephen N. (1996), p. 29; Barkan, Joel D., in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.3, No.3 (1993), p. 91

⁴ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, July 27, 1990, pp. 3-6

⁵ Widener, Jennifer A., in: Current History, May 1992, pp. 214-218

108. They have raised issues and found it necessary to give press statements one after another within a short period of time calling for release of their members and other political prisoners. For example, the group has established a linkage with international community especially by calling for an end to official corruption in high circles accompanied by well research data¹.

The international community in turn has addressed issues, raised by FORD members necessary. Specially the need for economic, political pluralism and civil rights were acknowledged by overwhelming majority in Kenya and by donor countries like the United States². To prove its obstinacy, KANU has issued threats that were more ruthless and tactics to its critics calling on the government to take a stem action against the then newly formed pressure group. For example, in August 1991, KANU and Moi government declared FORD an illegal organization and consecutively, President Moi has said **'FORD's supporters would be hunted like rates and crushed'**.³ KANU has blocked attempts to register not only FORD but also any opposition party under the Societies Ordinance. But FORD has challenged KANU and Moi regime severely. Six of its founder members, for example, Oginga Odinga, Paul Muite, Kennet Matiba among others, were arrested shortly after it was formed as a pressure group.⁴

On the basis of this polarization of relations between the KANU government, on the one hand and the internal and external forces in favour of change on the other, all donor countries have practically imposed an aid embargo on Kenya. They have also intimated that they would not lift the ban until both political and economic reforms were irreversible in place⁵. Western Diplomats like the USA, Germany and Swedish have supported FORD's concept by which it had demonstrated publicly to challenge President Moi's regime to introduce multi-partyism. For example, in protest to the arrest of FORD founder members, the German Government has called its Ambassador Bernd Mutzelburg to Bonn.⁶

The Moi government was heavily dependent on foreign aid and aid embargo became a pressure that it could not withstand for long. It was left with only the option to capitulate to both internal and external demands for political and economic reforms. From this perspective, KANU

¹ Barkan, Joel D., in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.4, No.3 (1993), p. 91

² Human Rights Watch Annual Report, Washington D.C., December 1991, p. 198

³ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, August 30, 1991, pp. 4, 7; Ibid., October 4, 1991, pp. 4, 7

⁴ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, November 22, 1991, p. 13; David Throup and Charles Hornsby (1998), pp. 63-64

⁵ Geisler, Gisela, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.31, No.4, London 1993, pp. 624-625; Barkan and Ngethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2 (April 1998), p. 33

⁶ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, November 22, 1991, pp. 13, 15

parliament repealed Section 2A constitution ending its unchallenged monopoly of political power in December 1991.¹ Hence, Kenya became ready to enter the new era of competition among several political parties. Within one year of mounted pressure spearheaded by FORD, KANU gave in and has allowed multi-partyism. FORD was then transformed from a pressure group into a political party.²

As multi-party was introduced, FORD was registered as an opposition party on 31 December 1991, ushering a united challenge in the new era of multi-party democracy and integrated several diverse groups whose interests had been affected by KANU's style of rule. This was the message one could have understood FORD's aims and objectives. Oginga Odinga became the Interim Chairman, Martin Shikuku the Party's Secretary General.³ From this time onwards, new parties have emerged as the products of struggle against years of post-independence undemocratic rule.

But in this course of time, the transition to multi-party politics in Kenya has brought to the surface divisions between different ethnic groups, and generation conflicts between old-guard politicians and the young professionals who had spearheaded the change that Kenyans have those days.⁴ As a coalition party, differences within the main FORD founders have emerged and faced great problems to convert a successful protest movement into a political party with a coherent ideology and clear lines of demand. Almost from the time of its registration, FORD has suffered an endemic factionalism. Its leaders were divided by different views of party policy developments into a network of rival alliances which they have soon locked in a battle to control the new party and jostling for the party's presidential nomination.⁵

But FORD's supporters and other ordinary Kenyan people never noticed the main sources of their differences. Once these divisions became apparent to the public, the great emotional response to a multi-party democracy and tremendous popular enthusiasm were created when FORD was registered as an opposition party. It was replaced by disillusionment with politicians and the political process, amid the failed hopes that had been around¹. An advocate of political pluralism lost hopes of FORD as conflicts have widened in its inner circle. The founder members

¹ Human Rights Watch Africa, *Divide and Rule, State-Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya* (London 1993), p. 8

² David W. Throup and Charles Hornsby (1998), p. 92

³ *The Weekly Review*, Nairobi, January 10, 1992, p. 9 and January 17, 1992, pp. 11-12

⁴ Widner, Jennifer A., in: *Current History*, May 1992, p. 218

⁵ Glickman, Harvey (1995), pp. 182-183

faced problems as they have attempted to establish a major national political party and failed to stand in a united front. Instead, they have destroyed the coalition party by splitting into factions.²

As accusations and counter accusation were intensified and the leaders became hostile to each other, especially Oginga Odinga (Luo) and Kenneth Matiba (Kikuyu) both have demonstrated their ambitions for the highest office and claimed the right to lead the party and hence the country. Therefore, the split of FORD seemed not only a matter of organizational ineptitude but was first and foremost an ethnic struggle for the control of the party between Kikuyu and Luo leaders who have competed to the presidential candidate.³

Other FORD members from the Luo and Kikuyu establishments have also co-opted to control for the presidency and domination of Kenya political scene. This elite rivalry reflected deeper social antagonism and remained ethnically the most powerful force in Kenyan politics. Cultural stereotypes ran deep and the mutual antipathy between Kikuyu and Luo went intense and public appeal to work together was seriously tarnished.⁴ The Weekly Review in its August 1992 editorial has pointed out as follows:

"The only thing the two factions have left in common was and is the name FORD which just that current events in it have graphically exposed some of the opposition old guard as an old aggregate of self-seekers, only anxious to replace the KANU regime, and president Moi with another dictatorship".⁵

Until the 1992 general elections, FORD members did not make any political compromise to reconcile, instead they were registered as different antagonistic political parties, FORD-Kenya originally led by Oginga Odinga and FORD-Asili led by Matiba and Martin Shikuku.¹ The KANU party has taken advantage in the 1992 elections to line up for a multi-party electoral competition since decades.

How FORD leaders could satisfy the corresponding political ambitions and what they have ever faced in their political life especially Oginga Odinga, was no doubt the most complicated political scene. In these circumstances, the question what factors have led to the formation of new parties after the repeal of Section 2A and why they have failed to continue remained a dilemma until the present time. Their division was not only a big blow to democratic development but also became an obstacle to derive political culture in the country. Whatever the split of FORD

¹ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, February 7, 1992, pp. 3-9

² The Weekly Review, Nairobi, August 14, 1992, pp. 4-5, 9-10

³ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, May 8, 1992, pp. 4-6, 10-12; Boadi, E. Gyimah, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.7, No.2, April 1996, p. 121

⁴ Africa Confidential, Vol.33, No.9, May 8, 1992, pp. 1-3

⁵ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, August 1992, pp. 3-6

has caused, some of its founders have continued with the original concept to implement multi-party system in the country under different factions. For example, as the father of Kenyan opposition politics Oginga Odinga has formed FORD-Kenya party in 1992, other prominent politicians like Paul Muite, Michael Wamalwa and Raila Odinga joined him after the original FORD party was splintered into two factions.² Mr. Odinga chaired the party first until his death in 1994. Mr. Wamalwa the then second vice-chairman became FORD-Kenya's leader after the subsequent resignation of the first vice-chairman Mr. Paul Muite.

But there appeared also a factional fighting for the leadership of FORD-Kenya between the party members, Raila Odinga and Michael Wamalwa. Hence, FORD-Kenya became the only party in the country with a parliamentary representative in each province, something that even the ruling KANU party could not achieve in many provinces.³ Since its formation, Foreign Foundations who were interested in promoting democracy have provided Funds to FORD-Kenya. Accusations were made by KANU hard-liners that the opposition parties especially FORD-Kenya had received funds from USA and Germany.⁴ Even if ethnic division affects it, the party's motive remains committed to democratic principles.

As it is already explained above, the second faction was registered under the name **FORD-Asili** by Mr. Kenneth Matiba a Kikuyu tribe, who had been a minister under Kenyatta and Moi cabinets. When Matiba and Martin Shikuku both original FORD founding members disagreed with Oginga Odinga about the adoption of candidate nomination for the presidency in 1992, they have formed FORD-Asili as a separate political party in the same year.⁵ On the other side, Matiba has launched on a crusade for multi-party democracy with the 1990 and 1991 pressure group movements, where President Moi has detained him over his agitation. His campaign succeeded in the presidential elections of December 1992 and came second to Moi, winning 26% of the votes in relation to Moi 36%.⁶ In the 1992 elections, if they did not have personality differences between Odinga and Matiba, they would undoubtedly have defeated Moi.

In the 1997 elections, Mr. Matiba has enjoyed almost fanatical support from the Kikuyu community of Central Province and Nairobi. But at first, he did not register as a voter, claiming

¹ Human Rights Watch Africa, *Divide and Rule* (1993), p. 9

² Glickman, Harvey (1995), p. 182

³ Ibid., p. 183

⁴ The Standard, Nairobi, November 2, 1992, p. 3

⁵ New African Report, Kenya: Presidential Challenger, London September 12, 1997, p. 12

⁶ Ibid.

not to contest the presidential and parliamentary elections by calling it the whole exercise a fraudulent. However, when the chips were down, he could not resist the **challenges**,¹ hence, to lead his party FORD-Asili came then in question. To close the dilemma and consequences of FORD members division and failure to overcome the Kenyan political scene in their hands, they seem never to achieve their ultimate ambition unless they can find a way of forging lasting alliance with other opposition faction leaders.

Democratic Party of Kenya (DP): Similar to FORD-Asili and FORD-Kenya, members of the original FORD pressure group, led by Mwai Kibaki, the former Vice-President and Finance Minister under President Moi has formed the Democratic Party in December 1992.² In many instances, its aims and beliefs are similar to those of FORD, which was committed to limit government within the framework of a pluralistic democracy and good governance. From the outset, the constitution of DP appeals to adopt the principle of unity based on Justice, Liberty and Equality to the electorate, separation of powers and on the repeal of all unjust and oppressive laws.³ The mission of the party is clearly stated in Article 1 of its Constitution that gives further insights about its policies, aims and objectives.

Mwai Kibaki who was nominated to vie for the presidency in December 29, 1992 elections has resigned from the government and from KANU, to launch the Democratic Party of Kenya.⁴ Most Kenyans were encouraged to see DP as the party of rich Kikuyu and both FORD and KANU divided it as 'an exclusive club that discusses politics at golf courses'.⁵ As FORD and its factions became ever more immersed in its own internal problems, the DP has appeared to be much better organized than the larger opposition parties.⁶

It was hoped that DP could lead the country out of the social and economic mess, it found itself as a result of KANU's leadership, which has been famous for corruption and destruction of democratic institutions. Thus, the DP's prospects still appeared limited and seemed unable to break out its Kikuyu bastion or to appeal to younger and more radical voters who had become disillusioned by factional division in FORD. For the Kenyan people, it was then time to look at the

¹ Southall, Roger, in: Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE), Vol.26, No.79 (1999), p. 99

² Glickman Harvey (1995), pp. 182-183

³ Constitution of DP, Nairobi 1992

⁴ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 6, 1998, p. 28; Southall, Roger, in: (ROAPE), Vol.26, No.79, London, March 1999, p. 98

⁵ International Minority Rights Group (London 1997), p. 49

⁶ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, May 29, 1992, pp. 37-38

promises the DP has made to the country in the events of forming a new government after the elections. But the faith of citizens in politicians has been destroyed as KANU's political machine often stretches its hands to split its opponents in the country's political scene.

National Development Party of Kenya (NDP): This party has been the first brand of opposition typed by many as the most serious challenger to Moi and KANU for the presidency. Before FORD was created Oginga Odinga has initiated it as a National Democratic Party, but was denied registration by KANU authorities.¹ In April 1991, Oginga Odinga has attempted unsuccessfully to register the NDP and challenged the government's refusal in Court to allow registration of political parties other than KANU. NDP was then formed after the 1992 General Elections as a National Development Party.² It is considered as a splinter centrist group from FORD-Kenya and came about due to leadership wrangles between the late Oginga Odinga's son Raila Odinga and the FORD-Kenya chairman Kijana Wamalwa. Mr. Raila Odinga has quitted FORD-Kenya in December 1996 after a protracted wrangling with Mr. Wamalwa who took over the party's leadership to revive the then moribund NDP.³

Raila's defection from FORD-Kenya to NDP has given it fresh momentum bringing it into the national limelight in January 1997. After the 1997 elections, NDP has failed to join other main opposition parties to unseat KANU, instead it has tended to transform from a radical opposition to a moderate betrayal of the other opposition by cooperating with KANU. This movement seemed for many to have ruined the multi-partism in the country. But its leader, Raila Odinga said the co-operation with KANU would lead to a "peaceful transition" in the country's leadership.⁴

The deputy leader of NDP Professor Geoffrey ole Maloiy resigned from his post immediately protesting Raila's declaration of the party's co-operation with KANU. The then deputy leader of NDP in his resignation said, "As a result of recent events and activities, NDP no longer offers any attractive alternative and possibilities as an Opposition of Kenyan political national party".⁵ For many who have faced a bitter struggle to change the KANU authoritarian one-party system, it might be difficult to associate with a party that had among other things, impoverished the majority of Kenyans while promoting mediocrity and tribalism in the public sector. Whether the peaceful transition as NDP

¹ Glickman Harvey (1995), p. 181

² David W. Throup and Charles Hornsby (1998), pp. 69-71; Schroeder, Guenther (1998), p. 20

³ Schroeder, Guenther (1998), p. 30

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 12

⁵ The Nation, Nairobi, June 19, 1998, p. 1

leaders have said will be achieved after the 2002 presidential and parliamentary election remains in its favour is not certain.

Social Democratic Party (SDP): Jonstone Makau who was later defected to KANU prior to the 1992 polls has formed this party. Mr. Makau has used SDP as a strump card in the political scene targeting to encourage a small Kamba tribe people (10%) in the Rift Valley areas and to view themselves as part of the minority ethnic groups.¹ The party remained moribund until 1997, but it was taken over by supporters of Charity Ngilu. It did not present a presidential candidate in the 1992 General multi-party Elections. But in the 1997 general elections, the party has nominated a woman as a presidential candidate who were decamped from Democratic Party to revive and install SDP's fortune.²

What one can wonder is how the future sole of SDP will play in Kenya's political scene. When and how it is likely to be used to frustrate the other larger new parties in their efforts to prevent a challenge to KANU remains uncertain. Mrs. Ngilu's candidature had threatened to shut KANU out of areas dominated by her Kamba tribe in Eastern and Coastal provinces which were previously thought to be safe areas for the ruling party KANU.³ In other provincial constituencies, SDP vote was only marginal and primarily seen not as a reform candidate but as a gender. Her style of taking on administrators and the fact that she can appeal to the populous women's vote threatened to change equation in December 29, 1997 polls. Mrs. Ngilu is the first ever-Kenyan woman to vie for the highest and most powerful elective office in the country.

She has also promised to eliminate mediocrity and generate wealth from within, without relying on foreign aid and to offer jobs to Kenyans, wanted to stop political and tribal patronage for state appointments and business contracts. New African Magazine in its September 1997 editorial writes: "Mrs. Ngilu is a well-educated Businesswoman, with gracious ambitions, and has strong following particularly among women in all parts of Kenya. Before the 1997 General Elections, she was regarded in some regions as the strongest opposition presidential candidate and the only hope capable for defeating President Moi at the polls".⁴ Her entry into the national political arena as a presidential candidate was a courageous act and became the darling of the local media in Kenya.

¹ International Minority Rights Group (London 1997), p. 40

² Schroeder, Guenther (1998), p. 140

³ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, p. 29

⁴ New African, Kenya Presidential Challengers, London, September 12, 1997, p. 13

In one of the most dramatic political events in the country since the introduction of political pluralism in 1992, some stronghold areas of the ruling party KANU were suddenly threatened by the SDP. The Weekly Review writes: "At first, the ruling party strategists have inclined to dismiss Ngilu as a novice who was out of her depth in national politics, but when her national status began to grow, nurtured by a great deal of media type, KANU began to take her threat seriously."¹

Even if she had run an enthusiastic campaign to be Africa's first women president, Ngilu's threat to KANU did not work out as it was expected. Her chance to succeed in the 1997 presidential race, in a male dominated society like Kenya became slim. But she has certainly used the campaign to ventilate the principles she stands for.² Kenya's Weekly Review in its January edition analyzed about SDP competition in the election as follows: "As the final election return comes, it became quite clear that Ngilu's political attraction did not go far beyond the parts of SDP stronghold. Her political experience and the failure of her handling to read the political mood of the country correctly and advise her accordingly were the main causes for her poor showing at the polls".³

Despite all the excitement over the SDP and its attractive presidential candidate, the party did not have any strong grass-root organizations even in what was regarded as the party's strongholds. How far the party and its leaders have learned to more liberalization of the country's political strategic scene can be an interesting point in the next elections if all remain like it was in the 1997.

Safina Party: This party was initiated in 1995 by inter-alia, prominent members of FORD-Kenya, a lawyer, Paul Muite (Kikuyu) and the former head of Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) Dr. Richard Leakey, (a White born Kenyan citizen). Even if Safina's ('Noah's Ark' = in Swahili) aim during its foundation was to combat corruption and human rights abuses and introduce proportionate representation, it was denied by the government to be registered.⁴ There were national and international protests against Moi government's reluctance to register Safina and other new coming parties. But two years after its foundation, the party was registered on November 26, 1997.⁵ Kenya Confidential, which is sympathetic to the Democratic Party (DP) has argued that the government had registered Safina on the advice of domestic intelligence, in the hope that it

¹ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, p. 29

² New African, A Battle for the Heart of Kenya!, London January 1998, p. 10

³ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, p. 30

⁴ Refusal Letter from the Attorney General Chamber in Nairobi, 03.10.1997, under File No.Soc/33386

⁵ The Economic Review, Nairobi, December 1-7, 1997, p. 26

would under move Mr. Kibaki Kikuyu support.¹ The party Safina poses a political threat to all opposition parties since it has tried to target the anti-government Kikuyu vote and other weak opposition parties sympathizers. On the other hand, Safina leaders see themselves as the party of the future and would not like run-off that might put other party's leaders like Kibaki (Kikuyu) and Odinga (Luo) in the saddle of power.

As a late comer to the 1997 elections, it was difficult for Safina to get agreement on its main principles that all parties should unite behind one candidate, but they all seemed the least unwilling to compromise for the sake of unity.² However, the party had only field parliamentary candidates in the December 29, 1997 General election because of the little time it has to organize itself for the polls.

Looking at the constituencies where Safina leaders were expected to do quite well, the picture emerged that a sense, it was constructed around a Kikuyu core to which various local interest factions of other ethnic groups had allied. Safina certainly had a leading core of well-educated urban professionals who have joined the emerging reform movement against one-party rule of KANU.³ But like all other party member leaders, Safina's leaders must be worried stiff about the tribal factors that has become the driving force in the country's politics since the introduction of multi-party in 1992.⁴

If this trend does not change, then Safina's leaders stand little chance of ever ascending to the top seat unless some communities apart from the stronghold areas would vote for them. This has been the fate for other parties who have suffered in December 1997 elections when they commanded support primarily from their own ethnic communities⁵. There is no indication that the trend will have changed much until the next general elections in 2002. The challenge therefore, to all politicians either KANU, Safina, or others and indeed every Kenyan is to ensure that ethnicity in its most negative form does not end up fragmenting the country into mini and highly antagonistic party tribal state.

¹ Quoted in EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1998, pp. 9-10

² Africa Confidential, Vol.9, No.13, London, May 29, 1998, p. 10

³ The Economic Review, Nairobi, December 1-7, 1997, p. 29

⁴ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, p. 13

⁵ Ibid.

Other Parties: There were other new minor political parties who have participated in the 1997 elections.¹ In pursuit of this, whenever an election or crisis have appeared, Kenyans like to form new parties whether as a faction or as a splinter group. For example, after the 1997 election was over, small groups of young KANU MPs have announced their intention to form a new party called United Democratic Movement (UDM). An application for the registration has been lodged but President Moi, angered by politicians made it clear that he has intended to block UDM's formation.² Because of this and other related frustrations, Moi has asked for a bill to be passed in parliament that prevents sitting MPs from creating other parties on defecting.³ The president has also ordered the Attorney General not to process pending applications for party registration until the bill has made its way through parliament.⁴

For all this and related issues a new constitution will be re-written by December 2001.⁵ But if the forthcoming constitutional debate squarely addresses the issue of limiting the executive power of the future Kenyan president is uncertain. Nearly all other new registered political parties have committed themselves to these deals.⁶ But what matters might be an effective implementation of competitive party programmes that can challenge the immense political, economic and social problems of the country.

The future of democracy in Kenya as elsewhere depends on more than electoral politics. But if the perseverance of Kenya's principal political actors, such as the mainstream NCKK which has played a pivotal role in the previous constitutional reform and in highlighting the human rights abuses by the government can turn on the political will.¹ Negotiations over comprehensive constitutional reforms could be the foundation for concluding the democratic transition. However, these talks will demand from all parties precisely the flexibility and readiness to give and take that is so conspicuously missing in Africa's fractional political culture. Indeed, failure to address the vital interests of the KANU constituency as well as those of the opposition may undermine the entire process and lead to a renewed political paralysis.

The opposition must also be forthcoming, not only on the issues of constitutional reforms but on giving Moi and individual ruling party (KANU) hard-liners an exit option which can be dressed

¹ David Throup W. and Charles Hornsby (1998), p. 280; Schroeder, Guenther (1998), p. 10

² EIU Kenya Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 14

³ New Africa, London, January 1998, p. 11

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, pp. 4, 6, 13

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 7

up as a South Africa 1994-style government of National Unity in the forms of guarantees against prosecution for acts committed in office. Moreover, the crucial issue of ethnic minority rights to land and to a fair share of other resources that they regard as rightfully theirs, including state-funded infrastructure and social-welfare services must be dealt without hesitation. Then parties that can achieve to withstand the economic and social problems in the country could continue to make constitutional reforms in order to implement democratic demands.

Political Pressure Groups: The Kenyan Constitution touches on fundamental rights of freedom of association as stipulated in Article 80:1. Kenyan rights to assemble freely and associate with other persons and particularly to form or belong to trade unions or other civic associations for the protection of his/her interests is guaranteed under their country's constitution.² Verbally, Trade Unions and associations can be established and registered as pressure groups that are mostly described as political rights and civil liberties.³ But it has been very difficult for civic organizations to protect their interests as it states in the Kenyan constitution.

In order to achieve its stronghold on the civil society, the Kenyan government has gone against the fundamental constitutionally guaranteed rights. On the other side, the country's constitution recognizes the basic document of International Law such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) which reads that all workers have the right to establish and join organizations of their own choice⁴ to all categories of workers including public employees for the defense of their interests without discrimination whatsoever.⁵ In contrary to the constitution, the willingness of pressure groups to speak out on sensitive political and social issues has brought into direct confrontation with president Moi's government. He, like other African leaders fears the power of pressure group sectors and has significantly reduced the scope and autonomy of non-governmental organizations or pressure groups over the last decades.⁶

Generally, there has always been institutional control by the government and the efforts of trade unions to protect their interests had been limited and oppressed by KANU under the Kenyatta as well as Moi's regimes. For example, all elected top functionaries of Kenya

¹ Ibid., p. 8

² Festus Eribo and William Jong-Ebot, 1997), p. 42

³ The Constitution of Kenya (Nairobi 1992), Article 80:2/d

⁴ The International Labour Organization Convention No.87; ICCPR Article 19-20

⁵ ICCPR Article 21:1

⁶ Widner, Jennifer A., The Rise of Party-State in Kenya (1992), p. 187

Federation of Labour (KFL) or the Office of the President must confirm COTU¹. On one hand, even the raise of multi-party politics in Kenya has not brought pluralism in the trade union movement and other political pressure groups though many of them are registered under the Kenyan Trade Unions Act.² On the other hand, they, like the political parties also have political power, which resided in their ability to get out on the streets in numbers and in a form that challenges the capacity to their government to maintain order. But if their activities are seen as militancy to the government and threaten the political scene, they were dissolved. For example, the government has attempted to remove the existing trade unions leadership, detained and harassed etc.³

Similar to the political parties there have been many pressure and interest groups in the Kenyan political society. They are organized by industry rather than by craft and union membership is voluntary. Employees are represented by the Federation of Kenya Employers' (FKE), while trade union activities and negotiations with the Government on labour issues are co-ordinated by the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU). There is a well-established industrial court for the settlement of labour disputes, but a cordial system of industrial relations has developed by the authorities over the years to control trade unions effectively.⁴

There are many political pressure civil society groups in Kenya. Among them are the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU); the Law Society of Kenya (LSK); Religious Organizations like the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK); Anglican Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK); and the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) whose strong hold is in Nairobi and its vicinity; Independent Unions like Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT); University Academic Staff Union/Students and others like Kenyan Human Rights Commission, Kenya Local Government Worker's Union, Kenya Union of Journalists, Press Media and Ethnic Organizations continued to operate as special interest groups. But the government's reaction to the pressure groups is to curtail their power visibly whenever they oppose any of the president's initiatives.⁵

¹ Tordorff, William (1997), pp. 60-61; Society, No.15, Nairobi, June 8, 1992, pp. 40-42

² Kenyan Constitution (Nairobi 1992), Article 80:2/d; Trade Union Act Capital 233, Government Printer, Nairobi 1983

³ Africa South of the Sahara, Europa publications, 22 edition, London 1993, p. 553

⁴ World University Service, Academic Freedom 4, (1996), p. 46

⁵ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, March 20, 1987, pp. 24 ff., 47; Kenya Taking Liberties, Human Rights Watch Africa (1991), p. 217 ff.; EIU

The web of associations that cemented state and society together in the two or more decades following Kenyan independence have been effectively dispersed by the Moi regime and its KANU party. The trend for the associations that have survived, have been co-opted and forced to affiliate with the ruling party. But the case with the Central Organization for Trade Unions (COTU) in 1989 and the largest Women's Organization Mandeleo Ya Wanawake (MYWA), were closely controlled for decades and even after the introduction of multi-partyism.¹ To reflect their present future, some of the above mentioned pressure groups will be separately examined under the following in connection with their role to the Kenyan political, economic and social developments.

The Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU): Trade union in Kenya has been a major drive of the political force campaigning for constitutional democratic change and economic development. Thus, its leaders are leading members of the National Convention Executive Committee which is a coalition of political parties, mainstream churches, Law Society of Kenya and trade unions and others pressure groups who have campaigned for multiparty electoral competition in the country². It is an important organization, which has a considerable position of power to cater the interests of all medium-sized and large enterprises in the country such as industry and commerce and the agrarian sector.³

Approximately 390,000 workers are members of the major labour unions like COTU. With the exception of the Kenya National Union of Teachers and the Kenya Union of Civil Servants, all principal unions are affiliated with the "central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU). The government dominates labour-management relations through the Ministry of Labour with the authority to register trade unions.⁴ The Ministry also supervises union representation elections, and certifies winners before they can officially sit down at the bargaining tables. For example, in

Kenya Country Report, London 1993, p. 42; Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1996, p. 11; Annual Survey of Trade Unions Rights, International Labour Organization, Brussels 1999, pp. 26-29

¹ Society, No.15, Nairobi, June 8, 1992, pp. 40-42; Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights publications Yearbook (1993), p. 187; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 9

² The Weekly Review, Nairobi, April 24, 1987, p. 3; Ndegwa, Stephen N., (1996), pp. 27-28; John W. Harbison; Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, (London 1994), p. 298

³ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, May 1, 1987, p. 20; Annual Survey of Trade Union Rights, International Labour Organization, Brussels 1999, p. 26

⁴ Delury, George E., World Encyclopaedia of Political Systems and Parties, 2nd edition, Vol.1, New York 1987, p. 637

order to undermine the political potential of COTU, the government has brought it under its own political umbrella, trying to turn it into a wing of KANU.¹ The KANU authorities used to disperse all pressure groups and install one, which supports them. COTU has been one of Moi's regime's targets and its leaders and supporters are often harassed when they reject to work for the government's interests. For example, on August 8th 1997, the authorities have arrested over 500 union members and pro-democracy activists who have demanded civil liberties to the ongoing general elections.²

Because of the government's role in the organized labour, most unions are firm supporters of the Moi regime. While the Minister or the President can ban strikes, the relationship between parties and unions often fell short of formal ties until the eve of the introduction of multi-party in 1992.³ The principal labour federation COTU is the sole union umbrella group that could normally be counted upon to support the government until mid-1993 when its leadership has called a general strike over pay in defiance of the authorities.⁴

As it has been explained above, COTU together with other societal groups, like Law Society of Kenya (LSK), Kenyan coalition of Churches (CPK), (PCEA) and (NCCK), etc. crystallized into an active opposition against the repressive government and played in the forefront of the pro-democracy movement.⁵ At the end of 1991 when one examines the relations between trade unions political participation and political life in Kenya, it appears crucial to avoid the pitfall of viewing the country's trade union movement as a homogenous unity. Where as the top of Kenya's trade union structure was involved in political maneuvers to a considerable extent, a focus on the activities of the industrial unions affiliated to it reveals an almost entirely different picture.¹ It is against this background of predominant business unionism that the highly publicized political attempt to become involved at the top of the union structure should be examined.

Religious Organizations: Some Kenyan Churches and religious organizations have seldom relaxed their long established reserve towards political issues in the country. Since the change of

¹ Mazrui, Alamin; Mutunga, Willy, in: ROAPE, Vol.22, No.64 (1995), pp. 259 ff.

² Annual Survey of Trade Union Rights, (ILO) Brussels 1999, p. 27

³ Ndegwa, Stephen N. (1996), p. 113

⁴ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, November 14, 1996, pp. 12-14; Ibid., August 6, 1993, pp. 12-13

⁵ International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), Democracy and the Rule of Law in Kenya, Geneva, April 1997, p. 16

the de facto one party to the de jure one-party state which had banned all opposition parties, Kenyan well known representatives of individual church leaders like from the Church of Province of Kenya (CPK), the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) have criticized various aspects of repressive regimes' policies in the country.²

Despite considerable pressure from the political leadership of KANU, the church has began to contribute to the Kenyan society through bitter struggle. Church leaders strong involvement in the protection of civil liberties began in 1986, by objecting President Moi's elections in his single-party system.³ Some members of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) have first spoken publicly about the loss of civil liberties. The Anglican Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK) and the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) played a major role in sustaining discussion on civil liberties when public defender groups, such as the Law Society of Kenya (LSK) had succumbed to harassment.⁴

During such occasions, the NCCCK affiliate CPK's have Reverend Alexander Kipsang Muge replied with fighting words, "I shall not protest against the violations of human rights in South Africa if I am not allowed to protest the violation of human rights in my own country." He declared to say this while other people do not want to say simply because they will get into trouble with the politicians.⁵ Muge's remarks won the attention and support of both Anglican and Episcopal leaders around the world in the Kenyan Community. The international press responded quickly and alerted to the significance of the church actions by Muge. For example, The BBC has broadcasted Muge's Sermon about the role of the church, allowing Muge to reach many Kenyans who would otherwise not have heard the remarks. At last, Bishop Alexander Muge was killed on 14 August 1990 because of his political position against Moi government.⁶ Previously, Rev. Peter Njenga, another church leader regime

¹ Tordorff, William, (1997), pp. 60-61

² The Weekly Review, Nairobi, April 24, 1987, p. 3 ff.; Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights Yearbook publications, Copenhagen, Oslo 1993, p. 188

³ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 30, 1987, p. 15; Widner, Jennifer A., (1992), p. 190

⁴ News from Human Rights Africa Watch, Kenya Political Crackdown intensifies, Washington D.C., New York and London, May 2, 1990, p. 6

⁵ Quoted in Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), p. 191 from The Weekly Review, Nairobi, April 24, 1990, p. 4

⁶ Ajulu, Rok, in: Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE), No.53, March 1992, p. 79

critics was murdered in October 1989 in a mysterious ways of car accident. But many people expected that the government had been involved in the murder of its critics.¹

The CPK and NCKK have moved quickly to mobilize their international networks and keep the spotlight on the issues raised and on their members, offering a medicum of protection from Moi's dangerous political environment. It has also created a new forum of political communication, the Sermon, which Church leaders soon learned to monograph and tape for distribution, in the belief that the government was still wary of censoring religious speech.² The Kenyan Churches have rapidly broadened their criticism to include the detention of political opponents and the obstacles to debate, which were created by a one-party political system. They have appealed, calling for multi-party democracy more clearly than any other groups next to the Legal professional public defender group (LSK) and were seen as a significant contribution to democratic transition.³

The Church in Kenya, organized under NCKK as in many nations of the world today has always regarded itself a legitimate watchdog of the state. Along with critical lawyers of the Law Society of Kenya members, the church members have been known as the unofficial opposition party, and as a truly popular body, which presents power to influence and organize a formidable threat to the government.⁴ Traditionally, the Church in Kenya has a unique status and mandate in the society that allows it to criticize the government on moral rather than political grounds. But according to the church official members, active monitoring of the government is an intrinsic duty in preaching the bible. The role of the church organizations in Kenya seems to encourage the promotion of social justice, making sure that the state acts responsible and is on the side of victims of oppression. The willingness of some church leaders to speak out on sensitive political and social issues has brought the church into direct confrontation with president Moi's government.⁵

¹ Wisemen, John A. (1997), p. 41

² Kenya Taking Liberties, Human Rights Watch Africa Report (1991), pp. 222-223

³ Ibid., p. 231

⁴ Boadi, Gyimah E., in: Larry Diamond et al (eds.), Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies, Theses and Perspectives (1997), p. 279; Reports on the December 29-30, 1997 General Elections in Kenya, NCKK Institute for Education in Democracy, Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, Nairobi 1998, p. 24; Barkan and Ngethe, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.2 (1998), p. 38

⁵ NCKK Justice, Peace and Reconciliation Programme, Involvement in Democracy, Human Rights and Democracy, General Secretariat, Nairobi 1996, p. 3

Compared to other critical groups, the church has often, greater impact on the government because it is not confined to the elite and the literate; its constituency is nationwide. It is a popular body and the threat it presents to the government is considerable in comparison to Sudan and Ethiopian church organizations. The Weekly Review in its June edition writes: "The government is inhibited in criminalizing opposition by the church, in the way it has done with its other critics, because of its national status and international clout. Nonetheless, the government is engaged in a relentless campaign to undermine the effectiveness of the church and to discredit its outspoken leaders".¹ President Moi referred to church leaders "those who propagate lies and falsehoods." Initiated by President Moi and his ruling party, this led to public attacks on the church and increased significantly. Other KANU Senior politicians have also often threatened to curtail the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of worship and issued calls to detain church leaders.²

Calls for political reform from the church leaders became holder in 1990-1991, although much of the criticism on political reform had been put forward in the mid-1980s. Action against the church was urged in parliament in 1989 as its leaders were suspected feeding about violent and political corruption to foreigners to get money.³ The history of church intervention in Kenyan politics goes back a long way to the 1970s. It nurtured the opposition and the society in the late 1980s dark days to sustain democratization, awakening of civil society and to allow multiparty electoral competition.⁴ Some of its leaders like Bishop Alexander Muge and others have been denied the opportunity to get a promotion (higher position) because of their outspoken political views against the government. For example, the late Bishop Alexander Muge of the Eldoret Diocese and Rev. Dr. Henry Okullu strongly opposed the then sole KANU political party as it has conducted elections without other competitor parties in 1988.⁵ The church leaders active history of involvement in Kenya's democratization process was seen beginning with the push for the introduction of multi-party politics in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It has made reform agitation's in the 1997 constitutional reform and offered unequivocal support to the pro-reform groups amidst accusations by KANU operatives claiming that a section of the clergy were advancing the opposition's cause. After multi-party has been introduced, a relatively independent channel of information was developed within the above religious institutions or pressure groups

¹ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, June 8, 1990, p. 6; Ndegwa, Stephen N. (1996), p. 64

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1990-1991, p. 9

³ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, December 15, 1989, p. 7

⁴ John Harbison, Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan (1994), p. 298

⁵ The Economic Review, Nairobi, February 16-22, 1998, p. 25

which has put them into a position to convey the regime's limitations on acceptance of particular policies.¹

Especially, the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) has been in the forefront of opposition to the authoritarianism of President Daniel arap Moi and his Kenya African National Union.² The NCCCK has been an early and vocal critic of Moi regime's policies openly condemning both political repression and the government's mismanagement of the economy.³ The religious based civil-society groups have played key roles not only in starting but also in guiding the process of political opening. On the other side, although the Kenyan society has failed to force Moi and KANU to accept a constitutional assembly, it did bring Kenyan political forces to the bargaining tables that indeed can broaden the base of political pressure groups.

The Law Society of Kenya (LSK): The Law Society of Kenya is a professional organization, which comprises over 1,500 lawyers that became politically outspoken in the late 1980s.⁴ It had been the forefront to oppose Moi regime and provided resourceful platform to propel diverse political agenda. Kenyan Lawyers' Organizations and many individual lawyers who are members of LSK have played a prominent role pressurizing president Moi to restore a multi-party system. LSK has been in the ranks of leading multiparty advocates and opposition party activists⁵. Prior to the pro-democracy campaigns, human rights lawyers had provided one of the few defences against oppression by the government and called for the repeal of Section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution which upholds the existence of single party state.⁶

Although president Moi has attempted to woo 'patriotic lawyers' those who would support him, the Law Society of Kenya (LSK) became one of his major opponents. Its members have called constantly for the registration of opposition parties and have repeatedly written pro-democracy articles that demanded the repeal of Section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution.¹ This pressure group was known as the acting unofficial opposition party. Before 1992, it has come under increasing

¹ Barkan and Ngethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2, April 1998, p. 39

² Boadi, Gyimah E., in: Diamond, Larry et al, *The Third Wave Democracies, Themes and Perspectives* (1997), p. 279

³ Boadi, Gyimah E., in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.7, No.2, April 1996, p. 119

⁴ Ndegwa, Stephen N. (1996), p. 27

⁵ Von Deopp, Peter, in: *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol.31, No.1, (Spring 1996), p. 38

⁶ Kuria, Kamau Gibson, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.2, No.4 (1991), p. 124; Human Rights Watch Africa, Washington D.C., New York, December 1991, pp. 59-60

attacks by the government while it has constantly been calling the respect for human rights, democratic reforms and a sound judiciary.² Following a series of governmental attacks on the Law Society of Kenya, President Moi has accused it as a foreign identity organization.³ The LSK still remains an independent body but is often threatened by the government and its supporters.⁴

From the beginning, the government has attempted to reduce and cancel LSK's forum that includes papers given on considerations for political pluralism, human rights issues and the Rule of Law.⁵ The attempt by the government to impose conformity in the LSK did not stop critics to speak out independently, especially regarding human rights abuses and political reform. The government's action has hardened the Law Society of Kenya to coordinate National Conventions with other civil pressure groups, parties and endorse models of constitutional reforms under the motive "The Kenya We Want".⁶ The LSK tries to assemble representatives of opposition parties and NGOs, intending to soften KANU's long ruling period and adopt a constitutional reform and a possible transition to democracy.

University Students and Academic Staff: Students have been important political drivers not only in Kenya but also in Ethiopia and Sudan. They also bridge between the elite and the ordinary citizens and are feared while their voices are heard internationally. From one perspective, students can be seen as part of the educated elite, or at least as aspirant members of social group even if the government constrains them by labeling as troublemakers.⁷ As such, they can be seen as having shared the dissatisfactions with authoritarian rule of the educated elites in the professional associations.

From the other perspective, the widespread participation of students in the struggle for democracy shows that they are likely to be convinced by justifications for authoritarian rule,

¹ Index of Censorship, Vol.21, No.4, London 1992, pp. 21-22

² Human Rights Watch Africa, Divide and Rule, State-Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya, Washington D.C. and London (1993), p. 8

³ Kenya Taking Liberties, Africa Watch Report (1991), p. 171

⁴ Interview with LSK Personnel, Nairobi Office, 1.11.1997 at 3:30 PM local time

⁵ News from Human Rights Africa Watch, Kenya Political Crackdown Intensifies, Washington D.C., New York and London, May 2, 1990, pp. 15-16

⁶ The Way to the New Constitution, Towards the National Convention, National Convention Planning Committee, Nairobi 1997, p. 15 ff., 21; Interview with LSK Personnel, Nairobi office 17.11.1997 at 3:30 PM local time

⁷ Wiseman, John A. (1996), p. 53

which rested in part at least on the claims of autocratic leaders to have led their countries unity.¹ As in other parts of the world, student strikes in Kenya are easy to organize but largely in effective while they affect only students, the academic staff and their teachers. In spite of these weaknesses, Kenyan students have struggled long against the authoritarian governments' political control and victims of detention like their partners in Ethiopia and Sudan.²

Initially, the government has tried to tolerate open student protests and demonstrations, but it was not sustained for long. It has tried to plant puppets in students' leadership positions by introducing professional students into members of the intelligence service. These informers infiltrated the entire system of the university classes, halls of residence, and even the offices and other administrative areas of the university community.³ Such government's action made their unions paralyze and could not function independently. Through the Intelligence Service Network, the authorities have started to identify and weed out systematically those students and lecturers it perceived to be anti-establishment of the government's puppets. Several students were expelled, forced to flee the country, detained without trial or even killed in very suspicious circumstances.⁴ The rest of the student community was forced to sign several declarations committing them to 'good' behaviour and conduct while on the campus, but these commitments were never honored.⁵

The government changes tactics to ban any student union that it viewed as too militant for comfort and its security personnel closely controls any student body.⁶ But mostly, they react by demonstrations whenever the government acts on dirty politics but there has been no time that they went to the streets praising the government. Moi's government has little tolerance of what it calls student's "misbehaviour", giving them a message that it would brook no open student activism, which criticize him. When they have taken demonstrations they were dealt with arrest and killing.⁷

¹ Ibid., p. 54

² Mazrui, Alamin; Mutunga, Willy, in: ROAPE, Vol.22, No.64 (1995), p. 260

³ World University Service, Academic Freedom 4, (1996), p. 45

⁴ News from Africa Watch, Kenya Political Crackdown Intensifies, Washington D.C., New York and London, May 2, 1990, pp. 9-10; The Weekly Review, Nairobi, February 13, 1998, p. 17; Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1999, p. 222

⁵ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.6, No.5, New York, Washington D.C., London and Brussels, July 1994, p. 30

⁶ News from Africa Watch, Washington D.C., New York and London, May 2, 1990, p. 10

⁷ Compare World University Service, Academic Freedom 4, (London 1996), p. 45

There has also been a serious conflict between the government on one hand and the University Community on the other. On the other side, the majority of University academics in Kenya are state employees. There are a few private Universities in Kenya like the United States International University (USIU) and Daystar University; but even these are highly dependent on serving a full-time employees in Kenya's four public Universities.¹ In the 1980s, President Moi has banned the University Staff Union (UASU) together with the Civil Servant Union, because of what the government called "overindulgence in politics" and crackdown the leader of the union. Some were detained without trial for long, while those who have escaped arrests fled into exile. For example, 23 lecturers were subsequently dismissed from their position.² According to the Sudanese professor in the Kenyatta University Nairobi, there are some students and academic staffs still in prison.³ As professor, Gabriel has told me, academic members of staff who were not teaching what the authorities regard as the right material were also detained or forced into exile.

Although the issues, which have brought students into the streets usually are political, the underlying causes for unrest have often been more complicated. The strict control of government over their lives and future careers is one issue and for some, central conflict between home life and university life are other factors while the government had no education system that makes the deficit or arrangements of such differences clear. Like most university students in Africa and elsewhere, students also have difficulties to reconcile some of the inequalities they see in their society while they embrace the modern values.

Banning political rights has blocked their contact to university teachers. In broader relations with government, a mood of confrontation goes back at least to the late Kenyatta years, as students had formed an "unofficial opposition" in league with the press and parliament's back-benchers.⁴ Since the USU was banned, the lecturers and students were repressed, not allowed to form any meaningful lecturer or student union. On one side, the banning of University Staff

¹ Alamin Mazrui and Willy Mutunga, in: Review of Political Economy (ROAPE), Vol.22, No.64 (1995), p. 258

² News from Africa Watch, New York, Washington D.C. and London 2 May 1990, p. 9; Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.6, No.5, New York, Washington D.C., London and Brussels, July 1994, pp. 29-30, World University Service, Academic Freedom 4 (London 1996), p. 44

³ Personal Discussion with Professor Dr. Gabriel, Lecturer in Kenyatta University, Nairobi 20.11.1997, 2:30 PM local time

⁴ Miller, Norman N. (1984), p. 103

Union (USU) was a clear violation of the Kenyan Constitution that reads: The Kenyan lecturers like other Kenyans have the right to belong to any trade union or association of their choice.¹

With the introduction of multi-party system, both lecturers and students saw the opportunity to revive their banned union and lodged an application to the government in 1993. During their application, they renamed the Universities Academic Staff Union (UASU), opposing its predecessor the student puppet, which was found by the government that could have represented all the universities in Kenya.² Even if it had strong backing motion in parliament, the application for registration was hold for over a year without response. The government has refused to register the union, contrary to the Kenyan Constitution, which clearly protects freedom of association as well as freedom of expression claiming it was used for unlawful purposes and politically motivated organization.³

UASU decided to take the matter to court but the authorities did not resolve it, preferring to use coercive tactics. The entire UASU leadership was dismissed between December 1993 and January 1994. The Union representatives therefore filed cases in court challenging the illegal denial of their union's constitutional rights by the government that remained pending.⁴ Apart from this, President Moi is the Chancellor of the Public Universities and at the same time, he appoints the vice-chancellors and the Principals of Colleges.⁵ President appoints the university councils who are the governing bodies of the universities, while the vice-chancellors serve as the chief executive and appoints all the heads of the various organs of the university.⁶ He can easily curtail freedom of civil liberties in the academia.

The power of the President over the university together with his statutory authority and possession of the right to appoint the senior managers of the public university has politicized the institutions thoroughly. The President controls the universities and no research can take place without express approval from the Office of the President. For example, lecturers and students must get clearance from the office of the President before attending seminars, workshops or

¹ Kenyan Constitution (Nairobi 1992), Article (0:1

² Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.6, No.5, Washington D.C., New York, London and Brussels, July 1994, p. 31

³ Kenyan Constitution (1992), Articles 71-73; Mazrui, Alamin; Mutunga, Willy, in: ROAPE, Vol.22, No.65 (1995), p. 257; Crusaders, Special Report on Education, Vol.4, No.4 (Nairobi, October 1997, p. 5

⁴ Civil Application No.NAI 20 of 1994, Nairobi 12/1994, pp. 10-11

⁵ The University of Nairobi Act, Nairobi 1985, Section 10:3

⁶ University of Nairobi Calender 1989-1990, Part III, Section 10:3/a-e, pp. 15-16; Mazrui, Alamin; Mutunga, Willy, In: ROAPE, Vol.22, No.64 (1995), p. 258

conferences outside the country.¹ The assumption is that the state must remain unchallenged when there is oversight of Moi management. It is on this basis that president Moi has used to proclaim that his government was taking care of its employees well and they did not need a union when he banned UASU and specially the civil University Staff Union (CSU) in 1980.²

The government regards CSU and UASU as its custodians of its interests rather than custodians of public interest. The struggle of Kenyan intellectuals for academic freedom is similar to the struggle of the wider society to protect political and economic interests. For them, academic freedom makes sense in the context of other fundamental rights that they should have to appeal in one voice to domestic as well as to the international community which finances the bulk of Moi's regime.³

Even the repression becomes high and complicated to castrate pressure on the government, Students and the University Staff did not stop challenging the regime. To many procedural concerns, relating in the various political and civil liberties raise serious questions about the relationship between the government and pressure groups like the University Staff and Students among others. The Universities should have channels through which members of the faculty including students could articulate their problems and champion academic freedom through an autonomy administration to be representative not only in an industrial but also in a professional sense. There is therefore no need to victimize any university lecturer, student's etc. for exercising the rights guaranteed by the constitution.

Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT): Teachers in Kenya are some of the poorest remunerated workers and understandably, they have a genuine grievance. The government has failed to solve the problems of teachers and they often went on strike demanding to be compensated for their labour. For example, in a recent development, President Moi had dismissed the October 1997 teachers' strikes declaring it as illegal and a political ploy instigated by officials of the Safina party.⁴ On 24 July 1998, KNUT called on warning strikes by teachers throughout the country.⁵ President Moi has spoken out some of the measures by his government

¹ Interview with Ocho, John, Population Studies and Research Institute Department of Geography, Nairobi 5.11.1997, 15:30 PM local time

² The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 21, 1994, p. 11

³ Wiseman, John A. (1996), pp. 74-75; Index on Censorship, Vol.5, London 1997, p. 173

⁴ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, October 11, 1997, p. 5

⁵ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, June 26, 1998, p. 2

to end teachers' strikes and to reduce their force by at least 180,000 from 260,000 primary and secondary teachers in the country.¹

Based on this, President Moi has made propaganda offensive against the teacher's demands and said that the issue of the teachers' pay salary increase had become politicized and that there was no way his government was going to accept their demands. He declared that 'since politics had been introduced into the dispute, it will then be solved politically'.² The President had announced then, that his government has intended to retire all teachers above the age of 50 to reduce their numbers. Severe criticism came from the opposition leaders who have argued that the government was trying to intimidate the teachers and the directive was tantamount to a declaration of war against the teachers. The opposition parties have complained that the government's action on the teachers' demands was destructive on the country's education system and the consequence would be disastrous for the already fragile educational structure.³

Throughout the country, confrontation between the teachers and police was the order of the day in 1999. KNUT officials were then arrested, beaten by hired KANU Youths League and the police and were released after unconditionally.⁴ The teacher's strikes' are to make broad political demands linking their grievances to official corruption and mismanagement of government resources. The government had failed to tame KNUT, instead it has tried to stop street demonstrations and political rallies by the striking teachers to prevent opposition politicians from taking advantage of popular discontent.⁵ Teachers' strikes and their capacity to participate in major political changes have shaken Moi's government and made political realignments in the country. But the government had only acceded to the demands of the teachers by considering a structure of tactical all-out practical and protracted confrontation to pre-empt KNUT until it will have broken the backs of the striking teachers as it did with its other critics.

It seems that the government and teachers dispute needs exercising restraint and talk candidly about what has gone wrong and what needs to be done in order to deactivate the confrontation. The basic question that remains open for observation is whether the government succeeds with its plans and despoils KNUT's protracted struggle or it continues demanding the

¹ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, July 24, 1998, p. 7

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 8

⁴ The Nation, Nairobi, December 5, 1999, p. 2

⁵ Crusader, Special Report on Education, Vol.4, No.4, Nairobi, October 1997, p. 4

democratic rights until it achieves to protect its members' interests along with transition to democracy.

The Media and Press: The Media and Press are important pressure groups in the country even if they are under government's heavy control. They have a responsibility of informing the society on various social and political issues that affect Kenya. The press has been a key actor in the construction of the modern Kenyan nation state.¹ Newspapers, pamphlets, mail order catalogs and other print media have taught readers what it means to be an African corrupt and backward society, the deficit of its political culture, hunger and famine, severe civil wars etc. For example, the role of Kenyan press has shaped the authoritarian development and advocated to protect traditions by harnessing the causes of nationalism and nation building.² The ideas of media had their origins from the colonial system but the ways in which they have been interpreted and intertwined are particularly to Kenya. For example, the Standard, the Daily Nation and the Kenya Times, which are published by KANU, have had close ties with the ruling class. They have been reporting openly within certain limits on political rivalries and disputes, errors made by the bureaucracy and parastatals and other significant social and economic issues.³

The Kenyan Nation Newspaper has had more brushes with the authorities than others, but after the introduction of multi-party, it has been quite clearly identified with the opposition.⁴ In dealing with individual cases, criticism is allowed but the press cannot afford to examine the basic social power relationship critically and the political interests of the political alliances at the head of the regime or above all the president. Alternative press publications such as Society, Economic Review, Nairobi Law Monthly and Finance had periodic difficulties with authorities having been ordered to stop publishing and threatening the physical disabling of their printing presses. For example, on 21 December 1998, Kenya's largest selling daily, "The Daily Nation" published by the Nation Media Group was barred from covering proceedings at the local commission while investigating the causes about the tribal clashes which rocked the country the 1990s <http://www.ifex.org/alrt/00004035.html>.¹ The Kenyan government keeps a tight control over the media press. By mid 1997, more than 100 radio license applications were kept in the Office of

¹ Human Rights Watch Africa, Vol.6, No.5, Washington D.C. New York, London and Brussels 1994, p. 18

² Festus Eribo and William Jong-Ebot (1997), p. 29

³ Ibid., p. 32

⁴ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 1, 1993, p. 23

the Minister of Information and Broadcasting. The few broadcasting licenses, which had been issued so far, were given only to individuals or groups in government's goal books.²

The Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) is a public funded state corporation operating both radio and television broadcasts. The radio programmes are offered in English, Swahili and a variety of other Kenyan ethnic languages. The Kenya Television Network (KTN) is legally a private company but the ruling party KANU owns it. It only provides television with regional audience coverage limited to Nairobi and environs. It has not been associated with KANU in the public mind because its local news sources appeared to be independent of the government when its leaders are often suspended as a result of their political sensitive coverage. KTN frequently covers stories that are ignored by Kenya Broadcasting Corporation.³

During one-party rule, both KBC and TV were consistently publications and propaganda organs of the government. The Daily Nation in its 1999 editorial section has reported that, the Nation Media Group has received more radio broadcast licenses for FM radio to cover local transmission and it is hoped to obtain more for many areas.⁴ Since the democratization movement had began the control over the electronic media by the government has been one of the permanent complaints of the Kenyan opposition. But this did not change much with the advent of multi-partyism despite the government's decision to liberalize the airwaves. During the 1992 elections, both the private and the public electronic media have exhibited a very high level of bias in favour of KANU.⁵ Particularly, the impact of the radio broadcasts in favour of KANU was not to be underestimated.

For many Kenyans who do not have access to TV or print media, radio is the only regular sources of news and general information outside or oral information networks. The power of presentation of this media, therefore, is tremendous. It is the effect of exercising this power that KANU has enjoyed dominating the Kenyan political scene.⁶

¹ Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1996, p. 57; Index on Censorship, Vol.26, No.1, January-February 1997, pp. 117

² The Economic Review, Nairobi, May 5-11, 1997, p. 18

³ Index on Censorship, Vol.26, No.5, London, September 1997, p. 173; Festus Eribo and William Jong-Ebot (1997), p. 35

⁴ Daily Nation, Nairobi, March 2, 1999, p. 3; Central Bureau of Statistics Office, Ministry of Planning and National Development Economic Survey, Nairobi, May 1999, p. 174

⁵ National Election Monitoring Unit, The 1992 Multi-Party General Elections in Kenya, Nairobi 1993, p. 58

⁶ Kenya Human Rights Commission, 'Elections'1997, Media Watch, Media Monitoring Report in Kenya, Nairobi, November 1997, p. 11

Radio, as the only real mass media has the potential service, which is a principle vehicle for national integration and development. However, that potential has been regularly subverted by the tendency of the state to subordinate the interests and needs of the popular classes to those of the ruling elite.¹ After the 1992 election, attempts by the opposition parties and pressure groups to introduce legislation against the exploitation of electronic media by KANU, only for its own benefits was not much successful. The Inter Parliamentary Party Group (IPPG) brokered reform to enforce a more and more balance treatment of all political parties in the public owned electronic media.²

It has recommended concerning the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Act to be amended by inserting a new subscription that 'the corporation shall keep a fair balance in all respects allocating of broadcasting hours as between different political view print'.³ This recommendation was transformed later into a legally binding Amendment of the KBC Act before the official campaign for the general election had started on December 10, 1997. But this did not change KANU's character of not willing to implement it in practice, while it could lead to the extent of sharing power.

The Print Media: Variety of newspapers and magazines are published in Kenya. The media scene is awash with propaganda to shape political perceptions of the citizens and manipulates their discourse deliberately.⁴ Given this situation in comparison with the pro-government media, coverage of the opposition parties became much better by the private print media. Print media are mostly covered by the Kenyan Daily Nation and The East African Standard which both strive to be politically non-aligned.⁵

The main Weekly print media are, The Weekly Review, Kenya's oldest best known political Journal (News Magazine) which usually practiced a greater degree of positive image towards the ruling party. For example, in the 1997 pre-election, it often was very critical and some times quite unfairly to the opposition.⁶ It is published by Stellagraphics, a Kenyan owned company, and

¹ Festus Eribo and William Jong-Ebot (1997), p. 36

² Crusader, Vol.4, No.4, Special Report on Education, Nairobi, October 1997, pp. 9-13

³ "High Lights of the Reform Package" Adopted by the Inter Parliamentary Group (IPPG), The Economic Review, Nairobi, September 15-21, 1997, p. 11

⁴ "The Media and Propaganda", in: The Economic Review, Nairobi, July 21-27, 1997, p. 23

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

edited by Hilary Ng'weno. It particularly had a marked version for the Kikuyu sector of the opposition which frequently came in for heavy criticism. The other Weeklies, *The People* and *Finance*, represent the interests of the Kikuyu opposition political position and are seen as partisan in their coverage of the political events.

There are other periodicals published in Kenya covering a wide range of political and social affairs. The *Weekly Review* is notable for its detailed coverage of Kenyan politics and business. For example, it has given close attention to controversial events and issues, but was never been banned or its editor charged with sedition. The magazine eschews sensational headlines; it is careful to present all positions and options, and its criticism is unmistakably "constructive".¹ A remarkable weekly Newsletter called "*Kenya Confidential*" tries to suggest by its title and presentation in the election time coverage, denigrated Moi and all other opposition presidential candidates who were openly accused to secretly be in KANU with Moi and out to rob Kibaki of its otherwise sure victory.² By its presentation, this Newsletter seems to have a link with *Africa Confidential*, the well-known and serious newsletter that deals on African Affairs. The mainstream weeklies provided the *Economic Review* the most exhaustive and balanced coverage of political events during the pre-election and election period of 1997 which reports also the country's *Economic Review*.

The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) also publishes Newsletter called "*Target*" to promote voters' education with other NGOs that seemed very balanced attempts to provide information on the election.³ In contrast to my observation, many journalists, researchers, politicians and election observers consider Kenya to have a relatively free and lively press compared to other African countries. However, Kenyan journalists consider themselves to be working within dangerous limitations.⁴ Journalists have very seldom access to official information. Reporters are routinely denied access to official information. The State run broadcasting Corporation also fails to provide accurate information. For example, many magazine publishers have received banning orders and have been subjected to unprecedented reporting restrictions;

¹ Festus Eribo and William Jong-Ebot (1997), p. 35

² *Kenya Confidential*, Vol.1, No.5, Nairobi, November 14, 1997, p. 1; *Ibid.*, Vol.2, No.7, February 13-19 (1998), p. 1

³ *Index on Censorship*, Vol.26, No.5, London, September-October 1997, pp. 173-174

⁴ *Amnesty International Annual Report*, London 1998, p. 220; *Index on Censorship*, Issue No.4, London 1997, p. 117

editors have been beaten, arrested, jailed, detained and harassed.¹ After pro-democracy demonstrations and riots shook the government, confidence moves to circumscribe press freedoms have increased since July 1990. Magazines were seized from street vendors by the Special Branch Officers, and editors, printers and journalists have often been assault, questioned and threatened to death.²

On the other hand, inspite of intimidation the press has proved more willingly to carry statements and interviews by government critics since the calls for political pluralism has started. It challenged what the government says illegal actions against publications and is encouraged persistently to demand the repeal of press ban by the government authorities.³ From this perspective, freedom of expression and information flows are still limited in Kenya. When the government predicts that it liberalizes political and social affairs in the country towards more democratization, the excessive control on the media has to be removed and there should be access to all areas, viewpoints and end culture of impunity. The government still controls broadcasting the major sources of news for most Kenyans and the culture of impunity remains. Media control and ownership in Kenya have been highly politicized and repressed since decades.⁴ According to the Freedom House reports, some journalists and their publications have been prohibited from publishing and/or received death threats and harsh fines for defamation.⁵ In practice, the situation that media workers are being denied information or access due to perceived or real political allegiances⁶ is bad enough under normal circumstances and the country's press is less free to report.

The Foreign Press: The Kenyan government inhibits comprehensive coverage by the foreign press. Many foreign correspondents use Nairobi for a regional coverage, but are comparatively restrained in their reporting of events about Kenya like the local journalists.⁷ 'Many international reporters are based in Nairobi, so Americans hear more about Kenya than most countries in

¹ Reporters Sans Frontieres, London 1996, pp. 56,58, Index on Censorship, No.5, London 1997, p. 173

² Index on Censorship, Vol.26, No.6, London 1997, p. 115

³ The Nairobi Law Monthly, No.60, Nairobi, January 1996, p. 2

⁴ Lofchie, Michael, in: Current History, (May 1986), p. 221

⁵ Freedom House, Press Freedom World Wide, Kenya page, January 1, 1999

⁶ Ellis, Stephen, in: Current History, Vol.99, No.637, May 2000, p. 222.

⁷ The Nairobi Law Monthly, No.60, Nairobi, January 1996, p. 20

Africa' (President Bill Clinton Press briefing for journalists at a White House about his Africa visit in March 1998).¹

Even if an estimated 200 foreign journalists are believed to be based in Nairobi, the Kenyan government is able to exert control over the composition of foreign press corps through the granting or withholding of work permits.² Apart from fear of deportation, foreign journalists are also discouraged from reporting on Kenya by the hostilities and lack of cooperation typically displaced by government ministers and other officials. For example, Stephen Ellis writes about this: "Because of the restrictions inherent in single-party government, the Kenyan Press was less free to report the events foreign correspondents considered newsworthy, which combined with other factors, made the Kenyan Press a less likely news sources for non-African reporters".³

When foreign journalists try to cover sensitive issues such as political rallies, they are violently beaten, expelled, insulted; their properties confiscated by KANU militants and security police.⁴ The Kenyan authorities have accused BBC reporter for 'inciting Kenyans to revolt' and jumping on the information media bandwagon against Kenya, ridiculing the President.⁵ Private Broadcasters, local as well as international are still banned in Kenya and the outlook for improvement is bleak. While the authorities have often accused the broadcasters because what they meant have discredited the country in their articles that they have written. On the other side, the Kenyan government deals with foreign as well as local journalists systematically to protect its repressive image, that its repressive act cannot be exposed. But its dirty game comes some times unexpected. For example, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has condemned the way one of its reports had been manipulated by the Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) on 18 August 1996. While a contract between the two companies allows the KBC to put out BBC programmes in their original form, but the BBC had noticed that on several occasions the broadcasts had been cut in order to censor them or changes their meaning.⁶

In general, the Kenyan government has domestic as well as international pressures for its press manipulation that has to be improved if there is will to a democratic transition. Even if Moi's

¹ Quoted in *Africa Confidential*, Vol.39, No.11, London May 29, 1998, p. 7

² *Reporters Sans Frontieres*, Paris 1996, p. 59

³ Ellis, Stephen, in: *Current History*, Vol.9, No.637 (May 2000), p. 222

⁴ *Reporters Sans Frontieres*, Paris 1996, p. 11

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59

⁶ *Ibid.*; Freedom House, *Press Freedom World Wide*, 1 January 1999, Kenya Page

government nowadays seems to have greater willingness to develop better relations with the international media and local press in general, restrains on work permits have become very difficult and strict.

Although freedom of expression has increased to some degree since the height of repression in the 1980s and early 1990s, the independent press in Kenya continues to face harassment for reporting critically on political sensitive issues.¹ The government has been most sensitive to press reports on the violence. Harassment of journalists has not been confined to those seeking to overcome the news blackout created by the security operation zones.² Pressure groups work in different dimensions to provide political, economic, social and cultural outlets in the country. They mostly have schemes of mass-based institutions that had been undermined by the government.

Several journalists were arrested, beaten and threatened to death by police, some of them for investigating corruption. Others for writing or publishing articles critical of the government have also faced judicial action and repression.³ These actions by the government violate the free speech provisions in Kenyan Constitution (Art.79) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Art.19).

The question how should the marginal political position of Kenyan citizens and their contribution to political awareness and values be developed by the pressure groups has to be observed as far as the country's freedom of press is concerned. President Moi who is over 76 years old and his KANU party have ruled Kenya for more than 38 (KANU) and 22 (Moi) years. The signs that Kenyan people have experienced show Moi will never allow changes without massive international and national pressures and will try at the first opportunity to roll back any changes he has been forced to grant. Therefore, what will happen on the question of transition to democracy, promote political rights, civil liberties and economic development among others have a great influence on what happens in much of the pressure groups and opposition parties struggle to fight against the power monopoly of President Moi and his KANU party.

¹ Index on Censorship, Vol.26, No.6, London, September-October 1997, p. 173; Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1996, p. 57

² Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1994, p. 190,

³ Freedom House, Press Freedom World Wide, New York, 1 January 1999, Kenya page; Ellis, Stephen, in: Current History, Vol.99, No. 637 (May 2000), p. 222

3.2.2.2 Elections and Citizens' Participation

Elections in Kenya: Kenyan elections provide one of the few instruments of political action open to civil society. They are held regularly but citizens often insist on elections even when those in power seek to avoid and ignore such demands at their peril.¹ Like elsewhere in Africa, the electoral environment in Kenya is influenced by several factors, such as the legal and constitutional framework of the state, the capacity and composition of the Electoral Commission among others. But the distribution of constituencies and the fairness of voting and election results have been put in question.²

Nevertheless, in contrary to the Ethiopian and Sudanese experiences, elections in Kenya have become an institutionalized and distinguishing feature of national political life. For example, Joel D. Barkan in his political analysis about Kenya has written previously: "Despite the well-known authoritarian tendencies of the Kenyan regime and its periodic suppression of its vocal critics, Kenyans have thus participated in nationwide elections, what he called "a level of electoral activity unequaled elsewhere in Africa".³

The Kenyan electoral process has thus been marked by great continuity since its inception at the end of the colonial era, which has generated corresponding sign of regime support or as a source of legitimacy to the regime. This has enabled Kenya to maintain stable civilian rule through a series of serious political and economic crises that have toppled less responsive regimes in Africa. Again, Joel D. Barkan writes about this continuity as follows:

"From this start, electoral competition has focused on local issues and personalities and has given rise to the organization of local constituency-level machines. With each passing elections and the roles of those competing for votes becomes increasingly to candidates and voters alike".⁴

But apart from the continued institutionalized nature of the Kenyan electoral system, the question that needs to be raised on the nature of the present Kenyan political landscape has been, in what way was it significant to implement democracy in the country? Based on this question the following three general remarks are made on Kenyan electoral processes, which are extracted from different literature sources opinions, historical backgrounds and experiences.

First, in 1963 a series of elections were held to facilitate the transfer of power from the colonial to an indigenous Kenyan polity. **Second**, from 1969 to 1988, elections were held to recruit patron-

¹ Kenya: Post-Election Political Violence, Article 9, Lancaster House, London, December 1998, p. 1

² Schroeder, Guenther, (1998), pp. 13, 19-25

³ Barkan, Joel D., in: Hayward, Fred M. (ed.) (1987), p. 213

⁴ Ibid., p. 232

client relations that has tied the Kenyan grassroots citizens' to participate in the central political institutions which constituted the Single-party State. **Third**, national elections were held since the advent of competitive politics pressured from the United States and other Western aid donor countries that have forced President Moi's government to multi-party general elections in 1992 and 1997.¹

The Kenyan Westminster-style electoral system, which was established in 1963, has divided the country into single-number constituencies whereby all adults could register to vote, while candidates could stand in any constituency.² On the top of this had been overlaid the Presidential System, in which candidates for the Presidency were also directly and independently elected.³ The election of Presidential, Parliamentary and local government candidates had at independence been left entirely to the parties. But some reform processes were made to work according to the multi-party system in order to avoid uncertainties.

Constitutionally, the President of Kenya should be elected by a popular vote. The candidate for the Presidency must be an elected Member of the National Assembly (Parliament).⁴ The candidate who receives more number of valid votes cast in the Presidential election and who in addition receives a minimum of 25 percent of the valid votes cast in at least five of the eight provinces of Kenya shall be the winner.⁵ But the legal responsibilities, its composition, powers and conduct of the Electoral Commission appointed by President Moi in the last days of the single-party state, remained vague and circumscribed. Accordingly, the Commission had no authority to ensure that media were impartial, or could issue permits for election rallies, as these were the responsibility of the government.⁶

With the introduction of multi-party politics, the government had established a seemingly autonomous Election Commission body, pressured by the Western governments and domestic critics. Thus, the Election Laws Amendment Act No.1 of 1992 abolished the position of Supervisor of Elections and re-inverted all powers in the Commission.¹ But after all this processes, the opposition parties and pressure groups have complained that the nominated

¹ Geisler, Gisela, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.31, No.4 (London 1993), pp. 630-631; Barkan and Ngethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2 (April 1998), pp. 37-39

² Kenyan Constitution (1982), Article 43:4

³ Ibid. Article 5:1

⁴ Amended Kenyan Constitution (1992), Article 5:2/a-cand Article 7

⁵ Amended Kenyan Constitution (1992), Article 5:3

⁶ *The Economic Review*, Nairobi, November 1992, p. 5

Electoral Commission was not elected with a more neutral body and made a major point of concern that it can not be an independent manager and arbiter of Kenya's electoral process. This was demonstrated as the Election Commission (EC) began its task in almost complete secrecy, and it appeared disorganized and was unwilling to cooperate with the opposition.² The opposition parties have persistently called for an impartial Electoral Commission to be appointed while only the ruling party ran the nomination.

The public protest and private warning to President Moi from the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth have forced to adopt a more open attitude. The Commission has then organized meetings with opposition political parties to educate voters on the electoral procedures. Henceforth, the situation has improved dramatically with several congenial meetings between government officials and opposition parties even if they did not make progress much on the matter.³ Therefore, the Election Laws Amendment Act 1992 had made the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) constitutionally independent and had put it in charge of the whole electoral process including local government elections.⁴ But like before, the President has had more influence on the Election Commission during the process of 1992 elections, which were flawed.⁵ In the run up to the 1997 general elections, The Netherlands Ambassador and the British High Commissioner have expressed hopes that the new ECK would remain neutral and above party issues. But the opposition groups have criticized them for their position to recognize Moi's sole unfair nomination of the ECK.⁶

The performance of the Election Commission during the registration exercise in 1997 has left much to be more desired. It was like the 1992 characterized by a lot of uncertainty and confusion, which resulted in wide spread accusations of ballot rigging. However, the fact that the ECK has failed to provide adequate information to the electorate on how voters' registration was to be conducted buttressed the already existing suspicion and mistrust that people generally have had in the beginning.⁷ The environment markedly improved before the 1997 elections,

¹ Constitution of Kenya, Amendment Act No.9, Nairobi, November 7, 1997, Article s3B/a-e and Article 42A

² Daily Nation, Nairobi, November 1992, p. 5

³ Government Gazette Notice 5420, reported in Standard, Nairobi, November Sunday 22, 1992

⁴ Kenyan Constitution (1992), Article 42A

⁵ Bratton and Van de Walle (1997), p. 120-121

⁶ "Down with Diplomats", Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.733, Paris, September 1997, p. 3

⁷ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, February 20, 1998, p. 9; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 6

following the enactment into law of some constitutional and administrative reforms brokered initially by the lobby group, called the National Convention Executive Council and later developed by the Inter-Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG)¹.

On the other hand, implementation of the new laws have helped the level of playing ground for the various players in the General Election that was set for December 29, 1997. The reforms saw a long overdue removal of the Chief's Act (Capital 58) and the Public Order Act (Capital 104), two pieces of legislation that were designed to restrict basic freedoms of movement and speech.² They were also designed to intimidate people and promote feelings of inferiority and powerlessness.³ In the context of the Moi government, these laws along with the Society Act were effectively exploited to emasculate and bend down the opposition, restricting its operations especially in areas viewed to be KANU zones. Kenya has held General Elections without fail at intervals of not more than five years since attaining independence. It was hoped by most Kenyans and their friends that the 1997 Election time round and the subsequent polling would have been conducted in a manner commensurate with the newly founded democratic enhancements. But the manner in which exercise was conducted suffered the twin-result of politically instigated violence that brought legitimacy in question and unstable situation⁴ to the Kenyan Western praised political system.

The ruling party still has weaknesses, particularly the fragile nature of its popular support (most people had voted for the fragmented opposition), and the internal divides which had been papered over for the election in most constituent areas.⁵ The opposition did not stand to benefit much from Moi's dilemma, because of their inherent divisions and failure at the polls. They wound up winning only in their strong hold constituencies even if it was reported that there were theft of ballot papers, repealing with violence and widespread rigging by the state machinery.⁶ On the other hand, the opposition leaders have proved unable to take a truly presidential attitude in defeat and each in turn revealed flaws that brought into question their suitability to lead the

¹ NCCK Reports on the 29-30 December 1997 Elections in Kenya, Nairobi 1998, p. 38

² The Status Law/Repeal and Miscellaneous Amendments Act No.10, Nairobi, November 7, 1997,

³ Barkan and Nghethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2 (1998), p. 39

⁴ *The Weekly Review*, Nairobi, February 20, 1998, p. 10

⁵ *The Weekly Review*, Nairobi, June 26, 1998, p. 12

⁶ *The Weekly Review*, Nairobi, February 13, 1998, pp. 4-7

country.¹ The persistent failure to build unity and their continued adherence to a set of leaders most of whom have failed to transcend their limitations or achieve their goals gave the initiative to KANU throughout the elections of 1992 and 1997.

The pressure of defeat, personal of self-interest, state harassment and the exposure of internal division on crucial matters of policy within the opposition parties therefore began the almost invisible process of reconstruction and fragmentation. In the face of near-uncertain domination and defeat, the opposition leaders have continued to expend more energy combating each other than they did against KANU.² The worrying trend was that the Kenyan political divide has multiplied since the advent of multi-party politics. President Moi cannot escape from the fact that, after the 1997 elections he leads a nation, which is increasingly splinted along ethnic lines, with an ailing economy. Many analysts, both local and foreign wonder in what situation he leaves the nation when his final term of office expires in the year 2002. There are simply too many problems and a very short time to solve them and to put the economy firmly back on the path of socio-economic vigor.³ There are also other burning issues such as complete overhaul of the country's constitutional and legal status (legitimacy of the regime) and how best to deal with growing internal security problems.

The Kenyan multi-party 1992 and 1997 General Elections were declared by many, as **flawed** in favor of the incumbent but free, and fair by some others.⁴ The question and procedures of fairness, became constantly a point of continuation between the government and an unstable alliance of opposition politicians and Western Diplomats. In both Elections, the opposition, pressure groups and all Kenyans were urged to accept the results as they were.⁵ In my part, I have been asking constantly that what constitutes a free and fair election in Kenya that can pass the free and fair test as the donors' observers and diplomats have declared it. Furthermore, after the 1992 elections, Western diplomats have described the controversial results as "a major step towards democratization".⁶ The question if the 1997 elections were another "major step" to a democratic direction may not be answered easily as far as the Kenyan politics is concerned.

¹ Bratton and Van de Walle, (1997), p. 198

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 5

³ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, pp. 5, 8

⁴ Africa Confidential, London, November 20, 1992, p. 1; The Economic Review, No.267, Nairobi, January 5-11, 1998, p. 4; Bratton and Van de Walle, (1997), pp. 120-121

⁵ The Economic Review, Nairobi, February 23-March 2, 1998, p. 25

⁶ Ibid., p. 26

To close this discussion, if President Moi and his KANU party will be unseated by force like other African leaders or hand over peacefully, both remain uncertain. What the Kenyan political dilemma may bring or where it will lead can be another interesting theme for a discussion. For further analysis, the results of the two multi-party Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, of the 1992 and 1997 are extracted and set up from different sources¹ for observation below:

I. The results of 29 December 1992 Presidential Elections

Candidates	Voters	Percentage
Moi KANU	1,964,867	36.40
K.Matiba DP	1,420,627	26.32
M. Kibaki FORD-A	1,029,163	19.07
Odinga FORD-K	944,564	17.50
Other 4 party leaders	<u>38,388</u>	<u>0.71</u>
Total valid voters	5,397,609	100.0%

There were 8 nominated candidates in the presidential elections but only 3 of them have attempted to threaten the incumbent president Moi. The real contest was between Moi and Kibaki, Odinga and Matiba, all of whom have attracted some countrywide supports. The rest of the polls went to other 4 party leaders candidates who have scored each under 2 percent that brought the total percentage to 100% (14,273=0.26%; 10,221=0.19%; 8,118=0.15%; 5,776=0.11% =0.71%). The total voters turn out was remarked as **68.34%** and 2,500,364 (31.66%) of the registered 7,897,973 voters did not go to the polls. There were 11,157,575 eligible voters by which only 70.8 percent could register and the rest 29.2 percent have either no interest on the elections or were not allowed due to political intrigue while they might have favoured opposition constituencies.² Out of the total 188 elected National Assembly seats, KANU has obtained 95 representatives without the 12 nominated candidates; FORD-Asili and FORD-Kenya 31 each; DP 23 and other 3 smaller parties have represented 3 number of votes whereby 5 Parliament seats were reported as disputed.³

¹ Barkan, Joel D., in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.4, No.3 (July 1993), p. 96

² Fox, Roddy, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.34, No.4 (1996), pp. 597-607; Barkan and Ngethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2 (April 1998), p. 40

³ Glickman, Harvey (1995), pp. 188

II. The Results of December 1997 Presidential Elections¹

Candidates	contested voters	Percentage
President Moi (KANU)	2,445,801	40.1
Mwai Kibaki (DP)	1,895,527	31.1
Raila Odinga (NDP)	665,725	10.9
Kijana Wamalwa (FORD-Kenya)	505,542	8.3
Charity Ngilu (SDP)	469,807	7.7
10 other candidates with negligible percentages	<u>114,077</u>	<u>1.9</u>
Total valid voters	6,096,479	100

Thus, only 5 of the 15 presidential candidates were serious power contenders. The other ten presidential candidates gained negligible votes and have even failed to get a single seat in parliament. The voters turnout was recorded 65% for parliamentary and about 69.28% presidential elections.² As in 1992, Moi garnered by winning large majority in his traditional bastions of coast, Northeastern, and Rift Valley provinces. He alone cleared the 25% threshold in five provinces.³

Two important observations can be made from the 1997 presidential race. **First**, all the leading candidates have drawn the bulk of their support from the same areas as five years before (1992). **Second**, with the exception of President Moi, and to a much lessor extent of Kibaki, no candidate has run well outside his or her home province. None of the other presidential candidates passed the 25 percent threshold outside their respective home provinces. These patterns indicate a very high geographic concentration of the vote, reflecting Kenyan voters' penchant for defining their political interests in regional and ethnic terms.⁴ As it has been reported from the NCKK, the 1997 parliamentary elections have led to allegations of political interference and gerrymandering. Accordingly, the outcome of results were registered to KANU 107 (50.95%); DP 39 (18.57%);

¹ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, p. 20; Southall, Roger, in: (ROAPE), Vol.26, No.79, London, March 1999, p. 98; New African No.360, London, February 1998, p. 19

² The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, pp. 17, 45

³ Middle East Times, Cairo 2-8 January 1998, p. 12

⁴ NCKK Report on the December 29-30 General Elections in Kenya, Nairobi 1998, p. 87

NDP 21 (10%); FORD-Kenya 17 (8.10%); SDP 15 (7.14%); Safina 5 (2.38%) and 4 other parties together 6 (2.86%) which bring the total to 210 (100%) seats in parliament.¹

The general elections were undermined by poor organization, logistical difficulties and violence as well as by allegations of electoral fraud.² Moi was declared the winner by 15 candidates, obtaining 40.1% of the valid votes cast. In addition to the 210 directly elected total parliamentary seats, 12 MPs, the Attorney General and the Speaker of Parliament (2), Ex-officio members of the National Assembly were appointed. After Constitutional Amendment in the 1997 elections, President Moi was obliged by the Inter Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG) reform package to afford opposition parties the opportunity to share the 12 MPs and nominate themselves.³ Moi had nominated only 6 of the 12 appointed MPs seats for KANU to the parliament. The other 6 nominated seats were distributed proportionally according to party representation, whereby DP got 2, NDP, FORD-Kenya, SDP and Safina nominated each 1 MPs.⁴

President Moi and his ruling party KANU's victory was not without its dark side with 113 members including 6 appointees, a thin lead in a 222-member House sitting (109) on opposition benches.⁵ The opposition have complained that KANU has won because of the rigging, and the unfair publicity that it has got from the state-owned radio and television networks. But in reality, the disunity between the opposition has played down a decisive role. For example, commenting on the election results, the Electoral Commission has admitted that the polls were flawed but said this did not affect the overall results.⁶ There were over 2,600 independent observers, who were not invited by the Kenyan authorities have published a communiqué that the polls were "generally free and fair" and reflect Kenyan opinion. On the other side, some prominent opposition parties have rejected the poll results and demanded fresh elections.⁷ But their plea was not heard and became victims of the failure of their unity. They could not agree on the leadership and other profound issues in the background revolving around the ethnic question.

¹ Ibid., pp. 39-43; Barkan and Ngethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2, April 1998, p. 42

² *The Weekly Review*, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, p. 20

³ Ibid., p. 5; NCCK Report on the December 29-30, 1997 General Elections in Kenya, Nairobi 1998, p. 43

⁴ *Africa Confidential*, Vol.9, No.1, January 9, London 1998, p. 4;

⁵ Barkan and Ngethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2 (1998), p. 43

⁶ *The Economic Review*, Nairobi, February 16-22, 1998, p. 22

⁷ Ibid., p. 23

But KANU too was bitterly divided while several cabinet ministers and assistance minister did not survive the nomination stage and many have failed to regain seats in parliament.¹

The balloting itself has produced few surprises. Nineteen political parties have nominated 15 candidates for the presidency and 887 candidates for 210 elected National Assembly seats. In addition, more than 8,000 candidates stood for 2,955 local-council seats. Before the elections, the parliament passed a series of political reforms intended to broaden the scope of Kenya's multi-party system. Similar to this, parliamentary reforms in November 1997 enlarged the democratic space including the increment of political parties from 11 to 26.²

Considering the above election results, President Moi honored victory over his opposition challengers even if both elections were massively rigged in favour of KANU.³ The opposition could not beat Moi and KANU but seemed that they become an effective challenge to the parliamentary on the will of the President. The most important question for many politicians was what president Moi's continuity rule pretends to political temperatures and stability in the country and how widely the results of the elections will legitimize democracy. After the elections, President Moi has renewed his pledges and declared that his government would deliver services to all without discrimination and promised to tackle poverty, stimulate the economy, rebuild the country's collapsed infrastructure, eradicate corruption among others.⁴ In these occasions, he has criticized Western nations for pressuring him to form a government of national unity. He reiterated that they were the ones who had pressed him earlier to introduce political pluralism despite his warnings that a multi-party system at that stage would cause disintegration of the country along ethnic lines. On the other hand, President Moi has declared that he is fully committed to political pluralism, if both opposition and the government play their rightful roles on his will.⁵ The question at that time has been if president Moi will be able to keep his election pledges to leave a strong united and prosperous nation when he leaves office.

Even if Kenya's elected government after the 1997 general elections seemed to reflect the need both to the donor countries and to assert KANU's authority, many Western countries were extremely concerned about Moi's government nomination of unbalanced ethnic composition in

¹ New African London, February 1998, p. 10

² The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 6, 1998, p. 28; David W. Throup and Charles Hornsby (1998), pp. 434, 444

³ Braton, Michael; Van de Walle, Nicolas (1997), p. 121

⁴ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, January 9, 1998, p. 8

⁵ Ibid.

his cabinet.¹ Whatever it had happened, after a rigged and violent elections, President Moi and his KANU party have emerged victorious even if they were weakened and humiliated during the election battles. The question that remained open was if Moi and his alliance would be committed to carry out a comprehensive multi-party democracy and tolerate when a strong and dedicated opposition will appear in the country.

This rises question for many Kenyans and their friends, whether Moi leaves Kenya according to the constitution to a successor who will let him live in safe retirement after his last term or as the case may be. This way or the other what comes next concerning this question could be more important to Moi and his colleagues than leaving a stable economy or a united Kenya nation.

Citizens' Participation: Citizens' participation in governance of their society should be a central component of the political development dimension in any country. But the emphases each country places on participation, the benefits it brings, and the means by which it is to be achieved have often been quite different. There is a considerable variation in the amount and type of political and economic activity that citizen's can be engaged in the country's political structural conditions.²

For Kenyans, participatory government seems to be interpreted as a democratic government in the Western sense of the term. To strengthen this position, the Kenyan government is used to explain that democracy, as a participatory government cannot be achieved at the risks of the breakdown of the political order.³ A distinction must be made between political participation in a sense of voting elections, actively supporting a political party, joining demonstrations which is certainly limited to the rare occasions, when there are multi-party elections and internal political activity-approaching to some one in power as an individual seeking goals among others.

Given these and other components, the Kenyan government has particularly been operational in terms of representatives by limiting the most significant form of political participation that remained voting. The regime has allowed a modicum of participation mainly outside the party through local self-help activities like "Harambee" and other ethnic welfare

¹ EIU Kenya Country Report, 2nd edition, London 1998, pp. 9-10

² NCCCK, Report on the 1997 General Elections in Kenya, Nairobi 1998, p. 104

³ Barkan and Nghethe, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.2, April 1998, p. 37

associations.¹ (Harambee means “pull together” that both rallying cry used by Kenyatta and a money-raising system for local self-help projects such as schools, dispensaries or community centers).² The Harambee movement became the widest spread project as a substitute of political system. It became political because “big man” were involved in local affairs, extracted funds from the elite for peasant use, and helped to achieve community consensus and participation. They are supposed to give peasants political space based on the readiness and ability to express themselves candidly without fear of social reprobation or economic disability³.

