

PD-ABG-633  
83990

Bill Douglas  
AFR/EA  
A. Proj doc Ethiopia

**ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, USAID/ETHIOPIA**

**From:** S/GDO, Alan Van Egmond   
**SUBJECT:** Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project (663-0007)  
**DATE:** May 15, 1992

**ACTION:** Your approval is required to authorize \$5.0 million in Development Fund for Africa (DFA) funding to finance costs of the Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project (663-0007). The Project is anticipated to have a three year life with a planned obligation of \$2.5 million in FY 92 funding.

**BACKGROUND:** A year ago, Ethiopia emerged from a destructive 17 year civil war against the Marxist Mengistu regime. In the short time that the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) has been in power, it has committed itself to democratic principles and processes, including the allowance of free speech, release of political prisoners and greater economic reforms and freedoms. The TGE has emphasized its commitment to economic and political reform through its National Charter, which further establishes its intent to abide by the principles of the UN's Universal Charter on Human Rights.

The TGE has agreed to an internationally-monitored referendum on Eritrea's status in 1993. It has scheduled local and regional elections for 1992 and requested donor assistance in meeting election requirements and participation in monitoring the process and outcome. It plans to begin drafting a new constitution later in 1992, following the local/regional elections.

The TGE recognizes that its success in bringing about economic and political stability in Ethiopia is significantly linked to the degree to which it can quickly define, articulate and implement democratic principles of good governance that respect self-determination, moderate tensions, encourage and allow for debate and popular expression, create systems of transparency and accountability, foster private initiative, and avoid bias to any one political party or organized interest. In USAID's extensive consultations with the TGE and private individuals and organizations in Ethiopia, there is a clear consensus that prospects for economic recovery and development in all sectors will depend on Ethiopia's progress in the areas of: local/regional/national elections; redrafting of the constitution; promotion of human rights, including revision of the national judicial system; promotion of independent media; and establishing systems of governance at local and regional levels.

a

In October 1991, AID/W and REDSO/ESA representatives conducted an on-site assessment of programmatic development options and strategies for responding to Ethiopia's immediate post war reconstruction needs. On the basis of this assessment, a concept paper on the subject activity was developed and approved in lieu of a Project Identification Document (PID) in AID/W on October 25, 1991, with advice to USAID/Ethiopia to proceed with Project Paper (PP) design. AID/W approved this design option because of the urgent and politically compelling circumstances inherent in the Project. Pending the Mission's receipt of formal delegations of authority, AID/W also agreed to field authorization of the Project.

DESCRIPTION: The goal of the Project is the establishment of an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia. The purpose of the Project is to provide assistance in defining the policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, governmental and nongovernmental, that can support Ethiopia's democratic transition.

The Project will concentrate its activities and support in five strategic areas that respond to the expressed needs of the Ethiopian public and private sectors: local, regional and national elections; drafting of a new constitution; human rights promotion, including reform of the judicial system; promotion of an independent media; and orientation and training of local and regional legislatures and government institutions in the processes of implementing federalism.

The project will finance a mix of inputs and activities that include collaboration with and technical assistance support to government institutions (e.g., the Ministries of Justice and Information, the Electoral and Constitutional Commissions). In the area of elections support, the Project will finance technical assistance and commodity/material support, along with promotion of civil education and public debate activities. Project financing will also contribute to the TGE's request for monitoring the elections process through the provision of international observers and training/orientation for Ethiopian monitors from the private sector.

Technical expertise will be financed to support the Constitutional Commission in analyzing comparative constitutional models and in drafting a new constitution. Training seminars on international comparative experience in federalism models will be financed, along with mechanisms (e.g., public fora, media dissemination) that can promote regional and local debate on constitutional issues.

In the area of human rights and restructuring of the judiciary, targeted Project support is planned for discrete training and media dissemination efforts that can promote wider understanding and appreciation of human rights concepts and the principles of rule of law. To widen public debate on human rights issues and assist

Ethiopians to explore the requirements for a national human rights commission, the Project plans to finance a symposium on human rights and restructuring of the judiciary. The symposium will bring public and private sector Ethiopians together with international and African human rights groups, academia, NGOs and other interested individuals and is expected to produce a consensus statement spelling-out future steps necessary to advance human rights and a credible judiciary in Ethiopia. Limited Project support for follow-up to the symposium has been planned.

To promote a conducive policy environment and approach for establishing an independent media, the Project will finance the organization and conduct of a symposium on the policy and institutional requirements of converting the state media monopoly to a genuine public corporation. Also, to encourage greater Ethiopian journalistic professionalism, funding for journalist training workshops in Ethiopia and attachments of Ethiopian journalists to U.S. media organizations will be arranged in collaboration with USIS and a U.S. organization/firm.

Finally, to assist newly-elected regional legislatures and local councils, the Project will finance technical experts to work with the Ministry of Regional and Local Government to develop appropriate rules of procedure. A series of local/regional workshops to orient and train selected members of the new regional assemblies will also be financed.

To ensure effective Mission coordination, oversight and management of this activity, the Project will finance two positions, a D/G Project Manager and a Program Assistant, to be hired under Personal Services Contracts. These positions are planned to cover the three year proposed life of project period and will be physically located within the Mission.

The Project budget and obligation schedule are as follows:

<u>A.I.D.-Financed Inputs</u>	<u>Life-of-Project</u> (\$000)
Technical Assistance	2,733
Symposiums/Workshops	1,147
Project Administration/Management	970
Evaluation/Audit	150
	-----
Total	\$5,000

Obligation Schedule (\$000)

<u>FY 92</u>	<u>FY 93</u>	<u>FY 94</u>	<u>Total</u>
2,500	2,500	-0-	5,000

- 1 -

ANALYSES AND OTHER REQUIREMENTS: The Project Paper (PP) demonstrates that the Project is technically, socially and economically sound and administratively feasible. The technical design and cost estimates are reasonable and adequately planned, thereby satisfying the requirements of Section 611(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended. The timing and funding of Project activities are appropriately scheduled. The Implementation Plan is realistic and establishes a reasonable timeframe for carrying out the Project. Adequate provision has been made for evaluation and audits.

The environmental analysis resulted in a categorical exclusion approved in AID/W on the basis of the nature of the activity to be financed, and its support for technical assistance and training activities.

Notwithstanding the above, certain legislative restrictions remain which may temporarily delay the Mission's ability to sign the Project Agreement for this activity with the TGE. In particular, the recently enacted Horn of Africa legislation (see PP annexes) includes the restriction that unless a certification has been provided by the President as to Ethiopia's progress in certain areas, such as peace, human rights and democracy, DFA assistance can be provided only through private and voluntary organizations (PVOs) or international organizations (IOs).

The legislation contains broad waiver authority applicable to both Brooke Amendment and 620 (q), so that it is no longer necessary to obtain specific waivers for these provisions in order to obligate and expend funds. Section 812, which was raised as an issue in the AID/W concept paper and the REDSO Project Committee reviews, has also been revoked.

Accordingly, as a legal matter, prior to certification, the Project can be implemented through PVOs or IOs under A.I.D. Handbook 13 grants and cooperative agreements, or A.I.D. direct contracts. In the event this method of implementation is employed, the Mission has agreed with RFMC that in order to reduce the administrative burden, the Project Authorization contains the provision that a limited number of activities would be funded and implemented in this fashion. Furthermore, in such instances, the Mission will obtain some form of written concurrence from the TGE on the activities to be financed and the implementing entities, and as necessary, defining tax exempt and duty-free exemptions, that will be provided by the TGE to USAID and the implementing entities.

While it is understood that AID/W, together with State, are taking all of the necessary steps to waive and/or satisfy the certification restriction, the timing for such remains unpredictable. Thus, given the exigencies of implementing select activities under the Project, the attached Project Authorization makes provision for obligation

d

for funding prior to certification in accordance with the specifications of the Horn of Africa legislation.

Finally, a waiver of the Section 110 host country contribution requirement required for bilateral agreement funding was requested by the Mission for this activity and approved in AID/W on April 13, 1992. The waiver is attached to the Project Authorization.

REDSO/PROJECT REVIEW: The REDSO/ESA project committee met to review the subject PP on April 2, 1992. Subsequent to the review, a number of informal meetings were held in REDSO to ensure that the final concurrence cable to the Mission contained the latest legislative or procedural developments in Washington related to the program.

Based on the concurrence cable, (see PP annexes for copy), below is a brief summary of modifications/changes made to the PP in order to resolve REDSO's primary issues and/or recommendations.

1. Legislative caveats to approval and obligation: As discussed above, restrictions to funds obligation under a bilateral agreement prior to Presidential certification have been reflected in the PP and related authorization documentation. However, for the record, there remain no legislative restrictions to approval of subject Project Paper by the Mission. Approval of Section 110 waiver has also been obtained.

2. Implementing Agency: The TGE submitted an official letter to the Mission requesting subject activity on May 4, 1992. Furthermore it has delegated the authority to sign the agreement (pending receipt of certification) to the Ministry for External Economic Cooperation.

3. Implementation Plan: Procurement arrangements have been streamlined and consolidated as evidenced in the PP's Implementation Plan. For example, constitutional development and federalism activities have been combined for procurement, financing, and administration under one contract arrangement. Any collaborative activities undertaken by TGE ministries will to the maximum extent be financed and administered as subelements of any direct Mission arrangements with contractors or grantees; any direct funding to such public entities will be handled by the Mission. The Implementation Plan timelines have been updated, with designation for responsibility/action included.

4. Role of PSC in Project Management: Project management arrangements have been revised to provide the D/G Project Advisor/Manager with the support of a Project-funded, full-time Program Assistant over the three year LOP. This modification, combined with the streamlined implementation plan and the Mission's commitment to internally assess the effectiveness of the Project's management arrangements, appear adequate and responsive to REDSO concerns.

5. Project Financial Plan: Budget tables have been revised in accordance with the addition of Project management support and modified implementation arrangements. In addition, the tables provide considerably greater detail on inputs, e.g., equipment, numbers of participants, etc., along with estimates of costs in relation to foreign exchange (FX) and local currency (LC). The REDSO Controller has provided his clearance on the PP facesheet as to the proposed methods of implementation and financing.

6. Other Donor Contributions: The PP narrative has been revised to clarify that in the areas of elections, human rights and independent media support, the planned Project support will be sufficient to ensure achievement of the essential core of aims/outputs intended under those elements and that any donor co-sponsorship for these activities will be strictly additive, and not essential, to their implementation.