Martin J. D. Hill written about the activities of Harambee as follows:

“The Harambee projects, like the churches, were free zones in which individuals and politicians could safely interact. Harambee did become an avenue that neither the party nor other institutions provided the people. The Harambee movement was of major social and political importance of the nation. It had a political effect on existing social decisions. It embraced a wide range of self-help structures from village to national level throughout the whole country, and performed many secondary political functions too”.⁴

Its schemes were also a substitute for many of the mass-based institutions that had been undermined by Kenyatta and Moi’s centralizing tendencies. When President Moi first came to power, he encouraged the Harambee movement as an alternative to represent parliament, in essence that the MP’s should build the country for it could be that way citizens would judge them. This was aimed to ensure that members of parliament would bring with them a degree of local support, which was also expected to help the government’s sustainability.⁵ Another interpretation of Moi’s support of Harambee was that the MPs should stay out of national politics, spend less time in Nairobi, and leave the centralization of power to the president. In the de facto one-party era, it was not surprising to see dissent arise outside the party structures rather than within them.⁶

Martin J. D. Hill writes again: “Harambee is a system that many Kenyans embrace and appreciate. It is a system, which has proved to be a very effective method of one of nation building. However, sadly now, this concept, whose original inspiration was one of a voluntary serving and doing has been transformed by some misguided leaders into an obligation and a forced exercise”.⁷

¹ The Nairobi Law Monthly, No.70, Nairobi, August-September 1997, pp. 15-16

² Miller, Norman N. (1984), p. 42; Hill, Martin J. D. (1991), p. 271

³ Kobia, Samuel (NCCK, Nairobi 1993), p. 34

⁴ Hill, Martin J. D. (1991), p. 292

⁵ Clapham, Christopher, Third World Politics, An Introduction (1998), p. 84

⁶ Ndegwa, Stephen N. (1996), p. 8

⁷ Hill, Martin J. D. (1991), p. 287

As it is discussed above in the party formation and their receipts for the Kenyan society, Kenyan's have the opportunity of a higher political participation especially since the end of 1991. The electoral process with a regulatory unmatched in most other African states is a witness factor but should be understood as participatory in a way that does not demonstrably effect the content of public policy as the government reiterates in its programmes.

Before the 1990s, political participation in Kenya also existed for the purpose of selecting one's representatives to control political institutions so that one's community might be more effectively linked to the center and gain access to the resources and the central commands. The political scientist Professor Joel D. Barkan writes about this situation: "political participation in Kenya did not occur for the purpose of changing the leadership or character of the system, and the goals including the conception of development to which the system is already committed to pursuing".¹ When defined in such limited items, it is not surprising that participation in Kenya has been a "success" at least in the short term.

From this point of view, a review of the electoral process in Kenya includes that members of the general public and especially small farmers have a clear set of expectations. They are aware what their elected representatives should do, and are capable of rating decisions such as the right of ethnic minorities to land and share other resources fairly. They regard as rightfully theirs, based on the evaluations of their representatives performances with respect to these goals.²

With increasing frequency, those elected to both local and national office, especially to the Kenya National Assembly, are most effective at obtaining central government resources for the communities they represent. With successive elections, more communities became effectively linked to their government via a network of patron-client hierarchies or governing machines. This has often served as a main organizational mechanism through which those at the lower levels of the political system and on the periphery have gained access to those at the top.³

However, it is also clear that as more and more communities make effective demands to the central government, the amount of resources available for allocation to each community which favour opposition parties will be reduced and displaced. While districts subsequently supportive of KANU will be awarded in excess, the intensity of political conflict between these communities

¹ Barkan Joel D. (1984), p. 29

² Barkan and Nghethe, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2 (April 1998), p. 46

³ Barkan, Joel D. (1984), p. 30; Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), p. 150

will increase.¹ Given the character of the Kenyan system, once this occurs participation may result in a breakdown of the political order, and subsequently be suppressed by the regime to a limit in the short run.

Comparing to Ethiopia and Sudan, the Kenyan people have had a higher political participation in the 1990s. They often have used to participate, especially under civic organizations that are organized in the name of ethnic-welfare associations, parties, religious organizations, NGOs and trade union organizations. Within the universe of African politics, there has been a substantial variation in the degree to which Kenyans have succeeded to deal with their leaders and the single-party-dominant system. For example, during the late 1980s, some Kenyan-watchers have suggested that political debate was more public and the responsiveness to critics' demands were meager success than in most other African nations. But the government was willing to permit limited reforms only within KANU itself, by pledging to end the expulsion of dissidents from the party.² Where Kenyans have long appeared to be exception to political trends detected in countries such as Ethiopia and Sudan, rate of participation in standard political activities like elections, speech in parliament had taken place even if it has failed to stop presidential efforts. The President restricts activities that are more political, erode the public realm by fostering political and economic degeneration through cosmetic changes to steadfast reform and often hijacked prospective transitions to democracy.¹

Political stability in Kenya was derived from the inception of the country that retained key elements of the Western parliamentary system which has been adopted at independent. Because of this Kenya was one of Africa's "relatively successes" in the eyes of many Westerners during the 1960s and 1970s. Not only that, but also Kenyans have spoken of the need to proceed cautiously so as not to follow the paths of their neighbours in strife-torn Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and the like. One can say that, the tenor of everyday Kenyan politics had changed differently from their war-torn neighbours.

With the constraints on political associations, Churches and other civic organizations like the Law Society of Kenya etc. with international connections became the refuge for discussing a Western style voices and take a more active root in debates to reach constitutional reforms

¹ Fox, Roddy, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.34, No.4, (1996), p. 607; *The Daily Nation*, Nairobi, July 6, 1994, pp. 7-8

² Bratton, Michael; Van de Wall, Nicolas, in: *Comparative Politics*, Vol.24, July 1992, p. 427

towards democracy.² Even when members of the KANU government have periodically attempted to quash alternative political parties, debate continued between well defined semi-organized and ending factions within the ranks of the ruling party.³ Nevertheless, Kenyans have witnessed a qualitative change participating in the role of party's political life since the end of 1980s and seem to continue with more improvements.

3.2.2.3 The Political Situation after the Elections

Elections were regular part of the political landscape in Kenya, and most competition seems to be confirmed without the bosom of the single-party system. But they did not produce new leaders of the kind, which has emerged in Kenya's neighbours like in Tanzania, Zambia, South Africa, or elsewhere in Africa, that brought prospects of political bargaining. The Kenyan Community Abroad (KCA) was outraged by the way the 1997 elections have been conducted, which was dominated by the issues of corruption, volatile political situation and rigging. Reports of massive irregularities have also suggested that they were not free and fair.⁴

Although many Kenyans have participated in elections with enthusiasm, it was sad to dash their hopes of making a different thought through the ballot. But it can be wrong to say the exercise served its purpose. Many people have turned out in large numbers to vote but some of them were denied registration and courtesy of the ineptness of the Election Commission.⁵ The opposition leaders seem to suggest that they are willing to give up their increasingly fortune political pursuits and their dreams of the presidency, and made rapid moves to enter rapprochement with KANU although they seem further away from that time than ever before.⁶

But the significant opposition political party leaders, like the Social Democratic Party (SDP) Charity Kaluki Ngilu, Safina of Paul Kibugi Muite and Richard Leakey, do not appear to be interested in pursuing any lasting alliance with either side. The SDP seems to have slithered into new finds itself torn asunder by two internal political streams. The Weekly review in its February editorial has reported that Safina still seeks define itself better to create a niche for itself as the

¹ Lewis, Peter M., in: World Politics, Vol.49, No.1 (April 1989), p. 120

² Southall, Roger, in: Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE), Vol.26, No.79 (March 1999), p. 101

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, London, May 2000, p. 14

⁴ The Economic Review, Nairobi, January 5-11, 1998, p. 4 ff.; Middle East Times, Cairo 2-8 January 1998, p. 12

⁵ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, July 24, 1998, p. 15

⁶ Kenya Confidential, Vol.2, No.7, Nairobi, February 13-19, 1998, p. 6; Southall, Roger, in: (ROAPE), Vol.26, No.79 (1999), p. 100

party for the future.¹ After the 1992 and 1997 elections, Kenyan political opposition seemed to be strongly divided vertically as they are horizontally. Their situation has been characterized by intense, some times bitter political factionalism development.²

From this perspective, the remarks on the Kenyan elections have certainly been demonstrated that they were not enough and there was a need for changing the social contract between the state and its citizenry before the elections should have taken place. Kenya seems to remain an authoritarian state and events after the 29-30, December 1997 elections like the 1992 suggested that the advent of multi-party politics did not really change much the prospective of democratic future, specially in managing the state affairs to encourage democratic implementation.³ However, it has weakened President Moi's political manipulation and legitimacy even if his political base remains strong and is not prepared to give up his power at the polls.

President Moi and his colleagues do not intend to retire gracefully nor KANU's unwillingness to share power in any way has been demonstrated repeatedly since 1992. Moi and his regime have used the Provincial Administration and the police to harass those opposition politicians who cannot be bought and defect to KANU, and the continuing ethnic violence has solidified KANU's control of its heartland.⁴ In the long run, it is likely that the intrinsic economic instability may create liberalism that will eventually bring down the Kenyan government. Politically, as long as President Moi himself remains in sound health, his coalition including his foreign advisers and donors are likely to remain in tact and KANU continues to rule.

The present Kenyan leadership does not intend to hand over power to any other group at any point in the foreseeable future. The deep tension created by ethnic clashes, the government's strategy of manipulating communal rivalries and the ethnic nature of multi-party politics in the country may seriously damage Kenya's national identity, but with a reversion towards the ethnic community and not the country as a primary focus of identity. On the one hand, the question remains whether Moi and the opposition can negotiate more far-reaching fundamental reforms towards implementing democracy, or as many have feared,¹ he will stalemate the situation like the post-1992 elections. If the situation continues like this, Kenya is likely to proceed through a

¹ The Weekly Review, Nairobi, February 20, 1998, p. 5

² Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), pp. 130, 143

³ Barkan and Nghethe, In: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.2 (1998), pp. 32-33

⁴ Kenya Confidential, Vol.2, No.7, Nairobi, February 13-19, p. 1-2; Report on the 1997 General Elections in Kenya, 29-30 December 1997, NCK Nairobi 1998, p. 64

very unstable period. On the other hand, what ever had happened and whoever says what the powerful factors which has driven the struggle for change since the 1990s may bring a solution soon or latter to Kenyan complicated politics once for all.

3.2.3. The Sudanese Political Framework: A Symbiotic Relationship Between the Military and Civil Government?

In its modern history, Sudan has experienced civil parliamentary and military autocratic government systems. The civil governments have developed better governance but did not manage to install permanent institutional systems. Whereas the military regimes have become an obstacle to political and economic developments, social integration and deteriorated as well as worsened much of the country's situation. For example, all civil wars in Sudan have started in times of autocracy (military) (1963, 1983 and 1991).² During the times of civil government, basic fundamental civil rights like freedoms of associations and other related free public opinions were protected and free and fair multi-party elections have been conducted.³

As far as the Sudanese political framework is concerned, the question that needs to be raised has been **what the term symbiotic relationship does mean** in this section? The rising curve of democracy and the falling of autocratic regimes have suggested the political growth and development of symbiotic relationships between the military and civil governments in Sudan. The word **symbiotic** between military and civil government system has been then more concerned with the nature of the government and the impact of its political policies on the Sudanese society. Symbiosis relationships between the military and civil political frameworks can be identified in the influential combination of government cabinet members in both systems of changes from civil to military, one after the other.⁴ Therefore, Governance in Sudan that has always rested on secular nationalist civilian and military regimes alternating to each other reflects the symbiotic characters.

The army has often played a familiar caretaker role in the civil government. For example, in case of civil governance instability, it has stepped in and swept away parties, the so-called modern forces like civic associations, cultural, social, the military regular forces and parliamentary regimes.⁵ However, both began to wither and lose their importance of governance because of their inability and the focus on attaining political power rather than devoting themselves to enhance awareness among the people. Especially the military displayed an

¹ Africa Analysis, No.362, London, 15 December 2000, p. 3

² Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 144, 188-192; Woodward, Peter (1991), pp. 45, 77; Beijing Review, Chinese Weekly News and Views, Vol.28, No.16, Beijing, April 22, 1985, pp. 12-13

³ World University Service, Academic Freedom 2 (1993), pp. 117-118

⁴ Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 211

⁵ Hunwick, John O. (1992), p. 171; Africa Insight, Conflict in Africa, Vol.27, No.3, Pretoria 199, p. 168

extremely authoritarian and despotic attitude. As usual, during taking over power, its first action was to ascertain authority through a series of decrees and regulations. Hence, the military intervention in the Sudanese politics has become as common as the regular parliamentary elections on Western democratic society. For example, it has increased politicization as an inevitable product of the manner in which Sudanese politics has developed.¹ In more than 40 years of its existence, the military regime itself was incapable to solve the basic political and economic problems and could not provide the expected internal stability in the country.

Peter Woodward writes about the present Sudanese military regime's incapability of solving Sudanese chronic problems as follows: "Nimeieri's successor inherited not a blank sheet on which to plan a new future, but the greatest crisis Sudan had faced since independence".² Instead of solving the major Sudanese conceptual issues, the present NIF backed military regime had also opened a floodgate of military civil Islam problem factors in combination, which could not be easily closed by the present generation of the society.

The present ruling civil military alliance in Khartoum remained committed to the continuation of Islamization policies since 1989. Its political framework can be explained in different margins that is what the regime itself calls the Basic Rule for the Popular Congress under the National Islamic Front (NIF) or letter under National Congress sole party. It is structured in five Congress levels from above to the grassroots, under which the government calls it basic congress.³ According to different constitutional decrees, general structures of the Congress that indicates the Charter of Sudanese Political System constitutes the following:

1. The National Congress whose members are promoted from the State level according to Article 8:1.
2. The State Congress, whose members are promoted from the Provinces level according to Article 7:1.
3. The Province Congress whose members are promoted from the local levels according to Article 6:1.
4. The Council Congress whose members are promoted from the Basic Congress and Popular Committees, according to Article 5:1.
5. The Basic Congress shall be constituted by direct

meeting of all citizens, on whom the conditions for membership stated in the Constitutional Decree that are applicable in quarter, village or area.⁴ The Basic Rule for Congress shall come into force upon endorsement by the National Congress. But the rules on the Congress organs of

¹ Onwumechili, Chuka (1998), p. 52

² Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 217

³ Sudanow, Khartoum, February 1992, pp. 6, 11; Kok, Nyot Peter (1996), pp. 150-151; Sudan's Constitution (Khartoum 1998), Article 67:1-3

⁴ The Republic of Sudan, the 13th Constitutional Decree, Khartoum, December 24, 1995, Article 25:1

the state are mostly technical,¹ Several arguments may be made about the functions and duties of the Sudanese Basic Rule for the Popular Congress. But what matters to catch imagination is the fundamental function and relationship between the National Congress and the Basic Congress in implementing the country's continuous military regime's political scene.

As far as the fundamental Sudanese Basic rules for the Popular Congress is concerned, many questions remain unanswered. For example:

- It did not ensure a fair distribution of opportunities for citizens to participate in the 'authorship' of identity since its inception
- It could not establish a political and economic framework that allows the conduct of Sudanese citizens' everyday life according to domestic and international valued social principles.

From the outset, the reality of Sudan's daily political life reflects that, Gen. Omar al-Beshir has been nominated as a President in 1996 and 2000 under the Islamic fundamentalist political principle the National Congress party (formerly called National Islamic Front (NIF) which in theory allows but bans their political activities.² The Islamic fundamentalist stalwarts of Sudanese present political framework lies not in the overt structure of government (central and federal ministries) but in a covert parallel government headed by a secret secretariat often known as the 'Council 40,' Islamist fundamentalist members and others who are unknown. The structures do not overlap the covert system controls and overt one in both administration and planning³. The political battle between the military and civilian seems to remain secret at the inner networking of the fundamentalists.

Domestic and international pressures on Sudan have steadily risen accusing of destabilizing the region with its Fundamental ideological principles. African states including Egypt, Ethiopia, Morocco Uganda etc. have been particularly worried by Sudan's armed proselytism. Egypt has accused Sudan constantly of training terrorists but tries to separate the military from the civilian being conciliatory about President Gen. Omar al-Beshir and slating NIF boss Hassan el-Turabi.⁴ Khartoum's international role is also undermined, because Sudan is too poor to be a major player.

But Islamic fighters and activists also flow in and off Sudan since years for training or other fundamentalist ideological aims. For example, Veteran Afghan, Iran-Iraq and Lebanese, Somalis

¹ see How the NIF runs Sudan, in: Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.14, London, July 7, 1995, p. 3

² Woodward, Peter (1996), p. 54; Lesch, Mosely Ann, The Sudan: Contested National Identity (1998), pp. 123-124; EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2001, pp. 11-12

³ Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.14, 7 July 1995, p. 3

⁴ Lesch, Mosely Ann, The Sudan, Contested National Identity (1998), pp. 185-196

are among those moving between Khartoum and Afghanistan and elsewhere. In pursuit of this, the United States insists since years that Sudan sponsors international terrorism.¹ Sudan became a refuge for Islamic militants who are in danger in their own countries, such as Tunisia, Algeria, Syria and Saudi Arabia etc.² Many political observers comment about the Sudanese military regime and put considerable remarks that it constantly becomes an obstacle to the countries democratic and economic developments. For example, Peter Woodward says on this issue as follows: "The domination of the state apparatus by NIF political forces deprives the whole nation of the possibility to determine collectively the common basis of political discussion and negotiation".³ The conceptual agreement on Woodward's possibility to determine political discussion on collective common basis continues as one of the major issues for Sudan in the near future.

Rainer Tetzlaff who often uses to write about the political dilemma of Sudan explains the present government's situation as follows: "Der Buergerkrieg im Sudan ist einen der laengste Krieg auf afrikanischem Boden geworden; gleichzeitig gehoert er auch zu den an Menschen verlustreichsten Kriegen, die in diesem Jahrhundert in Afrika gefuehrt worden sind". "Der Krieg ging auch dann noch mit zunaechst ungebremsster Wucht weiter als am Horn von Afrika." Zwischen ist der sudanische Buergerkrieg immer mehr zu einem "vergessenen Krieg" der grossen Politik geworden." Die Grossmaechte sind ohnmaechtig angesichts der Brutalitaet des vorgehens der Regierung in Khartoum und wohl auch unwillig, hier von aussen zu intervenieren, zumals sich 1993 ein erzwungener Siegfrieden fuer die Regierung abzuzeichnen begann".⁴

Another Sudanese political analyst, Peter Nyot Kok a Sudanese citizen, writes denigrating the present regime as: "The NIF's federalism, presented in an Islamic autocratic context and never a product of a national democratic consensus, is regarded by the South as merely an elevated form of local government." "It cannot defuse the dysfunctional ethnic, cultural and religious diversity (which is an important aspect of the Sudanese conflict), because of the regime's commitment to the Islamization and Arabization of the Sudanese State and society".⁵

The failure of civil institutions to develop strong political popular roots have resulted in (1) their inability to break the hold on power by sectarian political parties that did maintain a rural power base, (2) their vulnerability to be attacked by a determined military government. Peter Woodward again writes in another edition about this phase as follows: "It was expected because of the contortions in which Sudanese politicians had once more entangled themselves with party constitutional uncertainties, and because rumours that something of the sort might occur had been circulating for months, though there had been no efforts by any politicians to take preemptive action".⁶ While party politics had never been

¹ The World of Information Africa Review, The Economic and Business Report, 21st edition, London 1998, p. 243

² Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.14, 7 July 1995, p. 3.

³ Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 143

⁴ Tetzlaff, Rainer, Staatswerdung im Sudan (1993), pp. 59-60

⁵ Kok, Peter Nyot (1996), p. 139

⁶ Woodward, Peter (1990), p. 137

very institutionalized beyond the necessity for a parliamentary majority, where there has even been disputes on occasions, it seems to be difficult to succeed the attempts at writing a permanent constitution which always gave the military chance to unseat civil governments easily. Civil institutions have historically been very strong, especially in the Northern Sudan. There has been a tradition of free press, civic organizations, political parties, an independent judiciary and intelligentsia etc. These modern forces are all in rapid retreat under sustained assault from the present government who uses Islam as a factor to install its power.

Sudan is divided and impoverished, while a violent civil war has raged for years and still there is no end in sight. A government, which violates every human right rules the country and the war still takes its course with no hope of winning by all warring factions. The possibility to resolve the dispute with compromise at a high-level peace negotiations has still been unsuccessful (compare Sudan News and Views, Issue No.29, September-October 1997; www.africanews.org Panafrican News Agency (PANA), Exiled Umma Party Leaders return to Khartoum, April 7, 2000).¹

At the time of writing, more pressure from domestic and the international community seems to have forced the Islamic fundamentalist military regime on all sides to make peace that contains the aspects of accountable government, sustainable political and social developments. Since the end of 1999, NIF leader Turabi seems to be isolated as the government has appeared to have changed its political course. But the original NIF political framework of Islamic fundamental principles still functions under the command of military elites.²

For those concerned with lasting peace and sustainable development, it might be difficult to imagine another alternative. But the realization of such hope may depend on what happens between the present political framework of the country and the time of counting the higher office in the system. The Islamic fundamentalist dominated National Congress Party (NCP), which seems aware on its fragile regime, hopes that with time and intrigue it could consolidate its political position to win an open diplomatic legitimacy in the present structure. But the question of how long the non-democratic what they called Congress Parliament System can hold on power against the popular struggle for multi-party democracy remains open for discussion in the country's political scene. Considering the new political course under the same military-civil symbiotic fundamentalist political framework, much change towards democratic transition and sensitive political answers may not be expected. But it lengthens the period of its authoritarian and abusive regime or may collapse altogether.

¹ Sudan Democratic Gazette, London, August 2000, p. 11; SIPRI Yearbook, New York 2001, p. 104

² The Economist, Sudanese Contradictions, London, December 18, 1999, p. 36, Ibid., Sudan Palace Coup, August 19, 2000, p. 33

3.2.3.1 Political Parties and Pressure Groups

Political Parties: Sudanese political parties have complex configurations of ideology, social loyalty values, historical experiences and policy strategies. The party structures of some of them have been based on sectarian, religious, ethnic identity or Islamic fundamentalist ideology. Even if they were consecutively banned by military coups, their organizational senses remained the same and have mostly operated clandestinely.¹ The Sudanese people were constantly keen to revive the multi-party system by forming parliamentary rule in between the military regimes. Wide ranges of political parties were formed which varied from those who have committed to a revolutionary socialist position and those adhered to an Islamic ideology. While most could be undermined as small and unrepresentative, there were nonetheless major policy differences between the main traditional parties of Umma and Democratic Unionist Party.²

Originally, these basic political difference combined with the traditional rivalry between those two powerful Muslim sectarians have been divided and became bitter enemies being unable to collaborate on nearly every issues. These two political parties which constantly appealed to mobilize traditional constituencies have dominated Sudan's periods of parliamentary rule. Their organizational origins are closely linked to the strain of Islamic mysticism whose older social and religious orders have long had a strong presence in Sudan could not change their core of religious and cultural values.³

Their history began in the colonial times to liberate Sudan. Moreover, they have acted as vehicles for the political ambitions of their founding and controlling families since their inception. As mainstream traditional cleavages, they have frequently manipulated the state power and public resources for the service of their private sectors.⁴ It was only in the area how to expand their particular class interests that they were used to agree.

In the second parliamentary democracy (before Numeiri took power in 1969), there were only 8 parties in Sudan. After the fall of Numeiri 36 parties were formed¹. In the country's process of political scene, there was a major change caused by the emergence of two very important political groups, the Muslim Brotherhood and the SPLM, each with special principles of religious

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 6

² EIU Sudan Country Report, London 1985, pp. 6-7; Sudan Update, Vol.6, No.14, London, 7th September 1995, p. 2

³ Bechtold, Peter K., In: The Middle East Journal, Vol.44, No.1 (Winter 1990), p. 584; Lesch, Mosely Ann, The Sudan: Contested National Identity (1998), p. 66

⁴ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 47

and political dimensions. This scene has provided two extreme views on one of the most important political issues in the country, namely, the question of being Islamic State by NIF and being a Secular State by SPLM.²

The UP and DUP position has always been between the two extremes since their formation. Their politics have remained very similar to their earlier periods, with both parties advocating some form of recognition of Islam in the continuation and some identification of the state with Islam. From this perspective, the major issues of Sudanese party politics have been the continuing importance of religion or how to deal with Islamization. The Sudanese Constitutional Lawyer, Peter Nyot Kok who lives in exile in Germany writes about this dilemma: "What had been important especially for the three parties (UP, DUP and NIF) is, over a prestige and control of state power than reaching over the rules of the game governing peaceful co-existence of culturally heterogeneous groups".³

Either civilian or military governments could not solve the conflict issue that caused government changes unconstitutionally and banned political parties. In every military coup, it became tradition in Sudan to end elected civilian governments and ban parties by a military coup in 1958, 1969, and 1989.⁴ The more influential Parties during the last parliamentary period (1986-1989) until their banning in the 1989 coup were⁵:

Political Parties

UMMA Party	(UP)
Democratic Unionist Party	(DUP)
National Islamic Party	(NIF)
Sudan Peoples Liberation Army/Movement	(SPLA/M)
Republican Brothers	(RB)
The Sudanese Communist Party	(SCP)

Most of the Parties except NIF and SPLA/M are operating in exile or clandestinely. SPLA/M operates in its liberated constituencies in the Southern region. During the 1986-1989, other

¹ Woodward, Peter (1991), pp. 47-48

² Bechtold, Peter K., In: *The Middle East Journal*, Vol.44, No.1 (Winter 1990), p. 590

³ Kok, Nyot, Peter (1996), p. 123

⁴ Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, p. 4; Woodward, Peter (1990), p. 137 ff.

⁵ EIU Sudan, London 1985, pp. 6-7; Wiseman, John A. (1990), p. 155; Lesch, Ann Mosely, *The Sudan: Contested National Identities* (1998), pp. 65-75

old/minor parties who have played roles in the Sudanese political society previously or have very limited representatives in parliament are left out in this study. For example, small parties that were formed during the Third Democratic Phase of the country and served as political faction, religious or ethnic interests' etc.¹ are not considered in this analysis. The concern of this section is then to illustrate some parties that were active prior to the 1989 coup and still stimulate pressure to the country's present political scene.

The Umma Party (UP): The Sudanese Umma (Islamic community) party was founded in February 1945 by pro-independence nationalists, most of whom were supporters of the Mahdist movement who had formed the early Mahdist state of Sudan (1885-1898).² The sectarian followers known as Ansar provided the mass of the Umma party and their hierarchical structure of command which subsequently served as its backbone and represented conservative traditionalism.³ Political control of nationalist organizations gradually passed to militant faction but traditional leaders discarded this and developed an instrument for advancing Sudanese independence to promote the Umma party as a substitute. The leader of the Ansar, remained the party's patron or its integrated institution whose leadership initially performed to secure the commitment of its sectarian groups to full independence for the Sudan.⁴ The party leadership was retained essentially by the Mahdist family who resisted and led a successful revolt to end Turco-Egyptian rule and have tried to prevent the British from becoming the immediate successor of the Turco-Sgyptian rule.⁵ Through these resistance activities, the Mahdists have become a significant part of both British and Sudanese history, but failed to form a nationalist party.

The Mahdists have defeated and killed the British General Charles Gordon who was securing British colonial interests in Sudan and seized Khartoum in 1885 to form their state. From the standpoint of Sudanese Muslim history, the Mahdist represents the triumph of Islamic resistance over foreign domination.⁶ The Sudanese Mahdist state was the only successful anti-imperialist Islamic republic in Africa at that time, which was recalled as a time of glory and early nationalism born in the context of a renewed Islam.

¹ Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 49

² Esposito, John L., Vol.4 (1995), p. 99

³ Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 56

⁴ Esposito, John L., Vol.4 (1995), pp. 100-101

⁵ Hunwick, John O. (1992), p.18

⁶ Ibid., Vol.4 (1995), p. 270

Whether in military rule or civilian regimes, the powerful impact of the Mahdist revolution on Sudanese Islam and political life can be seen in the continuing influence of the Mahdist family until now. Ansar religious leaders, under the Mahdist influential family in White Nile area and the western province of Darfur and Kordofan has developed into one of nationalist political organization. Those powerful religious leaders were unequivocally opposed to any military junta, but they have failed to change the military elite by persuasion. As they have resisted forcibly, the confrontation led a military attack on them, and many of their followers were killed.¹

In April 1985 Nimeiri's regime was overthrown and the Umma joined other parties to form a transitional regime pending general elections. By March 1986, its various wings were effectively reunited, and Sadiq al-Mahdi was formally reelected as Umma's leader. In May 1987, he was elected Imam of the Ansar to Unity in his person as the leadership of Ansar movement, the hard core of Umma party.² Although Umma has often gained the greatest number of seats voted to a single party in general elections, it was never in a position to form an independent government but shared power with other parties in coalition. After the party was banned in 1989, it started to operate clandestinely in the country and in exile under the umbrella opposition party NDA, whereby Umma leaders have played a decisive role in a coalition until they have withdrawn from the opposition (NDA).³

In the December 2000 elections, Umma Party did not participate while what it called 'the conditions for its participation were not met'. It was expected that Umma Party could make the new cabinet after the 2000 elections, but the party's members have rejected to accept any ministerial posts unless fresh elections are to be held and armed conflict in the south and east is solved.⁴ Since al-Mahdi is back to Sudan on November 23, 2000 after 4 years in exile⁵, the party leaders have taken a serious measures designed to structure its base, mobilize its supporters who were split into many factions by the government and to engage dialogue with other political forces in the country.⁶ The party aims to set up any kind of power-sharing and be able to participate in a government of national salvation with other political forces if the military government decides to adopt democracy.

¹ Ibid. p. 271

² Bechtold, Peter K., In: *The Middle East Journal*, Vol.4, No.1 (Winter 1990), p. 586

³ *Africa Research Bulletin*, Vol.37, No.9, 1st-31st September 2000, p. 14117

⁴ *Africa Research Bulletin*, February 1st-28th 2001, p. 14297

⁵ Al-Mahdi, one who is the leader of the substantial opposition figure with impeccable Islamic credentials has fled to Eritrea on 9 December 1996 (see for details in: *The World of International Africa Review*, Economic and Business Report, 21st edition, London 1998, pp. 243-244)

⁶ *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, No.828, 2 December 2000, p. 1

Democratic Union Party (DUP): The origin of this party was also initiated from a religious order called Khatmiyah (**Brotherhood**). It is a Muslim sectarian that has opposed to the rigorous application of Islamic law and generally pro-Egyptian political arm¹. Al-Mirghani family, the spiritual leader of Khatmiya has been regarded as an influential political leader who supported the Trurco-Egyptian regime and opposed activists of the revolutionary movement of the Mahdists.² Khatmiyah has spread its influence among the river communities of northern Sudan, merchants and industrialists, the nomadic and settled farmers of eastern part of the country, which became an important stronghold of the party.³ Some followers are also found in Eritrea, Egypt, and western Sudan. Urban dwellers maintain affiliation to the party, and educated members are especially politically active to strengthen Khatmiyah's position.

Ali al-Marghani (1878-1968), the great-grandson of Khatmiyah founder has played an important role in the nationalist movements. Its religious status remained unchanged and it joined other political forces including those of its rival, the Mahdist or Ansar in the years before Sudan's independence. Recognizing the cultural and religious diversity of Sudan, DUP saw the necessity for political dialogue and opposed to impose the Sharia Law.⁴ Under the leadership of the Khatmiyah's political wing, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), was founded in 1958. Later it agreed to its merger in 1968 with the National Unionist Party, and the combined forces came to be known as the Democratic Unionist Party.⁵

Since independence, the Khatmiyah religious sects have played an important role in the government, either in coalition, sometimes with the Umma, or in opposition.⁶ Successive military regimes have tried to weaken Khatmiyah's political influence, but with limited success of destroying it. Instead, the failure of military and the one-party system strengthened its position. The founder's of this party grandson Muhammad 'Uthman who became the head of Khatmiyah order in the 1990s, has taken a more direct political role. Previously he was praised for dealing an agreement with the leadership of the Sudan People's Liberation Army in Addis Ababa in 1988 in an attempt to resolve the civil war in southern. However, this came too late to prevent a military coup in 1989 while Umma leadership has hesitated to recognize the peace deal prepared

¹ Esposito, John L., Vol.4 (1995), p. 418

² Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 48

³ Lesch, Ann Mosely, *The Sudan: Contested National Identities* (1998), p. 67

⁴ Sudanow, Khartoum, January 1986, p. 38

⁵ Nelson, Harold D. (1983), p. 55; EL-Affendi, Abdelwahab (1991), p. 85

⁶ Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 91

by DUP with the SPLA leaders in 1988.¹ Criticism and factionalism within the Democratic Unionist Party has emerged in the last two decades, but the Khatmiyah leadership continues its dual political religious role, a position it has been assuming before independent. The DUP operates political and military activities with other opposition leaders effectively in exile even if they have pursuing different political agenda.²

Since the year 2000, DUP aligns with the SPLA withholding NDA leadership and standing firmly to overthrow the current fundamentalist Islamist regime. DUP also illustrates the subordinate of a domestic opposition, which dreams of a popular uprising similar to those that brought down the regime of General Nimeiri in 1985.

National Islamic Front (NIF): This party originates from the Muslim Brotherhood founded in Egypt in 1928, which had also established a branch in the early 1950s in Sudan. It is militant fundamentalist religious and political movement which has advocated from the beginning to create an Islamic state, closer relations with the conservative Arabs States, and proselytizing the non-Muslim Southern Sudanese minority.³

Drawing its support largely from students, intellectuals low ranking businessmen, and high ranking military hard core, the Muslim Brotherhood has entered electoral politics in the second parliamentary period (1964) under the name of Islamic Charter Front (ICF).⁴ As the two giant traditional mainstream parties (Umma and DUP) battled for power, ICF has attempted to build a mass organization originating a new type of politico-religious movement. Its new movement seemed not as broad and hereditary like that of the Umma or DUP, but was initially familiar with the social psychology of the northern Sudanese citizens.⁵ Although it was kept outside the political process during Nimeiri time, the Muslim Brotherhood remained highly influential among some Muslim Community. After Nimeiri's reconciliation politics in 1977, Muslim Brotherhood's leader Hasan al-Turabi was appointed to a higher political post of Attorney General.⁶ Many of the Muslim Brotherhood members have actively participated in the government and Nimeriri's sole Sudan Socialist Party (SSP) in the closing years of his regime, who might have also played an influential role in imposing the unpopular implementation of Islamic Law (**Sharia Law**).⁷

However, shortly before the April 1985 coup, Nimeiri purged the Muslim Brotherhood members from his government and the Sudan Socialist party, maintaining that they have tried to plott

¹ Ibid., p. 55

² EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1999, p. 13

³ Delury, George E., Vol.II (1987), p. 1022

⁴ Guazzone, Laura (1995), p. 195

⁵ EL-Affendi, Abdelwahab (1991), p. 74; Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 86;

Lesch, Mosely Ann (1998), p. 68

⁶ EL-Affendi, Abdelwahab (1991), p. 77; Guazzone, Laura (1995), p. 196; EL-Affendi, Abdelwahab (1991), pp. 112-113

⁷ Guazzone, Laura (1995), p. 195

against his regime. Like most of the other political groupings, the Muslim Brothers were split into different factions. But the mainstream of this grouping was reformed under the name National Islamic Front (NIF) in 1985 by Dr. Hassan Abdulla al-Turabi.¹ Under al-Turabi's leadership, the Muslim Brotherhood resumed its political activities in the 3rd parliamentary period. Its supporters have participated in the April 1986 general elections under the banner of the National Islamic Front (NIF) coming in a close third after the mainstream traditional parties (the UP and DUP) that enabled it to form an official parliamentary opposition.²

The National Islamic Front (NIF) has represented the movement that grew in breadth and strength during the Nimeriri years as a partner in the system. Its election program maintained that Islam was the official religion of the state and Arabic the official language, Sharia guiding all matters of life and be the source of all laws.³ The NIF, as Muslim Brothers, Islamic Charter Front or under other names survived many crises and still rules Sudan after having participated in one way or another, in all the different military and civil regimes since 1977. From the very beginning, its members have represented the position in favour of assimilation on the basis of a cohesive Arab-Islamic National Identity. But due to domestic and international pressure, NIF's political strategy has failed in building up a United Islamic State of Sudan. Since 1999, it changed its name again into National Congress Party.⁴ This gives remarks to political observers that NIF could not compete for power democratically.

Even if the National Islamic Front/National Congress has weakened the political landscape of Sudan, it is unlikely to pose a credible challenge against its opponents. In an attempt to consolidate power, serious divisions have emerged within the government and NIF was forced to transform into a new political party at the end of 1999.⁵ The attempt has backfired leading to what may be the most dangerous setback of the party's position, which may cause the political organization to generate into factionalism. The unity of NIF now National Congress Party, strongly backed by the military since it staged into power in 1989 is facing many challenges at this time as it has failed to build a new state that satisfies the promises it has made from the beginning.

The National Islamic Front/NCP, which remained the hard core of the present regime is weakened by internal dissent and divided into factions since 2000. On one side the National Congress-part and parcel of NIF, which obeys al-Beshir and on the other side Hassan al-Turabi

¹ Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 48; Sudanow, Khartoum, September 1985, pp. 26-28

² Bechtold, Peter K. in: *The Middle East Journal*, Vol.44, No.1, London (Winter 1990), p. 586; El-Affendi, Abdelwahab (1991), p. 142

³ Sudan News Agency (SUNA), Khartoum 1st-3rd May 1986, pp. 1-2; Field, Michael (1994), p. 261

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1999, p. 11

⁵ Ibid., pp. 12-13

who still controls many branches of the civil service.¹ But if the internal dispute between the military (al-Beshir) and civil (al-Turabi) Sudan's **military-civil symbiotic** government could open the door again to another military coup or to the restoration of civil government will be the next interesting research agenda in the country's continuing political crisis.

Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A): Col. John Garang (from the South) has formed the SPLM and its military wing in August 1983, (he was until then an officer in the Sudanese army) to resist the suppression of northern dominated regime in the country.² The resistance against Khartoum regime, which had been stopped by negotiation in 1972 between the north and south, gave the southerners autonomy. The agreement was abrogated after Nimeriri's regime imposed Islamic Law in 1983.³

Since its foundation, the SPLM is committed to the liberation of the whole Sudan from the Islamic fundamentalist regime and dedicated to what it called "the creation of a new Sudan".⁴ Its objective of creating a new Sudan was interpreted and understood differently by different groups in Sudan. To most southerners, it meant either freedom for the South, or justice for the historically oppressed and marginalized in structural inequalities Sudanese within a united Sudan. Specially, leaders of SPLM/A have demanded the restructuring of power in Khartoum and stressed constantly for Sudan's African identity.⁵

After failing to win concessions on the southern question in the third democracy (1986-1989), SPLM has extended military action against the criteria of Khartoum government. By 1986, its Army Wing was estimated to have 12,500 adherents equipped with small arms and a few mortars. Until 1991, the SPLA's strength had reached to 60,000 and challenged the Sudanese military regime in a protracted way, mostly in the Southern region.⁶ It control most of the non-urban south and sporadic negotiations with various northern representatives such as DUP yielded several temporary cease-fires, but implemented no permanent solutions to the conflict.⁷ The SPLM has strong religious dimensions in its programme because it opposes Muslim domination of the Sudan and strongly advocates the creation of a secular state.⁸ Therefore, the

¹ Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.928, Paris, 2 December 2000, p. 1

² Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 65; Hutchinson, Sharon E., In: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.39, No.2 (2001), p. 307

³ Mews, Stuart (1989), p. 256; Huntington, Samuel Paul, The Clash of Civilization-- (1998), p. 293

⁴ SPLM Manifesto, Addis Ababa, July 1983, pp. 7-8

⁵ Johnson, Douglas H., in: Clapham, Christopher, African Guerrillas (1998), p. 54; Lesch, Ann Mosely, The Sudan: Contested National Identities (1998), p. 70

⁶ Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller (1998), p. 874

⁷ African Rights, Food and Power in Sudan, A Critique of Humanitarianism, London 1997, pp. 118-119; Sudan News Agency, Khartoum, February 1, 2000, pp. 1-2

⁸ Woodward, Peter (1990), p. 237

authorities under the civil government in Khartoum did not meet SPLM/A's demands to abrogate the Islamic Law and it has refused to participate in the 1986 elections because of the continued Islamic identification of the government policies in the transitional constitution.

Due to the problematic situation of ethnic conflicts in the South itself, SPLM has suffered factional division in 1989-1992,¹ but its hard core remained to operate effectively. After 1992, it became the important member of the exiled opposition parties group NDA.² SPLM's ultimate condition for negotiation to end the civil war is a guarantee that the Sudanese State will be secular and that no form of Islamic Law will be the basis for the country's legal system.³

Even if the SPLM became the dominant southern rebel force, it has not proposed secession for the South. Until recently, it has supported a unified Sudan in which the South would be granted a larger voice in national affairs and a greater share of the nation's economic development programs. However, under pressure from secession-oriented splinters, the SPLM's leaders have reportedly endorsed the proposed division of Sudan into two highly autonomous, albeit still confederated states, with the South operating under secular law and the north under Islamic Law.⁴ The major turning point in the conflict between the government and SPLM/A (the South) remained the Sharia Law, but not necessarily a democratic question.⁵ Whether a moderate Islamic code that would apply only to the Muslim majority would replace it or a secular unitary state will be formed may depend on how the northern and southern political forces (military and civil) are committed to make concessions. The status of Sharia is the most contentious constitutional issue, which its repeal has continually been called for by the SPLA (since its inception) as a conditional step if negotiations are to take place with the consecutive governments. The SPLA may be able to harness political grievances and threats of religious, political and economic marginalization on the southern people from the northern domination.

Republican Brothers: In 1945, a small group of Sudanese led by Mahmud Mohammed Taha have organized the Republican Party to oppose both the establishment of a Mahdidi Monarchy and the Khatmiyya's concept of unification of Sudan with the Kingdom of Egypt. The Party's manifesto has also called for an Islamic resurgence.⁶ Following the 1969 revolution led by Colonel Jafar Nimeiri, all political parties in Sudan were banned. Taha's followers consequently changed their organization's name to the Republican Brothers, alternatively naming the New

¹ Clapham, Christopher (1996), p. 220

² Johnson, Douglas H., *The SPLA*, in: Clapham Christopher, *African Guerrillas* (1998), p. 62

³ Mews, Stuart (1989), p. 256

⁴ Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller (1998), p. 874

⁵ Hutchinson, Sharon E., In: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.39, No.2 (2001), pp. 312, 316

⁶ Esposito, John L., Vol.4 (1995), pp. 429-430

Islamic Mission.¹ They continued to advocate a new understanding of Islam to address contemporary personal and world problems as well, as to meet modern, national scientific concerns. Republican Brothers attracted intellectuals, students, urban community and the ranks of some quarters of the intelligentsia who saw its policies as viable alternatives to the more radical programs advocated by the radical Muslim Brotherhood (NIF).²

Taha whose origin has been from the Blue Nile area became an active nationalist during the Egypto-British colonial government. Due to his political activities, Taha was imprisoned for two years by the colonial government. After he was free from prison, he emerged with a vision of the "Second Message of Islam" in 1951 and has spread the idea through speeches, newspapers articles, pamphlets, and books until Nimeiri's government hanged him to death on 18 January 1985 after a grossly unfair trial.³ In their wings, Taha and the Republican Brothers define religious as a behavioral system of morals employed to attain peace, genuine freedom, and ever growing, eternal happiness. They claim that Islam combines the materialism of Judaism and the spirituality of Christianity into single religious experience.⁴

Taha and the Republican Brothers became politically controversial by opposing President Nimeiri's policy of imposing the shari'a on Sudan's diverse peoples. They have charged that the traditional shari'a Law based on fundamental political, economic, and social inequalities could not be reconciled with modern constitutional government. Instead, they have advocated a federal democracy with economic socialism and equal political rights for all, regardless of ethnic, gender or religious preference. The Republican Brother's progressive view has also been on matters of human rights, especially women's rights that seem to have been among the most attractive of ideas which is **often disregarded by Islamist regimes** in Sudan as well as in other Islamic regimes including Saudi Arabia.⁵ John L. Esposito writes again about this:

"The historic sharia, as advocated by the Muslim Brothers of Sudan, Egypt, and Syria and the government of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Libya, is a primitive level of law suited to an earlier stage of cultural development".⁶

In the early 1980s, the Republican Brothers had a few hundred hard-core members of both sexes and more than a thousand sympathizers. Many members were highly educated and widely respected by Muslim moderates and non-Muslims Sudanese, but strongly opposed by the Muslim fundamentalists, which they often have focused to attack them.⁷ After Taha's execution, the Republican Brothers movement became dormant in the Sudan, but its members have

¹ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (199), p. 122

² Delury, George E., Vol. II, (1987), p. 1023; Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 123

³ Kok, Nyot Peter (1996), p. 34

⁴ Esposito, John L., Vol.4 (1995), p. 430

⁵ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 123

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), p. 68

political influence without a political party card. If there has been favourable political situation in the country, Republican Brothers could contribute to implement a democratic Sudanese diverse state. Taha's Islamic ideal approach was to open the way for genuine and lasting national integration in the country. But crucial for the Republican Brother's still remains the unprecedented possibility to advocate their ideas freely.

Sudanese Communist Party (SCP): The Communist Party of Sudan traces its origin to the 1946 founding of Sudan Movement for National Liberation, an offshoot of the then Egyptian communist movement. This organization drew its strength primarily from intellectuals, students, and members of trade unions, but was decimated in July 1971.¹ Although relatively small, the SCP had become one of the country's organized political parties, which also recruited members in the South during and after independence and symbolized the country's left ideology.²

The various religious affiliated parties opposed SCP, and consequently the consecutive civilian and military governments have alternately banned and courted the party until 1971, when Nimeiri accused it of complicity in an abortive military coup. Nimeiri took harsh measures against the SCP leaders and its members by executing them summarily and effectively crippled the party for many years.³ Like other parties, SCP benefited from the easing of political restrictions following Nimeiri's removal to be reorganized as a party. Its leaders have strongly opposed to Sharia Law and sought a secular democratic constitution.⁴ Since June 1989 coup, the SCP has emerged as one of the Bashir government's most effective internal opponents largely through regular publications and circulation of its underground newspapers. In November 1990, the secretary general of the banned SCP managed to escape from house arrest and fled to Ethiopia.⁵ The SCP operates underground in the country as well as in exile with other parties to unseat the military regime. But the political scene in Sudan remains acute and unity within an alternative political system that supports diversity could not yet be achieved. The inability of the political forces to resolve the country's fundamental problems are decimating its people.

Other parties

A number of smaller parties, some of which had come into existence during the Nimeiri era but had been denied to participate in the political process, became active in the April 1986 elections. Even if they have criticized holding elections before ending the civil war since the fighting would

¹ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 40

² Woodward, Peter (1990), p. 56

³ Niblick, Tim (1987), p. 255

⁴ Lesch, ann Mosely (1998), p. 68

⁵ Kok, Nyot Peter (1996), p. 44

prevent most southerners from voting, several regional parties have succeeded to win seats in the elections for the constituent assembly.¹

The caretaker government was criticized for holding partial elections since most of the voting was canceled in the southern constituencies. For example, the People's Progressive Party, which supports the division of the Southern Region, met with considerable success in Equatorial Province. However, Regional parties based in Darfur and Blue Nile Provinces have failed to gain enough votes that could enable them to participate in the constituent assembly.² The nature of the nation-state was still in question as the southern parties reentered the political arena coalescing with the opposition in exile to compete in the fragile political situation of the country. While some southerners have tried to restructure the political system in order to end the automatic Arab-Islamic majority, there was a demand to the rights of ethnic minorities and the need for a balanced economic development³. In the parliamentary period from 1986-1989, 6 southern parties which competed in the south supported a secular constitution, but disagreed on the issue of united Sudan. Personal and political ethnic rivalries also divided them⁴. While the present regime does not allow parties to be engaged outside of its Islamic political platform, some exited the system, seeking to secede and leave the north as a relatively homogeneous Arab-Islamic territory. But most of the smaller parties remained silence within the system until the situation that allows them will be restored.

National Democratic Alliance (NDA): The severe restriction on political participation and lack of multi-partyism have led to the formation of NDA in exile.⁵ From the outset, the banned political parties, leaders of the ousted government Umma Party, Democratic Unionist Party, Sudan Communist Party and trade unions representatives have established a joint opposition party on 21st of October 1989 called National Democratic Alliance (NDA).⁶ Some clandestine opposition groups like the SPLA and other prominent political figure joined the NDA to form an organized coalition of a military branch.⁷ Sadiq al-Mahdi, Prime Minister of the last civil government who was ousted by a military coup in 1989 became the leader of NDA until his party has withdrawn in 14th September 2000.⁸

¹ Woodward, Peter (1990), pp. 206-208

² Delury, George E., Vol. II, (1987), p. 1023

³ Sudanow, Khartoum, February 1986, pp. 40-41

⁴ Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), p. 69

⁵ Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights Yearbook, Oslo 1995, p. 335

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1999, p. 4; SIPRI Yearbook, Oxford University Press, New York 1998, 127

⁷ Africa Confidential, Vol.36, No.14, London, July 7, 1995, p. 3

⁸ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.9, Blackwell London, 1st-30th September 2000, p. 14117

On 31 January 1992, the NDA has confirmed an agreement in its headquarters from Cairo, Egypt and Asmara (Eritrea), which it has declared itself as the only legitimate to be an official Sudanese opposition that lost power by the unconstitutional intervention of the military (backed by Islamist fundamentalist Front (NIF)).¹ In October 1996, a joint military command was established under the direction of SPLM's leader Col. John Garang and DUP's leader Usman al-Mirghani as a chairman.²

The NDA have convened meetings/charters over the past years and declared to adopt international and regional human rights instruments as part and parcel of the future Sudanese Constitution. It had also made an offensive by the joint military command that threatened and pressured the government in Khartoum demanding to end its military rule.³ The alliance operates in exile and is dedicated to the removal of the military government, restore democracy in Sudan and establish a secular state. But a split has threatened the alliance because of Umma's willingness to deal with the Islamist backed military government since General al-Beshir moved to distance himself in December 1999 from the hard-line Islamic leader Hassan al-Turabi and weakened to the latter's power-base.⁴ On March 24, 2000 the influential Umma Party of ex-Prime Minister Sadiq-al-Mahdi has withdrawn out of the NDA coalition, which throw the structure of armed opposition into disarray.⁵

The Sudanese government has greeted the withdrawal of Umma Party from the opposition National Democratic Alliance (NDA) as "an important development".⁶ The NDA's leadership council has been meeting since the withdrawal of Umma Party leaders from the coalition to discuss the reorganization of the Alliance's leadership. Despite differences over the degree of southern autonomy and a united and determined opposition, NDA continues heavy military pressure on the Islamist regime in Khartoum.⁷

The pull out of Mahdi's Umma party from the NDA alliance has not automatically fallen to the hands of the government, but if the coalition persuades Umma or it works effectively alone may be determined in the foreseeable time. The credibility that NDA could advance militarily and politically to unseat the government in Khartoum may depend on the determination and cooperation of each members' that can put a stepping stone to end Sudan's political, social and economic crises. From this perspective, the question how political parties could promote

¹ Sudan Focus (Monthly Newsletter), Vol.5, Issue No.2, London, February 15, 1998, p. 3; Guazzone, Laura (1995), p. 212

² Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller (1998), p. 873

³ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1996, p. 8

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 7; Sudan Democratic Gazette, Year XII, No.129, London, March 2001, p. 1

⁵ Africa Confidential, Vol.41, No.8, 14 April 2000, p. 8

⁶ News Article by Agency France Press (AFP), Khartoum, March 18, 2000; Sudan News Agency (SUNA), Khartoum, March 18, 2000

⁷ Sudan Democratic Gazette, Year XI, No.126, London, December 2000, p. 5; The Economist, London, 22 January 2000, p. 43

democratization and economic development in their society remains to be examined in further observation.

Political Pressure Groups in Sudan: Like in Ethiopia and Kenya, there have been pressure and interest groups in the Sudanese political and social scene that contributed to the society's development. For example, the Trade Unions in Sudan have been among the most dynamic in Africa for their involvement in the political development of the country.¹ They have been an important social force to play eminent economic and political roles in Sudan's recent past. However, little research on them has been done and few books and articles that have been published reflect the views of government leaders' administration.

In general, the potential institutions of such pressure groups are not to be underestimated. For example, the Sudanese labour movement started as a political and economic protest pressure groups during the colonial time. The driving force behind its creation was an activist influenced by liberal, socialist and Marxist ideas from the opposition parties against the colonial British administration². Although the traditional parties were leading the nationalist struggle against the colonial powers, they have offered only meager and belated assistance to the emerging labour organizations. Their bourgeois orientation and reliance on the sectarian loyalties of the population militated against their active involvement in organizing labour unions. The trade union movement in Sudan led by Sudan Workers Trade Union Federation (SWTUF) has played generally an active role in the political life of Sudan until independence was achieved in January 1956 and hereafter during the military and civilian governments.³

The SWTUF trade union movement has started completely independent from the sectarian Sudanese political organizations. It has its roots in the urban de-centralized organizations of the society and tenant farmers, student unions, professional organizations among others.⁴ This origin remained the heritage of the Sudanese trade unions and its structure was not changed until Numeiri's time. The alliance between the labour movement and other non-traditional pressure group elements were decisive in determining the nature of government labour relations. The traditional political parties saw **SWTUF** as a threat to their authority and tried to split it or to undermine its influence in the labour movement.⁵ For this reason, the traditional parties have tried to set up parallel, pro-government organizations in competition to the SWTUF and harass its leaders continuously. These attempts to undermine the labour movement however, was without

¹ Delury, George E., vol. II, (1987), p. 1024

² Gerard Kester and Ousmane Oumarou Sidibe (1997), p. 274

³ International Committee on Freedom of Trade Union (ICFTU), ILO Annual Report of Trade Union Rights, Brussels 1999, 050

⁴ El-Affendi, Abdelwahab (1991), p. 94

⁵ Ibid., p. 95

success but the confrontation between the trade unions and the conservative civil government had once reached a climax.¹

After the military regime came to power, all labour organizations were immediately dissolved and their leaders were persecuted. The trade union organization did not become the subservient movement to the military regime, instead, it turned into one of the most determined centers of political opposition. For example, the trade unions organizations have struggled jointly with the students, the Sudan communist party and other non-traditional elements and succeeded to participate or represent during Nimeiri's government. But Nimeiri had restricted them in 1971 by Trade Union Act (TUA) which was inherited from the colonial administration. Suspending the restrictive Trade Union Ordinance, Nimeiri has reinstated new pro-labour in his Trade Union Act 1971.

Nimeiri has reconstituted the 1971 Trade Union movement, forming 2 Union Federations the Sudanese Federation of Employees and Professionals, which reached about 480,000 in 1986. This time they were stronger, and the government had more respect for pressure groups power and influence. They were able to resist attempts of the government to liquidate their political gains made through a bitter struggle. For example, Numeiri has dissolved the traditional trade unions, established in the ex-Soviet Union, Egypt and Yugoslavia models, and embodied them in legislation. Some trade union leaders have collaborated but were never fully integrated into Numeiri's established mainstream structures.² This made Numeiri to remain wary of the trade union movements but he has constantly tried to win their political support by reconciling his authoritarian state with the trade unions. Strikes were not tolerated, but the spirit of trade unions independence has continued and they remained a major source of opposition to Nimeiri's regime until the end.

After the overthrow of Numeiri, the traditional sectarian parties came to power in 1985. Like before, they regarded the workers' trade union movement, as they did not contribute to overthrow dictator Numeiri, but in the workers trade union elections, the traditional parties were completely defeated. During the 1985-1989, the trade unions were very successful in revising the labour legislation that accommodates them to democratic structure. They have called for economic reform and peace in the south and tried to embrace the conflict cause of Sudan in the international sphere.³ They were forerunners of the national coalition government formed early 1989 but were discredited by military government and elements of suppression that made them unable to function, and concessions were not given to them. Even if the trade unions were seen to have found a more enabling climate during the third democratic phase, the civil government

¹ Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), p. 83

² World Mark Encyclopaedia of the Nations, Worldmark Press Publisher, Africa, Vol.2, New York 1990, p. 310

³ Middleton, John, Vol.4, New York 1998, p. 172

has failed to acknowledge their interests seeing as a potential source of undermining the power of the state.

Immediately after the June 1989 coup, the junta has issued Constitutional Decree No.2 banning free associations. Since then, it became illegal for any civic institutions to be established or to remain active outside of NIF institutional platform. From its first day in power, the junta government cracked down on trade unions activists and their leaders intending to cripple the union movement and to curtail its historic role as an agent of political mobilization and change.¹ They were dissolved and a new highly structured organization, including both collar and white-collar workers in the same organization were created by al-Beshir's military regime, appointing his supporters without elections.² Following the banning of federations union, confiscation of their assets, funds and properties they had retained, the government has transferred all these to General Register Labour Organizations. The disposition of the trade union federation funds and properties were taken in accordance with the directive issued by the Head of State or his representatives.³ All licenses issued to non-religious institutions and societies associations were also deregistered.

The Sudanese military government has breached the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Article 22:1-2 and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) Article 10:1. It has dismissed hundreds of union leaders from the public sector and ordered the detention without charge or trial of hundreds of activists who has began to strike in opposition to the military coup in September 1989. The Bar Association and Sudan Human Rights Organization activists have also worked with other civic organizations and established their record of advocacy for the rule of law and defense of human rights in exile.⁴ Both organizations remain banned and were replaced by the pro-government Sudan Lawyers Union and Sudan Human Rights Organization whose function continues to struggle and protect their interests from exile.

Trade Union Alliance (TUA): As it has already been mentioned above, the first Sudanese trade union movements and workers association began during the struggle for independence. It became politically active on issues of national interests and was the major force in the nationalist derives for independence. In the post-independence era, it was in the forefront of the struggle for

¹ Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights Yearbook, Oslo 1995, p. 33

² Ibid. p. 53

³ Presidential Constitutional Decree No.2, 30.06.1989, Article 3:b-c

⁴ Africa Watch, Sudan Human Rights Organizations Report, Behind the Red-Line, London, November 4, 1991, p. 172; Commission for Human Rights, Situation of Human Rights in the Sudan, EICN.4/1997/58, U.N. Economic and Social Council, February 3, 1997, Introduction; Sudan News Agency (SUNA), Khartoum, January 31, 2000, p. 2

the adoption of democracy whenever abusive military dictatorships suppressed it. For example, unions have orchestrated a civil disobedience campaign, popular uprising and a general political strike that managed to topple the military dictatorship in 1958, 1964 and 1985 until liberal democracy was adopted under a civil government.¹

Unions representatives have joined national figures after the eruption of "people's power" to establish transitional governments that prepared for elections and the reinstatement of democratically elected governments.² The medium of trade union intervention in national politics was in all cases broad alliances, called in the Front of Associations. For example, in recognition of the union's role to bring about the 1985 political change, the transitional government was headed by Dr. Gezouli Di Falla, the chairperson of the Doctors' union and of the underground Alliance of Trade Unions that spearheaded the strike against Nimeiri's military rule.³ This ensured a particularly harsh clamp down on the Doctor's Union following the June 1989 military coup.

The union's role during the transitional period and under the democratically-elected government of Sadiq al-Mahdi went beyond the defense of their members interests including direct participation in national affairs on a number of issues.⁴ They served as active mediators between the government of Sudan and the rebel SPLM/A in negotiations for an equitable settlement of the civil war agreement of 24 March 1986. The Koka Dam Declaration called for a "new Sudan that would be free from racism, tribalism, sectarianism and all causes of discrimination and disparity".⁵ It contained a list of immediate steps to be taken, including repeal of the sharia laws enacted in 1983 and holding a constitutional conference. Which was signed by the SPLA and several political parties such as Democratic Unionist Party.⁶

Following that initiative, union mediators have negotiated the November 1988 agreement between the SPLM/A and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), partner in the government's coalition, of which Umma Party was senior in forming the civil government.¹ Political analysts have largely accept that the June 30, 1989 coup was timed to stop the government from formally adopting this second agreement, and thus achieving a political solution to end the war. Abel Alier writes about this scene as follows:

¹ World University Service Academic Freedom 2 (1993), p. 117; Hunwick, John O. (1992), p. 24

² Gerard Kester and Ousmane Oumarou Sidibe (1997), p. 275

³ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 144-146

⁴ Gerard Kester and Ousmane Oumarou Sidibe (1997), p. 276

⁵ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 165, 174

⁶ Woodwrad, Peter (1990), pp. 204-205

"The decision of the new regime (military) to dissociate itself from the Koka Dam Declaration and the Sudanese Peace Initiative; to opt for talks without conditions; to refer the Sharia to referendum; to ban the trade unions and to stiff the state of emergency regulations, were received with mixed reactions." "On balance, these decisions gave the regime the appearance of being nearer to the camp of the NIF leaders who were opposed to all agreements in the peace process which included preconditions and endorsed either cancellation or freezing of Sharia laws. Moreover, the NIF leadership had long been opposed to the unions and would have, if given the opportunity, dissolved them".²

The agreement, which was almost adopted, would have required to freeze the application of Islamic laws, a measure vehemently opposed by the NIF, being the political party behind the coup. Sudanese missed a big opportunity to install peace and stability at this time that may never be easy to come again to such terms. The trade unions record of activism apparently did not end against the NIF controlled government, which tended to see the unions as dominated by the communists, leftists, and secularists. The government ruthlessly, dismissed leading trade union activists from their posts. A lot of union members were subjected to systematic beatings, torture and humiliating treatment even rapes in prison cells, killed brutally without a fair trial. Their right to organize and bargain collectively was suppressed.³ Many union leaders spent more than one year in detention without charges or trial and some perished in prison but their concept will remain countable to Sudanese political and social records.

Independent unions remain banned and the government-sponsored unions are being established, but union activists continue to press for improvement in working conditions as well as operate their activities with the banned political organization in exile. For example, in January 2, 1995 the Sudanese Trade Union Alliance has launched a Declaration in London in a bid to consolidate the democratic trade unions in Sudan.⁴ The Sudanese Trade Union Alliance addressed by many senior members and its representatives, coordinates to establish a democratic government in Sudan from exile with the National Democratic Alliance and other opposition forces. From this perspective, the margin of success may not be easy, but there is hope that the struggle for economic development and a transition to democracy will be thoroughly discussed by the trade union intelligentsia until they reach their mission.

¹ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 156-157

² Alier, Abel (1990), pp. 286-287

³ ICFTU Annual Survey of Trade Union Rights, The ILO Committee on Freedom of Association, Brussels 1999, p. 049

⁴ Sudan Human Rights Voice, Vol.4, No.1, London 1995, p. 8

Sudan Doctors Trade Unions (SDTU): The Sudanese medical doctors were the first professions in the country to practice the right to associate when they have formed the Sudan Medical Association (SMA). The SMA played both the roles of a trade union and of a professional scientific society until 1971. They separated into two functions, forming the Sudan Doctors Trade Union and the Sudan Medical Society to cater the two functions respectively.¹ The Sudan Doctors Trade Union (SDTU) has played a great role in the struggle for democracy and human rights during Nimeiri's military dictatorship (1969-1985). It had organized several strikes on issues concerning the working conditions of the medical doctors, the standard of health service and basic human rights. This was one of the main trade unions that formed the Trade Union Alliance which led to the Popular Uprising in March/April that toppled the Nimeiri regime and re-established democratic rule in the country in 1985.²

When al-Beshir's military government dissolved the trade unions, the SDTU came into open confrontation with the regime. This union was the first to resist and organize a general strike in October 1989 and many doctors were detained, tortured and even some were killed as a result of torture.³ Confrontations between the Sudanese medical doctors and the military government have been mainly about human rights issues either related directly to them or ordinary Sudanese citizens.

When the military government issued its new legislation for the organization of trade unions in 1992, the Sudanese doctors were not allowed to form their own independent trade union. Instead, they have to be members of a trade union, which included all other workers, employees and professionals in the health service.⁴ The second issue that form one important element in the confrontation between the Sudanese doctors and the current military regime has been the standard of cost of health service provided to the public while the security forces have misused the resources.⁵ The doctors have complained about the decline of health service budget, and accused the government of abandoning its responsibility to provide primary health care that lacks equipment and necessary medicine.

Even if there are shortcomings, the Sudanese doctors continue to defend the right of their citizens to health care according to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural

¹ Sudan Human Rights Voice, Vol.5, No.5, London, August 1996, p. 6

² Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), p. 149

³ Sudan Human Rights Voice, London, January 1995, p. 8

⁴ Sudan Human Rights Voice, Vol.5, No.5, London, August 1996, p. 7

⁵ Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1999, p. 315

Rights (ICESCR Article 12:1, 2/a-d). But International support is necessary to put pressure on the military government that it respects citizen's fundamental rights. Confirming the continuing human rights problem in Sudan, the International Labour Organization (IOL) has accused Sudanese authorities of violating the rights of trade unionists by frequently imprisoning, torturing or killing them. According to the report issued by the Committee on Freedom of Association, the confirmation was adopted at a session of the ILO's governing body in Geneva.¹ The trade union movement in Sudan has been extremely cautious in its dealing with the government since 1989 and struggles dedicatedly to change the situation.

Religious Organizations: Like in Ethiopia and Kenya, religious organizations in Sudan have played a major role in the country's political and social affairs. Historical successive governments, both during and since the military regime interfered to regulate the activities of religions by dividing the country into exclusive zones of influence-with the South set aside for Christian Missionaries and off limits to Islamic proselytization and public worship.² The commitment to implement Islamic Law has been the primacy goal of Sudanese leaders either civilian or military regimes.

Poor relations between Christian Churches and the government were deeply related to the North-South questions and the government's Islamization projects.³ The persecution of Southern Sudanese people by the Khartoum authorities has gone hand in hand with the persecution of the Christian Church leaders. Governments have come and gone with time and all of them have persecuted the southern Sudanese and Church leaders. They have differed only in the sophistication or cruelty of their persecution methods.⁴ The governments have denied any religious discrimination, but admittedly refused to give any permit to build churches in Khartoum for the last 25 years while routinely issuing permits for the construction of new mosques.⁵

Due to the failure of regulating Islamic religion in consensus manner, Sudan has been suffering for **45 years** of destructive internal conflict with only a brief period of calm (1972-1983).⁶ Christian Church authorities and moderate Muslim leaders have often insisted that participation

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1998, p. 13

² Mews, Stuart, Religion in Politics (1989), p. 253; Hunwick, John O. (1992), p. 42

³ Human Rights Watch World Report, New York, Washington D.C., London and Brussels 1997, p. 55

⁴ Sudan Democratic Gazette, Newsletter for Democratic Pluralism, No.23, London, April 1992, p. 1

⁵ Human Rights Watch World Report, New York, Washington D.C., London and Brussels 1998, pp. 73-74

⁶ Alier, Abel (1990), p. 125

in political, social and economic life should be open to all irrespective of racial, ethnic, social and religious backgrounds. To resolve the problems steadily, the effective participation of all people in political processes and decision-making did not take place widely. But the reality in practice has been where persecution and discrimination against Christian and moderate Muslims became the norm. It has called repeatedly to the authoritarian regimes of Sudan to initiate a Christian-Muslim dialogue and outlined the vast disparity between the government's public pronouncements on equality of religious and freedoms to worship.¹

Church leaders of Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) which was founded in 1965 and still operates in Khartoum, New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) founded in 1990 which operates in exile (Nairobi-Kenya) and partially in Southern Sudan have been undertaking great efforts, often risking their lives to mediate between conflict factors of communal violence.² According to this report, the religious organizations have made an appeal also to Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Conference and to All Africa Council of Churches (AACC) where Sudan is a constituency of both.³ The Church feels responsibility to speak for all the people of Sudan and suggests ways forward out of the present deadlock. Its leaders demanded permanently to the Islamic fundamentalist dominated military government for the recognition of freedom of religious expressions, worship etc. The church also tries to promote respect for human rights, provides assistance to member Churches in grassroots level conflict resolutions.⁴ On the one hand, one foreign expert who works for New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) in favour of every ones well being told me, the NSCC personalities are mostly being accused of not having stood up strongly against religious determinations.⁵

On the other hand, the democratically elected civil government did not enforce Quranic punishments or abrogate the Sharia Laws. Article of 17 and 18 of the Transitional Constitution of 1985, which was abolished in 1989 by a coup, was to guarantee complete freedom of religion and equality of all citizens before the law. It may be because a large number of Sudanese Muslims appear to want some form of Islamic state, but there were considerable discrepancies among the political parties leaders and religious organizations over the characteristics essential for an Islamic State.⁶

¹ David Munro and Alan J. Day (1990), p. 11; Sudan Democratic Gazette, No.23, London, April 1992, p. 5

² African Rights, Food and Power in Sudan, A Critique of Humanitarianism, London, May 1997, p. 336

³ Khalid, Mansour (1990), pp. 269-270

⁴ Sudan Catholic Information Office (SCIO),, Monthly Report, London, June 15, 1997; Sudan Update, Vol.10, No.4, London, February 2, 1999, pp. 4-5

⁵ Interview and personal discussion with Harold Miller, All Africa Conference of Churches Consultant International Affairs, Nairobi 5.11.1997

⁶ See for details in: Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), pp. 80-81

In the last 12 years, the Islamic fundamentalist regime which controls all power in the country has always been harsh and brutal and its relations with the various Christian or moderate Muslim traditional religious sects and groups have been fierce.¹ (see also Africa News Online, Government Uses Amputation as Punishment, March 31, 2000: Africa News Online www.africanews.org; also CNN.com sites Headline News Brief, Sudan activists arrested for criticizing government, rights group says, March 28, 2000 Web posted at:11:32 AM EST (1632 GMT). Not only does the government interfere with or denies the religious freedoms but also it clamps down groups it considers as too critical or ideologically out of line with its policies.

Human rights Reports indicate that members of traditional Sudanese Islamic sects, who advocate an Islamic State but disagree with the policies of the present regime, mostly Khatmiya, Ansar, the Republican Brothers etc. have been harassed and their property and places of worship put under the control of the security forces.² Sudan Democratic Gazette, in its edition reports that Religious institutions including Islam have recently been facing difficulties and restrictions on their activities. The government has arrested or put under house arrest some religious leaders and seized their property of religious institution sites.³ These groups have critical attitudes towards the government, from outright opposition to selective independent-minded criticism with an occasional show of support. The implementation of an Islamic State by the present military regime has made the position of the Christian churches and moderate Muslims untenable. Christian priests have been arrested on specious charges and church leaders have been denied their right to freedom of movement. However, some liberal Muslim religious groups critical of the government and the National Islamic Front has also been subjected to harassment, persecuted, detained and their leaders killed alongside Christians since 1983 as being insufficiently religious.⁴

For Muslims, religious freedom is explained by the fact that apostasy, the reputation by a Muslim of his/her faith in Islam is punishable by death under section 126 of the 1991 Sudanese Penal Code.⁵ Similar to the Muslim religious society, Christian Churches and individual non-Muslims have subjected to government intrusion into the organization of their religious affairs.

¹ Sudan Democratic Gazette, Year XII, No. 129, London, March 2001, p. 14

² Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights Yearbook pubs. (Oslo 1995), p. 359, Sudan Human Rights Voice, Vol.5, No.5, London, August 1996, p. 2

³ Sudan Democratic Gazette, No.23, London, October 1992, p. 6; Ibid., No.42, June 1993, p. 2

⁴ African Rights, Facing Genocide: The Nuba of Sudan, London, July 1995, p. 228

⁵ Human Rights Watch Africa, Sudan: "In the Name of God" Repression Continues in Northern Sudan, Vol.6, No.9, London, November 1994, p. 29

The Vatican accused Sudan's government security of torturing priests into confession.¹ After the 1989 coup, the NIF came to power with an Islamic agenda, openly determined to transform Sudan from a multi-religious society into an Islamic State. Religion is very high on the public agenda of the Islamic Front dominant government and Church State relations are at very low enthusiasm. For example, Sudan's Constitutional Decree No.7 states: Islam is the guiding religion for overwhelming majority of the Sudanese people.... The State and its laws observe these principles.² Especially, the NIF faction of Islamic religion has used the faith as an ideology for ascending leadership or coming to power.³ Since NIF used Islam as an ideology of power or religious principles for political purposes, serious problems bound to arise and it tried to put all its ideology opponents out of the country's political scene. The pressure of Islamization may have contributed to increase southerners adherence to Christianity, conduct war and the reactions it engenders.

Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) has blamed the intolerance of the Islamic movement on government policy that favoured only one religion.⁴ Freedom of thought, conscience and religion is protected in Article 18 of the ICCPR which states "everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (ICCPR Article 18:1-2), which is a non-derogatory right. These articles can not be suspended even in time of war or other extreme emergencies. Restrictions for reasons of national security are not applicable to religious organizations under Article 18 of ICCPR. The African Charter for Human and People's Rights also protects freedom of religion. Freedom of conscience, the profession and free practice of religion shall be granted. No one may subject to law and order, be submitted to measure restricting the exercise of these freedoms,⁵ which Sudan has both signed and ratified. The present government constantly violates these rights through its Constitutional Decree and denies the political, civil and religious rights of its citizens. For example, the President has declared a new legislation Provisional Order in late 1994 to regulate Church affairs, which would have treated churches not as spiritual institutions of heavenly origin but as foreign non-governmental organizations that must be registered with a state official, who would have the power to terminate their existence.⁶

Contrary to this, the Sudanese Council of Churches leaders made an appeal to the Islamist government to avoid religious discrimination and a call to repeal the Sharia laws instead forms

¹ Human Rights Watch World Annual Report, New York, Washington D.C., London and Brussels 1998, pp. 47-48

² Constitutional Decree No.7, Khartoum, October 16, 1993, Article 1

³ Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights Publications Yearbook, Oslo 1995, p. 329

⁴ Sudan Update, Vol.10, No.4, London, February 1999, p. 5

⁵ African Charter for Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), Nairobi, June 1981, Article 8

⁶ Government's Provisional Order Act 1994, Khartoum, February 2, 1995

national laws to separate religious from the state.¹ Since Sharia does not recognize full rights for non-Muslims, its declaration of commitment to apply at any phase might not safeguard the citizenship rights of non-Muslim Sudanese.

In this context, the real question that needs to be realized is what kind of contribution could be done by the international community to the religious organizations inside Sudan to resist the intense pressure and repression waged against them. What one can look at these issues is the need of Sudanese community solidarity if it is ever to emerge from the repression, persecution and discrimination by the Islamic fundamentalist military regime. From the outset, the present government or any one who comes to power should be urged by the international community to abolish the crime of apostasy, cease Islamic law on non-Muslims, establish equality in law of non-Muslims and respect freedom of political and religious rights.

Students and the University Academics: Students have been a key component of Sudanese political movements for decades, at times acting as a catalyst for political action in the downfall of military regimes. Their activities were officially banned in the military era but the anti-regime Muslim brotherhood, Sudan Communist Party etc. maintained strong links with the student population.² Students have frequently resorted to demonstrations and strikes to protest the government's failure of domestic and international policies. When there was a discontent over the government's political and economic policies, they have tried to address its grievances. Like their Kenyan and Ethiopian colleagues, Sudanese students have mostly been gravitated increasingly toward the extreme right or left of the country's political scene.³

Sudanese university students have traditionally been relatively autonomous and independent during previous periods of military dictatorship and civil governments. They were sites of struggle between pro-and anti-government students in which government forces have played a partisan role to form their own supporter groups⁴. Under the current military regime, public institutions like the university student unions and faculty associations are being severely attacked by fundamentalist ideology. Professors, teachers and students have been often dismissed, arrested, tortured and killed. Their unions and faculty associations have been banned and replaced by loyal associations to the current military regime.⁵

Security forces have occupied university campuses, and parallel universities have been created to defuse the influence of students past "liberal" practices. Human rights activists, both

¹ Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 1440

² Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998; p. 153

³ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 203

⁴ Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1997, p. 56

⁵ World University Service Academic Freedom 2 (1993), p. 122; Sudan Human Rights Voice, Vol.4, No.8, London, August 1995, p. 8; Ibid., Vol.5, No.2, London, February-April 1996, p. 12

domestic and international have expressed grave concern about what the government practices the 'Islamization' or 'Arabization' of university curricula, which has been a development with serious implications to neglect the Sudanese non-Muslim population.¹ After the military came to power in 1989, general al Beshir has announced a number of decrees which set in motion to stripe the universities autonomy by intervening directly in crucial areas of university management. Al-Beshir's regime has abolished the electoral system in which their peers elected a Chancellor, vice-chancellor, deans and heads of departments.² The regime has appointed a new Chancellor of the University of Khartoum who is NIF hard-liner. According to the Provisional Presidential Decree Order of 15 August 1995, the Ministry of Higher Education has the power to appoint all vice-chancellors of the university.³

The government's decree was also to create more public and private universities, to double the enrolment at the older universities and pave the way for Arabic to replace English as the language of instruction in institutions of higher education. This became particularly disturbing since a significant portion of the Southern Sudanese population is not fully or completely literate in Arabic language and 60 percent of the total population of Sudan are African origin.⁴ Before 1991, most university courses were taught in English and there was greater availability of English textbooks. Despite domestic and international protest against Islamization or Arabization of Sudanese education system, which deliberately excludes a significant portion of the Southern Sudanese population to join higher education, the regime continues to implement Arabic as medium of instruction for all subjects.⁵

The government's education decrees has apparently been designed to create or enhance NIF recruitment among Sudan's elites. Many Sudanese regard that these efforts are made to Islamization and Arabization of higher education as political rather than what the authorities claim as to religious and cultural integration. The result of this educational reform is likely to be the creation of separate and unequal educational opportunities for non-Muslim and non-Arab Sudanese and will be a lose on education to the Southern Sudanese.⁶ The military regime has to confront protests against its education reform among which are university students, which was often seen an escalation of tension. The authorities have responded by banning all active

¹ Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), p. 153

² "The National Islamic Front and the Politics of Education", Middle East Report, London, September-October 1991, p. 24

³ Presidential Decree Provisional Order of August 15, Khartoum 1995, Section III, Article 8:1, 8:2 and Article 18

⁴ Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), p. 17

⁵ World University Service, Academic Freedom 2 (1993), pp. 123-124; Ibid., Academic Freedom 3 (1995), p. 72

⁶ World University Service Academic Freedom 3 (1995), p. 75

politically affiliated student groups such as those associated with the Umma Party (UP), Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and Sudan Communist Party on campuses.¹

Although the students' union was dissolved, students have carried out their political activities and the restrictions had not entirely stopped non-NIF students from organizing meetings or producing literature in their capacity as opposition political pressure groups within and outside the universities. But the inability to organize openly and to access the student union budgets makes it difficult to function properly.² Teachers/lecturers most of whom were sympathetic to the students' grievance, became also targets of the regimes' intrusions into university life. Professors are being dismissed by Presidential decree or pensioned off for purely ideological reasons. Those in the academic community who refused to practice self-censorship risk dismissal were imprisoned and tortured.³

At present, the Islamist regime supporters control the student union and the academic community at the university's by dividing the student body and intelligentsia politically. Opposition students do not enjoy freedom of speech, assembly or association. The Universities were sites of struggle between pro-and anti-government students, in which the government forces played a partisan role that led to clashes that are more violent.⁴ Over the past years, the regime has continued to use administrative measures to rid itself of its political opponents in academia. The government' policy towards the university institutions and Academic Staff is regarded by some Sudanese as controlling the student body and inculcating it with the Islamic fundamentalist ideology. It suspends all activities/institutions and order students "volunteer" for the Popular Defence Force (PDF). For example, in 1998, the government has closed the university and declared mobilization.⁵

It is used to politicize Islamist Militia and sent to the Southern Front while fighting continues. Attending Popular Defence Force (PDF) training course before graduation, university attendance and employment is compulsory.⁶ But the efforts to indoctrinate students through the PDF seem to have defused as the authorities witnessed confrontation on the university campuses and in the streets. Students have often blamed the present regime in their manifesto for destroying the Sudanese political, economic and social reforms, derived the wide spread arrests; denounced the federal system as a fraud; and castigated the government for replacing civil servants with

¹ Amnesty International, "Urgent Action," UA 95/94, AI Index: AF54/05/94, London, March 1994

² World University Service, Academic Freedom 2 (1993), p. 126

³ Ibid., p. 130

⁴ Human Rights Watch World Report, New York, Washington D.C., Brussels and London 1997, p. 56

⁵ Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1999, p. 314

⁶ Human Rights Watch World Report, New York, Washington D.C. Los Angeles and Brussels 1998, p. 47

extremist Islamist cadres.¹ In October 1998, some University students were arrested during violent demonstrations against the general mobilization of students for military service and NIF's interference in civic organizations of the country, where most of them were beaten by security personnel.²

The year 2000 was also worst for students who have tried to pressure the government's harassment and repression and demanded political liberties. Many were tortured and killed by security forces during their political activities.³ Sudanese Higher Education Regulation Act stipulates that the university communities (University Academia) rights to academic freedom and freedom of thought and scientific research is allowed with the limits of the law.⁴ The rights and freedoms by the International Human Rights Instruments, including freedom of thought and academia are non-existent. The principle of university autonomy and academic freedom as defined by the international human rights instruments did not have place within the Islamically oriented education revolution in Sudan. Since the extremist Islamists came to power, they have systematic and consciously pursued policies and practices, which undermine the academic integrity. Student political activities have been banned on university campuses and tertiary-education institutions. The right of students to form independent unions and associate for political purposes on university campuses still remain banned.

The Press and Media: The Sudanese mass media have served throughout their history as channels for the dissemination of information supporting various political parties or in more recent times, the official views of the government forcibly.⁵ But Human Rights Watch/Africa has reported that until June 30, 1989 Sudan had free press in sub-Saharan Africa.⁶ The press, which was nationalized in 1970 during Nimeiri's regime, was allowed to operate freely after the civil government has taken power in 1985. Unprecedented numbers of newspapers and magazines have appeared during the 1985-1989 under the civil government.⁷ Each of the major political parties had its own newspapers and the press enjoyed newfound freedom. A number of national newspapers were produced. But after the 1989 coup, the press was totally controlled, and postal telegraph and broadcasting services are still state owned since then.⁸

¹ World University Service (WUS), *Academic Freedom 3* (1995), p. 85; Lesch, Mosely Ann (1998), p. 154

² Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1999, p. 316, EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1998, p. 13

³ Amnesty International Annual Report, Frankfurt am Main 2001, p. 533

⁴ The Constitution of the Republic of Sudan Gazette, No.1542, Khartoum, August 1990, p. 20 ff.

⁵ Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights Publications Yearbook, Oslo 1995, p. 340

⁶ Human Rights Watch Africa, London, January 8, 1990, p. 8

⁷ Festus Eribo and William Jong-Ebot (1997), p. 230

⁸ EIU Sudan Country Profile, London 1996-1997, p. 33; World University Service (WUS), *Academic Freedom 3* (London 1995), p. 81

The present government has banned all newspapers and magazines with the exception of the weekly military magazine Armed Forces upon its assumption of power in 1989.¹ Having gained control of the state, the military granted license to only a few selected "independent" newspapers under the system that has allowed the dreaded secret police to close any paper deemed to be "endangering" Sudanese security and that does not adhere strictly to Islamic Law. Others have been forced to work underground or go into exile.² Two months latter, the government has announced a relaxation of its press monopoly. However, in April 1994 private owned papers were shut down for criticizing the NIF's continued support of the regime.³

Sudan Broadcasting Service, government-controlled Television and radio network is the most important instrument of the state that transmits daily in Arabic English and other regional languages interspersed with religious broadcasts about Islam.⁴ Until the present time, the military government has manipulated press and media to support its agenda. The London based Index on Censorship Journalists magazine in its various editions has often reported that, many Journalist reporters, publishing houses, photographers' etc. were mostly ordered by the government Press and Publications Council to close their printing houses forcibly. Most Journalists are arrested by Sudanese Security forces at their station's offices, confiscated their editions, revoked their license and were being held in '**ghost houses**' where torture is routine.⁵ The regime has been particularly brutal in its treatment of any one it has seen as a threat to its security or disloyalty.

Many other newspapers had been suspended, when they have published an article which criticized Press Laws that was decreed on by the self appointed Head of State al-Beshir. Military intelligence agents forced them to confess and had tortured other television reporters and correspondents⁶. Since 1989, there is no freedom of expression in Sudan and press laws had been decreed banning journalists or private newspapers from covering that defend or demand political and civil rights. But Exile as well as clandestine opposition parties and pressure groups outside the country issue a number of publications dealing specially with Sudan.⁷

Even after what the present Sudanese Government calls it has introduced multi-party democracy, the regime has imposed a new blackout on opposition parties to work and cooperates under specific conditions, within the limits of the Sudanese laws.⁸ Sudan's restrictive

¹ Festus Eribo and William Jong-Ebot (1997), p. 237

² Reporters Sans Frontieres (Paris 1993 and 1994), pp. 288, 314

³ Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller (1998), p. 876; Index on Censorship, Vol.25, No.4, London, July-August 1996, p. 111

⁴ Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1996, p. 195

⁵ Index on Censorship, Vol.25, No.4, July-August 1996, pp. 111; Vol.26, No.2, London, March-April 1996, p. 102;

⁶ Index on Censorship, Vol.25, No.6, London, November-December 1996, p. 186

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 33

⁸ Sudan Update, Vol.10, No.4, London, February 21, 1999, p. 4

Press and Publications Act bans journalists from covering the movements of army unregistered groups as well as blasphemy. To practice the Press Publication Act, the government has heightened its campaign against journalists arresting many of them and shut down private newspapers in the country.¹

Local and foreign journalists have often complained harassment by the government authorities. But the rebel NDA and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) run their own newspapers and magazines in liberated areas or in exile.² Sudan's press has union expressed dismay at the government's press law that breaches freedom of expression and appealed to international community to demand the military government ease the situation. The State Minister for Culture and Information of the present regime Amin Hassan Omar, has told Sudanese journalists working with foreign media not to use information from political parties that have refused to register. Any one who did not heed his directive would be considered as accomplices of the parties.³ The government runs the national television service, whose news output is closely monitored. Many privately owned local and national newspapers are subjected to close control. However, there is often debate and discussion of government policy within the press, as long as it does not become too critical or undermine the war effort in the south. But the media remains dominated by the Government or Government supporters and Journalists, who criticize State policy, are persecuted.⁴

Al-Beshir's repressive state apparatus has tight control over the press and any critics of the government of Islamic doctrine on its laws are based to lead inevitably to suspension or seizure of the newspaper. The National Press Council is directly accountable to the head of state, which prohibits and suspends critics of the government.⁵ Many citizens expressed regret at the ban maintaining that control of media and press by the presidential decree gives an ugly appearance and a negative picture about the freedom of press in Sudan after it had witnessed a constitutional development and an appreciated political openness in 1986-1989. When this political openness will come again remained for most Sudanese citizens' a daily dream.