7. Gray Amendment: The latest Africa Bureau guidance concerning this legislative requirement has been incorporated into the PP, under the DFA procurement plan discussion.

8. Conditions Precedent (CPs) to Disbursement: Details of obtaining TGE approvals of actions to be funded under the Project will be incorporated into the Amplified Project Description of the Project Agreement.

9. Project Evaluation, Indications and EOPS: Section VII.B. of the PP has been revised to note that during the first six months of Project implementation, the Project Manager and Mission personnel will review and further refine performance indicators to measure Project impact; and that the scope of work for the final evaluation will be broad enough to include assessment of Project impact and a substantive analysis/definition of required follow-on activities.

CONGRESSIONAL NOTIFICATION: A Congressional Notification of A.I.D.'s intention to provide \$5,000,000 in DFA grant financing assistance to the TGE expired without objection on May 13, 1992.

AUTHORITY: In March 1992, AA/AFR approved an amendment to Delegation of Authority 551 designating USAID/Ethiopia as a category "B" post, thereby providing you with the authority to approve this Project, subject to REDSO/ESA's concurrence. This includes the authority to authorize a Project if it does not exceed \$20 million over the approved life of project; does not present significant policy issues; does not require the issuance of waivers that may only be approved by the AA or the Administrator, unless such waivers are approved prior to authorization; and does not exceed a life of project of ten years. The Project is in conformity with these requirements and REDSO/ESA has provided its concurrence to this Project, (per Nairobi 010305) thereby giving you approval and authorization authority.

**RECOMMENDATION:** That you sign the attached PP facesheet and Project Authorization, thereby approving and authorizing life of project funding of \$5.0 million in DFA grant funds for the Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Project.

Approved:   
Disapproved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: 5/16/92

**Attachments:**

- 1) PP Facesheet with PP
- 2) Project Authorization

Drafted: CEBarbiero:usaid/k/prj/5/13/92  
U:\USAID\USAID.PRJ\DOCS\ACTDG

**Clearances:**  
REDSO/PDS: SFreundlich (draft) Date 5/15/92  
REDSO/RLA: PShapiro (draft) Date 5/15/92

## PROJECT AUTHORIZATION

Name of Country: Transitional Government of Ethiopia  
Name of Project: Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project  
Project Number: 663-0007

1. Authorization: Pursuant to Section 496 and Section 116(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, I hereby authorize the Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) involving planned obligations not to exceed five million United States Dollars (\$5,000,000) in grant funds, subject to the availability of funds in accordance with the A.I.D. OYB/Allotment process, to help in financing foreign exchange and local currency costs for the Project. The planned life of the Project is three years from the initial date of obligation.

2. Purpose: The purpose of the Project is to provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and nongovernmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition. Illustrative activities for support under the Project include: local/regional and national elections; drafting of a new constitution; human rights promotion, including reform of the judicial system; promotion of an independent media; and orientation and training of local and regional legislatures and government institutions in the processes of implementing federalism.

3. Project Agreement(s): Pursuant to recently enacted Horn of Africa legislation, which provided broad waiver authority applicable to both the Brooke Amendment and 620 (q), in order to enter into a bilateral grant agreement with the TGE, the President of the United States of America must provide certification of Ethiopia's progress in certain areas. Absent such certification, however, assistance can still be provided to Ethiopia so long as it is provided through private voluntary organizations (PVOs) and International Organizations (IOs). Accordingly, a bilateral grant agreement with the TGE will not be entered into until certification. Prior to certification, to reduce the administrative burden on A.I.D., a limited number of activities can be funded under this Project and implemented under separate A.I.D. Handbook 13 grants and cooperative agreements, and/or direct A.I.D. contracts with PVOs and IOs as prescribed in accordance with the specifications of the Horn of Africa Act.

The Project Agreement(s) which may be negotiated and executed by the officer(s) to whom such authority is delegated in accordance with the foregoing and with A.I.D. regulations and Delegations of Authority, shall be subject to the following essential terms and covenants as A.I.D. may deem appropriate:

a. Source and Origin of Commodities, Nationality of Services.

Except as A.I.D. may otherwise agree in writing:

(a) Commodities financed by A.I.D. under the Project shall have their source and origin in countries included in A.I.D. Geographic Code 935. All reasonable efforts will be used to maximize U.S. procurement whenever practicable.

(b) Except for ocean shipping, air travel and transportation, the suppliers of commodities or services financed by A.I.D. under the Project shall have countries included in A.I.D. Geographic Code 935 as their place of nationality.

(c) Ocean shipping financed by A.I.D. under the Project shall be financed only on flag vessels of the countries included in A.I.D. Geographic Code 935, subject to the 50/50 shipping requirements under the Cargo Preference Act and the regulations promulgated thereunder.

(d) Air travel and transportation to and from the U.S. shall be upon certified U.S. flag carriers.

b. Other

Prior to certification by the President, disbursement under the Project of any financing for the provision of technical assistance, or issuance by A.I.D. of documentation pursuant to such assistance, will be made subject to A.I.D. and the TGE agreeing in writing, in form and substance satisfactory to A.I.D., on the terms and conditions to such assistance, with reference to the activity to be financed and those privileges, e.g., duty free, tax exemption, etc., that will be afforded to the implementing entities by the TGE.

4. Host Country Contribution: A waiver of the requirement that the TGE contribute at least 25 percent of the project costs for this activity, pursuant to Section 110 of the Foreign Assistance Act, was granted on April 13, 1992 and is attached hereto.

  
Willard J. Pearson  
Mission Director

5/16/92  
Date

N

**Clearances:**

RLA:PShapiro:           (draft)          

RFMC:TCully:           (draft)          

S/GDO:AVanEgmond           NE 5/14/92          

Drafted:CEBarbiero:5/14/92

U:\USAID\PRJ\DOCS\DGAUTH

APPENDIX 3A, Attachment 1  
Chapter 3, Handbook 3 (TM 3:43)

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT <b>PROJECT DATA SHEET</b>		1. TRANSACTION CODE <b>A</b> A = Add C = Change D = Delete	Amendment Number	DOCUMENT CODE <b>3</b>
COUNTRY/ENTITY <b>Ethiopia</b>		3. PROJECT NUMBER <b>663-0007</b>		
4. BUREAU/OFFICE <b>AFR</b>		5. PROJECT TITLE (maximum 40 characters) <b>Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support</b>		
6. PROJECT ASSISTANCE COMPLETION DATE (PACD) <b>05/30/95</b>		7. ESTIMATED DATE OF OBLIGATION (Under "B" below, enter 1, 2, 3, or 4) A. Initial FY <b>92</b> B. Quarter <b>3</b> C. Final FY <b>93</b>		

8. COSTS (\$000 OR EQUIVALENT \$) =						
A. FUNDING SOURCE	FIRST FY			LIFE OF PROJECT		
	B. FX	C. L/C	D. Total	E. FX	F. L/C	G. Total
AID Appropriated Total						
(Grant)	( 1,800 )	( 700 )	( 2,500 )	( 3,619 )	( 1,381 )	( 5,000 )
(Loan)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other						
U.S.						
Host Country						
Other Donors)						
<b>TOTALS</b>						

9. SCHEDULE OF AID FUNDING (\$000)									
A. APPROPRIATION	B. PRIMARY PURPOSE CODE	C. PRIMARY TECH CODE		D. OBLIGATIONS TO DATE		E. AMOUNT APPROVED THIS ACTION		F. LIFE OF PROJECT	
		1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan
(1) IDEA	67	750		-0-	-0-	2,500		5,000	
(2)									
(3)									
(4)									
<b>TOTALS</b>				-0-	-0-	2,500		5,000	

10. SECONDARY TECHNICAL CODES (maximum 8 codes of 3 positions each) <b>615</b>	<b>740</b>	<b>720</b>						11. SECONDARY PURPOSE CODE <b>700</b>
12. SPECIAL CONCERNS CODES (maximum 7 codes of 4 positions each)								
A. Code	EQTY	PART	PVON	TNG	BFW	BR		
B. Amount	5000	3200	400	900	1900	1900		

13. PROJECT PURPOSE (maximum 480 characters).  
 To provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and nongovernmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition.

14. SCHEDULED EVALUATIONS	15. SOURCE/ORIGIN OF GOODS AND SERVICES
Interim: MM YY MM YY Final: MM YY 09 92 10 93 10 94	<input type="checkbox"/> 000 <input type="checkbox"/> 911 <input type="checkbox"/> Local <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) <b>935</b>

16. AMENDMENTS/NATURE OF CHANGE PROPOSED (This is page 1 of a \_\_\_\_\_ page PP Amendment.)  
 The methods of implementation and financing in this PP have been reviewed and approved by the REDSO/RFMC, Controller.  
 Tony Cully, Controller

17. APPROVED BY	Signature: <i>Willard J. Pearson</i>	Date Signed: MM DD YY <b>10 16 92</b>	18. DATE DOCUMENT RECEIVED IN AID/W, OR FOR AID/W DOCUMENTS, DATE OF DISTRIBUTION MM DD YY 
	Title: <b>Willard J. Pearson Mission Director USAID/Ethiopia</b>		

**ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT  
TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY . . . . .</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>II. PROJECT BACKGROUND . . . . .</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>A. Political, Social and Economic Context . . . . .</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>B. Key challenges . . . . .</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>III. PROGRAM FACTORS . . . . .</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>A. Relationship to Mission Strategy and Priorities. . . . .</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>B. Relationship to A.I.D. Policy and Strategies . . . . .</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>C. Relationship to Recipient Country Priorities . . . . .</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>D. Other Donor Support . . . . .</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>IV. PROJECT STRATEGY AND DESCRIPTION . . . . .</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>A. Project Approach and Strategy . . . . .</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>B. Project Goal and Purpose . . . . .</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>C. Expected Accomplishments . . . . .</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>D. Project Elements and Outputs . . . . .</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>V. PROJECT MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION . . . . .</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>A. USAID . . . . .</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>B. TGE . . . . .</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>C. DFA Procurement Plan - Goods and Services . . . . .</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>D. Implementation Plan . . . . .</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>VI. COST ESTIMATES AND FINANCIAL PLAN . . . . .</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>A. Summary Cost Estimates/Project Funding Authority . . . . .</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>B. A.I.D. Contribution . . . . .</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>C. Expenditure Projections and Obligation Schedule . . . . .</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>D. Reasonableness of Cost Estimates . . . . .</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>E. Methods of Implementation and Financing . . . . .</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>VII. MONITORING AND EVALUATION PLAN . . . . .</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>A. Monitoring Plan . . . . .</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>B. Project Evaluation . . . . .</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>VIII. LEGISLATIVE CONDITIONS, COVENANTS AND NEGOTIATING         STATUS . . . . .</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>A. Legislative Requirements . . . . .</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>B. Conditions and Covenants . . . . .</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>C. Negotiating Status . . . . .</b>	<b>74</b>

## **IX. ANNEXES**

- A. Project Logical Framework Matrix**
- B. Project Statutory Checklist**
- C. Project Financial Tables**
- D. AID/W Concept Paper Approval Cable and Concept Paper**
- E. AID/W Approval of IEE Categorical Exclusion**
- F. AID/W/AA/AFR Memorandum Approving Section 110 Waiver**
- G. REDSO/ESA D/G PP Concurrence Cable**
- H. TGE Letter to USAID Requesting Project**
- I. Horn of Africa Legislation, Congressional Record**
- J. TGE - Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia**
- K. TGE - Directive Issued on Neighborhood Election Dates**
- L. TGE Proclamation No. 7 - Establishment of National and Regional Self-Governments**
- M. TGE Proclamation No. 9 - Election of National/Regional Self-Governments**
- N. TGE Proclamation No. 11 - Establishment of National/Regional and Wereda Councils Members Election Commission**
- O. Joint Declaration between EPRDF and OLF, Feb. 20, 1992**
- P. Map of Administrative Regions for the Transitional Period**
- Q. TGE Election Commission April 1992 Elections Requirement Request**

## **ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT PAPER**

### **I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The proposed Ethiopia Democracy/Governance (D/G) Support Project is a U.S. \$5 million activity to be financed under the Development Fund for Africa. The overarching goal of the D/G Support Project is the establishment of an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia, within the 24 to 30 month transitional period. The Project's purpose is to provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, governmental and non-governmental, that can support Ethiopia's democratic transition. Through the D/G Support Project, USAID will concentrate its activities in five areas critically important in defining Ethiopia's future:

- \* local and regional elections, followed by national elections;
- \* the redrafting of the national constitution;
- \* promotion of human rights, including restructuring of the judicial system;
- \* promotion of independent media; and
- \* implementation of federalism at local and regional levels.

A year ago, Ethiopia emerged from a destructive 17-year civil war against the Marxist Mengistu regime. As a consequence, Ethiopia is suffering from the destruction of infrastructure and the displacement of a significant portion of its population. Continuing episodes of famine and influxes of refugees from its war-torn neighbors, Sudan and Somalia, have aggravated this situation.

However, in the short time the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) has been in power, it has committed itself to democratic principles and processes, including the allowance of free speech, release of political prisoners and greater economic reform. It has agreed to an internationally-monitored referendum on Eritrea's status in 1993. Local and regional elections are scheduled for 1992. A new constitution is scheduled to be drafted in 1993 and national elections are planned for 1994. For

maximum prospects of success in making the transition, Ethiopia must receive sustained international support, economically, morally and politically.

The Project will seek to support areas that reflect Ethiopian priorities for furthering national commitments to human rights and democratic values. Illustrative activities for support include: local, regional and national elections; drafting of a new constitution; human rights promotion including reform of the judicial system; promotion of an independent media; and orientation and training of local and regional legislatures and government institutions in the processes of implementing federalism.

Given Ethiopia's rapidly evolving political context, Project activities must be informed and guided by a clear understanding of internal developments. Project support must also be provided in a timely and flexible manner.

In support of elections and constitution development, technical assistance to the National Election and the Constitutional Commissions is planned, along with promotion of local civic education and public debate on constitutional issues and the electoral process. Election monitoring initiatives that promote accountability and build public confidence will also be financed. In collaboration with selected ministries, U.S., international and local NGOs, the Project will support training workshops, symposia and technical assistance to assist in establishing a credible, independent judicial system and in promoting greater respect for human rights and understanding of "rule of law". The Project will also support workshops and seminars for Ethiopian journalists on the role of the press in a democracy, and technical assistance and workshops on legislative procedures for local government officials and staff. In the areas of judicial reform and promotion of independent media, there will be close coordination with USIS/Addis.

NGOs, including U.S., international and indigenous PVOs, are expected to play a significant role in assisting to implement the Project. The Project will be implemented in accordance with the requirements of the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act.

As a rule, the Project will emphasize becoming engaged early, quickly and aggressively. In each of the policy areas where USAID is to concentrate its activities, decisive processes of change -- in which formative debates unfold, proclamations are

formulated, and implementing actions and popular involvement are set in motion -- have either already begun, or once they do actually begin in the transitional period, will almost certainly evolve rapidly.

This Project is an integral component of the USAID/Ethiopia program and is consistent with A.I.D.'s democracy initiatives strategy. Without a stable, democratic system, Ethiopia will have difficulty achieving or sustaining long-term economic development.

The TGE has emphasized its commitment to economic and political reform through its National Charter established in June 1991. Furthermore, the TGE has aggressively pursued political liberalization by announcing plans for both local and national elections and the establishment of a Constitutional Commission. Other donors are giving priority to financing democracy/governance activities in Ethiopia including the United Nations, Sweden, U.K., Norway and Canada. Regular donor consultation mechanisms on these initiatives have been established to effectively coordinate efforts.

The Project's beneficiaries are the Ethiopian people, who after years of living under a Marxist dictatorship, will now be able to participate in the governing and development of their country.

The support to be financed under this Project is expected to result in the following outputs by the end of the activity's three year period: free and fair local, regional and national elections; a new constitution supported by the population; establishment of Ethiopian human rights organization; a restructured, independent judiciary; and seminars and technical assistance for journalists and newly elected government officials and their staff.

The following a summary of the Project's financial plan:

<u>A.I.D.-Financed Inputs</u>	<u>Life-of-Project</u> (\$000)
Technical Assistance	2,733
Symposiums/Workshops	1,147
Project Administration/Management	970
Evaluation and Audit	<u>150</u>
Total	\$5,000

## **II. PROJECT BACKGROUND**

### **A. Political, Social and Economic Context**

A complex, fragile experiment is underway in Ethiopia which holds out the possibility that, despite formidable challenges, a stable, increasingly democratic and pluralistic order may eventually be realized. If successful, that experiment will move Ethiopia beyond its history of protracted conflict and humanitarian emergencies and lay the groundwork for genuine economic development. For maximum prospects of success, it is essential that Ethiopia receive sustained international support, economically, morally and politically.

#### **Background**

With its mythological base of the ancient kingdom of Aksum and its identity interwoven with that of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, modern Ethiopia began to take form in the late 19th century, as a succession of emperors ventured outside the kingdom's highland Amhara and Tigrean core. Moving steadily in several directions, they incorporated peripheral lowland ethnic groups, largely Muslim, and, vitally important to the kingdom's fisc, established a system of feudal landholdings covering agriculturally rich, southern zones. The legacy today is a society of over 50 million, comprised of over 80 ethnic groups speaking over 70 languages. The most sizeable groups include Oromo (30-40%, concentrated in the south, but also assimilated in significant numbers into Amharan culture and its historical powerbase within the state), Amhara (15-20%), and Tigreans (slightly less than 10%). Other smaller, politically salient groups include Afars, ethnic Somalis, Guarage, Hadiya, Wolayta, Sidama and Omo. Orthodox Christians and Muslims predominate, in roughly equal numbers, joined with a minority of Protestants and animists.

Italy entered the region in 1885 when it took control of the Red Sea port of Massawa. Five years later it established the colony of Eritrea. Its ambitions to control Ethiopia, first thwarted at the 1896 battle of Adowa, were finally realized at the close of 1935 when Mussolini's forces invaded, drove Emperor Haile Selassie (crowned in 1930) into exile and shortly thereafter seized the capital of Addis Ababa. British forces restored the crown in 1941. Eleven years later, via a UN

resolution, Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia. In the early 1960s, following the Emperor's abrogation of federal arrangements, culminating in the annexation of Eritrea in 1962, an Eritrean insurgency began which persevered over the succeeding decades and evolved by the 1980s into the highly sophisticated, and highly formidable forces of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

What began as a military mutiny in early 1974 resulted in September of that year in the overthrow of the Emperor and the coming to power of a military committee (referred to as the 'Dergue'). Less than three years later, in early 1977, Mengistu attained dominance, following a bloody internal struggle for power. In that same year, under threat of Somali government seizure of Ethiopia's eastern Ogaden region, and frustrated in its efforts to win new arms shipments from its longstanding ally, the United States, Ethiopia turned suddenly to the Soviet Union. Over the next fourteen years, that relationship would yield the Dergue an estimated \$13 billion in Soviet largesse, and eventually contribute to the 1984 decision to create the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE), Ethiopia's vanguard into a communist future, and the 1987 national constitution, revised along Stalinist lines.

Throughout the latter half of the 1980s, popular discontent deepened in reaction to the active repression of dissent, the dismal performance of the regime's command controls over the economy, excessive taxation of the peasantry, recurrent mass conscription drives, and forced villagization and resettlement. So too did emergent regional insurgencies grow swiftly, most notably the Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF) which skillfully mobilized the Tigrean peasantry (and which in 1989 formed the EPRDF, in partnership with its Amhara affiliate, the Ethiopia People's Democratic Movement, the EPDM.)

The devastating 1984-85 famine, compounded by war and concentrated in the northern areas of Tigray, Eritrea and elsewhere, left several hundred thousand dead, while displacing upwards of one million. Subsequent droughts, in the midst of escalating armed conflict on a scale seldom seen in Africa, perpetuated a massive external relief dependency, generated new displaced populations numbering in the hundreds of thousands, and postponed indefinitely any meaningful consideration of Ethiopia's prospects for recovery and reconstruction.

As the 1980s came to a close, luck ran out for Mengistu's seemingly unshakable will to prevail. Beginning in early 1989, the TPLF and EPLF, having reconciled in late 1987 to coordinate

their military strategy, scored a string of victories that stunned and demoralized the Ethiopian military, contributing to the failed coup attempt of April 1989. Faced also with the loss of East German, Czech, and eventually Soviet assistance, a failing domestic economy hardly able to sustain the wars (over 70% of the national budget went to the military), and the EPRDF and EPLF's seizure of vast stocks of armor and ammunition, the government's position grew ever more hopeless. In a last ditch effort to rescue his rule, Mengistu announced in March 1990 plans to liberalize the economy and introduce multiparty politics. Fourteen months later he flew to Zimbabwe, six days ahead of the EPRDF's arrival in Addis Ababa.