Radio and Television: Owing to the low literacy rate in rural areas and the tremendous difficulties in distribution of printed materials, the military government of Nimeiri gave emphasis to the expansion of radio and television in order to bring its philosophy and plans before the Sudanese people. It had installed radios in popular meeting places as cafés and village squares,

¹ Jamal, Abbashar, in: ROAPE, No.52, London, November 1991, p. 105; Reporters Sans Frontieres (Paris 1994 and 1996), p. 318, 196

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 18

³ Sudan Update, Vol.10, No.4, London, February 21, 1999, p. 4

⁴ Index on Censorship, Vol.26, No. 5, London September-October 1997, p. 185; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 17-18

⁵ see Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1999, p. 286

where the people could hear newscasts, religious programs and information chosen by the government as relevant to local needs and interests.¹ Republic of Sudan broadcasting had been government controlled with daily broadcasting in Arabic, 2 Ethiopian languages, Somali as well as English and French. Television service was provided by the commercial, government-controlled Sudan Television service.² The present government still runs the national television source and monitors its news output closely with no liberalization in sight.

Radio: remained the main broadcasting source that has been used to propagate government campaigns. The domination of national issues and personalities in radio programming and the insistence on the use of Arabic instead of local languages have been sources of discontent, especially in the southern regions.³ Television has been regarded as an important instrument for publicizing government activities and pronouncements for stirring up popular enthusiasm of official political events and demonstrations. But its effectiveness has been reduced by heavy-handed and unimaginative presentations of media sources.

Foreign News Agencies: The domestic facility in the Sudan News Agency (SUNA) and a number of foreign agencies maintain bureaus at Khartoum. But freedom of press operates under a strict control of the government. Local and foreign journalists have often complained that government officials have detained them.⁴ Sudan's hard-line State Minister Amin Hassan Omar told local journalists working for foreign news agencies in the Sudanese capital of Khartoum that "It is illegal and measures be taken against those who interview opposition figures".⁵ Although the government's political initiative has given it considerable propaganda success, the introduction of a new press law that allows the government to suspend and fine journalists who transgress the regulation substance of its reforms remained open to question. The Sudanese Press has been systematically eroded by state intrusion since the present government came to power.

When the Sudanese media is going to cover free on human rights abuses and defend democracy depends on the political scene of the country that may not be easy to predict. The international community may play a big role to change the Sudanese political scene, but it may depend more on the interest of the ruling elite. Whether the present regime makes press reforms

¹ Nelson, Harold D. (1983), p. 234

² Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1996, p. 195

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1989-1990, pp. 5-6; Reporters Sans Frontieres, Paris 1996, p. 195

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 18

⁵ Quoted in the Horn of Africa Bulletin, Uppsala, January-February 1999, p. 28

to comply with what it calls the country's new multi-party system introduced in January 1999 or a new regime comes to reinstate democracy and press freedom may not be relatively easy.

3.2.3.2 Elections and Citizens' Participation

Elections: Sudanese people have experienced democratic multi-party, single party, and non-party election phases since independent. The country has been at various times seen as a possible model for parliamentary democracy in the African continent.¹ The context of complex relationship between domestic politics and international conditions, which are the potential for positive development, tends to be overridden by the impact of the overwhelming problems of Sudanese political instability and economic difficulties.

Sudan, torn by political, religious and strategic economic problems is threatened to the possibility of breaking down like its neighbours of Ethiopia and Somalia. Even parliamentary civil elected governments have failed to lay a more solid foundation for better democracy that would have avoided the country's crises. Sadiq al-Mahdi's government had tried to solve the long running conflict with the South but Islamic Militants (NIF) who joined the 4th coalition government aborted it that it could not bring a peaceful end to the country's civil war.² Abbashar Jamal has written about this situation:

"NIF's two-fold aim was to pre-empt any peace agreement and reverse the ascendance of the largely secular process newly incorporated into the government. The Junta targeted these forces for repression, dissolving all parties and structures of the constituent assembly and imprisoning a disproportionate number of members, workers and professional unions. They banned all independent publications, forcibly retired over 300 service officers and replaced hundreds of civil servants with NIF members and their sympathizers".³

Like its predecessors, the 1986 civil government was exposed to the country's predatory anti-democratic military groups, this time backed by civil fundamentalist Islamic extremists. In pursuit of this and other related socio-political indicators, the following points will be examined in this section.

- the failed Third Phase opportunity to implement Westminster Model of democracy through a multi-party election processes and its consequences
- the symbiotic military-civil non-party formal presidential and parliamentary elections (1996 and 2000) and their effects on the Sudanese political and social scene

¹ Sudan Democratic Gazette, No.23, London, April 1992, p. 8

² Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, *International Conflict, A Chronological Encyclopaedia of Conflicts and their Management 1945-1995*, Congressional Quarterly, Washington D.C. 1997, p. 211; Hunwick, John O.: *Religion and National Integration in Africa* (1992), p. 2; Field, Michael (1994), pp. 259-260; Guazonne, Laura (1995), p. 189

³ Jamal, Abbashar, in: *Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE)*, No.52, November 1991, p. 105

After the downfall of Nimeiri regime by a Popular Uprising in 1985, **Army Officers** formed A Transitional Military Council (TMC) to serve as a head of state for one year in conjunction with a civilian Council of Ministers.¹ The transitional government has involved almost a genuine sharing of power between the military and civilians. It was an amalgamation of political parties, military trade union alliance, professional organizations etc. which had been unique in the annals of the Third World, that ended after one-year term as its leaders had pledged.² The transitional government's most notable achievement was to establish parliamentary processes and preside over free multi-party elections in order to hand over power to an elected civilian government.³ Its Charter was theoretically calling for more than holding parliamentary elections. Consequently, it has called for Eradication of the vestige of the Nimeiri regime; Rehabilitation of the economy; Solution of the southern problem and Abrogation of Sharia Law.⁴ However, in reality the Charter has become not more than a 'declaration of principles' without any de jure obligation to the government. Because, the prolonged civil military negotiations that dominated the post Nimeiri's transitional political scene had focused more on whom would compose the cabinet than forming its guiding principles. Hence, the TMC constitutional charter decrees became the only terms of reference for the government.

Leaving the core problems of conflict in the country, the TMC's vision prevailed and elections became its main role of achievement. While almost all political forces have accepted, there was no controversy about holding the elections. The SPLM and some small northern parties have also agreed on the date and procedures of the elections. Regarding the SPLM and the Southern questions, there were problem on how elections could take place because of the civil war that continued despite Nimeiri's downfall, which threatened the situation in aspect of: (1) The question of necessary securing conditions in the south; (2) The negative political impact of holding parliamentary elections under the shadow of civil war.⁵

Despite initial doubts, general elections have taken place over 12 days in April 1986 but **not throughout the entire country**. Registration before the elections represented an unexpectedly high percentage (67.5%) of the possible total eligible voters compared with 40 and 45 percent in the last 1966 civil parliamentary elections representatively⁶. Out of the total estimated between 8 and 8.8 million eligible voters, 5,851,168 were registered in the 1986 multi-party elections. About 3,948,544 (67.5%) voters have contested and 1,902,456 (32.5%) protested the elections. In this

¹ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 144-145

² Wiseman, John A. (1990), p. 154

³ Lesch, Mosely Ann, in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.65, No.4, New York 1987, p. 811

⁴ Transitional Military Charter, Khartoum, April 6, 1985

⁵ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 148

⁶ Wiseman, John A. (1990), p. 150, Woodward, Peter (1991), pp. 23, 82; Tetzlaff, Rainer, *Staatswedung in Sudan* (1993), pp. 47, 50

election, 34 parties have contested, but only about eleven managed to gain representation in the Constituent Assembly.¹

Overall, there was no lack of competition in the areas where elections have taken place, however, despite the proliferation of parties and candidates, campaigning were generally low keys with few large rallies or public meetings, especially in the capital Khartoum. Campaign was conducted through party newspapers, wall-posters on minibuses, and pickups with loudspeakers.² Out of 301 demarcated constituencies, the election took place only in 264 designed areas (87.7%). In view of all this, the general elections conducted at the end of the transition period (April 1986) and the result of parliamentary seats³ were as follows:

The April 1986 Parliamentary Elections

Parties	No./Votes cast	Parl. Seats	in %
1. Umma Party	1,504,395	99	38
2. Democratic Unionist Party	955,548	63	24
3. National Islamic Front (Coalition of fundamentalists)	773,915	51	20
4. Sudan African National Union (Former southern leaders)	155,839	11	4
5. People's Progressive party (Southern Party)	134,251	9	4
6. Sudan National Party	122,405	8	3
7. South Sudan Political Association (Southern Conservatives)	106,611	7	3
8. Sudan Communist Party	47,382	3	1
9. Other three parties 1 each	47,382	3	1
10. Independent candidates	90,816	6	2
Total contested seats		260	100
- Southern Results which have not been declared		4	
- Constituencies where elections have been postponed		37	
Total votes cast and No. of seats	3,938,544	301	

¹ Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, p. 11; Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 49

² Keessings Archives, Vol.32, August 1986, p. 34530

³ EIU Sudan Country Report, No.2, London 1986, p. 6; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1988-1989, No.4, p. 10; Woodward, Peter (1991), pp. 49, 81, 85; Lesch, Ann Mosely, Sudan-Contested National Identities (1998), p. 124

As it can be seen in the chart above, the two major traditional political parties, Umma and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) have gained **62.3** percent together from the total 260 contested constituent Assembly. In the absence of a national party, support for the principal parties were concentrated in their traditional areas. The Umma Party, the political wing of the Ansar Religious Order was strong in the west and center of the country. While the DUP, political wing of the Khatmyia sect voters came from the north and east.¹

Although the DUP had been the largest party in previous parliamentary periods, it came in a distant second in 1986, with **24.2** percent of the votes in comparison to Umma's **38.1** percent. The 1986 election results were a big setback for DUP, which had expected to win more in order to promote democratic government with a majority of liberal ideology. Peter Nyok writes in his analysis to the 1986 election results and the weakness of DUP as follows:

"The DUP setback was due to poor organization, lack of leadership, poor intra-party discipline, absence of clear-cut message to the voters and stiff composition from the NIF and the Umma Parties".²

The outcome of the 1986 election did not accord the Umma Party with sufficient majority to form a government on its own terms of political platform. Sadiq al-Mahdi was obliged to coalesce with his traditional rival and partner al-Mirghani, the head of DUP and four Khartoum based southern radical parties, with the NIF and the Communist Party providing the opposition in parliamentary.³

The other parties were more ideologically or ethnically oriented. The National Islamic Front (NIF), which espoused a revivalist Islam and had supported Nimeiri's Islamic policies, gained **19.6** percent of the parliamentary seats. NIF challenged the 'historical' influence of the mainstream or traditional parties.⁴ It was the only party in the 1986 that remained in alliance with Nimeiri until the eve of his demise. Since President Nimeiri was overthrown, NIF attempted to establish a broad-based coalition of Muslim groups becoming the most efficient party in the 1986 elections. Ample funding from the Islamic Banks who represent the core of the party helped it.⁵ Furthermore, due to splits in the Umma and DUP, most political observers have believed that the NIF had won mandates as its real popular warranted, because the traditional parties ran multiple candidates, thus splitting their own votes.⁶

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1986-1987, No.3, p. 10

² Kok, Nyot Peter (1996), p. 43

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1986-1987, No.3, London, p. 5

⁴ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 149

⁵ Sudan Country Profile 1989-1990, No.4, London p. 9

⁶ Lesch, The Sudan Contested National Identity (1998), p. 71

The Communist Party and other small ethnic parties, mainly regional from the south, the Nuba Mountains and Red Sea Hills, together with independent candidates have registered only 18.1 percent of the total seats. The Communist party was marginally represented in parliament and has maintained very low profile throughout the third democratic period¹. The civil war prevented candidates from standing for election in the majority of the southern districts because of non-conductive security situation. In the first place, the legitimacy and representative's weight of the southern block's position in parliament was in question due to the postponement of elections in 37 geographical constituencies from 71 in the whole region. In constituent areas where voting took place, registration was very low.² This has resulted over representation of Islamic forces in the Parliamentary Assembly mostly from the north and under represented the south.

Sadiq al-Mahdi, who has been Prime Minister for a few months between 1966 and 1967 (in civil government), became again a Prime Minister and Defense Minister.³ Unfortunately, Sadiq al-Mahdi's coalition government has proved to be very weak. It has been proved by the fact that the coalition broke down twice in three months in 1987 and the country was technically operating without a government for almost a year.⁴ In order to ensure its survival and stability of the coalition, the government should have tackled the central issues facing the country such as: repeal of the Islamic Sharia Law imposed by Nimeiri; the Civil War in the south; foreign policy and the stagnating economy.

The problem was neither the conflict parties were prepared to make compromise over the issue of Islamic Sharia Law, with the SPLA demanding its total abolition and a political settlement to the war has hardened to envisage. The popular reaction to the economic austerity measures, implemented by the government during 1987, may also have had a destabilization impact during 1988. Major demonstrations and riots have already occurred throughout the country.⁵

On the one hand, the euphoria, which existed after the 1985 popular revolution and the honeymoon that the civilian government enjoyed has long since passed. Sudanese civilian population has become disillusioned with Sadiq al-Mahdi's government insufficient performances. On the other hand, after 16 years of autocratic and despotic rule under President Nimeiri, the population was probably not ready for a further military rule. Despite promises by the government to repeal Islamic Sharia Law, nothing concrete was decided. Instead, the Prime

¹ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), p. 154

² Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, p. 12; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1986-1987, No.3, London, p. 9

³ Field, Michael (1994), p. 258

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, No.4, London 1987, p. 3

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, No.1, London 1989, p. 4

Minister has bowed to pressure from the NIF, which enjoyed considerable army support and coalesced in the government.¹

Even if Sadiq al-Mahdi has formed a coalition government, his cabinet was unstable and not capable enough to ensure a viable and efficient system of government, he has failed to defend and preserve his government from the Islamic Extremists and the military. Peter Woodward writes about Sadiq al-mahdi's incompetence of governance as follows:

"By its nature, Sadiq al-Mahdi's government proved to be very weak, forced to adopt the lowest common denominator when formulating its main policies. The evidence for the government's weaknesses and inefficiency was the fact that the coalition broke up twice within 3 months in 1987. From the outset, Mahdi's government lacked dynamism and made little effort to satisfy or even placate political demands in the country, especially he was unwilling to deal the controversial issue of Sharia Law. Contrary to earlier expectations to see a stronger and more viable democracy, Mahdi's civil government weakened the democratic system and Sudan again witnessed instead a less efficient one and the democratic rule collapsed".²

The unstable and fragmented government coalition party rivalries, factionalism and party corruption became the major distinguishing features of party politics between 1986 and 1989. The fall of the government was attributed mainly to the nature of its fragmented coalition and being more concerned of its power.³ The last coalition government was built in April 1988 as the major parties have agreed on the paramount needed for a 'national unity' which was to deal with the country's chronic problems. However, these parties have also failed to overcome their differences on major issues and their quarrels created political uncertainty and an atmosphere of political disillusionment prevailed.⁴ The uneasy relationship between the UP and the DUP deteriorated rather than to improve and their political power diminished and failed to implement a workable coalition of broad-based government in unity.

As the main stream traditional parties, UP and DUP have failed to agree on the composition of a coalition cabinet, the UP was more interested in the NIF as a partner in a new coalition, but most of the left-wing parties, mainly the Southern parties have opposed its participation. The NIF participation in the coalition government was only achieved later after the settlement of a dispute over the delay in applying the Sharia Law.⁵ Hence the coalition cabinet, which had included NIF was also short-lived like the previous one and did not continue much longer as anticipated. The 5th coalition government, excluding NIF but including the Communist Party of Sudan, trade unions that did not have a political mandate, have formed United National Front (UNF) and did not commit itself to the Sharia Law⁶. The provisional programme that provided the guidelines of the

¹ Field, Michael (1994), p. 259

² Woodward, Peter (1991), pp. 50-51

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1986-1987, London, No.3, p. 6

⁴ Field, Michael (1994), p. 259

⁵ Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 54

⁶ Jamal, Abbashar, in: ROAPE, No.52, November 1991, p. 104

UNF government called for adherence to the Constitution; democratic rule and multi-party system; independence of the judiciary' preservation of the basic rights and freedoms and convening of the National Constitutional Conference.¹

The question that can be posed in this regard is why such an agreement was done late. The army, trade unions and political parties with the exception of NIF, which had its own agenda to implement Sharia Law have failed to take steps and solve the major internal concern and promote diplomatic priorities direct after they came to power.

Between the election of 1986 and the coup d'etat of 30 June 1989, all 5 coalition governments were formed under the Umma Party leader premiership of Sadiq al-Mahdi. The making of five governments in three years time is sufficient indications of the political instability that have generally characterized the incompetence of Sudanese politicians. "Auf draengende Probleme der Gesellschaft hatten sie keine praktikablen Antworten zu bieten. Die Sicherung der eigenen politisch-religieösen Klientel und die Bildung und Wiederaufloesung von kurzlebigen Interessenkoalitionen im Parlament haben die Parteipolitiker mehr Energien gekostet als die Ausarbeitung von Gesetzen und die Durchfuehrung von Verwaltungsreformen".²

In the light of the above developments, the Sudanese politicians have failed to improve the image of party politics and to implement a viable democratic system of government. The civil coalition government has failed to learn lessons from the past and continued repeating the same mistake, which led to its downfall like its predecesors. Mansour Khalid, a Sudanese political analyst living in exile writes about this scene as follows: "Political parties in Sudan have not played the beneficial and essential role expected of them in a democracy. The leaders of the mainstream traditional parties are by definition immune from accountability, holding, as they are, both spiritual and temporal powers".³

Professor Tetzlaff Rainer the German Politician, who often writes about Sudan's politics has analyzed on the weakness of the last parliamentary regime's responsibility as follows: "Formal gesehen ergaben die Wahlen von 1986 eine Rueckkehr zur liberalen Demokratie nach Westminster Vorbild. Aber trotz des Wahlrechts, das ja die grossen Parteien beguenstigte und die kleineren diskriminierte, erbrachten die Wahlen nicht das, was in dieser Situation vonnoeten gewesen waere: einen klaren politischen Gewinner mit einer eindeutigen parlamentarischen Mehrheit, um effektiv eine Exekutive unterstuetzen zu koennen".⁴

Despite the great challenges, Nimeiri's successors did not pay the expected attention to the questions of political and legal nature of the notorious Sharia Law and the civil war in the South. Whatever popularity they have enjoyed in their period, they have failed to address the questions identified by them serious enough as the first priorities that dominated the political scene in the country. Rainer Tetzlaff again writes on the same theme:

¹ Ibid.; BBC Summary of World Broadcasts ME/0401 A/7, 8, March 6, 1989

² Tetzlaff, Rainer, *Staatawerdung im Sudam* (1993), p. 25

³ Khalid, Mansour (1990), p. 431

⁴ Rainer, Tetzlaff (1993), pp. 44-45

“Der erneute Zusammenbruch der Mehrparteidemokratie im Jahr 1989 kam also nicht ganz ueberraschend; aber keiner konnte ahnen, dass diese verpasste Chance eine radikale historische Wende in der Entwicklung des Landes einleiten sollte. Mit dem Scheitern des dritten demokratischen Versuchs im Jahr 1989 setzte sich das Muster des zirkulaeren zivil-militarischen Herrschaftswechsels seit Beginn der Unabhaengigkeit fort, jedoch bestand das Novum 1989 darin, dass die neuen Herren in Khartoum politische Wahlen fuer ein Mehrparteienparlament auch fuer die Zukunft ausschlossen; diese Form der Rekrutierung einer Regierung passe nicht fuer den muslimischen Staat Sudan”.¹

The era of multi-party democracy brought no relief, as the war in the south was continuing, and the system was still in experimental stage that led to its failure. Because the weak composition of power structure and arrangements have caused problems of internal dynamics, the politics of the civil war and Sharia Laws could not be solved. Hence, the fate of the Third Parliamentary regime was faced with popular discontent and the country's situation had reached a point of almost complete political and military intransigence between the government and SPLM.² The army was drugged in an increasingly escalating and devastating war, which became humiliating battle that was demonstrated by repeated losses. As a consequence, economic collapse and social disorders have ruined the country. Therefore, the army found necessary condition to prevail and acquiesce to the situation. Once again, it has staged to power through a coup d 'etat on 30 June 1989 and remained until now, castrating the country's political hope to a democratic transition. The next discussion focuses on the military regime's succession and its political indicators whether it had implemented what was pledged when coming to power or led the country to more political, economic and social devastation.

Party Free Elections

The Constitutional Decree order No.13 states that the President of the Republic should be elected for 2 times of 5 years term office by the people without any participation of party candidates.³ Accordingly, after seven years in power, party free general elections were conducted from 6th-17th March 1996 almost forcibly by al-Beshir's regime. On the one hand, the formal government appointed Election Commission has reported that 8.1 million citizens were registered to vote, but only 5,842,035 (72.2%) went to the polls and 5,525,280 (94.6%) of the voted casts were contested. On the other hand, Sudanese opposition in exile have said to the 1996 presidential elections that the turnout was only 5% and 95% of the registered voters have

¹ Ibid., p. 45

² Jamal, Abbashar, in: Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE), No.52, 1991, p. 104

³ Constitutional Decree Order No.13, Khartoum 23.12.1995, Chapter II, part 3 Article 27/1

boycotted these elections but not 72.2% as stated by the official Electoral Commission.¹ According to the government reports, 316,755 (5.4%) votes were wasted because of political instability, logistical, infrastructure and other related problems. From the total voters about 5,148,539 (88.1%) from the north and 693,496 (11.9%) southerners have participated in the elections.²

The official released election results have registered that al-Beshir had won with 4,181,784 (75.7%) of the vote and other 40 private candidates have collected the rest 1,343,496 (24.3%).³ Active clandestine and exile opposition groups have boycotted the elections and called to reshape the constitutional future of the nation in a constitutional conference before any elections could be held.⁴ But the government has rejected their demands and declared what it called a non-party competition democracy. The election results did not witness significant facts and trends in the Sudanese politics, while it has been influenced by the Islamic Fundamentalist group to install a non-party military-civil symbiotic dictatorship political system.⁵ Under what the junta called "National Congress System" Presidential elections have been conducted to install its power.⁶ The clandestine and opposition parties in exile and the international community rejected the election results.

Similar to other African authoritarian countries, the government has declared that the elections were conducted in free and fair processes. In its statement from exile, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), an umbrella organization of opposition groups, which advised Sudanese voters to boycott the elections has also said in a statement that the government had decided the election results in advance. The NDA dismissed the elections by saying "a desperate attempt" to legitimize an isolated dictatorship who is rejected by the Sudanese people and the international community.⁷ No parties were allowed to nominate candidates or make political activities in their constituencies. Only a few private persons who are loyal to the military and its partner NIF have participated.

The contexts of 1996 presidential elections have taken therefore, on an individual basis. Al-Beshir told his supporters that Sudan would not return to the multi-party system but would continue to be ruled by "**Islamic Sharia and dignity**".⁸ He has made it clear by sending a message to the domestic and international community that he will not allow multi-party

¹ Horn of Africa Bulletin, Vol.8, No.2, Uppsala, March-April 1996, p. 21

² Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, pp. 8-11; EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1996, p. 2

³ Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, pp. 12-13

⁴ Lesch, Mosely Ann (1998), p. 124

⁵ Africa Analysis, No. 243, London, March 8, 1996, p. 3

⁶ Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, p. 4

⁷ Africa Research Bulletin, Blackwell publishers, Vol.33, No.3, London 1996, pp. 12191-12192

⁸ Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, p. 10

democracy, but **boasted to implement democracy without the ticket of political parties.**¹ The banned opposition parties from their head quarters in exile have sent a message to al-Beshir that his regime has adopted a non party political system of elections as a device to stay in power and show that it is a popular government.² The 1996 elections did not have any democratic credentials nor had they any weight in the minds of the majority of the Sudanese people. "It is an inevitable phase, in which dictatorship tries to buy some legitimacy at a very low price," said the former Prime Minister Sadeq al-Mahdi.³

The NIF backed military regime has portrayed the non-party electoral system as an Islamic alternative. It has cited the vague Islamic principle of "consultation" the same slogan like the corrupted Gulf leaders have used to adopted as an excuse for avoiding representative democracy. However, after the elections, most Sudanese and the international community were much concerned because it either could change the country' crises for better or give a chance of consideration to the citizens, but it has worsened the whole situation than it was.

Parliamentary Elections: According to the 1996 Constitutional Provisional Order first electoral law Article 5 which as promulgated in 23.12.1995, 400 Congress or National Assembly Members should be formed by direct or indirect elections for 4 years term office.⁴ 275 seats of the Assembly shall be filled through direct elections in geographical constituencies what the government has said 'to represent citizens'. Whereby 125 seats shall be filled by elections from the National Conference in accordance with the rules governing balanced representation of people's power according to their kinds and regions.⁵ These have been reserved for what the government calls the "modern forces" that includes women, youth and students, cultural and legal, social and other groups who are the hard core of Islamic Fundamentalists.⁶

Because of the civil war, elections were not completed in many southern constituencies and another 11 members were appointed by the President to fill the total seats of 400 National Assembly members.⁷ After the declaration of the assigned results, distribution of the 400 seats in National Assembly was structured by the government for what it calls 'professionals', sex, political groups, whereby 379 for men and 21 for women (about 5%) have been arranged. Many leading members of the government have taken their seats by default because no

¹ Horn of Africa Bulletin, Vol.8, No.2, Uppsala, March-April 1996, p. 19

² Ibid., Vol.8, No.2 (March-April 1996), p. 19

³ Ibid.

⁴ see also Constitutional Decree No.13, December 1995, Part III Article 27:1

⁵ Ibid., Article 27:1/a-b

⁶ Africa Insight, Vol.27, No.3, Pretoria 1997, p. 168

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1996, p. 2, Constitutional Decree No.13, December 1995, Article 27:3; Sudanow, Khartoum, March-April 1996, pp. 11-12

candidate stood against them. Most candidates who were elected to the 400-seats Parliament in the general elections were persons who are closed to the government or loyal to the military and NIF.¹ From the outset, fundamentalist Islamists, either from the military or from the civil (NIF members) overwhelmingly conducted the election process for themselves. The different between many kinds of elections held in Sudan lie how the authorities ran the procedures (voluntarily or forcibly), and its credibility and acceptance by domestic and international community.

Concerning the 1996 elections, what does it mean and what did it contribute to the Sudanese society's problems such as poverty, civil war and fundamental democratic rights, among others remained an open question. Violating political rights and civil liberties of its citizens, the Islamic fundamentalist government has discredited all claims of democracy. While it has failed to lay a viable bridge stone to solve its crisis, questions where the futures of Sudan can lie? How long could the military regime rule? How far should the people of Sudan suffer? And other related issues have embraced the whole Sudanese society and the international community in the course of Sudanese politics after the 1996 elections in the country's future.

Evidently, elections conducted with a blank ban on political parties and with other restrictions on freedoms of civil liberties cannot produce a result as the government and its supporters have tried to declare it as free and fair elections that reflected informed popular choice.² But it was the final step in the Islamists' programme to install a new non-party political system by force, and it can be registered as a regrettable illusion and has nothing to do with democracy.

The legislature period (1996-2000) has ended with consecutive crisis. But the same government has often conducted elections to the National Assembly from 11-20 December 2000 without the competition of opposition political parties³. According to the London based Economic Intelligence Unite reports, the election results were announced by the government that al-Beshir and his sole party National Congress, (formerly known as National Islamic Front) has won 86.5% of the votes, with 9% going to his closest rival, Jaafar Nimeiri, the military leader who was overthrown in 1985.⁴ Although it was reported that all the main opposition groups have boycotted the elections, they were not allowed to make political activities and take part in the elections, that has widely been considered to be heavily rigged. But al-Beshir's victory may allow him to claim a popular mandate and rule the country under the state of emergency, which was extended for a further year shortly before the election as conducted.⁵ It was reported that al-Beshir has been re-elected for another 5-year term in the controversial elections that took place in the country.

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1996, p. 2

² Sudanow, Khartoum, April 1996, p. 10

³ EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 12

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, London, February 2001, p. 4; Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.38, No.1, January 1st-31st 2001, p. 14275

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, London, February 2001, p. 7

The head of the Electoral Commission (elected by the government) told reporters that more than two-thirds of the 12m eligible voters have taken part. But there was no election in SPLM/A-held areas and opposition leaders have dismissed the elections official turnout figures.¹ Even if the NIF changed its name to National Congress Party in January 1999, what the government called as part of a political reform programme, it remains the only ruling force in the country. Since then, there has been no concessions made by the present regime to a democratic transition.

According to the main opposition party official reports, elections have not taken place in 42% of the country and only 20% voters have participated throughout the country.² The December 2000 election has been to uphold the structure of the 1998 constitution, but it was rejected by the main opposition parties who mostly operate in exile or clandestinely.³ It was conducted simultaneously and major opposition groups have refused to legitimize claiming that it has been rigged from the outset.⁴ While the war goes on and the government continues indiscriminate bombing in the south and elsewhere, abusing political and civil liberties of its citizens', it is not hoped that the December 2000 election result is expected to bring about peace or any step towards a transition to democracy like the 1996 elections has failed to do so. The question is whether the 2000 elections can bring a political value to the authoritarian Islamic regime. If this will be particularly useful as al-Beshir pretends seeking to present his democratic credentials to the outside world, which he has shown in the past that tends to remember election results but overall suggestions of impropriety when it is eager to build diplomatic relation⁵.

After more than 12 years of Islamic/military authoritarian government, Sudan remained still politically unstable, indulging in civil war in the south, facing a deep economic crisis that has decayed its social services. Outside the government's political platform, the Sudanese people are not able anymore to exercise their feelings and views about the war or how peaceful settlement could be achieved. Their movement is restricted and they have no democratic institutions, which protects their rights and practice their obligations. The government has failed to address the question of political rights and civil liberties. Instead, it violates these fundamental rights and its continuation may result that Sudan will remain more politically unstable that could threaten the unity of the country.

¹ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.12, December 1st-31st 2000, p. 14222

² Horn of Africa Bulletin, Vol.12, No.6, Uppsala, December 2000, pp. 28-29; African Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.12, December 1st- 31st 2000, p. 14222

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 8

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, London, February 2001, p. 12

⁵ compare EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 13

This is an evidence of determination that, unwilling to give any chance to opposition, General al-Beshir announced in January 2001 which he had extended the state of emergency for another year maintaining his and the security services grip on political power.¹ Accordingly, there seems to be no possibility for peace agreement unless it is based on the principles of Salvation, a reference to the Islamic movement that has dominated Sudan since the 1989 coup.

Several possible explanations can be put forward to what had happened and is happening today under the authoritarian regime of al-Beshir. Subjected through political constraints that has been associated with bad policy outcomes and long standing civil war, the question here is if al-Beshir's regime can be persuaded to reach a solution to the political crisis by holding comprehensive conference of a national dialogue to adopt a substantial constitutional reform, which could favour power-sharing arrangement with the opposition political groups.

Citizens Participation

Specific events and developments have been demonstrated in Sudan's political potential that a model of parliamentary democracy is possible as it was experienced at various times. Accordingly, the people of Sudan have enjoyed participating in five multi-party parliamentary elections on their will (1953, 1958, 1965, 1968 and 1986).² Multi-party elections have some times been open and fair in comparison with Ethiopia, Kenya or other African and Arab states. Sudanese politics, which regardless of government system had some times been characterized in between by egalitarian principle of rules.³ Unfortunately, the previous tradition of reluctant acceptance of those with different beliefs and ethnic backgrounds have been replaced by intolerance for all dissenters and transformed into unprecedented terms of oppression.

For example, as in many countries of Africa, Sudanese political activities under Nimeiri regime were conducted through a single umbrella party, the Sudan Socialist Union (SSU), whose role was defined by the constitution as a grand alliance of workers, farmers, intellectuals, business people and soldiers among others.⁴ However, open discussion for political alternatives were circumscribed and did not extend to criticism of Nimeiri's policies. Political activities and movements were permitted only under the framework of the SSU political party. Nimeiri has acted boldly to reintroduce open political engagement to public life by persuading his adversaries even those who had plotted against his life in a coup to return to the political arena, but has failed at last to accommodate them.⁵

¹ Ibid., p. 14

² Voll, John O., in: *The Middle East Journal*, Vol.44, No.1 (Winter 1990), p. 584

³ Ibid.

⁴ Nelson, Harold D. (1983), p. 199; Lesch, Mosely Ann, *The Sudan Contested National Identity* (1998), pp. 44-45

⁵ Ibid., pp. 222-223

Sudanese politicians whether civilian or military have never managed to implement permanent and effective democratic system that citizens' could participate freely.¹ Lessons of all civil democratic misrule have exposed the weakness of the system and their inefficiency, which gave chance to the military coups. The alternation between parliamentary and military regimes destabilized the basic factors of citizens' participation and instability in the country that brought factionalism and divisions among the population. This intern created many difficulties associated with the compromises necessary for the achievement of unity,² which can be comparable to Sudanese neighbours of Ethiopia and Somalia. Even if most Sudanese have recognized the necessity of having a political system in which all citizens can participate in a secure of equality and national unity, the Islamization programme has provided an extra ordinary challenge to any government.³

In Sudan's modern history, the period 1986-1989 was in general a phase of civil liberty and rule of law. Throughout those years, most Sudanese citizens have enjoyed (at least in Khartoum and other urban centers) almost all the institutions of liberal democracy, but very little in the southern region. Political parties, trade unions and professional associations were free to mobilize and protect their constituencies. The judiciary was independent and on several occasions, it has overruled government decisions.⁴ Freedom was genuine and used by human rights activists, among others, which benefited from it. But the line of accountability established during the civil government (at that time) was destroyed by the military/NIF which structured policies could not ensure the right of participation in the government or outside its political platform.

Although Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Beshir had clearly emphasized the importance of 'popular participation' in helping to manage, develop and secure the country, he has constantly opposed pluralist democracy based on political parties and the one-party system like that of Nimeriri who ruled the country for 16 years. For example, soon after coming to power, al-Beshir issued a Constitutional Decree which states the system of governance policy that should be based on freedom and consultation to leverage the ruling elite but gave no room for the political parties.⁵ The Presidential Decree states that the policy of the civilian-military government would be based on freedom and consultation, domestic representation, but genuine political

¹ Nelson, Harold D. (1983), pp. 222-223; Degenhart, Henry W. (United Kingdom 1988), p. 351

² Voll, John O., in: *The Middle East Journal*, Vol.44, No.1 (Winter 1990), pp. 574-575

³ *World Directory of Minorities*, edited by International Minority Rights Group, London 1997, p. 461

⁴ Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1987, pp. 104-107

⁵ *Africa Confidential*, 22 October 1993, p. 1; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, pp. 5-6

participation remained non-existence.¹ The legislative was vested in an appointed assembly and all executive powers lay in the heads of a self-appointed President until the 1996 non-party elections were held to win legitimacy for further strengthening al-Beshir's authoritarian power.

Since 1989, the present regime has sought to suppress any form of political activity and carried out a policy aimed at cracking down on civil society.² In al-Beshir's governance process, various aspects of political freedoms have been severely restricted or denied. He has often warned to domestic and international community from the beginning that "no-one should cross the red lines" designed by his government, defending what is permissible and what not.³ His regime has been constantly using the most ruthless ways such as cutting their basic supplies and forcing them to participate in the general elections which were conducted in 1996 and 2000.⁴

Al-Beshir's Islamic fundamentalist organizations control all social, political and cultural activities. What the government calls popular committees are present in every region, towns and villages and are part of the government's security apparatus.⁵ As the Islamists' call for the delegation of the regional states functions to the society sounds very democratic at a face value. It seems as if there is more participation in the political and administrative processes. But has been a strategy to consolidate the monopoly of power by the Islamic elements, similar to that has been practiced by Communist Party members in the Eastern Blocs before the 1990s.⁶ The NIF rules as a one-party, religious-populist regime that has established a totalitarian state based on a total Islamization. For its activities, NIF formed cells within the army and inspired the idea of Islamization. From the outset, the Islamist regime has been condemned by domestic, regional and international organizations, as stated in their reports.⁷

Even before December 1992, the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly on Social and Humanitarian Issues approved a resolution on the Sudan by an overwhelming vote, 102 for seven against and 27 abstentions expressing international concern over Sudan's worse human rights situation.⁸ Since the end of 1998, the regime has adopted a controversial Constitution that

¹ Sudan's Constitutional Order, Decree No.13, Khartoum, 23.12.1995

² Human Rights Watch World Report, New York, Washington D.C., Brussels and London 1995, p. 52

³ Human Rights Watch, Behind the Red Line, Political Repression in Sudan (New York, Washington D.C., Brussels and London 1996), p. 142

⁴ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.32, No.8, 1st-31st March, London 1996, p. 12192; EIU Sudan Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1999, p. 4; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 4

⁵ Guazzone, Laura (United Kingdom 1995), p. 204

⁶ Field, Michael (1994), p. 262

⁷ Amnesty International Annual Reports (London 1998, 1999), pp. 315-318; Human Rights Watch World Report, London and Washington D.C. 1997, pp. 55-60; Human Rights Watch/Africa: Behind the Red Line, Political Repression in Sudan, London 1996, pp. 293 ff.; Index on Censorship, Nos.1, 4-6, 5 (London 1996, 1997), pp. 186, 104, 111, 185

⁸ Human Rights in Developing Countries, Nordic Human Rights pubs. Yearbook (Oslo 1995), pp. 329-330; EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter, London 1998, p. 10

does not guarantee the opposition/citizens demands, and ensures free and fair elections, guarantee all rights abide to the international instrument of political rights and civil liberties. The new Constitution allows to the creation of political parties, but with strict restrictions, even to ensure political activity in public is still forbidden.¹ While the government seems to apply what it has already rejected before, the adoption of 1998 constitution can be called as a defeat for the dictatorship but not a transition process towards democratic a democratic system.

Sudanese citizens' have been challenged by a military repression to compile their commitment to popular political participation. They are allowed to participate via citizens' committees by means of what the government calls consultation. The government frequently points to a tolerance for varied and opposing points of view as long as they are confined to debate and do not work as anti-government conspiracies.² But arrests of political activists' continued and substantial restrictions on civil liberties remained tightly circumscribed.³ Leading opposition politicians have been harassed and arrested when they have tried to practice their political activities.⁴

The fundamental political conflicts within Sudan remain unresolved by the introduction of 1998 a (new) Constitution. One of the main issues of contention during the civil war has been the imposition of Islamic Law. The new Constitution as the authorities say allows for other sources of legal doctrine such as tribal or customary laws, but it leaves the Islamic Law as the main source of legal system. The additional source of Islamic contention explains the lack of political freedom within the country.⁵ The new constitution has paved the way for legislation since 1999, which allows the formation of political parties. But serious restrictions remain on the activity of those groups that have registered as political associations. The President controls the National Congress Party, for example, it determines who should stand for local and national office and which political associations may come into existence. Its institutional dominance is underpinned by its control of the armed forces, which includes Popular Defence Force (PDF).⁶

Though officially only one of the many "political associations" (the National Congress NCP, a hard core of Islamic fundamentalist) is legally operating since the start of 1999, it controls Sudanese political life. It has established an unprecedented degree of political and economic control over the population and worked hard to bring the military under its authority. For example,

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 7

² Voll, John O., Sudan, in: *The Middle East Journal*, Vol.44, No.1, Washington D.C. (Winter 1990), pp. 593-594

³ Human Rights World Report, New York, London and Brussels 1997, p. 55

⁴ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.12, 1st-31 December 2000, p. 14238; Ibid., Vol.38, No.2, 1st-28 February 2001, pp. 14310-14311; Middle East International, No.579, London, 17 July 1998, p. 14

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 7-8

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, London 1998, pp. 5-6

the President issues a republican decree appointing political advisors and dismisses those who do not obey the Islamic political platform.¹

However, the reality may be very different. None of the reforms introduced to date have touched the power base of the ruling National Congress, which lies in its control of the military and paramilitary forces, and its domination of the administrative apparatus that **curtails free participation of citizens**.² When freedom of expression is suppressed in the country and the regime **does not tolerate criticism of its failures**, one can not imagine that citizens' are able to participate in their own political affairs. The question what the Sudanese people did benefit from the 1996 and December 2000 elections of the Islamic fundamentalist regime? When and how the Sudanese citizens political and civil rights will be reinstated, remains a continuous dilemma in the country's political scene. Prospects for a break through in the peace process, which would bring an end to the fighting in Sudan's interminable civil war seems in bleak.

3.2.3.3 The Political Situation After the Elections

Even if the 1986 elections were completed after the Westminster model of democracy, justice was not done to the marginalized Sudanese social forces. They were not fairly represented either because of the war in the South, or there was unfairness in the distribution of seats.³

From this perspective, the SPLA has set conditions for peace to the traditional parties (UP, DUP, etc. who run the government after the 1986 elections) to organize a constitutional conference and end the Islamic Laws.⁴ Al-Mahdi's government has shown efforts of willingness seeking to allow political solution for peace, more autonomy for the South and engaged to end the civil war but did not abrogate the Islamic Law that was introduced by Nimeiri in 1983. These, economic and other social problems inherited from the Nimeiri regime remained unsolved which caused protests by civic organizations such as trade unions representatives who have demanded al-Mahdi's regime to find new policies that abrogate Sharia Laws which could end the political crises.⁵ Throughout his first year in office, al-Mahdi coupled promises to replace (not cancel) the Islamic Law with the need to wage a war in the south.⁶

The political crisis boiled over in 1988 and al-Mahdi's regime had worked out a blueprint with the NIF on the basis for a wider coalition, but the mainstream coalition party (DUP) has rejected his proposal. In February 1989, al-Mahdi has appointed Hassan al-Turabi, architecture of the NIF

¹ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.38, No.2, February 1st-28th 2001, p. 14297

² EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1999, p. 7; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 7

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile (1986-1987, No.3 and 1988-1989), p.9; Woodward, Peter (1991), pp. 49-50; Kok, Nyot Peter (1996), p. 48

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, No.3, London 1986, p. 5

⁵ Africa Today, 3rd edition, London 1996, p. 1438

⁶ Africa Confidential, Vol.27, No.10, London 1986, p. 5

as a Deputy Prime Minister.¹ On 6 March 1989, Sadiq al-Mahdi again formed a new broad-based government intending to start talks with the SPLA. On 23 March 1989, the government has excluded NIF as it has refused to accept the SPLA/DUP proposal provisions for suspension of the Islamic law before the convening of a national constitutional conference.² To implement the agreement on peace negotiations between the government delegations and the SPLA commenced in Ethiopia in April 1989 and SPLA has proclaimed a 45 days cease-fire.³

From the outset, Sudan has intermittently possessed both the institutional capacity and the political will to install liberal democracy. Its calamitous efficiency to do so in the 1986-1989 has followed primarily from repeated political failures⁴. But as it has been called "Third Democratic Phase" by many Sudanese, it has failed to make peace with the southern rebels and was challenge by the military potential of the country that has often threatened democratic process since independent.⁵ The failure of the caretaker government (al-Mahdi's regime) to find out political settlement had been a hard blow to democratic implementation in the country that could cost much to reinstate it again. Since then, Sudan has been ruled by a military-civil coalition (Islamic fundamentalist). General al-Beshir has been the titular head (military) of state and a civilian NIF founder and leader Hassan al-Turabi had exercised real political control until the end of 1999⁶. In this course of time, the NIF government has radically reshaped the political landscape of Sudan by setting up a system of popular congress in a pyramid structure reminiscent of the Libyan called "popular participation" dividing the country into 26 regional states.⁷

There was also no political improvement after the December 2000 elections. The President went ahead with the controversial elections, predictably boycotted by the main opposition parties. After the December 2000 elections, President al-Beshir has said 'we will bring peace through negotiations and struggle'.⁸ The government went ahead with the polls despite opposition calls for a post-ponement of the December 2000 elections. The SPLA has described the December 2000 electoral process, a device initiated by Beshir as a means of "electing himself".⁹

There is sporadic fighting in the south, the government continued attacking civilian targets without limit.¹⁰ Similar to the 1996 elections, whether it conducts elections or declares to

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1988-1989, No.4, pp. 10-11

² EIU Sudan Country Report, No.2, London 1989, p. 5

³ EIU Sudan Country Report, No.3, London 1989, p. 12

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, London 1998, p. 4

⁵ Onwumechili, Chuka (1998), p. 52

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, pp. 3, 5; EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, pp. 13-14

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 6

⁸ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.12, London, December 1st-31st 2000, p. 14222

⁹ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.12, London, December 2000, p. 14223

¹⁰ SIPRI Yearbook, Oxford University Press, New York 2001, p. 32

implement democracy within its Islamic political platform might not (is not expected to) bring any solution to the chronic problems unless political rights and civil liberties are respected to settle the conflicts by peaceful means.

Again here arises an important question that embraces the whole Sudanese political society in all election cases, whether it would have changed the political and economic crisis in the country for the better or worse than the time movement. But the Islamist government is able to suppress both competition and participation, reverting the country to authoritarianism. The military as well as the NIF/NCP have no genuine contribution to democratic implementation, whether there is change in name or not, the Islamic fundamentalist could not either easily be reformed or dislodged, instead it has installed Islamic absolutism and rejected democratic pluralism.

Finally, why did the Sudanese governments either civil or military have failed to implement stable and democratic country even if elections were conducted? Several responses might be given to this question. But the thesis, which can be forwarded here, is that the leadership in both cases was not able to design a workable mechanism for the establishment of stable political order.

The caretaker governments, which were entrusted with the country's leadership in these critical periods and the front of the opposing political leadership groups have been mostly not able to find viable solutions to the issues of Sudan's crises that had reached unprecedented complications under the present military regime. Throughout the country's political scene, the caretaker governments which composed of members either from the mainstream traditional political parties and their allies or the military was not accountable to perform what was expected from them. Sudanese diversified society needs civil government irrespective of religion or ethnic groupings, whose practice could allow them choose their own leaders by participating in free and fair political process. The Sudanese leaders whether military, civil or combined are in charge to adopt democratic political process and save the country/people from civil war and all evils that one could observe every now and then in this modern time.

If the caretaker government/parties-military or combined have been an instrument of democracy or for welding of their own power can be understood from this analysis that both/all did not contribute to implement accountable democracy but were only concerned to hold on the political stage for their own sake. The state power has been an instrument for all regimes to achieve political strategies that serve them to stay in power, use resources for their own purpose among others. But their policies could not solve Sudanese political, economic and social crises and promote a minimum stability to save citizens from interminable civil war and devastation.

3.3 Comparison of the Legal and Political Frameworks of the Three Countries

Constitution, political parties, elections, power sharing, popular participation among others have been a recurrent theme in this chapter. But the question lies here how and what one can compare to the similarities and differences about the three countries political systems and their development processes. Generally, the experience from this chapter enables to obtain a clear picture of what each country's political development strategies have achieved to date and where they are likely to lead. To examine the relationship between elections and democratic development, one can provide a basis for defining the concepts whether the three countries have the capacity to implement democratic government or not which has left several questions unanswered.

Despite the history of political formation in the three countries, political culture and the style of governance have been operating differently since the 1980s. For example, both Ethiopia and Kenya have produced an autocratic multi-partyism. While Sudan has not yet decided to break away from the Islamic style of tyrannic government. The concern of this chapter has been to answer the research questions which were set out at the beginning of the thesis by summarizing in the following descriptive evidences of supplementary questions that lay behind to contrast for each country.

- What accounts for regime change and whether these changes have been towards democratic and economic development?
- What difference those differences make for political behaviour, political power and the outcome of their process?

Unlike Ethiopia and Kenya, Sudan have the post-colonial political order. Kenya has defined development in terms of the continued or **uninterrupted government system** and elaborated the political institutions establishing in the country during the colonial period. Chief among these have been:

- * Advocating continued constitutional reforms for further political consensus
- * It made explicit change that Kenya will remain a multi-party republic since 1991
- * It replaced the president's unilateral authority to appoint 12 parliament members with a system based on the parties' proportional representation in parliament since 1997
- * Formation of new institutional form of opposition for elite competition
- * It provided a constitutional protection against discrimination on the basis of sex¹

¹ Ellis, Stephen: Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa, Where did it come from? Can it be supported? European Center for Development Policy Management (ECDPM) Working Paper No.6, The Hague, 7 September 1995, p. 12; Ndegwa, Stephen, in: Africa Today, Lynne Rienner, Vol.45, No.2, (April-June 1998), p. 203

In contrast, Sudan has attempted since 1989 a complete break with the institutional legacies it inherited at independence by replacing it with Islamic guiding principles of state policy.¹ Most important in this regard has been the attempt to create an extensive Islamic ideologically committed government.² The question here is whether the purpose of mobilizing the country's population from the apex of such political system down to the grassroots had been implemented to achieve Islamic development which has been contrary to democracy or had failed to increase citizens' participation in the governance of their society.

Ethiopia on the other hand has made a consented effort to pursue a policy of ethnic democracy after the country was made free from a totalitarian regime³. The government seems to have been convinced that it is on the right track to defend the path towards democracy and respect human rights, which Ethiopia has acceded. But thousands of its critics and opponents are used to under arrest during inter-communal disturbances, political position among others.⁴ Nevertheless, the government faces offence from the opposition who stand firm for the old state including Eritrea, planning to destroy all of its achievements and to turn the country back to a fragile situation.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the failure and weakness of the states and the increasing importance of the existence of the local framework had proved indispensable to survival. As it is explained above, formation of parties and other political organizations like KANU/COTU in Kenya, Umma/DUP and SWTUF in Sudan have their origin in the European colonization era. But formation of political movements and resistance groups in Ethiopia like EPRP, EDU, TPLF, OLF, EPRDF, ETA etc. have started to stand against a repressive indigenous leaders.⁵

The objective of political participation in Ethiopia and Sudan are both more ambitious and difficult to attain. In Kenya, the purpose of participation is not to provide citizens with opportunity to determine character of the system but to the developmental goals, it is committed to pursuing. However, Participation is intended to accomplish much more than the selection of representatives by local communities on the periphery of the political system, to link to the central authority. But problems like ethnic clashes, insecurity in the Rift Valley that affect the country's political, economic and social affairs are often not transparent to the public and illegal to discuss

¹ Abdel Salam, Sidahmed, (1997), pp. 188-189

² SIPRI Yearbook, Oxford University Press, New York 2001, 31

³ Young, John, Regionalism and Democracy in Ethiopia, in: Third World Quarterly, Vol.19, No.2, June 1998, p. 193

⁴ News from Africa Watch, Vol.4, No.7, Washington D.C., New York and London, 8 May 1992, p. 1; Amnesty International, London 1990 Report, p. 161; The Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.943, 24 March 2001, pp. 1,7

⁵ Stephen Wright and Janice N. Brownfoot, (1987), pp. 27-28; Mulatu Wubneh and Yohannes Abate (1988), pp. 41-44, 55-56, 71-72; Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), pp. 31-37; Gerard Kester and Ousmane Oumarou Sidibe, (1997), pp. 273-275

at any base.¹ However, after the 1992 elections, many citizens' often saw the ruling party as exercising its power in ways intended to make daily life difficult for those outside the ruling party (KANU).² On the other hand, the opposition stronghold has often been denied to practice its political activities, national resources are controlled by the government (KANU) and localities that show loyalty to KANU often used to be materially awarded.³

Political participation in Ethiopia and Sudan is viewed as a far more critical and immediate component of the developmental process than in Kenya. Where as in Kenya, participation is limited until conditions to sustain political order are set in place and is in general viewed as a means to political representation that would in turn result in a political system and more responsive to popular demands.⁴ Although the opposition parties did not build a consensus to challenge Moi and KANU effectively in the presidential elections of 1992 and 1997, they were relatively well represented in parliament where national issues have been critically debated even with the domination of the ruling party. Largely, this has not been the case in Ethiopia and Sudan until recently. Instead, political participation seems to be viewed as an end in itself and the direct control by the people of their own affairs, regarding of what that control might bring. Certainly, any action that gives the people more control of their own affairs can be an action for political development, even if it does not offer them better health or more basic necessities for life such as health, literacy, food etc.

Political participation and other basic provisions in the three governments' frameworks have been not frequent and constrained. While the leadership and political participants at all levels of these organizations, except the lowest, are indirectly elected and direct control by the mass of participants is not possible.⁵ Whether the citizens have more substantives as distinct from symbolic control over their day-to-day affairs or not remains still an open question. Thus, while the possibilities for participation are not extensive, this summary suggests based on the research question that it is doubtful whether effective control over policy-making process has passed to the rank and file of the three countries society, or such controls will likely pass in the foreseeable future.

¹ Kobia, Samuel, (NCKK Nairobi 1993), p. 49; Glickman, Harvey (1995), p. 191; Amnesty International, London 1999 Report, pp. 221-222

² Haugerud, Angelique, (1995), p. 26; Fox, Roddy, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.34, No.4, London 1996, p. 597

³ Human Rights Watch Report, Washington D.C., London and Brussels 1998, p. 42

⁴ Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), p. 152; Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.6, No.5, New York, Washington D.C., London and Brussels, July 1994, p. 4; Amnesty International, London 1999 Report, pp. 222-223; Amnesty International Annual Report, Frankfurt am Main, July 2001, p. 311

⁵ Press Release: Kenya Post-Election Political Violence, Article 19, Lancaster House London, December 1998, pp. 1, 19; Michael Cowen and Liisa Laakso, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.4 (1997), p. 736

As I have explained it repeatedly, according to the UNDHR, everyone has the right to take part in the government of his/her country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. Key here is the insurance that the political process remains open and reachable for all members of the society.¹ In other developments, the three countries have incorporated article 25/a-b of the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in their constitutions that provides for the right to participate in government, to vote and be elected in free elections² where they are all a party. But when one examines how it is practiced in a daily life of the three countries political process, one feels as if the awareness of such mandatory laws or the legitimacy of constitutions comes into question. In this perspective, the political situation continues to remain distressing.

In some cases, opposition leaders are partly to blame while they are divisive, fragmented as well as their propensity to choose ineffective tactics played right into the hands of the regimes. For example, the former Sudanese Prime Minister (1986-1989-toppled by the military) Sadiq al-Mahdi has recently frozen his party's membership alliance of the opposition (NDA) and signed a secret deal with the military junta. After conducting secret negotiations for more than a year with senior regime officials, al-Mahdi returned to Sudan in November 2000 to join the fundamentalist government (Panafican News Agency, April 7, 2000-www.africanews.org)³. The ruling class leaders seem to have successfully beaten back the democratic challenge. In general, as political uncertainty and instability discourages economic investment and trade in the three countries, under both external and internal pressure to promote democracy, their leaders have resort to various tricks and chicanery. Therefore, the transition to democratic system in Sudan is a distant prospect.

Concluding Remarks

In accordance with the countries Constitutions there have not been peaceful changes of governments in Ethiopia and Sudan, through free and fair elections (Kenya) irrespective of whether violence occurred at some stage of the process or not.⁴ Violent change in this respect refers to the forcible unconstitutional removal of a government in Sudan and Ethiopia, though it may or may not have resulted in the spilling of blood. Violations armed rebels and the military

¹ United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) Article 21

² Ethiopian Constitution (1995), Article 38; Kenyan Constitution (1992), Articles 43:1-4, 32-34; Sudanese Constitution (1998), Articles 37, 56 and 68

³ Sudan Democratic Gazette, No.126, Year XI, London, December 2000, p. 5; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 14

⁴ Henry Bienen and Jeffrey Herbst, The Relationship between Political and Economic Reforms in Africa, in: Comparative Politics, Vol29, No.1 (1996), p. 25

coups brought **Unconstitutional** changes of government and leadership in **Ethiopia** (1974, 1991)¹ and **Sudan** (1959, 1964, 1969, 1985, and 1989)².

Kenya by contrast has never experienced such events since independence, but the constitution has been under the monopoly of the ruling class and amendments to promote democratic constitution has often been hampered.³ There has been a political as well as power change in the three countries, but as one can experience from some literatures, it has taken differently.⁴ The core points of similarities and differences are described as follows:

Similarities:

- There is lack of political democratic culture in all countries that could allow to institute political organizations to function properly
- All the three countries have experienced single party systems of governments which have been obstacles to any democratic development and political consensus
- Leaders in all the three countries make no compromise to accommodate opposition parties for consensus and the sake of political stability
- Opposition political organizations in the three countries are fragmented and could not mobilize their supporters to challenge the authoritarian regimes and have little alternative programs of political platform

Differences:

- In Ethiopia and Sudan, most opposition parties function clandestinely, especially in Sudan they have been banned since 1989. In Ethiopia, parties that advocate violence are banned and others whose programs are to operate under the country's rule of law are weak and dispersed.
- In Kenya, parties had been banned from 1982 to 1991, but multi-party system was introduced since the repeal of Article 2A that had legalized to one party system.
- Ethiopia and Sudan have experienced brutal military rule but Kenya did not.
- Sudan has experienced democratic system under a civil government but Kenya and Ethiopia have not.
- The political platforms and constitutions of Ethiopia and Kenya explain that religious political parties are not allowed. But Sudanese ruling parties have been and are formed on religious bases.

¹ Pieter Esterhuysen and Pierre du Toit Botha (Pretoria 1997-1998), pp. 91, 93

² Ibid., pp. 83, 94

³ Ibid., pp. 91, 97; Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Africa, Cambridge University Press, London and New York 1981, pp. 237-238

⁴ Henry Bienen and Jeffrey Herbst, The Relationship between Political and Economic Reforms in Africa, in: Comparative Politics, Vol.29, No.1 (1996), p. 25

1. The Ethiopian Federal Constitution does not allow religious political parties to be registered.¹
2. The 1995 Kenyan Political Parties Bill also does not allow political parties to register under the name of religion.²
3. In Sudan on the other hand, **Sharia Law** (Islamic Law) is the first source of legislation.³ This article reminds the Sudanese citizens to respond to the call of Jihad (Holy war) to practice it especially against the southern Christians and natural religious followers.⁴ The 13th Constitutional Decree number 7 of Sudan's Federal Government, Article 1 also has prescribed that Islam should be as the basis for the Sudanese law and public policies.⁵ The government's insistence on maintaining the Islamic legal system had been one of the chief obstacles to peace and political stability in the country.

As we can see it in the summary above, this chapter clearly illustrates an immense diversity of experience in the three countries political scene. While it is possible to talk of a struggle for democracy in the three states since the outbreak of the cold war, nature of the process and the unfolding of events are far from uniform. The subsequent chapters will seek to highlight more commonalities where appropriate and equally important tasks seem to reflect the heterogeneity of the process. In general, any attempt at a broad comparison of the experiences from the three states over a given period may not present enough evidence. But their cases can almost be dealt similar to the critical time on the wind of change in Africa.

Concerning the political process of Ethiopia and Kenya, important changes have taken place in the early 1990s. They have held competitive elections, which turned out to be regime confirming.⁶ But in some cases, these regime-confirming elections may not be seen as indicative of a recent adoption to multi-party competition. The Sudanese election cases in 1996 and 2000 can also be a good example for regime confirming.⁷ The final point that needs to be remarked regarding these **regime-confirming** elections are those categories refer only to national level of the political system. Even if the move to effective political and economic change was notably widespread, additional pressure for good governance has began to be applied since the end of 1990 by the help of Western governments and the World Bank.⁸ The International Monetary

¹ Negarit Gazette Proclamation No.46/1993, Registration of Political Parties, Addis Ababa, 15th April 1993, Article 6, No.5

² Kenyan Political Parties Bill, Kenya Gazette Supplement No.42/Bill No.9, Nairobi, 23rd June 1995, Article 6, No.1/a-b

³ Sudanese Constitution, Khartoum, June 1998, Article 65

⁴ Constitution of the Republic of Sudan, March 1998, Article 35:1

⁵ Constitutional Decree number 7, Khartoum 16.10.1993

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 5; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 5-6; Africa Confidential, Vol.42, No.6, London 2001, p. 8

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1999, p. 6; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 7; Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.38, No.2, Blackwell publisher, London, February 28th 2000, pp. 14296-7

⁸ World Bank, Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth, A Long Term Perspective Study, Washington D.C. 1998, p. XII

Fund (IMF) has also continued to insist on economic liberalization measures as the price of their assistance. But it would be a mistake to point out that a picture of fair participative democracy was implemented in all cases.

The research question whether the ruling parties have been instruments of democracy or regime control would at first glance appear that the weakness of political organizations tended to deny either functional alternatives in most cases. As one can see in the above literatures and in other related different documents, the regimes have used parties as an instrument in a centralized control character that made it impossible for the opposition or any political organization groups to participate or work on a wider scale and adopt democracy. The close identity of the political organizations with the ruling class and statism, used by the leaders as a kind of disciplinary agency that not only bestows legitimacy on those who earned it but also it could read dissidents out of the political community as well. While all the three countries are dependent on foreign aid, some reform liberalization were performed through external pressure but did not come from within.¹ My observation in this research under review has been, I have an impression that the state authorities in the three countries often have used to reserve political participation for the ruling elite. But the masses might have been mobilized and compelled to vote in elections in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of the regime. Elections had been held to get legitimacy for power but not to provide solutions for the pre-existing social, economic and political problems the three countries society have experienced. In this connection, assessing the democratic and regime character of EPRDF/KANU and NIF/National Congress Party is even more difficult.

There is no question that leaders in the three countries have been at the ideological helm of the party's. But the "in house" character of many major party decisions put a damper upon discussion that might otherwise occur publicly in the national assembly or parliament among others. Although, the formation of the party with their policy and ideological thrust has diminished the "free-wheeling", clienteles character of politicians as constituency representatives and the tendencies of the party to become the state was disappointing events. If being instruments of democracy or regime control can be measured in terms of direct state response to basic needs, then EPRDF policy on primary education, health and other social relations has been exceptionally responsive² in comparison to KANU and Sudan's military State apparatus.

Substantive classes in Ethiopia are somewhat protected than ever by the ruling party's ethnic democratic ideology despite lack of clear evidence that mass population has pointed on those

¹ Bratton, Michael; Mattes, Robert, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.12, No.1, January 2001, p. 107

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, London, p. 21; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London March 2001, p. 9

results.¹ Some opposition political organizations were able to benefit from democratic openings even if it has been difficult in most cases due to lack of democratic political culture. But after the 1995 Parliamentary elections, the new ethnic democratic policy seems to be weakening the adoption of multi-party politics while it favours little compromise between the government and opposition political groups.

From the outset, many people from domestic as well as the International Community expressed confidence in the steps that the EPRDF government has undertaken to liberalize the country and called on opposition groups to participate in the political process without advocating violence.² But one wants to see more changes and liberalization on the areas of concern, which are political rights, civil liberties and the fair treatment of opposition groups to participate in the country's political scene. The question whether political process of party formation and electoral competition becomes in more open arena of public contest or the EPRDF government's new opening for liberalization to play a more substantial and independent role within the political system remains still in doubt.

According to the 1998 unveiled constitution, the Islamic National Front (NIF) backed by military regime has in theory transformed Sudan into a multiparty democracy. But the ruling party under its new name National Congress Party (formerly NIF), remains the dominant force. It became identity to change names according to the political situation in order to adopt the Islamic Fundamentalist political scene in the country. The regime has also moved to institute a federal system of government, which upholds the new constitutional structure of 1998.³ As part of political reform program, other political parties affiliated to the National Congress Party (NCP) have been allowed to register although the major opposition groups have refused to do so. However, the reality may be very different that none of the reforms introduced to date have touched the power bases of the ruling national congress, which controls the military, paramilitary forces and dominates the country's administrative apparatus.⁴ From this perspective, whether the NIF or National Congress Party rules with the military jointly or alone, it has used the political stage as an instrument to install its power and had been poor in democratic credentials and implementing public policies.

¹ Africa Analysis, No.231, Pretoria, 22 September 1995, p. 6; Africa Review, The World of Information and Business Report, 21st Edition, London 1998, p. 89

² Amnesty International, The Human Rights Agenda, AI Index: AFR 25/09/91, London 1991, p. 1; Amnesty International News From Africa Watch, Vol.4, No.7, London, May 1992, p. 2; Young John, in: Third World Quarterly, Vol.9, No.2, London 1998, p. 196; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, pp. 11-12

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 8

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1999, p. 7

To adopt a multi-party democracy, leaders of the three countries would have to undergo considerable transformation, involving to acquire new leadership with completely new basis for wanting to be in power. On the one hand, citizens of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan feel cheated from the factors behind their leaders political policies and hence development abnormalities should be exposed fully. On the other hand, it is necessary to see the recent struggle for constitutional change in the three countries that were introduced or promulgated. For example, Sudanese authorities have drawn up a programme and constitution for multi-party democracy in 1998 without the participation of opposition political parties, which were then, banned.¹ These recent changes represent in part, an attempt to fundamentally alter real purpose of the constitution and to make it a barrier to authoritarianism rather than be manifested as a tool for democratic institutions.

Constitutions had played in the growth of personal role that led to factional struggle instead of implementing the national policies. Insofar, as constitutions remained important features of rule in the transfer of power, they may be less important as constraints on the abuse of power and more as legal instrument that a personal ruler could amend or write to suit his/her power needs. This can be one of the ways of getting closer to find lasting solutions to the country's intractable problems. Many of these challenges in the three states are directly correlated with undemocratic and often very oppressive systems of government that the region has experienced from the colonial times or indigenous dictators up to the present.

The following quotation from John A. Wiseman add perspectives similar to the three countries political developments: "Politics in most black African states do not conform to a institutionalized system but are most often personal or factional struggle to control the national government or to influence it, a struggle that is restrained by private and tacit agreements, prudential concerns and personal ties and dependencies rather than by public rules and institutions".²

The task to identify **what wrong has gone** in the three countries and **why** is not an easy question to answer. In addition to this, the question whether the countries have **the capacity to promote democratic government** or lack most of the pre-conditions raises more general questions than it does answer. Evidence for this can be considered that civic institutions in the three countries are weak, poverty is rampant and inter group tension is acute. Moreover, transfer of power between competing political elites or even the prospect of such a peaceful transfer of power seems very difficult while they mostly are drawn by force.³ In this context, the ruling parties assume control functions, became an instrument for transmitting the wishes of the elite, monitoring political activity for their interests, controlling civil associations and mobilize the

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 7

² Wiseman, John A. (1996), p. 19

³ Clapham, Christopher, Third World Politics (1998), pp. 84-85

country's resources. Accordingly, the societies of the three countries are in fragile transition that may easily shift to either the establishment of some form of uncertain democracy or a return to dictatorship. Of course, at any time in the future, any attempt to maintain or restore dictatorship will be met with resistance, given the increase in the citizens' political consciousness and transparency of the system as reflected by the current political and social movements like elsewhere.¹ But Michael Bratton and Robert Mattes have reiterated as:

"Africans do not seem to perceive democracy and associate rights differently than people elsewhere, and to the extent that they claim such rights as a means of resisting repression at the hands of an authoritarian ruler. Africans are beginning to think more like citizens of a constitutional state than clients of a personal patron".² Accordingly, if people in the three countries can not define democracy properly and they are in full of doubt, there seems no guarantee that high levels of support for democracy can be sustained indefinitely.

The political process requires that politicians seek consensus to facilitate the building of consensus. On the other hand, the political and economic process of developments require tolerance and willingness to let all voices be heard, including opposition views as well as the responsibility for strong advocacy of democratic norms. When there is no free party competition, freedom of political rights and civil liberties, no political consensus between the ruling party and opposition and deteriorating economy, one should not be surprised to see dissent arise outside the states party structures and within them. What the future of legal and political frameworks of the three countries are concerned, remains a debate about whether pressure from outside or domestic protest would do more to defuse the authoritarian leaders repression so that a transition process to a democratic society can be implemented.

Chapter 4. The Economic and Social Structures: Suitable for Democracy?

During the 1980s, a poor economic situation and the realization that the governments have failed to implement reforms put Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan under pressure. The adoption of political reform programs to implement accountability and **good Governance** in policy making, an

¹ Hyden, Goran, in: *Africa Insight*, Vol.27, No.3, Pretoria 1997, pp. 162-163; compare Dorenspleet, Renske, in: *World Politics*, Vol.52, No.3, April 2000, pp. 399, 403-405

² Bratton, Michael; Robert Mattes, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.12, No.1, January 2001, p. 111

approach that could have led to the introduction of structural economic reforms have failed because of the political and social instabilities.¹ The sobering reality became that the countries continue to be ravaged by various forms of poverty and underdevelopment.

Higher rates of population growth, malnutrition, infant mortality, increasing political unrest and arising number of refugees; low life expectancy and low levels of literacy, installed industrial capacity utilization and net negative economic growth during the past decades have been the daily agenda of state structures in the three countries.² In the late 1980s and 1990s, the governments of the three countries have attempted to improve the deteriorating condition by implementing externally dictated structural adjustment programs (SAPs). These reform programs were pushed ahead primarily by Western-dominated multi-lateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.³ However, prospects of an economic upturn worsened due to high debts, riots, unfavourable terms of trade and declining export revenues.⁴

Given such remarks, the concern of this chapter is to analyze the interrelation between economic and social reforms and their future prospects in the three countries. I will look at the possibility of whether democratic order can be established in the weak and declining economies of the three countries. Clearly, the correlation of both economic policy and governance and how the above mentioned problems could be resolved remains among the most challenging analytical issues of the contemporary developments in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. In the domestic affairs of the three countries, there are grounds to expect when such reforms are endorsed effectively, that they may create the basis for more democratic political economies in the long term. The central aim of this topic is to find out if sustainable economic reforms could solve the given social problems that have affected demands of domestic economic growth. At the same time how to response to the given various crises and conduct major program of initiations that can achieve a transition to democracy will be discussed in this connection.

In order to define and follow the role of economic facts for the three countries political orders, much attention will be given to the following questions:

- How can the economic development in the three countries best be examined comparatively?

¹ Hodd, Michael: *The Economies of Africa* (1991), pp. 37-38

² World Development Report, Vol.25, No.9, Redressing Conditionality, (September 1997), p. 1405; UNHCR Public Information Section, Nairobi 1996, pp. 5, 11; The World Bank, Social Indicators of Development (1996), pp. 111-112, 178-179, 322-323

³ Bratton, Michael, in: World Development Report, Vol.17, No.4 (1989), pp. 571-572; Wayne C. McWilliams and Harry Priotrowski (1997), pp. 411-414

⁴ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Vol.1 (1996), p. 59; African Social and Economic Trends Annual Report (2000/2001), p. 53

- What do the economic and social structures of the three countries have in common and what are their differences?
- How can the ability of the three countries regimes to promote economic development and their challenges be assessed?
- In which country are the conditions of economic and social structures most favourable to implement a democratic process?

By presenting such persistence questions in mind, this chapter is divided into two broad sections: In the **first** section, the conceptual framework of the economic structures in the three countries will be outlined and analyzed separately. The **second** section will cover the scope and effectiveness of economic programs upon the problems of the three countries basic social indicators and their performances. The concluding remarks will then be to discuss whether the given economic and social structures are suitable to promote democratic development in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan.

4.1 The Economic Structures of the Three Countries

The economic structures of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan are fragile. With **combined GNP** per capita approximately US\$750 at present. But each **individual countries** have very poor income ranging below the UN World standard between US\$316-580 per person per annum (that is Ethiopia = US\$120, Kenya = US\$340 and Sudan = US\$290).¹ According to FAO reports, the supply of food available per person, measured in daily calorie intake to meet every citizens requirements has been an average of 2,700 calories a day since the 1980s. But the FAO survey in the mid 1980s had discovered that average daily per capita supply of calories intakes in many of the poorest countries have decreased to 2,100 standard since then and the number of malnourished people have increased in the 1990s.² From this perspective, the Ethiopian people have had an average daily per capita supply of calories about 1,769.3 (1980-1992), 1,810.2 (1996) and 1858 (1997); The Kenyan case had been not bad from the above mentioned world standard, which accounted 2,103.3 calories (1980-1992), 2,037.2 (1996) and 1976 calories (1997) intakes. According to UNDP reports, the Sudanese have better calorie intakes per day/per person than the Ethiopian and Kenyans accounting to 2,112.3 (1980-1992), 2,251.7 (1996) and

¹ EIU Ethiopia, Country Profile 1997-1998 (London 1997), p. 11; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 144; The World Bank, Can Africa Claim the 21st Century? (2000), p. 15; World Bank, World Development Report 2000-2001, p. 280

² FAO-50 Years on: A Celebration and a Challenge (1995), pp. 16, 19

2395 (1997).¹ Since then, the health and nutritional status of the three countries have improved little but are still far from satisfactory.² In pursuit of these reports, the three countries have great diversities, but **share main common characteristics**, that range significantly in terms of natural resources, economic scale and political stability.

Given this diversity, it is accordingly difficult to draw general conclusions about the three countries economic performances and social structures as a whole because of the lack of access in literature and information during any given year. Nonetheless, some comparisons can be made in the overall economic growth rate, which has been dismal during the past two decades. They have recorded moderate average annual growth rate in GDP since 1980, which just slightly exceeded the rate of population growth but has fallen in the 1990s. Taking this into account, the World Bank has reported recently about the three countries real GDP which also remained low with little achievements in an average growth/fall rates in real terms since the 1990s as follows: **Ethiopia** 3.2 (1980-1990), 3.4 (1991-2000) and forecasted between 4.5% and 6.5% in (2001-2002). **Kenya** 4.2% (1980-1990), 2% (1991-2000) and forecasted between 3.5% and 4.6% in (2001-2002); **Sudan** 1.2% (1980-1990), 5.7% (1991-2000) and forecasted about 3.9% and 4.1% (2001-2002) that has been dramatic in any single year during the past two decades.³

Due to the political instability Kenya's growth rate has declined severely in the 1990s, but it is hoped that the situation will recover in the coming years. As the African Development Bank and World Bank researches have shown it, the Sudanese GDP growth rate has been incredible in the 1990s. But when one considers the poverty of population in the country, there seemed to have been problems of estimation due to inadequate access to the resource data collections. A number of factors have contributed to the decline of GDP growth rates in the three countries. But the most important ones were resurgence of armed conflict, particularly in Sudan; between Ethiopia and Eritrea in the north and in southern regions of the country; ethnic conflicts in the Kenyan Rift Valleys and the impact of the Asian economic crises.⁴ Growth rates were uneven

¹ World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1994-1995* (1995), pp. 340-342; Human Development Report (UNDP 1999-2000), p. 214, 239-240; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 240; African Development Bank, *Selected Statistics of African Countries, Vol. XX* (Abidjan 2000), p. 18

² African Development Bank, *African Development Report 2001*, pp. 252-253

³ World Bank, *World Debt Tables 1994-1995* (1995), p. 17; African Development Bank, *African Development Report* (1999), pp. 144, 200; Ibid. (2000), p. 214; World Bank, *African Development Indicators* (2000, 2001), p. 34, 236; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 239; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, p. 6, 9; IMF, *World Economic and Financial Survey, World Economic Outlook, May and October 1999*, pp. 146-147; EIU Kenya and Sudan Country Report, February 2001, pp. 11, 10

⁴ African Research Bulletin, London April 1st-15th 2000, p. 13949; Ibid., April 16th-15th March 2000, pp. 14351-14352

within the region. The cattle and tea producing in Ethiopia, Kenya and cotton in Sudan fared worst for their setbacks, that they would have achieved better growth overall.

However, favourable harvests and rising commodity prices in world-markets have been a positive factor for the region-gradually in 1998. But adverse weather conditions since the late 1999 have again affected agricultural output in the region.¹ By any economic or social indicators, the three countries have performed less than any other developing regions. For example, in the beginning of 1980s, Kenya was more prosperous than the Kingdom of Ethiopia and has larger economic output even more than the republic of Sudan that approximated in the 1990s.²

From the world's four major developing areas, Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia, South Asia and Latin America, Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan have the second lowest GDP and GNP per capita rate.³ The three countries also have the smallest number of children immunized against diseases and the highest percentage of people living just under the international poverty line.⁴ Nevertheless, according to the ECA report, there have been some improvements after the end of the 1990s as far as the three countries GDP are concerned.⁵ Despite these limited improvements in the GDP figures, African Development Bank has assessed that the three countries economies have almost declined in virtually every measurable way from the 1980s through to the end of 1990s and by the mid of 2001. The overall governments' deficit as a percentage of GDP at a current price was very low below its level than a decade earlier.⁶

The factors underlying the three countries parlous economic conditions are caused broadly either from 'external' or 'internal' reasons. The major external factors include adverse movements in the terms of trade and decline in foreign aid, foreign investment and increase in debts.⁷ The internal factors include poor soils, widely fluctuating and harsh climates, inadequate human and physical infrastructure, rapid population growth, environment degradation, ineffective and inappropriate government public policies, civil strife's among others.⁸

Unfortunately, the governments have bent limited control over many of these factors, particularly the external ones. Thus, the pillars of the three countries external relationship with the Western industrialized nations have still been- trade, aid, investment, and the declines of

¹ African Research Bulletin, Vol.36, No.8, London, August 1st-31st 1999, p. 13670; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1999, p. 16

² United Nations ECA (Addis Ababa, 1996), pp. 172-173, 176; World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), pp. 17, 24, 30

³ World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, pp. 271, 273, 334

⁴ World Bank, Can Africa Claim the 21st Century? (2000), p. 7; The 6th World Food Survey, (FAO 1996), p. 112; World Bank Annual Report (1999), p. 29; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 315

⁵ United Nations ECA (1996), p. 173; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 214

⁶ African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 224

⁷ World Bank, World Debt Tables (1996), pp. 172-173; World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), pp. 82-83, 155

⁸ World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), pp. 7, 256-257, 321

these have caused to the poor economic performance.¹ On the one hand, other perspectives to the decline and worsening of the terms of trade are the lack of regional-interstate cooperation and serious external factors underlying the three countries'. This in turn has caused the decline in traditional commodity exports, both in relation to price and the quality that have also increased imports in volumes and prices.²

On the other hand, primary agricultural product export revenues in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan have recorded poor performances in the 1980s and at the end of 1990s due to bad weather and political instability. These combined ranges of problems have generated increase in deficits in all the three countries' current balance of payments accounts. For instance, the World Bank and other literature sources have recorded the three countries balance of trade in 1980-1993 and 1995-1999 in US\$% million dollars of goods and services³ as one can see it below:

Country	Exports	Imports	Balance of Trade	
Ethiopia	1,242.99	3,108.20	-1,865.21	(1980-1993)
	974.80	2,180.00	-1,205.20	(1995-1999)
Kenya	5,462.50	7,976.46	-2,513.96	(1980-1993)
	2,011.30	2,827.50	-816.20	(1995-1999)
Sudan	1,766.43	2,888.03	-1,121.60	(1980-1993)
	626.80	1,383.80	-758.00	(1995-1999)

Price levels for the countries exports that could also have contributed to the growth of GDP remarked uneven. While their main export commodities like coffee, tea, sugar, sisal and cotton remained steady falling and were severely affected by the decline in international prices that diminished world-wide demand due to alternative supplies from other countries.⁴ For example, World cotton price fell substantially in 1998 because of increased supplies from China and lower demand from East Asian textile producers. Sudan one of the world's largest cotton exporters has

¹ De Waal, Alex, in: the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol.73, No.4, (1997), p. 625

² EIU Country Report, Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan, London, May-June 2000, pp. 6,5

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, p. 6; Ibid., May 2000, p. 6; EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, p. 5; Ibid., May 2000, p. 6; EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, p. 5; The International Monetary Fund (IMF), June 2000, p. 5; African Social and Economic Trends, Annual Report (1999-2000), pp. 50-51; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 74

⁴ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1996), pp. 174-176; EIU Sudan Country Report, London, June 2000, p. 24; World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), pp. 32, 73-74, 96-97, 230; African Research Bulletin, London, April 16th-May 15th 2000, p. 14337; International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Economic Outlook (May 2000), p. 218

tripled its cotton output during 1993-1997, but its earnings from this export actually has fallen.¹ Overall, the 'terms of trade' for most African states, have worsened since the beginning of 1990s. The steep decline in the export revenues was as much attributable to the falls in volume as to the relative prices.²

Economic advance in other areas of the world suggests that increased trade and general integration into the global economy leads to swifter growth, which should have also taken in the three countries. The industrialized market economies are the three countries main trading partners, which they traditionally purchase about 80% of their imports (Germany, Great Britain, USA, Japan, France and Italy).³ But the import policies of the Western industrialized countries have played a major and often negative role in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan's export performances. For example, despite a somewhat privileged access to the European Community (EC) market, Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan share the African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) countries participation has declined relatively to that of other developing countries.⁴

Notwithstanding the benefits of the Lome' convention, protectionism and restrictive agricultural practices, particularly in the EC and to the lesser extent, the African states themselves often discourage trade by their strongly inward oriented substitution development strategies, including overvalued exchange rates and protectionist trade policies.⁵ Their transport infrastructure is geared for export to the EU, Japan, North America and even to Russia and China rather than to the neighbouring countries.⁶

From the above perspective, the three states have failed various methods of improving their trade performance, and of developing overall attempts to form free trade areas or customs unions. For example, Kenya has failed and abandoned East African Community, which comprised Tanzania and Uganda from 1977-1998.⁷ However, it should be noted that since 1999, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have acceded to an East African Co-operation (EAC) agreement,

¹ Economic Commission For Africa (Addis Ababa 1996), p. 97; IMF World Economic Outlook (May 2000), p. 278

² African Social and Economic Trends, Annual Report (2000/2001), p. 53

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1993, p. 3; Ibid., Kenya (May 2000), p. 5; Ibid., Sudan June 2000, p. 5

⁴ ACP-EC Co-operation, Annual Report on the Implementation of the Lome Conventions and other Co-operative activities, Brussels 1996, Ethiopia, p. 87, Kenya p. 111, Sudan p. 163; Agreement Amending the Fourth ACP-EC Convention of Lome, signed in Mauritius on 4th November 1995, Articles 1-2

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, London 1997, p. 46; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, London 1996, p. 47; EIU Sudan Country Report 4th quarter, London 1998, p. 5

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, pp. 16, 41-42; Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, p. 31; Ibid., 4th quarter, London 1999, p. 28; EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2000, pp. 16, 19, 26, 35; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, London 1999, p. 46

⁷ African Research Bulletin, May 16th June 15th 2000, p. 14381

which is intended to achieve substantial reduction in tariff rates among its three signatories.¹ This community may also invest in the neighbouring countries like Ethiopia and Sudan to boost its capital formation and market expansion.

The three countries' face a number of "internal" economic problems, which in the view of many analysts outweigh the 'external' factors, discussed above. Hereafter, other chronic problems are governments became bloated and corrupt, which retards economic development and denies societies particularly the poor, to benefit through free and open competition. For example, state instituted corruption retards Kenyan economic development annually by 2%, which is also prevalent in Ethiopia and Sudan.² Hence, the need for better governance often became very critical for the three countries. The three states also face significant problems in the provision of health services and education. Unemployment and under development are rampant in every Ethiopian, Kenyan and Sudanese major cities. Although both have improved since the mid-1980s, their education and health provision levels remain one of the lowest in the world.³

In the 1990s, governments has spend less than 2% of their GDP on health care, and it was unevenly distributed, with most health facilities concentrated in urban areas. Accordingly, Ethiopia and Sudan spent more over many years on their military requirements than on health and education.⁴ The percentage of citizens who lack sufficient food has increased and nowadays they are experiencing food deficits. Much of Eastern Africa has been hit by drought over the past two years, partly due to the **El Nino** weather phenomenon, which cools sea surface temperatures, leading to lower rainfalls (Africa News Online www.africanews.org).⁵ According to this report, the UN World Food Programme (WFP) appeals since then for more help to address the immediate food needs and avert the disaster of crop shortages in the area.⁶

The UNHCR in turn has estimated that some 8.1m people in Sub-Saharan Africa had been uprooted by conflict since 1997 and the UN also gave a signal that lives of more than 16 million people were at risk unless large-scale preventive measures are put into place on time

¹ Africa Confidential, Vol.41, No.1, London 17th January 2000, p. 9; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, pp. 26-27

² The International Conference on Anti-Corruption, Lima, Peru, 7th-11th September 1997, p. 2; Africa Research Bulletin, London, January 16th-February 15th 2000, p. 14213; World Bank, African Development Report 2001, p. 122

³ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, UNESCO (1999), pp. 272-273, 275-276, 286-287; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, pp. 319, 326

⁴ Ervin Kaplan et al (1981), p. 213; Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1994), pp. 220-221; Bonn International for Convention Center (Baden-Baden 2000), pp. 159-160; African Social and Economic Trends, Annual Report (2000/2001), p. 77

⁵ East Africa, Famine Alert in the Horn of Africa, The Nation, Nairobi, April 30, 2000, in: Africa News Online; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1999, p. 16

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1999, p. 16

(Panafrican News Agency, Nairobi, 1st May 2000, UN Report Warns of Famine in Horn of Africa, www.africanews.org).¹

Given all this diverse problems, the three countries governments have been under increasing pressure from a variety of sources to 'liberalize' their economic policies. During the 1980s and 1990s the most direct pressure came from the IMF, insisting on 'conditionality' for its support, that required specific policy changes in the area of exchange rates (devaluation), and reduction in government spending before a new code agreement could be signed. For example, in the 1990s, the three countries have launched Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) and had borrowed from the IMF to support reform policies. Additional pressure have come from the World Bank and USAID, proposing four major policy changes which it felt critical, namely²:

- Correction of overvalued exchange rates
- The important of price incentives for exports and agriculture
- The protection of industry in a more uniform and less direct way
- The reduction of direct government controls on the economy

Other pressures have grown internally as more people have become increasingly dissatisfied with the declining standard of living and poor economic performances. For example, Kenya has faced accumulated macroeconomic policy distortions and increasingly complex political and governance issues even if the authorities have removed restrictions on external capital transactions during the 1990s.³ Ethiopia has also unified its foreign exchange systems, making foreign trade less cumbersome that has led to a markedly export growth higher than before. This has favoured a mixed economy and the country had enjoyed considerable support from foreign aid donors until 1998. But even if its economy has shown growth records, the level of trade protection has increased.⁴ Sudan has also scaled down its parastatal operations, seeing actively seeking the participation of the private sector, both domestic and foreign.⁵

Severe economic as well as political risks and armed conflicts have already set back prospects for economic progress in the three countries. For example, there was continued warfare between Ethiopia and Eritrean internal disorder, major ethnic clashes and tension in the

¹ East Africa, Panafrican News Agency, Nairobi, 1st May 2000, UN Report Warns of Famine in the Horn of Africa; World Bank, African Development Report 2001, pp. 114-116

² compare, Review of International Trade Development, in: Intereconomics, Vol.29, Momos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany 1994, p. 226; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1994, p. 17; see also G8 Conflict Prevention Turning Declarations into Action, Recommendations for G8 Summit of July 21-23 in Okinawa, Japan, June 2000, pp. 2-3

³ African Social and Economic Trends Annual Report, Washington D.C., 2000/2001, p. 15

⁴ The Heritage Foundation, 1997 Index of Economic Freedom (1998), p. 149

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, London, June 2000, p. 18; Ibid., 1st quarter, London 2000, p. 24

Rift Valleys in Kenya and civil war in Sudan.¹ If democratization is to be implemented, the governments should promote more policy changes that are demanded by their citizens' daily life. But given all adverse definite developments, the question lies whether their economic capabilities could support to promote democratic development. In pursuit of these perspectives, the economic and social structures of the three countries will be examined separately below.