### **The National Charter**

After the military defeat and final collapse of the Mengistu regime in late May 1991, a surprisingly orderly and broad-based transition began. The success of the July 1991 National Conference that drafted the National Charter (to govern Ethiopia until mid to late 1993) rested, above all, upon the relatively good relations that prevailed at that time among the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPDRF), the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). Skillful American diplomatic activism during the May London sessions, throughout June, and during the July National Conference, had an important reinforcing influence.

The Charter establishes the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE), comprising the President and Prime Minister's offices, and an ethnically mixed Council of Ministers and Council of Representatives (an interim legislature that presently includes members of 29 political movements). The political core of the TGE is the EPRDF, in tactical alliance with the OLF.

Under the Charter, the TGE is committed to abide by the UN's Universal Declaration on Human Rights; to seek an end to armed conflict (including Ethiopian-supported insurgencies in neighboring lands); to respect the self-determination of Ethiopia's regionally-based nationalities; to establish elected local and regional councils, based on these nationalities; to prepare a draft constitution that will be presented to a Constituent Assembly and will result by the end of 1993 in multi-party national elections and the eventual handover of power to the majority party or parties in a newly elected national assembly. The TGE also promised to ensure the delivery of relief assistance, to help repair the devastation wrought by years of warfare and drought, and to undo all forced-resettlement schemes.

The National Conference committed the TGE to honor the outcome of an internationally-monitored referendum on Eritrea's status. Until this referendum is held (scheduled for April 1993), the Provisional Government of Eritrea (PGE) will govern Eritrea under EPLF leadership. Important side-bargains include the PGE's designation of Assab, critically important to Ethiopia's external trade, as a 'free port' through which imports and exports can pass without Eritrean duties or tariffs, and Eritrea's guarantee of twenty percent of the Assab refinery's output, paid in local currency.

### **Ethiopia's interim order and unfinished revolution**

The process of change begun in mid-1991 calls for the wholesale revamping of the Ethiopian state and political system in hopes of retrenching Ethiopia's historically autocratic center, erecting a decentralized, popularly-elected order around newly drawn, ethnically-based regions, and shifting Ethiopia from a command to a mixed economy. Its starting point was the EPRDF's decision to liquidate the core institutions of the previous order: the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE), the security apparatus, and the 450,000 man national army.

Culturally, Ethiopia's interim order represents the overthrow of a state which, beginning with the imperial autocracy of the late nineteenth century, has been dominated principally (though not exclusively) by Amhara elite centered in the Shoa plateau. Politically, the interim order represents the struggle to complete -- indeed to enlarge the reach of -- a social revolution that up to the fall of Mengistu had been decidedly partial and narrow.

The EPRDF's social base -- Tigreans and their Amhara peasant partners from northern Shoa and Wello -- accounts, at most, for 4-5 million people, less than 10% of Ethiopia's total population of 50 million plus. This is a population of relative homogeneity, centered in the barren, hardscrabble north. Its experience of devastating losses, suffered in the successive famines begun in the mid-1980s and abetted by the Mengistu regime's systematic manipulation of international relief and its scorched earth aerial bombing campaigns, inspired a sustained popular revolt. Organized under the tight leadership of the EPRDF, the revolution subsequently received a major boost when in late 1987, an active partnership was forged with the EPLF.

Since mid-1991, with military victory in hand, the EPRDF's immediate imperative, if it is to stabilize its rule, give it

ever broader popular legitimacy, and avoid repeating past history in relying upon sheer force to preserve power, has been to reach outside itself and consolidate the participation of segments of Ethiopian society heretofore not part of the EPRDF; hence the conscious, coalitional spirit of the National Conference. To an EPRDF leadership that had originally organized itself along hierarchical (and quite insular) Marxist-Leninist lines, oriented overwhelmingly towards mobilizing the Tigrean peasantry's military might, this challenge has suddenly presented a new, formidable test of the internal reforms and liberalization that began within the EPRDF in the late 1980s.

Excluded as prospective partners of the EPRDF were those Shoan Amhara (and others, such as Amharized Oromo) identified with the Mengistu regime. Mutual bitterness and mistrust forbid any reconciliation, at least in the intermediate term, between this segment of Ethiopian society (15-20% of its population) and the EPRDF. Instead, the EPRDF has turned principally to the southern half of Ethiopia in hopes of constructing a patchwork coalition that would include, most importantly, the Oromo (approximately 30 to 40%), along with smaller but politically important ethnic groups such as Afars, ethnic Somalis, Gurage, Hadiya, Wolayta, Sidama and Omo.

The incorporation of southern Ethiopia is complex. The south's experience of the Mengistu era was more mixed, and less brutal, than that of the north. During the war, only minor southern liberated zones were established: two OLF-controlled pockets along the eastern and western borders, and eastern fringes disrupted by the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromia (IFLO). Thousands of southern soldiers died in service to the Mengistu regime. However, with the exception of the late 1970s/early 1980s border conflicts with Somalia, civilians' direct local experience of war and famine was limited and uneven. The southern peasantry, farming Ethiopia's most fertile and productive zone, initially benefitted substantially from the sweeping mid-1970s land reforms. Over time, however, the popular benefits of these changes were largely squandered, due to excessive forced conscription of southerners and the Mengistu regime's progressively greater reliance upon taxation of agriculture to finance the war.

Moreover, grappling with the south brought the EPRDF (now inserted throughout the south as the new national army) face-to-face with endemic instability (especially along the Somali border), pentup frustrations and demands, the disproportionately heavy return of ex-servicemen to the south, suspicion and fear of continued central northern dominance -- in this instance, at the hands of Tigreans -- and the ambiguous, untested and fractured

political identity of key groups such as the Oromo and Somali. Popular political sentiment is largely untested or unknown; thus far, political movements have established only limited organizational presences. In this sense, the south is 'up for grabs' in any future electoral competition.

### Human rights

A climate of relative tolerance and debate now exists in Addis Ababa. Within the political parameters set forth in the National Charter, Ethiopians can speak without fear of reprisal. Daily protests of various types continue to take place, but under conditions of general calm that offer a sharp contrast to the Mengistu years. Over the Easter holiday, in late April 1992, Orthodox Church ceremonies were broadcast over public media, for the first time in seventeen years. As of mid-1992, over 80 political parties had formed and begun organizing. Those political organizations that are likely to endure the rigors of electoral competition and emerge as major players number roughly one dozen.

EPRDF forces, totalling 100,000 to 120,000, designated as the national army for the transitional period, and responsible for law and order, until new police forces are established, have shown unusual discipline in maintaining order in Addis Ababa. Their presence elsewhere, particularly in the south (discussed later) has proven more problematic.

In the opinion of respected international observers (the International Committee of the Red Cross, Africa Watch and Amnesty International) there has been no serious mistreatment of captured soldiers awaiting demobilization or detainees awaiting screening and possible trial for war crimes. Beginning in early February 1992, the ICRC conducted regular visits to political detainees -- at 'any time, any place, and for any number of visits' -- a form of access the ICRC enjoys in few, if any other countries.

The detainees population now stands at a fraction of what it was in mid-1991. There are thought to be 1,500 - 2,000 at major detention centers, plus an unknown number, likely in the hundreds, held at more remote regional sites. In early February, the TGE issued a proclamation establishing the office of a Special Attorney General, responsible for prosecuting alleged war criminals. Appointments to that office have not been announced, nor has the screening and release of all those detainees who will not be tried been completed. Transparent public action is still

awaited in indicting individuals on specific charges and further defining the time frame and legal process for prosecutions.

Regardless of how these complex matters are eventually handled, the overall process is certain to stretch well into 1992, and likely beyond, and to continue to attract substantial attention, internally and externally. Thus far, when compared with Ethiopia's past history of bloody vengeance and the time consumed (and many obstacles encountered) in prosecuting state terrorists in Chile, Argentina and postwar Germany, the TGE's record in processing detainees and laying the groundwork for trials, though not free of blemishes and ambiguities, has nonetheless been impressive.

The outline of a reformed judicial system, while not yet finalized or formally approved, proposes to concentrate authority in a judicial commission, answerable to the President's Office. The commission that will be comprised of representatives from the Council of Representatives, the Justice Ministry, the Court system, trade unions, and a rejuvenated lawyers' association that will also carry responsibility for reviewing the ethical conduct of judges. Reportedly, all former judges who were WPE members will be relieved. In the coming year, it will be important to observe whether these reforms result in the creation of a sufficiently autonomous and credible judicial system to replace the woefully discredited previous order.

In the confused and ambiguous institutional context of the early days following the National Conference, spates of extrajudicial action occurred which triggered counter-pressures, from Ethiopians, the diplomatic community and other outside observers, to contain these developments and reaffirm clearly the rule of law. From mid 1991 into early 1992, numerous local Peace and Stability Committees rooted out alleged perpetrators of the late 1970s 'Red Terror' local EPRDF commanders exercised a form of frontier justice over common criminals, and Workers Grievance Committees attacked alleged corruption in state corporations (as well as select private entities such as the Hilton Hotel).

There has been no wholesale purge of ministerial bureaucracies. Late in 1991, a systematic replacement of mid and upper level ministerial officials did begin.

## **Emergency needs**

The TGE has worked openly and cooperatively with UN agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to resume deliveries to the six to seven million at-risk from severe food shortages to facilitate expert assessments of future needs, and to reconfigure supply routes. Now that the end of war permits more rational, cost-effective means of delivery and, most importantly, the opportunity to reduce, if not end altogether, protracted dependency upon external handouts, it is also working on devising a strategy for converting emergency assistance to developmental purposes.

Nonetheless, Ethiopia's entrenched food dependency will endure well into the future and continue to place enormous demands on the TGE and international donors. In 1991, the national food deficit required \$900 million in outside assistance. According to late 1991 USAID estimates, at least another 600,000 to 750,000 metric tons of emergency relief was required for 1992. That figure has since risen to above 900,000 tons, in light of the drought that afflicts most of southern and eastern Africa. In addition to those Ethiopians living in the most drought-affected northern areas are several other sizeable populations in dire need: 450-500,000 Ethiopians newly returned from Somalia, and now settled, chiefly in camps, along Ethiopia's eastern and southeastern borders; no fewer than 150,000 persons internally displaced by the war, perhaps another 100,000 southerners displaced by inter-ethnic clashes; 450,000 recently demobilized soldiers; approximately 300,000 Somali refugees in the east; and the acute poverty felt by no less than half of Addis Ababa's 2-3 million people.

## **The elections process**

As of early 1992, the outlines of Ethiopia's new regional order and the upcoming elections process were set forth. A TGE proclamation defined fourteen new regions (comprised of 12 regions plus two chartered cities, Addis Ababa and Harar), vested with substantial new powers over security, administrative-budgetary, language and other cultural affairs. Regional 'nationalities' who emerged, according to the revised national map, with sizeable population blocs include the Oromo (220 wereda (districts) out of the 600 total), Tigray (62 wereda), Amhara (126, but segregated from Addis Ababa), and Somali (47 wereda). Smaller regional entities include the Wolayta (29 wereda), Kefa

(24 wereda), Afar (22 wereda) and Gurage-Hadiya (21 wereda).<sup>1</sup>  
(see attached map).

A companion proclamation presented plans for a provisional administrative phase, intended to create stable conditions to facilitate the holding of free and fair local and regional elections. Armed groups are to be encamped, interim local police forces are to be established, and snap elections are to be held to establish interim councils at the district and local (kebele) levels, vested with authority over local police.

A third proclamation defined how the National Election Commission (NEC) and affiliated election committees will manage future local and regional elections. Shortly thereafter, the NEC, comprised of 10 members of the Council of Representatives, began organizing regional electoral committees which have lead responsibility for monitoring the quick interim elections and subsequent local and regional elections. Local and regional elections are to be held approximately one month after the interim phase is completed.

These several developments stemmed from a political consensus within the President's Office and the Council of Representatives that it was imperative that the interim phase, followed by local and regional elections, be completed before the onset of the rainy season in June: to move beyond EPRDF-OLF bickering; to address the absence of administrative structures across Ethiopia; to allow EPRDF forces to hand over responsibility for local law and order to new, locally elected bodies and thereafter confine themselves to securing major roadways, boundaries and facilities; to avoid any delay beyond one year after the fall of the Mengistu regime (regional elections were originally planned for three months after the July National Conference); to give concrete reality to plans for new regional and local structures, so that leadership at these levels begin to exercise control over their own affairs, carry forward reconstruction plans, and participate in the follow-on phase of drafting a new constitution; and to buoy popular and international confidence in the overall transitional process.

This interim phase was to have begun in early February and to last 40 to 45 days. Its actual start was postponed, however,

---

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of wereda cited per region are close estimates. Exact numbers are presently unavailable. In preparing for elections and redrawing regional boundaries, the TGE has frequently had to subdivide existing weredas.

until mid-April, owing to delays in organizing regional and local electoral committees and, most importantly, difficulties in reaching a final (and durable) agreement between the EPRDF and OLF on the precise terms of the encampment process (discussed in the subsequent section). In Oromo region, success in encampment, 'snap' elections and the appointment of local police, will hinge upon mutual restraint by the OLF and EPRDF, and the effective functioning of the tripartite commissions (EPRDF/OLF/EPLF) which, as agreed to on February 20, are to oversee these interim steps in all 220 Oromo districts.

The interim phase, followed by local and regional elections, are moments of enormous political consequence, laden with uncertainty and risk. Into April, as snap elections unfolded in various regions, the NEC operated with limited resources and had yet to establish functioning district electoral committees in Somali and Afar regions, in no less than half of the Oromo region's 220 wereda, and in the OLF-controlled Asosa zone of the far western Beni-Shangul region. In total, this gap represented close to 200 districts, easily one half of the south's districts. NEC preparation for local and regional elections in early June, scarcely six weeks later, was still at an early point -- in issuing regulations, laying the basis for registration of voters and candidates, and designing and printing ballots for an estimated 33 million Ethiopian voters. In the compressed time frame that resulted from OLF-EPRDF negotiations and the NEC's slow start, Ethiopia was poised to move rapidly through a succession of complicated, highly sensitive transitions -- encampment, snap elections, local and regional elections -- against a background of persistent conflict in the south, and with little breathing space to allow for adjustment or reconsideration.

If even partially successful, these ambitious plans will bring conditions of greater stability to Ethiopia. They will offer Ethiopians their first genuine experience in competitive electoral politics, lay the political and institutional groundwork necessary to incorporate the southern half of Ethiopia into the transitional experiment and thereby advance the prospects that the National Charter is indeed viable.

### **Instability and ethnic tensions**

Traumatized by seventeen years of war and repression that left civil society a wreck, the economy a shambles, and most structures of government discredited, Ethiopians, the vast majority of whom are peasants, are just beginning to grasp the possibility of rebuilding their country. Traditions and culture

provide little in the way of guidance or support. Pluralism, democracy, and decentralization are alien abstractions, while the historical, communal grievances of Tigreans, Oromos and other ethnic groups are concrete and alive, as are the apprehensions and uncertainties felt by many Amhara.

The process of change that is now underway has suddenly opened the most profound and contentious questions, whose answers will define Ethiopia's future course. Most immediately, it remains to be seen whether conflicted areas, especially in the south, can be restabilized, and the dominant mode of political discourse altered from armed clashes to civil competition (through the encampment of the armed wings of political movements, the re-establishment of local police and the quick election of provisional administrative bodies). Just behind that hurdle stand several other formidable issues: whether local and regional elections are conducted in a relatively free, fair and competently manner, and whether they nurture popular confidence in the devolution of power to an ethnically-defined, federal system; whether new local and regional entities are democratic in nature, and capable of protecting minority rights and contributing to a new national conception of a unified Ethiopia, with reconstructed central powers; what political and economic relationships will ultimately be struck between Ethiopia and Eritrea; and whether the TGE can sustain international support of Ethiopia's experiment, particularly with respect to encampment, elections and economic recovery.

Action and debate on these issues began in 1991 in what was already a highly charged political atmosphere, marked by considerable ethnic tension, distrust and confusion, complicated further by the wide availability of weapons (roughly half of the 29 movements in the Council of Representatives have armed wings) and the habit that all parties have acquired of regarding themselves primarily as victims of both past and present circumstances.

<sup>2</sup> The figures for armed forces of the major movements, as agreed between the TGE and the respective movements, are: the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), 20,000; the Afar Liberation Front (ALF), 2500; the Benishangul People's Liberation Movement (BPLM), 1500; the Gambela People's Liberation Movement (GPLM), 1200; the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromia (IFLO), 1500; the Ogaden National Liberation Front/Western Somali Liberation Front (ONLF/WSLF), 1000.

In an approach which marks a significant break with Ethiopian history, the TGE has consciously attempted to avoid heavy, armed reaction to periodic violent flareups. Though, as events in Oromo region in the first several months of 1992 proved (discussed below), this approach was not always sustainable. Beginning immediately after the National Conference, the TGE experimented with joint liaison teams, organized at the center and dispatched to verify events, consult with local elders and representatives of organized political movements, and devise ad hoc bases for conciliation.

Considering that in the many months since the fall of the Mengistu regime there has been no functioning police force, at the same time that Ethiopia has undergone momentous social change, it is a testimony to Ethiopia's underlying cultural character that there have been so relatively few instances of lawlessness. Moreover, reports of instability and conflict, are often unfocused, prone to exaggeration and gross generalizations, and often fail to take adequate account of political initiatives aimed at defusing distant conflicts.

Conflicts tend to be concentrated in the southern half of Ethiopia, especially, though by no means exclusively, in the Oromo and Somali regions (which account, respectively, for 220 and 47 of Ethiopia's 600 districts.) Typically, they pit the armed wings of political movements against one another (e.g. the OLF versus IFLO in the east) and against EPRDF forces. Particularly in the Oromo and Somali regions, instability is compounded by: competition to establish control on the ground, in anticipation of elections; the wide availability of weapons; longstanding inter-communal grievances, often centered on competition for scarce water, land and grazing rights; the collapse of the previous government's military and administrative control, exasperated by the return to the south of a disproportionate share of the 450,000 demobilized soldiers; spillover violence and displaced populations from Somalia; the vitality of smuggling operations along border areas, newly threatened by the entry of EPRDF forces; and common banditry.

In the Somali region, inter-clan rivalries play an important role. In the Oromo region, the same is true of linguistic, religious, geographic and organizational divisions that bedevil the various Oromo movements. In the Oromo region, OLF-EPRDF mistrust, the single most important vector of instability in the south, has been stoked by negative, mirror images of each other's motivations and behavior.

On the OLF's part, there are fears that Tigrean-dominated EPRDF forces enjoy undue political advantages which have been systematically used to prevent the OLF from expanding its presence on the ground. Since the EPRDF functions both as an 'umpire' (the transitional national army) and a political 'player,' it has a strong, unhindered motivation to arm and promote its affiliated Oromo movement, the OPDO (its ranks initially filled with former prisoners-of-war), and to actively repress OLF organizational activities. If further exploited to distort the electoral process, the OLF fears these advantages might ultimately result in continued northern domination of the Oromo people.

Inversely, the EPRDF fears that the OLF lacks the organizational cohesion and discipline necessary to implement cease-fire and encampment agreements, in part a reflection of a worrisome OLF ambivalence towards the National Charter itself. Important segments within the OLF leadership appear to favor secession versus continued incorporation within Ethiopia (what would result in the withdrawal of 30 to 40% of Ethiopia's population, along with the loss of its most productive agricultural areas). The EPRDF is no less bothered by an increasingly harsh OLF rhetoric that encourages ethnic intolerance (directed especially against Amhara settlers) and that casts the OLF as the dominant, legitimate claimant for power in the Oromo region (overlooking the IFLO, OPDO, and several other minor movements). Out of organizational weakness and unproven popular support, the EPRDF fears that, the OLF may deliberately incite violence to forestall or preempt elections, at the same time that it actively recruits and arms new fighters (drawn to a large extent from demobilized ex-servicemen), contrary to the National Charter and subsequent proclamations.

At one level, it would appear that realities in southern Ethiopia strongly favor the OLF and EPRDF eventually reaching a non-violent, negotiated resolution of their differences that will permit the interim phase and local and regional elections to go forward in the Oromo region. Arguably, it should be clear to each side that overwhelming reliance upon force will be grossly self-defeating to all concerned, guaranteed to generate higher levels of violence and disorder that give neither side any true victory or hope and that instead undermine Ethiopian and international confidence in the National Charter. In terms of rational, joint self-interest, the EPRDF and OLF -- in their marriage to one another as the two principal partners of the TGE -- enjoy no viable divorce option.