4.1.1 The Ethiopian Economic Structure from Historical Perspective

The purpose of this section is to assess the history of Ethiopian economic structure, based on its backgrounds and the ongoing context of performance if any has taken place. Special attention will also be given to the leading role played in social and economic developments of the Ethiopian different regimes as they have been attempting to consolidate their power through policies and institutions they have introduced in the period of their rule. The study attempts to identify the basic characteristics of Ethiopian economy, its specific problems and concludes whether the impact of EPRDF government's political and social policy structures can promote democratic system.

Despite its fascinating history, the country has experienced difficult political and economic situations over the last decades, with serious civil upheavals, conflicts and prolonged droughts. Unfortunately, Ethiopia had a more unhappy reputation as a victim did oppression or as a country worst hit by droughts constantly appealing to the outside help.² Periodic famines had left much of the population dependent on external food aid while the governments inefficient economic policy and negligence have weakened the agricultural sector's ability to cope with any future drought.³

Ethiopia's economy had also been ruined by mismanagement during the imperial regime, compounded by the distorting efforts of the socialist command economy and the crushing cost of attempts in both periods that was tried to hold the country's diverse regions together by force.⁴ The administrative structure of the state was unmotivated and bureaucratic to create incentives that could solve the problems with consensus. From this prospective, the predominantly peasant economy of Ethiopia has experienced systemic shocks. Namely:

- The introduction of modern markets (labour and capital) in King Haile Selassie's reign
- The Socialist central planning command economic system during Mengistu regime

¹ Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.7, No.5, May 1st-31st 2000, pp. 13977, 13985, 13987; Ibid., July 1st 31st 2000, p. 14049; IMF, World Economic Outlook, World Economic and Financial Survey (Washington 1999), p. 21; Moore, David, in: ROAPE Vol.83, No.62, London 2000, p. 11

² Africa Caribbean Pacific European Union (ACP-EU), Brussels (1996), p. 87; De Waal, Alexander, Famine Crimes (1997), p. 107 ff.

³ De Waal, Alexander, Evil Days (1991), p. 363; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, pp. 14-15

⁴ The Courier Country Report Ethiopia, ACP-EU, No. 145, Brussels, June 1994, p. 17

- The shift to mixed market oriented economy since 1991.¹

These radical changes from semi-capitalist oriented in King Haile Selassie's time to socialist planning system of Mengistu Haile Mariam have introduced several institutional innovations and economic gains to some extent but failed to generate self-sustained economic development. On the one hand, the military government has attempted to achieve land reform by abolishing tenancy and destroying the base of feudalism. But peasant's agricultural production was not improved and sectoral reforms were ignored that brought a negative impact on the population.² On the other hand, the military government's land reform proclamation remained a political declaration that was made without empirical studies and context considerations, which has challenged the regime with unexpected consequences of political, economic and social crisis.³

The military government's hasty and unplanned distribution of land had hurt those that the reform was meant to benefit, and many have created a class of disaffected and embittered peasants.⁴ The reform process has taken place without a participation of peasants in the military regime's policy development principles. Consequently, the dual structure has caused massive confusion in terms of control and responsibility, which in turn has weakened the land reform to answer fundamental political and economic questions.⁵

The performance of Ethiopian economy before 1991 then showed a dismal picture. Real GDP growth has fallen from 4% to 1.5% in the period of 1980-1991. In contrast, population growth was picked up from 2.6% to about 3.3%, rendering a continuous fall in per capita income (\$120 in 1989) and worsening living conditions.⁶ The macroeconomic balances were also consistently describing the declining situation. The current account deficit financed mainly from external sources have grown to unsustainable level with mounting debt of about US\$4bn excluding military related credit before 1991.⁷

The growing deficits in the government budget and balance of payments as well as the increase in external debt service ratios have created further constraints in the national budget capacity to improve the economic situation of the country. In addition to the long-standing structural problems, the military government had transferred the economy along a socialist line, abolished private ownership to establish a centrally planned economic management system.⁸ The state has tried to implement its programme to secure economic ills within socialist framework

¹ Abegaz, Berhanu (1994), p. 8; Fellner, Christian (2000), pp. 42-43

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, London 1991, p. 8

³ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 205

⁴ Rahmato, Dessalegn, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia* (1985), p. 41

⁵ Mulatu Wubneh and Yohannes Abate (1988), p. 95

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, pp. 12, 14; *Ibid.*, 1995-1996, pp. 10-11

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 13, *Ibid.*, 1997-1998, p.

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⁸ Schwab, Peter (1985), pp. 79-80

value systems what it has called in order to integrate the economy into the socialist political order. But combinations of factors have explained the poor economic record performances, which included economic mismanagement, severe fluctuations in weather conditions and excessive military outlays of the national budget that diverted resources away from productive use.¹ This has also been constrained by overall economic structural problems attributed to the various wrong government economic policies pursued by protracted civil war, recurrent drought and low level of technology during the previous regimes.

On the other side, Ethiopia is rich in natural gas (Kalub gas), gold, platinum, coal and other substantial natural resources, which are believed to exist in the eastern region and elsewhere but are largely unexplored. The country has also good prospects for developing other exportable minerals like hydro-energy potential, biomes, coal, geothermal power etc.² Ethiopia has also the largest livestock in Africa, and makes tenth in the world. It has a number of rivers crossing its landscape that can be tapped for irrigation, hydroelectric power and for domestic use etc. But the bleak performance of its leaders has made the country economy far from tapping its potential.³

Despite the abundance of material resources, Ethiopia remains one of the poorest nations in terms of social indicators. Given the country's limited exploitable resources, Ethiopia's economy has suffered a number of major setbacks during decades of political and civil unrest, which have culminated to a civil war. In general, when one analyses the economic situation in Ethiopia from its historical perspective it has been highly independent upon rain-fed subsistence agriculture, which constitutes more than 50% of the country's GDP. The country's economy has been characterized by a low agricultural productivity, a small industrial base and all sectors have been constrained by shortages of skilled manpower and the very low/weak density of rural road infrastructure which has also affected agricultural production. For example, about 75% peasants are at least 25 km away from any type of road network that also affects commodity markets and social services provisions.⁴

In addition to that, chronic political instability has precluded agricultural recovery and significant inflows of aid for years and the country continues to face difficult economic problems being as one of the least developed countries in Africa.⁵ The agricultural sector has suffered from frequent periods of drought, poor cultivation practices, and deterioration of internal security conditions. The consecutive governments' agricultural policy has constantly failed to produce

¹ The Courier Country Report Ethiopia: African-Caribbean-Pacific European Union, No.145, Brussels 1994, p. 17

² Bhagavan, M. R. (Nairobi 1996), pp. 81-82

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 18

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 13

⁵ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (1999), Analysis on Foreign Direct Investment in Africa. In: The Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.894, Paris, March 4, 2000, p. 4; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1999, p. 17

enough funds and meet the basic needs of the population. The Ethiopian economy faces severe structural problems, most critically, persistent food security.¹ Since many decades, governments political and economic policy were structured with the primary goal to the maintenance of the state, neutralize potential domestic challenges and at the same time increase the autonomous power of central authorities. For example, King Haile Selassie had set a structured political economy to meet the needs of the emerging bureaucratic empire, based on landlord system. Henceforth, the King's economic policy dilemma was that he largely had ignored reforms of the peasant sector, which remained feudal for years and has resisted to changes. Edmond Keller J. writes about this:

"As a result of the major thrust of his regime's economic development strategy failure, the regime was not able to increase sustainable proportion of the common people's income. The poverty of the country has been rooted in the exploitative feudal system whose power rested in its control over land. The social contradictions were then sharpened, inequalities abound and traditional relations hips to the King were practiced that also made the Ethiopian society insecure and impoverished increasingly".² These and other related policies sharpened the characteristics of contradictions that had implied for the social revolution in 1974.

As the course of events that led the unraveling of Ethiopia's bureaucratic empire has began almost unnoticed, when the main rain failed in the northeastern of the country. Drought ensued led to famine, which caused many people dead from malnutrition.³ Even such natural catastrophes were not new to the country, King Haile Selasie's regime made little effort to respond to the drought, avert the impending catastrophe and try to save his people from time memorial. Thus, an official cover-up had begun which has contributed greatly to the demise of Haile Selassie's regime and was too late to concern political survival due to social irresponsibility. The challenge to political, economic and social reconstruction was then formidable.

Haile Selasie was effective to get the most out of the imperial state apparatus in attempting to control and limit popular demands and manipulate the course of development in order to survive at his own will. But his regime's inability to harness the continued popular demand led to his empire's demise. In the beginning, the military has replaced King Haile Selassie's feudal regime whose economic policy was stagnated. It initiated one of the most radical attempts to transfer the feudal economy and society by nationalizing private landlords and abolishing feudal economic structure.⁴ It has tried to launch a long-range development plan with the aim to expand state control and improve living standards, develop natural resources and boost agricultural productivity. But the revolutionary regime's hopes and aims it has intended along its original lines

¹ De Waal, Alexander, *Evil Days* (1991), p. 26; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 20

² Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 128

³ Clapham, Christopher (1988), pp. 186-187, 194

⁴ *African Today*, 3rd Edition, London 1996, p. 734

were disrupted as a result of drought, ruinous effects of major wars and lack of political compromise which worsened instability in the country.

Hereafter, Ethiopian economy has been constrained by a number of factors since the overthrow of King Haile Selassie in 1974. Civil war has disrupted large areas of the country that expanded military expenditure rapidly, which first absorbed 15% of Ethiopia's GDP and saddled to over 50% claiming 35% of the Ethiopian budget.¹ The comprehensive reorganization of economy to institute centralized socialist planning and the nationalization of foreign/private economic enterprises have inevitably affected output in addition to the series of droughts. The military government has tried to make massive adjustment of cooperatives, enforced villagization and resettlement programmes in an attempt to defuse political opposition and the risk of future famine. But its programme came under severe criticism by the country's potential donors including its allies the former Soviet Union and other East Bloc communist countries.²

The initial land reform has resulted limited increases in productivity, but in many areas, insecure tenures and disincentives to production have undermined those, while the rural agricultural sector was not integrated into the market economy. The military regime's inability to cope with uncertainty and its limited ability to ensure citizens compliance has contributed to the failure and achievement of economic goals, and could not respond to periodic uncertainties such as famine, drought, war etc.³ Drought, food shortages and the dimension of unfolding crisis have continued. But throughout the period, Mengistu's regime has continued to suppress information about the famine dilemma and its unsuccessful villagization programme until his last days and persuaded a deliberate policy of starvation against his people.⁴

Ghelawdewos Araia writes: "The economic policy conditions of Ethiopia under the 17 years of military regime was a war economy where the government has mobilized human and material resources under the slogan 'every thing to the war front.' It has allocated more than 51% of the national budget to defense whose priority was defence expenditure and war, but little national economic development. In its time, the government has issued a new joint investment code intending to encourage foreign capital, but structures what it scrutinized were not impressed by its initiative efforts to attract foreign investors".⁵

Thereafter, large parts of economic sectors were transferred to public sector including most modern industry and large-scale commercial agriculture. Some private enterprises and capital participation were permitted only in certain small sectors at 0.2% declining growth recorded per capita income.⁶ However, even if social indicators, notably in health and literacy have improved

¹ New Africa Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th Edition, London, May 1999, p. 183

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 8

³ FAO-50 Years on 1945-1995, Rome 1995, p. 18

⁴ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 237; De Waal, Alexander, *Evil Days* (1991), p. 195 ff.; Michler, Walter (1991), p. 168

⁵ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 196

⁶ Wubneh and Abate (1988), p. 197

little, the military regime has paid for impressive achievements in education despite the weight of military expenditure.¹

Given these structural constraints and other related issues, sustained economic improvement has been difficult, even with policies conducive to growth. In its last days, Mengistu's regime became under heavy pressure by the EPRDF, politically and militarily on all sides. After Mengistu has known that his regime was collapsing, he has tried to launch all sorts of reforms in 1989/1990 and avert the socialist economy to mixed economy verbally.² But it was too late and his government has failed to attract further long-term multilateral financial assistance. For example, Western donors though generous with emergency food relief have held back development aid as a protest against Mengistu's insufficient economic policies.³ Investment has been stifled by the military regime, which adopted the economic policy and political stance.

Domestically, the expanded state apparatus has increasingly prevented private sectors from participating in the country's economic activities. However, some of the economic policy failures and problems had not been the result of the military action alone, but related to the persistent drought that has affected the country since the mid 1970s to the ensuing international economic crisis. Richard Joseph writes:

"Mengistu's government has failed to give attention to economic goals, the nation's resource was directed toward the war effort in the conflict areas and to eliminate opposition groups. Instead, Mengistu has assumed the tasks of defending the regime as a sterling builder of democracy, barraging its opponents and critics at every turn for being misguided, misinformed and malicious".⁴

The military government's socialist policy reforms including nationalization of financial institutions have alienated it and new investment was halted. The economic dislocation has aggravated civil war that lastly brought to the downfall of the regime.

In the light of the military government's strategy for development and its role in the country's economy, the policy of the EPRDF will be examined below. To give a critical view, the analysis is organized into economic and social interrelated issues. With the intention to summarize the reform measures taken and achieved since 1991, I would like to demonstrate if development programme was held to promote (if any) the overall economic structure. The attention that has to be taken in this analysis is not only the failure of the past economic performance but also its very continuity to support democratic process. The defeat of dictator Mengistu and his Africa's strongest army by the EPRDF on 28th May 1991, brought the long civil war to an end but it was

¹ Africa Today, Country Survey Ethiopia, 3rd Edition (1996), p. 738

² Rahmato, Dessalegn, The Unquote Country Side, In: Abebe Zegeye and Sigfried Pausewang (1994), p. 242; Abegaz, Berhanu (1994), p. 314

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 13

⁴ Joseph, Richard, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.4, October 1998, p. 56

the beginning of another long struggle to establish a democratic and economic developed Ethiopia.¹

The EPRDF has faced multifaceted problems that have to be solved before the country could start a new path towards economic development. In response to the challenges posed by the decline in economic performances during the last regimes, the EPRDF government has adopted a new policy in 1992, whose major principles were said to be what it calls:

- Reducing the role of the state in the economy
- Promoting domestic and foreign private environment
- Enhancing popular/community participation in development
- Mobilizing external resources
- Involving regional administrations in economic management among others.²

All economic failures of the military regime were laid bare in the days leading up to its demise as the EPRDF assumed power. It has pledged to address the social unjustness immediately that had been perpetrated by the previous regimes. Ghelawdewos Araia has written about the EPRDF's economic programme after Mengistu as follows: "Ending the brutal repressive regime after 17 years, the challenge to reconstruction and the type of development strategies to enhance socioeconomic transformation was enormous task for the EPRDF government".³ The legacy of command economic mismanagement and vulnerable war economy of Mengistu Haile Mariam regime's was dismantled and transformed to market economy, whereby further economic change has taken place. EPRDF has instituted a new political orientation supportive of economic policy and economic recovery programme during its transitional period.⁴

It has immediately established what it called market based full Economic Reform Program (ERP) which was launched with Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF) supported from the IMF and the World Bank since October 1992.⁵ Despite limited experience and shortage of skilled personnel, the EPRDF government has retained tight control of the economic content and timing of the reform programme that included rehabilitation, revitalization of facilities and infrastructure, which were made defunct by the strife that preceded the advent of the Transitional Government. For example, formulation of reform progress in sectoral development policies and strategies, issuing of new laws, codes and guidance in a manner consistent with the new economic policy

¹ Clapham, Christopher, in: Woodward and Forsyth (1994), p. 37

² Transitional Government of Ethiopia, 1992 Policy Framework Paper 1992/1993-1994-1994, Addis Ababa 1992; Ethiopian Policy Framework Paper 1993/1994-1995/1996, Addis Ababa 1993

³ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 191

⁴ Fellner, Christian (2000), p. 45

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 13

was adopted.¹ Even if the methods of governance used have not been democratic as it was expected, economic recovery was seen since the military and political down fall of Mengistu regime.

Continuing to transfer the centrally planned economy to market based system, which featured structural adjustment aspects, the government has liberalized the role of the state in some economic sectors which has encouraged private investment that stifled under the previous regime. For example, it was announced that 50% enterprises were eligible for privatization while another 50% would remain in state hands until further reforms.² In a further reform process, the Ethiopian Privatization Agency has announced the scheduled divestiture of around 120 state-owned firms between 2001 and 2003 and has collected US\$335m in privatization receipts recently.³

By establishing closer relations with Western governments, the EPRDF authorities have received generous international assistance and gained international respect. They have tried to attract foreign investment, particularly in the Agro-industrial sector and marked the Ethiopian domestic market to develop industry by securing loans for development. For example, the European Union and several individual member states have backed the EPRDF's programme with substantial financial commitments, although there remained friction within the EU over its government's political vision.⁴ The World Bank has restored normal relations with the EPRDF government and strengthened its financial aid. The IMF has also pledged to its Paris Club Creditors to (World Bank Consultative Group on Ethiopia) release financial aid to the country.⁵ From the outset, the victory of EPRDF and the fall of Mengistu brought peace relatively to the exhausted and war ravaged country.

Besides the man-made famine inflicted by the government of Mengistu Haile Mariam and his war strategy, the EPRDF government has inherited a collapse economy which has been the country's massive potential problems to tackle.⁶ But all the promised developments are now in place or in process, where Ethiopia has made a new start in economic development. According to the official estimates, the authorities policy changes seemed to have reversed the stagnated

¹ Transition Government of Ethiopia, Investment Code Proclamation 15/1992, Addis Ababa, 25th May 1992; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1997, p. 11; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 2000, p. 13

² Africa Today, Country Survey Ethiopia, 3rd Edition, London 1996, p. 735

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, p. 13

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 30; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London, May 2000, pp. 14-15; World Bank Annual Report (2000), p. 313

⁵ International Monetary Fund Staff Country Report, No. 96/52, Ethiopia Selected Issues, Washington D.C., June 1996, p. 4

⁶ De Waal, Alex, in: International Affairs, Vol.73, No.4 (1997), p. 631

economy, and have recorded a real growth rate of 5.6% in 1994/1995.¹ On going reform in economic policy was further endorsed which boosted output via improved producer's prices and marked access.

More gains have been made from the reform establishment of liberalization, low inflation fiscal discipline, infrastructure improvement that was defunct by the civil strife and the growing of private sectors etc.² The EPRDF government has made both visions of ideas to turn it into a reality, but has only minimal resources of skilled manpower and financial shortages with which to set up practical policies under the rigorous discipline of international competition.³ Given the above prospectives, Ethiopia's economic indicators show that the country has suffered a fall in real per head income for years.

Because of the difficulties experienced in the past decades of economic development prospects, Ethiopian still remains one of the world's least developed country.⁴ But if there is an atmosphere of peace, political stability and good governance in which citizens can deal their business without fear, the country has a serious hard working population, enormous potential for expanding agriculture and industry, which can promote economic development in a short time. Therefore, looking to the future, how the government's economic fiscal policies will be implemented towards free market economy and promote democratic political system will remain a continuous debate.

Selected Economic Indicators of Ethiopia: Ethiopia's economic development characteristic shows that it has been largely dependent on foreign exchange and transfer of technology.⁵ Its economic progress has been hampered by basic constraints of low income per head and other domestic and international problems. From the above explained factors and other related aspects, selected Ethiopian economic indicators like GNP per capita, GDP real growth rate, inflation rate, export and import volumes, total external debt growth and real exchange growth rates often use to express the country's major economic historical perspectives.⁶ These selected basic economic indicators, reflect a variety of impoverishment in political decision-makings on social, economic and cultural situation of the overall economic structural performances of the country since the 1980s. Henceforth, they will be analyzed in detail below in order to find out whether the country's economic structure can be suitable to a democratic transition and identify the challenges, so that solutions can be recommended.

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 11

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1999, p. 13

³ Fellner, Christian (2000), p. 56

⁴ De Waal, Alexander, *Evil Days* (1991), p. 371

⁵ The World Health Organization Report, Geneva 1997, p. 140; Fellner, Christian (2000), p. 191

⁶ World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1994-1995; 1998-2001*; African Development Bank, *African Development Report 1998* etc.

Gross National Product (GNP): As one can see in different literature data, GNP is one of the several economic indicators that has been used in combination with other indicators to measure economic progress of a country.¹ Ethiopia's GNP per head was estimated at US\$130, and this made the country one of the poorest in the world.² With annual average changes of 0.7% in 1980-1991, between 1.3% and 1.4% in 1992-1999, Ethiopia's low per capita product has reflected a widespread poverty.³ UNDP Human Development Report and the World Bank have indicated that 31.3-55.5% of the Ethiopian population lives in poverty.⁴

The GNP per capita growth rates that Ethiopia has experienced since the 1980s became worst due to drought, economic disruption, civil war and other related problems. The country is already listed by the World Bank in low-income economic group that, the percentage of people living on less than US\$1 a day reached 33.8%.⁵ The accuracy of the GNP per capita estimates is questionable in Ethiopia, that a considerable part of the economy may be unrecorded because of the extent of the informal economy and other unregistered activities.⁶ It may particularly be not sufficient while a large proportion of production is made for subsistence or traded outside of the money market. In the 1990s, the position of GNP showed fluctuations of recovery but not much. But consecutive governments could not solve this chronic problem which remained a big challenge for further political and economic development. These challenges could be tackled when there is good management of economic policy and political stability, which in turn can boost Ethiopia's GNP.

Gross domestic product (GDP): The structure of Ethiopian economic growth and the level of GDP is determined by a number of factors such as the nature of agriculture, physical structures like the size and topography of the country, political factors including the relative degree of security, cultural preferences for type of lifestyle etc. Given all these, the main sectors of Ethiopian economy that contributed to the GDP in 1980-1990 were agriculture (57%), Industry (11%) and services (32%).⁷ However, according to the World Bank reports, the slowdown of GDP growth has changed drastically after 1991. For example, the components of GDP had

¹ World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, pp. 271, 318

² Hodd, Michael (1991), p. 138; World Bank, Social Indicators of Development (1996), p.110; African Social and Economic Trends Annual Report (1999-2000), p. 122

³ African Social and Economic Trends Annual Report (2000/2001), p. 51; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 5

⁴ United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (1996), p. 85; UNDP (1999), p. 146; World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 10, 280

⁵ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), pp. 196, 214; World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 273, 280

⁶ Clapham, Christopher, Africa and the International System (1996), p. 165

⁷ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 236

shown some changes in 1995, which accounted agriculture (55.3%), industry (11.9%) and services about (32.8%)¹ respectively. Furthermore, GDP's contribution was further recorded as agriculture 44.8%, industry 11.7% and services 43.5% (1999).²

Economic growth measured by the real growth rate of GDP at the constant market price has been an average 3.2% during the 1980-1990 and 3.4% in the 1991-1999 and 4.5% 2000 annually,³ which was considered by the IMF as it says the economic programmes for those periods have been implemented. In a further statement, the IMF report has re-iterated, that after growing at the modest accelerated rate since 1991, it has witnessed a dramatic reversal in economic fortunes during 1998, but there was a recovery in the following year.⁴ Among the major factors that contributed to the increase of domestic product were the good performance of the economy and the decline of the government deficit financing during the period under review since the adoption of economic reform in 1992. For example, from the above given data analysis, agriculture remained the main economic sector that largely contributes to the national product whereby output of both industry and service sectors have expanded modestly despite being constrained by a severe shortage of import inputs.⁵ On the other hand, the London based Economic Intelligence Unit (EIU) has registered that the failure of main crop harvests in some regions has further dent overall economic growth during the fiscal year of 1999-2000.⁶ Thus, the poor agricultural output coupled with restrictive impact of war and the slow-down in infrastructure projects as resources might have been diverted to the war front was likely to have severely constrained on the overall economic growth during the end of 2000. After the war was formally ended in 2000, it is expected to recover at the end of 2001. But if the desire of donors' to see an emphasis on poverty reduction strategies can be relatively easily met by the Ethiopian authorities is in question. Donors will also seek a renewed commitment to investment in roads, schools and other infrastructure as a key demands in any post-war recovery.⁷

Development of the final GDP figure will however depend on how far the conflict with Eritrea will be settled and the government's flexibility to deal with its opposition in favour of peace and political stability in the country. Even if the current settlement seems to be consolidated, this may

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1997), p. 6; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999 (1998), p. 286

² World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 296; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March and June 2001, p. 6

³ African Development Bank, African Development Report 2001, p. 236

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 34; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 214; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 6

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1992-1993, p. 14; EIU Ethiopia Country Report (May 2000), p. 6; World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 294

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report (May 2000), p. 15

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London, June 2001, p. 10

likely bring only partial relief to the Ethiopian economy in fiscal year 2000/2001.¹ The military expenditure may remain at its current level and ad hoc fiscal measures such as increase in food prices and import tariffs as well as foreign exchange shortages are likely to continue.² Ethiopia's war-torn economy actual growth for the 2000/2001 fiscal year will then critically depend on the outcome of harvest and management of peace settlement in the region.

Inflation: Ethiopian policy makers have made low inflation a key objective. Inflation figures in the country have shown a modest annual rate of price increase since the 1980s at 2.6%, which was the best record of price stability in East Africa.³ But the inflation indicator in Addis Ababa retail price index have registered between 10%-13% an annual average in 1992-1994 which was down from the 35.8% raise record over the Mengistu era 1990-1991 fiscal years.⁴ As the EPRDF government came to power, it has increased the country's external trade in order to reduce inflation down. The reduced budget deficit, lower growth in money supply and the fall in food prices between November 1992 and July 1993; the increased availability of foreign exchange for imports and good harvest have contributed to slowdown the inflation rate further.⁵ But it has increased to 7.6%, 11.4% in 1995 due to severe crop failure that caused food crises once more to many regions of Ethiopia, which came at latter years down to between 4.8% and 5% (2000).⁶

Further more, good harvests, fund supplies, increased tariff reform and deregulation have improved access to markets and food price raises. Transport costs have also rose and the heavily weighing of food staffs have downplayed the inflationary pressure from currency devaluation that reinforced the case for an improved price index.⁷ The compression of defence outlay between 1992 and mid 1998 has also provided some room for expenditure switching on other social provisions.⁸ In addition to these developments, it rose at the end of 1998, following poor harvests and the impact of war but has later appeared to fix within the medium-term target of below 6% by the year 2000.⁹

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, p. 20

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 15

³ Hodd, Michael (1991), p. 138

⁴ Prospects on Devaluation in Ethiopia, Prime Minister's Office, The Transitional Government of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, September 1992, p. 46; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 3rd quarter, London 1996, p. 11

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1993), p. 14; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 16

⁶ New African Yearbook 1997-1998 (1997), pp. 166-167; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1999, p. 6; EIU Ethiopia Country Report (September 2000, p. 6; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 45

⁷ IMF, World Economic and Finance Surveys (May 2000), p. 218

⁸ IMF Staff Country Report Ethiopia, No.96/52, Washington D.C., June 1996, p. 2; Africa Review, The World of Information, Economic and Business Report, 17th, 19th-21st edition, London 1992-1993, pp. 60, 68, 71-72

⁹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 44; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 45; EIU Country Report, May 2000, p. 25

While Ethiopia's overall economic outlook appears fragile due to the political instability, doubts remain about the present authorities ability to contain inflationary pressure. When inflation was fueled by the final stages of the civil war, successive devaluation's and liberalization measures appear to have little impact on it.¹ However, the ongoing upward pressures on grain process coupled with the impact of higher level prices and the introduction of new import tariffs have generated significant inflationary pressures throughout 2000 and the mod of 2001 period.² While foreign assistance has been linked with peace for the last ten years the outcome performance in inflationary pressure in 2001 and further will depend on both conflict settlement and the restoration of foreign economic assistance. But movements in food and high fuel prices, sales tax rises and good harvests will also largely be responsible to drive the significant slowdown or rise in inflation in the succeeding years.

Exports: Since decades, agricultural product raw materials and minerals have been the primary of Ethiopian export commodities.³ Although the relative shares of the various agricultural exports have changed, their value has increased during the 1980s. But the total volume composition of exports remained essentially the same. For example, exports of livestock and its products averaged at its value like in the preceding fiscal years.⁴ In the mid of 1985, export earnings have stagnated with sharp falls of 20% when the emphasis on famine relief has diverted transport facilities into food aid destruction.⁵

Export values contracted at 0.6% a year in 1980-1990, and this was the result of policies which sought to reduce external independence that a dogged refusal to depreciate the exchange rate in order to encourage exports.⁶ Drought had reduced output from agricultural sectors and other exports like hides and skins, sugar and live animals. The direction of trade has shown changes due to change in political alignment and the falling world coffee prices, which have worsened Ethiopia's terms of trade in the past decades.⁷ But the Ethiopian coffee export margin has fluctuated from year to year.

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 23

² EIU Country Report Ethiopia, September 2000, p. 10; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March and June 2001, p. 6

³ Keller, Edmond (1988), p. 73

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995 (1995), p. 103; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 27; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1999, p. 15

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 26; Keller, Edmond, in: Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.30, No.4 (1992), pp. 615-618

⁶ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995 (1995), p. 88

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 27; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1999, pp. 11-12

Coffee covers Ethiopian's major export for foreign exchange earnings that valued at an average of about 60% during the 1980s.¹ But the overall economic indicator of Ethiopia has shown in the above given period under study that it was rather less open than the average in the region.² Like the country's imports, volumes of the major Ethiopian export commodities were in fluctuation from year to year. For example, there was 44.4% decrease (1988-1990), and an increase in 58.5% (1991-1994), 28.1%% (1995-1997) due to the market liberalization by the EPRDF government.³ On the other hand, there was a decrease of 26.2% in 1998-2000 because of disruption by the war with Eritrea.⁴ According to the National Bank of Ethiopia reports, the registered decline in the value of export was mainly because of a sharp fall in earnings from coffee export due to the combined effects of depressed world coffee price.⁵ The outlook for export volume in 2000/2001 period seems to improve, however, while International Coffee prices have begun to regain ground cost over the last years, this would boost Ethiopia's main export.

Next to Coffee, hides and skins remained the second Ethiopian key export foreign exchange earnings.⁶ Traditionally, in addition to hides and skins, bear, cotton, sugar and molasses could all be successfully exported in the export policy framework, which can push the merchandise account out of a deficit. But this needs new policy reform initiatives and improve some traditional trade barriers like black markets, which hamper to up-grade export activities.⁷ However, there has been a good performance in the export sector since 1992 largely due to the implementation of various economic reform measures taken by the EPRDF government. On the other hand, consolidating figures on Ethiopian foreign trade for 1998-1999 have indicated that the country's exports volume have been subjected to volatile changes which has affected its foreign trade earnings.⁸

As one could recently see in different literatures, the highest export earnings of Ethiopia derive from a single commodity coffee, which accounted 52% of the total in the mid 2001 in addition to either gold mineral product commodities or agricultural product-notably cotton and sugar.⁹ But the country does not yet have export sectors that manufacture products for export

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, pp. 27-28; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 46

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 19

³ Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, 1993, p. 3; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter 1996, p. 6

⁴ EIU Country Report, November, December 2000, March 2001, p. 6

⁵ National Bank of Ethiopia Quarterly Bulletin, Vol.14, No.2, Addis Ababa 1999, p. 26

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report 1997-1998, 3rd quarter, London 1998, p. 10; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London, May 2000, p. 16; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 46

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 33

⁸ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, May 2000, p. 16

⁹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 19; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 16; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, pp. 95, 226

other than the above given primary commodities.¹ The challenges to the authorities remain to how the economy can build manufactured commodities for export and boost the country's foreign earnings demands capacity.

Imports: Even if both the imperial and the military governments have tried to improve Ethiopia's balance of trade, the country has had a large substantial trade deficits for many years.² The imperial regime had encouraged exports and the military curtailed imports. However, a significant share of Ethiopia's imports originates from Europe, the Middle East and North America. Specially, merchandise imports from Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, The United Kingdom, Russia, Saudi Arabia, the USA and Japan constitute the lion's share.³ The major Ethiopian manufactured import goods are consumer goods, capital goods for industry and transport, semi-finished goods, fuel among others.⁴ The consumer goods include cereals, chemicals and other food items and medical pharmaceutical items. The capital goods are machinery, vehicles etc.⁵. Capital goods on the other hand include heavy transport goods and industrial machinery. All machinery and equipment as well as intermediate goods for agriculture and industry have to be imported, including fertilizer, metal and their products and electrical products. Semi-finished goods and raw materials are also imported in bulk.⁶ Import units value have increased drastically since 1992 due to the improvement in the efficiency of foreign exchange market and the increased availability of foreign exchange that has contributed to the raise in import among others.⁷ But its volume has been fluctuating up and down due to the war related demands. For example, there was a substantial increase in 1991-1994 (47.7%) due to the political opening to the market oriented economy.⁸ Meanwhile, its volume had decreased at about an average of

¹ World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, pp. 104-105

² World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 87

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 28; Ibid., 1999-2000, 46; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, December 2000, p. 6; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, p. 6

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, pp. 106, 112, 114

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 27; Ibid., Country Report, May 2000, p. 6; National Bank of Ethiopia Quarterly Bulletin, Vol.14, No.2, Addis Ababa 1999, p. 28

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1993, p. 3; National Bank of Ethiopia, Report and Account 1994/1995, Addis Ababa, p. 26; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, December 2000, p. 6

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 50; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 87

⁸ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter 1993 and 1994, p. 3; 4th quarter, London 1996, p. 6; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 87

11.6% (1995-1997) and 14.1% (1999) in the succeeding years which was once more increasing to 17.7% (1998-2000).¹

The gap between imports and exports is filled by foreign assistance from a variety of sources including the World Bank, the European Community, Russia, China, Saudi Arabia etc.² There have been no new changes in the past two years pending a resolution of the war with Eritrea. But if there is quick response from the international community to the stress experienced by the population under the impact of drought and armed conflicts, import value can be expected to peak in the coming years. Hence, the question remains if the present government with its meager financial capacity can properly deal the challenges to the country's balance of trade, which remained in a higher deficit.

External debt: Full details of Ethiopia's external debt under the previous governments were seldom published and difficult to obtain. However, those liabilities picked up by the World Bank's Debt Reporting System (DRS), tripled between 1980 (US\$824m) and 1987 (US\$2936m) and reached to more than US\$10.0bn in 1980-1991 mostly owing to the former Soviet Union.³ Ethiopian total external debt rose to 53% of GNP and its servicing obligations has reached to about 42% of export earnings at the end of 1980s. But the Western donors and moneylenders have used to see Ethiopia as a relatively low-risk debtor that its debt burden has been of manageable proportions.⁴

Hence, after the change of government, the Paris Club of Creditors have agreed to reschedule external debt by canceling 50% of its bilateral debt in December 1992 with the balance rescheduled over 25 years.⁵ From these data analysis, Ethiopia is heavily dependent on Western economic project aid to loans, grants and even much humanitarian aid. On the other hand, it has an excellent debt-servicing record and its leaders have been known to pay their debts and have exercised financial prudence. However, Ethiopia had to spend an average of

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, November-December 2000, March and June 2001, p. 6;

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 35; Africa Analysis, Ethiopia Attracts more Investment, No.354, London, 25 August 2000, p. 11; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, pp. 6-7

³ World Bank, World Debt Tables 1994-1995 (1995), p. 176; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 30; Ibid., 1995-1996, pp. 30-31; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 226; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March and June 2001, p. 16

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 176

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 3rd quarter (1996), p. 30; National Bank of Ethiopia, Report and Account 1994-1995, Addis Ababa 19995, p. 27

about 14% from its export earnings for debt servicing, which has been a heavy burden that the country faces.¹

Even if it has increased annually, Ethiopia's debt burden indeed became manageable proportion since the introduction of economic reform by the EPRDF government which achieved to bring it down from more than US\$10.00bn in 1980-1990 to US\$5.5bn, in 1999 and US\$5.36bn by early 2000.² However, the World Bank has recorded that in addition to the severe drought factors since the beginning of 2000, the conflict with Eritrea has affected Ethiopian exports, pushing the debt service ratio higher and causing an increase in the country's lending historical debt service stock.³ The country may suffer economic decay while the drought conditions affect many vulnerable regions. Although Ethiopian debts have been rescheduled or building up as arrears, the country spends much more on debt servicing than on social provisions like health care, education etc. Fiscal deficit has jumped due to the war in the last 3 years. But the resumption of external lending has likely reduced in fiscal year 2001. However, Ethiopia attracts more investment, which are showing an increasing interest in trade and investment after post-war recovery.⁴

According to the Economic Intelligence Unit from London reports, the Paris Club of Official Creditors has agreed to reschedule Ethiopia's outstanding debts in the mid of 2001 year.⁵ But if this may ease the debt-burden is another question. For all these shortcomings, Ethiopia's political stability may be a determinant factor, while it will lead to a gradual reduction in military spending and can improve the prospects of the country's economic growth.

Real exchange growth rate: The Ethiopian national currency birr, has been directly convertible into the US Dollar in the country at a rate of birr 2.07:US\$1 and into other currencies at cross-rate of the US dollar. It has been pegged to the dollar since the mid-1970s until 1991.⁶

¹ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, pp. 95, 174, 176; World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 180

² World Bank, World Tables 1994-1995, pp. 176-177; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999 and 2000), pp. 211, 225; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, p. 16; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 174

³ World Bank, World Development Indicators 2000, p. 248; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 34; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London March 2001, p. 14

⁴ Africa Analysis, No.354, London, 25 Dec. 2000, p. 11; World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, 314

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March and June 2001, p. 16

⁶ Africa Review, The World of Information, Economic and Business Report, 17th edition, London 1993, p. 68; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile

Mengistu's government has kept tight control of foreign exchange with strict currency regulations and sparing allocations of import licenses. But since 1992, the exchange restrictions have been relaxed after the National Bank of Ethiopia has pledged to increase the volume of foreign exchange auctions.¹ The auction system has various purposes. It enables to narrow the gap between official and parallel markets, minimize the problem of administration and allocation of foreign exchange, which allows the exchange rate to respond to change in demand and supply of foreign exchange.²

In pursuit of the reforms, the official rate and the auction rate were unified with the official rate set equal to the marginal rate derived from the auction. For example, according to the result of the Ethiopian Central Bank's auction report, the rate has been devalued progressively since 1992.³ This official major devaluation rate was an achievement by the EPRDF's government against the Military Regime's Policies which has surprisingly overvalued and fixed its exchange rate at birr 2.07:US\$1 dollar in relation to other currencies for more than 15 years.⁴ Since mid 1993, the rate of the birr has been determined through foreign exchange auctions supplied by the National Bank, moving to an average between birr 4.92:US\$1 and 5.80:US\$1 during 1992-1996.⁵

Ethiopian foreign exchange regulations were also relaxed as part of the package of financial sector reforms with the government apparently committed moving to fully market-determined exchange rate, by the use of periodic, partly managed foreign exchange auctions.⁶ The birr exchange rate with the U.S dollar has since been determined through foreign exchange auction held weekly by the Ethiopian Central Bank. For example, in 1998, these became essentially

1991-1992, p. 31; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 47

¹ Perspectives on Devaluation in Ethiopia, Prime Minister's Office, The Transitional Government of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, September 1992, p. 12; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 49

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1993), p. 19; Perspectives on Devaluation in Ethiopia, Prime Minister's Office, The Transitional Government of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, September 1992, p. 12

³ World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 50

⁴ see EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, p. 31; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 49

⁵ National Bank of Ethiopia, Report and Account 1994-1995, Addis Ababa 1996, p. 27; Africa Review, Economic and Business Report, 21st edition, London 1998, p. 89; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 45, 47

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1999, p. 18

wholesale auctions, supplying foreign exchange to an increasingly liberalized retail banking sector.¹

Ethiopia has continuously made a major devaluation of the birr with a minimum inflationary consequence. Hence, the Ethiopian birr was devalued by almost 60% in a package of reforms designed to throw off the economic legacy of 17 years of Marxist rule.² The auctions pace of reform was successful, achieving a phased devaluation with minimal inflation and a steady narrowing of parallel market premium. The EPRDF government brought the official and unofficial currency rates closer by liberalizing the economy, lifting price controls etc.³

Concerning the birr exchange rates in nominal effective terms, it has depreciated highly from the end of 1992 to 12th July 2000 and continued its gradual depreciation further by trading at birr 6.86:US\$1 (in Dec. 1997), 7.06:US\$1 in June 1998 and 7.50:US\$1 (Dec. 1998), 7.94:US\$1 (in July 1999), 8.22:US\$1 (on Dec. 11, 2000), and 8.25US\$1 on 23 January 2001 against the dollar respectively.⁴ It is expected to depreciate further from the mid 2001-2002, at birr 8.35:US\$1 in 2001 to around birr 9.5: US\$1 in 2002, owing to allow international prices for exports of coffee, hides and skins and high import bills because of reconstruction to the war damaged areas.⁵ The substantial devaluation of the birr will account for the sharp increase in value of imports and exports.

The birr continued its gradual depreciation due to the fall in World price of Ethiopia's principal export commodity of coffee and owing to anticipated dry spells in coffee growing regions.⁶ Even though the gap between the marginal rate and parallel market rate were narrowed compared with the previous years, it is still considerably large and may not be reliable if the appreciation of birr would impede economic recovery in the near future.

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 50

² World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 47

³ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, pp. 50-51

⁴ National Bank of Ethiopia, Economic Research and Account 1994-1995, Addis Ababa 1996, p. 38; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 35; Africa Analysis, Nos.351-352, London, 14th and 28th July, 2000, p. 9; Ibid., No.362, 15th Dec. 2000, p. 9; National Bank of Ethiopia Quarterly Bulletin, Vol.14, No.2, Addis Ababa 1999, p. 31, Vol.14, No.4, p. 37; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 7

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London, March and June 2001, p. 10

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 46; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, pp. 9-10

Agriculture: Agriculture is the backbone of Ethiopian economy, which contributes for more than 40% to GDP and employs about 80% of total labour force of the country among others.¹ Designed to reverse the decades of centralized economic decline, large part of the agricultural economy (commercial agriculture) and urban rented property of financial institutions have been transferred to public sector. But since the end of 1991, a decentralized market oriented economy is emphasizing individual initiatives.

Attributed to the agricultural crisis, which has been associated with the country's recurring droughts and famines and the dislocation of the farm economy resulting from the revolution, agricultural sector has played a pivotal role in the country's economy.² But statistics of cultivated area and harvest are inadequate due to limited infrastructure, and underdeveloped communication ravaged by civil war.³ Ethiopia's short and medium term economic demand and supply conditions depend heavily on agriculture, which received 23.3% of public investment in the 1980s. But despite the farmers' vulnerability to natural factors like rain and soil erosion, aggregate land productivity output per unit area have increased by 1.4% per annum from 1980-1990.⁴

Given that agriculture had been the main stay of the country's economy, the EPRDF government has placed special focus on it in its development agenda since it came to power. It has committed to guarantee peasants that equitable distribution of land will be implemented. However, it promised to assist peasants but would not undertake redistribution of land. For example, peasants cannot sell or exchange their land, but they can rent out, pass over to members of families, sell their products and even hire labour.⁵ Hence as far as the expansion of modern farms is concerned, the government is confronted by a policy of confusing problems that is difficult to solve. On the one hand, it wanted to improve individual peasant farmers; on other hand, it favours a large-scale modern farm that makes the existence of the peasant's economy questionable.

Since Ethiopia is an agrarian society, the question is if EPRDF government could pursue solution-oriented growth in agriculture that can take precedence effectively over the industry, whose detailed version of policy should include several contexts such as economic, political, social, demographic, environmental etc.⁶ The EPRDF government has promised from the very

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1992-1993, p. 15; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, p. 286; Ibid., (2000), p. 278; World Employment Report 1998-1999, p. 221; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March and June 2001, p. 6

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 29

³ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), 736

⁴ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 234

⁵ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), p. 200

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 19

beginning that it would allow unhindered use of land and freedom to sell their products at the price decided by them and to reduce rural taxes, but freehold acquisition and sale of land is still not allowed.

Next to coffee, the export of skins and hides amount much and the government has undertaken several projects, some funded by World Bank to improve livestock production and damaged agricultural sector development.¹ Ethiopia is believed to have one of the world's largest herds of livestock though this vast potential is yet to be fully tapped by drought.²

While war and civil unrest have largely encouraged smuggling of the main export products like coffee and livestock, a variety of policy measures, such as improving agricultural extension and more widespread use of fertilizers have been adopted since 1992 in order to boost agricultural output and enhance food security. The efficient use of agricultural inputs is central to the government's blueprint for Agricultural Development-led Industrialization.³ Agricultural sector can be stimulus to improve land utilization and productivity, generate income and be used as a springboard for growth in the industrial and service sectors. But clear government policies on the terms of land use, notably both rural and urban land-lease policies need to be clarified and elaborated, which should provide poverty reduction strategy, that can allow farmers participation to promote solution-oriented process and to run on their own affairs.

Mining: This sector makes a small contribution to the national economy. The military government's economic plan on mining envisaged development of Gold, platinum and other exportable minerals and had once announced that tones of mineral resources like Kalub gas was discovered, but it could not be exploited for market due to security problems. The EPRDF government has invited external investors to exploit its reserve minerals and the process is underway.⁴ The development of Ethiopia's mineral wealth is one of the present government's leading economic objectives. Mining operations are expected to be an important economic catalyst for the government's export-oriented development strategy, which may be immense potential for development if it would be undertaken properly. While the government has set out to encourage foreign investment in mining, a new mining code had been in operation. For example, a large coal deposit has been discovered recently, but no plans have been published when the exploitation would begin or how it should be managed.⁵

¹ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 736

² African Development Bank, African Development Report 1998, p. 218; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, December 2000, p. 14

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 27

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter (2000), pp. 15-16

⁵ New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition (1999), p. 185; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, December 2000, p. 14

Even if Ethiopia has negligible mineral resources that are in operation and relies on agriculture for export revenue, several foreign mining companies had been awarded concessions of protection and license to operate for gold and other precious metals.¹ Gold attracts foreign investment. From this perspective, mining can be an important sector of the Ethiopian economy in the foreseeable future.

Industry: Ethiopian industry has relied too heavily on imported input in the 1980s and 1990s but sufficient foreign exchange was not available. Industrial growth was constrained by lack of imported raw materials, outdated machinery and techniques throughout the sector.² A low level of development has characterized the manufacturing industry, which is based on the processing of domestic agricultural raw materials that accounts 90%.³ It comprises and caters mainly for domestic consumption such as food and beverages in small-scale industries, handcrafts, construction, water and electricity supplies; manufacturing and mining. Even if it is still relatively small, the sector has been steadily increasing in size. According to the World Development Report, it has increased 0.4% in 1980-1990, and 6.3% throughout the 1990.⁴

Industry has contributed about 10% in 1980-1990 and 12% in the 1991-1999 to the country's GDP and has employed about an average of 9% (1980-1990) and 12% (1991-1999) the country's total labour force.⁵ Some of the principal industrial activities like textiles, handcrafts, and leather production have been significant for foreign investors. For example, the Chinese State owned Companies made investments in Ethiopia's textile industries since the mid-1980s.⁶

While the country's industrial development has been at the first stage of import substitution, the basic metal and engineering industries are characterized by a low level of development which have been unable to develop a sound base for self-reliance industrial process.⁷ Due to the restricted private-sector participation and imposition of ceiling private investment and licensing requirements, it was operating at a tiny fraction of its potential, which has weakened the country's industrial entre-pre-neur-ship.

Industries were mostly financed below capacity and the government has tried to shift towards domestically available raw materials, which were for greater part from agricultural sector.

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 28-29

² Africa Review, The World Information of Economic and Business Report, 19th-20th edition, London (1996-1997), pp. 72, 76

³ Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, Public Relations and Information Services, Addis Ababa, February-March 1995, pp. 7-10

⁴ World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 294

⁵ Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1993), p. 3; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999 and 2000), pp. 213, 227; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, May 2000, p. 6; Ibid., June 2001, p. 6; African Development Bank, African Development Report 2001, p. 249

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter (2000), p. 16

⁷ New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition (1999), p. 184

It has been protected from foreign competition by high tariffs and quotas, during the military regime. Over 90% of the industrial activities were concentrated in Addis Ababa zone and their production has been in decline in the 1980s, partly because there was lack of foreign exchange for imports of machinery and spare parts and had operated at only about 25% of capacity. But since the mid of 1990s, it became competitive by capitalizing on Ethiopian own resources attempting to boost manufacture of consumer goods in regional centers.¹

During the military regime, 90% of large-scale industry were state-run, but the EPRDF government sold the state-owned industry as an implementation of reform measures, which liberalized the economy gradually.² To correct the country's industrial problems, the EPRDF government has issued a new economic policy in 1992 in order to enhance development, which was privately aimed at reorienting the country along the path of the free market. Ethiopia's industry has grown slowly at an average rate of 1.8% annually from 1980-1990 and offered limited employment potential for a total work force of the country. But after the economic reform programme, it seemed to have recovered showing an annual growth rate of 4.8% in 1991-1999.³

However, there has recently been an improvement in the situation of industry to work in full capacity utilization, aided by easier access for foreign exchange and necessary imported inputs. For example, energy development programme has also been under implementation and privatization went a head since 1995, covering a number of industrial enterprises among others.⁴ In some cases many were delayed but the Ethiopian Privatization Agency (EPA) has reportedly announced in late November 1999 that new measures aimed at facilitating the purchases by Ethiopian nationals has privatized companies on credit terms.⁵ Despite being constrained by a critical shortage of much needed imported raw material inputs the industrial sector output of the country has modestly expanded in recent years. If the industrial sector is to develop further, the government should make concerted efforts and dismantle barriers to investment and private sector participation caused by excessive regulation.

¹ The Courier; African Caribbean Pacific European Union (ACP-EU), Country Report Ethiopia, No.145 (1994), p. 21; Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 737; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 46

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1999), p. 13

³ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 234; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 6

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1997), p. 11; Ibid., (1999), p. 13; EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 29

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter (2000), p. 13

Manufacture: Ethiopian manufacturing sector is largely based on domestic raw materials, dominated by food processing, textiles and beverages industry outputs.¹ The Socialist Economic dislocation, which caused lack of new investment, shortage of foreign exchange to buy raw materials and spare parts, has generally affected this sector severely.² As with all industrial sectors, the bulk of manufacturing production is overwhelmingly concentrated in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa.³ Despite the ongoing economic reforms since 1992, the size and structure of the sector has changed little. The bulk of manufacturing is still state-owned, but a cautious privatization process is under way. The present government is fostering attempts to boost the manufacturing of consumer goods in regional centers, which has shown an increase recently. Its commitment to promote private manufacturing seems to be based primarily upon agricultural processing and to the establishment of medium-scale manufacturing in regional capitals.⁴

Services: The Ethiopian service sector includes road construction, transport and communication, the state bureaucracy and other government services, like housing and urban development, tourism etc. This sector accounts for more than one third of the country's economic activities contributing to employ an annual average between 8.8% and 13.4% in 1980-1990 and 13.5% to 15.7% in 1991-1999 of the total Ethiopian labour force.⁵ Since 1991, it has shown significant gains due to economic liberalization, which was recorded at an average growth rate of 6.4% in 1991-1998.⁶ From this prospective, service earning is shifting due to the economic policies of the EPRDF government, with notable growth in building, transport and tourism sectors.

But after the mid of 1998, the impact of the war/conflict with Eritrea maintained a large increased pressure on government's finance that affected Ethiopia's service sector severely.⁷ The conflict has hampered the increasing divergence for long-term liberalization in service sector reform and there was higher military expenditure. Not only that but it has also soured further relations with Ethiopia's principal economic donors which have encouraged the process of military demobilization since 1991 resulting to more reduction in expenditure until 1998.⁸ The cut

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 21

² Ibid.

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 29

⁴ Ibid., pp. 20, 29; see in World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 114

⁵ African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999, 2000 and 2001), pp. 213, 227, 249; World Employment Report 1998-1999, p. 221; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 6

⁶ World Bank, World Development Report, Entering the 21st Century, 1999-2000, p. 250; World Bank, World Development Report (1997 and 2000/2001), pp. 234, 294

⁷ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter (2000), p. 6

⁸ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, May 2000, p. 16

in military expenditure from 60% of the national budget under Mengistu regime to 2.2% (GNP in 1995) has released funds from IMF and World Bank to address the major needs in education and health.¹ But already in the light of the war with Eritrea, Ethiopia's defence spending has doubled to 3% of GDP between 1998-1999 from an average of 1.5% in the years 1991-1997. After the end of the war with Eritrea formally in 2000, there was a gradual reducing in military spending that also showed improvement prospects for the growth of service sector. Hence, falling in military expenditure through demobilization during the beginning of 2001 has created renewed commitment to capital investment, spending in roads, schools and infrastructure that became important elements of post-war recovery to the service sector.²

As far as the EPRDF authorities are concerned, their capacity to formulate and implement further reforms to improve basic social services/poverty reduction strategy is questionable and uncertain. But given the weak agricultural output in 2000 due to severe draught, and higher military expenditure, which may persist if the conflicts are not resolved, Ethiopia's service sector may face another stagnant growth in the 2001-2002 fiscal period.

Tourism: Ethiopia's old Christian and Islam religious diversity and historical sites make attractive to foreign visitors and other related interests. During the imperial regime, Ethiopia has been attractive to tourists, especially from the Western countries and Arab nations. But after King Haile Selassie's regime was overthrown, the number of tourists had fallen drastically.³ However, even if most Ethiopian visitors were from the Middle East and Eastern Europe, the number of tourists had recovered in the 1980s.

Until 1991, most principal tourist attractions such as Rock Monasteries and other tourist sites were difficult and beyond the control of the Communist regime to develop the country's infrastructure for tourist industry. State Socialism, civil war and famine became also obstacles to Western tourist arrivals in the 1980s. But after 1991, there has been possibility of extensive tourist developments. Hence, Tourism became the largest growth potential of economic activity in Ethiopia. For example since the change of government, earnings from tourism have steadily risen as both the EPRDF government officials and private entrepreneurs have begun to invest in renovating Ethiopia's war tarnished image, Communist ideology abroad and its dilapidated domestic tourism infrastructure.⁴ While the Ethiopian Tourist Commission has expected to a

¹ The Courier: ACP-EU, No.145 (June 1994), p. 21; World Bank, World Development Indicators (1998), p. 278; New African Yearbook 1999-2000, p. 183

² EIU Ethiopia Country Report, March 2001, p. 9

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1991-1992, London 1991, p. 23

⁴ World Tourist Organisation for Africa (Madrid 1998), pp. 22, 126, 138

sharp increase in the number of visitors, it had invited private investments to improve the country's tourist infrastructure.¹ The arrival of tourist industry has been a priority of the present government and a programme of upgrading airports has taken place to facilitate increased tourist traffics.²

In 1995-1996, the Ethiopian Tourist Commission (ETC) has estimated that this sector had generated around \$50m and claimed to increase constantly which was to compare with the Tourist Industry in neighbouring Kenya that has far fewer tourist attractions but vastly superior tourism infrastructure in East Africa.³ To boost the Ethiopian tourism infrastructure, dozens of private companies have offered tourism services and medium-sized Hotels have been constructed in Addis Ababa and regional resorts in recent years.⁴ The most lucrative and potentially fast growing visitors have been organized journeys to historical sites largely by Western Europeans and North America. There have also been short-term visitors to the capital city from business, donor and diplomatic communities.⁵

Ethiopia's status as a regional capital of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) as well as being a host for delegates from most African countries, its tourism infrastructure facilities have to be improved to attract tourists much more than it is today. The question of shaping tourism development factors that could improve its transport infrastructure is to open new routs and boost tourist marketing promotion activities. Participating in various regional and International Tourism Market and Trade Fairs, publication and distribution of various tourism literatures of the Ethiopian major travel sites, improving the air and other related infrastructures etc., could increase the tourist industry of the country in the near future.

Transport and communication: The network expansion of transport and communication in Ethiopia has been unsatisfactory that hampered the need for a more coherent and integrated programme of development for years.⁶ Rural transport is directly or indirectly related to the production and transportation of agricultural outputs. Thus, it is the lifeline of the economy and the social activities of rural population without telephones, lack of postal service and electricity.

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter, London 1993, p. 16

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 23

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 23

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ World Tourism Organization for Africa (1999). Pp. 55, 71,120-122

⁶ Bhavagan, M. R. (1996), p. 84

The country has very meager overall telephone density. For example, between 1990-1998, 1,000 citizens have only between 3 and 5 telephone network main lines.¹ Unfortunately, the rural transport system is not yet developed and the technical capacity and economic well being of the rural employment has been deprived for years. Since the 1992, the present government has developed an extensive project to increase the telephone network's capacity with extensions to rural areas.² But the absence of viable links between adjacent regions may hinder the development of a strong integrated national economy.

These shortcomings had tragic consequences as the country was hit by famine, that food could not be distributed to the famine victims due to the lack of good roads. Consequently, many thousands of Ethiopians perished.³ The infrastructure network between the highlands and lowlands are limited to road, air and to rail transport. The industrial and agricultural belts of the central and southern part have been far remote from the country's outlet to the sea. For example, the intermediate zone between the areas of production traverses not only valleys and large expanses of mountains but also vast areas of aired and sparsely populated lowlands.⁴

These geographical divisions and the poor underdeveloped domestic transport have often hampered the nature of transporting agricultural production to integrate with the national economic structure. The ministry of transport and communication, which oversees the development of the transport sector is currently structured into major sub-sectors of road, water, air transport and communication.⁵ Among the government's policy issues and strategies that have to be addressed in the future are definitions of a desirable rural road network in order to enhance local and rural participation in many developments and mobilize resources. Therefore, efforts should be made as soon as possible in order to hasten the transport and communication network development.

Roads: Road transport sector in Ethiopia is a means of movement for about 90% of freight traffic and 95% of all passengers. However, the provision of an efficient road transport system has been difficult by the country's ravaged topography, severe climatic conditions and widely dispersed population challenged its development.⁶ By 1985, it was reported that Ethiopia had 13,000 km all-weather roads, of which about 4,000 km asphalt and 9,000 km were all-weather

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 18

² Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, Addis Ababa 1995, p. 15; Africa Today, London 1996, p. 737; Human Development Report (UNDP 1999, 2000), p. 56, 201; World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 310

³ International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook, May 1999, p. 194; Michler, Walter (1991), p. 154

⁴ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 737

⁵ Bhavagan, M.R (1996), p. 84

⁶ Ethiopian Statistical Abstract, Central Statistical Authority, Addis Ababa, June 1994, p. 129

gravel roads but there were also 4,900 kilometers of rural dirty roads.¹ Until 1991, there was no much improvement in this sector. Due to the civil war, much road transport networks had been destroyed or were out of action. The main roads connecting north through the highlands have suffered from decades of neglect and heavy wear from military conveyances.

About 30% of rural population still live more than one day walk from all weather roads and 75% of all peasants live more than 30 km from the nearest all-weather road network. This tends to discourage the productivity of farmers, who have limited access to agricultural extension services for promoting the development of livestock and fishery resources, the management of other natural resources and environmental conservation.² The lack of resources, coupled with political instability has retarded the growth of transport infrastructure.³ The present government has tried to repair war ravaged roads and build ring roads around Addis Ababa since 1993.⁴

The rehabilitation of road infrastructure has been established as a core component of the country's economic programme and more than 20% of the capital budget has been allocated to road construction and repairs investment years.⁵ Major roads are being retraced and upgraded and a network of local feeder roads are being constructed. This may facilitate both market access for farmers and swifter distribution of food aid in terms of shortage.⁶ Centered in Addis Ababa, the road system radiates in all directions in a spoke-line pattern. However, substantial parts of the country, notably in the West, southwest and southeast still lack all weather connections to this network. Only 47% of the roads are in good condition and as it has been explained above, very few people have ready access to road.⁷ Most roads in the national network are concentrated in the central, eastern and northern highlands. Ethiopia has road density of a little more than 0.9% per 1,000 people, virtually the lowest in the Africa continent which is the weighted mean of 2.6 km. per 1,000 square kilometer.⁸

Since 1995, road building has been EPRDF's priority and it has tried to enhance road-building programmes designed to facilitate inter-regional farmers of grain and other products.⁹ The African Development Bank and the European Commission have also provided assistance for road construction and maintenance. Despite these efforts, Ethiopia's road network still remains primitive and quite limited, even by African standards.¹⁰ In other developments, there is a

¹ International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook*, May 1999, pp. 193-194; *Africa Today*, 3rd edition (1996), p. 737

² Ethiopia, an Overview of Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, Public Relations and Information Service, Addis Ababa, February-March 1995, p. 15; IMF *World Economic Outlook*, Washington, May 1999, p. 193

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1994), p. 18

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1997), p. 12

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, pp. 16-17

⁶ Ibid., p. 17

⁷ World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1998-1999*, p. 257

⁸ World Bank, *African Development Indicators 2000*, p. 256

⁹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report 3rd quarter (1997 and 1998), p. 11

¹⁰ IMF *World Economic Outlook*, Washington D.C., May 1999, p. 194

planned road links from Addis Ababa to Nairobi (Kenya) forming part of the Trans-East African Highway. However, there have been difficulties in gaining access through customs at Kenya/Ethiopian border.¹ For example, the existing road is paved only 15% and the rest that connects regional infrastructure, remains vulnerable in winter seasons.² Prime attention can be given to the expansion of rural road in order to facilitate trade between rural and urban communities by improving the existing road network that can provide enough transport services to the community in all regions. But the question remains if the present government with its meager financial and security problems could be able to increase the country's road density to the regional standard and further possible developments.

Railway: The Ethiopia-Djibouti Railway, a 781 km line connects Addis Ababa to the Port of Djibouti and it is owned in equal shares by the Republic of Djibouti and the Ethiopian government. 681 km of the 781-km length is located in Ethiopian territory and the railway transport service is for both domestic and international passengers and freight cargoes. There are 2,570 employees whereby 2194 of them are located in Ethiopia and 376 in Djibouti.³ The railway line is a single track, and its gauge is only a meter wide. The Addis Ababa Djibouti railway line, the only Ethiopia's rail connection to the Red Sea since the separation of Eritrea, needs many repairs to function properly in order to fulfill the country's transport demands.⁴

Though aid for rehabilitation and construction projects from France and elsewhere to construct a new railway-line between Ethiopia and Djibouti has been underway, there are problems of security and sabotages sponsored by the Eritrean government whose aim has been to disrupt the function of the existing railway infrastructure.⁵ Even if the EPRDF government tries to upgrade the competitiveness of the country's railway infrastructure, rebel groups supported by some opposition elements have often threatened its service.⁶ Because of the altered political map of the Horn of Africa, the Ethiopia-Djibouti rail link can become significant in the long run. But the continued operation of rail system should be rehabilitated and modernized to accommodate the growing service demands. It can be expected to pick-up once the security situation along the route and safety standards on the train improves.

¹ Africa Review, The World Information of Economic and Business Report, London 1993-1994, p. 68

² World Bank, African Development Indicators (1998/1999 and 2000), pp. 256, 257

³ Bhagavan, M. R. (Nairobi 1996), p. 93

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 17

⁵ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 1st quarter (2000), pp. 15-16; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.920, 924, 7 October and 4 November 2000, pp. 6, 7

⁶ IMF World Economic Outlook, May 1999, p. 197

Water transport sector: Water is plentiful in Ethiopia but its availability varies from basin to regions and over the seasons. Although water sector is considered as one of the primary areas for the socio-economic development of the country, there has been no clear set policy and strategy to boost its utilization due to the political disruption.¹ The country's large water resource is developed only to a marginal extent for regional transport means.² This transport sector, which could have been very cheap, has not been available option in most areas of the central part of the country. The dilemma has been that Ethiopia lacks development of irrigation science and technology while the efforts of past governments to institutionalize water resources either for transport or other means of development had poor records because of political instability.³

Even if it is not sufficient, Ethiopia depends on water resources for its electricity generation and nearly 90% of current electricity output comes from hydroelectric resources. In the recent development, various attempts have been made to formulate policy strategies for some of the country's water resource sub-sectors, which included constructing an electricity generating station on the Blue Nile Basin.⁴ But it became difficult for Ethiopia alone to furnace an ambitious venture without the international aid institutions. While the question of setting any project schemes without the approval of all riparian countries has often been raised.⁵

Indeed, Ethiopia's dream to harness the Blue Nile resources by building a series of dams along the course of the river for major hydroelectric developments and agricultural irrigation may have adversary impacts on the downstream countries. Egypt, the end user of over 80% of the Nile water resources, the bulk of which originates from the Ethiopian highlands worry and oppose setting any project scheme developments by Ethiopia,⁶ but did not try to make concessions. Egypt uses Ethiopian water resources for its major irrigation projects; expand its amount of land under irrigation utilities without significant consultation with the stakeholder of Nile water resource (Ethiopia). For example, the Nile Aswan Dam since the 1960s and others that are now underway in the country's western desert areas.⁷ Egypt is not only dependent on the Nile for water, but also for the fertile soil which tributaries of the giant river floods from the Ethiopian highlands carry annually to its territories.

Ethiopia should highlight the importance of its water resources in a long-term development to improve its access and use of the Nile water by constructing dams for a large-scale irrigation to

¹ See in Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1985), p. 178

² Abate, Zewdie (1994), p. 31

³ Chapman, Graham P.; Baker, Kathleen M. (1992), p. 178

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1997), p. 12

⁵ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1985), pp. 141-142; Chapman, Graham P.; Kathleen M., Baker (1992), pp. 168, 178; Swain, Ashok, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.4 (1997), p.676

⁶ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London, September 2000, p. 14

⁷ Abate, Zewdi (1994), pp. 155-156; *Africa Analysis*, London, 23 March 2001, p. 14; Chapman P. and Baker (1992), p. 167

alleviate poverty among others. A series of building dams which forms the central part of Ethiopian National Water Plan (NWP) that can be based on irrigation should include major reforestation projects, designed to rehabilitate some hectares of agricultural land. Its ultimate object should be to make the country self-sufficient in basic food-production while erratic rainfall and drought have made self-sufficiency on rainfall impossible. When there is political will, comprehensive studies are necessary to the identification of overall water development potential in the country's different river basin resources, which may be used to control the problems of drought, poverty alleviation and other shortcomings.

On the one hand, if building dams on the Blue Nile along Ethiopian upstream mountains would drastically reduce the amount of water available to Egyptian and Sudanese irrigation projects, there should be a dialogue and co-operation between the riparian states. For all matters, Egypt and Sudan should be convinced to make win-win economic concessions that can provide multi-lateral assistance with/to Ethiopia. On other hand, Ethiopia should create legal as well as international mechanisms of co-operation based on the principle of an equitable utilization of its Nile water resources and launch mutually accepted projects for multi-lateral assistance.

But when Egypt (Sudan) should construct dams, expand their agricultural irrigation schemes for the Nile resources utilization without significant consultation with the stakeholder (Ethiopia),¹ why can not Ethiopia use its national water resources? How do the customary laws support Ethiopia to alleviate poverty if it can not use its national resources? How can the commonsense of customary law define to the poverty and drought ridden Ethiopia when one comes to the question of Nile water resources?

For all matters, there should be a mutual desire for dialogue and improve the uneven distribution and usage of the Nile resources initiative national interests to avoid any conflict. If Egypt attaches great importance to relations with Ethiopia, co-operating over water resources and other related utilization's may lead to mutual economic success.² But if it fails and desires for the residue of annexing Ethiopian highlands, there will be a disaster for all riparian countries and no one may benefit from it.

The Ethiopian Airline (EAL): Ethiopian Airlines run services to major towns and 32 countries world wide which have excellent reputation for its reliability. This links the country to the outside world under the full management both technically and administratively. It venders essential

¹ Griffith, Ieuan LL. (1985), pp. 144, 146; Swain, Ashok, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.35, No.4 (1997), p. 678; *Africa Analysis*, No.360, London, 17 November 2000, p. 15

² *Africa Analysis*, No.360, London, 17 November 2000, p. 15

internal services to areas in accessible by road and rail transport and carries its operation on scheduled services profitably.¹

Ethiopia has two international airports, at Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa (the second largest city). All regional capitals and some towns have airports for internal flights, which constitute about 30 scattered airfields and airstrips infrastructure.² The present government has tried to restructure the country's air transport management and modernize the capital's airport in order to widen its services. The development of air links with other countries is being undertaken partly to expand tourism in the future, but poor communication network such as telephone that has also an impact on the airline sector comes into question.

The debate on Ethiopian economic structure is more distinguished by its generality and platitude than by theoretical depth for evidence. Despite the change of government and the complete reorientation of economic policies since 1992, Ethiopia's economy still faces severe structural and policy-related problems even to guarantee food security for its citizens.³ The hunger catastrophe is potentially devastating and the state needs to move quickly to alleviate food shortages. Therefore, the country needs sustainable growth and changes in production methods, which prompt better production incentives and provide better marketing that could be more efficient for agricultural commodities.⁴

Although other variables such as education, skilled labour and a pool of motivated workers usually come into the question, which should have been the cutting edge of the plan, a major problem will have been successfully attained as part of the economic reform package. In this context, one can outline the theoretical underpinning of the Ethiopian consecutive regimes economic performances and explore certain overlooked policy measures that may reflect to the current economic circumstances. In the final analysis, if the EPRDF government continues to implement its reform programmes, it may earn credibility when assignment principles will be applied to fuel considerable resources from overseas Ethiopian community as well as tap donor countries funds. Ethiopia needs effective economic aid and if the sources of foreign donors support EPRDF's basic economic framework, then it is possible that the country will continue on the course of economic reform.

This topic's main conclusion is then that the government's economic policy reforms must be designed to improve long-term supply responses in addition to addressing budgetary and balance of payment concerns. Successive economic development requires comprehensive political and economic liberalization, intense politics of transition towards democratic system that may take a great deal of time and effort but could guarantee a continuous process. Another

¹ Ethiopian Statistical Abstract (CSA), Addis Ababa 1994, p. 123 ff.

² Central Statistical Authority, Addis Ababa 1994, p. 126

³ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, December 2000, p. 12

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 10

obstacle facing the Ethiopian authorities is to pursue national interest, which has been one of the revitalizing a long misguided economy and polity of the state that civil society became a central challenge of contemporary Ethiopian political life. For the present Ethiopian authorities, it may be time to learn lessons extending democracy to the economy.

4.1.2 The Kenyan Economic Structure: Development of a Capitalist System in Africa?

Once viewed as an African exemplar of a stable capitalist state, Kenya has been under growing international pressure and domestic insecurity in the 1990s, which demanded political pluralism and give evidence to accumulated corrupt and repressive government.¹ Economic development of the country since the early 1980s was based on food security, agricultural exports and services. Owing to the worsening economic situation in the late 1980s, Kenya has adopted a programme of reforms, which were supported by external assistance until 1991, but suspended that year due to lack of progress in the political and economic reforms.² Since the multi-party system has been introduced, the policy of reform in the economic field was resolutely launched. In general, the economic structure of Kenya has been marked by strong regional variations. For example, industrial activity has been concentrated around Nairobi and Mombasa, while the agricultural wealth of the country is confined to about one-quarter of its surface area.³ The whole economy still rests on agriculture, which accounts for one third of GDP and approximately two thirds of export, comprising mainly of coffee, tea and horticultural products. The other significant income-generating sectors are manufacturing, commerce and tourism, which together accounts for the rest of GDP.⁴

Adverse weather in the early 1990s has interrupted the country's economic growth. The drought in large parts of the country combined with the deterioration of infrastructure, especially roads and water supply facilities have contributed to the relatively subdued economic growth since the middle of 1996.⁵ Economic recession, mounting foreign debt services, rising unemployment and shrinking welfare services and poverty have led open dissuade by journalists, the church authorities, intellectuals and lawyers.⁶ In many other respects, the performance of Kenyan economy has been quite remarkable in comparison to Ethiopia and Sudan, which have been facing with similar problems. But the identification of poverty and income distribution among the Kenyan society became disappointing aspects that challenged to the country's economic

¹ Kenya Taking Liberties, An Africa Watch Report (1991), p. 17

² Special Issue of the Courier ACP-EU, Director General for Development (Brussels 1994), p. 130

³ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 11

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 18

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 25

⁶ African Development Bank, African Development Report (1998), p. 82

development story.¹ Kenya's economic confidence confronts a period of low growth with a very uncomfortable set of circumstances and remained distinctly fragile since the 1980s.

This section examines the historical perspective of economic structural changes, which have taken place since the 1980s, and gives an overview performance, by discussing problems and constraints that have hindered to perform sufficient growth in the period under review. It also analyses future potential challenges to the main economic sectors development targets and strategic prospects for sustained economic growth. The question **what makes Kenyan economic structure a Western Style**, and its challenges will also be discussed in order to differentiate from Ethiopia and the Sudanese economic structures.

Since independence, Kenyan authorities have deliberately pursued a free-market economic policy and encouraged foreign multi-national companies to invest in the country. This policy has resulted in an exciting independent private sectors, which composed mainly of locally incorporated foreign private business firms and a large informal sector.² The government has confirmed its faith in the private enterprise system, guaranteed to protect foreign investment, and at the same time has tried to promote Africanization of the economy. The overall structure of European built agrarian economy was then transferred to African Land-ownership.³

As an assurance to foreign investors, the government has guaranteed private property through the promulgation of Foreign Investment Protection Act contained in the constitution of Kenyan Act of Parliament, which has been amended several times, what was meant to promote liberalization. For example, the Act provides for the repatriation of capital, remittances of profit and protects from deprivation of property.⁴ Independent Kenya did not affect a major ideological or structural break down with the colonial state, but what all the authorities did was they have expanded the former colonial administrative and economic infrastructures. At the same time, they have instituted a broad range of measures designed to promote indigenous participation in commerce, industry and other economic sectors. This has often led the country to be **labeled as a "neo-capitalist" Western Style State** in economic, political and cultural fields that substantially became subsequent institutional continuity and changes.⁵

Although the transformation has not been successful, the Kenyan government's (President Jomo Kenyatta as well as President Moi) have maintained much of the colonial economic policies and it was often said that economic growth and political stability have characterized Kenya's post independence period.⁶ The state has strongly supplied the thrust of African

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 25

² Kenya: An Official Handbook (Nairobi 1988), pp. 64-65

³ Peter Duignan and Rober H. Jackson (1986), p. 242; New African Yearbook, 11th edition (1997), p. 222

⁴ The Kenyan Constitution, Revised edition (1987/1992), Article 75

⁵ W. R. Ochieng and R. M. Maxon (1992), p. 259

⁶ New African Yearbook (1997), p. 223

capitalism to review the degree of indigenization of Kenya's industrial sector into both trade and industry since the 1980s. Since 1986, Kenya has undertaken economic reforms with the major objective of uplifting the country into path of economic recovery to achieve sustainable economic growth. Consumer price inflation, exchange rate stability and the government's budgetary discipline have also been given greater attention in the economic reform package.¹

Helped by favourable weather conditions, the economy has recorded a significant recovery of great budgetary discipline and improved manufacturing policies. Regardless of the World Oil Prices decline and moderate increase in coffee prices, the economic growth rate was registered at 5.5% in real terms. But the later years of 1980s saw a moderate declining performance² that has disappointed the economic progress of the country. For example, in the period 1990-1993, Kenya has produced the worst economy in its history, with a declining rate of 4.3% in 1990 to 0.4% in 1992 and 0.1% in 1993, which was the lowest level since independent.³ The severe decline was as a result of a combination of some external and domestic political factors. For example: Suspension of donors aid in December 1991, unstable export prices for coffee and tea, low growth rate in gross investment and rising budget deficits, shortage of foreign exchange that has led to reduce imports of intermediate goods and essential raw materials for industry inputs.⁴

Western donors have pressed the Kenyan government to carry out economic and political reforms. But Kenya's internal policy and structural requirements were constraining the nation's economic development during the 1990-1993, which has continued further.⁵ The overspending (gross) by the government in the run-up to 1992 multi-party elections poured economic disaster. For example, the KANU election preparation, it was funded through the issue of large quantity of Treasury Bills at a high rate.⁶

Even if all this had happened, Kenya is among the few in the region that have had an opportunity to pursue economic development programmes for more than decades in a relative stable environment. It has a relatively thin resource base substantially dependent on the agricultural sector.⁷ The country has pursued a rather moderate economic policy and Private enterprise has been given more weight in the development process,⁸ which had attracted attention of international community, especially when considered against the general background

¹ African Development Bank, *African Development Report* (1998), p. 84

² Bhagavan, M. R. (1996), p. 12

³ Ibid.

⁴ Widner, Jennifer A. (1992), p. 196; *New African Yearbook*, 11th edition (1997), p. 225

⁵ Widner, Jennifer (1994), p. 49

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 22

⁷ Republic of Kenya Official Handbook, Nairobi (1988), p. 59; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 25

⁸ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1985), p. 150

of other African countries. But the country's good example of economic development growth record benefits did not reach the poor target groups sufficiently.

What makes then Kenya's economic capitalist style and what have been its challenges to progress? Compared with Ethiopia and Sudan, Kenya has one of the most diversified economies, in Sub-Saharan Africa having significant industrial, service-tourism sectors. It has followed capitalist oriented economic policy, which was inherited, from its colonial period.¹ Capitalist industry process was more advanced in Kenya than in Ethiopia and Sudan, that has engaged more percentage of the population by creating massive wage labour force (8%).² Kenya's economic structure was shaped by the British colonial policy to suit the interests of the metropolitan agrarian economy based on capitalist private property.³ Although the transformation faced strong resistance and was not successful, the Kenyan government has maintained much of the colonial economic policies.⁴ But the chances of capitalist economic implementation were not strengthened successfully while the overall political, social economic and cultural configuration and patterns of social change have resulted from the distorted core relations under pseudo-capitalism.⁵ For this, ordinary Kenyans have paid severe economic and political consequences.

For these, the country had survived political disaster that often hard hit its neighbours. What distinguishes Kenya from Ethiopia and Sudan is the speed with which political competition and party organizations have atrophied in the country, that makes it exceptional. This tension between repression and democracy, rather than a functioning parliamentary system or continued capitalist economic policies, **makes Africa's success story.**⁶ Michael F. Lofchie writes about this:

"Kenyans of all ethnic groups and social strata are united in their commitment to the value of civil government by elected political leaders and their belief that Kenya's long-term economic interest are best advanced by the liberal capitalist policies that have been pursued by the Kenyatta and Moi administration".⁷

Even if Kenya has made an African economic success story, Western donors have not been pleased with reports of corruption and repression on political opposition groups by the

¹ Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson (1986), p. 231; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 36; ACP-EU, Kenya Annual Report, Brussels and Nairobi 1997, p. 4

² Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 50

³ Griffiths, Ieuan LL. (1985), p. 150

⁴ see Bradshaw, York, in: African Studies Review, Vol.33, No.1, London 1990, pp. 1-29

⁵ Bratton and Van de Walle, in: Comparative Politics, Vol.24, No.4 (1992), pp. 225, 227

⁶ Stamp, Patricia, in: Current History (May 1991), p. 207; Africa Today, Vol.45, No.2 (1998), p. 185

⁷ Lofchie, Michael F., in: Current History (May 1996), pp. 225, 231

government and slow process of economic reforms since the 1980s.¹ Kenya, which was often been cited as an African economic success has seen its fortunes of rise and fall dramatically in the last decades. But the government has tried to reverse the downward trend growth rate in 1994-1995.² Several macro-economic problems remain the challenge yet to resolve if sustainable economic development is to be achieved and alleviate the declining poverty level in the country. Another great challenges facing the government is the spending reform of civil service, which is vital for achieving sustainable fiscal discipline and a balanced budget extensively promoted by the IMF in Africa that brought Kenya into line with other African countries but tended to fail to implement successful IMF programmes.³

Politically motivated clashes that rocked the country in 1993 are likely repeated now and then in agricultural fertile areas, which constrained the economic activities and show low private sector confidence.⁴ How the government should control this source of major instability problems so that the potential investors will continue their business in the country is another worrying challenge.

Given these shortcomings, Kenya's economic sector in the last decades can be traced through the following distinct characteristics. It has experienced a number of shocks through internal and external strengths, which adversely affected the country's economy.⁵ After 1986, Kenya's economic structure continued to expand based on the agricultural sectors, developing tourism as a major foreign exchange earner and gearing manufacturing towards import substitution. Therefore, against the background of a difficult political and economic environment, Kenya has missed to generate a viable economic development.⁶ But it has experienced a number of cycles of growth followed by downturns and stagnation in the 1980s and 1990s⁷. This up and down economic fortunes will be explained in detail through the selected characteristics of the country's economic indicator structures under review.

Selected Kenyan economic indicators: The following selected Kenyan economic indicators, GNP per capita in US\$, GDP real growth rate, inflation rate, export and import volumes, total external debt, real exchange growth rate and other related issues are, selected for analysis in this section while they dominate Kenyan economic structure at most.

Gross National Product (GNP): According to the World Bank aggregated annual reports, Kenya's gross national product, measured at an average price has been lower in 1985-1987,

¹ The World Factbook, CIA's 1999 edition, Brassey's, Washington D.C. 2000, p. 260

² Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 865

³ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 9

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Report, 2nd quarter (1998), p. 12

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter (2000), p. 9

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Report, November 2000, p. 8

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 47

which was estimated about 2.9% increase previously in real terms of GDP.¹ In the beginning of 1990s, the rate of increase has declined to 1.3% and further to 0.5% per year, which was insufficient to keep pace the population increase in the country estimated between 2.7% and 3.4% respectively.² Accordingly, the Kenyan economy has experienced a slowdown in its real growth rate and continues falling further since the 1990s. According to the World Bank's criteria used in the selected World Development Indicators, which classifies economies and broadly distinguish stages of economic development, Kenya is firmly placed in the low-income groups.³ On the one hand, there has been virtually no change in the living standard of Kenyan's since the 1980s, leaving several of its citizens below the absolute poverty line (50%), who live under US\$1 a day.⁴ Over the past several years, the government of President Moi has been in frequent conflict with Western donors and International Financial Institutions over Kenya's level of corruption and lack of economic reform. This conflict caused the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to withhold credit to Kenya in July 1997, contingent up on implementation of anti-corruption measures.⁵

On the other hand, although Kenya is a low-income country as labeled by the World Bank, it has one of the largest economies, better-developed industrial and service sectors in the region than the level of income per head alone might indicate. But at the end of 1990s, the aggregated economic data of Human Development Report and World Bank have shown Kenya as low income group with an average annual growth rate of 0.1% in 1998-1999.⁶ As far as GNP and poverty of Kenya is concerned, the country is not different from other African states even if it has been cited to **apply pro-capitalist economic policies** for years. Unless Moi's government takes serious action on governance issues and shows its commitment to economic reform, the whole economic structure of the country is in danger of falling apart. The recent concern of donors creates on government's failure to pass anti-corruption bills,⁷ on the already battered Kenyan economy that may be significant slowdown growth. This will prevent a more robust economic recovery, which is expected in 2001.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP): Kenya's economic performance in the last decades has been comparatively poor. The annual GDP real growth declined from an average rate of 4.2% 1980-

¹ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1996, p. 34

² World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, pp. 7, 35; Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999), pp. 182, 199

³ World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 271

⁴ World Health Organization Report, Geneva 1997, p. 114; Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999), p. 147; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, p. 326

⁵ Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation (1999), p. 209

⁶ World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 274; Human Development Report (UNDP) (2000), p. 284

⁷ The Economist, London, August 18th, 2001, p. 31

1990 and severely down to 2.3%, 1.9% in 1991-1999 respectively.¹ The downward trend continued as evidenced by a decline in an annual growth rates from 2.5% at the end of 1991.² The GDP growth rate was hard hit in 1992 which reached at -0.8%. But the government has introduced more far-reaching structural reforms in 1993 to reverse this trend, that included the release of price control, removal of all import licensing and foreign exchange controls, reforms of investment incentives, public enterprise guidelines and the financial system. These reforms helped for further improvements in sustaining recovery and economic growth whereby a substantial GDP real growth rate of 3.0% and 4.4% was recorded in 1994-1995, the average growth rate in 1991-1999 remained at 2.3%.³

Given the competitiveness of macroeconomic stability remaining in bottlenecks and weak, it will be difficult to reduce corruption, improve the efficiency of the public services and enhance the external and domestic economic policy of the country. But in 2001, the EIU has forecasted real GDP growth of 3.5%.⁴ Among the contributing various sectors to the GDP are Agriculture, Industry, Services and their branches. Over the last decades, sectoral share contributions to the total real GDP has reflected by the changes, notable because of the structural transformation occurred in the economy.⁵

Fears of instability in the run-up to the 1997 elections also had a negative impact on investment. As violence did erupt, both before and after the polls, economic confidence was further weakened. Apart from consecutive bad weather, the deterioration of transport infrastructure and a high interest rate factors combined with the after effects of the July 1998 bombing in Nairobi, that severed to dampen out across virtually all sectors, resulting in a further GDP growth rate decline in (1998-1999).⁶ Since then, signs of economic recovery had been thin and living standard has fallen consequently. At present, Kenya faces a growing budget deficit, high interest rates, rising inflation and deteriorating infrastructure.⁷ Inefficient use of government funds also remains problems to the economic development of the country.