Though future elections may ultimately demonstrate OLF support within a large segment of the Oromo people, such

hypothetical strength does not compensate for the OLF's present military and organizational weaknesses. If the OLF were to embark on an armed campaign to 'liberate' Oromia from Ethiopia, it would risk almost certain defeat at the hands of EPRDF forces, as well as risk antagonizing a population profoundly weary of war, whose true political affections are to an important degree either unknown, divided along various lines, or still at an early point of taking shape. Alternately, the EPRDF's military predominance, beyond disciplining and pressuring the OLF, has only limited utility in incorporating the south effectively into a post-Mengistu Ethiopia. Unassured of popular support in the south (where the ODPO is reportedly viewed by many as an alien, EPRDF front), the EPRDF would almost assuredly provoke protracted armed resistance in the Oromo region, were it to attempt to crush the OLF militarily.

As a reflection of these pressures upon the OLF and EPRDF to come to terms with each other politically, in late 1991 and early 1992 they turned increasingly to intensive joint consultations, even as skirmishing with one another continued. In the search for political arrangements to bridge mistrust and heighten mutual confidence that the encampment of fighters and elections can proceed in a fair and competent manner, the EPRDF and OLF also increasingly called upon outside brokers. The EPLF began chairing talks in January which culminated in late February in the Mekelle accord, under which the EPRDF-OLF reaffirmed their commitment to encampment and elections, and the EPLF agreed to head newly-formed tripartite commissions (EPRDF/OLF/EPLF) to oversee encampment and elections in all 220 Oromo districts.

That agreement faltered, however, once discussions shifted in March to the number of OLF fighters to be encamped and the number of OLF camp sites. Mistrust and anger intensified sharply, as the OLF vied initially to win acceptance of a force level of 40,000 to 50,000. Far in excess of the 6,000-8,000 fighters the OLF had under its command in May of 1991, the EPRDF dismissed these claims. Yet even if correct by half or slightly less, (the EPLF proposed a compromise of 15,000), the EPRDF bridled at being asked to ratify force levels which openly confirmed that the OLF had departed from the National Charter in doubling or tripling its forces.

Throughout March and into April negotiations slowed, public rhetoric on both sides increased, and armed conflict intensified. The two sides resumed negotiations in mid-April, aided by the EPLF and the United States, and settled upon a compromise proposal, which calls for 20,000 OLF fighters to be encamped initially in eight camps. Afterwards, prior to local and regional elections, the numbers drop to 15,000 in six camps.

Further talks created a fragile consensus on several remaining issues: the precise monitoring methods for OLF camps; the basing of the EPRDF's eight camps and sixty-four garrisons, relative to the siting of OLF camps; controls over weapons; the organization of bodyguards and other security personnel for the OLF and EPRDF; and postponement of snap elections in Oromo region until early May. On April 21, the Council of Representatives approved the agreement. Implementation began immediately, to be completed in less than a week, possibly aided by the addition of international monitors. EPLF-led tripartite committees began their oversight management of OLF camps and preparations for elections in the region's 220 districts.

### **Amhara estrangement**

Significant tension also exists among those thousands of Amhara and other elite who have lost power and a sizeable share of their class advantage, and who feel they are the object of unjustifiably broad or arbitrary forms of retribution (e.g. the temporary banning of all WPE members from voting or running for office; 'Workers Grievance Committees' assaults upon alleged corruption in state-owned enterprises and ministries). It is unclear how this segment of Ethiopian society, which constitutes a large portion of Ethiopia's skilled talent, will accommodate itself to Ethiopia's evolving realities. This is a population that overall has lost its dominant position in society; that includes thousands who have outright lost their jobs, if not also been detained; that includes many who remain in ministerial and factory positions, alienated from the TGE leadership, uncertain of the future, and subject to allegations of stalling or distorting the implementation of TGE policy; and that includes a large number who simply have not reconciled themselves to the Charter, particularly its commitments to a decentralized order and to honoring Eritrea's eventual referendum.

### **The economy**

The TGE's attention is also absorbed by an economy that is in shambles, that stands at risk of further deterioration, and that is not terribly familiar to a leadership far more experienced in governing liberated peasant areas and managing an armed insurgency than in reforming a command economy.

To sustain popular confidence in the transition, to contain the very real potential for urban instability, and to provide Ethiopia's economy with the minimal floor necessary for any recovery to begin, required quick action to introduce substantial

multilateral and bilateral flows. Regrettably, that has only been partially possible.

Per capita income stands at approximately \$120, the second lowest in the world. In real terms, GDP fell by 5-6% in 1991. The staggering array of obstacles to future growth include: rapid population growth (estimated at close to 3% per annum); environmental degradation; recurrent drought (virtually every fifth year since 1960); rural landlessness, estimated at 20%, matched by urban poverty that has left 25% of urban dwellers wholly outside the cash or market economy, dependent upon whatever crumbs can be begged, borrowed or stolen; a low state of technological development, particularly in the peasant agricultural sector; a narrow, antiquated industrial base (concentrated in beverages, textiles and agro-processing); the manifold legacy of several decades of war (e.g. damaged health and education infrastructure, and excessive military spending, including the commitment of ministerial and state enterprise resources to the war); and an inherited command approach to the economy that actively repressed the private sector, nationalized major industries, and relied upon pervasive administrative controls which, so long as they remain in place, will only hinder efforts at liberalization and stirring increased production.

The end of war has brought only minor dividends, in budgetary terms. Since mid-1991, military expenditure dropped from 14% to 10% of GDP. International export earnings (principally coffee, and hides and skins) remain weak (at their lowest point since 1974), while much of Ethiopian production flows through smuggling channels, a continued reflection of an overvalued currency and excessive state regulation. Tax revenues have fallen off sharply, in part due to the abandonment of forced agricultural sales to the state, late in the Mengistu era. Meager foreign exchange reserves barely cover emergency petroleum imports; all other sectors remain starved of inputs. Coincident with the terminal phase of the war, sizeable external debts came due. The 1991 deficit is thought to exceed 20% of the national budget.

In September 1991, the Council of Representatives opened debate on a draft economic strategy, intended as a first step in moving Ethiopia towards a mixed economy that will increasingly favor the private sector and will emphasize a phased and informed

<sup>3</sup> Coffee exports through official channels totalled only 51,000 metric tons in 1991, an almost 40% decline from 1990. Whereas coffee accounted for 60% of export earnings in 1989, by 1991 that level had slid to 36%.

reform process. As part of that exercise, the Council solicited the comments of prominent private Ethiopian individuals and groups.

The TGE's Economic Policy (EP), published in November 1991, calls for increased private sector involvement in trade and production, and greater private sector competition in most areas where the state now dominates but where state monopolies and administrative controls (e.g. over tariffs, pricing, and allocation of scarce resources) are to be systematically retrenched. Banking, insurance, major utilities, and several large state-owned enterprises are to remain under state control. Though the EP admits the need to correct the overvaluation of Ethiopia's currency, the Birr, it leaves unanswered the question of what timeframe or sequence of steps might guide a future exchange rate reform program.

Action on the Economic Policy provided the backdrop for extensive TGE consultations with visiting World Bank and USAID missions, and for the conference on Ethiopia's economic future which the Inter Africa Group sponsored in mid-January 1992.

The IAG conference stirred public debate on Ethiopia's most sensitive macroeconomic issues (e.g. exchange rates, privatization, land), created a dialogue that drew together government officials, political leaders, academics and intellectuals, and resulted in a consensus document detailing areas where quick, concrete action was needed to truly advance the economic reform process. Implicit in many of the recommendations was the view that the TGE was proceeding with undue slowness and caution.

In early February, agreement was finally reached in Washington between the TGE and the World Bank on conditions associated with the Emergency Recovery and Reconstruction Project (the ERRP, a 30 month, \$600 million multi-donor package). Conditions include: immediate increases in road tariff rates; full deregulation of road tariffs by the end of 1992, and an immediate end to state management of private trucking interests. Final approval of the ERRP, however, hinged on substantial progress in the first round of TGE-World Bank/IMF negotiations, completed at the end of February, that achieved an initial, broad consensus regarding the main issues to be addressed in a future structural adjustment program. At the heart of those talks were several highly sensitive issues: e.g. devaluation plans; measures to offset the affects of adjustment borne by highly vulnerable

groups; reform of the banking system; privatization of state-owned enterprises; and the legal/policy approach towards external and internal investment, labor, contracts, and bankruptcy.

In retrospect, early, optimistic predictions that action on a multidonor emergency package could proceed swiftly -- with results materializing by the end of 1991 -- were not realized. Instead, World Bank-TGE negotiations dragged into 1992, hampered by differences of opinion over the transport sector conditions associated with the ERRP. Trust between the two sides, whose internal cultures could not have been more divergent, evolved slowly and unevenly, at best. At the same time, TGE frustrations mounted, as did World Bank caution, the latter resulting in the Bank's decision to abandon its original approach to the ERRP and tie final release of the ERRP to prior TGE compromise on the framework for a future structural adjustment agreement.

The ERRP \$600 million package will not begin arriving until July, at the earliest, and will include only \$400 million in actual new donor commitments, stretched over 30 months. For the TGE, this course of events means that the TGE enters local and regional elections, intended to fortify the popular legitimacy of the National Charter, without the advantage (as originally envisioned) of having first demonstrated its ability to deliver to a popular audience the benefits of the ERRP.

### **B. Key challenges**

In summary, there is a multitude of challenges whose influence over the transition cannot be underestimated:

(i) a steady proliferation of demands that threatens to overload the capacity of the TGE leadership and induce a 'crisis management' style of decision-making, marked by institutional drift, confusion, and rising frustration. This is only exacerbated by the institutional gap that exists in government, due to the continued estrangement between the TGE and inherited ministries.

(ii) a decimated economy.

(iii) Ethiopia's non-democratic cultural inheritance and rising ethnic tensions, in a context in which plans to create interim

conditions of stability and introduce competitive electoral politics are poised to begin, organized around regions defined according to ethnic 'nationalities'.

(iv) a difficult international environment, in which major powers are distracted by events elsewhere and appear unsure of their post-coldwar interests in Ethiopia, and in which multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF press for tight guarantees of the TGE's commitment to macroeconomic reform, before answering Ethiopia's immediate emergency needs.

(v) an institutional void in the countryside which invites opportunistic banditry and strife among the armed wings of political movements.

These are factors which, if not successfully transcended or resolved through the successful implementation of the National Charter, could push Ethiopia back in the direction of authoritarianism and disorder. Should plans to enhance the administrative stability and security in the countryside and to introduce competitive democratic politics nationwide fail, the costs could be intolerable: the fracturing of Ethiopia politically and territorially; a return to protracted armed conflict; the loss of popular and international confidence in the National Charter and hopes of economic recovery; and an increase in Ethiopia's already considerable emergency humanitarian dependency.