¹ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 234; Economic Freedom of the World, The Heritage Foundation (1997), p. 129; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999), p. 200; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 5

² The Government of Kenya Economic Reform for 1986-1998, Policy Framework Paper, Nairobi, February 16, 1996, p. 2; IMF World Economic Outlook, May 2000, p. 210

³ Republic of Kenya, National Development Plan 1997-2001 (1996), p. 4; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 214; IMF World Economic Outlook, May 2000, p. 218

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 21

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1995), p. 3; Ibid., 4th quarter (1997), p. 5

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 23; Ibid., Country Report, 4th quarter (1998), p. 15

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, pp. 10-11, 25

Although many economic reforms put in place remain active, further reforms, particularly in governance are necessary if the country is to increase GDP growth and combat poverty which affects among the majority of its population. It is then the responsibility of the Kenyan authorities to reverse this trend and gear various economic reform policies. Kenya's trampled relations with the IMF are likely to have an impact on the real GDP growth in 2001. Until donors and private investors are confident that the Kenyan authorities can manage to keep to their stated programme of reform for a longer period of time, the prospects for 2001-2002 may not improve substantially. But private sector activity and investment could receive a boost when the government makes progress with its long-delayed privatization programme.¹

Agriculture: Like Ethiopia and other African countries, agriculture in Kenya has been the major economic sector both in terms of its size and the number of people it employs. It employs (18.5% of the country's total employment) in it, which still contributes 30% to GDP, and to around 60% earnings from merchandise exports.² Agriculture in Kenya is carried out on both large estates and small modern farms producing both for domestic consumption and exports.³ The main source of agricultural sector growth was by the expansion of land under cultivation and the introduction of more modern farming producers, which has began by white colonial settlers. It is diversified consisting of varied food crop and cash crop sub-sectors, farming and cattle rearing (livestock), horticulture, forestry and fishing.⁴ The problems in the sectors' capacity are that almost half of all agricultural output has been for subsistence.

Although the share to GDP generated by agriculture sector has been steadily declining over the past decades, it still dominates the Kenyan economy. It has been reported that agriculture and its related industries engage the highest labour force in the country, which accounts about 80% in 1980s and 1990s. It also supplies raw materials for agro-industrial activities.⁵ With an annual growth rate of 3.4% in 1980-1990, the percentage share of agricultural sector to the total GDP remained at an average of 29.8%. But its contribution to GDP decreased to 26% and annual average growth rate was fallen to 1.4% in 1991-1999.⁶ There is a regional agricultural economic variation in the country, largely due to climate. The most productive of Kenya's

¹ EIU Kenya Country Report, November 2000, p. 10

² Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 872; World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya 2000, p. 1; World Employment Report 1998-1999, p. 221

³ New African Yearbook, 11th edition (1997), p. 222; EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 18

⁵ Nagel, Stuart S. (1994), p. 10; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 227

⁶ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 234; EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1999), p. 16; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 5

farmlands are situated in the fertile area of central western region and Rift Valley zones (see **Map of Kenyan Regions in p. VIII: 2**). Livestock rearing predominates in the semi-arid regions to the north and eastern part of the country.¹ The northeastern and eastern part do not favour agriculture and are partly populated by small nomadic groups with their grazing herds. By contrast, the fertile central highland and southern Rift Valley, which originally attracted the early British settlers, now support large tea agricultural plantation and many of the newly flourishing horticultural enterprises.²

For years, the government's goal has been to achieve self-sufficiency in major staple foods like maize among others but the production of such crops have fluctuated widely moving to highly variable climate conditions. Drought in 1983/1984 and 1993/1994 were followed by widespread flooding across the country at the end of 1997 and into 1998 and again in 2000 as a result of the El Nino weather phenomenon. According to the United Nations World Food Programme reports, there has again been famine in 2000 and the rain had failed that caused acute food situation particularly in the north and east of the country.³ Sorghum, cassava and banana are other principal staple crops grown in Kenya.⁴ Under agricultural sector, pastoralism is the principal livelihood in northern Kenya, especially in the Rift Valley areas whereby Kenyans raise cattle for livestock's for domestic use as well as for export products.⁵ Fishing is also important to local economies along the coast area and around Lake Victoria, but it is not a major source of export.

In general, agriculture remains the backbone of Kenyan economy, which performed particularly badly, especially since the beginning of 1999. The largest hit for sub-sector of agriculture coffee, which accounts for a large proportion of Kenya's export, it has also continued to perform badly in the 1st half of 2000 and showed little sign of picking up in the latter part of the year. For example, output in the sector has grown by 0.8% in the year to May 2000 compared with between 1.2% and 1.6% during May 1999 and 1.5% in 1998 as a whole.⁶ The agricultural sector has been constrained by crumbling transport infrastructure and in some cases by inefficient state-run marketing boards. Its decline has been notable in the coffee industry which over the past years seen output fall by more than 30%.⁷ Whether condition has also played a part, particularly in the tea sugar sectors. Crucially for the agricultural sector, the short rain/failure has continued to drive contraction in agricultural sector, which was hard hit in 2000.⁸ In general,

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 25; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.901, 22 April 2000, p. 6

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 11

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 22

⁴ Republic of Kenya, National Development Plan 1997-201, Nairobi (1996), p. 25; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 23; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 25

⁵ Middleton, John, Vol.2 (1998), p. 428

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 24; Ibid., (2000), p. 34

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter (1999), p. 19

⁸ EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 21

the agricultural sector needs liberalization through ending the monopolies held by commodity marketing boards, which ensure food security to those who can earn their career and encourage farmers' initiatives.

Horticulture: Since the mid-1980s, Kenya has been a star in horticulture exporter to Europe meeting seasonal demand for fresh fruit vegetables and cut flower, garden peas etc. Besides generating employment, horticulture also provides important nutrients for the rural population, whose consumption by urban households is estimated at 11% of their monthly expenditure.¹ It has been Kenya's most dynamic agricultural production and trade over the last 15 years and its exports earned more foreign exchange than coffee.²

Small-scale grower dominates horticulture production, which constitute about 80% of all products. It has been a good example of private-sector expansion with limited government intervention, and continued to perform well in the 1990s. Nowadays, it faces growing competition from other African producers in pursuit of this niche market from Ethiopia and South Africa.³ It has continued to perform well during the 1990s. Constraints affecting this sector are poor transport infrastructure, distance from international airports, inadequate cooling facilities and other relative international standards, which could restrict access to its lucrative markets. Whether for horticulture or other related agricultural activities, the pressure of land holding in Kenya is particularly heavy in Western, Central and Nyanza provinces that also explains to the severe ethnic conflicts which have highlighted Rift Valley province since 1991.⁴

The poor road network to the production areas also plays a role that hinders the delivery of farm production like horticulture and from factories to the needy, thereby resulting in wastage.⁵ Long-term recovery of the agricultural sector then depends on reforms to the farms from the mismanaged state bureaucracies of the marketing boards. It needs urgent improvements in infrastructure network and security in centers of production zones.

Industry: Despite agricultural bias of the economy, Kenya has one of the largest and diversified industrial sectors in the region, which developed under import substitution policy and was later shifted to export oriented manufacturing. The industry sector has a vital role in the country's economic value by providing forward and backward linkages with the agriculture.⁶ However,

¹ Republic of Kenya National Development Plan 1997-2001 (1996), p. 64; EIU Kenya Country Profile, November 2000, p. 35

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 2000, p. 35

³ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 28

⁴ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 866; Africa Research Bulletin, Blackwell pubs., London, April 16th-May 15th 2000, P. 14320

⁵ Ibid., pp. 24-25

⁶ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 868; EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 25

owing to the extensive funds from the International Agencies such as the World Bank, the country has developed a number of industries.¹ Industrial activity is concentrated around the three largest urban centers of Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. Food processing industries such as grain milling, raw material processing, beer production and sugar cane crushing dominate this sector. The main branches in this sector are manufacturing and mining. Kenya also has an oil refinery that supplies processed crude imported oil petroleum products largely to the domestic market and exported to neighbouring African countries in some extent.²

Consequently, the government's objective for industry has been to reduce its involvement in such activities and provide market-based incentives to guide private sector investment in the areas of highest productivity.³ The 1989-1993 policy changes have foreseen Development Plan in the field of industry and trade, focused on pricing and financial policy aspects, including restructuring of parastatals. For example, as parts of its reforms, the government has lifted price controls, which were recognized as leading to shortages, low profits and built in uncertainties. However, parastatal reforms have been slow.⁴

Between 1980-1990 and 1991-1996, it was reported that an average 7% and 9% Kenyan labour force had been engaged in the industry sector.⁵ With an average annual growth rate of 3.9% (1980-1990), 1.5% (1991-1995) and 1.4% (1997-1999), industry's contribution to GDP has also been 10.6% (1994-1998).⁶ Whether the government has been able to control capital gains from the sale of foreign assets for balance of payments purpose remained a misery that might have been connected with high level corruption which often hindered industrial development in the country.

Manufacturing: A relatively free market and a nearly continuous flow of foreign investment since independent stimulated Kenya's manufacturing industry. Once, Kenya's manufacturing sector has expanded and diversified its production, it has shown an impressive export record in the last decades. Although Kenya is industrially the most developed country in East Africa, manufacturing still accounts for only very little to GDP.⁷ In the 1980s, Kenya has quickly developed a number of sub-sectors skewed towards consumer goods, beverages and tobacco, textiles, miscellaneous food products, petroleum products, electrical appliances and machinery, painting paper products,

¹ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, p. 222

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 19; New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition, p. 245

³ Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1989-1993, Nairobi 1989, p. 7

⁴ Trade Policy Review on Kenya, Vol.1 (Geneva 1994), p. 37

⁵ African Development Bank, African Development Report (1998), p. 218; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, p. 286

⁶ World Bank, World Development (1997), p. 234; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999), p. 213; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 5

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 24

sugar cane and confectionery.¹ The country also manufactures a wide range of consumer goods such as the production of clothing, paper and packing, soap, detergents, electrical equipment, tires for tracks and passenger vehicles, chemicals and petroleum products from the imported crude oil. Not only that but also Kenya has a diverse range of other industries like publicizing, paper packing, steel rolling, leather, plastics and raw material processing.² But their employment capacity has been very low than the formal industrial sector.

Despite its many problems, Kenya's largest and most dynamic manufacturing sector in East Africa, can be and attractive location for investment. But the combination of infrastructural and El Nino weather constraints act adversely to the sector. Consequently, the overall manufacturing real output growth has fallen down to 1.4% in 1998, 1.2% (1999), -0.3% (2000) compared to 3.9% in 1997.³ But due to low level of domestic production, intermediate and capital goods, this sector heavily relies on import.⁴

These days, instability and inefficiency to develop more highly comparative export market continue to pose a formidable challenge to the country's industrial sector development. The government predicts the contribution of manufacturing sector towards 18% by the end of 2001. But given the government's weak reform policies, it will be difficult to achieve the largest plan.

Mining: Kenya is poorly endowed in mineral terms except small qualities of gold, limestone but wildlife constitutes its natural resources. Mining and gearing sector contribute very little to the GDP, the majority of which is provided by the Soda Ash operation from the Lake Victoria for exports.⁵ Despite years of exploitation by the major oil companies, Kenya has still not exploited those oil resources that have been supposed to be found in the country.⁶ The country does not have the basis for a capital goods sector, which means industrialization cannot go much further than assembling of imported components and primary processing. The depressed state of domestic economy has also led to a full in demand for industrial imports.⁷

The country has also little exploitable resources of oil, gas or coal reserves and mining is a marginal importance to date as it has few precious or basic minerals. Although the Mombasa-based Kenya Petroleum Refinery operates the country's sole oil refinery which provides around

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile (1995-1996 and 2000), pp. 24, 36

² Republic of Kenya, Industrial Transformation to Year 2020, Sessional Paper No.2, Nairobi, November 1996, p. 38; Middleton, John, Vol.2 (1998), p. 428

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 25

⁴ World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya 2000, p. 69; Economic Survey, Central Bureau of Statistical Office of the Vice President and Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nairobi, May 1999, p. 142; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 21

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 25; World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya 2000, p. 67

⁶ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, p. 223

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 26

60% of its petroleum products, Kenya imports refined fuels and is heavily dependent upon declining domestic resources such as fuelwood, for domestic energy consumption.¹ Towards the end of 1990s, mineral industrial performance has been severely constrained by structural factors. The El Nino rains of 1997/1998 caused severe damage and highlighted the inadequacy of the government's infrastructure repair and maintenance policy. The poor state of the country's infrastructure road network has severed to increase freight costs and extend delivery times. In 1998, the mining sector has expanded by just 1.4% with little sign of a significant recovery in 1999². The total industrial output has decreased in the last 5-7 years and seems unable to attain the country's economies of scale. This was a clear indication that Kenya's economic growth was stagnated.³ Because it has been rather slow in technological change, considerably constrained by foreign exchange shortages, which has left the industrial sector's output to fall in the previous years. The Kenyan authorities should worry that the fall of industrial and its sub-sectors may put strain on future investment plans which will affect the country's economic structure badly. But if the government attempts to encourage investment in prospecting and exploitation activities, the future mining sub-sector of industry may be expected to provide greater mineral development.

Services: Service sector represents the fastest growing business in the region. In Kenya, it has employed 11.5% of the country's labour force during the 1980-1991 and was grown to more than 14.2% in the period 1992-1998.⁴ Service sector in Kenya is dominated by tourism but other services that have significant potential for generating foreign exchange earnings and employment include information technology, banking and other professional services.⁵ But restaurants, hotels, other government services and trade constitute over half of Kenya's economy. There are also a host of other economic activities, primarily of local or regional significance. For example, many household activities are sustained by the small-scale manufacturing of products such as baskets, handcrafts or charcoal stoves. Unfortunately, these activities are not well organized and not recognized in national accounts. They are underestimated in the measurement of their contribution to the gross national product.⁶ Service sector has developed rapidly at an annual average growth rate of 4.9% (1980-1990). But due to

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 17

² Ibid., p. 27

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, November 2000, p. 18

⁴ African Development Bank, African Development Report (1998), p. 218; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, p. 286; World Employment Report 1998-1999, p. 221

⁵ Republic of Kenya National Development Plan 1997-2001, pp. 2-6; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 18

⁶ Middleton, John, Vol.2 (1998), p. 428

the political instability in the country, which caused insecurity and negative publicity on Kenya has contributed to depressed activity in the sector, the growth rate was lower to 3.1% during the 1991-1996 and continued to fall further.¹

The service sector, including the public sector contributes to over a half of the country's GDP, which also provides over two-third of the total modern wage employment.² The share of service sector has increased from 57.4% in 1980-1990 respectively to 51.6%, 54% of GDP in the 1991-1999 and 2000 period overwhelming agricultural and industrial sectors.³ The poor performance in service sector was also caused by the dilapidated road infrastructure that has limited utilization of the country's transport capacity. As a result, tourist earnings have reduced to observe labour force of the country.⁴ In this regard, service sector's development is of vital important to the country's economy not only in terms of direct employment and wealth generation, but also in the support it provides to other sectors particularly the industry and manufacturing. It is dominated by tourism, financial and communication services.⁵

Tourism: As it has been explained above, the main branch of service sector tourism, was emerged in the late 1980s, as Kenya's principal source of foreign revenues. Visitors were and continue to be drawn to the Kenyan coast as well as the country's game reserves and national parks that range along the border with Tanzania.⁶ Tourist industry has also been a substantial user of foreign exchange and a large employer. Most foreign visitors to the Kenyan coastline and game parks in the Lake Victoria region, which is the main attraction for tourism pay to their holidays in advance.⁷

The unsatisfactory performance was mainly due to the poor state of the road and continued effects of disturbances at the coast since 1997. The crisis of tourism has intensified since then as a result of security concerns and competition from new emerging tourist markets in the region.⁸

¹ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 234

² EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1998), p. 5; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 5

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1995), p. 3; Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 872; EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1998), p. 5; EIU Kenya Country Report (May and November 2000), p. 5; EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

⁴ Central Bank of Kenya, Monthly Economic Review, Nairobi, January 1999, p. 52 ;World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review (Kenya 2000), p. 73

⁵ Ibid., p. XVII

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 2000, p. 41

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Profile (1995-1996 and 1997-1998), pp. 23, 24

⁸ World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya 2000, p. 83

The tourist industry has promoted resource and wildlife conservation, notably some parks have involved local peoples in wildlife conservation management. However, wildlife conservation remains a contentious issue in Kenya, because of disputes over land, grazing and wildlife damages point to the fact that most local peoples receive little direct benefit from it.¹ Previously, well-publicized attacks on tourists in 1989 and some other security problems derived from local political tensions have threatened to undermine the tourist economy.

The sector has then experienced a disastrous few years as a result of concerns over security in 1997-1998 and a deteriorating infrastructure, especially the scrambling road network, which has resulted in severe slump in the industry over the past consecutive years.² Following the killing of tourist in the coastal areas in August and September 1997, Kenya's prime tourist provision has seen acute losses of revenue and got dire warning of deterioration. This disguised its gross tourist earnings from US\$500 down to \$340m (1994) than was forecasted and has fallen in the following consecutive years. In a latter development, for example, it was recorded that revenue from Tourism has reduced to US\$250m in 1998 from US\$323 in 1997.³

Kenya is also facing increasingly strong competition from South Africa and Zimbabwe as well as the more local emerging destinations of tourism to Tanzania and Uganda. For example, a number of people who were directly employed in the tourism industry dropped from 130,000 in 1986 to 50,000 in the years to July 1998. The Kenyan Tourist Board (TKB) has launched a Ksh120m (US\$2m) campaign to improve the country's battered image abroad.⁴ The authorities have urged to keep innovative regional strategies along with Uganda and Tanzania in order to maintain competitive edges against rival destinations in Southern Africa.⁵

In general, tourism revenue has decreased as a result of the political violence that caused the downturn of many tourist arrivals to the coastal areas, considered to be facing the sectors worst ever crisis 10 in years.¹ The question here is what can be done to recover from such crises?

The tourist industry has to change its strategy and concentrate on the quality of tourists that could require massive investment on it. However, if the government do not take urgent action to

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 24; World Tourism Organization for Africa (Madrid 1999), p. 21

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 30

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1997), pp. 20-21; Ibid., 1st quarter (1998), pp. 19-20; World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya 2000, p. 83

⁴ World Tourism Organization for Africa (Madrid 1998), p. 21; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 30

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter (1998), p. 21

stabilize the security in the region, the tourist industry constraints will become more acute and projects of gross tourism earnings may fall further on the coming years.

On the other hand, the government has been looking for new markets and as what it called a high hopes for a new types of visitors the “elusive Eco-tourist” who have a high disposable income and a test for expensive and exotic pursuits.² Prospects seem to rise in 2000-2001, but higher invisible outflows largely due to higher transport costs may become obstacles.³ Periodic security concerns on the game parks threatens its development and there is no hard evidence yet of a turn-around in the fortunes of tourist industry and other related sectors.⁴ A better organization of the service sector will improve its contribution to the Kenyan economic development that may not be affected by bad weather every time.

Transport and communication: An efficient network of transport and communication infrastructure in a country is crucial requirement for sustainable basic economic growth and essential for integration between the sectors. African countries lack efficiency in this sector. For example, as of July 1985, Kenya had 54,000km of classified roads which 6,700km were bitumen surfaced, connecting most parts of its territory. But the quality and service level of the network in the rural areas are inadequate due to poor maintenance.⁵ Besides that, transport facilities are all parastatal, suffer from a shortage of fund rehabilitation and investment and there is no integrated policy.⁶ Major Kenyan Transport and Communication System comprises, roads, railways, maritime, air transport, postal and telecommunication services.⁷ Thus, they play a key role in integrating the various production and population centers and in facilitating mobility, both in rural and urban areas as well as human welfare. But the overall performance of the transport sector has been adversely affected by the general decline in the country's economic performance.

Road Transport: Although Kenya has one of the most impressive road network in East Africa, its deteriorating condition over the last 15 years is now one of the most serious constraints to the

¹ World Tourism Organization (Madrid 1999), pp. 76, 121, 138

² EIU Kenya Country Profile, London 1995-1996, p. 23

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 12

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 51; World Tourism Organization (Madrid 1999), p. 76

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1992-1993, p. 26; Republic of Kenya National Development Plan 1997-2001, pp. 104-105, World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya 2000, p. 79

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 20

⁷ Republic of Kenya National Development Plan 1997-2001, p. 103

country's economic development. The causes of poor roads include inadequate funding from the government for periodic maintenance. For example, other factors that have contributed to road deterioration were, increased traffic volume and inadequate capacity in railway transport.¹ The Kenyan government has ambitious expansion plans intending to improve competition and fulfill demands from Ethiopia and other neighbouring countries in cooperation with Tanzania that has common shipping services on Lake Victoria between the two countries. But there has been no effective policy for repairing the key road linking from Mombasa to Nairobi, which was severely damaged during the El Nino related rains of 1997/1998. For example, the highway, which serves as a major transport artery to the East African region countries remain a patch work of substantial repair and the source of lucrative earnings for government contracts.²

On the other hand, the government seems to have made various efforts to restore efficiency in the transport sector, but further developments of proper maintenance have been constrained by various factors, such as the growing demands for service provisions arising from rapid population growth and urbanization, inadequate management capacity, limited financial resources.³

Although Kenya's economic transformation largely depends on the efficiency and sustainability of its transport system in both urban and rural areas, the quality of services has been deteriorating rapidly. While the past efforts have not succeeded to rehabilitate the deteriorating quality of infrastructure facilities, the government has major challenges. The failure to tackle repair and maintenance of such vital link has underscored a severe lack of long-term investment, especially in the rural road transport system. But financed by the World Bank, repairs to the worst affected road by flood damage are under way.⁴ However, it is by no means certain that those who have found alternative roads will return to Kenya once the system has been repaired. There should be a pressing need to coordinate infrastructure provisions and maintenance to ensure both optimum uses of existing transport facilities.

Railway transport: Railway is the second most important means of transportation in the country after road transport, particularly for the carriage of bulky goods over long distances. Its efficiency and reliability are important not only for regional trade and transit traffic to neighbouring countries but also in supplementing road transport and in reducing road damage by minimizing road traffic.⁵ The country has 2,765km single railway system which 1070km operate in the mainline

¹ World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya 2000, p. 79

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 15-16

³ Republic of Kenya National Development Plan 1997-2001, Nairobi, p. 96

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 16

⁵ Republic of Kenya National Development Plan 1997-2001, p. 112; World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya 2000, pp. 79-80

(under the Kenyan Railway Corporation) from Nairobi to Mombasa and other Kenya's industrial cities like Kisumu with other branches that also connects to Ugandan and Tanzania. There are several sidings in the major towns, operating up the area for industrial development.¹ The current operation levels are low due infiltration constraints and the indications seem to continue downward trend. The government is the sole shareholder of railway transport infrastructure. If the rail transport service is to serve effectively, it should be open to joint venture private sectors, which would open up Kenya's economic development. It can provide a much-needed expansion to regional communities trade such as with Sudan, Ethiopia etc. that may lead to improve more communication between neighbouring countries trade relations.

Marine Transport: This consists of port facilities in Mombasa, shipping and inland water transport, and container depots at Nairobi, Kisumu and Ildoret.² The port of Mombasa has been overwhelmed at times by the inflow of food aid destined for Rwanda and Somalia. But there has been wide criticism for inefficiency and long delays, overstaffing, poor productivity and persistent complaints about poor services in the Kenyan Sea Port.³ A chronic lack of investment and widespread corruption has been at the center of the port's failure, which has underscored a severe shortage of long-term investment in this sector. The performance of port services has then been below expectations.

To revitalize efficient activities at the port, the government should make path of necessary changes and overcome such obstacles by promoting more attraction to the region like Ethiopia and other neighbouring countries who are land locked or have common shipping services like Tanzania on Lake Victoria etc. If the Kenyan authorities fail to undertake some rehabilitation work in the port of Mombasa to improve its efficiency and upgrade its services, regional trade commercial operations may use alternative sea route to import and export their goods. Kenya will then steadily lose a major source of income generating revenues from its port when regional trade commercial operations use alternative routes like Tanzania.

AIR Transport: Kenyan airfreights are well developed with airport at Nairobi, Mombasa and other big cities that composed innumerable airstrips. This airport was established and modernized for international as well as domestic routes.⁴ Air transport remains the key sub-sector for the development of tourism, transportation of high value exports like perishable goods (especially horticulture) and for promoting regional integration.⁵ Moreover, its performance has

¹ Ibid., p. 80

² World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review, Kenya 2000, p. 81

³ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 20; EIU Kenya Country Profile, London 1999-2000, p. 16

⁴ Ibid., (1999-2000), p. 16

⁵ World Trade Organization, Kenya 2000, p. 82 (Table IV.13, p. 80)

been educed because of unreliable services in recent years. According to the World Trade Organization recent reports, the government is considering private sector participation to expand and upgrade its services through granting of concessions.¹ If the government encourages this sector consequently, its service would help the fast growing horticultural industry and improve access to western and northern Kenya for tourism.

Posts and Telecommunications: Kenya is among the largest telecommunication market in Sub-Saharan Africa. The number of telephone line in operation has been increasing since 1980. Nevertheless, the number of main lines per 100 inhabitants has remained stable at around 0.8.² Kenyan Posts and Telecommunications Corporation currently provide both postal and telecommunications services as well as regulating the provision of these services. It is another parastatal, which requires substantial state support and mostly in debt burden, that cannot give efficient service. The quality and service network of this sub-sector is inadequate to accommodate, especially enough telephone lines. For example, 9 persons out of 1,000 have private access and only 0.2% per 1,000 have had access to public pay phones in 1995.³ There has been a persistent complains throughout the 1980s and 1990s. But the government did not even improve the poor quality facilities that are in place. The necessary quality for the attainment of an economic take-of is in a deteriorating condition and becoming the government's major challenges to regulate the provision of these grievances.

To tackle these constraints, development facilities should be undertaken in capacity rehabilitation, upgrading or modernization of the existing post and telecommunication networks on a cost recovery basis. Further more, private sector should be encouraged to engage and undertake in joint ventures with government and privately financial projects. The current inadequate state of Kenya's transport and communication infrastructure act as the major distinctive to potential investors. If it is not treated properly, it will threaten the realization of goods in the industrial regions. Over the long term, the objective focus on upgrading the levels of existing infrastructure service and provide new ones to areas that are currently disadvantageous could have a potential service for industrial development.⁴

Inflation rate: Another area of the Kenyan government's concern has been the factors of inflation instability. It has problems in the inflationary gap-differences between the aggregate demand and the output of the economy to conduct at a full employment continuously. According to the government estimates, annual inflation rate was reduced from 10.7% in 1982 to 9.5% in

¹ Ibid., p. 80

² World Trade Organization, Kenya 2000, p. 77

³ Human Development Report (UNDP 1997), p. 177

⁴ Ibid.

1986 and to slightly below that level in 1987, but rose again to nearly 10.7% in 1988.¹ The volume of money relative to available goods, resulting in a rise of the price level, depreciation of currency and/or its purchasing power, have contributed to the rise in the overall inflation.

After all these shortcomings, Kenya successfully implemented fiscal consolidation policies to contain government spending and budget deficits. But rising food prices in 1996, a result of the drought and higher fuel import costs caused inflation to increase from 9% in 1996 to 12.2% in 1997.² The monetary and fiscal policies of the Central Bank of Kenya have been constrained with an increase of inflationary pressures. According to the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) Monthly Economic Review, the decline in overall inflation rate in October 1997 has been due to the pressure of reduced food supplies from agricultural production which was affected by El Nino weather pattern. Thus, the target to reduce the rate of inflation lower than 12.2% could not be realized in 1998.³ Deteriorating infrastructure and inadequate supply of basic foods have also caused an upturn in overall inflation.

The Monthly Economic Review published by the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) attributed the inflationary pressure to the torrential rains and flooding (El Nino) that hit Kenya which have reduced many parts of the country in accessible and destroyed crops causing food shortages. The rapidly deteriorating road network has also led to increases the costs of production in sectors as manufacturing, transport and trade, leading to general price increases and a decline in food production levels for 1997-1998 below 11%.⁴ In general, the inflationary annual average rate was recorded in 1982-1991 as 12.3% and 16.2% in 1992-1999. The highest rate has been announced at 45.8% in 1993 and the lowest at 3.5% in 1999.⁵

Subsequently, in 1998 and 1999 there has been much tighter control of the monetary supply by the Central Bank and inflation was kept under the rate of 10%.⁶ The increase in inflation has been primarily driven by upward pressure on the prices of most basic household staples. Even if recent economic development is stagnant, Kenya's inflation rate has jumped sharply in

¹ Republic of Kenya Official Handbook (Nairobi 1988), p. 87

² Africa Review, Economic and Business Report 21st edition (London 1998), p. 120; World Economic and Social Survey, Trends and Policies in the World Economy, United Nations, New York and London 1997, p. 33

³ The Economic Review, December 22-28, Nairobi 1997, p. 25

⁴ The Economic Review, February 16-22; Nairobi 1998, p. 13

⁵ Republic of Kenya Trade Policy Review on Kenya (1994), p. 10; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1998), p. 83; IMF World Economic Outlook, May 2000, pp. 210, 218

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 22

September 2000 from 7.5% to 8.5% in the months of October 2000.¹ In between, the poor state of Kenya's economy has driven inflation rate to rise by 11.6%.² Although it will be difficult to bring inflation down, the growth in money supply appears to be on the track. But if the government's monetary policy remains rigid, there might be no measure depreciation of the currency.

EIU reports on its analysis that the inflation average may fall to 5.5% at the end of 2001 and to 5% in 2002.³ According to the Central Bank of Kenya reports, the average annual inflation rate was 5.8% in 2000 and was expected to fall to 5.5% at the end of 2001 and 5% in 2002.⁴ The rise in inflation has been driven by the effect of drought on food prices and by rising petroleum prices.⁵ The future of inflation pressure may then largely depend on consumer prices of imported items, particularly, crude oil and other intermediary raw materials. Changes on these items can cause upward adjustment of retail prices of wide range of goods and services, notably transport and communication, fuel etc. which in turn affect exchange rate stability and the government's budgetary discipline in its economic reform package.

Export volume: Agricultural commodity products like coffee, tea and fresh horticultural products dominate the principal Kenyan merchandise export earnings. But due to fluctuations in the soft commodity market, the export account from these commodities have declined compared to pre-1994⁶ which caused serious foreign exchange difficulties. Tea industry is the largest export earners and the country has been one of the world's leading suppliers of black teas next to India, China and Srilanka in 1994. However, low prices for both Kenya's export earner's tea and coffee on world market has drastically reduced revenue levels in 1997 and 1999.¹ Other agricultural product export commodities like cotton cereals etc. are limited and have been on a declining trend because of both climatic and trade policy related factors.

Non-agricultural industrial base oriented leading exports are derived from petroleum products, cement etc. Petroleum product's share of total exports has declined from 9% to 6% in 1994 and was set to fall further following the deregulation of the petroleum industry in October 1994. For example, foreign oil companies in Kenya were obliged to import crude oil for processing at the

¹ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 10

² EIU Kenya Country Report, November 2000, p. 19

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 11

⁴ Cited in EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 10

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 46; World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review, Kenya 2000, p. 112

Mombasa refinery before the deregulation in October 1994. But after the deregulation of petroleum industry, refined products could be imported.² This left the refinery with less crude oil for export to regional markets, especially to East Africa that allowed them to export other manufacturing industrial commodities.

However, according to the Kenyan Official data sources, the share of all other export commodities rose from 31% to 41% in the period under review. On the other hand, export earnings from food and beverages slightly increased in 1997 and 1998, mainly due to a substantial increase in exports of primary food for household consumption. But the low prices for both Kenya's export earners; tea and coffee on world market have often drastically reduced revenue levels in 1999-2000 and expected to fall in 2001-2002.³ Kenya's pattern of export has been highly oriented towards neighbouring countries. Although substantial share of primary commodity exports go to South Asia and the Middle East, exports to the United Kingdom (13.4% in 1998 and 14.7% in 1999) has been higher than to most African countries like to Egypt, Sudan Zaire and Ethiopia.⁴

According to the IMF and Economic Intelligent Unite figures, the largest export outlets for Kenya have been Uganda accounting for 15.1% (1997), 18.3% (1999) and Tanzania 13.7% (1997), 11.8% (1999), of the total export markets respectively.⁵ Regional trade has been important to Kenya, because the country has relatively developed manufacturing sectors than its neighbours could benefit from export commodities production.⁶ On the other side, the economic downturn in Ethiopia and Sudan has caused Kenya's exports to collapse. But the shift/change of government in Ethiopia reversed partly during the 1990s. Kenyan exports and other business to Ethiopia have then started to grow from 2.4% in 1994 to 3.5% share in 1995 and made new inroads in the Ethiopian Egyptian and South African markets since 1995.⁷ African markets are important as a major outlet to Kenya's export and it can consistently boost its revenue earnings especially from its petroleum exports and basic manufactured commodity.

¹ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1995), p. 14; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 26

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 30

³ Central Bank of Kenya, Kenya's Monthly Economic Reviews, Nairobi, April 1999, p. 47; World Trade Organization, Trade Review on Kenya (2000), p. 6; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 9

⁴ Republic of Kenya Trade Policy Review (1994), p. 29, EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1998), p. 5

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Report, 3rd quarter (1996), p. 20

Even if Kenya has a substantial deficit in visible trade with countries outside Africa, the United Kingdom has been traditionally the most important non-African trading partner. There were other considerable European countries but it has fallen in 1988-1990 period due to the general decline in primary commodity prices, which was replaced by Uganda becoming Kenya's major export partner.¹ After political and economic reforms were implemented, United Kingdom increased its trade activities. Non-African Kenyan trade partner next to UK has been Germany, accounting 7.5% in 1996². But export diversification became slow since prospective trading partners in the region, especially South Africa tend to have initiated an industrial base oriented activities towards the manufacture of consumer goods etc. which led to a general decline in exports on the free-on-board basis, that decreased slightly in the 1990s. Kenya has faced a number of ups and downs in all its traditional export sectors in recent years.³ The country's export earnings still cover less than two-thirds of import costs in the years under review, but goods and services account boosted by tourism showed a surplus in the 1990s.

Even if there was a drastic up and down between -7.3% (1991-1992), 17.2% (1993-1994), 20.4% (1994-1995) and -2.4% (1998-1999), -4.7% (2000) respectively, the Kenyan export has shown an annual average growth of 5.1% annually.⁴ The average increase has been better than the 1980s, which was recorded at 3.6% annual growth rate.⁵ While Kenyan economy is dependent on export earnings, the authorities have to stimulate and regulate several outstanding trade issues and barriers with their trade partners. In all cases, the country's infrastructure should be developed to promote free and participative trade in the main agricultural commodity markets.

Import volume: The greater part of Kenyan's imports consist of manufactured products, raw materials used for agriculture and textile, rubber industries, food crops including wheat, rice, sugar cane and seeds, spare parts and capital goods for industrial sector.¹ Other import items include industrial and electricity machinery, crude oil petroleum, motor vehicles, iron still, plastic

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile, November 2000, p. 43

² EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1997), p. 5; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 200, p. 5

³ The Currier, ACP-EU Kenya Country Report, No. 157, Brussels, May-June 1996, p. 19; New African Yearbook, 3rd edition, 1995-1996, p. 213; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 48

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 48; EIU Kenya Country Report, 1st quarter (1998), p. 5; EIU Country Report, (May 2000, February 2001) p. 5

⁵ New African Yearbook 1995-1996, 3rd edition (1996), p. 213; Ibid., 11th edition (1997-1998), p. 233

material inputs, intermediary raw materials for industry purposes etc.² Import is dominated by capital goods, fuel and industrial inputs, although in years of drought as in 1984, 1992-1993, 1997 and 1999-2000 large-scale of food imports were required.³ From the principal categories of industrial imports, only motor spare parts for vehicles are manufactured domestically. However, the Kenyan industry is rudimentary and high-cost, speedily in assembling imported kits, which has suffered badly due to lack of trade liberalization.⁴ The country relies on imports of machinery and telecommunication equipment. But there has been little sign of a concerted attempt by the government to address the underlying structural weaknesses in this sector instead restrictive import policies were still in action. On other developments, the EIU has recently reported that, it is expected from the Kenyan authorities to accelerate import sector in order to increase the country's trade deficit moderately.⁵

Kenya's economy is still externally oriented, making it highly open and vulnerable to external factors. The country's external trade has also been characterized by large balance of trade deficits as imports continue to exceed exports and earnings on services such as tourism has declined.⁶ The multinational corporations and other foreign investors who import capital and export their surplus out of the country still dominate Kenya's industry product commodities.⁷ Imports of goods and services have grown rapidly while growth in exports of goods and services and investment has been relatively lower. Thus, Kenya's economy does not generate adequate surplus for investment and expansion at all. But the EU remains a leading source of Kenyan imports although Africa's share rose from 2% to 14% in 1994, as South African business quickly penetrated the market following the advent of majority rule.⁸

Kenya's main trading partners are UK that has been the leading supplier of imports followed by the UAE, which provides crude oil requirements.⁹ Middle East export to Kenya accounted for 12% of the country's import bill in 1990, but was down in 1980. The largest suppliers of crude petroleum are the United Arab Emirates, followed by Saudi Arabia and Iran.¹⁰ Japan (8.6%) and

¹ Republic of Kenya Sessional Paper No. 2, Industrial Transformation to the Year 2020, Nairobi, November 1996, p. 13

² EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1997 and 1999), pp. 5, 28

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1995), p. 3; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 5

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 30

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 20

⁶ World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 302

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Profile, November 2000, pp. 42-44

⁸ Ibid., p. 43

⁹ EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

¹⁰ Republic of Kenya Trade Policy Review (1994), p. 31

the USA (6.6%) supply other Kenyan commodity requirements. South Africa (7.6%) and Germany (7.4%) became leading suppliers of Kenya imports respectively.¹ Kenya has run a consistent surplus on its invisible balance of trade, largely from tourism earnings and donor funding or grants and private transfers.²

The interruption of substantial bilateral aid following the suspension of the IMF structural loan in mid-1997 had a significant impact. However, the resumption of donor support from August 2000 has led to significant recovery in net transfer at the end of June-July 2000. But they have started to adopt much tougher evaluation methods to combat waste and embezzlement to finance Kenya.³ The donor countries and the IMF have taken the brunt of new measures closing to withhold lending to Kenya. They all have noted that insufficient progress had been made on the main contentious issues that relate to democratic governance.⁴ The question is if the new measures can be viable and acceptable by the Kenyan authorities, which they see it as foreign interference in the country's economic policies. The challenge might not only be to distribute and contain resources but also mobilize human, financial and technical resources to ensure that social, economic and environmental needs are adequately addressed accountably.

Total external debt: For decades, Kenya's economic development activities have been dependent on foreign aid. But political and economic conditionalities were set on the government and if not met on a timely basis, would lead to relocation in current and future foreign aid allocations. The modalities had affected Kenya's economy severely.⁵ Kenya's external debt stood at \$6.2bn at the end of 1996, which was lower than the year before by due payment.⁶ Official data for the end of June 1998 has also shown that the largest proportion of the debt was owed to multilateral creditors, mainly the World Bank group-the International Development Assistance (IDA) and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which account for between 30-50% and a further 8.5% to the African Development Bank (ADB) group, of Kenya's external debt.⁷

Following the reduction in the debt stock, external debt service ratio has declined by 2.4% in 1996, 8.7% (1999) and 2.0% (2000).⁸ But the World Bank has shown that total external debt has

¹ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1995 and 1997), pp. 3,5; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 5

² EIU Kenya Country Report, November 2000, p. 44

³ Ibid., p. 18

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, pp. 17-18

⁵ Kenya Government Development Plan 1994-1996, Government Printer, Nairobi 1994, p. 9

⁶ World Bank, World Development Report 2000/2001, p. 314

⁷ Central Bank of Kenya Annual Report 1997, in: Economic Review, December 22-28, Nairobi 1997, p. 28; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 34

⁸ Central Bank of Kenya Monthly Economic Review, Nairobi, January 1999, p. 36; EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

been stable since 1990s at around \$7bn. (\$3.387m (1987), \$7.010m (1998), US\$6.9 (1999)).¹ This was due to a steady increase in the concessional element of long-term loans, the reluctance of donors to commit new credits and the ability of the government to maintain a high level of debt-service payments.² However, compared with national output over the period, there has been a steady fall in the debt burden (from 71% in 1995 to 55% in 1998), while Kenya has consistently maintained its debt servicing payments.³ There was a modest rescheduling of debts in June 1998, with a re-negotiation of the pay back period for \$70m of outstanding bilateral debt. This measure has served to reduce the level of external debt servicing.⁴

On the other hand, the country's debt servicing still remains high although it seems lower than at its peak in 1995. The Kenyan authorities are urged by the United States Government to make peoples driven exercise progress on governance reforms if the country's debts is to be cancelled under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) guidelines even though Kenya does not qualify for debt cancellation.⁵ The question is if the Kenyan authorities can manage viable economy when there will be debt forgiveness. However, Kenya is still a long way from qualifying for any form of debt forgiveness such as that on offer under the IMF-World Bank's heavily indebted-poor countries (HIPC).⁶ This is extremely unlikely until the authorities have a history of commitment to economic reform and good governance, which will convince donors that any debt write off is channeled into spending in the country's social sectors of the economy to help alleviate poverty.

Real exchange growth rates: The Kenyan government has been committed to the functioning of a market oriented, relatively free and open economy. The exchange policy and control has been relatively more flexible, but some how rigid and the list of prohibited import items is no more long since the 1992 reform policies. This had an impact on the Kenyan currency exchange system which remained virtually unchanged during the period from independent to 1980 and was pegged to the Special Drawing Right (SDR), with realignments in 1973, 1974 and 1975.⁷ Since 1980, the official exchange rate of the shilling has been determined against a basket of currencies, the rate depreciated steadily from Ksh7.4 in 1980 to around Ksh17.8 in 1988 and Ksh32.2 per US\$1 dollar in late 1992.⁸

¹ World Bank, World Development Indicators 2000, p. 249; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 174

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 32

³ EIU Kenya Country Report (1999), p. 28

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 34

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1999), p. 25; EIU Kenya Country Profile, November 2000, p. 27

⁶ World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya (Geneva 2000), p. 13; EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 17

⁷ Kidane, Asmerom (1994), p. 23

⁸ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 50

Significant changes have taken place in Kenya's exchange and trade systems since 1991, as the country moved to a market-based foreign exchange allocation system.¹ Kenyan authorities significantly liberalized the foreign exchange and import licensing system in May 1993, which reversed the maintenance of import control policies. In part, these consisted in the removal of foreign exchange requirements and access to a free-foreign exchange market. In this respect, the official exchange rate moved to Ksh58 per US\$1 dollar in May 1993 and the market rate was fluctuated between Ksh70 and 75 per US\$ dollar.² A brief summary of changes in exchange regulations has been presented as follows:

- In the 1980s, an official foreign exchange rate was required for export procedures; licensing of all foreign exchange for imports
- Since October 1991, free negotiable foreign exchange certificate was introduced and a progressive development of a foreign exchange market was made on these certificates.
- On August 1992, further development of the foreign exchange market could be exchanged for Kenyan shillings, funds on the accounts at a negotiated rate with the Banks in Kenya etc.
- February 1993, all licensing procedures for foreign exchange were removed.³

Kenya has traditionally had a relatively open foreign direct investment and the procedures for investment by foreigners have been simplified because of foreign exchange policy changes since 1991. Thus the Kenyan shilling has been made convertible for external transactions, including goods and services, transfer of capital movements. Accordingly, the U.S. dollar became a principal intervention currency.⁴ Nevertheless, investment decisions have suffered from the uncertainty regarding future trade and exchange rate policies. But in principle, Kenya's real effective exchange rate depreciation could have been expected to stimulate the growth of export volumes and restrain that of import qualities. For example, between 1989 (Ksh20.57) and September 1992 (Ksh32.22), the real effective rate of the shilling has depreciated by 36%.⁵ From the end of 1998 until after the mid of 2000, it has continued to weaken against all major currencies averaging between Ksh60.37 in 1998 compared with Ksh70.33 against the US\$1 dollar at the end of 1999, and Ksh73.2 and 74.4 against US\$1 Dollar in April 2000, 76.93 (in November 2000), 78.65 against US\$1 Dollar (23 January 2001).⁶

¹ Republic of Kenya Trade Policy Review, Geneva 1994, p. 42

² EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1995), p. 57

³ Republic of Kenya Trade Policy Review (1994), p. 42

⁴ World Trade Organization, Trade Policy Review on Kenya (2000), p. 13

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Report, 4th quarter (1995), p. 3

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 11; African Research Bulletin, April 16th-May 15th (2000), p. 14325; EIU Kenya Country Report, November 2000, p. 5; Africa Analysis, No.359, 26 January 2001, p. 9

In May 2000, the EIU has reported that the average convertibility stood Ksh75.5 compared with Ksh73.2 to US\$1 dollar in March the same year.¹ In 12th of July 2000, the exchange rate was reached at its peak about 77.25, 78.65 per US\$1 dollar.² With neither the main commodity exports nor earnings from tourism expected to show significant signs of recovery until the end of 2000, the outlook for the Kenyan shilling was bearish. However, with the modest recovery in agricultural commodity exports, the resumption of donor inflows and further pick-up in the service sector after the year 2000, the major fall in shilling to lose its ground may have been protected. Although it was expected to depreciate to Ksh85: US\$1 in 2001 and Ksh90: US\$1 in 2002, there might be stabilization at an average of Ksh 58.4: US\$1 in the mid of 2002.³

The currency convertibility in a country makes free business and individuals from paying bank charges for arbitrage. One can observe from the world economic strategy that falling exchange rate helps encourage commodity exports.⁴ The finding of this topic's analysis is that since 1991, Kenya has moved closer to democracy and economic development under pressure from the international financial organization. But today, the country faces at least the following difficult challenges that hinder to tackle Kenya's economic development:

1. To achieve national reconciliation after years of ethnic strike since the 1990s
2. To prepare an orderly Presidential succession according to the amended constitution in 1997 which emphasizes the President's 2nd term in office that expires in 2002
3. To reduce the pervasive corruption that has put retardation on economic growth
4. To intensify sub-regional efforts towards economic integration in the context of East African Cooperation and restructure the country's economy for strong competition.⁵

Until 2002, the ability of President Moi's government to stamp out corruption abuses and deliver wider economic and social reforms will almost certainly be kept a key factor in determining whether **the country's economy is supportive to transition to democracy** or strengthen its authoritarian structure. Despite recent reforms, however, the privatization programme and civil service reduction efforts have stalled the government to continue dominating many key industries. With the continuous deteriorating infrastructure, **rampant political corruption** and the weak rule of law, the country needs an urgent continuous economic reform programme.⁶ However, as far as the relations between the IMF and Kenyan authorities continue to be tense due to lack of viable political and economic reforms, the previous agreement

¹ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 11

² Africa Analysis, No. 351, London, 14th July 2000, p. 9

³ See EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, pp. 11-12; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 11

⁴ Africa Analysis, No. 364, London, 26 January 2001, p. 9

⁵ The Constitution of Kenya, Revised edition, Nairobi 1997, Article 9:2

⁶ Index of Economic Freedom, the Heritage Foundation 2000, p. 291

for aid package may not be released for long that will affect interest rates which in turn will cause to fall Kenyan shilling significantly.¹

When compared with the dismal economic performance of most African countries, there was economic success story in Kenya. But Kenya's overall economic growth has failed to keep with its annual population increase and the impact of falling income per capita continues heavily on those at the bottom of the economic scale. From this perspective, there is reason for concern about the country's political and economic future to keep these hard-won achievements.

Given these analyses, to the GDP components, serious attention must be paid to the maintenance and reliability of the country's infrastructure sector if a sustainable growth and accelerated economic activities in all sectors (GDP) is to be achieved. Kenya as a transit country in East Africa should ease regional transport and communication provisions to address the large regional demands, which could boost its future economy.

4.1.3 The Sudanese Economy from a Historical Perspective

Sudan has been primarily an agricultural and pastoral economic society. From its historical prospective, the country's economic development was no longer deemed to require fundamental change in the social and economic structures inherited from the colonial regime. But it was dependent on investment of capital into the then exiting structure.² The neighbouring Arab countries that were enriched by an abundant supply of oil begun to invest in Sudan, particularly within the food production sphere. In the early 1980s, Sudanese economy was vigorously opened towards more liberalization and foreign capital development, because petro-dollar investment was adopted.³ It was predicted that Sudan could play a central role in the Arab economic order that was beginning to boost from oil resources.

Timothy Niblock writes about this: "With ambitious and great hopes of manifestation, costly agricultural development schemes have been built in Sudan's economy during President Nimeriri's regime. A multilateral Arab fund was injected into Sudanese economy, which had opened the door to European investors".⁴ Similar to Niblock, Peter Woodward writes, "With the combination of Arab finance, Western aid technology and the unparalleled agricultural resources of the country, there was an achievement in economic and infrastructure developments, especially, the massive and rapid food production was very remarkable. Sudan was to achieve short-term self-sufficiency in food production potential and could export a considerable quantity of surplus in the early few years of planning".⁵

¹ See IMF Kenyan government agreement, in EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, pp. 16-17; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 18

² Khalid Mansour (1990), pp. 312-313

³ Morton, James (1994), p. 206

⁴ Niblock, Timothy (1987), p. 287

⁵ Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 20

Despite these promising steps, Sudan has faced formidable obstacles to achieve sustainable and higher economic growth that could improve its social indicators.¹ Especially when one remarks the huge unsustainable external debt of the country and many people suffering from famine, Nimeiri's economic policy has failed to meet the expected economic growth.² His economic institutions have suffered because of the backward social structure that could not go hand in hand. Instead, corruption along Nimeiri's policy makers was very high and they could not stand the test of implementing the relevant projects that the country needed.³ Institutional decision making on economic issues within the realm of the government was sabotaged and there was lack of competent public servants. If Nimeiri's government was aware of these in several instances and why it did not take adequate steps was the relevant question of that time. Tim Niblock again writes "Under the IMF pressure, Nimeiri's regime has set a National Recovery Programme by withdrawing subsidies on basic staple foods, devaluating Sudanese currency by 25%, raising taxes on luxury items like alcohol and further curtailment of imported commodities in November 1985".⁴

Facing the debilitating effects of famine after 1983, large segments of the population had received no benefit from Nimeiri's ambitious development projects. Military officers mostly dominated his cabinet, who have been an obstacle for decades leading coup after coups, and often used to sabotage the economic development planing. As Nimeiri's Western oriented economic system has failed and became fragile, he began to encourage the corrupt parasitic military and urban class elites to protect his regime.⁵ With the regime's mismanagement economic policy and the continuation of war, economic rehabilitation became untenable. Thus, a combination of drought, renewed rebellion in the south, a deepening balance of payment deficit and soaring external debt had exhausted much of the country's economic optimism. In order to reverse the economic collapse, Nimeiri has decreed his version of Islamic Law by imposing Islamic tax and economy system in September 1983, but it was disastrous and ruined the private economic management.⁶ These measures have caused to mass demonstration, strikes and riots that brought to end Nimeiri's days in power.

Despite his earlier success, particularly in developing the country's physical and social infrastructures, petroleum exploration among others, which has left an important mark on the country's economy, Nimeiri's regime's mismanagement and corruption, wasteful civil war had brought the country's economy in ruin.⁷ The prime question to be raised has been why this had

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 11

² World Bank, World Development Indicators (2000), p. 250

³ Khalid, Mansour (1990), pp. 317, 319

⁴ Niblock, Timothy (1987), p. 283

⁵ Ibid., p. 288

⁶ Lesch, Mosely Ann, in: Foreign Affairs, Vol.65, No.4 (1987), p. 810; El-Affendi, Abdelwahab (1991), p. 121

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 12

happened? After Nimeiri was overthrown in April 1985, the elected civil government of Sadiq al-Mahdi has reversed the Islamic economy and tried to establish a Western-style economic power but also failed to recover and adjust protracted economic crisis that were inherited from Nimeiri regime. The opportunities of a breakthrough from Nimeiri's demonic rule did not provide life for the ordinary Sudanese population.¹ Instead, Sadiq al-Mahdi's civil government has faced both old and new economic troubles.

His policies could not deflate the exploitative military power and an extremely costly civil war that caused irreplaceable damage to the country. SPLA accused al-Mahdi's administration for looting Sudan's economy.² Nonetheless, the government's reaction to the situation was not efficient. Al-Mahdi's regime policies have lost sight of political, economic and social events. His government has failed to address the worsening economic crisis and was slow to reach a political settlement to the civil war.³

In another development, Prime Minister al-Mahdi has appealed to the international community for supporting his economic policy which they were willing to give but his position to solve the continuing war problem in the south and censoring political participation under his leadership made them skeptical.⁴ Al-Mahdi's government did not show in the economic development, instead his policy has failed miserably. He has missed and wasted the golden opportunity to strengthen Sudan's political unity and stabilize parliamentary rule, which could have led the country to economic development. His leadership was also open to pressure and influence from the fundamentalist Islamic groups who have had strong connections with the military.

The traditional accustomed military elite, strongly supported by Islamic fundamentalists had overthrown al-Mahdi's civil government in July 1989 but did not put forth a better plan for economic reform, instead, it has Islamized the country's economy.⁵ The civil war, which has been a prime challenge to economic policy making and development, is continuing further which sapped domestic and foreign investor's confidence.⁶ Moreover, with the army at the heart of the government's power structure, it has been difficult to curtail defense expenditure and achieve fiscal and monetary economic goals. The continued drain on the country's economy has preoccupied Sudanese policy makers. But on the basis of discussing Sudanese economic activities and challenges, people have not been properly directed into the utilization of the country's vast resources and have faced a daunting economic crisis since the 1990s.

¹ African Events, Vol.2, No.1, London, January 1986, p. 26; Africa Events, Vol.3, No.7, July 1987, p. 19

² Garang, John (1987), pp. 159-160

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1995-1996, p.4

⁴ International Herald Tribune, 10 October 1986

⁵ SIPRI Annual Report (2001), p. 31

⁶ Financial Times, 30 December 1988; Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 454; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 5

During this course of time, civil war, chronic political instability, adverse weather, high inflation rate have buttered Sudan. Because of large foreign debt and huge arrearages have continued to cause difficulties, the International Monetary Fund has taken the unusual step of declaring Sudan non-cooperative in 1993 due to its failure to pay the continuing arrearages since 1984 to the Fund.¹ After Sudanese authorities have backtracked on promised reforms in 1992-1993, the IMF has threatened to expel Sudan from the Fund, whose measures have been particularly implemented. To avoid expulsion, Sudan's authorities have agreed to make payments on arrears to the Fund, liberalized exchange rates and reduced subsidies.² The question has been and still remains if the centralized authority of the state could be used to intensify the developed effort and bring benefits to a wider cross-section of the public. But the formal economy was in shambles, the government of Omar Hassan al-Beshir has not demonstrated an ability to initiate or sustain viable strategies for recovery. Instead, the country suffers under the burden of maintaining a costly military campaign in the south and international and domestic pressure has grown since 1989.

Sudan's economic structure, whether during the military or civil regimes has been erratic throughout the past decades. Failure of development strategy and the conflict in the southern region crushed the country's economy and needs urgent rehabilitation. While the Sudanese authority experience with developing planning and continuity has been conspicuously absent from economic policy, the question remains if the current leaders can make significant progress to solve all these problems. For example, in contrast to its predecessors, the present regime has adopted an activist approach of economic policy relying on repression to stifle the unrest arising from its radical measures that could not bring any solution to the problems. But at present, the country's external debt is mounting,³ its economic structure suffers in low agricultural and industrial production and a famine that is affecting almost half of the population also challenges the regime severely. Given these shortcomings, there are many possible explanations for the failure of Sudanese economic development. Comparing Sudan's economic performance with other similar countries in the region is possible to hypothesize. But the benefits that might have occurred to the country and its Western trading partners would have been very impressive, if the responsible authorities could end the conflict through political settlement.

Recently, Sudanese authorities had scored remarkably successful in breaking out of diplomatic isolation, but politics is still driven by those radical Islamists and the system is no less Islamist than before. The war is getting ever nastier and the government is pouring out militaristic

¹ IMF Press Release No.93/35, Washington D.C., August 6, 1993; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 20

² EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter (1998), p. 21

³ Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter (1998), pp. 15-16; World Bank, World Development Indicators (2000), p. 250; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 11

propaganda on its mass media, systematic bombing on aid stations in civilians areas, and other horrifying series attacks in central and southern regions continue further. It is deliberately using famine as a weapon of war, which has been condemned by NGOs Aid Agencies in the year 2001.¹ From this observation, the fortune to develop economic and social structures that can **promote democracy in Sudan** is bleak. Economic data that were released at the end of 2000 have made detailed assessments of current trends within the economy that became highly problematic. However, leaving the overall assessments open to doubt, the development of the country's mining sector may claim wide spread encouragement of new foreign investment, which can boost the country's economy.² Whether the government can provide the provision of adequate local security remains the central point of discussion. Whatever political and economic policies the consecutive governments have adopted, this section will try to find out why and how events took this turn and examine the country's selected economic indicators in detail.

Selected economic indicators of Sudan: As far as the Sudanese economic structure is concerned, the following main indicators, such as gross national product, gross domestic product, inflation rate, export and import volumes, total external debt and real exchange growth rates are selected for technical reasons to be demonstrated in this topic.

Gross national product (GNP): Despite having considerable natural resources that could potentially generate wealth, Sudan remains an extremely poor country. During the 1980-1990, Sudan's GNP had been estimated at an average price US\$498.50 per head but was decreasing in real terms hereafter.³ According to the World Bank estimates, the decrease was drastic which reached at an average rate of US\$340.00 between 1991-1992, US\$290 (1997).⁴

Sluggish economic performance over the past decades has attributed largely to the declining annual rainfall, has reduced levels of per capita income and consumption which, the country became among the poorest nations in Africa. The three combined effects of war in the south, drought and national debt have cut GNP per capita to US\$290 (1998) and \$330 (1999).⁵ It was also reported that 85% (1980) and 67% (1990s) of the population live in absolute poverty⁶. The chaotic state of Sudanese economy rises doubts about the reliability of its data, which are in any

¹ The Economist, London, August 19th-25th 2000, pp. 33-34; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, pp. 3, p. 16

² EIU Sudan Country Report, London, June 2000, pp. 22-23

³ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 34; Ibid., (1998-1999), p. 35

⁴ World Bank, African Social and Economic Trends, 1997-1998 Annual Report (1998), p. 48; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999), p. 199; World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 128

⁵ Human Development Report (UNDP) (2000), p. 330; World Bank, World Development Report (2000/2001), p. 316

⁶ ILO, World Employment Report 1998-1999, Geneva 1998, p. 213; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 213

case scanty and outdated. For example, accurate statistics of what economic activity has continued in the south is mostly not available and the southern devastation and the war itself affect the whole country's economy, with a massive military spending.¹ In addition to that, the government does not control most of the southern regions.

The accuracy of GNP estimates are questionable while a considerable part of the economy may be unrecorded because of the extent of the informal economy and other unregistered activities. For example, estimates to GNP may particularly be open to question when a large proportion of the population (58%) earns its subsistence income and employs in trade activities outside of the government's economic policy.² If the Sudanese resources could be exploited to the benefit of its population's living standard, the support of economic and social development would significantly be higher. Sudan's poverty is in part as a result of poor economic management and the civil war. The question of its alleviation will be determined on the country's peace and stability.

Gross domestic product (GDP): Sudan's GDP depends heavily on agriculture and there have been a series of recessions in the 1980s and 1990s. There was a low level of real average GDP growth rate accounting 1.2% (1980s-1990s).³ However, the World Bank has reported that there had been annual average growth rate between 4.4-5.1% in real terms since the 1991.⁴ The key contributions to GDP sectors are agriculture, industry, services and their branches. Their contribution has been up and down throughout the decades. According to the 1996 EIU reports, the composition of the three sectors to GDP were registered, agriculture 42%, industry 16.5% and Services 41.5%. In a current development, the EIU has reported that Agriculture 39.3%, industry 18.2% and services 42.5% have contributed to GDP of the country.⁵

The development of oil sector should see mining play an increasingly important part in GDP growth in future that could also mean continued investment as other oil exploration projects appear and spin-offs such as petrochemical and power-generation schemes are built. High oil revenue will support capital spending in infrastructure as well as extraction of oil sector in the 2001.⁶ Little economic data have been released making a detailed assessment of current trends

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 13; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 12

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 17; Ibid., (1997-1998), p. 28

³ World Bank, African Development Report (1998-1999), p. 200.

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, 41; World Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 214

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter (1998), p. 5; EIU Sudan Country Report (June 2000), p. 5; Human Development Report (UNDP) (2000), p. 208

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter (2000), p. 27; Ibid., November 2000, p. 10

within the economy that became highly problematic to demonstrate. The information given by EIU or other researchers was based on the government's collection. Therefore, GDP growth figures must be treated with caution. The government data figures may not only be skewed for political purposes but are also inefficiently and inaccurately collected.

While supply of accurate data allocation is not a priority in war-torn Sudan. Especially outside the main cities where conditions often differ markedly from those found in urban areas, it should also be noted that Sudan is by any standards a poor country with a fast growing population in the 1980s and 1990s.¹ GDP expansion at the given rates seen in the 1990s therefore does not necessarily translate into a significant improvement in living conditions. Recently, GDP growth fell significantly as the government was focused increasingly on the war and managed the economy poorly.² On the other hand, as the oil industry comes on stream, export volumes may increase that will lead to more noticeable increase in GDP growth in the coming years. The question is if there would be efficient economic policy by the present government to develop the country's main sectors (Agriculture, Industry, Service) that can contribute much to GDP growth.

Agriculture: As agriculture is one of Africa's important sectors, it contributes much to Sudan's economy in terms of employment and shares to the country's GDP. Its is dominated by the production of several key crops, under a combination of rain-fed and irrigated schemes.³ Agricultural sector's major components are producing staple food and providing export cash crops. Food production, including meat is the livelihood for many Sudanese. Many African countries like Sudan export cash crops from their main sources of foreign exchange and thus they have the capacity to harvest and develop for exports.⁴

Like Ethiopia, Kenya and some other African countries, Sudan's economic performance largely determines agriculture, which provides 90% of raw materials for domestic industries and 80% of export earnings. Between 1980 and 1998, an average of 71% of the national labour force have relied on agriculture for their livelihood.⁵ The Economic Intelligence Unite from London in its different quarterly and annual issues has reported that agricultural sector contribution in Sudan has been one of the highest shares to GDP in the 1990s. For example, it was recorded as an

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 13; EIU Country Report, November 2000, p. 11

² EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2001, p. 10

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 10

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1995-1996, p. 221

⁵ New African Yearbook 2001, p. 500; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1998 and 2000), pp. 218, 227; World Bank, World Development Indicators 2000, p. 28

annual average of 38.4% between 1990-1998.¹ Sudanese agricultural potential depends mainly on direct rainfall and irrigation heavily from the Nile River. A major expansion of rain-fed production was projected, which was to provide most staple food and export crops that would have helped to generate vigorous economic growth shortly.² However, by the early 1980s, the continuous deteriorating rainfall in the west and east of the country begun to reduce agricultural production which have sharply affected its GDP.³ Rain-fed agricultural scheme has been vulnerable to drought that caused frequent food shortages in the 1980s and 1990s.⁴ There are 4 distinct sub-sectors of Sudanese agriculture. 1. Modern irrigated farming, most of which consists of large-scale schemes, 2. Mechanized crop production, 3. Traditional rain-fed farming, 4. Livestock rearing.⁵

The labour intensive methods of the traditional agricultural sector give a social importance beyond their contribution to production. Increase in human and animal population due partly to public health and veterinary programmes and partly to the concentration of population in specific areas as a result of conflict have put great pressure on land water and vegetation in the country. For example, as the irrigated modern agricultural sector has provided most of the country's foreign currency, the rain-fed sector has produced food requirements until the 1984/1985 drought.⁶ The major cash crops from this sector are cotton, groundnuts, gum Arabic, sesame seeds, sugar, pulses, grain sorghum and wheat.⁷

Cotton has been Sudan's most import crop and foreign currency earner for the past 50 years. The country has one of the world's largest producer of long-staple cotton and a moderate producer of medium-staple cotton. However, there have been big fluctuations in production and exports due to the accumulative effects of drought, coupled with poor marketing because of the drop in export prices in the past 15 years.⁸ Lack of transport facilities to carry livestock and other agricultural commodities from the central and western Savannah regions to Port Sudan constraints the country's ability to export cattle among others.⁹ Increased frequency and intensity of drought, combined with environmental stress caused by population pressure are thought to be

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, 4th quarter (1993, 1994, 1996), pp. 3, 5; EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter (1998), p. 5; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 41; EIU Sudan Country Report (June 2000), p. 5

² Woodward, Peter (1991), p. 22; New African Yearbook 1995-1996, p. 411

³ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 1447

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, 4th quarter (1999), p. 28

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 16

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 5

⁷ Khalid, Mansour (1990), p. 313; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 26-27; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

⁸ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 19; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 27

⁹ EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 27

the key obstacle factors for agricultural development in Sudan which continues to devastate agricultural land and heighten the problem of structural food deficits.¹

The inadequate transportation system and the high cost of hauling agricultural products over great distance are other major hindrances to economic development in the country. The absence of land use policy-aimed at sustainable agricultural development exacerbates this situation. The civil war had also rendered food security in the south that became even more unreliable. According to the UN's World Food Programme (WFP) reports in early January 2001, a number of leading indicators of food shortages were already apparent and an estimated 2.5m people would likely require food aid in the same year.² On the other hand, the "Action Against Hunger campaign group" on its geo-politics of hunger 2000-2001 sources has reported that the Sudanese government was one of the number of African governments which used food shortages as a weapon of war and there was evidence of "deliberate discriminatory policies in food distribution, intending to bring about the subjugation of minorities".³

The main concern of the government should not only be to increase the quality of cotton export revenues and maintaining the levels of agricultural production but also support with greater financial incentives and better extension services for farmers as well as improvements in irrigation drainage and storage facilities. The country's image in the international community against the brutalities it conducted for years on the southern citizens' should be normalized. There has to be a continuous process of expansion in the long term, which could prove a successful line of defense against the increasing incidence of drought, famine among others in order to ensure the rise in food production. The main constraints on expansion in agricultural sector have been the inadequacies of transport, that surplus of food crops from some areas may not be distributed to alleviate food shortages.⁴ Nevertheless, agriculture remains still one of the largest key single component sectors of GDP and a source of the country's potential foreign exchange earner. Therefore, improvement of the proper organizational utilization of agricultural potential remains the critical importance to Sudan's economic future.

Industry: Sudan's industry contributes little to the total national economy. The country's industrial main sub-sectors are manufacturing and mining, mostly concentrated in Khartoum areas. Some manufacturing industries exist in other regions but they are in a very early stage of development chiefly due to the constraints of chronic under investment and poor national infrastructure.⁵ Sudan's limited industrial development consists primarily of agricultural

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2000, p. 24

² EIU Sudan Country Report February 2001, p. 27

³ Quoted in Ibid., p. 28

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Report, London June 2001, pp. 26-28

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 24

processing and various light industries located at Khartoum north. It includes companies producing flour, cement household goods, plastics, oil processing, cotton-based textiles, sugar refinery etc. But some industry associated with textiles, paper, footwear, sugar and petroleum refineries have also been established.¹

Sudan's manufacturing sector is small but still accounts for more than 50% of industrial activity. Manufacturing and mining together have contributed only about 8.7% to GDP in 1991 and employed about 4% of the country's total labour force in 1980-1985.² Industry employed 8% (1980), 9% (1990) and 11% (1996), 8.8% (1997) of the country's total labour force.³ In the 1990s, industrial activities have increased but not to the extent of fulfilling the country's needs. For example, its contribution to GDP has increased to 15.3% (1990), 16.7% (1992), 17.3% (1996) and 18.2% (1998).⁴ About 9% (1990) and 11% (1996) of the total labour force work in one or another form of industry.⁵ Industry like agriculture has been dogged with problems. Most factories were working at just 25% of capacity by the mid of 1980s and no significant improvement has been seen to upgrade the industrial capacity.⁶ Lack of foreign exchange for importing essential intermediate raw material inputs, shortage of trained manpower and spare parts, poor energy supplies, weak transport and communication systems, manufacturing activity have declined in 1993/94 and their contribution to GDP has been falling constantly.

These factors coupled with infrastructure bottlenecks have led to low capacity utilization and the closure of many manufacturing enterprises, while it could not meet to local needs and save in foreign exchange.⁷ The government's uneven development plan continues to frustrate integration of full economic development programmes. Since Sudan is spending scarce foreign exchange to import goods that it could produce itself, the amount of idle capacity, especially in sugar, textile and food industries are in a grave concern.⁸ Sudan could have an attractive business prospects for foreign investors, but the climate for investment in industry and other economic ventures have been unpromising for years due to its massive accumulated foreign debt and political instability.

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 29

² World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 300

³ Human Development Report (UNDP) (1997), p. 183; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1998), p. 218; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 5; ILO World Employment Report 1989-1999, p. 221

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 28; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 208

⁵ African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 227

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter (1999), p. 5

⁷ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 1449

⁸ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998 and 1999-2000, pp. 24, 31

Mining: Despite Sudan's vast size and potential mineral wealth not much has been done to exploit these deposits. Extensive oil revenue are believed to exist in the western part of the country near the Red Sea and other areas but lack of funds, technology and difficulties of access have limited to exploit mineral resources.¹ In the beginning of the 1980s, the US has discovered large deposits of oilfields in the Blue Nile district of southern areas. But exploitation was abandoned in the mid 1980s after the southern rebels have attacked on oilfield workers.² Oil exploitation has been the government's priority, but the potential oilfields are in war-torn south and in particular in the south west which is the center of conflict and under greater security risk for oil exploring companies.³ However, the government has invested considerable resource in security for the oil companies, as it views oil production as a way of improving economic conditions, thus being the regime's political prospects.⁴

In mid 1990s, a Canadian Company Talisman acquired the concession area oilfields and announced that it was able to produce crude oil.⁵ However, production levels were constrained by a lack of transport from the oilfields to refinery in Port Sudan, which is around 1064km.⁶ In late 1997, an agreement for construction of the pipeline had been signed and collected a bid with the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNPOC), a Consortium of foreign oil companies including the Canadian Firm Talisman, China National Petroleum Company (CNPC), Petronas of Malaysian states oil companies and the Sudanese State owned company Sudapet.⁷ The promise of pipeline has created interest by other international companies in concession areas. However, given the lack of existing infrastructure in the country as well as the likelihood that rebel forces may try to disrupt pipeline construction, the scheduled time was delayed.⁸

On June 1999, the greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNPOC) has completed the oilfield pipeline, which may give the government an important economic achievement that links to the export terminal south of Port Sudan. It is the largest pipeline in Africa and was built in the face of substantial security threats from opposition, but the country has begun exporting oil since

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 19

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 26

³ New African Yearbook, 13th edition (2001), 502

⁴ Sudanow, Khartoum, October-November 1999, p. 11; EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 11

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 23

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 26

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter (1999), p. 24; Ibid., June 2000, p. 20

⁸ New African Yearbook, 13th edition (2001), p. 502

30 August 1999.¹ Sudan's discovery and export of oil raised hopes that it might soon join the list of Middle East Oil Producers. More other fresh findings of oilfields and exploration blocks have been made with substantial oil and gas deposits. For example, Australian Oil Company and a share with Lundin from Swedish Companies have undertaken this exploration further.²

In this respect, foreign interest in Sudan's oil sector has increased operating, but considerable risk incidents remain in oilfield areas. The question is if the government can ensure the security of oil companies working in the oilfield areas by force or with peaceful political settlements. Oil exporting would alleviate the pressure on import bill and would make Sudan less vulnerable to future sanction measures as well as providing a useful way of motivating foreign commercial interests. The country has also other untapped deposits of minerals such as gold, diamond, uranium etc. Gold has been mined by traditional methods for years. But since recently, it is being mined largely through joint venture with Chinese and French companies.³ Much of the activity is concentrated in the Red Sea hill areas and to develop mineral reserve exploration, Sudan needs more financial resources, technology and skilled manpower.

On the one hand, the development of Sudan's oil industry and the construction of pipeline will open the way for oil exports and may end the country's reliance on imported oil products. It will also ease Sudan's pressing balance of payments problems, generate additional growth and encourage foreign companies to invest in other potential sectors of the country's economy. On the other hand, the existing oil project and plans to develop it further continues to face threat from armed opposition. For example, SPLA considers foreign oil finding areas to be legitimate military targets in the civil war while it claims that the government will use oil revenue to step up its military action against the south and continue human rights abuses.⁴ According to the New African Yearbook reports, government spokesman had threatened that the proceeds from oil would help build missile and tank factories to defeat the SPLA.¹ That is why the SPLA demands foreign oil companies to stop their exploration projects until the war ends. When and how the civil war can be resolved is not insight but it depends on the hands of both the SPLA and the government. Unless the government makes concessions, it is possible for the rebels to attack the

¹ Sudanow, Khartoum, October-November 1999, p. 10; New Africa Yearbook (2001), p. 503

² EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd edition (1999), p. 25; EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2001, pp. 23-24

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997 and 1997-1998, pp. 23, 26

⁴ Amnesty International, Sudan: The Human Price of Oil, AI Index: AFR 54/01/00/ERR, London, 3rd May 2000, p. 4

oil production areas where foreign personnel and assets are stationed² to expand drilling fields that can be disrupted easily.

Services: Being a small industrial state Sudan has a large service sector. Even if there is a wide disparity between the better-served north and the deprived southern region, commitments to private consumption are high. In the 1980s and 1990s, service sector has been the highest contributor to GDP.³ It comprises Transport construction and communication infrastructure, trade, intermediate inputs, tourism and other branches of government economic activities.

The driving and wheels of economic activity in service sector are divided into hard and soft infrastructure. For example, the hard infrastructure includes most transport and communication facilities, energy and water supply. The soft infrastructure comprises trade, investment and financial infrastructures such as stock markets, commodity exchanges, significant private investment and other related issues.⁴ Service sector has employed 11% (1980), 22% (1990), 27% (1996), 22% (1998) of the country's total labour force.⁵ As in the other sectors, factors shaping service provisions in Sudan have been hampered by the continuous war in the south and its development depends how the government will deal with these challenges.

Tourism: Although Sudan has a potential to tourist destination, revenue from tourism is largely limited. The attraction of the Red Sea could potentially be supplemented by wildlife safaris, which believed to offer a large number of archeological sites. But there is a challenge to suitable accommodation outside the capital Khartoum.⁶ The number of tourists in the country has always fluctuated with changes in the political and economic situation. The civil war has contributed to Sudan's poor image abroad and the stagnation of tourist sector. Its potential has also been hampered by the continuous political instability that deteriorated significant improvement in the country's infrastructure.⁷

Lack of suitable accommodation in hotel services, tourist facilities outside the capital and poor domestic rail and air services indicate that tourists who want to travel via Khartoum to primarily archeological destinations to the north and east of the country are few. On the one hand, the

¹ New African Yearbook (2001), p. 503

² SIPRI Annual Report (2001), p. 32

³ EIU Sudan Country Report, 4th quarter (1993), p. 3; Ibid., 3rd quarter (1996), p. 3; Ibid., June 2000, p. 5

⁴ African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999), p. 184

⁵ Human Development Report (UNDP) (1997), p. 183, African Development Bank, African Development Report (1998 and 2000), pp. 218, 227

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 30

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 23

severe continuous war in the south threatens a safety for tourist routes to historical places and National parks, that are closed and there is no hope to open these destinations unless there is peace in the country. The dangers inherent in travelling to certain areas mean that Sudan is far from popular place to tourism. On the other hand, there is low level of accommodation infrastructure and entertainment facilities due to insufficient financial asset budget restrictions.¹

The future of tourism sector could be developed if there is a guarantee of safety in the tourist destination areas and various ways of communication are available to promote public awareness on it, including training staff in the public and private sectors. For example, linking tourist cities with airfreights and the low quality of facilities in the railway transport, especially to the remote destinations inside the country, should be accorded to the international standards. Without a significant improvement in the country's infrastructure and secured political stability, there is little hope for the development of Sudan's tourism sector.²

Transport and Communication: The inadequacy and inefficient infrastructure services such as transport and communication and energy have major implications on Sudan's development of economic and social integration. There has been a marked expansion and improvement in the country's infrastructure during Nimeiri's regime, which had been beneficial to the rest of the economy. But its development has been halted because of the civil war, resulting in the deteriorating or degradation of the country's infrastructure. Most bridges, which are often destroyed in combat, as offensive or defensive tactics from both sides of the warring factions, have never been repaired.³ This had severely hampered economic activity in the country and the industrial sector has been badly affected, becoming extremely difficult and costly to transport goods.

Given its inter linkages with economic growth, poverty, education competitiveness of domestic as well as international trade, inadequacy of physical infrastructure remains one of the most development challenges to Sudan.⁴ Historically, railway has played a major role in Sudan's transport and communication system. The most important stretch of railway network consists of a single-track 5,500km narrow-gage infrastructure, which connects Khartoum with Port Sudan.⁵ It is the largest network in Africa. But lack of finance has resulted in a continuous deterioration of its capacity.⁶ Since 1998, the government is trying to improve the rail system as part of its efforts to upgrade transport infrastructure. But almost one quarter of the rolling stock is out of service,

¹ World Tourism Organization Commission for Africa (1999), p. 101

² Ibid., pp. 120-121

³ Woodward, Peter, Sudan After Nimeiri (1991), p. 20

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 16

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 29

⁶ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 1450

although rehabilitation schemes were tried to reduce this proportion by aid funds.¹ The country's entire railway system is inadequate and needs urgent rehabilitation to fulfill the demands of transportation. While the government could not fund, it seeks to forecast donors for direct investment in order to meet rehabilitation for the disrupted infrastructure. However, given Sudan's existing debt arrears² and continued restrictions on security threat, it is unlikely that sufficient funds would be forthcoming.

The road transport network has been another important infrastructure for the rural development, which accounted 60% between 1980 and 1983. Although the government has tried to expand it in 1994/1995 by nearly 18%, it contracted again in 1995/1996.³ Sudan has poor transport system, which cannot fulfill social and economic appeal of citizens. For example, the main roads and secondary roads have very bad links. The inadequacy of Sudan's road and rail system was highlighted during the 1984-1985 and 1990-1991 drought problems. Food aid could not be distributed from Port Sudan to the famine-affected areas through the country's transport networks.⁴

In 1995, there were an estimated 3,160km main roads and 739km of secondary roads. But most of them are unpaved apart from the 1,186km all-weather motorway from Port Sudan to Khartoum, which was completed during Nimeiri regime in 1980. During the time of writing, construction has been underway by the government of Iran, which links north and south Sudan. It is suggested that the military may benefit for the purpose of war strategy to crash southern rebels and sup the rich oil reserve from the region.⁵ There is also shipping on the Red Sea Coast major commercial port and inland water ways linking the north and south long distance river transport connections. But the river transport in the Nile Valleys is not operating due to political tension between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia.⁶ Water way transport in Sudan remains under developed. Since 1981, Sudanese consecutive governments have been trying to open waterways in the areas of White Nile with some foreign support, notably from USA and EC especially Germany.

The present government has tried to double the main ports capacity by the mid 1990s, but it became the victim of poor political relations between the government and opposition groups who has been fighting to overthrow the regime.⁷ The rural river transport has been disrupted by the war on the upper reaches of the Nile, while it could be important for military and relief transport. Regarding maritime transport, Sudan has a big harbour at Port Sudan that would have served the country's port for exports and imports to pass through, if it could be encouraged properly.

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 19

² World Bank, World Development Indicators (2000), p. 254

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 29

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 31

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 16

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 32

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 17

Sudan Airways: The country's Airway has tended to concentrate on prestigious international routes while the domestic service has been neglected.¹ Air service in the country is limited, especially the southern domestic routes have been suspended because of the civil war. Even if airway operation connects Khartoum with some 20 other towns domestic as well as international services, especially in Africa, the Middle East and Europe,² no progress has been reported on the project. There are 35 airfields, which operate in the country, but many of them are unpaved and subjected to closure in heavy rains that makes it very difficult to promote sufficient infrastructure.

Telecommunication System: Sudan's distribution of telecommunication services is biased in favour of urban areas like Khartoum and Port Sudan. Communication links are still poor and much of the country remained remote and often inaccessible. For example, teledensity or the number of main telephone lines is only 4 per 1,000 inhabitants.³ Even if the majority of citizens are desperate and live about half a day or many hours walk away from nearest telephone nets, Sudan's telecommunication system operates connecting to African countries and Europe. Many rural areas of the country have limited or no access to telephone lines. The country is largely dependent on industries outside the region for the supply of telecommunication equipment and spare parts.⁴ The present government has tried to modernize telephone networks in Khartoum since 1997 with the help of French donation. In 1999, the United Arab Emirates and Quotar Telecommunication firms have agreed to invest in a further programme to expand the landline and rise capacity to 1.5m lines by the end of 2003.⁵

One of the challenges vital to Sudan's future peace and economic development concerns the rehabilitation and reconstruction of physical infrastructure such as telecommunication, power, road transports, railway, airports and water supply lines in war affected areas. Sudan requires improving strategic infrastructure services in pursuit of the abiding objectives of accelerated economic growth and poverty reduction. Telecommunication infrastructure as a conduit to the Internet lies at the heart of the information and knowledge-based economy, which the Sudanese authorities must be concerned about.

Inflation rate: As Sudan remains extremely dependent on imported food and other commodities, consecutive governments could not reduce inflation rate. Nimeiri's ruinous Islamic economic

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 19

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 17

³ Human Development Report (UNDP 1999), p. 55

⁴ African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999), p. 115

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 17

policies led to spiraling inflation. The civil government of Sadiq al-Mahdi has also not managed to increase any national revenues that could halt down inflation, the external debt or trade deficit.¹ In 1992, the present government has instituted a set of reforms that exceeded the IMF's recommendations, but it quickly aborted the attempt to liberalize foreign exchange regulations and lift most price control on account of raising domestic unrest.² Poor performance, most notably in production of staple foods have an immediate impact on prices. Changes in output can both reduce economic growth and exacerbate underlying structural problems. For example, aggregating of these inflationary pressures in the early 1990s caused the decline of Sudanese pound, which pushed up prices of imports significantly, and the reduction of government subsidies on fuel and basic commodities.³

Private industrial investment has virtually stopped in the 1990s and condition became ideal for hoarding goods and rising prices. The inflation rate that reflected by consumer price has increased, running higher than 100% per year. For example, according to the World Bank and IMF reports to EIU, inflation measured in Sudan has been high in the 1980s and until the beginning of 1990s, which was recorded at an annual average of 124% between 1992-1996.⁴ The authorities have agreed with the IMF to take steps in reducing inflation as part of their stabilization programme in 1997, (The rate which has slowed down the increase in 1990-1998) they have continued to fund the large war induced deficit by borrowing from the Central Bank. This has a destabilizing effect on the price indexes and hampered to halt the fragile inflation rise.⁵ On the other hand, according to the EIU reports inflation has eroded real wages and living standards throughout the 1990s.⁶

Official estimation in 1996 has reported that inflation has fallen from 132% to less than 15% in 1999 but was probably only marginally overstating the government's achievements. In its February (2001) review, EIU sources have reported that the government has brought inflation under control reducing it dramatically to a low level of 8% compared to 16% at the end of 1999 but it remained at last by 10% in 2000.⁷

¹ Khalid, Mansour (1990), pp. 314, 385

² Middleton, John, *Encyclopaedia of Africa*, Vol.4 (1998), p. 169

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 14

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile (1996-1997, 1997-1998), p. 16, 36

⁵ *New African Yearbook* 2001, p. 500

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 24; EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2000, p. 5

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 22; EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2001, p. 22

Government data highlighted a sharp fall in annual consumer price inflation and this downward trend continued into early 1999 largely as a result of tight monetary policy, restrictions on bank credit creation and the declining fiscal deficit.¹ There can be no doubt that the regime has succeeded in bringing price growth under control, but there are open questions on the reliability of government's macro-economic data that must be treated with caution. The regime can be given credit for its achievement although it has benefited over the past three years from an average fall import prices that had led into radical inflationary pressure in the mid of 2001.²

On the other hand, there might be some additional inflationary pressure in the year (2001) as domestic demand increases and average international prices for many consumers and intermediate goods rise. But rising oil export, receipts over the same year may generate an increased supply of foreign exchange that can further ease pressure on the Sudanese money market. In addition to the unfavourable external debt situation, inflation rates remained high although notable variations did exist. Meanwhile, the state remained either indisposed or incapable of asserting control over illegal trading practices and the black market of foreign currency. But it may depend on the stability of world commodity prices and economic policy, which affects the strength of Sudan's currency.

Export volume: Sudan's export consists almost entirely of raw materials and semi-processed commodities. Major Sudanese exports have been cotton, Gum Arabic, groundnuts, sesame and oil seeds.³ Traditionally, the single most important export crop for Sudan was cotton but its contribution to export revenue has decreased in recent years.⁴ The change has been due to a diversification policy of cultivation away from cotton, which resulted, a fall in production levels, poor marketing and cumulative effects of climatic variations and pest infections.⁵ Another aspect of decrease in Sudan's revenue from cotton as it was ones merely a monopoly supplier on the world market has been due to competition from Mauritania, Senegal, Nigeria etc. which have a combined production more than Sudan.⁶ But in a large part, the political decision to replace profitable export crops with food crops in government irrigated schemes has resulted problems.

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2000, p. 20

² EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 10

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 36

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 26

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 28

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 27

Other export commodities are produced in agricultural schemes mostly from rainfed cultivation, which takes place in certain irrigated areas along the Blue Nile and White Nile location rivers. For example, gum Arabic has been Sudan's other famous leading agricultural cash crop exports, whose earnings has increased rapidly supplying about 80% for the world market which is used in the production of soft drinks, pharmaceuticals, food preparations and printing.¹ Its export has been affected by sanctions, as the US was a major market for gum Arabic for decades. Much of Sudan's export decline has also been due to a drop in international price commodities and low export volume, which was hampered by bad weather, and political instability in production areas. Sudan has also suffered from chronic trade deficits and its export level has fallen considerably.²

In addition to this, the country's trade relations have been affected by political events since 1989, which has manifested in economic sanctions imposed on Sudan by the US and its partners in November 1997.³ Trading partners like Saudi Arabia has long been the principal market for Sudanese exports. For example, a substantial share of massive Sudanese exports to Saudi Arabia (39% in 1993) was down to (19.6% in 1995 and 28% in 1996) due to political tension between the two countries. But despite political difficulties associated with Sudan's support for Iraq during the Gulf war, Saudi Arabia has been Sudan's most important export market throughout the 1990s.⁴ Thailand and Italy have been the next export share taking from Sudan in 1993, but France and Germany have imported more Sudanese commodities since 1998.⁵

Sudan's heavily reliance on export earnings from the agricultural sector is highly vulnerable to unpredictable weather conditions and a shift in international market.⁶ But the country's self-sufficiency in oil products and massive export earnings since 1999 is hoped to ease its trade deficit.⁷ On the other side, the government also hopes that the development of oil sector will bring both revenue and export earnings.⁸ Nevertheless, the continuing civil war remains a major obstacle to economic development, creating major dislocation within the public and private

¹ World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1995-1996*, p. 236, *Africa Today* (1996), p. 1448; EIU Sudan Country Report, 4th quarter (1999), p. 26

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 39, table 16

³ *New African Yearbook*, 12th edition (1999-2000), p. 455

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 33, 36, table 21

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, 4th quarter (1994), p. 3; *Ibid.*, (June 2000), p. 5

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter (1999), p. 27

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

⁸ EIU Sudan Country Report, 4th quarter (1999), p. 20; EIU Sudan Country Report, London June 2001, p. 9

sectors and damaging international investors' confidence. If conflict eases and humanitarian situation in the region becomes better or economic and trade sanctions will be lifted, the oil revenue could help for faster development, but the political stability will be more decisive one.

Import volume: Sudan imports mainly manufactured goods, petroleum products, machinery and transport equipment. While manufactures and machinery together dominates imports, pending on oil and petroleum products constituted the most volatile item of the import bill during the 1980s and 1990s,¹ Saudi Arabia and Egypt have been the principal market for Sudanese import commodities. Egypt was Sudan's third largest source for the whole range of merchandise goods imports despite the political differences between the two countries. But in 1999, Libya and China stood in the highest import resource for Sudan.² Meanwhile, foodstuff imports have declined during the 1990s largely as a result of the government's food substitution policy by importing agricultural manufactures and machinery to facilitate its policy of food self-sufficiency.³

As one can see from many literatures, the country imports a vast range of products, many of which could be produced domestically. For example, food stuffs (Wheat), edible oils and textiles. The largest supplier of imports to Sudan has been Libya due to a reflection in Sudan's independent on imports. Saudi Arabia has consistently been the second most important supplier for Sudan in the 1990s.⁴ Other important suppliers of principal goods include the UK, France and Germany, reflecting Sudan's needs to import a range of finished products that are not locally manufactured.⁵ Imports have always exceeded exports, but their level has also varied according to domestic need and the amount of foreign currency the government has made available for foreign purchases of oil development programme.⁶ However, the oil market, like agricultural merchandise good is highly volatile and may remain vulnerable to sharp fluctuations as far as the political situation is not settled.

Total external debt: As discussed above in the case of Ethiopia and Kenya, access to external funds is vital for many developing countries because domestic savings are usually insufficient to

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 36

² EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter (1993), p. 3; Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation (2000), p. 421; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

³ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 109

⁴ Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation (2000), p. 421; EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2000, p. 5

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 5

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, see tables pp. 45-46

meet investment needs. Especially in low-income countries like Sudan, domestic saving is limited by poverty and undeveloped financial markets.¹ The countries that typically do not have much access to international private funds must rely on official lending and aid.² The concern of this topic is to analyze if the Sudanese consecutive governments have invested foreign financial assistance of massive lending or aid capital properly on productive expenditure to improve their country's economic and social prospects.

Sources from many literature data explain that there has been a failure of economic management policy that the leaders of most African countries waste domestic as well as other international financial resources that their respective countries own by corruption or heavy military expenditures.³ The governments dependent on foreign capital have been hardly likely to develop more liberal attitude towards socio-economic development. Consequently, they face economic ruin, a large balance of payments deficit and external debt that they are unable to maintain their obligations to their creditors. For example, since the 1980s, the total external debt of Sudan has risen sharply from \$5.2bn (1980) to almost \$16.96bn (1995), \$18bn (1997), \$16.843 (1998) and \$23.7bn in 1999, a level which the country could no longer sustain but damages its prospects of economic growth substantially.⁴ On the one hand, Sudan has borrowed heavily to finance a development programme making one of the world's most heavily indebted countries, that has failed to deliver the growth hoped for.⁵ From this prospect, external debt became an impediment to growth while funds were not used for productive investment that allows the country to pay its debt service on time.⁶

On the other hand, Sudan has begun signals to make progress on its external debt by negotiation with creditor countries and multilateral financing organizations. For example, the Sudanese authorities gave conditions to meet certain economic reform targets and committed to

¹ The World Factbook 1997-1998, Central Intelligence Agency, Brassey's, Washington D. C. and London 1998, pp. 158, 263, 464

² World Bank, World Debt Tables 1994-1995, p. 176; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, pp. 32-33;

³ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), pp. 738, 866, 1451; The International Institute for Strategic Studies, Oxford University Press, London (1999-2000), pp. 261, 265, 275

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 172; United Nations ECA (1995-1996), p. 177; World Development Report (UNDP) (2000), p. 221, The International Institute for Strategic Studies (London 1999-2000), p. 275; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 174

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 29

⁶ IMF, World Economic Outlook (Washington D.C. May 2000), p. 136

a monthly debt repayments in arrears of \$4.5m to IMF made the relationship to progress.¹ But even this sum small compared with its total external debt is a drain on the country's resources.

At the time of writing, the IMF approach towards Sudan seems significantly less hostile than it had been previously. On 27th of August 1999, the IMF Executive Board lifted its declaration of non-cooperation from Sudan that had been in place since 14th September 1990 and restored its full membership in the IMF.² In addition to this, the board has decided that it could consider lifting the suspension of Sudan's voting and related rights following its debt payments and the release of political tension between the civil Islamic fundamentalist and military symbiosis.³

Following the IMF Board meeting in February 1999, the Fund has announced that the Sudanese government had agreed on a reform and adjustment for 1999-2001, monitored by IMF Staff which had softened its tone of complaining on the country's debts.⁴ The Sudanese authorities have also made substantial progress in debt rescheduling negotiations with the Arab Monetary Fund and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, which suspended Sudan's membership in 1993.⁵ Even if Sudan is heavily indebted, poor and least developed country, the IMF authorities hope that relationships would be fully normalized when Sudan meets its debt arrears. But progress in this direction has been slow. The prospect that debt of this scale will ever be repaid in full is in doubt even if the Sudanese authorities have began negotiations with a number of creditors to establish rescheduling and debt forgiveness agreements.⁶ But if the country is to meet its debt obligations, it will require a rescheduling and forgiveness package. However, in the current political climate, such a deal is unlikely to be forthcoming.

To improve Sudan's substantial debt burden, the picture is bleak, but as it has been explained earlier oil export could generate foreign currency earnings that may bring hope to normalize the country's external debt obligation and change the image of economic situation. But as long as the war continues and a possible famine repeats in certain areas, it will remain a drain on government expenditure. As a result, Sudan's access to bilateral and multi-lateral agency credit

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, 2nd quarter (1998), p. 21

² Sudanow, Khartoum, October-November 1999, p. 11; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 30

³ Sudanow, Khartoum, March 2000, p. 8; Ibid., April-May 2000, p. 4; EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 13

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 20

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Report, 3rd quarter (1999), p. 27

⁶ IMF, World Economic Outlook (Washington D.C. May 2000), p. 198; EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 29; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 30

markets will remain limited and spending on social and economic development programmes may also depend heavily on how it meets its debt obligations.

Real exchange growth rate: Information on exchange rates are important to monitor national economic performance, and its growth rate indicators are widely used or given for statistical comparisons in US dollars to represent a broader measurement of the changes in the international values of domestic official currency exchange rates.¹ Most African countries had been pegged against one of the world's major currencies. For example, the Ethiopian Birr was pegged against the US dollar, while the Kenyan shilling and Sudanese pound were fixed against the British Pound.² However, as the world currency floating became the order of the day at the end of 1980s, a fixed exchange rate has not generated stability as the governments hopped for but became inappropriate.³ This has raised the question as to the exchange rate of Ethiopian, Kenyan and Sudanese currencies that were concerned against the major trading partners of the countries under consideration.

The Sudanese currency exchange rate was recorded between 1980-1987 at an average of 1.7 against the US\$1.⁴ But as the military came to power (1989), the currency rate became high to an average of SD.90.49:US\$1 between 1991-1997. The political tension pressured to the exchange rate to SD. 237.01:US\$1 in the years 1990-2000. It was reported in mid-January 2001 that the exchange rate has floated to 258.7:US\$1.⁵

Meanwhile, the Sudanese dinar remained stable against the U.S dollar, trading at SD258.7:US\$1 in mid-January the same year (2001). This is close to the level it has maintained since May 1999 and makes a remarkable upturn in confidence in the local currency, which has been sharply against the dollar in 1997 and 1998.⁶ But the Sudanese dinar stability appears to be pegged against the dollar rather than being allowed to float, which exposes the local economy to potential currency risks. It is difficult to encourage exchange-rate stability over the short term and cope with significant fluctuations in the dinar's nominal foreign exchange value.⁷ But the

¹ World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1994-1995*, p. 43

² Kidane, Asmerom (Nairobi 1994), pp. 21-22

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 36

⁴ Kidane, Asmerom (1994), p. 23

⁵ *Africa Analysis*, 10 July 1998, p. 16; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 5

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 23; *Africa Analysis*, No.368, 20 March 2001, p. 9

⁷ EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 30; *Africa Analysis*, No.362, 15 December 2000, p. 9

average exchange rate has been reported at SD261:US\$1 in 2001 and forecast SD272:US\$1 in 2002, which will be a real appreciation over the period.¹

From this perspective, the economic structure of Sudan, compared with Ethiopia and Kenya has been dependent on imported intermediate raw material inputs for its agricultural as well as industrial sectors.² Most of the Sudanese exports depended on the policy effectiveness of supply and demand for imports, which needs heavily regulated exchange rates. But there has been very little variability in the Sudanese official exchange rates and an appropriate incentive to change such a position seldom exists. The concern of this topic remains what should be done to overcome the Sudanese economic challenges and make viable to democratic development?

Sudan's economic and social indicators such as manufacturing, GDP growth and standard of health, education and literacy have been drastically reduced by the prevailing socio-economic crisis. The external debt situation and its ever-increasing obligations, which had continued to worsen since 1989, compounded these. The debt overhang remained the most serious constraint on economic recovery and renewed development in the country.³ Strong military and Islamic laws either under civil or a symbiosis of military-civil rule could not solve Sudan's economic plight. Instead, it posed a dangerous threat to the solution of civil war and thus the economic reconstruction. First and foremost, the military has been an obstacle to civil parliamentary rule and disastrous to the country's economy for decades⁴. If the military withdraws out of the political stage, the Sudanese political scene could change its domestic as well as international image.

Therefore, the country must undergo through a democratic process and some sort of socio-economic self-transformation should be seen that may end the monopoly of both political and economic dominance of power by the north. The military elite that has caused debilitating effects on the country's political stability and the basic human rights pursued this for years. Its political leadership should determine to deal the war and widespread poverty, which have been reinforcing each other to disrupt the nation's economic development. Dealing the above challenges with promises will provided far-reaching political implications to concentrate on the national development.

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, London June 2001, p. 11

² Khalid, Mansour (1990), p. 321

³ New African Yearbook 1997-1998, p. 447; EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 21

⁴ Onwumechili, Chuka (1998), pp. 51-52; EIU Sudan Country Report, February 2001, p. 12

4.2. The Social Structures of the three countries

The socio-economic outlook for Africa in the 1980s was critically influenced by both internal and external factors. Internally, there were and still are some dominant strategic factors which influence social structures, economic policy and cultural developments.¹ Such factors include lopsided socio-economic development and extreme disparities between the urban and rural areas, the very poor and rich, different socioeconomic sectors and between regions in the same country. In addition to that, most African contemporary studies have emphasized the importance of class and ethnicity in determining the social roots of the society. Chazan, Naomi et al have written as follows:

"Ethnicity and class has been the main categories at the level of social organization. Individuals move between the various levels of social organizations in the course of a lifetime. Their security, well being and development are tied to the nature of the groups to which they belong and how they can interrelate".²

The basic concepts of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan's social structures are also concentrated under ethnic and class cleavages like other African Countries.³ Social groups constitute the fundamental building blocks of political action and interchange. The group-based concepts of the three countries social structures have their roots in traditional forms of social organizations and they became the frameworks at the core of the countries social status. But the courses of centralization and bureaucratic expansions have often effectively excluded most social groups from participating in public affairs. For example, Ethiopia (1974-1991), Kenya partially since 1982 and Sudan since 1983.⁴ There is low level of socio-political legitimacy in the three countries regimes. While individual groups/citizens are summarily incarcerated in flagrant infringement of their fundamental human rights, and principles of social justice where they are most often violated⁵. The structure of social relations in the three countries has differed in light of group composition and possibilities to political and societal events for decades. The discussion in this section is then what changes the formal institutions of the social structure in the three countries have gone in the 1980s until the present time?

It focuses to analyze on how the consolidation and alternation of formal government institutions are dealt with the structures of social and economic life of their citizens. To identify the factors

¹ Africa Insight, Vol.26, No.4, London and Pretoria 1996, p. 377

² Chazan, Naomi et al (1988), p. 75

³ Ibid., Political and Society in Contemporary Africa (1999), p. 79

⁴ Peter Duignan and Rober H. Jackson (1986), pp. 240-241; Joseph, Richard, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.4 (1998), pp. 56-57; Lesch, Mosely Ann, in: Current History, Vol.98, No.628 (1999), p. 218

⁵ Amnesty International, Kenya: Political Violence Spirals, AI Index: AFR 32/19/98, London, June 1998; Amnesty International, Sudan: The Human Price of Oil, News Service 079100, AI Index: AFR 54/05/00; The Horn of Africa, Vol.12, No.3; Human Rights Group Slams Ethiopia, Uppsala, May-June 2000, p. 15

that affect group's autonomy and cohesion, the basic social indicators in the three countries will be explained. Based on these, the many forms of state-society relations, the manner and extent of their social frameworks transformation that have evolved since the last decades will be investigated. Thus, essences of the following basic questions are posed for follow up:

- What kinds of socio-economic systems have taken place in the three countries and what social structures are existing in these systems?
- What challenges the social progress in the three countries?

As new problems and opportunities have arisen, existing social structures have been reshaped or new groups formed to promote interests and obtain access to resources. For example, the reorganization of Kalenjin tribes to power holding by President Moi of Kenya can be a good example for this case. The control of government was shifted away from the Kikuyu's to previously more marginalized Kalenjin groups¹ in their turn have tried to marginalizing the main ethnic groups of Kikuyu.

A similar case has been seen in Ethiopia that the long-standing power dominance of Amhara has shifted to multi ethnic groups by the present EPRDF government's political platform.² Since 1989, the political power in Sudan seems also to have changed its discourse especially in the 1990s to the hands of Islamist fundamentalists and northern ethnic groups power domination as new opportunities. But there is a question of recognition that needs discussion to find out how far it will continue ahead. According to the 1980s and 1990s aggregated research data collections, the socio-economic scene of the main layers of social structures in the three countries are composed of a multiple of interlocking distinct social groups. To identify and analyze the preliminary social structure relations of the three countries, shifts or reorganization of new social status, holding on power control by a military means (Sudan and Ethiopia), constitutional strategies like that of Kenya based on the interests of the ruling class and demonstrating other related issues will be the main concern of this topic.

4.2.1 The Ethiopian Social Structure

The Ethiopian people's social structure and their settlements are scattered in the country's most ancient historical sights. The impression that one can have in Ethiopia is history has been manipulated to serve the interests of those in power and not the social structure. What has been written previously, bear little relations to the actual development. Social status in Ethiopia during the decades of imperial rule has depended on one's landholdings, which provided the basis for class formation and social stratification. For example, the emperor, the nobility and landlords

¹ Peter Duignan and Rober H. Jackson (1986), p. 239

² Ibid., p. 259; Michler, Walter (1995), p. 109; Woodward, Peter (1996), p. 101

have occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy by their possession of special rights and authority over the land. Among the lowest in the social hierarchy, there were small holding farmers and landless peasants¹. Land has been both the means of livelihood and the source of status. Power and the types of land tenure were related to the country's social systems thus, ethnic and cultural differences exacerbated class distinctions, which in turn adversely affected social relations.

The experience between cultural and social contribution of various ethnic and religious groups of the Ethiopian population has been significant to the historical evolution of its multiethnic society. Explaining the social stratification of the country, Mulatu Wubneh and Yohaneis Abate have written as follows:

"The cultural and social contribution of many of the ethnic groups to the evolution of multi-ethnic Ethiopian society is significant. At the same time, the quest for power influence increased social stratification by wealth (particularly based on land ownership), greater disparity between rural and urban residents, distinction between the roles of males and females in the society, and discrimination against minorities who engage in certain types of occupation"².

Emperor Haile Selassie had ruled autocratically but failed to include the major ethnic social structure class in the ruling elite. He did little to encourage genuine equality among his citizens, and the country had missed the opportunity of social developments in his time.³ After the imperial regime was displaced, the military regime had dissolved the old Ethiopian Dynasty, the privileged status and influence of private control over rural land was returned to local communities which were organized into peasants' association.⁴ The revolutionary transformation of Ethiopia reconstituted society on the foundation of new social, economic and political institutions and a new social myth replaced the old social myths.⁵

The military regime has attempted to replace the old rival order based on the principle of equitable land distribution and create a classless society, but political power and influence has replaced the social hierarchy based on land holdings. Most rural areas have supported the government's efforts to bring about a change, but the shape of social and economic order remained uncertain.⁶ Traditionally, some institutions which comprised the most important factors in the country's social structures have been religion, mutual help associations, neighbourhood associations and later (after the mid 1970s) peasant Associations, Urban Dweller Associations among others.⁷

¹ Thomas P. Ofcansky and LaVerle Berry (1993), p. 104

² Mulatu Wubneh and Yohanneis Abate (1988), p. 151

³ Parker, Ben (1995), p. 13

⁴ Clapham, Christopher, in: Woodward and Forsyth (1994), p. 35

⁵ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), 191

⁶ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), 82

⁷ People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, a Leap Across Centuries CCC of Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) Press Section, Addis Ababa, September 1987, pp. 30-32

From the beginning, the military regime's introduction of new ideology in economic and social policies were clearly intended to win supports from the population at large as well as to improve social conditions. But has failed to share power with the civil moderate group of elites. Then the challenge of social, political and economic reconstruction became formidable.¹ Traditionally, social differentiation's based on wealth, class and power were always present in varying degrees in Ethiopia, which have been related to the status given to various occupations such as government, military, the clergy and farming. Commerce and trade were less important. Specialized people in metal working, weaving, tanning and pottery were often occupied by the lowest social status that formed caste groups. But their bases have begun to change with education and urbanization² which has played a major role in promoting social interaction among different groups, who engaged a relatively higher status in the society. Education has also secured access to social mobility and strengthened cultural identity, which accelerate interaction among the various ethnic groups.³

Changing social and political conditions have reduced social ties since the mid of 1990s. For example, an important aspect of the changing structure in Ethiopian society has been rural-urban migration, which was accelerated in the last decades.⁴ Although kinship relations are still important in the village, an increase in interethnic relations has been brought about by urban life. Even if an intense process of ethnic consolidation can be observed at present, the country is at a very low level of social and economic development. This explains the responsiveness of the population is more to ethnic than to social or democratic slogans⁵. Under such conditions, the traditional character of Ethiopian social structure life has to be taken into account that compromise has played little part. For example, the political pattern of contacts and relations between various groups can be understood on the basis of specific ethnic and religious structures rooted in Ethiopia's historical development. On the one hand, the Amhara's have played a special role in determining the ethnic basis of the Ethiopian Empire. They have given an official status to their language, their religion and culture have accounted an elite status.⁶ On the other hand, although the Amhara's have played a key role in consolidating the federal empire and the absolutist socialist state that succeeded it, they do not constitute a majority of the population (25.9%), for there has been in fact more Oromo (about 35.03% or more).⁷

¹ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 213

² Mulatu Wubneh and Abate Yohannis (1988), pp. 152-153

³ Wagaw, Toshome G. (1990), p. 37

⁴ Rakodi, Carole (1997), p. 88

⁵ Fellner, Christian (2000), p. 16

⁶ Clapham, Christopher, in: Woodward and Forsyth (1994), pp. 30-31

⁷ Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Vol.1, Addis Ababa, June 1998, pp. 14, 51

However, both religiously and socially, Oromo's are less unified than the Amhara. Amhara and Tigreans are cohesive mono-confessional people with a high degree of ethnic identification. Whereas in the Oromo's, the process of ethnic consolidation is impeded by regional and religious diversity. From the prospect of both affairs, they are divided into Christian, Muslim and adherents of the traditional worship of natural spirits.¹ Although the Amhara had strengthened the unity of the federal bureaucratic ruling mechanism during several decades of their reign in the upper hand government,² they have failed to establish any solid political unity for the economic foundation and social understanding of the state. Industry remained at an embryonic stage and modern communication was uneven. For this reason and other critical social status, many destitute regions, especially those with a high population of ethnic minorities have found it difficult to get a reliable connection to the central power.

Even if this had been the case, the imposition of a democratic social model, was unfortunate consequences of struggles for the control of state power between political parties organized along ethnic lines since 1992 which is familiar to the history of many African states. But the structure of social changes have taken place after the military regime was shaded from its power since 1991 and concerns have been voiced about the socio-cultural equality and sensitivity to protect minority groups identity on ethnic basis who were marginalized during the imperial and military regimes.³ If the government can take innovative decisions in social and economic spheres on different regions of the minority groups, there could be various possibilities on cultural changes, which can help to develop direct paths of identity concerns. When the central state organ is open to all ethnic or sub-ethnic groups, innovation can come from members of their own society, which may also include people of different occupational, religious and other marginalized group backgrounds.

The question whether implementing the minimum political, economic and social rights may be determined by regional or other practical events that distort fundamental rights purposely for anti-democratic regimes own sake is expected to be short lived. In any case, the government should have a moral pressure to allow communities and keep the resources they need to revive and organize their indigenous social security system to ensure them with a national support. Given the challenges outlined above, the Ethiopian society needs to be awake in developing institutions and mechanisms of conflict management which could involve families and individuals of opposing ethnic groups to build decision making bodies in conflict resolutions. Then, the

¹ Parker, Ben (1995), p. 17

² Markakis, John, in: Yeros, Paris (ed.), (1999), p. 69; Clapham, Christopher, in: Woodward and Forsyth (1994), pp. 27-40

³ Araia, Ghelawdewos (1995), pp. 188-189; Clapham, Christopher, in: Woodward, Peter; Forsyth, Murray (1994), p. 36

grievance and the way they will be represented politically will have far-reaching implications for the future shape of democratic Ethiopian social structure.

4.2.1.1 Basic Social indicators in Ethiopia

Concerning Ethiopian social structures, there have been only a few studies. But some observers have commented on it only by criticizing the bureaucracy that had considered the question of basic social indicators, such as urbanization, education, health and other related issues.¹ Examining some basic Ethiopian social indicators like population, Urbanization, education and access to health care among others thoroughly in contrast to such criticism can demonstrate how the country has undergone major social and economic changes. These social indicators can also be useful in evaluating and monitoring the social impact of development progress in economic policies.² One needs to look very closely into the profile of these basic social indicators whose contribution to the society's development if any can be considerable. Henceforth, this will be analyzed below in detail.

Population growth rate: In the past three decades, the majority of African countries have had high population growth rates that have not been matched by adequate food availability in per capita terms. For example, more than 50% of the Ethiopian total population is under 15 years old, which can not contribute to the country's economic misery.³ According to this analysis, Ethiopia is largely populated country, with very low basic necessity provisions and incomes per head, that its population dose not receive the minimum food requirements. Based on the census conducted in 1984, Ethiopia's population was about 42m. The census has been far from comprehensive while the rural areas of Eritrea and Tigray were excluded because of hostilities.⁴ In other parts of the country, the population could only be estimated because of the prevalence of pastoral nomadic remote areas.

Ethiopian population has grown at 2.4%-2.7% a year for the 1980-1987 period, which was slightly below the regional average of 2.9%. But the effect of recent drought and famine had limited due to thousands deaths and consequence effects on fertility. For example, areas that are hard hit by famine and political insurrection have grown at slow rates of 1.3%, 0.2-1.0% respectively.⁵ In general, with the population growth rate estimated at 2.7% per annum in 1987-

¹ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), pp. 191, 213; Graffin, Keith (1992), pp. 180, 259, 276; Zegeye and Pausewang (1994), pp. 231, 233

² World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), pp. 315-316

³ The Economic Commission for Africa, Accelerating a Continent's Development, United Nations, Addis Ababa, May 1999, p. 33

⁴ Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Ethiopian Statistical Abstract, Addis Ababa 1994, pp. 32, 36

⁵ Hodd, Michael, The Economies of Africa (1991), p. 137,

1997, Ethiopian population has to 59.6m in 1997.¹ On the other hand, the state run Central Statistical Authority (CSA) Addis Ababa has reported on 13 August 1998 that the Ethiopian population has been counted at 58.65 million. The Census Authorities have explained in their report that the Statistical Projections have shown the division of the population almost equally on gender basis.²

As it is explained earlier, the Ethiopian population has been predominantly rural, engaged in sedentary agricultural activities, which is mostly subsistence and affected by higher population birth rates. According to the official reports, there were 49 (1980), 53 (1986), 49.9 (1990), 51 (1992), 48.1 (1996) births per 1,000 population. The total fertility rate, the average number of children that would be born to a women during their lifetime was also registered at about 6.5 (1980), 7 (1995) and 6.3 (1996-2000).³ The World Bank aggregated census finding data have indicated previously that the birth rate was higher in rural areas than in urban areas.⁴

Ethiopia's birth rate, higher even among developing countries, is explained by early and universal marriage. Kinship and religious beliefs generally encourage large families to rapidly increase population growth rate during the 1980s. Resistance to contraceptive practices and the absence of family planning services for most of the population has contributed a significance consequence of high birth rate in the country. To my experience, some Ethiopians believe that families with many children have greater financial security and are better situated to provide for their elderly members. In the absence of serious national population policy or the provision of more than basic health services, analysts consider that the high birth rate is likely to continue. The significant consequence of the high birth rate has been that the population is young, which was registered about 44.4% (1980), 46.3% (1985), 47.3% (1993), 46.3% (1996), 46% (1997) respectively under 15 years.⁵ Thus, a large segment of the population becomes dependent and is likely to require heavy expenditure on education, health and other social services.

Recent population projections compiled in 1998 by the World Bank has reported that at an average growth birth rate of 2.6% Ethiopian population was to reach 61.3m in 1990-1998. But estimated annual growth rate for 1995-2000 varied from 3.03 to 2.2% and the total population estimation has been recorded about 62m in 2,000 which is not far from the government figures that was suggested about 61.7m in the mid 1999.⁶ In its population research analysis, the United

¹ Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 226

² Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Addis Ababa, June 1998, pp. 14,49

³ World Bank, African Development Indicators (1994-1995 and 1998-1999), p. 338, 329; World Bank, World Development Report (1999), p. 242; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 226

⁴ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 224

⁵ World Bank, African Development Indicators (1994-1995, 1998-1999 and 1999-2000), p. 335, 325; 317

⁶ World Bank, World Development Report (1999-2000), p. 234; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 6

Nations has also estimated that Ethiopia's population was increasing at around 3% per annum in 1990-2000 which brings the total to 63m and expected to reach between 85m-86m at a rate of 2.9% by the year 2010.¹ According to the African Development Reports a steady economic development without high priority given to population and family planning programmes, the population growth rate was estimated to fall to about 2.8% per annum in 1995-2000 and 2.1% in 2000-2010.² Reducing the population growth rate is a pressing need, but it should be one that could only be addressed through a persistent and comprehensive nationwide effort over the long term, which the regime has to show commitment to such programmes.

Ethiopia is a largely populated country, but with low urbanization, poor medical and food provision, and very low income per head, the country is only about 69% self-sufficient in food. Even with increasing grain imports, many people did not receive the minimum food requirement of 2100 calories a day.³ In appropriate government policies, which have been extremely determinant to the development of a sound agrarian economy are largely the major problems of Ethiopia for this dismal hunger and malnutrition. While the population pressure aggravates an already weak economic situation, uncontrolled population growth rate may remain the government's high priority concern.

Urbanization: By the African standard, Ethiopia has low level of urbanization, while it had proceeded more slowly than in many African countries. In the late 1980s, only about 11% of the population has lived in urban areas with at least 2,000 residents. There are hundreds of communities with 2,000 to 5,000 people and other primary extensions of rural villages without urban or administrative institutional work.⁴ Social unrest had also contributed to a decline in rural to urban migration in some African countries like Ethiopia and the country's history of agricultural self-sufficiency has reinforced rural peasants' life that created huge social problems. For example, some regions have insufficient agricultural potential to provide food provisions, employment and income needs of their overcrowded farmer population settlement programmes or those who have to flee from their home regions because of drought and war.⁵ World Bank and UN statistical data reports explain that Ethiopian urban population has grown at a rate of 4.8 in

¹ United Nations Center for Human Settlement (HABITAT), *An Urbanizing World* (1996), p. 440

² World Bank, *African Development Indicators 1998-1999*, p. 7

³ Abebe Zegeye and Siegfried Pausewang (1994), pp. 156-157

⁴ Hope, Kempe Ronald (sr.), *Urbanization--*, In: *Journal of Asian and Africa Studies*, Vol.33, Nos. 1-4 (1998), p. 347

⁵ *African Population Newsletter*, Economic Commission for Africa Population Division, No. 65, Addis Ababa, January-June 1994, p. 6; *Statistical Abstract*, (CSA), Addis Ababa, January 1993, p. 58

1980-1990 that reached 11% of the total and projected at 5.8% in 1991-2000 which was estimated to reach 17% of the total population at present.¹

Most low land people are geographically and socially isolated from the highland population. Moreover, some rural inhabitants generally live without coming into contact with outsiders. The smaller urban service centers lack modern health facilities and formal sector industrial capacity. The majority of urban population has either no marketing outlets or is provided with investment on health, social assistance and any economic developments.² Exposure to other ethnic groups usually occurs by means of relatively, limited contact with administrators, tax collectors and retail merchants. By contrast, the towns are mosaics of social, ethnic diversity and it is common for families and groups from desperate social and economic classes to live side by side. Therefore, Ethiopian small urban centers like Harar region in the south have tended to be homogeneous in ethnic and religious makeup.³

Many cities like Addis Ababa continue to increase in population size and the supply of infrastructure, basic urban services like education, health, transport decline increasingly that became overburdened.⁴ Such examples tend to suggest that there has been a polarization of rural and urban population in the country. Given the resource constraints and within a framework of uncertainty, the government's concern is that it cannot afford to maintain publicly funded social security systems such as social assistance or unemployment insurance.

A question remains to observe if events can be strongly influenced by implementing national policy and other political initiatives to change the worsening economic hardship, reduce the rate of rural to urban migration etc. In addition to the above mentioned far-reaching implications, the Ethiopian government will face a thorny social demographic characteristic issues, uncertainties and contradictions that need to be resolved.

Health and Education

Health: The health care situation of Ethiopian population has been extremely low and it has deteriorated due to re-occurrence of drought and famine, civil war, overall shortage of food and the low socio-economic conditions of the country. Successive Ethiopian governments have introduced modern health care first for their own personal benefit and that of their families along with the use of foreign skills. The introduction of government and missionary health care facilities have taken place for long where various health institutions were also established in Addis Ababa

¹ Rakodi, Carole, *The Urban Challenge in Africa* (1997), pp. 88, 86; World Bank, *World Development Report* (1999-2000), p. 232; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 226; World Bank, *African Development Indicators* 2001, p. 311

² Graffin, Keith (1992), p. 280; United Nations Center for Human Settlements (HABITAT) (1996), p. 86

³ Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Addis Ababa, June 1998, p. 14

⁴ Ibid.

that enabled to train indigenous health workers.¹ For example, the expansion of health facilities continued during the imperial period but it has provided a thin cover of basic health services. Health service centers in Ethiopia have been concentrated in urban areas for years. There have been difficulties for the rural population and other vulnerable groups to reach its service. While these institutions remained underdeveloped, many Ethiopians acquired unhealthy lifestyles and unsatisfactory diets that damaged behaviours of inadequate physical activities which could be seen easily in many regions of the country.²

There has been lack of definite national policy and strategy for development of health service provisions, which has served only to the royal family, nobility and elites. The infrastructure of health care became miserable and its provision to the masses was neglected reaching only a little. Communicable diseases spread by poor hygiene, lack of sanitation and scarcity of portable water aggravated by nutritional deficiencies could not be prevented.³ The great majority of Ethiopian population has been exposed to rampant and total diseases and malnutrition. After the military government came to power, it has embarked upon a centralized approach to solve the country's health problems, especially on primary health care. Even if it was centralized, there had been a remarkable expansion of health service achievements during the military regime. A number of hospitals, health centers and clinics were build, which gave more access to the population compared to the imperial regime.⁴

The military regime has restructured the country's health services under a socialist motive but the ruinous effects of major wars hampered to reach its goals. The primary health care strategies and programmes remained in adequate despite their adoption and the lack of policy framework for the promotion of community participation. Very weak health management has also been obstruction in the period. However, frequent droughts, political instability and illiteracy have also hampered to promote health policies.⁵ In today's rapidly changing world, some traditional attitudes towards human health suffering and disability, illiteracy and other social problems need to be urgently reviewed in Ethiopia. They are enemies of a society that have to be fought simultaneously on a national and global scale. Any further improvements in health thus demand integrated, comprehensive action addressing all the determinants of ill health.

But Ethiopia is in a position that it can no longer afford to deal with the given challenges sequentially as elsewhere. If the government can address these deficiencies simultaneously, the international community can help at its disposal when conditions are favourable. Substantial progress has been made to expand health services since 1993 and reform programme to spend

¹ Fellner, Christian (2000), p. 107

² Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Addis Ababa, January 1993, pp. 255-256

³ Schwab, Peter (1988), p. 89; Graffin, Keith (1992), pp. 132-133

⁴ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 737

⁵ Ibid., p. 738

on health has continued at a high level under the EPRDF government. For example, life expectancy has risen moderately from 42 (1982) to 49 years in 1992 and was projected between 43.3-52 years in 1995-2000.¹ Hence, social and demographic indicators of the country point to some favourable developments. Population per physician has declined from 88,124 (1980) to 35,051 (1990-1995) per one physician and access to health service 44% (1985) to 55% (1991-1994) with wide disparities between rural and urban and from region to regions.²

Access to safe water has also improved from 16% in 1985 to 26% 1995. Infant mortality rate was registered 155 (1980), 107 (1997) and 110 (1998) per 1,000 which is much better as the child mortality rate under 5 years of age 213 (1980), 175 (1997) and 173 (1998) per 1,000 and maternal death rate 1,400 per 100,000 live births (1990-1997).³ Crude birth rate is thought to be between 45.8 and 48 (1982-1997) per 1,000 population and the crude death rate has been recorded about 22.1 (1982), 20.21 (1992), 20 (1997) per 1,000 lives births respectively.⁴ The high infant mortality rates and overall death rate of the population has been due to a reflection of the low standard of living, poor health conditions, and inadequate health provisions. They have been lower in urban areas than in rural areas due to a wider availability of health facilities, greater knowledge of sanitation, easier access to clean water and food and a slightly higher standard of living. Additional factors contributing to the high death rate include infectious diseases, poor sanitation, malnutrition and food shortages.⁵

From the data given above, Ethiopia has one of the highest maternal and child mortality rates in the world. The country's health sector suffers from shortage of high level skilled manpower and it has a heavy burden of poor health indicators. There are very few doctors in active service in the country because of low salary, poor working environment and the provision of private practice outside the normal working hours that forced around **560** physicians to leave the country.⁶ According to the UNHCR Annual reports, there are **35,000** Ethiopian nationals in Europe among them some health professionals who have fled their country which has great implications (brain drain) on the country's heavily needed experts.⁷ In this perspective, the political atmosphere that hampers health care specialists should urgently be liberalized.

¹ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 339; World Health Report, Geneva 1997, p. 146; Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999, 2000), p. 171, p. 189

² World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), pp. 322, 328

³ World Bank, African Development Indicators (1994-1995 and 2000), p. 343, 326; United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, African Population Newsletter, No.69, Addis Ababa, January-June 1996, p. 9; World Bank, World Development Report, Entering the 21st Century (2000), pp. 232, 242; Human Development Report (UNDP 1999-2000), pp. 171, 189

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators (1998-1999 and 2000), p. 329, 321; Human Development Report (UNDP 1999), p. 177

⁵ World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 224

⁶ Fellner, Christian (2000), pp. 113; Gordon, April, in Journal of Third World, Vol.XV, No.1 (1998), pp. 93-94

⁷ UNHCR Annual Report (2000), p. 360

The current decentralized and new health policy to provide favourable prospective. But whether the government can implement its commitment to decentralization of the poor health infrastructure sector with free zone of working environment that may accommodate and motivate Ethiopian health professionals to serve their country remains questionable. Modernizing the weak health service to meet primary health care and distribute medical provisions among vulnerable groups in urban and rural areas fairly should be the governments highest priority concerns. Raising health research manpower and public health education would also promote to control endemic and epidemic diseases and strengthen curative as well as preventive health services. But the whole concern will depend on the political will and stability of the country.

Education: Education is a sub-system of any society, which does not operate in isolation from health and other basic social institutions. The question is how the educational institutions attempt to play a role in the country's social and cultural transformations on the context of political development programmes, and whether it is possible to create a national educational system that can contribute to the national development policy. From this prospective, the structure of Ethiopian education system has been characterized by frequent changes. Religious institutions like the church and mosques have promoted traditional education in the country.¹ But progress was slow and only few schools were established which have attracted neither the attention of people nor the interest of the youth, mainly due to high influence of the clergy and lack of cultural flexibility.²

During the imperial period, modern education has been introduced by importing from abroad but its contribution to the literacy rate was low. On one side, the clergy, the nobility and even the parents resisted the new education system, by blaming that they may have accomplished more harms than good to the society. On the other side, it was criticized for being academically oriented and elitist, corrupting the Ethiopian cultural value and for encouraging class structures in the society.³ The military government has made literacy campaigns which were conducted consistently through successive rounds under the banner of "education for all" aiming to promote universal primary education.⁴ On the one hand, the attempt to introduce a national literacy campaign nation wide was an effort to raise literacy levels for the government's political advantages. On the other hand, it seemed as an effort to resolve the country's educational problems through the campaign, which has received international acclaim and considerable

¹ Kaplan, Irving et al (1981), pp. 112-114, 118-121

² Ibid., p. 95

³ Wagaw, Teshome G. (1990), p. 236

⁴ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 152

support from abroad.¹ From this prospective, education in the country has not been simply a question of increasing enrolments.

In its period, the military regime had a remarkable achievement to reduce the level of illiteracy in the urban areas which was said to have reached 75% and 50% in country wide, compared to 52% urban illiteracy and 87% rural illiteracy during the imperial period.² At This time the number of primary school enrolment became the highest in the country's history, which opened educational opportunities for more diverse ethnic groups, economically marginalized regions and social classes than ever. Higher education was also expanded considerably, and opening some junior colleges for agricultural education and animal health institutions were established more than in the imperial period.³ However, following the 1984/1985 drought and population movements as thousands have fled from hunger and some were forced to resettlement programme areas, school enrolment declined at both the primary and secondary levels.⁴ The decline of school enrolment can also be explained by a combination of economic and political factors associated to the civil war where many schools in war zone areas were destroyed and plundered.

Since the regime's priority was to strengthen its defence and security, the educational expansion progress witnessed in the first decade of the revolution was lost after the mid of 1980s. Christopher Clapham writes about the military regime's collapse of education policy "Even if the revolutionary regime had greatly extended the educational opportunities open to ordinary Ethiopians much more widely than the imperial regime, it was nowhere providing the kind of education from which the regime's leadership and generation has benefited".⁵ Until the downfall of the military regime, educational system remained highly centralized and bureaucratic in terms of addressing the issue of education problems in the country.

After the military regime was dismantled, the EPRDF government has promised to change educational system under the process of decentralization by introducing a federal structure with major devaluation of power to the regional levels. The new education and training policy is in a process of implementation since 1994. To its effect, the overall illiteracy ratio has fallen sharply from 75% (1985), 72% (1990) and to 49.6% (1997) and 62% (2000).⁶ Both the primary and secondary education enrollment ratios have shown signs of improvement. For example, gross enrolment ratios by level of education in primary school was 37% (1980), 33% (1990) 43%

¹ Thomas P. Ofcansks and Laverle Berry (1993), p. 129

² Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 737; World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 38

³ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1999), p. 272

⁴ Africa Events, Vol.3, No.8, London, August 1987, pp. 21-22; Michler, Walter (1991), p. 168; World Education Report (1998), p. 144

⁵ Clapham, Christopher (1988), pp. 150-151

⁶ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1999), pp. 272-273; World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), pp. 38, 132

(1996). Meanwhile, in the secondary level, it has increased from 9% in 1980 to 12% in 1996 respectively.¹ The tertiary level of education did only slightly from 0.4% in 1980 to 0.8% in the same period.² These developments could broadly reflect the present government's long-standing aim of promoting education as a means of accelerating investment in human resources and economic development remains in doubt.

The dilemma facing the country at present is the possibility of meeting the social demands for education to a higher degree, which has been much more difficult to match education and national economic needs. In this context, the EPRDF government has reoriented public spending from the military regimes defence 17.9% of GDP in 1985 to 2.1% GDP in 1995-1997 toward social objectives in order to redress education deficiencies.³ Public expenditure on education rose from 3.4% in 1990 to 4.0% as of GNP in 1996. Meanwhile it rose as of government expenditure from 9.4% (1990) to 13.7% (1996) respectively.⁴ Although significant achievements have been made in the areas of literacy during the last two governments' period basic education is still out of the reach from the majority relevant age groups of the population as well as promotion of higher education.⁵ Under the EPRDF government, a primary education reform programme (basic education system) was launched. For example, the IMF sponsored reform programme pending on education and health has continued at a high level since 1993.⁶

Even if some problems of the past policy are adjusting to modern Ethiopia today, its society is in a state of change and experiences of the period from 1991 until the present will have important effects on which direction it will take further. A political look back over the previous year of Ethiopian history defines the issues confronting the country's society today and how best to make use of the lessons learned. For all those reasons, Ethiopia's ethnic and cultural diversity have affected social relations and it is important to find out an explanation for what went wrong in the past and why? For example, according to the World Bank and World Factbook estimates, only 25% (1984), 35.5% (1995) and 65% (1997) of the adult population (15 and above years of age) were literate.⁷ The World Health Organization aggregated international data compiled on

¹ World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 140

² World Bank, African Development Indicators (1994-1995 and 2000), pp. 347, 353 and 330, 335; UNESCO (1999), p. 273

³ Human Development Report (UNDP) (1996 and 1999), pp. 189, 214; International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) (1999-2000) Oxford University Press, London 1999, p. 303

⁴ World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 164

⁵ Human Development Report (UNDP) (1998 and 1999), pp. 163 and 171, 179; World Bank, World Development Indicators (1998), pp. 42, 92

⁶ The Ethiopian Education and Training Policy, Proclamation No.45/1993, Addis Ababa, July 1994, Articles I-IV; Central Statistical Authority (CSA), Addis Ababa, June 1994, pp. 278-279

⁷ The World Factbook 1996-1997, Central Intelligence Agency (1996 and 1999) Edition, Brassey's, Washington D. C. and London, p. 135, 156; World Bank, World Development Indicators 1998-1999, p. 337; World

the estimates of the available national data have also indicated that Ethiopia has one of the weakest health and education records.¹ Poor health and education are part of the common heritage the present government has to contend with. Education policies are long measures, which can stimulate and affect the supply of skills to the country's needs of economic, political and social developments. For this, the EPRDF government tries to show its will to confront the issue that affects the country, but it lacks financial and skilled manpower. Another challenge to education at present is the enormous number of languages and dialects spoken throughout the country, which makes difficult to revitalize an integrated education system that has been hard-hit by poverty and civil war.

From this respect, the future of implementing economic and social structures that can promote democratic system in the country lay primarily on education sector. But local conflicts, frequent droughts and famines have had very damaging effects on health and education provisions of the Ethiopian population.² The demand to skilled manpower is high in all fields and the country suffers from acute scarcities of various types of professionals, especially in higher levels of educational institutions because of political disruption and lack of compromise within government and the opposition's leadership and the country's intellectuals in general.

If the EPRDF government's educational policy can operate within the constraints imposed by its responsive objective remains an open question. The steps to move decentralized educational system and increase the efficiency of institutional development capacity building, in order to improve its quality and relevance will be the challenges that will face the Ethiopian political leadership. While the EPRDF government has been the fruits of the previous mistakes, it is expected from its political leadership to fulfill domestic and international commitments in solving social problems more than its predecessors.

4.2.2 The Social Structures in Kenya

Social justice, integration, stability and social equality are central to a well-functioning society. The absence of these elements leads not only to social tensions and civil unrest of a society but also ultimately to civil wars and violent ethnic conflicts.³ Unless society is at peace, all development gains will be under threat. Leaders who try to reduce social exclusion in politics, economic structure and address these problems are said to be accountable to their citizens, which became the hallmarks of political opposition as the KANU regime began to falter.⁴

Bank, World Development Report, Entering the 21st Century (1999-2000), p. 232

¹ World Health Report (WHO), Making a Difference, Rome 1999, p. 90

² EIU Ethiopia Country Profile 2000, p. 16

³ Haugerud, Angelique (1995), pp. 38, 50; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 23

⁴ James R. Scarritt and Shaheen Mozaffar, in: Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Vol.5, No.1 (Spring 1999), p. 75

Considering this point of departure, the Kenyan society is divided into a number of tribes or ethnic groups of various sizes. The interest of this analysis is then to examine the social structure of Kenyan society and its integration to the country's economic and political institutions.

As it has been mentioned in chapter 2, the Kenyan society is dominated by 5 major ethnic groups, which make up 70% of the country's population. They are Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, (which comprises Massai, Turkana, Subura etc.) and Kamba.¹ The next politically and socially important indigenous tribes in size represent another 16% which are categorized under Hamatic (Somali), Oromo etc. The rest 14% population groups are among others who comprise many African small structure non-African Europeans and to a large extent Asians (3.7%) and Arab Kenyan citizens who are members of business elites.² Integration between these different groups has been a significant feature of the Kenyan social structure. Specially, among the majority of African population which traces its origin back to a Bantu and Nilotic with the pastoralist has been strong during the last decades.

On the other hand, the Kenyan authority of respected elders who once controlled traditional community behaviour has been eroded.³ Shattering traditional authority, family cohesiveness and loss of traditional identity remained as a major concern and problems of modern society in Kenya. Norman N. Miller had written about this scene as:

"Many Kenya's social problems are blamed on loss of identity and cultural values. Age-old values have disappeared and other changes dramatically in the present generations while Kenyan's seemed to have chosen Western materialism as a national ethic, a choice that is counter to Kenyan traditions of sharing and mutual support".⁴

When one questions why these changes had happened, one of the factors can be the influence of non-indigenous Kenyans like the Indians whose majority had come as the railway construction workers during the colonial time. The influxes of Arabs in coast areas and European settlers have also produced in Kenya a multi-racial ethnic society.⁵ These different communities and racial groups came with their own sets of values and culture, which have a great impact to change the Kenyan indigenous population.

The Kenyan society is also characterized by wide income disparities. For example, in 1994, the bottom 20% of the rural population received only 3.5% of rural income. In urban areas, the situation seems marginally better, that the bottom 20% controls 5.4% of the income. The top

¹ The Currier African-Caribbean-Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU), No. 157, Brussels, May-June 1996, p. 25; James R. Scarritt and Shaheen Mozaffar, in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol.5, No.1 (1999), pp. 99-100

² Republic of Kenya Population Census, Nairobi, 1996, p. 35; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 17; Rakodi, Carole (1997), p. 301

³ Miller, Norman N. (1984), p. 82

⁴ Ibid., p. 84

⁵ Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson (1986), p. 229

controlled 61% of rural and 51% of urban income.¹ The selected data literatures also indicate that these disparities have widened in both urban and rural areas since the 1980s.

Asians still have disproportionate economic influence with a marked presence in finance, higher manufacturing etc. Prominent Asian businessmen use to work closely with members of African elites (KANU elites) who had contributed to corruption at large.² In this respect, the absence of viable political culture has an adverse impact on both the economic and social aspects of Kenya society. For example, on the positive side, Asians are considered in the Kenyan society as shrewd business people, hard working and endeavour to provide good services. On the negative side, they are seen as cunning, selfish tending to favour their own Indian community and secretive, seeking to position themselves as advantageously as possible in the competition to allocation of opportunities resources that went with the control of the state.³

To my experience and observation, they are also seen as segregative and employ all manners of tricks including bribery to achieve their objectives, which has ruined the Kenyan society. In an interview and discussion with the Kenyan Television Network reporter in Nairobi, he has reiterated that the Indo-Kenyan citizens' position has always been in favour of white mediators and have their exclusiveness. His position as a Kenyan indigenous citizen and Journalist is he wants them to be partners but they have no interest to integrate as he said in almost 34 years since they came to Kenya.⁴ This breeds resentment by the majority of African population who consider themselves excluded from profitable urban economic activities. Such resentment has from time to time resulted in ethnic clashes.⁵

In contrast, the indigenous African population with their own way of life and customs could accept other Western and Indian-Arab values or norms of life being easily influenced, adaptive and flexible depending on the circumstances that have learned to co-exist.⁶ Taking the cultural differences of various groups into account, one cannot speak of a homogeneous culture, rather the country has a mixture of culture and people who have learned to co-exist at the cost of Kenyan indigenous citizens. The research question, which remains open, is how the Kenyan case has been possible without violence for long? Eventually, it had happened not by sheer coincidence but the political framework of the authoritarian state has largely protected this co-existence by suppressing the resistance forces.⁷ How far the Kenyan social structure will

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 12, p. 43)

² EIU Kenya Country Profile (1995-1996 and 1999-2000), pp. 17, 13

³ Glicksman, Harvey (1995), p. 164

⁴ Personal Interview with Mr. Okery, Kenyan Television Network, in YMCA Nairobi 28.11.1997

⁵ Hope, Kempe Ronald, in: Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol.33, Nos.1-4, February-November 1998, p. 346

⁶ Schuester, Leo, Banking Culture of the World, Fritz Krapp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 1996, p. 47

⁷ Glicksman, Harvey (1995), p. 161

continue peacefully from the present prospective remains questionable. If there is political will, it may depend not only from the country's economic point of view like it had been since for years. But the question of Indian and other non-Kenyan origin's integration with the indigenous African society will play a determinant factor for the social stability, political as well as economic development in the country.

4.2.2.1 Basic Social Indicators in Kenya

Like it has been done in the Ethiopian case, the analysis of Kenyan social structures encompass population, urbanization, education and health care, which are viewed as the deriving force of economic activity in a society. Their linkage with economic growth, poverty reduction and environment conservation among others is strong.¹ Inadequacy of these social infrastructures have been one of the most important development challenges to Kenya and other African countries that may not be easily solved in a short time.

This section analyses the roles that these basic social structures could play in economic development and explains the strategies and policies which were required in improving access to basic social services in pursuit of the abiding objectives of accelerated economic growth and poverty reduction. To examine the achievements of public participation in the social sector and problems that challenge the country is the interest of this analysis. It also addresses the issue of social infrastructure and its roles in the process of socio-economic development, by identifying indicators of service provisions in the country.

Population: Rapid population growth slows development and sharply reduces the possibility of raising living standards by making it difficult to sustain adequate social investments in health and education. This also leads to high dependency ratio and a large growing young population that needs basic social services.² From this prospective, population projections play a vital role in planning for the future economic and social services and political requirements. These include health services, education facilities employment opportunities among others, all geared towards improvement of the standard of living.³

Even such evidences have been known for years, Kenya had one of the fastest growing population in the world with an average rate of 4.1% per year during the 1980s and being one of

¹ African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999), p. 13

² Ibid., (2000), p. 24

³ World Bank, World Development Report, Entering the 21st Century (1999-2000), p. 23

the highest in Africa at 3.4% in 1990, 3.3% 1995.¹ This became a serious concern to the government. However, in the beginning of the 1990s, the population growth rate has continued to fall partly because of training in family planning awareness campaign. A full census held has shown that the highest growth rate has fallen to 3.4% per annum, which became to around African average.² Latest development reports have shown that the national population estimate for 2000 was 29.4m with a growth rate of 2.4 compared to the UN assessment of 29m and at a rate of 2.2%.³ But the age structure indicator continues upward pressure, which has been a significant towards increasing population as large members of young women reach childbearing ages.⁴ The country has a young age population below 15 years of age, 50% (1980), 51% (1985), 49.6% (1993), 44.9% (1997) and 40% (1998) which is the highest dependency burden with more than one person outside the labour force age group.⁵

Kenya's fertility rate is also among the highest in the world, with crude birth rate of around 40.9 per 1,000 population. The total fertility rate has been over 7.5 births in the 1980s and 6.7 children per women in the 1990s (4.5 in 1995-2000), with over 8 births per women in some coastal and pastoral regions.⁶ Where fertility rates in rural areas seem also higher as compared to urban areas, the country's population is heavily concentrated in central and western regions. These contain the fertile agricultural areas of the central highlands and sugar and tea producing regions in the western part of the country. The semi-arid and desert regions of the north-east, with their nomadic pastoral communities occupy 22% of the land area but contain 1.7% of the Kenyan total population⁷. Mortality rate in Kenya on the other hand, is fairly typical for a developing country with life expectancy at birth 53 years and an average crude death rate of 11.3% between 1980-1997.⁸

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile (1995-1996 and 1999-2000), pp. 17, 11; African Development Bank, African Development Report (1998), p. 220

² Kenyan Population Census, Nairobi, April 1996, p. 1; Kenyan Economic Survey, Nairobi 1996, p. 198; Republic of Kenya, National Development Plan 1997-2001 (8th edition), Nairobi 1996, p. 131

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, London 2001, p. 5

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 11

⁵ World Bank, African Development Indicators (1994-1995 and 1998-1999), pp. 335, 325; World Bank, World Development Report 1999-2000, pp. 234, 317; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 308

⁶ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, pp. 7, 325, 329

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 12; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 225

⁸ The International Labour Office, New York 1983, p. 11; African Development Bank, African Development Report 1999, pp. 199, 215

Given these shortcomings, the government has released guidelines to conduct population planning, with the aim of achieving a reduction of annual growth rate to less than 3.3% in 1998. A further intention was announced to reduce the population growth rate by 2000 and the government had tried to affirm strong support for family planning.¹ However, the issue remained one of the acute political activities. Apart from the mostly traditions who see large families as essential in part as insurance for old age, the strongest opposition comes from the Roman Catholic Church of the country.² But Moi's government has failed to make sense of pressure on this case and the Kenyan population is growing over the margin of economic growth rate, which has brought to the total of about 30.3m at the end of 1999.³ The youthful structure of the population still imposes a heavy burden on society in the form of high dependency ratio and its trend seems to continue further. Even if the spread of AIDS impact was declared as a national disaster in late 1999, it is expected to claimed up to 8m people by the year 2002. On the other hand, there is a rapid increase in fertility as it is shown in the 1998 demographic and health surveys that lies in with the equated results for 1999 at a national average growth rate of 2.9%.⁴

Despite the evidence of demographic transition, population pressure to the government remains an immediate problem and is putting great strain on the country's meager resources. The government's population related policy might focus on re-enforcing the trend and accelerate the decline in the total fertility rates, stress the importance of family planning and education in the foreseeable future. But if the population growth will give, Kenyan policy maker time to response is another question.

Urbanization: Rising levels of urbanization and rapid population growth in African large cities have often been particularly a challenge over the last 15 years. Because governments have failed to ensure infrastructure and service provisions, enforce pollution control and other regulations needed to protect the quality of life in urban areas⁵. It is often suggested that African governments have favoured to promote basic service provisions like health, schools, public

¹ Republic of Kenya, National Development Plan 1997-2001, Nairobi 1996, p. 131

² EIU Kenya Country Profile 1992-1993, p. 7

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, p. 5

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Report 1999-2000, p. 22; EIU Kenya Country Profile 2000, p. 16

⁵ United Nations Center for Human Settlements (HABITA), an Urbanizing World (1996), p. 84

transport, water sewerage etc. in urban rather than rural areas within their investment strategies.¹ For example, Kenya's relatively rapid periodic growing of urban centers during the last two decades has been the most striking social changes. In the last 15 years, Kenya's urban population has grown at a pace unmatched service provisions, causing a strain on the existing infrastructure.² By the 1989 Population and Housing Census, the level of urbanization was merely 18% of its total population. As it was documented in the country's census reports, the major increases were remarked in Nyanza, Western and Central Provinces which was mostly linked to the market center development of informal sector activities.³

For decades, the largest urban population growth occurred in the six major urban centers of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru and other 2 cities which constituted (61%) a majority of the urban population, resulting in pressing needs for food, employment, infrastructure, shelter and other basic services. Nairobi, as a province as well as a capital city continued to dominate constituting 24% of the country's urban population followed by Rift Valley Provinces (Nakuru and Eldoret municipalities) and the Coast (Mombasa town), which comprised 17% and 15% respectively.⁴ Coast Province is the second most urbanized area in the country due to the unique location of Mombasa as a major East African Port contributing immensely towards the economy of the country and the pre-colonial nature of urbanization process of the coast.⁵ Other regions include the rich agricultural highland districts of Central Provinces, coastal Lake Victoria, Central, Western and Northeastern provinces, which are also heavily populated.⁶ In this respect, the pattern of urbanization has concentrated in intense resource developed regions. But in the arid and semi-arid north and northeastern parts of the country, urban centers are confirmed to scattered market or administrative centers.

The state affair has been this way for a long time, even if the trend of regional variation seems to have changed slightly. The Rift Valley Province has still a relatively high level of urbanization.⁷ The problems posed by the concentration of rapid increase of urban population have been

¹ Hope, Ronald Kempe (sr.), in: *Journal of African Studies*, Vol.33, Nos.1-4 (February-November 1998), pp. 348-349

² Rakodi, Carole (1997), p. 88

³ Kenya Population and Housing Census, Central Bureau of Statistics Office of the President, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nairobi, April 1996, p. 36

⁴ Ibid., p. 39

⁵ Kenya: an Official Handbook, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Nairobi 1988, p. 300

⁶ Kenya Population and Housing Census (Nairobi 1996), pp. 37-38

⁷ Republic of Kenya, National Development Plan 1997-2001 (1996), p. 76

diverse challenges and a major concern to the government particularly in the provisions of basic services. The cause of higher urbanization has also been the culture of illegal acquisition of land mainly owned by local authorities, perpetuated by local council or provincial administration officials, who are chiefly been responsible for the situation.¹ The other contributing factors include the wide spread drought, floods and disaster of all kinds like civil war that send refugees to camps, which are often in the outskirts of major urban centers.

From this prospective, dislike Kenya has one of the highest rates of urbanization, it has been argued that an increase in the level of Urbanization was occurred without economic growth, industrialization and increase in agricultural productivity. Especially there has been an urban change in economically weak areas. This brought the total urban population from 7.9% to 24.0% in 1980-1990, 31.3% in 1998 and 7.0% 32.0% in 1991-1999 which is also expected to increase by the years 2,000-2,005 respectively with an average rate of 7.0% that will bring the total population to 44.5%.² Given such evidences, the current rate of growth on urban population and its attendant problems are some of the major issues confronting policy makers in Kenya at present. The development of Kenyan economy has been accompanied by a growing imbalance within the country such as Nairobi and other urban areas to grow at the expense of the rural, the richer regions in relation to the different poorer groups of urban population³. The degree of urbanization then, varies by regional natural resource endowment proximity to the central transformation network and the pattern of colonial development.

However, urban centers in Kenya continue to develop new population characteristics, which should be watched more closely during the next generation. The need for an integrated development of urban and rural area is then to promote economic and social linkages between them. But development programmes of local authorities (country councils, municipal councils, town councils and urban councils) must be in line with overall districts development strategies. The most alarming aspect of urbanization in Kenya has been on going challenge to the economy with a rapid population increase, which has propelled many people into the cities in search of work and strained the country's ability to feed its population.⁴

¹ The Economic Review, Nairobi, February 16-22, 1998, p. 2

² Economic Survey, Central Bureau of Statistical Office of the President and Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nairobi, May 1996, p. 35; Rakodi, Carole (1997), pp. 88, 96; Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999 and 2000), pp. 199, 225

³ Rakodi, Carole (1997), pp. 303-304

⁴ Middleton, John, Encyclopeadia of Africa, Vol.2 (1998), p. 429

This analysis identifies that, Kenya is substantially more urbanized than is justified by its degree of economic development. It has been taking place in an environment of economic deterioration that created urban poverty, which in turn worsens on economic crisis. The question how urbanization could become manageable to meet the growing demands for housing and urban services, traffic congestion, and problems of social and economic structure is hard to answer. But the degree of efficiency in response to better employment and income opportunities in rural areas where the majority of people live and allocate resources will determine the overall economic policy performance of the authorities to alleviate urban poverty and halt rapid urbanization. If this trend affair continues and appropriate measures are not taken on time to control it, the degree of poverty and decrease in social life may be accelerated. But if policies will be worked out to distribute the social services fairly, education advancement can be achieved in rural areas. This in turn will create important job opportunities for many families that they will stay in the urban areas when they see the increase in their future chance of survival.

Health and education

Health: Good health is both a basic right and a pre-requisite for rapid socio-economic development. The striking question here is, do African governments accept this fact emphasize and invest enough to expand health infrastructure provisions? Given this standpoint, the Kenyan government's health system is hierarchical in nature, officially emphasizing Western, high technology curative medicine with a very limited access to preventive health provision services¹. Selected statistics on Kenyan's health and incidence of disease are scattered and invariable, but data on life expectancy, mortality and health rates testify the situation in the past two decades remarkably.

According to the UNDP, World Bank and African Development Bank figures, life expectancy at birth has been deteriorating from 56 (1980), 53.6 (1994) 53.3 years (1997) and to 50 years (1998). On the other side, infant mortality rate has fallen from 81 (1980), to 74 (1997) and 76 (1998) and 58 live births (2000) per 1,000.² Thus, life expectancy has been similar to the Sub-

¹ Republic of Kenya, National Development Plan 1997-2001 (1996), p. 158

² World Bank, World Development Report (1997), p. 170; United Nations ECA 1995-1996 (1996), p. 179; Human Development Report (UNDP) (1997 and 1999), pp. 167, 136; African Development Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 230; World Bank, World Development Report (1999-2000 and 2000-2001), pp. 232, 242 and 276, 286

Saharan Africa standard which accounted 50 (1982), 53 (1987), 54 (1992) and 55 (1995) years.¹ But the infant mortality rates are well below those for most developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, which also accounts 121 (1980), 91 (1998) per 1,000 lives death and was projected 81 per 1,000 in 2,000.²

Another burden for the Kenyan health sector is that many children die before their fifth birthday and the maternal mortality rate has been high. For example, the infant mortality rate under five years age was reported differently as 115 (1980), 90 (1994) and 112 (1997) per 1,000 live births. The rate of maternal mortality was also recorded about 650 per 100,000 lives during 1980-1997.³ Emphasis has recently been given to primarily health care programmes in some districts, but the urban hospital oriented services still receive most of the resources.⁴ But the public health expenditure remained 1.9% (1990-1996) and total expenditure on health sector was between 2.6% and 2.7% as of GDP during 1990-1997.⁵ Despite the very low public expenditure, the central government's expenditure share on health was between 4% to 5%, at the end of 1996 and it has increased to 7% in 1996-1997.⁶

However, many rural families continue to have limited access to health care, while they are unable to pay charges, such as the cost of transport, lack of drugs and other essential supplies to reach health centers. The regional distribution of health center provisions remained also extremely uneven and not specifically targeted at high concentrations of the rural poor. A stated aim of Kenya's health care policy has been to provide free of charge and to locate a health facility within 10km of each citizen.⁷ The question which can arise here, is if the government can achieve its plans with limited financial capacity and how many people can live within 10km distance with a steady growth of the population.

On one side, the continued rise in HIV infection will put an already stretched health care system under severe strain. For example, about 29.1 (1995), 22.4 (1996), 263.1 (1997) per

¹ African Social and Economic Trends Annual Report 1997-1998, The Global Coalition for Africa, Washington D. C. 1998, p. 59

² The World Health Report, Making a Difference, Geneva 1999, p. 90

³ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1997), p. 105; World Bank, World Development Report, Entering the 21st Century (2000), p. 232; World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 322

⁴ Government of Kenya Economic Survey, Nairobi 1996, p. 198 (Table 1); Republic of Kenya National Development Plan 1997-2001 (1996), p. 168

⁵ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 19; World Bank, World Development Report 1999-2000, p. 242; World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 328

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 19

⁷ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, pp. 14-15

100,000 of the population has been estimated to be affected with HIV/AIDS cases and it was reported in 1996 that AIDS patients occupied nearly 50% of all hospital beds.¹ The government faces major policy decisions in balancing care for AIDS patients against other health needs. Access to health care and education to family planning will need to be increased just to keep up with the growing number of reproductive age females. Despite this patchy performance in the development of the health sector, there are some improving indicators on population's health situation that can be observed as follows even if infant mortality remains still very high.

- Population per physician 10,095 (1981), 15 per 100,000 (1993)
- Population per nurses 23 per 100,000 (1993, 1998)
- Population with access to health services 44% (1982), 45% (1995)
- Access to safe water 27% (1982), 28% (1990) 45% (1993-1996), 47% (1997)
- Access to sanitation 44% (1982), 45% (1993-1996)
- Population per hospital bed 607 (1990-1995)
- Crude death rate 12.1 (1982), 9.4 (1992), 12.9 (1997) per 1,000.²

But the gap between the demand and supply of health services continues to widen and the quality decreases further. To ensure adequate accessible quality of health service coverage, the health sector has not been able to expand as much as the population growth. These all continue to challenge the government policies as well as the health provision of Kenyan citizens. The government should be committed to increase not only the curative but also preventive health care and the allocation of expenditure between urban and rural, that some impoverished regions should be adjusted. Especially adequate measures have to be taken to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases and improve the health status of the population.

Education: Education in Kenya has been very important as a way to find status and prosperity. Kenyan authorities have accorded priority to the improvements of basic social service infrastructures like education and other related facilities. But if the provision of these services

¹ Human Development Report (UNDP) (1997-1999), pp. 177, 159, 174; AIDS in Kenya: Socio-economic Impact and Policy Implications, U.S. Agency for International Development, AIDS Control and Prevention Project, United States of America 1996, p. 68; EIU Kenya Country Report, London May 2001, p. 20

² World Bank, African Development Indicators (1995-1996 and 1999), pp. 343, 321, 328; United Nations Center for Human Settlement (HABITAT) (1996), p. 512; Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999), pp. 147, 174; World Bank, World Development Report 1999-2000, p. 242; World Bank, World Development Indicators (2000), pp. 325, 326, 328

were coupled with growth in income and have resulted to improve the overall quality of life for the ordinary Kenyan citizens remains in doubt. For example, under many difficulties, the Kenyan education system has undergone a remarkable expansion even if there was discrimination against girls and young women due to cultural and social beliefs, pastoral groups, and poorer students particularly from weak ethnic groups.¹ There is unequal development of educational facilities in the country, which have been caused by the government's bias towards certain communities when it comes to the allocation of state resources.

In the early 1980s, some regions of the country have witnessed rapid growth of the educational sector while others have stagnated. This has increased the level of inequality further in the provision of education, because there has been lack of qualified teachers in areas of weak ethnic groups and school facility supplies were not available.² The infringement of the right to education has been more painful since the government has used to divert national resources for the benefit of a chosen few against minority and other vulnerable groups.³ On the one hand, elite families could use education as a means of maintaining privileges and legitimizing a higher status for themselves and their children. On the other hand, most Kenyan educational indicators show a declining trend standards in recent years.⁴ In particular, falling rates of enrolment and completion in primary education are moving the country further away from unequal access to basic education for many. It was reported that less than half of those who have enrolled have completed their primary education.⁵

One main reason for poor school attendance has been that the government had resolved to cut its expenditure on social services like education following the fall of overall economic performance indicators in 1985/1986 and 1988/1989. But Kenya has implemented Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 1980s imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which implied restrictions on the expenditure of education and social services⁶. There seems to be a major focus on the school system but the bulk of the adult population remains educationally impoverished and a large proportion of parents became unable to pay compulsory school fees for their children. University enrollment has also declined in recent years

¹ World University Service, *Academic Freedom* 4 (1996), 42

² Miller, Norman N. (1984), pp. 78-79; *The Daily nation*, Nairobi, 20 July 1996, pp. 15-16

³ World University Service, *Academic Freedom* 4 (1996), p. 43

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 13

⁵ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1999), p. 276

⁶ Walters, Shirley (1997), p. 197

because of high fees and the lack of facilities¹. Low enrollment rates in higher education have serious implications for the quality of the country's future labour force.

The result of decline in the quality of education services has persuaded those families with better financial means to send their children abroad for higher educational needs and many of these may not have returned to their country to work. For example, there were about 1,419 Kenyan expertise's who are accommodated in the United States in 1995.² Of course, there are political and economic ties to the U.S that many Kenyan expertise's stay overseas even if their country lacks skilled manpower. Expenditure on education in the country is becoming very costly both in terms of the proportion of government funds, unrest, social discontent and because of unbalanced distribution among the society in many regions.³ Even if the central government's expenditure's share to education has stabilized in the early 1990s. There has been a high level of school dropouts, problems of repeating and inadequate quality remain high, especially in rural and the poor urban area communities with a low socio-economic status.⁴ The higher education sector in Kenya includes 28 training colleges, one institute of special education, three polytechnics, five public universities and other private universities.⁵

Even if secondary school enrolment ratio by level of education has increased faster, representing at an annual average about 22.5% (1985-1990) to 26% (1991-1995) of the relevant age groups, it has shown a decrease to 24% in 1996 respectively.⁶ However, enrolment ratio in higher education still represents a tiny proportion of the relevant age group which accounts 1.5% (1985-1990) to 1% (1991-1995).⁷ But in the above indicated period understudy, primary gross enrolment ration was much higher than in other African countries.

Nevertheless, Kenyan critics on schooling system of the government still pointed out that students are overworked, materials have been inadequate and the nation's educational policies do not concentrate on basic self-reliance skills. While basic food and money are scarce, Kenyan society, spend less time in school and more time in subsistence farming, herding or fishing to

¹ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 14; Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 869

² Gordon, April, in: Journal of Third World Studies, Vol.XV, No.1 (1998), pp. 93-94

³ Republic of Kenya, Population Census, Nairobi, April 1996, pp. 17-20

⁴ EIU Kenya Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 18

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1997 and 1999), pp. 77, 275-276; World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 148

⁷ New African Yearbook 1999-2000, 12th edition (1999), p. 247; EIU Kenya Country Profile 1992-1993, p. 8

stay alive, because the poor could not afford the cost of education.¹ Other educational indicators of the country give evidences that there is still very low status of educational provisions and more should be done to alleviate illiteracy and shortage of skilled manpower. The following indicators are remarkable evidences on the overall educational status.

-Adult literacy rate 72% (1990), 85% (1996) 79.3%-80% (1997)

-Illiteracy rate above 15 years of age, 53% (1980), 36% (1985), 31% (1990), 21% (1997), 20% (1998)

-Public expenditure on education as of GNP 6.8% (1980), 7.1% (1990) and 6.5% (1996-1997).²

Illiteracy remains high in many areas like coast provinces, among pastoral communities of the Eastern Rift Valley and Northeastern Province whereby about 60% to 70% of the population cannot read and write. Many adults in these areas are without teachers.³ Why the government policy makers disregard the benefit of education and training in these areas comes often into question.

There are very few tertiary education centers in the country, their capacity is limited, and teachers are demoralized while they earn meager salary. As long as education is thought to lead to opportunity, it may serve as a cement in the Kenyan political scene. However, against all costs and criticism, education may be central to the Kenyan society's basic ethos, particularly the opportunity structure as perceived by Kenyans.

Despite unemployment and scarcity of financial resources, the demand for education remains high and it is the government's responsibility to make emphasis on human resources development and alleviate the inequalities in education distribution. The future of educational development in Kenya will then be tied into the future of political, economic and socio-cultural development strategies. Without efficient educational status, the full participation of Kenyan population in the development of the country for political or economic spheres will be critical. But how the country's education policies can best be structured with human and material resources to enhance and intensify its role and responsibility continues to be the challenge to the society as a whole that will hamper in implementing democratic and economic developments.

¹ Walters, Shirley (1997), p. 196

² World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 346; United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1996), p. 178; Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999), p. 178; World Bank, World Development Report (2000-2001), pp. 276, 284; World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 164

³ Walters, Shirley (1997), p. 197

4.2.3 The Sudanese Social Structure

As it has been explained above, societies in the Sub-Saharan Africa are characterized by authoritarian regimes. But the shapes of social structures vary substantially from country to country and from place to place. For example, regional division overlaps cultural identities in the case of Sudan, which has developed a sense of identity.¹ Many African states have been closely associated with big landowners, tribal and religious leaders, major merchants and strong economic urban notables. However, the strength of the Sudanese position did not rest on their economic role alone. Because dominant social forces existed since decades and they have been engaged in social influence among the population with actual political power at the local as well as national levels.² The Muslim population who came half of them from Arabic speaking people have major impact on Sudanese political culture. While they speak Arabic they claim to Arab descent and deem themselves, distinct from the African dominated population. As Ann Lesch Mosely has remarked it:

"The assertion of an Arab-Islamic identity by the northern majority has alienated African and non-Muslim people which in turn has embittered political life".³

Francis Deng⁴ falsifies the claim of some Sudanese to Arab identity as follows: "Most of the Arab tribes of the north do not resemble their fellow Arabs in North Africa and the Middle East. In fact, they look very much like black Africans in most countries within the Sudanic belt cutting across the continent, from Ethiopia and Somalia in the east to Nigeria, Mali and Senegal in the West".⁵

Taking such considerations into account, the politicization of ethnic relations in Sudan has developed in terms of major social cleavages between the north and the south. Some Muslims, who consider themselves Arabs, have been dominating the north, even if in most cases, they are racially mixed. On one hand, Francis Deng writes again about the Arab identity as follows:

"Behind the Islamic ideology of the Sudan lie a racist system which continues to divide even the Muslim into Arabs and non-Arabs in that order of value".⁶ On the other hand, Mansour Khalid also a Sudanese writes: "Arab demographic domination of the north is not absolute, but Arab political, economic and social

¹ Chazan, Naomi et al (1988), p. 94

² Woodward, Peter, *Sudan After Nimeiri* (1991), p. 35

³ Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), p. 21

⁴ Former Sudan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, a Special Representative of the UN Secretary General on Displaced People's, and later Senior Research Fellow at the Brookings Institute in the U.S.A.

⁵ Deng, Mading Francis (1995), p. 493

⁶ Ibid., p. 463

dominance has been pervasive. The prospect of such dominance has fostered a limited degree of cohesion among differing and some times conflicting groups".¹

From such statements one can understand that the distinction between Sudanese Muslim and non-Muslim peoples seem to have been of considerable importance in the country's history and provided a preliminary varieties of orders in social structures. At any case, Muslim northerners that comprise the majority of population in the region have dominated the political, economic and cultural life of Sudan for years. Ann Mosely Lesch again writes about the scenario of Sudanese Arab domination as follows:

"As the largest and most centrally located group, Arabs wield a disproportionate influence over policy-making and over the cultural identity of the country. It is no surprising that they have tried to shape the identity of the country in their own image, Arab culturally and Muslim in its religion".²

Francis Deng again writes to this: "The division of the country into its African and Arab identities is a result of northern Islamization and Arabization on the one hand, and southern resistance to the imposition of this northern perspective on the other hand. Arabization and Islamization built on the existing social structures and patterns of behaviour, embarrassing even the indigenous belief systems and practices. "The assimilation process favoured the Arab religion and culture over the African race, religions and cultures, which remained prevalent in the south".³

Whoever says what, changing Sudan to developed society through consensus is not still insight. But as far as the Arab Muslim community are subject to control the state authorities and economic spectrum, adhere to favour Arab identity and culture, focus on Arab race, the southerners may prefer to separate and the African Sudanese Muslims will continue to resist Arab dominance. The old Sudanese State will then be threatened with further instability and there may not be a good deal of change in the Sudanese social structures. The point of discussion in this issue will remain whether an ethnic pluralism approach could serve to reduce strife so that its nationalism can be built instead of molding the society in Islamist image. The concern here is if the present northern dominated Muslim authorities want to restructure the present national framework system to a modern pluralist model national state, which may expresses legal and political system that can protect the minority rights and create an overreaching common political identity.

¹ Khalid, Mansour (1990), p. 23

² Lesch, Ann Mosely (1998), p. 15; SIPRI Annual Report (2001), p. 33

³ Deng, Mading Francis (1995), p. 492

Until the time of writing, the predominantly Arab/Muslim northerners and the African southerners could not still find consensus to settle their differences.¹ Strict adherence to the concept of an ethnic nation-state has generated an equally strong and violent backlash among the marginalized peoples. Answers to the Sudanese critical questions of social structures depend on whether an Arab or African dominance societies, both have serious implications to share power, the distribution of resources and the opportunities for participation in all social provisions.

4.2.3.1 Basic Social Indicators in Sudan

Ethnic and tribal division remained the main obstacles to national unity that devastated economic and social structures of Sudan. Political stalemates in governance have also continued to disrupt and paralyze the development of most basic social services by directing to the conflict.² The southern Sudanese society claims that the northern dominated Arab Muslims who have been represented by successive regimes in Khartoum plunder natural resources such as oil from their region for the good of the north, while they have been suffering the worst forms of social and economic deprivation.³

Social and economic inequalities between regions, religious and classes have contributed to ethnic and political tensions which disrupted the Sudanese basic social indicators. But the combination of ethnic divisions and lack of access to natural resources explain the current fighting to a greater extent than it is portrayed as a Christian Muslim conflict.⁴ The question of government's proportional expenditure and social services in the Sudanese community remained a debate that could not still bare solution. Transport and communication infrastructure on all regions across the state border etc., education, health and even the national development projects within states are uneven.⁵ Administrative and service delivery capacity also comes into question. While distribution from richer resources to poor areas are reliance on transfers or allocation of resources principle between regions are based on political interest of the ruling class but not on the development of the society.

¹ EIU Sudan Country Report, November 2000, p. 7

² United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1996), p. 61; EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 15

³ Keen, David (1994), p. 63; Africa Research Bulletin, Blackwell pubs. September 16th-October 15th, London 1999, pp. 14062-14063; Amnesty International (London 2000), p. 223

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 16; EIU Sudan Country Report, August 2000, p. 16

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 15

The Sudanese State form is defined in terms of the relationships between the social structure. Whether it plays a leading economic role in the private sector or not, social relations and structures that appropriate 'liberal democracy' has been dominated or disrupted by northern dominates ruling elite.¹ There have been counter productive to progressive social changes that can implement the concept of policy activities and functions in the society. While the affairs of the Sudanese state and society have been spearheaded by the military elites, that mostly caused retrogressive social change or underdevelopment plans for complication of conceptual social changes by giving limited opportunities and facilities for housing, communication, health care, education, transport and other related issues.²

Without settling those problems, there can be no stability, unity or political and economic development. To highlight those problems, the Sudanese social indicators can also be presented by examining its **basic social indicators** like population, urbanization, education and health care for which literature information are available from most recent years.

Population: Sudan, the largest country in Africa has meager population. In 1982, average population density was 7.9 per square kilometer, but there were substantial regional variations and half of the population lived in just 15% of the land area.³ In 1993, the government has conducted population census, which was recorded officially at about 24.94m, but this figure was widely regarded as suspect. For the same year, the IMF has registered the population at 28.13m.⁴ On the other hand, the World Bank has estimated Sudan's population in 1997 at 27.9m indicating at an annual average growth rate of 2.8% from 1980-1990.⁵ After six to seven years, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank have estimated Sudan's population between 28.5m and 28.9m respectively, but the EIU from London has recently reported that it has reached about 29.5m in the year 2000.⁶

Although the figures can widely be regarded as in accurate, given that the census could not be completed in most of the southern states because of the war, the results from the above sources may be uncertain. On the other hand, the World Bank has estimated the Sudanese population to about 27.9m in mid 1997, at an annual growth rate of 2.8%, 2.5% between 1980-1997 and 1998-2000.⁷ Sudan also has a young population, for example, the United Nations has suggested that over 30% of the population were under the age of 10 and 45% under the age of

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 4

² Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 144-145, 188-189

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1986-1987, No.3, p. 10

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1998-1999, p. 19

⁵ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, pp. 6-7

⁶ Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999), p. 199; World Bank, African Development Report (2000), p. 213; EIU Sudan Country Report, London, June 2001, p. 5

⁷ Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999), p. 199

15 years, which explains the country's young population dependents on the economy.¹ Similar to this, the World Bank has reported that, around 44.8% (1980), 50% (1993) and 41% (1996), 40.2% (1997) of the population was under 15 years age.²

Growth rates are also high and have been estimated at about 3.3% over the 1980s and 2.9% in the 1990s, but it has been very difficult to confirm this with an available reliable data.³ These figures are far from regional average of 2.9% and 3% that Sub-Saharan Africa has been respectively in the 1990s. Sudan's fertility rate has been 4.6 per women in 1995-2000.⁴ In a further development, the United Nations has estimated the Sudanese population about between 28.4 and 30.0m at the end of 1999 and the population density per square kilometer was reported 12 per person in 1998-1999.⁵ The general point of discussion as far as Sudanese social structure is concerned can be whether the growth of population affects the economic development and social provisions. Whether there is any control on the growth of the population to match with the economic growth and other related trends remains another debate.

Urbanization: With an aggregated urbanization level of only 31% living in the major towns and cities in 1991, Sub-Saharan Africa is the least urbanized continent region in the world. The majority of countries had levels of urbanization between 20 and 39%.⁶ Given the significant differences between countries in terms of an urban area definition by the UNDP, Sudan has experienced modest urban growth with 20.0% (1980), 24.9% (1988), 23.3% (1992), 32.3% (1996), 34.2% (1998) and 27% (2000) respectively.⁷ Sudan's resource constraints, inadequate infrastructure of social facilities and management capacity in large cities still tends to displace concerns significantly. Access to health and other economic trends became challenges in Sudan's urban centers, which has been distributed unevenly. For example, the concern of access to sanitation has been 40% urban and rural 5% (1980-1990).⁸ The level of urbanization in Sudan is influenced by both economic and social factors. There are political concerns about the

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile (1998-1999 and 2000), pp. 19-20, 14

² World Bank, African Development Indicators (1994-1995 and 1998), pp. 335, 325; World Development Bank, African Development Indicators (1999), p. 317

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 13; World Bank, African Development Indicators (1998), p. 7

⁴ Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 225

⁵ World Bank, World Development Report 1999-2000, p. 272; EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter (2000), 5; Ibid., June 2000, p. 5; World Bank, World Development Report (2000-2001), p. 316

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 13

⁷ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 337; World Population Monitoring 1993, United Nations publication, New York 1996, p. 10; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, p. 328; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 225; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 311

⁸ Rakodi, Carole (1997), pp. 88, 101

security in rural and urban locations. While most industries are concentrated in urban areas, people are influenced easily to migrate to these areas in search of jobs and political demands.

Although there is far more internal population movement, which is linked to political worries of government's due to the conflict, large flows of refugees created difficulty to control and distribute basic provisions.¹ But there has been relatively little recent research on the scale and nature of internal migration. The government's concern remains the fundamental issue of human malnutrition and widespread disease more than ever. For instance, when the size of economy grows by relatively closed national trading blocks to one where most markets have more open economic activities, production and the financial services they need are increasingly integrated. In pursuit of this, increase in urban population could be well come but the Sudanese case has nothing to do with this theory.