### **III. PROGRAM FACTORS**

#### **A. Relationship to Mission Strategy and Priorities**

In response to Ethiopia's immediate postwar reconstruction needs and the decimated condition of Ethiopia's economy, USAID AID/W and REDSO/ESA representatives conducted an October 1991 assessment of programmatic development options and related strategies. The foci of their efforts were immediate national reconstruction requirements, most notably foreign exchange to "jumpstart" the economy, local currency programs to rebuild infrastructures, and technical and financial resources to assist public and private institutions in developing and implementing new economic, political and social policies.

On the basis of assessed needs over FYs 1992 and 1993, USAID/Ethiopia determined that a free-standing

democracy/governance project activity was justified as a response to explicit TGE's requests for assistance in supporting Ethiopia's transition to a decentralized, democratic government. To revive the economy and rebuild key public institutions, USAID/Ethiopia plans to finance nonproject development assistance (NPA) activities as part of a \$600 million, multi-donor investment program led by the World Bank. AID financing to be provided under CIP or cash grant arrangements will be used to import commodities essential to revive the economy and rebuild public institutions. A major Title III program is also planned to start in FY 1992, entitled "Towards Sustainable Food Security".

In recognition of the enormous challenges the TGE faces in developing new strategies, policies and options to guide macroeconomic reform, the Mission plans to finance a two-year National Planning and Policy Support project that would largely finance U.S. technical expertise requirements, as defined in consultation with the TGE. The Mission also plans to make use of the Africa Bureau's PVO Initiatives Project for capacity building assistance to indigenous NGOs and community groups.

Within the next two years, the Mission will develop a Country Program Strategy Paper that further defines the Mission's strategic objectives. As part of that process, the Mission plans to finance outside technical experts (U.S., international and Ethiopian) and draw upon REDSO/ESA expertise in undertaking analytical and assessment efforts in such sectors as agriculture and natural resource management, health/population/HIV/AIDS, education, private sector support, continued D/G support and potential financing of large capital projects.

#### **B. Relationship to A.I.D. Policy and Strategies**

The Ethiopia D/G Support Project is consistent with the Agency's evolving democracy initiative strategy through: its emphasis upon strengthening public and private democratic institutions, promoting participation and decentralization, improving the enabling environment for the successful functioning of private, non-state interests, supporting civil and political rights, and increasing the accountability, competence and transparency of governance in Ethiopia. The Project integrates logically within the Mission's overall program strategy, and relies heavily upon mechanisms intended to respond quickly and flexibly to evolving needs.

The Project design grew out of extensive consultations with diverse Ethiopians, both within and outside of government. At the same time, the Mission drew upon well-informed international channels, including academic analysts, donors, NGOs and others, in an effort to refine and validate proposed Project initiatives.

Consistent with the Africa Bureau's principles for D/G initiatives, the Project is designed to ensure that activities strongly reflect Ethiopian priorities, i.e., in defining agenda, in defining solutions, in translating solutions into work plans, and ultimately, in measuring whether the solutions were correct and had the desired effects. Equally important, the Project is consciously designed to enhance prospects for Ethiopia's longer-term economic growth, consistent with the growing consensus within Congress and the Agency that democracy/governance factors should play an increasingly important role in the allocation of A.I.D. funding, if indeed prospects for economic recovery in Africa are to be strengthened.

For Ethiopia, the interconnection between democratization and future economic growth and stability is undeniable. Success in implementing the various political transitions now underway in Ethiopia will be critically important both in laying the groundwork for Ethiopia's future development and consolidating USG and other donor confidence.

### **C. Relationship to Recipient Country Priorities**

Since July 1991, when the TGE replaced the Mengistu regime, it has stated its intentions to introduce major structural reforms in economic policy, aspects of agricultural policy, local and regional administration, and language policy. The TGE has also made clear commitments to pursue policies that will entrench respect for human rights and democratic values.

In November 1991, the TGE issued its Economic Policy (EP), an important first step in distilling the lessons learned from policies of the previous 17 years. For example, the EP stresses that the role of the state should be limited to managing the policy environment and a few key sectors, while encouraging increased private sector in trade, production and other sectors heretofore dominated by the state. It emphasizes that a policy of consensus will be followed during the transitional period in order to maximize continuity of approach after the elections.

Other elements highlighted in the EP include: increasing the role of regional administration and encouraging popular participation; rehabilitating and reconstructing the economy; revitalizing domestic food production capacity; and rebuilding damaged and/or neglected critical infrastructure in a variety of sectors, including transportation, health, education, water and power. The TGE's policy framework suggests that gradually the role of the state will be reduced, and that within the context of regionalization, the policy and regulatory environment that has inhibited competition and private investment will be liberalized.

In its ongoing dialogue with international donors, the TGE has stressed its commitment to respect for human rights and democratic principles, as articulated in its Charter. It has also emphasized its desire to attain these objectives in collaboration with the international community. On May 4, 1992, the TGE's Ministry for External Cooperation formally submitted a request to the USAID Mission Director for grant support of \$5.0 million to advance democratization efforts in Ethiopia.

#### D. Other Donor Support.

Major donors who have signalled a serious intent to support democracy/governance activities in Ethiopia include Sweden, Norway, the EC, Canada, Great Britain, Holland, Germany and the United Nations. Initial, preparatory consultations among donors began in early 1992, and resulted in the formation of a donor task force, chaired by the British DCM, which began meeting on a weekly basis in March 1992. Its principal focus thus far has been tracking negotiations over encampment, organizing monitoring of the encampment and snap elections, opening a dialogue with the National Election Commission regarding its material and technical requirements for local and regional elections, and coordinating the donor response for those elections, scheduled for late May/early June. Owing to the immediate urgency of these issues, planning for follow-on activities in such areas as constitution re-drafting and human rights stand at an early point.

As of late April, the Swedish Government was finalizing plans to provide an estimated \$2 million in assistance to the National Election Commission, a sum which will cover just under one half of the NEC's appeal for \$4.2 million in support for basic materials (e.g., paper, registration forms). Two Swedish advisers spent two weeks with the NEC in April, assisting in the preparation of forms and regulations and internal planning for the elections; at least one of them, and perhaps both, are expected to return to continue work with the NEC in May. Along with other donors represented in the task force, Sweden is

awaiting receipt from the Inter-Africa Group, expected the first week of May, of final proposals and budgets for an Ethiopian monitoring initiative and a program of public education.

Following the visit to Addis Ababa by UN Undersecretary James Jonah in early April, and subsequent meetings in New York, the United Nations reached the decision to dispatch an elections expert to Ethiopia, to arrive in early May, who will consult with the NEC, the TGE and the donor task force, identify critical logistical and technical needs and design a coordinated approach which will further inform the actions undertaken by the donor task force. UNDP won agreement from the TGE to make use of unallocated project monies to support the elections process; the precise amount of funds and their applications awaits clarification. Under investigation is the possibility of the UN providing a high frequency radio communications system for monitors.

The donor task force has set a target of 100 outside monitors of local and regional elections, likely to work in conjunction with the IAG Ethiopian initiative, and likely to be complemented by an estimated 60 expatriate resident staff of donor embassies. The U.S. target is 50; the UN will likely contribute 10-12, Switzerland 6-8, and Sweden 5-6 (along with approximately 14 vehicles).

Holland has indicated that it has set aside \$300,000 to be divided between the NEC and support of observers; details of the use of those funds are not yet finalized. Germany, Great Britain, Holland and the EC each have money to commit; and by early May, their precise commitments will become known. Russia has volunteered use of an 18 seat aircraft for the transport of election observers.

#### **IV. PROJECT STRATEGY AND DESCRIPTION**

##### **A. Project Approach and Strategy**

The Democracy and Governance (D/G) Support Project begins from the premise that USAID must make careful and deliberate choices in the use of its resources, oriented to the immediate, most urgent requirements of the 24 to 30 months transitional period scheduled to end by early 1994. Realistically defining the scope of the Project is essential, if the finite funds available (\$5 million over a period of three years) are to be deployed effectively in encouraging a transition in Ethiopia towards an increasingly democratic, pluralistic and stable new

order. The Project has been deliberately situational and opportunistic, seeking to support and build upon initiatives taken by Ethiopians and responding to their expressed needs.

The course of Ethiopia's future hinges to an overwhelming degree on the progress achieved by early 1994 in four strategic areas: local and regional elections, followed by national elections; the redrafting of the national constitution; promotion of human rights, including revision of the national judicial system; and promotion of independent media. A fifth area, important in the intermediate and longer term, will be the establishment of functional legislatures and institutions of governance at local and regional levels.

Through the D/G Support Project, USAID will concentrate its activities in these five activities. Of immediate, high priority will be local and regional elections, scheduled to occur by mid-1992. The outcome of these elections will greatly influence whether a new, decentralized order and the institutional groundwork for constitutional revisions and eventual national elections can be successfully laid. It is envisioned activities with regard to human rights and the media will also begin in 1992. Somewhat later, as the constitutional commission takes form in the latter part of 1992 and the focus of attention shifts to the redesign of Ethiopia's constitution and its popular review in 1993, USAID foresees commencing activities in this area and to begin planning, assessment and initial activities in the implementation of federalism through new local and regional structures.

Throughout the course of 1992 and 1993, the D/G Support Project also intends for local project management to monitor events in Eritrea, through periodic consultations there, with a view towards advising USAID of future requirements for outside assistance on the part of emergent human rights groups and the internationally-monitored referendum on Eritrea's mode of self-government, expected to take place by the conclusion of the transitional period.

The principal criteria in selecting D/G Support Project activities are:

- \* that they have a strong potential for immediate, positive impact on those policy debates and political changes most critical to the success of the transition underway in Ethiopia;

- \* that they encourage durable changes which rest on consensus and trust across sectors of Ethiopian society, entrench democratic

values and human rights, minimize confusion and moderate tensions;

\* that they encourage ever more open and informed popular debate and participation;

\* that they assist in the creation of electoral and legal-constitutional orders that have transparency, public confidence, increasing competence and accountability;

\* that they contribute to independent initiative in Ethiopian society; and

\* that they avoid bias towards any one political party or organized interest.

The Project will involve a mix of activities, including collaboration with government institutions (the Ministries of Justice and Information, the Electoral and Constitutional Commissions) and non-governmental organizations (e.g. the Inter Africa Group), the provision of technical expertise through select individuals and outside agencies (e.g. the Center for Foreign Journalists, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs), and support of symposia, public fora and training exercises. In the areas of judicial reform and promotion of independent media, the Project assumes there will be close coordination with USIS/Addis, so that the USIS Academic Specialist and International Visitors Programs have a reinforcing, integrative relationship with D/G Support Project activities.