According to the World Bank data collections, only 23.8% of the population were city dwelling in 1993 while the annual rate of urban growth in the decade to 1992 was 3.9%, well below average for low-income countries, but has increased to 5.3% during 1994-1995.² This data indicates that Sudanese population remains overwhelmingly rural. Recent development reports indicated that urbanization is on a par to regional averages, with 31% of the population living in the main towns and cities compared to 32% across Sub-Saharan states.³ However, in the light of Sudanese perennial refugee's crisis, these figures may substantially underestimate the situation. All major towns have experienced an influx of refugees from neighbouring countries in addition to the internally displaced persons.⁴

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated in 1996 that there were some 300,000 Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees in Sudan, as well as around 100,000 Chadian and tens of thousands of Ugandan refugees.⁵ Internally, subsequent population displacement caused by government campaigns against the Nuba people, inter-tribal fighting and the refugee exodus to neighbouring countries are likely to have been considerable. Because of this, 65% of the population live in rural areas where they experience poverty and deprivation at its most and they have to flee from this situation if they can.⁶ According to the UN estimated data

¹ World Bank, World Development Report 2000-2001, p. 253; UNHCR Annual Report (2000), p. 315

² The State of Worlds Refugees in Search of Solutions (UNHCR), Oxford University Press, Geneva 1995, p. 249

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 14; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 311

⁴ See UNHCR Annual Report (2000), p. 355

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1996-1997, p. 8; UNHCR Annual Report (2000), pp. 126-127

⁶ World Bank, World Development Report Indicators The Challenges of Development (1991), p. 264; UNHCR Annual Report (2000), p. 314

information, the population living in urban areas in 1995 was some 25%, comparing with 13% in Ethiopia and 28% in Kenya.¹

Like Ethiopia and Kenya, the increase of urban population in Sudan is not based on development issues, but ethnic strife, civil war, insecurity and famine influx of drought victims forced to live their home areas. Natural disasters continue to destroy the fragile base of rural economic structure, people have been uprooted from their homes in search of peace and livelihood for years. Over the past 15 years, millions of Sudanese are forced from their home areas because of the drought in eastern and western parts of the country as well as armed conflicts in the south and west. There are no reliable estimates of the number of people who are forced to leave their home areas (displaced). However, most researchers believe that between 4 and 6 million are involved most of them from the south.²

For more than 20 years, Sudan has been a major refugee hosting and producing country permanently due to political complications that caused civil war at home; famine, drought depending on the conditions in its neighbours who have fled from their countries.³ Drought and government policies have left millions of Sudanese displaced and/or are at a risk of famine.⁴ The continuous population flow has serious health implications for both the displaced people and the host countries. The state of complete physical, mental and social well being of the people is worst than ever today. Many people are affected by poverty and poor sanitation and they flee to urban centers. Given these shortcomings, it is the government's responsibility to solve domestic conflicts, accommodate its citizens, and provide basic physical and social provisions.

Health and Education

Health: Social sectors in Sudan remained under great pressure for years because of rapid population growth and political tension in relation to economic growth. Particularly, the severe governments expenditure cut backs in education, health and medical care and other social welfare's has worsened the situation.⁵ The main education and health care are located in urban areas, where 22% (1991), between 27-33% (1997-2000) population live.⁶ Health care in Sudan is

¹ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 16

² Medani, Khalid, in: Current History, Vol.92, No.574, May 1993, p. 203; Eltigani, Eltigani E. (1995), p. 52; Amnesty International, AI Index: AFR 54/01/00 ERR, London, 3 May 2000, p. 18

³ Compare UNHCR Annual Report 2000, pp. 354-355

⁴ World Refugees Survey, Washington D.C. 1992, pp. 53-54; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1986-1987, No.3, p. 11; UNHCR Annual Report 2000, p. 245

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1986-1987, No.3, London 1987, p. 12

⁶ Rakodi, Carole (1997), p. 88; Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999), p. 199

characterized by poor access to services, which (1988-1999) has been estimated as being available to only around 51% of the population and by the high cost medicines.¹

According to the Economic Commission for Africa reports, 49% and 40% of the population was without access to sanitation and safe water during 1990-1996.² But on the one hand, the United Nations Development Programme has reported that more than 30% of the Sudanese population did not have access to modern health facilities and a total of 50% have no access to safe drinking water and 78% were without access to sanitation in 1990-1996.³ On the other hand, the World Bank's Annual Report signals that basic social provision has been uneven while 66% in urban and 45% rural population had access to safe water in 1993-1995.⁴ These reports are based from the situation that, health provision has been badly affected by the civil war, which drains resources and has led many health care professionals to leave the country.⁵ But if there will be full access to observe the dilemma of Sudanese health situation, especially in the south, it might be worse than what had been reported by the World Bank or other research sources. For example, many basic drugs are not widely available or are highly priced that most people cannot afford. In addition, frequent famine, most recently in the south and other areas in the past stemming from poor weather, drought and the civil war have caused displacement and a widespread malnutrition.⁶

The health sector continues to bear a disproportionate burden of the ongoing socio-economic crisis. The exodus of doctors, nurses and technicians, compounded by declining or stagnating public expenditure on health has culminated in a virtual collapse of the sector. For example, the average expenditure on health sector has been about 0.5% (1997) in comparison to 1% in the 1980s.⁷ Like Ethiopia and Kenya, Sudan's large proportion of public health expenditure goes towards curative services in a few hospitals. At the current level of Sudan's economic development, focusing on primary health care could be viable strategy for achieving health for all in the foreseeable future. The government should reverse the concentration of meager health services in a few urban areas. Rural communities have disadvantaged institutional and infrastructure facilities. In many cases, the majority of Sudanese in the rural areas have no access to the basic facilities. Death rate has been 19 (1980), 14 (1992), 12 per 1,000 lives (1996)

¹ United Nations Center for Human Settlement (HABITAT) (1996), p. 526

² United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1996), p. 179

³ Human Development Report (UNDP) (1999), p. 147

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, p. 334

⁵ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 15; Isaacs, Harold, in: *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol.XV, No.1 (Spring 1998), p. 94

⁶ Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 16; SIPRI (New York 2001), p. 33

⁷ Human Development Report (UNDP 1998), p. 159; Gordon, April, in: *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol.V, No.1 (Spring 1998), pp. 93-94

of people and the national life expectancy at birth was reported as 42.6 years (1980), 50 (1987), 52.2 (1995), and 55 years (1997) though it is as low as 36 years in parts of the south.¹

Inadequate health and other public services have meant that the infant mortality rate has been extremely high at 132 (1980), 118 (1982), 112 (1986), 108 (1987), 99 (1992) 74 (1994), 73 (1997-1998) per 1,000 live births.² In the same case under review, 122 (1994) 115 (1997-1998) children per 1,000 have died before the age of 5 years which is much lower than 162 per 1,000 in 1992.³ Maternal mortality was also reported about 660 (1990), 655 (1992), and 550 per 100,000 lives in 1998.⁴ Health service infrastructure in Sudan has been uneven. The north enjoys a fair level of health services having 70% of the population access to health care in comparison to the desperate situation in the south. However, because of the chronic lack of any form of administration or bureaucratic infrastructure in the south, it has been difficult to obtain figures that relate specifically to the basic public services. The health infrastructure benefit facilitated in the peaceful time by Western agencies has been largely destroyed, looted and burned by the government troops. The remains are either closed or in an extremely poor situation because health personnel were transferred to the north as a deliberate act to weaken the SPLA's support base in 1983, 1988 and after. An example of these indicators have been the consequent breakdown of health services that undoubtedly increased health problems in the region. For example, in the 1980s, public expenditure on health represented 1% of GDP, but in the 1990s, the government allocated between 0.3% and 0.5%, 1.4% (1995-1997) of GNP on health which was contrary to the devastating 3.7% (1983-1989) and between 16-17.1% (1990-1992) of GNP military spending.⁵

In general, the government's meager health budget has prevented the establishment of basic public facilities, that would have met the people's requirements more adequately on preventive diseases like malaria which has been leading causes of death among children, especially in the south.⁶ The health problems are also aggravated by shortages of food, tied to the famine and lack of chronic water incapacity infrastructure and shortage of medical personnel. For example,

¹ World Bank, African Development Indicators (1994-1995 and 1998-1999), pp. 338, 329; Human Development Report (UNDP 1998 and 1999), pp. 149, 170; World Bank, World Development Report 2000-2001, p. 316

² EIU Sudan Country Profile 1986-1987, No.3, p. 12; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1994-1995, p. 339; United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1996), p. 179; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2000, p. 69

³ Graham-Brown, Sarah (1991), p. 82; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 188

⁴ World Bank, African Development Indicators (1994-1995, p. 339; Human Development Report (UNDP 1999 and 2000), p. 170, 188

⁵ Human Development Report (UNDP 1998 and 2000), pp. 159, 216; U.S Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, World Military Expenditure and Arms Transfers 1993-1994, Washington D.C. 1993, p. 83; World Bank, World Development Indicators (2000), p. 286

⁶ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 1450

in 1992 and 1993, there were 10 doctors for 100,000 people and 70 nurses for 100,000 and in 1996, there was an average one physician for every 11,290 persons.¹ Most qualified medical staffs are disproportionately located in urban areas of the north and central parts of the country.

As a result of this and other general lack of drugs and equipment, the great majority of southern inhabitants do not have primary health provisions. In other parts of the country, the low level of income and hardship of life for years have certainly worsened general health care and affected education, the shortage of doctors and skilled teachers also remains acute. Many Sudanese doctors have left the country for Saudi Arabia and other Mideastern countries where they do not live in fear of political persecution and salaries are higher than they get in their country. As a result, doctors are now being forcefully prevented to leave Sudan.²

The finding of this analysis stresses outrageously that, health care sector in Sudan has been severely affected by impoverishment of the economy, political instability, ethnic and religious favourism. High level of maternal, child and infant mortality and low rate access to sanitation are symptoms of the gross neglect to health care responsibility. Otherwise, the main concern of the Sudanese authorities has been few modern health centers which exist in the country, that are too far apart and poorly equipped to justify the enormous costs to patients, both in terms of time and money.

Education: While successive governments have neglected basic education, it has been one of the difficult areas to ascertain the extent of past policies. But periodic droughts together with the civil war may take the responsibility for Sudan's current plight. During the Nimeiri years, there was an improvement in education, however, educational enrolment in all relevant ages were disappointingly low at an average rate of 27% (1980) and 29% (1985) respectively.³ The World Bank in turn has estimated in 1996 that primary school enrolment was 51% of the relevant age group and secondary school enrolment only 21%.⁴

Nimeiri's regime set out ambitious targets in education previously to reduce illiteracy from 80% to 50% of the population by the early 1980s and planned to achieve universal primary school enrolment by 1991. In 1983, at the primary level 7-12 years, about 50% were enrolled, and 16% at the secondary level 13-17 years, whereby tertiary had only 2% students between 18-23 years of age. But following the outbreak of war in 1983, the situation has deteriorated and the average educational facilities especially in the south were incomplete collapse.⁵ From 1990-

¹ Human Development Report (UNDP 1998 and 2000), p. 159, 192; EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 16

² Sudan Update, 10(3), London, 21 February 1999, p. 15

³ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1999), pp. 286-287; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 14

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 15

⁵ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1999), p. 286

1996, despite the country's economic crisis, the educational enrolment figures in all relevant ages have increased by an average of 29.3% from 1990-1996 including vocational and teacher training.¹ According to other report sources, Sudan's educational enrolment ratio for primary and secondary schools was below the average for Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole which accounts 53% (1990), 51% (1996) and 24% (1990), 21% (1996) respectively 1996.²

Although school enrolment has increased, services have deteriorated even in areas not affected by war, because every thing had been highly disrupted in the southern regions. Public finances have been redirected from education and welfare services to the conflict. There has been some efforts to re-orientate the educational system ideologically, increasing the role of Islam and the dominance of Arabic in schools, but little else. Secondary and higher education have been especially disrupted, as most students are required to serve in the army or Popular Defence Force (PDF) before they can enter university.³ But there are schools and health services in areas under the control of the SPLA, and even more in the neighbouring countries refugee camps where foreign aid agencies have full access.⁴ In other developments, since decades, Sudan has suffered a brain-drain of professionals to other parts of the Middle East, particularly to the southern Gulf-States.⁵

Rapid population growth rates and severe cutbacks in public expenditure often in connection with debt rescheduling and economic restructuring, among other factors have culminated in a near collapse of the Sudanese educational infrastructure. As it is explained above, Sudanese public expenditure on education is the lowest from the developing countries being between 1.4% and 3.8% (1996) as of GNP.⁶ But the UNDP has reported in its 1999 edition that the total government expenditure in 1993-1995 was 9.0% which is also smaller than Ethiopia 13.7% and Kenya 16.7% in the same years.⁷ UNDP in its 2000 annual report (Human Development Report) it has indicated that the total Sudanese public expenditure was lower to 1.4% as of GNP in 1995-1997 years.⁸ Persistent crisis at the first level is exemplified by declining students, culminating in high rates of attrition and repetition of classes, overcrowding, lack of basic teaching materials and low moral among teachers.

At the time of writing, it was reported that very low people of schoolchildren in the south are operational and schools tend to attract the fighting parties who have been using school buildings

¹ African Development Bank, African Development Report (1999), p.218; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1997-1998, p. 16

² World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 148

³ EIU Sudan Country Profile 2000, p. 15

⁴ Africa Today, 3rd edition (1996), p. 1450

⁵ Graham-Brown, Sarah (1991), p. 137; Sidahmed, Abdelsalam (1997), pp. 194-195

⁶ World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 164

⁷ Human Development Report (UNDP 1999), pp. 178-179

⁸ Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 196; World Bank, World Development Report 2000-2001, p. 196

for temporary shelter, which became targets for destruction. As a result, Sudan's adult literacy rate has been 21% (1980), 23.5% (1985), 46% (1995) and 46.7% (1997) which is much lower than most African countries that accounted 76% (1985), 73% (1990) and 75% in 1993-1995¹. Contrasting the situation in the south with the north, and in Khartoum area where most schools are equipped, it seems that the disparity is very high. The illiteracy rate in the south is 85% among the highest in the world, which is higher than the total average in the country (65% (1980), 45.6% (1997), 44% (1998)).²

Since 1989, the present government has introduced Islamic elements into the education curriculum and attempted the whole sale introduction of Arabic as the language of instruction in all subjects. In non-Muslim community, this step has further damaged an already underdeveloped sector. Sarah Graham-Brown writes about this dilemma:

"For people from the south in particular, coming to the north means crossing a linguistic, cultural and religions divide. For them, the north has many of the characteristics of a foreign country. Children have problems at school, because the language of instruction is Arabic. Few of them know more than minimal Arabic since in the south, English or vernacular language are mainly used in schools".³ In 1988-1990, only 3% of all graduates had completed in science courses.⁴ In a further development, the government has been acutely short of funds for education and health care sectors, because of the general budgetary squeeze and high military expenditure over 3.5% of GDP since 1990.⁵ Charges have been introduced for education and health services, which was primarily provided free. This caused low enrolment levels and has contributed to high illiteracy rate for 15 years of age and above for both men and women which has been significantly worse than that of most its neighbours.⁶

Education can contribute to social security in many ways. Especially in the case of Sudan, it can promote civilizing behaviour such as tolerance for other ethnic and religious groups and can be a fundamental basis that could build other ingredients of mutual social security. In the light of the continuing socio-economic crisis, rehabilitation of decaying educational institutions has become daunting for the government. If the prospect for development of the country lies in education of the youth, Sudan's prospects of development are bleak. Consequently, the

¹ Human Development Report (UNDP 1998 and 1999), pp. 149, 147; World Bank, African Development Indicators 1998-1999, p. 338; World Bank, World Development Report 1999-2000, p. 272; Graham-Brown, Sarah (1991), p. 82

² World Bank, World Development Indicators (2000), p. 84; World Bank, World Development Report 2000-2001, p. 316; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, p. 320

³ Graham-Brown, Sarah (1991), p. 203

⁴ EIU Sudan Country Profile 1995-1996, p. 10; World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 196

⁵ Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 216

⁶ World Bank, World Development Indicators (1994-1995 and 1998), pp. 347, 337; Human Development Report (UNDP 2000), p. 196; World Education Report (UNESCO 2000), p. 132

contribution which education is expected to provide to the country's economic recovery and socio-economic development is clearly not yet on sight. If Sudan's basic social and economic indicators are not adjusted, the country's development to democratic system will remain behind its neighbours.

4.3 Comparison of the Economic and Social Structures in the Three Countries

Given the above explanations on selected economic and social indicators, questions how their developments in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan can best be examined comparatively will be the concentration of this section. The political disputes and instability have had a heavy toll on confidence building, which is considered necessary to economic transformation and implementing sustainable growth of basic social structures. Based on this and other related implications, the prospects for economic recovery and a transition to democracy appear better in Kenya and Ethiopia but seems worst in Sudan. Comparing the three countries, the Ethiopian authorities have tried to take advantage of pushing economic reforms since 1992 within a short time span even if they still face many problems.¹ But the EPRDF regime's willingness to play what it called ethnic instituted democratic values had weakened after it has started to repress potential opposition parties since 1992 and held consecutive elections to form a federal state in its own political vision without the participation of democratic opposition parties. There was similar evidence in Kenya during 1992 and 1997 elections² that may bring better position than the cases of Sudan and Ethiopia.

But the difficulty has been that democratic values have clearly not developed deep roots to discuss the countries problems of social policies openly. As long as there are few effective checks and balances on the ruling parties of the three countries, there is a risk that the present political orders towards more democratization and social integration disguises what is becoming in effect one-party rule dominated by the executives. Civic institution groups such as religious, students, trade unions among others in Sudan and Kenya have undertaken advantage of government in decision to press their claims on the public purse. But the political opposition groups were highly fragmented and driven by personal disputes that could in time only discredit democratic policies.³ Hence, there used to be little political correctness by the government as well as the opposition to settle social issues with consensus.

¹ IMF, Ethiopia Selected Issues, IMF Staff Country Report N.96/95, Washington D.C., June 1996, p. 2 ff.; Fellner, Christian (2000), p. 43

² Markakis, John, in: ROAPE, Vol.26, Np.80, (June 1999), p. 296

³ Africa Confidential, Vol.41, No.2, London, January 2000, p. 6; Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.5, London, July 1st-31st, 2000, p. 14049; Ajulu, Rok, Kenya, In: Review of African Political Economy, No.53, March 1992, p. 79

In Sudan, the military has remained resolutely on the sideline and general support from domestic as well as the international community for the regime has been deteriorating. Calls for democracy exacerbated by the marginalized social groups has weakened the Islamic fundamentalist-backed military government by delegitimizing its constitution as well as the regime itself. It has taken steps towards normalizing its international economic relations.¹ But there are a number of obstacles to take more steps and implement democracy, because the war continues in the south and political situation in the country remains unstable.

By the mid of 1990s, the three countries governments had lost much of the popular enthusiasm, but they seemed likely to survive until the end of their electoral terms.² However, because of domestic as well as international pressure, the governments of Ethiopia and Sudan signal more vulnerable to some kind of regime breakdown. Ironically, they had lost more of their legitimacy than the Kenyan government and yet had achieved considerably less social affiliation to restore the base of long-term economic growth and political stability.³ In light of the nature of the three countries economic development problems and given the present state of my knowledge about their economic policy reform programmes, both external and internal factors need to be mentioned as the main points responsible for the crisis to generate sustainable economic growth. This may provide an additional explanation of why reforms have failed in the three countries and the social and economic structures became fragile, precarious and unconsolidated.

The vast majority of African States have economies based on primary commodity exports-whether oil, cash crops like tea or coffee. For example, the World Bank has reported that Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan with the lowest GNP per capita relied on primary commodities for 89% of their export revenues in 1992-1997.⁴ At the end of 1980s, Christopher Clapham has written as follows that reflects to this argument:

“One familiar reason for the difficulties of economic planning or economic management in all Third World countries is their high level of dependence on the industrial economies”.⁵

Just to compare the past economic data analysis, Ethiopia has a comparative low level of independence on import/export trade at an annual average percentage of its GDP which

¹ Africa Analysis, No. 301, London, 10 July 1998, pp. 3-4; Africa Analysis, No.353, London, 11 August 2000, p. 7; Africa Confidential, Vol.4, No.13, London, 23 June 2000, p.4; Sudan Democratic Gazette, Year XII, No.129, London, March 2001, p. 1

² Africa Confidential, Vol.41, No.7, London, March 2000, p. 6; Africa Research Bulletin, Vol.37, No.5, London, May 1st-31st 2000, p. 13967, July pp. 14040, 14036

³ Africa Confidential, Vol.41, No.9, London, 2 May 2000, p. 1; Africa Analysis, No.351, London, 14th July 2000, p. 16

⁴ World Bank, World Development Report (1995), pp. 190-191; World Bank, Africa Claims the 21st Century (2000), p. 9

⁵ Clapham, Christopher (1988), p. 119

accounted US\$323.2 million dollars export revenues in 1989-1994, US\$794.3 million import values and balance of trade US\$-470.1 million, comparatively Kenya has US\$1289.3 million exports, US\$1815.93 million, and US\$-526.90 million balance of trade while Sudan has registered US\$342.33m, US\$913.67m and US\$-571.34m balance of trade in the same year under observation.¹ However, in other respects, Ethiopia had a classically dependent economy, that it derived over half of its foreign exchange from a single commodity coffee, which has been liable to price fluctuations on the international market and is also depended on foreign currency as its main sources of investment finance.² Even if the three countries economic institutions and social indicators seem to have constituted significant political openings, the institutionalization of democratic practices remains inevitably uncertain. They require to strengthen a democratic political culture and the mechanisms of transparency and accountability, which may not take place overnight. But if the authorities are willing to encourage social responsive investment remains questionable.

On the one hand, there are some evidences that Kenya's social and economic institutions are stronger and more capable than those of Ethiopia and Sudan are.³ The question remains why these strong institutions have failed to implement stable economic and social development in the country, which could have also promoted political stability. On the other hand, the EPRDF government seems more likely to bring about substantial economic reform than the previous regimes, because it had made significant measures of progress.⁴ The government has been able to persuade key constituencies for its political reform but had tried to delegitimize and isolate opposition groups.⁵

From the outset, all the three states have undertaken economic reforms in the 1980s and 1990s, but they are desperately poor and their governments' still face similar disastrous economic and social crises.⁶ Extremely painful economic reforms need to be sustained for years before they will result in appreciable per capita growth, alleviate poverty etc. Even if a few firm conclusions can be drawn without increasing the number of cases, neither integrated social structure nor economic reform is complete in any of the three countries. But in all cases, progress on economic and political reforms are hoped to undertake in the new century.

¹ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1996), p. 1996, p. 176

² World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 96; Africa Research Bulletin, April 16th May 15th London 2000, p. 14337

³ Leonard, David K., African Successes (1991), pp. 6, 275; Republic of Kenya Statistical Abstract, Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nairobi 1996, pp. 2-3; Kenya: Post-Elections Political Violence, Article 19, London, December 1998, p. 12

⁴ Fellner, Christian (2000), pp. 44-45

⁵ Africa Research Bulletin, July 1st-31st, London 2000, p. 14049, Ibid., Vol.36, No.8, London, August 1st-31st 1999, p. 13660; Africa Confidential, Vol.41, No.7, London 31st March 2000, p. 7

⁶ Africa Confidential, Africa 2000, 40 Years of Africa Confidential, Vol.41, No.9, London, 2 May 2000, p. III

The governments in the three countries economic development and strategy equally depend on a level of capital inflow, which may only be provided by the West, but the question is on which terms? The political cost of food and financial dependency may become very much more evidence. While the Western economic interest has been vastly more important on Kenya than in either Ethiopia or Sudan, there might be more possibility of transition to democracy in Kenya that will be pushed by the West than in both the other countries.¹ As long as the countries continue to depend on imported food and regardless of year to year in weather conditions, there is nothing in the long-term pattern of agricultural production to suggest that this dependency is likely to diminish but may be provided by the Western grain-surplus states.²

Thus, there are a number of obstacles when conditional pressure comes into question. But as it has been explained earlier, the **challenges** to the overall economic and social developments facing the three countries are enormous. They involve how to increase agricultural capacity and raise the income of a rapidly growing population, foreign exchange earnings to fuel economic growth, distribution of capital investment among socially diversified society. Especially the challenge to ensure adequate food became a complex and difficult situation. But the most immediate and important measures have to be reducing civil unrest, achieving political stability, improving macroeconomic policy and other related issues to alleviate inequality among the ethnic groups.

Even if some performances provide hopes in the light of successful adjustments to economic policies since the mid-1980s, food emergencies have exacerbated the region's problems. When one makes assessments to the three countries problems during the 1980s and 1990s, it portrayed a worsening economic crisis centered on deteriorating per capita food supplies. The crisis were attributed to declining or stagnant agricultural production due to government policies, which discouraged or inhibited growth (<http://www.fao.org/WAICENT/FAOINFO/ECONO:FAO/GIEWS: Africa Report No.1, April 1999 pp. 2, 5>).³ Economic growth and more generally agricultural transformation are central to overcoming food problems for rural dweller farmers and other socially marginalized groups who are at most in a risk of food shortages.

Inadequate institutional capacity, human capital and physical infrastructure have also been blamed along with a bias against agriculture in the economic structural strategies of the governments. These include slow adoption of yield-increasing technology; underdeveloped

¹ Clapham, Christopher (1998), p. 237; Africa Research Bulletin, May 16th-June 15th, London 2000, p. 14351; Indian Ocean Newsletter, No.893, 26th February 2000, p. 2

² World Bank, World Debt Tables 194-1995, Vol.1 (1995), p. 232; FAO Food aid in Figures, Vol.2, Rome 1996, pp. 90-92; World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 107

³ FAO 50 Years on: A celebration and Challenge, Rome 1995, pp. 3, 19; Africa Research Bulletin, Humanitarian Catastrophe, London, May 16-June 15, 2000, p. 14352

infrastructure, inadequate land tenure systems, heavy government interventions and control in farm support systems, including farm input supplies.¹ The provisions of basic social services such as primary health care, nutrition, infrastructure and primary education are important to reduce poverty.² But like in many Africa countries, these provisions have received limited attention in fighting against poverty, which used to result high incidences of infant mortality, poor nutrition and low primary school enrolments in the three countries.

The existing governments' service provisions have been inefficient to reform or build institutional framework and carry out sector investment programmes that may have implications on alleviating poverty and encourage broad participation of local people. Thus, if the countries are to progress in the future, fundamental structural reforms are required in the key sectors of their economies like agriculture, industry and services. From this standpoint, many important questions associated with the economic and social structures of the three countries have to be examined carefully in a further research.

Certainly, these fields are wide to examine both analytically and empirically in a short time span. For example, the questions: What they do have in common and which country has favourable circumstances to economic development and a transition to democracy? What are the prospects that the three states can become more effective in political, economic and social developments? While additional problems appear in the course of time, they are not yet fully answered but posed for discussion in the next chapters and further research opportunities.

Chapter 5. Human Rights: Often Disregarded and Still With Uncertain Future

The problem of just rule has bothered mankind since human existence and there have often been questions why some rulers do not consider the moral duty to respect and protect their citizens. Even if, there are roots for respect of human rights in every country³, these natural respects have been repressed and not developed in many countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. In cultural and confessional heterogeneous states such as the three countries among others, systematic abuses of human rights violations of every kind was risen dramatically and continued at horrifying levels since the 1980s.⁴ Thus, the struggle for human rights in the three countries has largely been a struggle for freedom of political and civil rights along with to economic, social and religious rights.

¹ World Bank, *Can Africa Claim the 21st Century?* (2000), pp. 17, 100, 172-173

² World Bank Discussion Paper No.363, *Fostering Sustainable Development, The Sector Investment Programme*, Washington D.C. 1997, p. 14

³ Meyer, William H. (1998), pp. 116-117

⁴ Tetzlaff, Rainer, *Human Rights and Development* (1993), p. 16

The three countries under study have acceded, most of the major regional and international human rights treaties except very few conventions. But they all do not take necessary practical measures to ensure these promises. For example, at the time of writing all the three countries have ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) but not the optional protocols.¹ In addition to these two, Kenya did not ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD); Sudan the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and signed but not ratified the Convention against Torture and other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT).² According to the UDHR, even if countries do not have ratified the treaties, they are obliged to refrain from acts, which would defeat the objective and purpose of the treaties.³

Given all these universal acceptance or recognition and applicability of human rights have taken place, authoritarian and dictator regimes have sought to **disregard** one of the most fundamental precepts of human rights that provides the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority/government. They have often been only interested in their own well being, in exploiting their people and the environment.⁴ As signatories of both the International (UDHR) and Regional (ACHPR) Human Rights Charters, Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan did not fully realize those rights and had often been violated in a massive scale. Because political persecutions against government opponents, minorities, dissident opposition groups, adherents of other religions, (particularly in Sudan) and extra-judicial killings have been the norm rather than the exception in the three countries.⁵

Almost all sets of rights have been resisted or narrowly circumscribed and one cannot think to see the degree by which human rights have been realized. For example, when one observes in the capital cities of the three countries during elections or on normal day times, harassment of government critics, extreme poverty, illiteracy, homelessness, the vulnerability of children and reports on intimidation to opposition groups, disregards to demands for democracy, political and civil rights etc. can tell indictments of leadership in the three countries. One can often see and

¹ The Netherlands Quarterly of Human Right, Vol.3, Appendix I, Part C: Leiden, 1 June 1994, pp. 343-345

² Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1998, pp. 384, 386, 389, 391; Amnesty International Annual Report, London 2000, pp. 288, 290-292

³ Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR), Article 30

⁴ Intereconomics, Review of International Trade and Development, Vol.33, No.4, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Germany, Baden-Baden, July-August 1998, p. 171; Preamble of the UDHR, Article 21:3

⁵ Human Rights in Africa and U.S Policy (June 26-27, 1994), pp. 7, 12, 41; Amnesty International Annual Report (Frankfurt/Main 2000), pp. 88-93, 291-295, 492-498

hear a vast number of victims of destitution, persecution, disappearances, extra-judicial killings, deprivation of political, economic, social and cultural rights among others.¹

The situation seems little better in Kenya than in Ethiopia and Sudan but the most controversial questions of human rights in the country has also been **disregarded** there. The breakdown in the political process might have prevented from enacting legislation that corrects or implements human rights respects failure in Sudan and Ethiopia. In Kenya in turn, the system of potentially repressive laws remained in force in the 1980s and through 1990s being reinforced by a centralized state apparatus, which has violated all forms of human rights consistently. For example, the government has used the judiciary to silence critics and punish political opponents.²

The distinctive atmosphere of pessimism that nowadays marks much of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan stand in large part from continued denials of human rights. These important remarks have contributed to a widespread popular belief that the human rights issue as a whole is retrogressing. In terms of enforcement of human rights norms, as played in their constitution and treaty ratification's, the three governments have fallen short to varying degrees, but none of them have achieved all the desired human rights goals. Based on these and other ground events that could also be mentioned here, I would be able to say that human rights in the three countries have often been **disregarded** and remain with an uncertain future.

In all these shortcomings, government performances have been subject to open domestic and international criticism. Serious situations of disappearances, extra-judicial executions and other brutal human rights abuses have been registered and reported about Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. For example, tens of thousands of people have lost their lives under the government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam who was in power from 1974-1991 and since the EPRDF took power. Sudan under Nimeiri since the outbreak of civil war in 1983, whereby mostly southern ethnic groups have been targets of extra-judicial executions. The government instigated Rift Valley ethnic conflicts and political related brutal abuses among others have caused many loses of lives and internal displacements in Kenya.³ From this context and among others, the general human rights and their protections in the three countries will be analyzed below separately, in order to differentiate the **severity, frequency and range** of human rights abuses comparatively.

¹ Human Rights Watch World Report (1996, 1997 and 1999), pp. 19, 23, 51; 25-30, 30-34, 55-60; 161-164, 220-223, 313-316; Human Rights in Developing Countries (Oslo 1993, 1995 and 1996), pp. 182 ff., 327 ff., 197 ff.

² Miller, Norman N. (1984), p. 95; Human Rights Watch World Report, (1997), p. 32; Amnesty International Annual Report, London 2000, pp. 100-102, 146-147, 223-225

³ Amnesty International Dutch Section, Human Rights Crisis of the 1990s (1990), pp. 92-93, 95

5.1 The General Context of Human Rights and Their Protections in the Three Countries

The three countries governments have perpetrated human rights abuses in the past and were engaged in civil strifes. They all have a large numbers of minorities at risk who have often been abused and there are still signs of escalation in areas of conflict, which remained tense. The central assumptions to deal in this chapter are based on: **First:** As it is explained above, the three countries governments are well aware of human rights by adopting the UDHR. But in practice, they do not realize to reduce or avoid abuses unlike the situation barely a decade ago. Domestic human rights (NGOs) groups that are encouraged from external support suffer lack of access and their existence has often been threatened. Even if consciousness of global national dimensions of human rights had added a new importance to struggle for justice, these organizations lack political space within which to operate or resources necessary for fact-finding and publicity.

Second: Governments unchecked by civil society become major threats to their societies, which destroy civic organizations and are either, prevented or mobilized by the repressive regimes. These cases stand to reason the continuation of wide spread human rights abuses. For example, corrupt and despotic leaders remain intransigently in office, having hijacked and repressed popular pressure to free and competitive government by which events of this sort often sadden peace loving citizens and African watchers.¹ As it can be seen in the three countries below, the appraisals of abuses have been registered in domestic, regional and International Human Rights Organizations, with many appeals and recommendations to stop human rights violations that all became in vain². Using human rights and other related data sources, the theoretical context of the analysis in the three countries will concentrate on four essential questions in the process of this topic's explanation.

1. How do governments violate the rights of their citizens?
2. Who have been the victims and what groups have been/can be at risk?
3. What do human rights organizations and activists say about the three countries human rights situation?
4. Dose the government system empower citizens to change their own government and secure fundamental political changes?

The assessment of observation to this analysis is conducted based mostly on the mandate pattern of major human rights violations categories that have often been spotlighted by human

¹ New African Magazine, No.303, London, December 1992, pp. 12-13; Amnesty International Monthly Journal No.9, Kenya: Zeit fuer Veraenderungen, Bonn, September 1997, p. 7 ff.

² Human Rights Watch World Report (1997 and 1998), pp. 25, 30, 55; 36, 40, 46; Amnesty International Annual Report (London 2000), pp. 100, 146, 223

rights defenders/activists like Amnesty International, African Charter on Human and People's Rights, Human Rights Watch among others. The study will use as its working definition those components of human rights enumerated in the International Bill of Human Rights (IBHR) which is a product of United Nations.¹ It also focuses to the basic dimensions of regional and international conventions on human rights standards which the three countries have ratified, that all members of nations must strive.

5.1.1 Human Rights and their Protections in Ethiopia

Ethiopia's violent political history has made protection of human rights both difficult and very complicated. Even if the country's political and social structures have profoundly changed between the mid of 1970s and the end of 1980s, the country's years of chronicles express continuous denial of human rights by its leaders.² There had often been an atmosphere in which organized expression of popular discontents have no legitimate roles in the eyes of the country's rulers. The country has never had a government of the people but brute force has always determined who ruled.³ Gross human rights violations have occurred constantly under the consecutive Ethiopian leaders and there was almost no significant attempt to curtail such abuses for decades. Hence, in order to explain the unspeakable atrocities of human rights about Ethiopia, one needs patience.

Civil war and lack of power-sharing remained the primary factors affecting human rights in the country with all conflicting parties having committed major human rights violations, including summary executions and disappearances. Ethiopia has suffered continuous civil war that members of ethnic or regional groups fought since the 1960s, which has wracked the country.⁴ The imperial regime has operated under a personalized system for many years by deliberately reinforcing the preservation of the emperor's power until the mid of 1970s, but had shown total shortcomings. For example, it has failed to deal the intermittent drought and famine, to settle the civil war and other cumulative contradictions that caused popular uprising and confrontations against his regime until its last years.⁵

¹ The International Bill of Rights comprehends the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic and, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

² Africa Events, Vol.3, No.10, London, October 1987, pp. 25-26; News From Africa Watch, Ethiopia: Mengistu's "Empty Democracy," New York, and London, 5 March 1991, p. 1 ff.; Human Rights Watch World Report (1999 and 2000), pp. 1, 3

³ Africa Events, Vol.3, No.3, London, March 1987, p. 23; Human Rights Watch World Report (1995), p. 16

⁴ Amnesty International, Ethiopia and Eritrea: The Human Rights Agenda, AI Index: AFR 25/09/91, London, November 1991, p. 3

⁵ Kaplan, Irving et al (1981), pp. 192-193

But the armed forces have hijacked the popular uprising and overthrew the old imperial fragile regime, which had ruled Ethiopia for 44 years. A Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) was formed and hundreds of the imperial government members and the ruling class were detained without legal procedures. It has also marked gross human rights violations by summarily executing 60 high government officials of the imperial regime at the direct command of Mengistu Haile Mariam.¹ Some detainees disappeared and others were gradually released over years, while the rest remained in prison until the military regime was overthrown. Political activists who have challenged the Provisional Military Administrative Council were deliberately killed from the outset. Like the imperial regime, the military authorities did not tolerate popular support or demand for human rights activities and organizing free civic society. One can say the term human rights did not occur under the military regime's political scene.

This has constantly been an obstacle to transform the country towards civil society and promote a widespread human rights culture. The war continued in virtually every part of the country against ethnic-based insurgencies, especially in the north (Eritrea and Tigray provinces); in the south and southeast provinces of Oromos and Somalis regions.² Gross human rights abuses were committed in connection with armed ethnic opposition groups and in other ethnic groups who have resisted the military regime. In this situation, the notorious Mengistu regime has attempted to build Marxist-Leninist Party in the name of the peoples power, which marked the late 1970s and until the end of mid 1980s but faced problems unabated.³ Some of the problems of the military regime had their origin in the imperial period, including neglect and concealment of rural famine, human rights abuses in the course of various counterinsurgency campaigns in the civil war zones among others.⁴

The military regime not only inherited these problems but also has multiplied them through errors of its own, by carrying out extra-judicial killings on thousands of political opponents to install its dictatorial power. The United States Department of State Committee on Foreign Relations has written on this issue at that time as follows:

"Colonel Mengistu rose to supreme power by physically eliminating his rivals and by constantly advocating the use of force to solve political and social problems. The country remained in civil war or without political freedoms and without institutions or laws that protect citizens' human rights".⁵

¹ Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 192; News From Africa Watch, Ethiopia: Mengistu's "Empty Democracy" (5 May 1991), p. 8; Erlich, Haggai (1994), p. 175

² Keller, Edmond J. (1988), p. 197; Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.6, No.11, Washington D.C., November 1994, p. 6

³ Michler, Walter (1991), pp. 200-201

⁴ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.6, No.11 (1994), p. 4

⁵ United States on Human rights Practices (February 1992), p. 119

From the outset, Policies of centralized control, extensive use of force, extra-judicial killings and denial of human rights were central to Mengistu's raise to power. Mengistu's government did not allow citizens to organize or demonstrate against official policies and it has influenced and controlled most organizations in the country. Any discussion on human rights, civil and political rights remained restricted. For example, despite constitutional guarantees contained in the 1987,¹ citizens suspected of opposing the regime were subject to arrest and detention without charge or judicial review. The rule of law in the country was restricted to spheres without political significance and a constitutional guarantee to basic civil and political rights has been hollow. Mengistu's regime has not introduced a single element of democracy or implemented civil and political rights.

Instead, he and his close associates have exercised power through arbitrary arrests and intimidation's. Both political and criminal prisoners were routinely subjected to physical abuses and torture, including beating, electric shocks, suffocation's during the interrogations, killings among others.² Thousands of suspected opponents of the regime or sympathizers to any member of opposition groups were disappeared, being targeted frequently. Mengistu has been determined to destroy all organizations that could serve as a political opposition to his rule.³ The military regime's marked emphasis on centralization and reliance on the use of force has led to human rights disastrous consequences in the country's history. At least 1.5 million lives were lost as a consequence.⁴ Since it had taken over power, Colonel Mengistu's rule has often been characterized by wanton disregard to human rights with torture and summary execution that regime has brought a long-term human rights crisis in Ethiopia.

All of these wars that Mengistu's regime has conducted were marked by wide spread human rights law abuses against civilians that included not only isolated massacres perpetrated by individual military units, but also a systematic and general policy of terror and destruction, aimed to control the civilian population by force. For example, in what may have been the worst incident of that kind, as many as 1,300 or more unarmed villagers were killed in Hausen (Tigray region) on 22, June 1988 when Mengistu's airforce jets and helicopters attacked during market day, although the area was not under the armed opposition control.⁵ The government's counter insurgency measures included mass killings of villagers by his army, genocide, killings of livestock, poisoning of wells and forcible relocation of much of the rural population which was

¹ The Constitution of People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE), Addis Ababa 1987, Article 47, Nos.1-2

² Africa Events, Cover Story on the Horn of Africa, File on Torture, Vol.3, No.3, London, March 1987, p. 24

³ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.6, No.11 (1995), p. 5

⁴ De Waal, Alex, Evil Days (1991), p. 16

⁵ Amnesty International, Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Human Rights Agenda, AI Index: AFR 25/09/91, London (November 1991), p. 8

particularly common in Eritrea and Tigray. For example, it was estimated that some 600,000 people were forcibly relocated of these, perhaps 100,000 died from the brutality of relocation and suffocated in transit, starvation and diseases in settlement camps.¹ The military counter-insurgency and social control policies turned the drought of the early 1980s into devastating famine. It has also directly manipulated famine relief as an element in counter-insurgency, channeling food aid to the military and to secured areas, and blocking relief to areas it did not control.²

The wide range of basic human rights violations committed by all sides in the conflict, especially the Mengistu's regime has direct responsibility for the death of millions of Ethiopian civilians, which evolved hatred in its opportunity, among the civilian population. Human Rights Watch writes: "Mengistu's decades of war have been large-scale violations of human rights by the Ethiopian army and air force and armed opposition groups. All sides are responsible for abuses, but the majority of human rights violations continued to be committed by the government".³ In deed, the magnitude of human rights violations during Mengistu regime had been that much of the population was affected directly or indirectly which expanded and continued warfare throughout the country from 1974-1991.

Given the level of repression under Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam regime, it was not possible for human rights groups to exist in his regime. His government has not made any serious efforts to realize respect for civil and political rights. The 17 years of Mengistu regime were dark ones for many Ethiopians. Thus, members or any one who was suspected of supporting opposition elements came under harsh repression. The human rights violation was under unspeakable conditions. An example of the worst human rights situations in the country was that many of those executed were simply left by the roads, in the streets with the government's slogan attached to their bodies to terrify potential opponents. Not only that but, some women who were caught up in the "Red Terror" arrests of the late 1970s were also often raped; had **sticks or heated metal bars inserted into their sex organs** and many others were simply disappeared⁴. Some prisoners also had their heads repeatedly submerged in a tank of dirty water until they were nearly drowned or lost consciousness. Others were made to crawl or walk on sharp stones or the points of nails. Relatives of those killed were forbidden to mourn, or compelled to pay for killers' bullets before family members' corpses would be released.⁵

¹ De Waal, Alex, *Evil Days* (1991), pp. 26, 212-213, 215-217; Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.6, No.11 (December 1996), p. 6; Michler, Walter (1991), pp. 166-169

² De Waal, Alex, *Evil Days* (1991), pp. 222-223, 227

³ Africa Watch, *Ethiopia: Human Rights Crisis as Central Power Crumbles*, New York, Washington D.C. and London, April 1991, p. 2

⁴ Amnesty International, *Ethiopia: Political Imprisonment and Torture*, June 1986, AI Index: AFR 25/09/86, pp. 8, 14

⁵ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.6, No.11 (1994), p. 5

Mengistu regime's officials repeatedly have denied these serious human rights violations and often dismissed any criticism as "politically motivated" and "unsubstantiated".¹ There have been more atrocities during the military regime than was publicized, while it has a long record of resistance to international efforts to investigate human rights abuses. In the environment of violent conflict and the absence of democratic institutions, peaceful expression of opinion and criticism of the government were almost impossible. Promises of major political reforms contained in the 1987 constitution and the official declaration of March 1990 verbal reform remained unfulfilled.² From the outbreak of revolution in 1974 and throughout the 1980s, the human rights abuses continued with little respite. More than 1 million citizens have fled the country during his period to escape war and political persecution.³

Although Mengistu's period stood out for its unparalleled degree of barbarity since the beginning, his regime continued to arbitrary detention, torture, extra-judicial or caused the disappearance of thousands of its perceived enemies until it was overthrown in 1991. He has not admitted that it was the appalling human rights record of his rule which has brought Ethiopia into disaster and appeared determined to continue on with his discredited methods of fighting, methods that led to further atrocities against his own citizens.

As EPRDF armed opposition, which comprised the country's main ethnic groups ended the sorry chapter of Mengistu regime's history whereby massive human rights violations were the norm, peace has shortly returned to most Ethiopians. The change of government brought significant improvements in human rights, particularly in its early years. Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations resolution (UNDHR) 217 A (III) 1948, the EPRDF had adopted a supreme law of Transitional Charter for two years period which affirmed that international human rights shall be respected fully and without any limitation whatsoever.⁴

By contrast to Mengistu's regime, the EPRDF government authorities have proclaimed referring to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and prepared political conversation ambitiously. They have started to fulfill their commitments by establishing multi-party democracy and the rule of law with respect to human rights.⁵ By ratifying the major international human rights instruments than ever before in the country's history, basic human rights were guaranteed in the early transition years.⁶ Human rights entered the Ethiopian political vocabulary at the time of critical regime change. Ethiopia under EPRDF has established recognized human rights to an

¹ Amnesty International Index: AFR 25/09/91, November 1991, pp. 8, 11

² Michler, Walter (1991), pp. 201, 203

³ U.S Department of State Committee Country Report on Human Rights Practices (February 1992), p. 128

⁴ Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, July 22, 1991, Article 1

⁵ Human Rights Watch World Report (1995), p. 16

⁶ Human Rights Watch/Africa and U.S Policy (London, June 26-27, 1994), p. 8

unprecedented degree, compared to other regimes the country has experienced. Human Rights Watch/Africa in its 1993 report writes, "there has been significant progress towards respect for human rights in the country and the EPRDF government has made more detailed verbal commitment to a democratic society than any of its forbears".¹ In EPRDF's Transitional Constitutional Charter, freedom of conscience; the right to engage in unrestricted political activity and to organize political parties were guaranteed, provided the exercise of such rights does not infringe upon the rights of others.²

In accordance with the proclamation No.46, 1993; proclamation No.82, 1994 Article 38; the National Election Board of Ethiopia was formed under proclamation No.111 of 1995, which permits the formation of political parties and other civic associations than ever before. The systematic disappearance and massive extra-judicial execution that characterized Mengistu regime were no longer part of the general human rights situation in the country.³ The EPRDF's Federal Constitution of 1995 gives prominence to human rights. 32 of the constitution's 106 articles consist of detailed human rights promises. It also provides to incorporate all relevant international human rights treaties into domestic law to which the country is a party.⁴ The EPRDF authorities have recognized their duties under the international human rights standards to incorporate protections of human rights in the country's constitution and the proclamation by establishing the special prosecution's office. Not only that, but the EPRDF regime had also taken far-reaching steps to recognize collective rights of ethnic groups including their rights to secession that no African country has taken before. For example, in its Transitional Charter, the right of Nations, Nationalities and people's to self-determination was affirmed, which was later incorporated into the country's 1994 Constitution.⁵

From this perspective, EPRDF government has allowed the secession of Eritrea and well come to the new Eritrean state as Africa's youngest country, which had fulfilled the UDHR, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).⁶ These measures represented considerable important from human rights conditions, which has been a significant positive change in the country. But the establishment of civil and political rights in a context of historically authoritarian marked country was difficult to practice these new rights due to **lack of traditional democratic culture and non-violent opposition**. The challenges have been enormous to break the deficit of

¹ Human Rights Watch/Africa Report, Respectful of Civil and Political Rights (Washington D.C. 1993), p. 14

² Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, July 22, 1991, Article 1 (a-b)

³ Human Rights Watch World Report (1995), p. 16

⁴ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.9, No.8(A) (1997), pp. 9, 12

⁵ Transitional Charter, Addis Ababa, July 22, 1991, Article 2/a-c; Constitution of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1995, Article 39:1-5

⁶ Human Rights in Africa and U.S Policy (June 26-27, 1994), p. 7

tradition, especially in areas such as press freedom; non-violent political opposition among others that still remains a burden.

Although there has been significant human rights improvements registered under the EPRDF government, new serious abuses have arisen. Thousands of former Mengistu Haile Mariam government's officials believed to have been involved in violations of humanitarian law, accused of corruption, genocide etc. were detained randomly.¹ But there has been no allegation, reports of torture or physical abuses, extra-judicial killings in jails, prisons or detentions centers since Mengistu's ouster in the early years and some of the detainees were released later. Nevertheless, the EPRDF government has used force in response to the growing criminal activities and political challenges to the former WPE policy disenfranchisement's and other politically motivated violence.²

As the political challenges to EPRDF's policy has increased, member of opposition parties were harassed, freedom of expression was restricted, arrests were carried out without charge or prospects of trial and suspected extra-judicial executions of opposition activists were also reported later.³ The government has denied to have committed harassment but top political officials and members of the inner circle of Mengistu Haile Mariam regime's military personnel were formally accused or charged with genocide, torture and murder of thousands of people in the period 1974-1991 and reiterated that they were in custody, awaiting indictment for war crimes. But for the most part, they have left Ethiopia and they sought sanctuary in Europe, Latin America and elsewhere.⁴ In a further development, the EPRDF government has promised earlier that those primarily responsible for gross abuses of human rights under Mengistu Haile Mariam regime would be brought to justice with due process and in the presence of international observers.⁵ However, the significant human rights agenda changed has its image because of increasing allegations, intimidation of political opponents, lack of due process and a perceived reluctance of the EPRDF to conduct democratic elections.⁶

Opposition groups have repeatedly complained about political harassment by police, particularly at the hands of local EPRDF authorities and security agents. The situation appeared to deteriorate and serious tensions were mounting, while the government has continued to deny these allegations contending that it has only clamped down armed dissidents. But reports published by the independent local human rights groups and the local independent media have

¹ United States Department of State, Country Report on Human Rights Practices (February 1992), p. 125

² Human Rights Watch, United States of America, December 1991, pp. 50-51

³ Human Rights Watch World Report (1996), p. 19

⁴ Ibid., p. 20

⁵ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Ethiopia: Reckoning under the Law, Vol.6, No.11, New York (1994), p. 10

⁶ Human Rights in Africa and U.S Policy (June 26-27, 1994), p. 10

indicated that the legal opposition has suffered continuing abuses.¹ In many areas, political opponents did not have freedom to express their political platform to the public and their supporters were often regarded as enemies of the government. The Peaceful Demonstration and Public Political Meetings Proclamation No.3/1991, which formally guarantees the right to peaceful demonstration and public political meetings has been ignored or misinterpreted by local authorities. For example, parties need permission to hold a meeting, which is not in the proclamation No.3/1991 that they should obtain permission for holding public meetings.² Permission has been refused on a number of occasions or delayed to such an extent that parties do not have the time to organize effectively or inform the public about their activities.

The EPRDF's government policy on regionalization based on ethnicity and language continued to have profound effect on human rights in the country. Whatsoever, ethnic minority and dispersed ethnic groups or individuals living outside their home regions are not protected enough. Journalist who have published critical articles about the government's ethnic policies continued to be detained, in most cases without charge, even if the 1995 federal constitution's Article 29 provides the right to free speech and press.³ Arrests, detentions of political opposition party members and journalists continued to occur in disputed circumstances and there are still reports of killings during armed clashes.⁴ The Federal Constitution also guarantees freedom of association, but many NGOs from various fields have reported that harassment in the form of delays in getting official clearance to operate, intimidation of persons or their arbitrary degradation often occur. For example, administrative measures have been used to curtail the operational capacity or the existence of humanitarian and welfare NGOs as well as independent domestic human rights monitoring groups.⁵ The high hopes of the early years for human rights respects under the EPRDF regime have proven the reverse and antagonism between NGOs and the government seems to have continued further.

Police force and imprisonment: Under the military regime, the political mission of the police was to suppress political dissent. Each local sub-division region, sub-region and districts had at least one prison facility. Their defence squads were utilized to resist and eliminate opponents of the military regime.⁶ Prisoners were held in jails attached to police stations and army garrisons. Mostly acknowledged detentions took place that exposed the detainees to the risks of

¹ Human Rights Watch World Report (1996), pp. 21-22; Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, 4th Report on the Human Rights Situation in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, January 21, 1993, p. 4 ff.

² Human Rights Watch World Report (1995), p. 17; Reporters Sans Frontieres (1999), p. 7

³ Human Rights Watch World Report (1995), p. 21

⁴ EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London June 2001, p. 12

⁵ Federal Constitution, Addis Ababa, 1995, Article 31

⁶ Kaplan, Irving et al (1981), p. 202

disappearance, extra-judicial execution or summary execution at the hands of police officers.¹ The Ethiopian prison system has never complied with the standards defined by the United Nations Basic Principles for Treatment of Prisoners or United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.² Since the detainees held in secret or unofficial places could not assert their rights, it violates international standards.

The EPRDF has dissolved the army and even the old regime's police force, established a new police and internal security forces who were recruited in mid-1994 and whose responsibility have to be for the Federal Police.³ But it has continued to use the peasant association community prisoners. Since 1995, the government has routinely flouted the regional (ACHPR) and international (ICCPR) instruments to which Ethiopia is a party as well as its own constitutional provisions for the protection of the rights of arrested, accused and detained prisoners.⁴ The continued existence of armed opposition groups along with periodic reports that they have been engaged in armed violence has provided the context for the central government measures to suppress violent and non-violent organizations alike as well as to carry out arrests. In areas from which armed opposition groups have traditionally drawn support, death threats, extra-judicial executions and disappearances, ill-treatment and torture and arrest without warrant has been the norm.⁵

The central government has made efforts repeatedly to limit criticism of its policies and to hinder the establishment of civil institutions not linked to the ruling party. Both Africa Watch and Amnesty International have been able to visit prisoners in Ethiopia since the EPRDF came to power. Human rights Watch Africa as well as other international human rights organizations were able to conduct monitoring visits to Ethiopia in July 1995 and August 1997 and met with government officials and the country's human rights activists.⁶ The International human rights organizations and foreign journalists were invited to observe the procedures of the war crimes trial.⁷ The authorities have also permitted representatives from several Western embassies to visit political prisoners. The trend of increased access to political detainees by independent observers has been maintained, and marked as an important over the situation of the consecutive years since 1991.⁸

¹ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.9, No.8(A) (1997), p. 13

² United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) Article 6

³ Clapham, Christopher, in: Woodward and Forsyth (1994), p. 39

⁴ Federal Constitution, Addis Ababa 1995, Articles 17:1-2 and 19:1-4; ICCPR Article 9:1; ACHPR Article 6

⁵ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.9, No.8(A) (1997), p. 22; Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1998, p. 165

⁶ Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), p. 39

⁷ Human Rights Watch World Report (1996), p. 22

⁸ Human Rights Watch World Report (1997), p. 29

But in examining the government's efforts to repress civil society, one should be aware of the differences between the high profile arrests of journalists, trade unions or opposition political leaders and other suspected dissidents where decisions appear to be taken at a high level. In its attempt to stifle political opponents and non-government organizations, the government can rely upon a variety of administrative and legal actions, including the denial of registration to new associations and the de-registration of others. For example, office raids, seizure of documents, arrests and detention even killings of civic association leaders have been used in a number of high profile cases.¹

The government has continued to arbitrarily detain hundreds of suspected armed groups in remote regions where separatist dissident groups operate, as it complains they have campaigned bombing of hotels and restaurants, civilian targets among others in the main capital Addis Ababa and other cities.² Torture and ill-treatment at the hands of rural militia attached to the governing EPRDF coalition and other security forces were common in the year 1997. Despite the federal constitution Articles 18-21 that guarantee the protection of prisoners from torture or ill-treatment, Human Rights Watch/Africa has documented a number of torture cases and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment of security detainees³. Local militias and political cadres have often detained suspected opposition groups and tortured under their captives, repeated beatings without having been subject to any formal detention procedures.⁴

However, in limited concession to mounting criticism the government has announced a serious of dismissals and other disappearing measures against officials implemented in unspecified human rights abuses⁵. Political activities were subjected to control that is more arbitrary and in some regions, the local chiefs did not abide by formal guidelines on freedom of association. Many political prisoners and suspected members of the clandestine opposition groups were taken to secret detention centers, whereby some appeared later in official prisons or police stations.⁶ The Ethiopian Federal Constitution gives extensive legal guarantees concerning the rights of persons arrested, accused or detained. But in practice, arbitrary arrests, detentions without charges and prolonged pre-trial detentions do exist and some people who were detained in earlier years remained in detention without charges or trial.⁷

¹ Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), p. 30

² Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), p. 36

³ Ibid., pp. 36-40

⁴ Human Rights Watch World Report (1997), p. 27

⁵ Amnesty International Index: AFR 25/21/1997, Ethiopia: Human Rights Defenders arrested as part of government crackdown should be released, London, November 1997; Amnesty International Index: AFR 25/10/1998, Ethiopia: Journalists in prison-Press Freedom under Attack, p. 10

⁶ Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1998, p. 166; Frankfurt am Main July 2001, p. 96

⁷ Federal Constitution, Addis Ababa 1995, Articles 17-19; Amnesty International Annual Report, London 1998, p. 165; Ibid., Frankfurt am Main 2000, pp. 90-92

Amnesty International has criticized the unfair or unduly practiced trials of political prisoners. It has appealed to the Ethiopian authorities to release prisoners of conscience and ensure the protection of arbitrary detainees and called for trial in accordance with international standards of fair trial. It has also called for allegations of Human Rights violations, such as torture, disappearances and extra-judicial executions similar to the previous regimes, to be investigated impartially and thoroughly and for those responsible to be brought to justice. But the EPRDF authorities have denied that such violations have occurred¹. Reports continue further in 1999-2001 that there were massive human rights abuses due to the inter-communal disturbances, internal armed conflicts between the government and armed opposition groups.² The Ethiopian government has accused the Eritrea authorities, arming supporting Ethiopian clandestine opposition groups in Somalia and elsewhere aiming to destabilize the EPRDF regime.³ But the war with Eritrea dominated the media of human rights in the country since 1998 due to border dispute. It caused heavy casualties and many civilian displacements, deportation by both sides in harsh conditions without any formal or judicial process and opportunity to challenge their deportations.⁴

Since the border dispute has begun, they waged one of the heaviest wars in Africa, accusing each other for war mongering and mass deportation. There have been huge human rights abuses on both sides. Amnesty International criticized both sides for the deportation and campaigned against torture, ill treatment, disappearances and extra-judicial executions.⁵ Even if there has been difficulties through the 1990s, human rights issue plays a much more central role in Ethiopian public debate today than under the previous regimes, when human rights were violated systematically and on a much wider scale.

In other developments, the salient issues of human rights exist in Ethiopia on several levels. On one side, the Ethiopian government is actively supporting the establishment of an international policy against harmful traditional practices and of a permanent forum for indigenous people. For example, the Ethiopian Transition Charter as well as the Federal Constitution allows the foundation of an independent human rights organization.⁶ Hence, the Ethiopian Human

¹ Amnesty International Annual Report, Frankfurt am Main 2000, p. 92

² Ibid., (July 2001), p. 97

³ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1999 and 2000), pp. 161, 100-102; Africa Research Bulletin, Blackwell pubs. London 1999, p. 13535; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, 4th quarter (1999), pp. 12-13; SIPRI (New York 2001), p. 29

⁴ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1999), p. 162; Ibid., Frankfurt am Main (2000, July 2001) p. 173, 97; SIPRI (New York 2001), p. 28

⁵ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1999), p. 164; Amnesty International Annual Report, London 2000, p. 100

⁶ Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, 22 July 1991, Article 1:a; Federal Constitution, Addis Ababa 1995, Article 55:14

Rights Commission (EHRCO) and other human rights groups were founded in 1991, immediately after the EPRDF has taken power but recognized by the government later.¹

Because of many reasons related to the countries lack of experience with human rights organizations, only the EHRCO has been seriously involved in receiving complaints document abuses and publicizing its findings. But it has also been at odds with the ruling party and subjected to harassment, intimidating measures on a number of occasions in the past for its critical comments about the government's human rights records or political direction.² Steps were also taken to obstruct its operation being accused of siding the opposition, orchestrating violence and agitating students into rioting, violence (These allegations were reputed strongly by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission), ethnically oriented and failure to report accurately. Its leaders have often been detained and verbally as well as physically attacked.³ On several occasions, the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission has criticized the government for having insufficient response to communications on individual cases and it has mentioned many cases of arbitrary detentions.⁴

The government has been generally open to international human rights monitoring organizations. However, under the tense communication mentioned above, the indigenous human rights group has difficulty to monitor violations or abuses in the country, while the government asserts that all reports of abuses are subject to suspicion or inflammatory. On one side, the barriers of mistrust between the Ethiopian Human Rights and the government typifies human rights (NGO) government relations throughout most Africa that both try to contest for political space and popular attention. On the other side, according to the Federal constitution that provides for the establishment of a human rights commission, the institution of Ombudsman, human rights division has been formally established on December 7, 1996 in the office of the Attorney General to investigate alleged extra-judicial killings.⁵ But there is little enforcement for the human rights treaties in place so far.

In the future, a question arises how accountable and independent can it work in a country that has no traditional experience or seldom openly expressed individual complaints against individual civil officers or state institutions. The general attitude has been to accept the authority and the decision of state institutions for decades. Therefore, the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission faces a complex task of educating the Ethiopian public about the importance of

¹ Amnesty International, Frankfurt am Main, July 2001, p. 94

² Welch, Claude E. (jr.) (1995), pp. 217-219

³ Human Rights Watch World Reports (Washington D.C. 1995 and 1998), pp. 20; 38-39; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, June 2001, p. 12

⁴ Index on Censorship, Vol.25, No.1, London 1996, p. 175; Amnesty International Index: AFR 25/21/97, Amnesty International News Service 204/97, 27 November 1997

⁵ Federal Constitution, Addis Ababa 1995, Article 55:15; Addis Tribune, Addis Ababa, December 12/12/1997

human rights that may validate its evidence of abuses and believes whereby the government must do more to correct its human rights records. The regime in turn faces the equally daunting problems of translating its verbal commitments of human rights practically into national policy and internationally recognized standards.

The question that can again arise here is how human rights culture could be developed in the country which can be capable of motivating the wide community to act in support of commitment promotion. For many Ethiopians who have hoped to see the prospects of lasting peace and stability since 1991 under the EPRDF government, the demand for justice and the future protection of human rights are still remain in danger.

5.1.2 Human Rights and their Protections in Kenya

In theory, Kenya is a democratic state in which citizens' enjoy fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of expression and association since 1992.¹ But in practice, the country has witnessed inter alia the legal disappearances of the independence civil service and the judiciary. Many critics of the government who have been calling for multi-party system were being harassed, killed, tortured, intimidated, imprisoned etc.² Repression and lack of accountability have sustained Kenyan human rights record.

The authorities have often disrupted non-governmental Organizations who have raised awareness of civil and human rights. Peaceful demonstrators have been violently attacked by the police and unarmed criminal suspects were shot dead even when they posed no threat to human life.³ In the 1980s and 1990s, the long-term denial of human Rights and political reform was challenged by a growing number of voices. The pressure for a multiparty political system and power sharing remained the central human rights issue throughout the decade. For example, some political dissidents who were detained without charge or trial and have spent most of the 1980s were subjected to regular intimidation and arrests.⁴ Until the beginning of 1990s, President Moi's regime has repeatedly denounced supporters of the democratic movement and human rights activists accusing them of receiving foreign financing with the intention to destabilize Kenya. His regime has repressed the pressure of demands to political liberalization and to protection of human rights with violent ways.⁵

¹ The Constitution of Kenya, Revised edition (1992), Article 80:1

² Africa Watch, Kenya: Political Crackdown Intensifies, New York, and London, 2 May 1990, pp. 2-3, 6; Human Rights in Developing Countries (Oslo 1993), pp. 192-193

³ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.6, No.5 (July 1994), p. 24; Human Rights Watch/Africa, State-Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya (1993), p. 64

⁴ Human Rights Watch, Printed in the U.S.A, December 1991, p. 56

⁵ Africa Today, Vol.47, No.1 (Winter 2000), p. 16; Amnesty International Annual Report (Frankfurt am Main 2000), p. 293

Shortly after he came to power, President Moi was criticized for the continued use of unaccountable power and new forms of ethnic favourism that heightened his own Kalenjin people, having curtailed the interests of the largest Kikuyu and other ethnic groups not loyal to his regime.¹ Moi's regime has been engaged in political attacks, assassinations, civil riots triggered by isolated incidents to disrupt political opponents, human rights sympathizers and their lawyers. Some Cabinet Ministers unloyal to government, for example, Kenneth Matiba, Martin Shikuku etc. were arrested, intimidated and have lost their parliamentary seats.²

Since the 1980s, Moi's government has been characterized by political repression, corruption, dismissing press that criticized his regime for detention without trial, causing fear and insecurity in the political scene. His regime was often charged to have crashed uprising against imposing his one party state, violation of human rights, censoring the free press.³ President Moi has used factional politics to surround the political power struggle within the Kikuyu ranks. His government had shut down many avenues of criticism and little human rights issues have been addressed or discussed since he came to power.⁴

Since 1992, the legalization of multi-partyism and the pressure of opposition politicians in parliament have allowed greater freedom to criticize government policies than was possible under one-party rule. Nevertheless, the political opposition has continued to face increasing levels of petty intimidation from government officials and their agents.⁵ Numerous opposition members have complained of harassment and disruption of their meetings, being beaten up and arrested by security officers, police or local authorities, KANU Youth-Wingers, mostly with official collusion or acquiescence as well as the denial of licenses to local meetings without court rights of appeal. In 1993, 36 of the 85 opposition Members of Parliament were jailed at different times for at least short period.⁶ Laws of Kenya, Public Order Act Capital 56, Section 5:3 gives the local district commissioners power to grant a license, what KANU authorities say if the meeting is not likely to be used for any unlawful or immoral purposes.

Another serious human rights problem in Kenya has been the scale of police brutality. For example, only between 1994 and 1996, there were at least 316 extra-judicial killings and 800 people dead under police custody.⁷ Observers of the human rights record in Kenya have

¹ Human Rights Watch/Africa, *Divide and Rule* (1993), pp. 12-16

² Miller, Norman N. (1984), p. 108; Africa Watch Report, Kenya: Taking Liberties (July 1991), p. 176 ff., Amnesty International, Monthly Human Rights Journal, No.9, Bonn, September 1997, p. 11

³ Amnesty International, Frankfurt am Main 1992, p. 265; U.S Department of State, Committee on Foreign Relations, Washington D.C. 1992, p. 180

⁴ Nairobi Law Monthly, No.45, Nairobi, October-November 1992, p. 25

⁵ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol.6, No.5 (July 1994), p. 23

⁶ Kenya Human Rights Commission, Quarterly Repression Reports, Nairobi, January-March 1997, pp. 43-44

⁷ Amnesty International, Monthly Human Rights Journal, No.9, Bonn, September 1997, pp. 6-11

commonly held that the various branches of security forces are responsible for intimidation and violence systematic abuses of the law have witnessed a disregard for the constitution.¹

The repressive role of the security forces have recently demonstrated through the active involvement of Security and Administration Officers in the promotion of ruthless ethnic violence in non-Kalenjin Rift Valley areas and other regions of the country which killed 1,500 people and displaced more than 300,000 between December 1991-1994.² Government involvement has often been alleged in the ethnic-based violence, especially during elections to disrupt opposition supporters. It was reported that government vehicles and helicopters to and from the clash areas transported many government allies of the Kalenjin and Maasai ethnic group warriors.³ The government has instigated the 1991 violence after it was forced to concede to demands for a multi-party system in order to punish and disenfranchise ethnic groups associated with the opposition, while rewarding its supporters to obtained land illegally especially in the Rift Valley areas.⁴ The lead-up to the Kenyan second multi-party election on 29 December 1997 was also fraught with violence, intimidation and harassment etc. Several pro-democracy rallies were brutally dispersed, and an estimated one million eligible youth in opposition stronghold areas were denied registration.⁵

In august 1997, 40 people were killed in the Coast Province following a serious ethnically driven attacks on groups largely affiliated with the opposition and over 120,000 citizens were displaced. This were similar to the "ethnic violence" which had taken place prior to the 1992 elections in the Rift Valley and targeted to some ethnic groups who might have voted for opposition.⁶ Human Rights Watch World Report writes about this scenario:

"In those attacks, substantiated evidence showed that the Moi government had been behind the attacks against ethnic groups perceived to support the political opposition. Since the violence followed shortly after voters registration ended, some Kenyan human rights activists surmised that the attacks at the coast had been instigated by the government, after voter registration data had indicated that the ruling party would lose the coast".⁷ Social discrimination against certain ethnic groups became a chronic problem of human rights abuses since the 1980s in the country. Animosity continued against and among various ethnic groups, with a major outbreak of ethnic violence in Rift Valley causing many deaths since 1991.

¹ Human Rights Watch/Africa and U.S Policy (June 26-27, 1994), p. 12

² Human Rights in Developing Countries (1993), p. 194; Amnesty International, Kenya: Abusive use of Law, AI Index: AFR 32/15/93, London, November 1994, p. 2

³ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Divide and Rule (1993), pp. 28-32

⁴ Amnesty International Index: AFR 32/19/98, Kenya, Political Violence Spirals, London, June 10, 1998, p.3

⁵ Kenya Human Rights Commission, Quarterly Repression Reports, Nairobi, April-June 1997, p. 40

⁶ Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), p. 42

⁷ Ibid., p. 42

However, 1998 was marked both by deepening ethnic hatred, continuous violence and a growing political crisis due to the government's unwillingness to allow any reform that would have ended the absolute executive power wielded by President Moi. As it had been in the previous years, armed groups of Kalenjin (the President's ethnic group) attacked ethnic Kikuyu residences, killing with firearms, looting and burning their houses. Over 100 people were killed and thousands displaced from the opposition stronghold areas after the 1997 elections because they did not vote for KANU.¹ Political prisoners have been held in police custody and the government has continued to consolidate the political gains of the state-sponsored "ethnic violence" of the early 1990s. Complaints of police harassment, use of excessive force, torture and deaths in custody continued throughout the 1990s. Police has often violently dispersed peaceful political rallies that reflect government shortcomings. For example, in June 1999, police broke up a peaceful opposition rally with live bullets that resulted in dozens of injuries including two opposition members of the parliament.²

These and other incidents of police brutality and government repression were subject to serious human rights concerns in the 1990s, which raised doubts about the commitment of President Moi's regime to comply with democratic principles and the rule of law. In spite of occasional improvements to the international and constitutional rights commitments, the Kenyan government stands out in clear contrast to serious human rights abuses which often has taken place and still continues. In the view of the country's past human rights records, there is abundant evidence of the need to establish institutions for the promotion of human rights. While non-urgent human rights matters has been seriously addressed or discussed by the government, its overall human rights record are generally poor and serious problems still remain, although there was some improvements in a few areas. For example, security forces occasionally made irregular arrests, such as the detention of newspaper publishers, photographers, and street vendors, striking teachers, student demonstrators and opposition rallies in October 1998.³

However, detention of MP's, NGO Officials, clergy and other government critics greatly decreased during the year 1998 as a result of the late 1997 constitutional reforms. The Constitutional reforms passed in late 1997 repealed the detention without trial provisions of the preservation of Public Security Act, under which particularly troubled several political activists that had been imposed in past years.⁴ In other developments, aspects of the law provides that families and attorneys of persons arrested and charged are allowed access to them, but this right

¹ EIU Kenya Country Report, 2nd quarter (1998), p. 12

² Amnesty International Annual Report, London 2000, p. 147

³ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1999), p. 222; Amnesty International, Kenya, Freedom of Assembly under Increasing Threat, AI Index: AFR 32/015/2000, London, 28.11.2000; Amnesty International Frankfurt am Main July 2001, p. 311

⁴ Amended Kenyan Constitution, Nairobi 1997, Article 77:1

is not often honored. The visit will only take place at the discretion of the state, but this privilege has also often been denied. Detainees are rarely given the opportunity to see the people they are entitled to and they could not/are allowed to exercise their rights under the law.¹ Overall, police behaviour towards journalists also continued to improve, although a number of journalists were arrested and beaten on dubious charges of publicizing information likely to cause alarm to the public.²

On November 25, 2000, recent Amnesty International events have reported that President Moi has ordered the police not to interfere in political meetings, including those organized by opposition. However, a month earlier, he had banned all rallies by Movement for Change, a cross party lobby group formed in September 2000 to call for political reforms.³ Even if there have been repeated multi-party elections (1992 and 1997), the government is unwilling to fully accept a genuine democracy process. There have been calculated moves to silence the voices of democracy and related human rights issues. One can have the impression that the government barricades the corridor of democracy that had began to open in 1992 by continuing harassment of sections of media and banning of some publications. The attention on human rights issue has diminished by the international community and has concentrated on corruption and economic reforms. It has failed to sustain pressure for the respect to human rights in Kenya. But the link between corruption and eroded respect for human rights protections is most evidence to the country's economic developments.

On the other hand, domestic and International Human Rights activists have repeatedly appealed to the government to take urgent steps in protecting human rights. They have often written research analysis, launched campaigns among others that evidenced extra-judicial killings, police brutality, arbitrary execution, repression, based on the Kenyan Human Rights Commission's 1995-1997 and consecutive reports of extra-judicial killings and other human rights abuses. For example, in September 1997, Amnesty International has launched a worldwide campaign to support local human rights community urging the government to stop violations of human rights and called for systematic human rights reform. In March 1998 and April 2000, Amnesty International raised its concern about Kenya's poor human rights records at the UN Commission on Human Rights in a written statement and campaign.⁴

¹ Kenyan Gazette, Supplement No.70, Acts No.7, Nairobi, 7 December 1997, Article 77:2 (a-f)

² Amnesty International Index: AFR 32/10/01, Kenya Prisons, Deaths due to Torture and Cruel inhuman and Degradation Conditions, London, December 2000; Amnesty International, Frankfurt am Main, July 2001, p. 312

³ Amnesty International, Index: AFR 32/015/2000, Kenya Freedom of Assembly under Increasing Threat, London, 28/11/2000

⁴ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1998 and 1999), pp. 223; Amnesty International, Frankfurt am Main July 2001), p. 295, 312

Local and international human rights groups have criticized the Moi regime for not confining to international standards of human rights. But President Moi often portrays and calls for his government to show greater respect for democracy and human rights as illegitimate interference in Kenya's internal affairs. However, pro-democracy activists, human rights activists, political dissidents, journalists' etc. continued to be harassed, ill-treated or detained for non-violent activities¹. In a recent development reports from the UN, it was reported that excessive force has repeatedly been used by police on peaceful demonstrators, pro-democracy campaigners and there were many reports of torture and ill treatment of people in police custody. Human Rights defenders, opposition politicians and other government critics, lawyers of victims continued to be harassed by the authorities.²

Kenya remained in a state of worsening political and economic crisis as the government continues to stall on promises of reform that would have brought greater democratization and promote human rights protections. Throughout 1999 until the time of closing this paper June 2001, the reform crisis remained unresolved. Distrust, allegations of **state instituted corruption**, obstruction of investigation on allegations, infighting and lack of consensus on the constitutional reform process characterized the end of 1990s, which has continued further. The government continues its high profile attacks on opposition parties, human rights defenders, expel non-KANU dissidents and even non-loyal KANU members in response to a number of criticism on its policy of weak reforms³. Recently, the Kenyan Human Rights Commission reveals a disturbing numbers of victims' daily.⁴ Kenyan authorities have failed to meet the international standard of human rights conditions, to address civil and political rights abuses, and to safeguard the human rights protections still remains in doubt.

5.1.3 Human Rights and their Protections in Sudan

Sudanese citizens have suffered a wide range of human rights abuses for decades. The country's successive governments have conducted civil war for much of the period which claims more than 1.5m lives since 1983 as a result of deliberate and arbitrary killings of civilians, torture, disappearances, starvation of famine and other war related causes, over 4 million people were internally displaced or are refugees, constituting the largest displaced in the world. Government

¹ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1998 and 2000), pp. 220, 146; Amnesty International, Frankfurt am Main July 2001, p. 310

² Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1999), p. 221; United Nations Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights, Document No. E/CN.4/2000/9 Add.4, London, 9 March 2000

³ EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2000, pp. 14-15

⁴ Amnesty International Index: AFR 32/10/2000, London, December 2000

forces have often been engaged in indiscriminate aerial bombardments and shelling in civilian population centers, summarily execution among others.¹

Under the Constitution of Nimeiri regime, the Head of State had power to order arrest and imprison in order to protect his regime. From the oust set, Nimeiri has banned all political parties, confiscated their assets and arrested their leaders indiscriminately.² Nimeiri has then employed his power with circumspection, his rule became deeply rooted and repressive. In his reign, the notorious State Security Bureau Agents made many people who have resisted or refused to join one party state (Sudan Socialist Union (SSU)) to languish in jail. Civilian sufferings had become a force of both domestic and international humanitarian concerns as the civil war erupted for the second time in 1983 after 12 years of peace settlement.³

But Nimeiri was not reserved to jail his critics, execute moderate Islamic leaders as they have criticized his imposition of Sharia Law and demanded political reforms. The brutal reaction against his critics brought devastating humanitarian abuses such as inhuman criminal penalties that included flogging, amputation of limbs for offenses such as petty theft and the consumption of alcohol that deeply shocked the nation and triggered the popular uprising on April 1985.⁴ As the open discussion of political alternatives remained circumscribed, the escalation of war ruined the country's economy and social order. Nimeiri's inept handling of the 1984-1985 drought and famine led to his downfall in 1985 and the military took power in cognition of the popular will promising to hand over to civilian rule after one year which it did.⁵ The record of Nimeiri's regime had been one of the missed opportunities and political repression. After Nimeiri's downfall, the country had an elected parliamentary government.

Many parties and some human rights organizations like Sudan Human Rights Organization (SHRO) and Bar Associations were established. They attracted academics and were effective human rights activists between 1986-1989.⁶ But the civil government also has neither resolved the fundamental issues in dealing with the civil war nor found the basis for an accord to reduce the strife, or tackle the chronic problems it has inherited and created in its time. The war escalated in 1987, with more bitter and brutal fighting, severe factional conflicts directly or indirectly instigated by the government caused to many massacres, especially government

¹ Human Rights Watch/Africa, *Civilian Devastation* (1994), pp. 35, 45; Human Rights Watch/Africa, *Behind the Red Line* (London 1996), pp. 293, 306; Human Rights Watch World Report, Vol.10, No.4(A), New York, August 1998, p. 4; SIPRI, New York (23 January 2001), p. 33

² Nelson, Harold D. (1983), p. 217; *African Events*, London, January 1986, p. 37

³ Sidahmed, Abdel Salam (1997), pp. 142, 161

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 143; Medani, Khalid, in: *Current History*, Vol.92, No.574, May 1993, p. 205

⁵ J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins (1995), p. 28

⁶ Human Rights Watch World Report (1995), p. 55; Kok, Peter Nyot (1996), p. 37

irregular militia supporters have slaughtered several people in the south. For example, one of the worst human rights violations that deteriorated north-south relations was when between 1,300-250,000 southern ethnic groups who were seen as the back-bone of SPLA were massacred in April and August 1987 to 1988 alone.¹ The Prime Minister spent little time to seek resolving the civil war, but assured the northern Sudanese his determination to continue on the war policy that destroyed hundreds of southern communities and displaced many. The government militias have shot many people and threw to the Crocodiles to express punishment for many others who were demanding their rights to be respected.²

Again, the military has uprooted the fragile civil government through a coup in June 30, 1989 that embarked immediately on comprehensive purges of the judiciary, civil service, army and security forces of the last civil regime. It has also banned all political parties, cultural and social association's and imposed a state of emergency throughout the country.³ The Sudan Human Rights Organization has been banned in 1993 and the Bar Association was taken over by the government supporters. As it could no longer serve as an independent human rights voice, it went in exile.⁴ The military regime, dominated by Islamic fundamentalists National Islamic Front (NIF) has declared the country as an Islamic Republic. It has imposed the Sharia Laws that further aggravated the continuation of civil war and caused massive human rights violations including indiscriminate attacks on civilians, refusal of relief access to the needy, arbitrary detentions and torture, disappearance among others.⁵ Since then, it has been fighting unabated in the name of Islam.

The government's right hand military wing called Popular Defense Force (PDF) regarded women and children as legitimate spoils of war and used its captives as domestic servants or sold (100,000) to new owners whereby many have disappeared⁶. Its politicization of religion and ethnicity made settlement of the war by peaceful means harder. The military and the Islamic Political Party (NIF) which was called later National Congress Party continued their policy of using state power to coerce Islamization and force their interpretation of Islam upon Muslims and non-Muslims citizens in violation of freedom of religion.⁷ Since the military/NIF came to power, it

¹ Medani, Khalid, in: *Current History*, Vol.92, No.574, May 1993, p. 203; Arnod, Guy (1995), pp. 448, 450; J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins (1995), pp. 82-83

² J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins (1995), pp. 86, 91

³ Medani, Khalid, in: *Current History*, Vol.92, No.574, May 1993, p. 206

⁴ Human Rights Watch/Africa, "Sudan in the Name of God", *Repression Continues in Northern Sudan*, Vol.6, No.9 (1994), p. 19; Human Rights Watch World Report (1995 and 1998), pp. 55; 76

⁵ Human Rights Watch World Report (1997), p. 55

⁶ Sudan Human Rights Voice, published by Sudan Human Rights Organization (SHRO), London, August 1996, p. 3; Amnesty International Annual Report, Frankfurt am Main, July 2001, p. 531

⁷ Human Rights Watch/Africa, Sudan: New Islamic Penal Code Violates Basic Human Rights, New York and London-- , 9 April 1991, pp. 1-2;

has created restrictions on daily life and political activity in an effort to maintain control of power. Any one who has expressed his/her political or civil independence has been severely punished. Security agents have often detained arbitrarily any one for up to six months without judicial oversight in secret detention centers referred to as “ghost houses,” where torture and ill-treatment of administrative detentions are widely practiced and commonplace.¹

Former political party leaders and other activists who have remained in the country were repeatedly arrested, often without charges and have been frequently mistreated or tortured. Grave and wide spread violations of human rights by government agents as well as abuses by members of SPLA to the conflict in Sudan continued to take place in the zones controlled by them². These and other violations have created a repressive state and destabilization's, where many Sudanese citizens have been denied their basic rights, killed, internally displaced or have fled out of the country³. Africa Watch had written a series of letters to the government and opposition (SPLA) leaders protesting the abuses of human rights in Sudan and citing concerns about gross-human rights violations that have led to massive losses of life and famine (<http://www.hrw.org/hrw/research/sudan>).⁴

In early August 1993, an Amnesty International Report alleged government human rights violations, which it said, included the execution of hundreds of civilians in the Nuba Mountains. It was also claimed that a policy of genocide was being conducted against the Nuer people (mostly SPLA supporters) and in one estimate suggested that 6,000 had been massacred only in few incidents⁵. In January 1996, the UN General Assembly reviewed its condemnation of Sudan's government's human rights record for the fourth consecutive years and criticized its practice of institutionalized slavery and in April the same year passed a resolution noting with “deep concern reports of grave human rights violations.” As it was described in reports submitted by the Special Reporters content was concentrated on the situation of human rights in Sudan on extra-judicial

Human Rights Watch World Report (1995), p. 53; Universal Declaration of Human Rights Convention Article 18

¹ Human Rights Watch in Africa and the U.S Policy, June 26-27, U.S.A, December 1991, p. 124; Amnesty International Annual Report, Frankfurt am Main, July 2001, p. 532

² Human Rights Watch/Africa, Political Detainees in Sudan, New York, Washington D.C. and London, 22 January 1990, p. 1; Sudan Human Rights Voice, Vol.5, Issue No.2, London, February-April 1996, p. 2; Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), p. 75

³ Amnesty International Annual Report (Frankfurt am Main 2000), p. 494

⁴ Africa Watch A505/4/93, Washington D.C. 1993, p. 10; Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), pp. 76-77

⁵ News From Africa Watch, Sudan: Destroying Ethnic Identity, The Secret War Against the Nuba, New York and London 1991, pp. 5, 6; African Rights, Facing Genocide, the Nuba of Sudan, London, July 1995, pp. 71-80

summary or arbitrarily execution, on the question of religious intolerance or arbitrary detention and on forced or involuntary disappearances.¹

The London based organization, Amnesty International has often condemned the continuing human rights violations in Sudan and called on United Nations member states to deploy human rights monitors (<http://www.amnesty.org/news/1996/1500996.html>).² Amnesty International British Section Organized a demonstration outside Sudan Embassy in London on June 29, 1995 to protest against continued Human Rights abuses in the country.³ It has repeatedly mounted an international campaign on human rights abuses in Sudan and released a detailed report of further atrocities committed by the government forces, including the deliberate and arbitrary killings of villagers, the abduction of scores of children, torture and ill-treatment and incommunicado detention of suspected government opponents. It has also urged both the government and the armed opposition groups to end human rights abuses and called on to release prisoners of conscience, to end detention without charges or trial and torture and to commute death sentences (<http://www.amnesty.org>).⁴

Human rights Watch/Africa has kept up the pressure on the government of Sudan by publishing and widely disseminating a series of reports on human rights abuses in the war zones and in the north, and by advocating a programme of United Nations Human Rights Monitors to promptly investigate and intervene with the government and the rebels on human rights abuses.⁵ But none of the wide spread international outcry and unilateral or bilateral actions have succeeded in deterring the Sudanese regime from committing human rights violations against its own citizens. The government has consistently denied any accusation or criticism concerning its lack of human rights protection. It has rather repeatedly referred to these accusations as Western propaganda aimed at discrediting the regime, and has taken extraordinary measures to prevent the spread of information on its human rights record including punishing dissidents and excluding or restricting independent observers, human rights monitors and humanitarian organizations.⁶ Human Rights Watch/Africa continued to closely monitor the situation all sides of the conflict and maintain regular advocacy activities.

The government's human rights remains extremely poor and it continued to commit numerous serious abuses. Most civil liberties are restricted and citizens do not have the ability to change their government peacefully. Prison conditions are harsh, prolonged detentions are a

¹ Human Rights Watch World Report (1997), p. 58 ff.; Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), p. 77

² Amnesty International Index: AFR 54/09/96 News Service 89796, 16 May 1996

³ Sudan Human Rights Voice, Sudan Human Rights Organization, Vol.4, Issue No.7, London, July 1996, p. 7

⁴ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1999), p. 316

⁵ Human Rights Watch World Report (1995), p. 56

⁶ Human Rights in Developing Countries (1995), p. 331

problem and the judiciary is largely subservient to the government¹. The authorities do not ensure due process and the military forces summarily put in trial and punish citizens. They continue to restrict freedom of privacy, assembly, association, religion and movement severely.² However, in other developments the government has generally continued the easing of restrictions on press freedom that began at the end of 1999. Nevertheless, it warned newspaper publishers not to criticize the new constitution that was adopted what it called through referendum in June 1998 and closed several of them briefly. Moreover, all journalists continue to practice self-censorship and if political competition appears, the government will ensure that political activity remains within strict boundaries and does not pose a serious threat to its hold on power, criticize the government on which its laws are Islamic doctrine.³

Whatever political reforms the government promises or push its former allies to the political sidelines, the government's hard core remains a military civil Islamic fundamentalist, the Sudanese people continue to suffer under its repressive policies and controls over political life are not lifted. In January 1999, the government has announced the political Association Law, allowing political parties to register. But it has continued to enforce a ban on political opposition parties, trade unions, lawyers, journalists and human rights activists, who remained all the targets of arrest, imprisonment, beatings, torture and disappearances.⁴ During 1999, more restrictions on the rights of freedom of expression and association have persisted. The authorities have enforced press censorship more closely than before shutting down papers that have been preparing to publish hostile articles. It still opposes to political pluralism and is committed to its Islamist ideology of implementing Sharia Law.⁵ The country is under a state of emergency since December 1999, which aggravated human rights violations, especially in the war zone areas.⁶ There has been little progress in efforts to negotiate a settlement to the country's civil war whereby both the government and the main armed opposition groups show limited enthusiasm for ending the war. The government continues bombing rebel-controlled areas with cluster bombs unabated.⁷

¹ Amnesty International Annual Report (London 1998 and 1999), pp. 316-317; 315-316

² Amnesty International Annual Report (Frankfurt am Main 2000), p. 496

³ EIU Sudan Country Report, 1st quarter, London 1999, p. 6; EIU Sudan Country Report, June 2000, p. 12; Reporters Sans Frontieres (1999), p. 286

⁴ Amnesty International Annual Report (London and Frankfurt 2000), pp. 223, 497; Amnesty International Index: AFR 54/01/01 Urgent Action UA 375/00-1, 9 December 2000

⁵ Horn of Africa Bulletin, Vol.12, No.6, November-December 2000, p. 28

⁶ EIU Sudan Country Report, London, June 2000, p.13; Reporters Sans Frontieres (Paris 1999), p. 286

⁷ Human Rights Watch World Report (1998), p. 75; EIU Sudan Country Report, London June 2001, p. 16; "Government of Sudan renews aerial bombing after loosing bid for UN Security Council Seat," UN Press Release 13 October 2000

The Sudan Human Rights Organization (SHRO) in exile continues its struggle for the government's recognition and realization to human rights in the country where amputation and other severe punishments according to the Sharia/Islamic Law are a daily routine.¹ No positive developments have taken place in the country's human rights situation since the military regime came to power. It bears a primacy responsibility for massive human rights violations and a large scale humanitarian abuses in the context of civil war in the south and elsewhere. When the Sudanese government respects its obligation to the United Nations Charter and promotes fundamental freedoms to its citizens remains bleak.

Concluding Remarks

In order to compare and contrast human rights situation in the three countries, one can consider the dimensions of violation measurements such as **severity, frequency, range** etc. But evaluating such events and other human rights related dimensions are unpleasant to consider because there is lack of reliable access to statistical data sources that has been spotlighted by human rights monitoring groups' etc. Hence, like many other countries in Africa, human rights violations in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan have been similar upon ethnic minorities, political dissidents, opposition party members, religious groups, civic association leaders, human rights activists and others alike have often been targeted. As it has been documented extensively from different official human rights investigations, human rights abuses vary enormously in both their legal make-up and the political contexts of the three countries.²

The finding of this chapter in general reflects, that the main obstacles to respect fundamental human rights in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan have been linked to the structure and modus operandi of their political systems. Among these major obstacles have been an increasing centralization of power in the head of state and the lack of appropriate legal and political checks and balances within the constitutional framework, political life and civil society in the three countries. The concentration of power in the head of state had fundamentally endangered an effective system of human rights protections. For example, a wide constitutional power granted to the office of the head of state over decades and the police officer's acquiescent of powers at their disposal including security laws have created a repressive political system³. Abusive policies

¹ Press Release UN Document SG/SM/374, May 2000; SIPRI, 23 January, 2001, p. 32

² Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman (1992), pp. 20-26; welch Claude E. (jr.) (1995), pp. 301-315; ACHPR, Report on Promotion and Protection Mission to the Sudan, ACHP/PA/A064, Gambia, 1st-7th December 1996, pp. 4-5; United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, under the Auspices of the OAU, CCPR/C/SR. 11629, Geneva, 31 October 1997, pp. 2-4 among others

³ The Ethiopian Federal Constitution (1995), Article 72:1-3; Revised Constitution of the Republic of Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi

have been used to repress any one who has different opinions. This characterized the uncertainty of political tension and high risks for any individual or organization, which can proliferated dissent or opposition.¹

The pattern of autocratic policies centered on the head of state culminated hindrance of transition to a more transparent society and democratic principles. The countries have often seen tensions and uncertainties, which affected political life, challenged the development of civil society that could have promoted human rights protections. Given all these grievances, **how human rights could be protected in the three countries has been the research question** in this topic. During the course of analysis, some emphases have been persuaded to answer this question that governments are the primary actors affecting the impact of human rights.² Human rights can then be supported by conducting campaigns of violation condemnations and through policy changes to guarantee and encourage respect of fundamental rights more strongly. However, the science of human rights research must remain closely tied to these relevant policy and campaign issues.

Uncertainties of the future: Assessing the future of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan human rights, the analysis of this topic summarizes with the question, what position will human rights take in the future of the three countries?

The three countries have pledged to the international community to promote and protect these rights by recognizing and ratifying them. This relationship to major regional and international human rights treaties exemplifies their official commitments.³ However, political choices have been circumscribed by the heritage of struggle, the interest of the armed forces (Sudan), permanent ethnic and regional factions. The demand to better protection of human rights and political freedoms has not yet come at an easy point in their history.

The question of concern in this analysis is then how the possibilities of transition to democratic system can take place without the commitments to human rights protections. Because of the change in some political strategic aspects in the region, Sudan's shift to fundamentalist ideology, Kenya's steps to multi-partysim, Ethiopia's shift from pseudo-Marxist to semi-democratic system and the loosening of Super-power regional interest/cooperation after the end of the Cold War for good or bad, new waves of conflicts have emerged recently, which contributed to worsen human

1992, Article 23:1-2; Sudan's Constitution of 1998 gives the President considerable Executive and Legislative power, Articles 43-44

¹ Human Rights in Developing Countries (Oslo 1993), p. 190; Africa Confidential, Africa-2000, 40 Years of Africa Confidential, Vol.41, No.9, London, May 2000, pp. II-III

² compare Meyer, Williams H. (1998), p. 95

³ Amnesty International Annual Report, London 2000, pp. 288, 290, 292

rights abuses. If the immense numbers of problems could be solved, there can be hopes to the implementation of political and economic developments.

Strong and determined leaders who can realize human rights responsibilities to bolster the rights of the weak as well as the deprived citizens equally along with others are heavily needed in the three countries. Implementing sustained democracy and promoting reliable commitments to national legislation and other civil social institutions are also needed. Otherwise, authoritarian regimes do not respect freedom of civil and political rights while the guaranteeing of rights like freedom of association and other related issues can foster the transition to democracy, which could threaten despotic regimes.

Given the above complications, there are possibilities to a greater extent than in any earlier times of the three countries history that can open those opportunities. But there are also numerous **uncertainties** and unpredictability's that accompany the three countries citizens which will have a long way to go before the promise of human rights can be fulfilled. The persistence pattern of gross violations of fundamental human rights in the three countries for several years that still remain uncertain have been a deep concern for domestic, regional and international human rights organizations. For example, the authorities in the three countries have **often disregarded** the international standard of fair trial as it states in ICCPR Article 9:1 and ACHPR Article 6, and are responsible for all shortcomings of human rights protections to their citizens.

There are many domestic laws that contravene the provisions of these human rights treaties, which the authorities have used to restrict fundamental freedoms that violate the international treaty obligations. Therefore, fundamental changes are needed to ensure the protection of human rights in the three countries. One of the greatest is to end this long-running human rights catastrophe. To bring the countries laws into line with internationally agreed human rights standards, the governments require wide-ranging legal reforms that should strengthen to generate citizens fundamental rights.

Relevant international norms should be incorporated by governments to the national law and more importantly, they must have to be promoted into a national practice. Especially the Conventions Against Torture, international minimum standards for treatment of prisons and relative documents set forth, standards which all African military and police forces should be attained. Ill-trained military and police forces constitute one of the most obvious causes of poor human rights records¹. From the outset, high priority should be given to the promotion of human rights by considering their obligation to protect their citizens from extra-judicial or arbitrary killings and under take to respect the basic human rights. Furthermore, the governments of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan should practically implement effective international and regional treaty

¹ Welch, Claude E. (jr.) (1995), p. 295

obligations that will assuredly then diminish the **severity** and **range** of abuses. But more work must be done to extend Universal Standards of Human Rights foundations and enforce their obligations by increasing awareness on the society.

The message of this chapter's conclusion appeals to the governments, armed opposition groups or other government opponents in the three countries, to commit themselves to safeguard internationally recognized human rights for their citizens and themselves. Thus, every effort should be contributed from all sides to expand the political and legal frameworks and protect human rights that the previous brutal repression and disasters should not be repeated. There should also be a continuous popular demand for political reforms and promotion of human rights to overcome the challenges to social and economic rights.

Chapter 6. Political Democratization Prior to the Economy's Further Development!

To examine the possibility of political democratization and economic development lies at the heart of this dissertation. Since these two phenomenon's are inter-linked, they can be considered as a double reform process that directly affects Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. Proceedings from this assumption and the three countries political, economic and social points of view, a question of priority in implementing development process can be identified that could give possible prospective solutions to the challenges they have been facing since decades.

As regards to the process of political democratization and economic developments, it is however difficult to specify the closeness of such a relationship. Because there is lack of actual conclusive empirical evidences, which could have helped to determine whether the present regimes are more conducive or are likely to achieve the priority of political democratization or economic developments. To explain these shortcomings, three basic research questions are posed in this chapter and an attempt to answer them will be made.

1. Should political democratization in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan be implemented before the economy is further developed?
2. What measurable parameters can be used to identify between the democratic implementation and economic developments in the three countries?
3. How can democratic and economic developments best be explained in the three countries comparatively?

These questions are addressed in order to outline the enduring role of political and economic situation in the three countries by articulating expertise views¹ to pose the useful point of

¹ Markakis, John (1987); Woodward, Peter (1996); Bratton, Michael (1998); Wiseman, John A. (1990); Vanhanen, Tatu (1997); Clapham,

departure for what may become applicable to the present and future perspectives of the three countries. In this theoretical analysis, selected events and indicators of democratic and economic affairs of the three countries will also be discussed.

The political structures, role of economic development in implementing democratic system, human rights and other related issues have been explained in the last chapters. The various approaches that scholars have attempted to explain why political instability is found a common feature in countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan have also been discussed. The following discourse illustrates further these situations in the three countries by summarizing their framework efforts, all of which are also to some degree plausible in application.

6.1 Why Political Democratization Shall be Implemented Prior to the Economic Development?

Given all these considerations, questions about the relationship between the political system on the one hand and the economic and social dimensions on the other have always been in debate by the international research community since decades. It is from these backgrounds that this chapter **attempts to recommend the implementation of political democratization prior to the economic development** in the three countries.

There is no doubt that sustainable economic development depends on the existence of a stable political, social and institutional infrastructures in which economic growth can flourish. However, this has been lacking in the three countries while the authorities have taken a path of development that has kept the decision making machinery in the hands of a privileged few and have not encouraged dissenting voices to express any alternative views and opinions.¹ From this perspective, how the process of transition to democratic governance prior to economic development could be initiated or strengthened will be analyzed in detail by referring to literatures from the international research community.

As regards to the relationship between democracy and economic development in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan, one can understand that the authoritarian regimes did not implement higher economic performances. There has been no robust relationship between the level of economic development and the implication of intermediate performance to democracy in the past decades. Samuel Huntington considers that "the correlation between wealth and democracy implies that transitions to democracy should occur primarily in countries at the middle levels of economic development".² Applying this logic to the three countries understudy, with their low level of GNP

Christopher (1998); Diamond, Larry (different issues), Ottaway, Marina (different issues) etc.

¹ Africa Insight, The Economic Context of Democratic Transition in Africa (Introduction), Vol.26, No.4, Pretoria 1996, p. 379

² Huntington, Samuel Paul, The Third Wave (1991), p. 7

per capita and paltry growth rates, Huntington contends that "economic obstacles to democratization will remain overwhelmingly well into the twenty-first century.¹ But the linkage between the two seems also to rely on many other circumstances, by which this research topic tends to highlight.

In some developing countries, the economic development has been in a favourable condition to foster democratic culture if they have higher basic social provisions like education standards, law and order, security for individuals and investment, good infrastructure, ethnic homogeneity and other related factors.² But such pre-conditions have been eroded in Ethiopia Kenya and Sudan through civil wars, ethnic conflicts, internal displacements, repression by the authoritarian regimes that have failed to provide commensurable gains in political stability and economic development.³ All these arise questions how such obstacles can be challenged in the process of successive transition to political democratization, which could foster economic development and open the opportunity of a lasting solution.

But the concept of implementing democracy has to be a pre-requisite in the three countries from the assumption that greater participation by the population can help much of change towards any development. Numerous dictatorships in the Third World countries have shown that lack of freedom does not lead to prosperity for all, but at most to the enrichment of a tiny clique.⁴ But on other developments, the pre-dominant opinion in the Western democratic countries had been that economic development was necessary for decades if democracy is to have a chance of success.⁵ At the same time, it has also been predicted that an authoritarian regime was needed in some countries to bring about economic development without the advancement of democracy. The economic successes of the South East Asian Tigers, which are often cited in support of this thesis, have to be regarded as the exception to the rule. Under massive pressure from abroad, authoritarian but development-oriented regimes have in deed emerged in these countries.

However, in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan, authoritarian regimes have evolved whose economic success has varied from the modest to the non-existent. Because they lack an effective bureaucracy, the regimes have been unable to respond to the economic crisis. On this occasion, though explained as not sufficient conditions, economic development was held to yield for sustainable democracy. It was argued that democracy required a high level literacy,

¹ Ibid., p. 312

² Wiseman, John A. (1990), pp. 151-156, 182, 187

³ Ibid., (1995), pp. 117-134; Ibid., (1996), pp. 18, 40-42, 159

⁴ Waller, Peter P., in: Tetzlaff, Rainer (1993), pp. 59-60

⁵ Callaghy; Thomas, in: Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (1995), p. 151

communication and education; an established and secure middle class; a vibrant civil society; relatively limited forms of material and social inequality and a broadly secular ideology.¹

However, Larry Diamond writes associating economic development and democracy: "Economic development alone do not produce democratization. But the emphasize that political leadership, political culture, social structure, socio-economic development associated life, state and society, political institutions etc. are to be necessary. Other relevant factors including the play of historical, cultural and political factors and the behaviour of leaders may advance or foster democratization in any particular nation state".²

In a better specific perspective, Samuel Huntington has also pointed out on this issue in the beginning of 1990s, that economic development has provided the basis for democracy. Huntington's explanations for this was as follows:

"The emergence of democracy is helped by higher level of economic well-being, the absence of extreme inequalities in wealth and income, greater social pluralism, a market-oriented economy, greater influence vis-à-vis the society of existing democratic states and a culture that is less monistic and more tolerant of diversity and compromise".³

On the other side, he has noted that 'no one of these preconditions is sufficient to lead to democratic development, although market economy may be a necessary condition.⁴ Huntington's position has not been precise to confirm on the priority whether political democratization or economic development should be implemented in countries like **Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan**. For example, when he writes in the same edition, "Economic development makes democracy possible; political leadership makes it real"⁵ it is not clear which leadership (democratic or authoritarian) Huntington meant.

Other political scientists have argued that non-democratic regimes have several economic advantages over democratic regimes. Political democracy is a luxury that can be ill-afforded by Third World countries.⁶ The evidences marshaled from the experience of countries like Taiwan and South Korea have shown that authoritarian rule has helped to bring about sustained economic progress. At the same time, there are many examples of authoritarian regimes in Africa and Latin American countries, which have presided over economic decline. On the other hand, there are comparatively few examples of democracies in the developing world, which have managed to achieve a consistent record of economic growth, even if there is a strong correlation between democracy and economic wealth.⁷

¹ Quoted by Leftwitch, Adrian, in: *Third World Quarterly*, 14, 3(London 1993), p. 612

² Diamond, Larry, quoted in: Vanhannen, Tatu (1997), p. 15

³ Huntington, Samuel P. (1991), pp. 30, 59

⁴ Ibid., p. 60

⁵ Ibid., p. 316

⁶ Larry Sirowy and Alex Inkeles, in: *Comparative International Development*, Vol.25, No.1,(Spring 1990), p. 128

⁷ Robin Luckham and Gordon White (1996), pp. 69-71

The general trend towards political liberalization, especially in countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan who should attempt to adjust their economies will lead to renewed interests in the relationship between economic and political reforms. But they have to make urgent steps of reforms towards political liberalization, which implicates to the dismantling of authoritarian institutions that existed for years by entailing the progressive relations of state controls over political expression and organization, the granting of civil and political liberties, which are still denied or suppressed. Based on such analysis and other related studies, the debate within and outside Africa on the future of political democratization and economic development of the continent has been going on for a long time by many authors to set out a universal consensus.¹

So often, however, developments such as the prolonged and continuing economic problems of African countries or violent political conflicts such as those that have been witnessed in Rwanda, Liberia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya among others, serve to bring the debate into sharper focus.² The crisis affecting Africa over the process of 'democratization' and 'economic development' provided a context for the major political change since the middle of 1980s. But contrary to the popular Western media, images of Africa as a continent that un-yields to change economies are undermined by corruption, and their politics of extreme violence.³ Amidst all the apparent general feeling of despair and pessimism, which seems to envelop the affairs of the continent, there have been heroic popular struggles taking place, demanding political and economic reforms. For example, there had been democratic tradition in Sudan but its experiment was unsuccessful and short-lived⁴, while the factors behind its demise have challenged it bitterly.

Even if they are not always observed by the outside world in contrary to the hunger catastrophe and civil war reports in the international media, these early democratic experiments have infrequently led to good economic management and in some cases they have been quite successful (Botswana).⁵ But a very disappointing situation has been as the democratic process was disrupted in Sudan by power hungry military elites who have implemented an Islamic Economic Policy and strengthened their political power since 1989. In Kenya, external actors employed a strategy of political conditionality, only to be undermined by President Moi's government as well as the inability of the opposition in rally behind a single presidential candidate and slate of legislators. As a result, the Moi government is still in power and economic

¹ Adam, Erfried, (June 1992); Ottaway, Marina (ed.), *Democracy in Africa, The Hard Road Ahead* (1999)

² Callaghy, Thomas, in: Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), (1995), pp. 141, 149

³ Ake, Claude, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.2, 1(Winter 1991), pp. 32-44

⁴ Khalid, Mansour (1990), p. 431; Gretchen Casper and Michelle M. Taylor (1997), pp. 226, 235

⁵ Sen, Amartya, in: *Journal of Democracy*, 10,3 (July 1999), 6

reforms remaining stalled in the country¹. Peter Waller P. Writes about this: "The kind of systems in question are economically highly inefficient. The demands of their self-promoting elites exceed the capabilities of their production sectors, and sooner or later there is economic collapse, unless the life-span of the regime is prolonged by outside help, e.g. development aid".²

Axel Hadenius also writes more about this as follows: "More recently, in the zeal to spread democracy at the end of the Cold War, democracy has been reduced to the crude simplicity of multi-party elections to the benefit of some of the world's most notorious autocrats such as Daniel arap Moi of Kenya among others who are now able to parade democratic credentials without reforming their repressive regimes".³

Under the pressure of awareness and in search of alternatives, the relationship between democracy and economic development is once again in a continuous debate by many experts. Similar questions and answers are given in the literature reviewed by political scientists, economists, political sociologists among others.⁴ While some authors have different opinions about the general causal link between democracy and economic developments, the debate continues further and has often been re-launched to the problem of relationship between political and economic liberalization in the context to democratic transition, especially in poor countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan.⁵

Many scholars have addressed the same issue but they are not all optimistic and some have even argued a trade-off between political democratization on the one hand and economic development on the other.⁶ But these changes did not go without challenge and have further stimulated a debate, which has regularly been reviewed. The critics argue that democracy and development are both compatible and functional to each other. Leftwitch writes:

"If there is a trade-off between development and democracy, the claim that a slightly lower rate of growth is an acceptable price to pay for a democratic polity, civil liberties and a good human rights record. And they point out that there have been many more non-democratic than democratic regimes which at various times have had dismal or disastrous developmental records, such as Romania, Argentina, Haiti, Ghana, Myanmar, Peru, Ethiopia and Mozambique. In these countries, neither economic nor liberty have prospered".⁷

These analyses suggest in contrary to the confidence of current claims, that there is no necessary relationship between democracy and development (more generally) between any

¹ Callaghy; Thomas, in: Larry Diamond and F. Plattner (1995), p. 143; Gretchen Casper and Michelle M. Taylor (1996), pp. 226-227, 245

² Waller, Peter P., in: Tezlauff, Rainer (1993), p. 61

³ Hadenius, Axel (1997), p. 284

⁴ Robin Luckham and Gordon White (1996); Vanhannen Tatu (1997); Sorensen, Georg (1998); Sen Amartya, in: Journal of Democracy, 10, 3 (New York 1999)

⁵ Peterson, David L., in: The Washington Quarterly, Vol.17, No.3 (Summer 1994), pp. 129-140

⁶ Leftwitch, Adrian, in: Third World Quarterly, Vol.14, No.3 (London 1993), 613

⁷ Ibid.

regime type and economic performance. Perhaps, one may not look at very selective evidences of high economic growth in Singapore, Taiwan, China etc. as definite that authoritarian regimes do better in promoting economic development than democrats or otherwise. But also examining and scrutinizing the causal processes has been involved in economic development and fostering democracy. Africa has a troubled political history because of the military and authoritarian rules in the last decades. The political experience of more authoritarian types of rule, whether single party in Kenya or military regimes in Ethiopia and Sudan had been in general not successful one in terms of **performance indicators** like political stability, economic development or human rights¹. The late Nigerian political scientist Claude Ake had again written about such developments as follows:

"Africa's failed development experience suggests that, postponing democracy does not promote development. During the past decades of authoritarianism, Africa's standard of living has been falling steadily and its share of world trade and industrial output has been declining." Poverty in both relative and absolute terms is worsening so rapidly".²

Stephan Haggard and Steven B. Webb have written about this: "Dictatorships are a heterogeneous group beginning with the distinction between strong and weak dictators. Strong dictators are themselves heterogeneous-some have promoted economic stability in their countries. Others have wrecked their countries economy. Given such differences, any attempt to show that dictators are a group exhibit a superior (or inferior) economic performance than democracies as a group would be inconclusive".³

It has been these failures of authoritarian alternatives, which challenged the transition to democratic and economic developments in the three countries, that have stalled at installations or collapsed. Especially For Africa in general including the three countries, the 1980s can be described as a lost decade. In the light of some successful economic developments under dictatorships like China, Singapore, Taiwan etc. the question lies whether it is arguable that poor countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan still need benevolent leaders who can implement economic development prior to democratization. John Healey and Mark Robinson have written about this:

"There is no systematic evidence that more democratic types of regimes in the sense of being popularly elected, politically competitive and having respect for civil and political rights are more successful in achieving economic development or a lower degree of income inequality".⁴

Some authors have concentrated to differentiate the applicability to environmental, political, socio-cultural situations that the model better suits. For example, to bring the expected outcomes of transition to democracy, **many authors have discussed the question of applicability**

¹ Wiseman, John A., *Democracy in Black Africa* (1990), p. 182

² Ake, Claude; in: *Journal of Democracy*, 2(Winter 1991), p. 35

³ Stephan Haggard and Steven B. Webb (1994), p. 45

⁴ John Healey and Mark Robinson (1992), p. 122

events either to implement political democratization first or foster economic development.¹ But the outcomes of the thesis in the models that have failed or the unsuitability events to implement either of them in some countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan have not often been precise. For example, Larry Diamond has evaluated the wave of democratization sweeping in Africa during the 1990's. While he has recognized that there were several reservations about the durability and genuineness of many of the changes taking place, his argument was that the countries have major challenges. These Challenges political institutionalization that **can** design power-sharing, **enhance** governmental accountability and transparency, material progress and permanent debt relief in the next decades.²

Nicolas Van de Walle has also argued for such questions as follows: "That the current wave of democratization offers an unprecedented opportunity to address the continuing economic crisis on the continent. Specific economic policies, these states choose to pursue are less important than the process of building institutions that will support economic development. The states that have high levels of socio-political stability and low levels of uncertainty are known as "developmental states," while most African states could be considered "anti-developmental".³

Martin Jaenicke writes: "The comparison of democratic and authoritarian systems, whether in theory or in practice, is not very helpful if we turn to the question of the way democracies themselves can successfully manage the unsolved problems of the environment. Here, we must require as to the type or degree of democracy, which appears most beneficial to the tasks". Institutional orientation must include the societal, cultural and economic frameworks within which national policies are formulated and carried out".⁴

From these points of view, one can emphasize that little attention has been given to such aspect of development by which democratization will also result in increased government accountability, that can demonstrate the opportunity to citizens political participation and recommend the transparency of governance.

Dirk Berg-Schlosser, in his analysis about African regimes has emphasized this as follows:

"Authoritarian systems have a strong positive effort on the overall rate of GNP growth, but their performance in terms of an improvement of the physical quality of life for a greater part of the population is fairly poor". "In normative terms polyarchies have the best performance as far as the maintenance of civil liberties and freedom from political

¹ Diamond, Larry, "Democracy: The New Wind", in: Africa Report, Vol.39, No.5, September 1994, pp. 50-54; Van de Walle, Nicolas (1995), pp. 128-141; Jaenicke, Martin, in: William Lafferty M. and James Meadowcroft (1997), pp. 71-85

² Diamond, Larry, "Democracy: The New Wind." Africa Report, Vol.39, No.5, September 1994, pp. 50-54

³ Van de Walle, Nicolas, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.6, No.2, April 1995, pp. 128-141

⁴ Jaenicke, Martin, in: William Lafferty M. and James Meadowcroft (1997), p. 71

repression are concerned".¹ In another occasion, Professor Dirk Berg-Schlosser has re-iterated that, "Economic development should be implemented first and then democratization process can be financed".²

To this Stephan Haggard and Steven B. Webb write: "Authoritarian regimes appear to be heterogeneous group. Some have promoted growth and economic stability and have done better than the average democracy. Others have destroyed their economies. A further understanding of what explains these large differences is likely to have very high intellectual returns".³

Thus, as mentioned earlier, no clear answer to the trade-off question emerges from these explanations and it seems that there is little help to be heard from the review of additional analysis as a recent survey has demonstrated it. For example, the Harvard University Professor Amartya Sen, winner of the 1998 Nobel Prize for Economics has written about this case as follows:

"There is in fact no convincing general evidence that authoritarian governance and the suppression of political and civil rights are really beneficial to economic development. While the economic performance of developing countries vary substantially over time, the question inevitably arises whether it is really a meaningful exercise to seek a definite answer through using confidential representative analysis covering limited period of time".⁴

On all these cases, what one can learn from the analysis is that there are a large number of countries which are not clearly identified as democratic or authoritarian and they move very fast between those categories who foster semi-democratic system and authoritarian today and semi-democratic tomorrow or otherwise. On the other side, it might be clear that several African regimes that are under systems of personal rule and have promoted material prosperity of rewards and other interests to their members to achieve political success can be described in the category of authoritarianism.

The message of this theory reflects that it is not possible to generalize across authoritarian systems in terms of their capabilities for promoting economic development, while they vary greatly in many respects. Samuel Huntington has written about this position: "Democracy will spread in the world to the extent that those who exercise power in the world and in individual countries want it to spread"⁵. However, some empirical evidences from other political science literature suggest that at least in Sub-Saharan African countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan, political instabilities have direct

¹ Berg-Schlosser, Dirk, in: *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol.17, No.1 (London 1984), p. 143

² Personal Interview with Professor Dr. Berg-Schlosser, Dirk, Marburg, Germany, 06.08.1998, (at 12:00-13:00 Local Time)

³ Stephan Haggard and Steven B. Webb (1994), p. 57

⁴ Sen, Amartya, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.10, No.3 (July 1999), pp. 6-7

⁵ Huntington, Samuel P., *The Third Wave* (1991), p. 316

impact on poor performances of economic developments. For example, Claude Ake has written about this case as follows:

"The emerging political theory of the democracy movement in Africa sees the economic regression of the continent as the other side of political repression. It recognizes that the cause of development is better served by a democratic approach that engages the energy and commitment of the people who alone can make development possible and sustainable"¹.

Peter P. Waller again writes, "The notion that democracy and popular participation are decisive pre-requisites for self-sustaining and lasting economic growth has only recently gained ground. The cause of this tardiness lay in a myth that dominated development thinking for many years-the myth of the 'dictatorship'".²

This implies that democracy has been threatened by gross inequality, military elites, tensions among ethnic groups and social classes by competing ideological and forms of governments. This has been why I am determined to theorize this topic that **political democratization should be implemented first if economic development can to be achieved** in the three countries successfully. I am not claiming the universality of this theory, but as it has been explained above, the question of priority to implement economic development can apply in countries where there is a democratic culture and developed civil society with tolerance to opposition, a high level of literacy, efficient skilled man-power and other related basic needs. To the questions why democratic systems have not been implemented in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan, the following events can express answers to the challenges in the three countries. For example, there was a hope to economic and political development in the demise of authoritarian rule in Sudan after dictator Nimeiri was ousted and civil government had installed parliamentary democracy in 1986.³ During that period, mass public made its preference clear for the installation of liberal democracy but it was foiled by the military that lacked tolerance to opposition and political literacy.⁴

Comparatively, after dismantling the repressive state apparatus of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1991, a similar chance has existed in Ethiopia but it seemed to have failed to implement a tangible democracy. The course has been that the ruling party did not reject formal democracy but it appeared to eschew inclusiveness in favour of narrow majoritarianism and "the winner takes all" principle while it was not accepted by many or implemented properly.⁵ The difficulties that EPRDF is still facing include, problems inherited from its authoritarian

¹ Ake, Claude, in: the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol.69, No.2 (London 1993), p. 241

² Waller, Peter p., in: Tetlaaff, Rainer, Human Rights and Development (1993), p. 59

³ Niblock, Timothy, (1990), pp. 352-353; Wiseman, John A. (1990), p. 155

⁴ Woodward, Peter (1990), pp. 204, 206-7

⁵ Ottaway, Marina, Democracy in Africa (1997), p. 157

predecessors as well as other challenges peculiar to a transition to democratic society. As the EPRDF confronts these challenges, it also faces some distinctive new threats like shortage of man-power, experience of democratic culture among others to the maintenance of the essential elements of liberal democracy.¹

The revolutionary government that came to power through violent means was destructive to democratic elements. The country is extremely heterogeneous which creates complicating problems that involve in fostering a democratic system. But still, many Ethiopian citizens and researchers regard the present limited political openings as an improvement upon the authoritarian rule of emperor Haile Selassie and Mengistu Haile Mariam military regime even if it is very slow and not transparent.² However, concerning the EPRDF's implementation of political democratization and economic development, all remains still to be demonstrated as far as it remains in power.

The same had happened in Kenya after the incumbent Moi regime has changed its single party policy on the hope of transition to democratic system since 1992.³ International efforts were largely responsible for the introduction of the multi-party system in Kenya since then, but political practice in the country until the present time is not what one can associate with democratic development. President Moi and his KANU party have manipulated the mechanism of democracy to curtail or destroy it. Lacking clear targets, such as holding free and fair elections or allowing free multi-party competition, how the international community should support democracy in Kenya today is less obvious than it was during the one party system previously. While the Moi authoritarian government continues holding on power, the transition to democratic system became uncertain and economic reform remains stalled.⁴

Especially the experience of Kenya seems to indicate that when the regime wants to prevent democratic change it can find the means to do so by which political competition became very difficult.⁵ Whereas some observers and politically active Kenyans agree that Kenya is more democratic than it was before the 1992 elections and the country has marked time in democratization. On the other hand, the KANU government has resisted to carry out much-needed constitutional reform and have bogged down the existing legislation that is necessary to advance democracy.⁶ The government's human rights record has also been mediocre. It has

¹ Joseph, Richard, (1999), p. 31

² Personal Interview with Professor John Markakis, The Hague, in The Netherlands, 25.11.1998

³ Diamond, Larry; Plattner, Marc F. (1994), pp. 39-40; Nyang'oro, in: Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol.XXXI, E.J. Brill, Leiden and New York 1996, pp. 116-121

⁴ Gretchen Casper and Michelle M. Taylor (1996), p. 41; Ottawy, Marina, Democracy in Africa (1997), pp. 155-156

⁵ Chabal, Patrick, in: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol.74, No.2 (April 1998), p. 298

⁶ EIU Kenya Country Report, February 2001, p. 4

repeatedly inhibited opposition party efforts to exercise freedom of association, and opposition politicians have often been restricted to conduct political activities in their own districts.¹ Serious ethnic clashes, which have resulted in many deaths and tens of thousands of internally displaced families, are widely believed to have been encouraged or instigated by individuals within the KANU government.² President Moi himself has explicitly threatened districts, which have voted for opposition parliamentarians with loss of official development assistance. Government harassment of opposition party politicians has obviously not encouraged democratic development within any of the parties.³

From the experience of other countries, a large number of analysis have been presented in an attempt to answer the question whether political democratization should be implemented prior to economic development in the three states. This analysis **acknowledges** that political democratization and economic development could not be implemented as it was seen in the three countries authoritarian regimes for decades. The obstacles have been political incorrectness that challenged any steps towards these developments, because power relations and state mismanagement have played a decisive role to these shortcomings. Despite more efforts, the problems seem actual today than they were in the last decades.

Economic development could not be implemented in large because there has been political instability, severe institutional and managerial weaknesses, a strong legacy of repression, corruption, ethnic marginalization on the competition to power without compromise and mobilization of the countries resources by the authoritarian leaders and their compatriots. During the process of government changes in Ethiopia (1974, 1991), Sudan (1985, 1989) and since the declaration of multi-party in Kenya (1992), the management of complex and open system to play games of power and counter power was not possible. There was no rapid adjustment to the changing situations but has been implemented without democratic games.⁴ The **decline in economic development** then tends to be associated with **lack of democracy**.

The question how democratic and economic development can best be explained in the three countries comparatively, will finally be the theoretical approach that examines the term of further discussion. The proposal to answer such a question is to debate the inter-corporation of dialectical and cultural values of the three countries. It could be seen that, the prevailing linear and mechanical one which can **foster democracy prior to economic development** seems to be more suited in the three countries. If the political reforms result a transfer of power by institutionalized democratic constitution and implement initial political openings without reducing

¹ Joseph, Richard, (1999), p. 50

² Amnesty International Recent Press Release, Kenya: Freedom of Assembly under Increasing Threat, AI Index: AFR 32/015/2000

³ Ibid.

⁴ Callaghy, Thomas M.; Ravenhill, John (1993), pp. 483, 504-505, 530; Young, Crawford, in: Widner, Jennifer A. (1994), pp. 243-246

contestation, it could speed up economic reform process performances. This in turn may secure frequent failures and end reversion to military or authoritarian rule.¹

On the basis of the above referred analysis, the effects of political democratization prior to economic development in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan may illustrate a kind of avenue that new research could pursue to many developing countries which measures further outcomes in the future. Obviously, much work remains to be done in order to find out such developments. But given the above explanations about implementing democracy prior to economic development in the three countries, questions **how political democratization and the economic developments can best be examined comparatively? What criteria can be used to differentiate between these issues?** Were raised at the beginning of this topic that could emphasize possible comparison measurements.

From the literatures I have observed until the closing of this topic, it has been very difficult to measure the degree of democracy and economic development in the three countries. But by using the Index of Freedom House Index (1), the Heritage Foundation of Economic Freedom (2), Human Development Index (HDI) (3) aggregated statistical data, which are compiled by Freedom House in New York and London (UNDP), some comparative measurements can be made.

1. The Freedom House Index **evaluates a comparative survey of freedom of political rights and civil liberties** in the world that is provided on an annual basis since 1973. It assesses and monitors the world's freedom by examining their record in political rights and civil liberties and employs one dimension for political rights and another dimension in civil liberties to measure the level of democracy in many countries including Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan.² For each dimension of political and civil liberties, a given point scale is used whereby countries with the highest degree of democracy are ranked (1 representing most free) in both dimensions and those least democratic status are rated (7 the least free)³. In other words, the indices attempt to reflect the space of semi-democracy or semi-authoritarianism between outright authoritarianism and fully democratic regimes. The **survey enables both scholars and policy makers** to assess the direction of global change annually and to examine trends in freedom over time in a comparative

¹ Schedler, Andreas, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.2, April 1998, p. 94

² Gastil, Raymond (1988), pp. 8-28; Karatnycky, Adrean, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.10, No.1, 1999, pp. 112-113; *The Heritage Foundation of Economic Freedom Index*, New York (1998, 1999 and 2000), p. 23 ff., 17 ff., 2 ff.; *Economic Freedom of the World Annual Report* (1999 and 2000), pp. 10, 12, 145

³ Karatnycky, Adrean, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.10, No.1 (1999), pp. 114-115; Aili Piano and Arch Puddington, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.12, No.1, January 2001, p. 88

basis across regions with different political and economic systems¹. According to the survey reports, the world freedom status was divided into three categories:

1. **"Free"** (countries whose overall scores have been ranked between 1 and 2.5 to 3 were considered democrats or free)
2. **"partly free"** (those with an average from 3 to 5.5 were semi-democrats or mostly unfree)
3. **"Not Free"** (countries whose ratings average scores from 5.5 to 7 were considered authoritarian regimes or repressive.²

The rating scales were also intended to reflect the reality of daily life in the society by considering social and economic comparisons, the size of economy among others. On the basis of Freedom House Survey and the parallel efforts to monitor and assess global political rights (PR) and civil liberties (CL) of 167 countries, including Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan were rated by Raymond D. Gastil to measure their status of freedom from November 1987-1988.³ The three countries status of freedom were rated under the following levels of categories:

1. Country	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Status of Freedom
Ethiopia	6	7	Not Free
Kenya	6	6	Not Free
Sudan	4	5	Partly Free

As one can see in the survey results, Sudan was rated partly free under the democratic elected civil government (1986-1989). While the freedom status of Ethiopia (Marxist oriented one party system of government) and Kenya (one party system of government) were rated not free.⁴ The survey had concluded Comparatively, that Ethiopia was less free as Sudan; Kenya was freer than Ethiopia because its civil liberty has been better, but less free as Sudan.⁵ Thus, countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan with benign governments once face violent forces (for example, terrorist movements or insurgencies hostile to an open society) are graded on the basis of the on-ground conditions that determine ethnic violence and whether the population is able to exercise its freedoms and other related issues or repressed. Hence, they have low levels or little political and civil liberties and are characterized as non-democratic states.

¹ Gastil, Raymond D. (1988), pp. 61-62; Karatnycky, Adrean, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.10, No.1 (1999), pp. 124-125

² Gastil, Raymond D. (1988), pp. 39-41; Sorensen, Georg (1998), pp. 16-17; Karatnycky, Adrian, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.10, No.1, (January 1999), p. 114; *Index of Economic Freedom*, The Heritage Foundation (2000), pp. 1-2; Aili Piano and Arch Puddington, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.12, No.1, January 2001, p. 88

³ Gastil, Raymond D. (1988), pp. 31, 42-43

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33, 57, 59, 63

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 377, 386

Some years latter, the Freedom House in its 1999-2000 survey results has shown that, the three countries status of freedom levels have not changed much. The rating comparisons Extracted from the aggregated survey¹ were recorded under the following categories:

2. Country	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Status of Freedom
Ethiopia	4 (1999), 5 (2000)	4 (1999), 5 (2000)	Partly Free (1999-2000)
Kenya	6 (1999), 5 (2000)	5 (1999-2000)	Not Free (1999-2000)
Sudan	7 (1999-2000)	7 (1999-2000)	Repressed (1999-2000)

In the same process like 1987-1988, the 1999 and 2000 survey results have explained that countries that deny their citizens basic rights and civil liberties were rated as not free among others.² The three countries under study have experienced little gains but much losses of freedom either immediate or prospective. There has been an advance in the case of Ethiopia and Kenya and a loss in Sudan during the 1990s. Sudan was judged to one of the world's most repressive regime and has received Freedom House's lowest rating score for political rights and civil liberties. This has been a noticeable decline that the Sudanese citizens have lost their freedoms during the present junta regime came to power.

According to the survey results, there were no basic political rights and civil liberties in Sudan. Free press, independent civil life etc. have been suppressed and the country became a repressive society since the end of 1980s. On the other hand, after the fall of Mengistu Haile Mariam, Ethiopian citizens have gained freedom due to the immediate trend of limited change from the repressive society to a partial democratic system since the end of 1991. The introduction of multi-party system in 1992 has also been a prospective change to the extension of democratic system in Kenya. But while the Ethiopian national legislative elections (1992), parliamentary elections (1995, 2000); Parliamentary and Presidential elections (Kenya-1992, 1997) were judged not free and fair³ and other related issues to political rights and civil liberties were limited, both countries have failed to meet the required standard of free rating status.

The 1999 and 2000 years' survey did not show promising development for the three countries. Among the years' principal disappointments were the emergence of ethnic strife in Kenya, which was perpetrated by the government and its allies. The outbreak of deadly conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea worsened its ranking. While the authorities were cited for the

¹ Karatnycky, Adrian, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.10, No.1 (1999), pp. 124-125; Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation (2000), pp.72, 421

² Ibid., p. 112

³ Henry Bienen and Jeffrey Herbst, in: *Comparative Politics*, New York, (October 1996), p. 25; Bratton, Michael, in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.9, No.3, July 1998, p. 56; Horn of Africa Bulletin, Vol.12, No.3, May-June 2000, pp. 12-13

lessening of repression in the wake of a peace accord with Eritrea after the end of war, it registered improvements.¹ But that were not extensive enough to result in a higher elevation of category. The continuing civil war in Sudan displayed the country's features stand to more nostalgia for authoritarian rule than Ethiopia and Kenya. Al-Beshir continued a policy designed to enhance the power of his presidency at the expense of political rights and civil liberties. In all cases, there appears to be no good news for freedom 2001 and to possible future shifts in the region's political environment that could perhaps outweigh the previous disappointments.

The survey results explain that, a country grants its citizens political rights when it permits them to form political parties that represent a significant range of voters choices and whose leaders can openly compete for and be elected to positions of power in government.² The question here is participation and competition, whether the chief authorities can be elected by a process of fair election laws with a significant opposition vote, which could lead to a peaceful transfer of power to an opposition led government etc. A country also upholds its citizens civil liberties when it respects and protects their religious, ethnic, economic, linguistic and other rights including gender and family rights, freedoms of expression, association/assembly and demonstration, personal social rights including those to property, travel etc.³

On the one hand, where great hopes were placed for more progress of democratization in Kenya, as there has been a remarkable turn away from authoritarian political institutions towards democracy, it did not go as it should be and was expected. On these perspectives, the present political reforms in Kenya (if any) have been influenced by outside but the source has not been developed from indigenous democratic culture sentiments. President Moi's government has set out to weaken or eliminate interest groups and voluntary associations that might mobilize and advocate reforms⁴. Ethiopia has made hopeful progress as the EPRDF authorities have shown remarkable multi-party institutional settings towards democracy. On other developments, on the other hand, the end of 1990s saw intense civil war in Sudan, ethnic clashes and escalation of inter communal violence in Ethiopia and Kenya, which caused in thousands of deaths in all three countries that the great hope to political and civil liberties were aborted. Hence, little steps to democratic transition have been made by all regimes.

2. The Heritage Foundation had developed Index of Economic Freedom to measure and grade the levels of economic freedom in 175 countries around the world empirically and has

¹ SIPRI Yearbook, New York 2001, pp. 26-27

² Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation, New York 2001, pp. 33-34; Aili, Piano and Arch Puddington, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.12, No.1, January 2001, p. 88

³ Karatnycky, Adrian, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.10, No.1 (1999), p. 114; Gastil, Raymond D. (1988), p. 8 ff.; Aili, Piano and Arch Puddington, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.12, No.1, January 2001, p. 88

⁴ See Lipset, Seymour Martin (Washington D.C. 1997), p. 162

established a set of 50 independent criterion under its survey. These independent criterion were divided into 10 broad economic variable factors which also affect the political rights, civil liberties and used to grade the various countries (including Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan) economic freedoms for years (1. Trade policy, 2. Taxation, 3. Government intervention, 4. Monetary policy, 5. Capital flows, 6. Banking, 7. Wage and price controls, 8. Property rights, 9. Banking regulation, 10. Black market).¹

The survey explains the highest the score on a factor, the greatest level of the countries governments interference in the economy and the less economic freedom.² Taking cumulatively, the empirical objective of these factors has continued to demonstrate unequivocally that the countries with the **highest levels of economic freedom** also have the **highest standards of living**. Although cultural and political factors including the frequency of wars will make each country's response differently, it appears to be universal that free trade, free markets and free citizens could create stronger economies and better lives than is possible with any other public policies.³

During the 1996-2000 surveys, the Index research findings have made a clear vision on the World's most economically free and most repressed regimes. Most of the world's economically repressed countries were in Africa and the Middle East. Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole remains the most economically unfree and by far the poorest region in the world. Based on these results, the three countries economic situations were rated **mostly unfree** (Ethiopia and Kenya) and **repressed** (Sudan)⁴. The average of overall Index of Economic Freedom scores in the 1999 survey were rated as follows: Free (1.0-1.99), Mostly Free (2.00-2.99), Mostly unfree (3.00-3.99), Repressed (4.00-5.00).⁵

Country	Index of Economic Freedom in years					Status of Freedom
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	
Ethiopia	3.80	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.7	Mostly Unfree
Kenya	3.05	3.05	3.05	3.05	3.05	Mostly Unfree
Sudan	4.22	4.10	4.20	4.20	4.20	Repressed

The findings of the aggregated statistical data Indices⁶ have demonstrated quite clearly that poverty in the three countries is not the result of inefficient levels of resources. But the main

¹ Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation (New York 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000), pp. 128-129, 2, 23, 12, 145

² Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation (1998), pp. 25, 37

³ Ibid., (2000), p. 10; Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation, New York 2000, pp. 2-3

⁴ Ibid., (1998 and 2000), p. 37, XXV, Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation, New York 2000, p. 73

⁵ Ibid., (2000), pp. 1-2

⁶ Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation, 1997, pp. 149, 209, 319; 1998, 17, 171, 239; 1999, p. 23 ff.; 2000, pp. 213, 291, 421

causes have been lack of economic freedom embodied in policies that the authorities having imposed on themselves to depress free enterprises and heavy debts.¹ Although it has been difficult to determine whether economic freedom or political freedom should be implemented first in the three countries under study, one can see statistical significant relationship between the two. Political freedom is necessary to ensure the absence of coercion, but economic liberty and liberal government can be compliments.

Analysts who have prepared the aggregated statistical data for the Heritage Foundation of Economic Freedom Index have also found that countries which are **economically free** also are more politically free and have higher levels of civil liberties than with less economic freedom. Likewise, the comparative survey of freedom, prepared by Freedom House has shown that those countries with higher levels of political rights and civil liberties have more wealth and vice versa.² **The message here is**, economic freedom and political freedom go hand in hand but with the **dominance of political liberalization**, a country could have **successive** sustainable political, social and economic developments.

Given this research hypothesis indicated above, the overall message of this section on the three countries is that democracy has not been fared well during the last decades and they are still in political and economic fragile situation. Formation of stable governments, guided by strong commitment to use state power and leadership capabilities under the mandate of citizens is necessary in order to implement organizational requirements of durable economic development.³ The extent of Freedom House and Heritage Foundation surveys have confirmed the result of the hypothesis that Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan are regarded as non-democratic countries. Because their values of participation in terms of political rights and civil liberties as well as economic freedoms are **below the standard thresh hold values of democratic states**.⁴

3. Another alternative of theoretical approach to measure the degree of democracy and economic development is Human Development Index (**HDI**). Human Development Indices are compiled by Human Development Report under the auspices of United Nations Development Programme (**UNDP**) every year in New York and the University of Glasgow London. In the HDI theory, the principal explanatory indicator has been GNP per capita to show variations in economic development or wealth, which indicates government performances in about 174 to 175

¹ The World Bank, Annual Report (1995), pp. 172-173; Johnson, Bryan T., in: Economic Freedom Index, The Heritage Foundation (1999), p. 15; IMF, World Economic Outlook, May 2000, p. 198

² Ibid., (1998 and 1999), pp. 146, 34; Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation (1999), p. 33

³ see Dahl, Robert A. (2000), pp. 84-85

⁴ See Vanhannen, Tatu (1997), pp. 132-138; Sorensen, Georg (1998), pp. 17-19; Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation (2000), pp. 112, 421

countries of the world.¹ Additional internal and external factors have crucial role in leading the democratic pressure with a combined index of political freedom and economic developments.² But there is a general consensus that the components of HDI together provide almost comprehensive package aggregated indicators at the countries standard level of living including law and order, peace, security and freedom of liberty etc.

Unfortunately, comparative data on other important aspects of internal economic freedom such as freedom of labour movement, freedom to organize and associate, effectiveness of minimum wages, licensing procedures etc. from the three countries are not available. However, it is likely that the measures used by the Freedom House are correlated which include aspects of internal economic freedoms. The HDI is constructed by measuring a country's relative achievements in each of the three basic variables and taking a simple average of the following three indicators: 1. Average life-span in years (longevity); 2. Access to education for all (knowledge); 3. Access to resource needed for a decent standard of living. It also includes improvements in health and education as well as in economic well being.³

The maximum and minimum values for each variable are fixed and reduced to a scale between 0 and 1, with each country at some point on the scale. According to this scale, countries are classified into three groups: High human development, with HDI values of 0.800 and above; medium human development with HDI values of 0.500 to 0.799; and low human development with HDI values below 0.500.⁴ From the aggregated Human Development Reports (UNDP) survey, the HDI values and ranks of the three countries are presented⁵ as follows:

Country	HDI Value	HDI Rank	Year
Ethiopia	0.265	171	1985
	0.287	171	1990
	0.237	168	1993
	0.244	170	1994
	0.252	169	1995
	0.298	172	1997
	0.309	171	1998

¹ Human Development Report (UNDP 1999), pp. 136-137; Streeten, in: Journal of International Affairs, Vol.52, No.1 (Fall 1998), pp. 18-21

² Vanhannen, Tatu (1997), pp. 134-138

³ Ibid., p. 12; Streeten, Paul, in: Journal of International Affairs, Vol.52, No.1 (Fall 1998), pp. 20-21; Human Development Report (UNDP 1999 and 2000), pp. 127, 108; Economic Freedom of the World Annual Report 2001, p. 17

⁴ Human Development Report (UNDP) 1996, p. 30; 1998, pp. 126, 283; 2000, pp. 149, 176, 181

⁵ Human Development Report (UNDP) 1996, p. 29; 1997, p. 148 ; 1998, pp. 130, 136-13; 1999, pp. 166-167; 2000 pp. 159-160

	0.298	172	1999
Kenya	0.487	138	1980
	0.509	138	1985
	0.473	128	1993
	0.463	134	1994
	0.463	137	1995
	0.519	136	1997
	0.508	138	1998
	0.519	136	1999
Sudan	0.368	143	1980
	0.390	143	1985
	0.359	146	1993
	0.333	158	1994
	0.343	157	1995
	0.475	142	1997
	0.477	143	1998
	0.475	142	1999

Given the above expertise' analysis, a question arises how feasible and sustainable sequence of political and economic development in the three countries futures will look like? As it has been explained above, there must be a democratic breakthrough in the first step. Larry Diamond writes about this thesis as follows: "The democratic breakthrough will make possible the transition to a market economy, introduce a highly comprehensive transition programme, launches a transition to a market economy".¹ However, it is futile to suggest that this ought to be like, because no authoritarian regimes inform their adversaries about when or how they will break down. Hence, the three countries will remain economic dependence on donor countries while their instability to institutionalize the formal trapping of democracy lag behind in stepping the economic destinies.

Comparatively, according to these data explanations and other related events, Ethiopia and Kenya seem to have a better chance to democratic transition but there is a long way to go. While Sudan needs to dismantle the Islamic fundamentalist state apparatus first and end the civil war if it is to implement **democratic institutions** that could promote a transition to democracy which may take longer time and there is also uncertainty when this will take place. In general, the process to democratization in all the three countries cases seem to be bleak and according to

¹ Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *Economic Reform and Democracy* (1995), p. 74

many explanatory variables, chances to establish democratic institutions remain still meager as far as the highly centralized state structures are not liberalized.¹

Another East African Expert whom I have enjoyed to discuss with about the economic course of political stability and human rights in the region has said: "The state is to blame for the failure of economic development, while it did not make proper decision to manage the huge budget. The state had been bad to the economy for it has been mostly tribal government, did not secure the liberty of the society by implementing liberal democracy. Democracy is a balance of forces and has been very fragile system that should be treated well to promote social and economic developments".²

According to the Freedom House's indices of political rights and civil liberties in 1996, 1999 and 2000-2001, the overall summary level in both political and economic freedom did increase very little in the three countries. If there could have been democratic systems, governments were likely to turn over every certain period and competitive implementation process in both economic and political developments can be expected. The explanation expressed above demonstrates that the opportunity to sustainable economic growth in a country can be implemented if its leaders are willing to establish sound policies and promote economic freedom. In this perspective, Jaan M. Nelson has written about this case previously as follows:

"In democratic systems, of course, governments are likely to turn over every few years. The success of economic reforms therefore depends not just on the commitment of the government launching them and carrying them out, but on whether there is or is seen to be a consensus in the broader political arena regarding the basic direction in which society should be moving".³

Given such analysis and other related issues, the question why economic reforms have failed in the three countries and growth performances have been very poor and disappointing with real capita GDP declining over the period since the 1980s can be illustrated in different dimensions. The failure of the three countries authorities to stabilize their economies provided strong evidence that effective economic reform could not be accomplished in the absence of democracy. As David Held had explained it previously, democratic government is required to protect citizens from despotic use of political power, freedoms of press, speech and public associations that can sustain democratic and economic interests of the community.⁴ Michael Saward writes about this: "Without rights to basic liberties, democracy can barely be expected to function. Rights of freedoms of expression and association are essential conditions of democracy, empirically as well as

¹ See Vahannen Tatu (1997), pp. 129-133; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 13; EIU Ethiopia and Sudan Country Reports, June 2001, pp. 11-12, 7

² Personal discussion with Professor Dr. John Markakis, in the Institute of Social Studies, Political Alternative of Development Studies (PADS), The Hague, The Netherlands, 25.11.1998

³ Nelson, Jaan M., in: Diamond, Larry and Plattner Marc F. (1995), p. 51

⁴ Held, David (1987), p. 67

logically. Each should therefore be constitutionally guaranteed on an equal basis to all citizens, if a system is rightly to be called a democracy".¹

Political power in the three countries has been maintained through violence but did not generate peaceful coexistence and economic progress that challenged basic necessity provisions and freedoms. From the experience of the three countries political systems, economic and social developments, democracy has been endangered as the pluralism and autonomy of civil society is threatened by unaccountable hierarchically controlled power. Thus, democracy has been destroyed due to the inter-communal conflicts and power competition among ethnic groups in the three countries to mobilize resources. Hence, violent revolutions and political instability has been more costly in terms of both human lives and material wealth.

Liberty has political and economic dimensions², but it has mostly been repressed in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan since decades. For example, the three countries slow economic growth has been associated with political instability and bad policy outcomes, high government deficits, inadequate infrastructure, under developed financial systems among others. The last but not the least, **capital stocks have often been transferred to foreign due to fear of political insecurity** that has affected foreign direct investment and domestic investment severely.³ The conclusion of this topic prospects, that **a transition to democracy** in the three countries, still remains highly uncertain while the challenges to the political and economic developments are becoming enormous. Therefore, the lack of stability and security remains serious impediments to both democratic and economic developments.

Decentralization of political and economic power is to be recommended to minimize the series challenges examined in this topic. But citizens in the three countries should distinguish between democracy as a political system (which they support) and the impact of democratic status of their own regimes. Thus, when it comes to a transition to democracy, one acknowledges that much work remains to be done. The lack of supply response in reform has led to concerns over the effectiveness and political sustainability of the reforms. Therefore, more emphasis needs to be placed on devising political or other related mechanisms that will help to defuse these constraints. Henceforth, **implementing political democratization ahead of economic development** can be a decisive pre-condition to broaden the prospect of political participation, which could reverse the trends of previous mistakes and achieve a self-sustaining economic growth.

¹ Saward, Michael (1998), p. 89

² Gastil, Raymond D. (1988), pp. 31-33

³ World Bank, African Development Indicators 2000/2001, p. 81; African Development Bank, African Development Report 2001, p. 239; African Social and Economic Trends Annual Report 2000/2001, p. 60

Chapter 7. Conclusion Summary of the Research Findings and Recommendations

Different aspects of political, economic and social complexes that are still under many constraints have been discussed from chapter one-to-six. I have tried to emphasize at every end of the chapters that numerous problems continue to challenge the transition to democratic, economic and social developments in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. An examination is made to these controversial issues in order to promote a deep understanding of what is happening in the three countries today. Even if political reforms have been undertaken in various forms to different stages of transition, the continuing challenges to the political liberalization have some common elements in these countries.¹ The changing visions of political, economic and social profiles of both the past and present have been examined in diverse fields and those policies are the world in which citizens of the three countries live. The challenges they face as governments and the people who drive from these realities are what the political leaders in the three countries will have to address in the future.

The research questions what have been the main challenges and hindrances for all these shortcomings and how could they be solved are then the central issues to this chapter's conclusion summary. This concluding thesis draws together the empirical data described in the previous chapters about the challenges that have faced attempts to transform the three countries society into democratic, economic and social developments. Some of the most prominent challenges have been: (1) **Ethnic conflicts**, (2) **Poverty and illiteracy**, (3) **Socio-cultural and traditional barriers**, (4) **Power struggle and political instability**. Several explanations can be put forward to the prevailing changing issues but it is hard to lay general arguments and drive the central findings directly by this small literature observation.

1. Ethnic Conflicts: There has been much academic discussion about the origins of ethnicity, but to draw what the special features of ethnic consciousness are became not easy to answer. The term ethnic group is a social construct and the reasons for its contemporary prominence must be sought in the situation that has produced it. What then had been the causes of conflicts between the different ethnic groups that often have challenged to the political stability of the three nations? In a perceptive analysis, Rodolfo Stavenhagen has written about this: "The ethnic issue has to do with the allocation of resources and power between ethnic groups, the question of land and territory (Homelands, Colonization, Settlement, emigration etc.), language, religion, cultural identity etc."²

¹ African Social and Economic Trends Annual Report 2000/2001, pp. 4, 6

² Stavenhagen, Rodolfo, in: International Social Science Quarterly Journal, Vol.1, No.3 (1998), p. 434 ff.

In a category of divided societies like Canada, Switzerland, Belgium, ethnic groups have strongly held political aspirations to moderate favourable conditions and interact as groups. While the effects of ethnic conflicts have tended to foster historical internal integration and party policies have not been a perfect reflection of conflicts, instead they became structurally advantageous¹. John Milton Yinger writes about this situation as follows:

"Ethnic variation brings richness to a society and to individuals if it occurs in a context that also brings unity to a society and to human kind and allows freedom of choice to individuals".² Adoption of a higher degree of trust in ethnically divided societies could justify the cohabitation of these ethnic groups within the same country. But in severely divided societies like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan, where the issues of conflict parties reflect ethnic cleavages, the dominant minority government have often used a combination of intimidation, violence and ethnic divisions among the opposition and continue to exclude the largest ethnic groups.³ However, relations are dominated by loyalty to specific ethnic groups and mistrust between these groups form a larger entity, which may comprise several ethnic groups that could generate public 'bads' and loses for every one involved. To this, Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff have written: "In most countries of Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, a major reason for the failure of democratization has been ethnic conflict. Many politicized ethnic groups live with the consequences of historical or contemporary economic discrimination or political discrimination or both."⁴ That had been why high ethnic diversity has often lead to increased civil strife, political instability and remained a challenge to any development.

Ethnicity is a process of culture and identity rather than a given structure. Its is separable from the political process structuring the state.⁵ Groups and individuals are used to struggle over limited, finite resources and have given a greater credibility to legitimize basis and to express one's grievances. Ethnic divisions have proved a major impediment to the attainment of stable democracy since decades in the three countries.⁶ Supporting such phenomenon, Ted Robert and Barbara Harff have again written in the same edition as follows:

"Although a few ethnic minorities in Africa have some advantages, most are poor and politically underrepresented. In many cases, these inequalities are perpetrated by policies and practices that violate widely recognized standards of human rights".⁷ Accordingly, this makes them to be politically active and conduct protracted communal conflicts. A more unequal distribution increases friction among social groups, reduces their willingness to cooperate and may result in political instability. This

¹ Horowitz, Donald L., in: Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy* (1994), pp. 36-37, 39-40

² Yinger, John Milton (1994), p. 348

³ Compare Markakis, John, in: Yeros, Paris (ed.), (1999), p. 75

⁴ Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff (1994), p. 6

⁵ Bayart, Jean-Francois (1993), p. 56

⁶ Jacquin-Berdal, Dominique, in: *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, Vol.27, No.1, 1998, p. 132

⁷ Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff (1994), pp. 6-7

has typically been characterized to Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan who have ethnic diversification. From this prospective, it had been the role of the states, which have created ethnic groups and boundaries during the making of nations. Thus, the state has been the root of the conflict whether it is in the name of the nation, region, religion, ethnicity or clanship.¹

The contemporary political maps of the three countries demonstrate that they all are multi-ethnic communities. These, communities tend to be organized legally or covertly on behalf of their common interests.² Manuel Castells writes about this:

"If ethnicity matters, the ethnic differences that are at forefront of Africa's political scene today are politically constructed rather than culturally rooted. The contemporary force of ethnic consciousness comes much more from its appropriation by local people, circumscribing the allocation of the state's resources".³

But the basic analytical questions that remain open concerning the challenges to the context of ethnic conflicts are: How the presence connections between ethnic orders of the three societies and discrimination be broken and open to possibilities of tolerant to political and social pluralism? What are the most effective ways to reduce ethnic tensions? Several measures may be envisaged through the introduction of democracy as a means of terminating or resolving ethnic conflicts. One option can be constitutional accommodation, one of the most cost-effective ways of preserving peace and security in multi-ethnic societies⁴ like in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan.

Many African countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan continued to be plagued by ethnic violence and regional revolts, which were common and resulted in much bloodshed.⁵ Until recently, violent internal conflicts have been the predominant form of warfare for decades and there is an urgent need to understand their causes in order to find prevention and resolutions. The conflicts in the three countries must be investigated in terms of state, society and the world order in order to adopt creative policy responses, which may range from first-track diplomacy, middle level and grass-root mediation and long-term civic education. Then, viable remedial measures could be promoted by politics of negotiation that can compromise the immediate future and call preventive action directed against domestic conflicts, which could also justify to correct negative lessons of the failed experiences. The governments in the three countries should therefore take constructive action on their policy making through constitutional accommodations to protect ethnic minority groups and promote economic, social developments among others.

¹ Esman, Milton Jacob (1994), p. 249

² Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff (1994), p. 164-165

³ Castells, Manuel (1998), pp. 105, 107

⁴ Goodin and Klingeman (1998), p. 388

⁵ Cole, Robert (Chicago and London 1998), p. 13

2. Poverty and Illiteracy: The dilemma of poverty has been the most scarce, fundamental challenges to a democratic transition and economic development for decades. Chazan, Naomi et al have written as follows: "African countries, regardless of regime type or ideology have confronted the challenges of poverty and illiteracy. The dilemma of poverty is the most glaring and fundamental challenges. The region has reflected predominantly low-income economies, with a high incidence of mass impoverishment and generally inadequate standards of living. The difficult tasks of raising average incomes and improving levels of welfare have preoccupied myriad leaders and organizations". Their causes are multi-dimensional which may not adequately be tackled through economic growth alone which remains a very serious social problems in the three countries. More accurate views of poverty can reflect not only an absence of material resources, but also of "choices and opportunities" for living a tolerable life.¹ Poverty is very widespread, but it is difficult to define with a precision what its boundaries are.

The gap in the standards of living between the rich and the poor is growing in the three countries that often has led to civil unrest, because the countries have considerable economic variance from the very wealth to the destitute. When one draws, its line varies from place to place even within one country. But it can be examined in terms of ill health, illiteracy and other related basic provisions like physical problems that engenders malnutrition, the way it affects social and political relationships and how it is dealt by government policies. For example, some ethnic societies who belong to the ruling class are provided numerous opportunities, whereas in other areas, people are marginalized² and there has been unequal economic distribution.

The number of people living in poverty in the three countries continues to rise and more than half of their citizens live under less than the world standard of one dollar a day (**Ethiopia-US\$120/365= 0.33 cents, Kenya-340/365= 0.93 cents, and Sudan-US\$290/365=0.80 cents**).³ People often lack resources that enable them to meet their basic social obligations and other related activities because they have been deprived and marginalized due to the political or ethnic differences. Overall, Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan have high illiteracy and educational enrolment rates than elsewhere in the world.⁴ The demands to skilled manpower are high in all fields and

¹ Human Development Report (UNDP 1997), p. 7; Margaret Peil and Olatunji Oyene (1998), p. 239; Castells, Manuel (United Kingdom 1998), p. 118

² Bayart, Jean-Francois (1993), p. 55; Margaret Peil and Olatunji Oyene (1998), p. 254

³ Human Development Report (UNDP 1999), pp. 147-148; World Bank, African Development Indicators (2000), p. 6; World Bank, Can Africa Claim the 21st Century? (2000), p. 8

⁴ World Health Annual Report (WHO), Making a Difference, Rome 1999, p. 90; Human Development Report (UNDP 1998 and 1999), pp. 163, 179;

the countries suffer from acute scarcities of various types of professionals because of political disruption and lack of compromise within the leadership and opposition to implement stable government systems. Police and security services often chase the most creative minds of their population.¹ Thus, challenges to the governments' policies have often been increasing. Within the needs of hope and promises, whether the leaders may be able to provide basic services to their people, such as to alleviate poverty and other related shortcomings still remains uncertain.

3. Socio-cultural and traditional barriers: African internal conflicts are among the major obstacles towards achieving social harmony, economic growth and political democratization. For countries which have been at war with themselves, it is difficult to see how the issues of democratization, economic development, social progress and welfare functions could effectively be addressed without resolving the conflict circumstances.² Because of traditional barriers and other related issues, weak developments of political traditions and social structures could not offer foundations to a stable competitive politics that ease those constraints.

The main basis of political and socioeconomic activity in Africa is the group, rather than the individual or broader social constellation. Membership in groups has been an outgrowth of perceived or real common bonds, whose ties may be one of blood affinity, identity or worships.³ The group-based concepts of African social structures have their roots in traditional forms of social organizations, encouraged by the persistence of existing social structure and frequently traditional political units. But the range of groups in political context today varies widely.⁴

In many areas like Ethiopia and Sudan where regional divisions overlap cultural identities, a severe of regionality has developed. In many cases, the traditional ruling systems could not implement democratic governance. Instead, they have eroded the subject of democratic powers largely.¹ The socio-cultural and traditional barriers have lacked social cohesion, level of economic development among others. There are little historical cultural traditions that have been associated to stabilize democratic foundations like elsewhere. From all these events, one can

UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1999), pp. 273, 276, 286; EIU Sudan Country Profile 1999-2000, p. 14; African Development Bank, Selected Statistics on African Countries, Vol.XX, Abidjan 2000, p. 8

¹ EIU Ethiopia Country Report June 2001, p. 12; EIU Sudan Country Report June 2001, p. 14; EIU Kenya Country Report May 2001, p. 14; Gordon, April, in: Journal of Third World Studies, Vol.XV, No.1 (Spring 1998), p. 94

² Glicksman, Harvey (1995), p. 388

³ Chazan, Naomi et al (1999), 76

⁴ Ibid., p. 78

refer to the economic and political environment, the social systems and how they have been organized in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan.

The economic crises of the three countries have been rooted in traditional barriers of domestic, political, and social structures, which are seriously eroded or not legitimized by power holders. The State institutions in turn have mostly been not legitimized and discredited by the social environmental factors in which they have been operating.² Hence, the challenges to how political institutions should operate in the contemporary economic and social context in the three countries have not only been a burden for decades. But also due to the lack of democratic culture, restraint and respect for democratic processes, which are a typical of traditional barriers. The task of implementing democracy became then not easy because it requires extremely alert citizens' that remains defuse in the three countries.

4. Power struggle and political instability: Access to state power has been the main challenges to political stability, economic and social developments in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. Those who had controlled the state have used their power to defend their privileged class position³. The pillars for tension have been the state leadership who wants to consolidate and expand their power, to defend and promote their collective identity of ethnic groups and interests. For example, Donald L. Horowitz writes about Kenya:

"President Moi of Kenya was able to use a combination of intimidation, violence and ethnic divisions among the opposition to win the presidency and parliamentary majority from his own group and several other small ethnic groups. The result is a regime that continues to exclude the two largest groups, Kikuyu and Luo".⁴

Christopher Clapham also writes about such ethnic problems: "While the allocation of economic rewards may in some degree compensate for the imposition of force, some forms of economic management and especially, of course, those that entail the withholding of rewards from the important political groups will call force".⁵ From this point of view, the cause of conflicts have been fueled for seeking cultural autonomy, independence, religion, power sharing and distribution of resources etc. Several citizens are then forcibly evicted from their homes and neighbourhood as a result of civil war and government instigated ethnic conflicts, to hold on power and mobilize resources.⁶

¹ Tordorff, William (1997), p. 300; Chazan, Naomi et al (1988), p. 79

² Chabal, Patrick, *Power in Africa* (1994), p. 256; Ibid. (1999), pp. 53-54

³ Habbeson, John W. in: Joseph, Richard (ed.) (1999), pp. 50-52

⁴ Horowitz, Donald L., in: Diamond, Larry; Plattner, Marc F., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict and Democracy* (1994), p. 39

⁵ Clapham, Christopher, *Third World Politics* (1998), p. 109

⁶ Ted Robert Gurr and Baraba Harff (1994), pp. 7, 13

It has been the fear to loss of power which corrupts inhumanity, a desperate struggle to win control of state power, since this control means for all practical purposes being all powerful and owning everything which has often triggered political instability. The situation may be aggravated further if the perception exists that one ethnic group dominates the incumbent regime. Some groups and societies have a better grip on the resources and policies of the nation. Socioeconomic divisions in multi-ethnic (societies) states are being more visible and pronounced generating increased conflict and tensions due to the struggle to hold on power.¹ The struggle to control the state's institutions and coin of threat often comes from the political disorder while there are no developed stable mechanisms to the terms transfer of political power. It is important to understand that is not necessary a random event but underlined by patterns and trends of power struggle.

These **4 main challenges** and predicaments that are highlighted above have political, economic and social implications and an impact on various aspects of polarizing the peoples quality of life expectancy, misery, inequality, health, nutrition, access to social services, involvement in decisions affecting citizens' lives among others.

When one observes different literatures in connection to the above mentioned challenges, many important findings can also be drawn from the thesis analysis and make further general conclusions by forwarding some of the frightening indicators that exist in the three countries societies. For example, these predicaments can be illustrated by the following summary:

Food production is lower than their population growth rate and they are lowest ranked in the UN's Annual Development Index having dependent economies that are severely indebted. Their economic rate is in its lowest percentage with brain-drain political manipulation and lack of concrete support and access to the developed world market. They are on a loosing of global market due to resentment and mistrust of the state apparatus. The countries have many refugees and displaced citizens fleeing from war, ethnic violence, famine, drought and repressive leaders that devastated their social culture and economic structures. There have been illegal seizers of power via military coups or insurgencies, constitutional intrigues among others that have also been real challenges to a democratic transition and economic developments.²

¹ Conteh-Morgan, Earl (1997), p. 95

² De Waal, Alexander (1997), pp. 34-36, 69; Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation, New York 2001, p. 47; IMF World Economic and Financial Surveys, World Economic Outlook, Washington D.C., May 2001, pp. 32, 80, 83; EIU Ethiopia Country Report, London March 2001, pp. 13-14, 16; World Bank, African Development Indicators 2001, pp. 6, 86, 96, 165; EIU Kenya Country Report, May 2001, p. 24; EIU Sudan Country Report, London June 2001, pp. 15-16, 25, 28, 30; Horn of Africa, Vol.13, No.3, Uppsala, May-June 2001, pp. 15, 28, 31; Dahl, Robert A. (1997), p. 195; UNHCR Annual Report (2000), pp. 120, 347, 350

Government policies on local and international economic conditions usually affect their prevalence. Given the extremes of suffering from which these regimes have emerged, they are still engaged in a process of power installation and their ability to establish viable and effective states on the fragile base produced by their shattered societies is still open to question. For all these shortcomings and other related predicaments, the nature of governance in the three countries is to blame.

In pursuit of these shortcomings, **the research question what can be done to challenge these predicaments and what policies are most appropriate to advance the solutions** became also not easy to answer in concluding this research. The struggle to cope with unprecedented political, economic, social and cultural challenges is not an easy task for many governments. The main challenges explained above have posed that "the economic growth rates of the three countries have been strongly hampered by political instability, mismanagement and corruption." Domestic violence causes physical and persistent mental suffering, disrupt human lives and blocks personal growth and participation in the society's political as well as economic activities.¹ Hence, the creation of stable political institutions which support democratic developments are central to the promotion of economic growth. An urgent priority is then needed to build state effectiveness through an overhaul of public institutions, the resurrection of the rule of law and credible checks and balance on an abuse of power. But if the political leadership has no will, there is no guarantee that high level of support for democracy can be sustained indefinitely.

Recommendations: From these perspectives, the research finding recommends that power struggle and political instability can be polarized by resolving socio-political problems, by implementing genuine democracy, improving between inter-ethnic relations, equitable distribution of political and economic power within the state systems of the segmented pluralist societies in the three countries. The decentralization of decision-making process and institutions (social, economic as well as political), political accountability of leadership at all levels, measured by the use of checks and balances are strongly recommended to enhance a process of broad-based popular participation. Social, political as well as economic justice, including press and media freedom is necessary to facilitate public debate on major issues.² While political participation is crucial, people should be allowed to state freely what their priorities are.

Therefore, the pattern of political, social and economic landscape in the three countries need fundamental transformation in order to open more spaces but not by confusing democracy with flawed elections among others. There must be a spirit of enthusiasm for democracy,

¹ Human Development Report (UNDP 1998), p. 25

² Gunther, Mughan (2000), p.3

empowerment, accountability, social justice, equality, respect for human rights, popular participation and the guarantee of freedoms and liberties constitutionally.¹ These conditions will be the basis that can enable to challenge the three countries shortcomings and then democratic as well as economic progress can be attained.² For all matters, the popular state has to be initiated at the level of social discourse and promote the **collective establishment of a political environment**, which would enable citizens to attain/promote economic, social and cultural developments.

Henceforth, the **question what models of democratic system can be applicable** to meet the demands and needs to these segmented multi-ethnic societies of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan becomes necessary to recommend in this topic.

Experience from European segmented and pluralist societies like the three countries (which also have deep-seated social cleavages) have thought politicians that **consociational form of democracy** can operate successfully.³ For example, in countries like **Switzerland** and **Austria**, the cleavages are accepted and all important ethnic/religious and linguistic groups share power in government.⁴ Where possible, power is also decentralized territorially otherwise, where there is no concentration of any regional group, segmented autonomy takes the form of polarization, as it has been the case in **Holland**, Belgium and other small democratic states.⁵ Each group has a veto over important political, economic and social decisions of the government.

The political leaders should be dealt on how they stood in the struggle for their own people's aspirations and advocacy to democracy. In this case, any voice for demands of democracy and human rights will not be silenced but negotiated. On one hand, the degree of conflict or co-operation among elites and the degree of fragmentation or homogeneity in the political culture, on the other hand, within a conception of social division and social pluralism can be settled through negotiation by consociational democracy. Then the main challenges and pressing problems in the society, such as combating poverty, improving living conditions, and protecting other related basic issues that may enable them to play their rightful role in building democratic societies and enhancing cultural heritage can be promoted. Therefore, if there could be the necessary political will and determination, some agreements can be made to secure fundamental political rights, citizens' participation, free press and accountable governments.⁶ This could ensure each subculture or ethnic group a share of seats in the legislature proportionally which

¹ Compare Held, David (1997), pp. 310-311

² Ibid., pp. 324-325

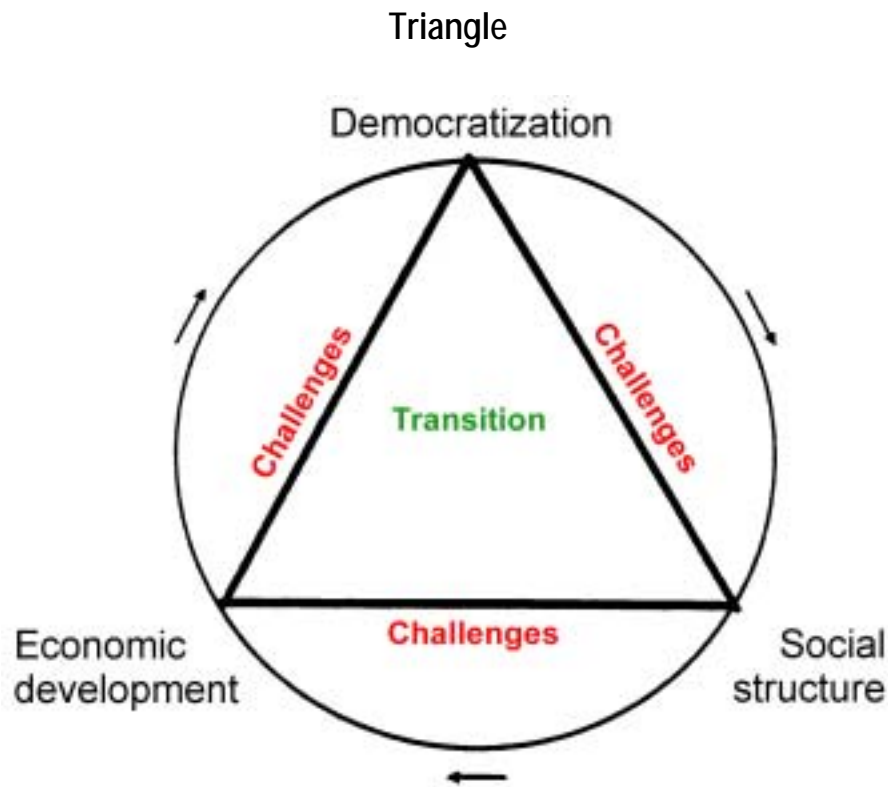
³ compare Bealey, Frank (UK 1999), p. 83; Goodin E. and Klingemann (1998), p. 387

⁴ Goodin E. and Klingemann (1998), pp. 387-388; Dahl, Robert A. (2000), p. 192

⁵ Goodin, E. and Klingemann (1998), p. 389; Dahl, Robert A. (2000), p. 193

⁶ compare Gunther and Mughan (2000), pp. 17, 26

can also lead to the best ways of building a credible and viable socioeconomic and democratic political attitudes by making citizens more informed and knowledgeable.



To summarize the conclusion, the above triangle describes some indicators that often have challenged to the development of democratic, economic and social structures, which hindered the context of a transitional process. It could be a significant guide to the different processes of relations upon the three countries social policies. Whatever the correctness of this triangle can be, it shows a deep connection how and when the three main important developments have often been challenged in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. To be indifferent to the social processes, endangering any one of them is to endanger all the three seriously (democratization, economic and social developments).

Based on the triangle profile, transitional evaluation from authoritarian to democratic system can be highlighted in the three countries political situation and the challenges they face. The motive force of challenges to the transition is where political oppression has been closely linked to economic and social exploitations because there are lack of viable democratic systems in the three countries. As one can see in the figure, the **transition** has been **challenged from all angles**. Considering the economic development, direct intense attention to the relationship between economic policy, the process of political transition upon the social position and

individuals occupied in life defined by authoritarian regime terms can be critical to examine these **challenges** from **all three angles**.

According to these analyses, leaders are poised between a discredited past and an uncertain future to withstand these challenges. With these historical perspectives in mind, a question arises how remedies can be made to tackle the challenges in the three countries. On one side, the challenges to economic development may not be easy by the fact that there have been different approaches to solve the political instability from time to time.¹ But the assumption that the gains which can be made in political reform through consociational democracy could constitute an important role on both economic and social structures in the three countries.

On the other side, political crisis are more powerful than either economic or social crisis in predicting the nature of the transition, while they rise more direct threat that damages the possibility of a regulated transition to democracy.² The nature of a transition is then in part conditioned by the nature of the political choices that can fuel the process of development. Having all these shortcoming issues in mind, they will undoubtedly continue to dominate any development agenda in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. There are also several recipient policy prescriptions for the treatment of the country's multi-faceted malaise at present and many more may be produced years round.

In pursuit of these objectives, leaders of the three countries shall at each given movement adopt magnitude of leading issues that advance the political transition to democratic and economic developments, deepen culture of human rights, reconciliation for peace and progress in all centers of the society, that could also develop stable mechanism to the transfer of political power peacefully. If they fail to do so, they will face more lack of legitimacy to their political authority that may threaten the power they hold ones for all. In addition to these, the struggle and sacrifices of the people over the past decades³ that has brought awareness to the new generation with the unique opportunity to take their countries into the 21st century will continue unabated. Then, the leaders will be subjected to political pressure and incentives through civil unrest and corruption.

There is inevitably a vast amount of work for some one who is interested on the three countries political, economic and social relations, both in support of my arguments and against, that I have not cited. It is undeniable that no general case can be wholly proven, but I have retained a wider considerable experience to follow-up and review. While such a research is

¹ Compare Clapham, Christopher (1996), p. 151

² Schedler, Andrea, in: Journal of Democracy, Vol.9, No.2 (1998), p. 94

³ Bayart, Jean-Francois (1993), p. 250; Bratton and Van De Walle (1997), pp. 132-133; Conteh-Morgan, Earl (1997), p. 73

distinctive in its presentation and imaginary, it may persuade researchers to carry out further. I am also convinced to the imperative necessary to follow-up, monitor the implications of my recommendations and to review/revise this topic periodically on the progress achieved as well as problems that could encounter and make it more accessible to readers. Hence, by appealing to the three countries governments and the international community to consider the issues examined in this thesis, I am pleased to close with the following phrase which highlights one of the main challenges to all developments in the three countries.

****All people do not have talent, but all of them should have an equal opportunity to develop their talents. Then they can contribute to their society and possibly to the world****

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this doctoral thesis under the Title “Challenges to Democratic and Economic Transition in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan”: *-A Comparative Study of the Political, Economic and Social Structures of the three Countries-* is prepared by myself alone using the only cited source materials.

Berhane G.Mariam

Oldenburg, August 21, 2001

Lebenslauf

Name	Berhane G. Mariam
Geburtsdatum	21. 02.1958 Adua (Aethiopien)
Schulbildung	
1965-1969	Grundschule in Adua (Aethiopien)
1970-1975	Gymnasium in Adua und Addis Ababa (Abschluss Abitur)
1975-1977	Zivildienst
Berufstätigkeit	
1979-1984	Rechnungswesen und im Personal Bereich in Addis Ababa
Berufsbildung	
1977-1979	Studium der Wirtschaftswissenschaften an der Addis Ababa Universität (Vordiplom) (Unterbrechung des Studiums wegen politischer Unruhen in Aethiopien)
WS1991/1992	Immatrikulation/Studium fuer das Fach Politikwissenschaften an der Carl von-Ossietzky Universitaet Oldenburg
27.10.1995	Abschluss des Studiums mit Magister Artium (MA)
WS1996/1997	Promotion
30.08.2001	Abgabe der Schriftlichen Doktorarbeit
23.01.2002	Disputation
Sonstiges	
01.04.1994 – 30.09.1995	Stipendium fuer Begabtenforderung von der Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNST) waehrend des Hauptstudiums
30.09.1996 – 31.07.1999	Stipendiat von der FNST waehrend der Promotions fuer Graduerter Forderung
05.03.2001 - 29.05.2001	Intensivekurse als Friedensfachkraft bei der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Qualifizierung fuer Zivile Konfliktbearbeitung/Zivilen Friedensdienst Bonn (BMZ)