As a rule, the Project will emphasize becoming engaged early, quickly and aggressively. In each of the policy areas where USAID is to concentrate its activities, decisive processes of change -- in which formative debates unfold, proclamations are formulated, and implementing actions and popular involvement are set in motion -- have either already begun, or once they do actually begin in the transitional period, will almost certainly evolve rapidly. For optimal use of its resources, the D/G Project also requires that institutional and financial resources be complemented by strong diplomatic leadership.

Having committed since the mid-1980s well over \$1 billion towards Ethiopia's recurrent humanitarian emergencies, the United States has an established, strong interest in seeing that the implementation of the National Charter brings into existence an increasingly democratic and stable Ethiopia. Only then will it become at all possible that Ethiopia may surmount its chronic vulnerability to famine and mass human dislocation to pursue

genuine developmental objectives. Owing to the strength of the United States' relations with the TGE, Ethiopia's organized political movements, and other donors, the United States has before it an unusual opportunity to enhance coordinated action, leverage the assistance and diplomatic energies of other donors, and positively influence those vital policies and associated developments that will define Ethiopia's future.

It is assumed that certain remaining legislative restrictions, in particular the recently enacted Horn of Africa Act, which inhibit USAID's ability to move forward and sign the Project Agreement will be lifted in May. Still, there is the possibility of further delay, a factor which could have some bearing on how Project and other USAID resources will eventually be applied, particularly with respect to the local and regional elections expected to occur by late May/early June, 1992. What forms of assistance other donors introduce during any interim if such restrictions are still in force, will have to be taken closely into account as USAID begins implementation of the D/G Support Project. In the interim, consultations with other donors and the TGE have begun on the upcoming elections.

To ensure success, USAID management of the D/G Support Project will need to constantly reassess evolving political realities, take informed risks, and have the latitude to adjust with speed and flexibility. Whenever outside individuals or institutional assistance are incorporated into the Project, it will also be imperative that those interests possess, or quickly acquire, a competent grounding in Ethiopia's realities and that they bring appropriate expertise of immediate applicability.

Ethiopia's political environment is, and will likely remain, highly fluid, uncertain and confusing during the transition period. It is difficult to overestimate the staggering proportions of Ethiopia's inheritance: the absence of any democratic tradition; a decimated economy; intensified ethnic and class tensions; and an institutional void arising from years of war, the dismantling of the national police, the demobilization of over 400,000 soldiers, the collapse of prior administrative structures in the regions, and the present estrangement between the TGE leadership and the inherited central bureaucracy. In the current context of Ethiopia's massive needs, its limited available resources, accumulated demands to demonstrate concrete progress in virtually every critical policy area, and plans to convert Ethiopia's politics to a competitive electoral system, organized around freshly drawn regions, the TGE leadership faces challenges unprecedented in Ethiopian history.

Complex, shifting security problems are, without question, real. They flow from many sources, in particular opportunistic banditry and the jockeying for position, especially in southern and eastern areas where future electoral competition will be most heated, of a select number of the armed wings of political movements.

In retrospect, it is a testimony to Ethiopia's underlying cultural character that instances of lawlessness have been as few as they have, in the many months since the fall of the Mengistu regime. Moreover, reports of instability and conflict are often unfocused, prone to exaggeration and gross generalizations, and fail to take adequately into account an important new dimension of Ethiopian politics, namely ad hoc conciliation initiatives, organized at the center and drawing together leaders of the political movements concerned, aimed at investigating the roots of conflict in the countryside and devising concrete arrangements to defuse tensions. The success of TGE efforts to manage conflict, especially through the dialogue underway between the EPRDF and the OLF, will directly influence prospects for political/ethnic tolerance, the overall course of the transition and opportunities for the full, effective implementation of the Project.

As Ethiopia struggles to move beyond decades of imperial autocracy, compounded by brutal Stalinism under Mengistu, it will hardly be surprising if progress in implementing the National Charter is a back-and-forth, mixed experience. That must be taken as a given in carrying forward the activities envisioned under the D/G Support Project. In this respect, USAID D/G Support Project management -- on the ground in Ethiopia -- carry a special responsibility to ensure that Project activities are informed by a rolling and realistic comprehension of Ethiopia's internal developments.

## **B. Project Goal and Purpose**

The overarching goal of the D/G Support Project is the establishment of an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia, within the 24 to 30 month transitional period. The D/G Support Project's purpose is to provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition. Key assumptions that underlie the successful achievement of the Project's and purpose are:

\* that the TGE and its major constituent movements, most notably the EPRDF and the OLF, are genuinely committed to instituting democratic principles, carrying forward macroeconomic reform, promoting human rights (including the creation of an independent judiciary and the guarantee of free expression via private media), and creating viable, participatory institutions at the regional and local levels, elected through free and fair elections.

\* that the EPRDF, the OLF and other movements represented within the Council of Representatives continue good faith efforts to mediate conflicts through non-violent conciliation, exercise self-restraint, and arrive at mutually acceptable, confidence-building measures that will result in the successful encampment of armed fighters and the creation of sufficient conditions for free and fair elections.

\* that the plan of action embodied in the National Charter and detailed in various TGE proclamations, under which Ethiopia's political system has begun to be restructured into fourteen new regions, based on regional nationalities, and under which a series of elections and the revision of the national constitution are to occur, is viable. Indeed, given present realities in Ethiopia, this plan of action represents the single available option for Ethiopia, if it is to move beyond its history of armed conflict, authoritarianism, and chronic humanitarian emergencies, and convert to democratic forms of political competition, and the pursuit of economic development.

\* that the TGE continues to welcome outside donor support -- moral, financial and diplomatic -- of its efforts to bring about enduring political and economic reforms, and is open to an evolving dialogue with donors on key policy matters.

\* that structural adjustment initiatives financed by donors are framed within the context of realistic plans and benchmarks that include analysis of all sectors.

\* that nascent private groups within Ethiopian society, such as media, NGOs and the Inter-Africa Group, can play an important role, in collaboration with the TGE and donors, in building popular consensus on key policy issues and promoting processes of democratic change.

Important future indicators of whether Ethiopia is progressing in moving towards an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic order include:

\* during the interim phase, the degree to which the TGE's various key objectives (the encampment of armed fighters, the reintroduction of local police and the election of interim local councils) are realized in an orderly, peaceful and fair manner, as a function of improved administrative capacity, shared consensus among competitive political movements, and mutual restraint that reduced armed conflict and encourages open political competition and relative security.

\* during local and regional elections, and subsequently during national elections, the degree to which elections are conducted in a free and fair manner, with sufficient administrative competence, and the degree to which new regional and local structures emerge that are democratic in character and whose leadership demonstrate progress in improving governance at these levels.

\* during the constitutional revision, the degree to which that process is open, inclusionary, transparent, and carried out on a consensual basis.

\* the degree to which a credible, truly independent judicial system is created.

\* the degree to which individual human rights are respected and protected under the laws of Ethiopia.

\* the degree to which the environment for free expression continues to improve in Ethiopia, such that private media become legalized and a climate of tolerance, free access to information, and mutual respect is strengthened.

\* the degree to which independent Ethiopian organizations acquire greater credibility and expertise, and are able to positively influence the conduct of elections, the character of the constitutional revision process, the level of participation of local and regional interests, and the direction of national policy in such areas as judicial reform, promotion of human rights, and liberalization of the media.

### **C. Expected Accomplishments**

Indicators of the D/G Support Project's impact and effectiveness -- whether single aspects of the Project or the collective value of Project activities -- must be defined with close reference to Ethiopia's overall, evolving political context, due to the Project's overtly political content, the span of its activities, and the fact that its progress and the changes it seeks to nurture are interconnected to multiple, sweeping changes underway in Ethiopia. That notwithstanding, the following are general indicators for the Project's five areas of concentration:

#### **(i) local, regional and national elections:**

\* the degree to which the National Election Commission acquires the administrative capacity to manage elections competently and fairly (in terms of defining procedures, informing the public, organizing and coordinating the logistical requirements for elections, conducting registration of voters and candidates, creating supervisory committees, and ensuring polling security.)

\* the degree to which Project-support public fora, at local and regional levels, enhance public comprehension of, and participation in the election process, promote civic debate, and through collaboration with media reach a national audience.

\* the degree to which independent Ethiopian monitoring groups become operational throughout Ethiopia, build confidence and trust among competing political parties, collaborate fruitfully with external monitors, and enhance the relative fairness and credibility of elections.

#### **(ii) constitutional revisions**

\* the degree to which the drafting and revision process is informed by knowledge of other relevant comparative experiences, takes adequate account of the budgeting and finance implications of different constitutional options, is a transparent and pluralistic process that results in a national consensus, is subject to popular discussion and review at local and regional levels, makes use of the media to inform and stir debate in local languages, and remains consistent with its Charter.

**(iii) human rights and judicial reform**

\* the degree to which a human rights symposium, training and follow-on activities reach relevant audiences and advance prospects for establishing an independent judiciary and a credible Ethiopian human rights council.

**(iv) promotion of independent media**

\* the degree to which training workshops and the attachment of Ethiopian journalists to outside media organizations raise journalist standards and expertise.

\* the degree to which a media symposium contributes to the strengthening of a public corporation approach to the management of state media, the creation of a policy environment (including legal policies and requirements) that encourages the emergence and tolerance of private media, and indigenous initiatives aimed at surmounting shortages of paper, newsprint and equipment.

**(v) implementation of federalism**

\* the degree to which training seminars of recently elected officials and local and regional staff aid in improved governance at these levels and implementation of initial rules of procedure for legislatures and local councils.

**D. Project Elements and Outputs**

The D/G Support Project will support the following five areas: (1) election support; (2) creating a new national constitution; (3) human rights and restructuring of the judiciary; (4) promotion of an independent media; and (5) implementation of federalism.

During the proposed three year life of the D/G Support Project, it is estimated that the activities described below will be financed at a total AID contribution level of \$5 million.

## 1. Local/Regional and National Election Support

As of late 1991/early 1992, the outline of the upcoming election process became clearer. Recently issued TGE proclamations define (a) fourteen new regions (comprised of 12 regions plus two chartered cities, Addis Ababa and Harar); (b) lay out plans for an interim phase, in which armed groups will be encamped, interim local police forces will be established, and quick local elections will create provisional administrative councils at the district (wereda) and village (kebele) levels, vested with authority over local police; and (c) define how the National Election Commission and affiliated election committees will manage local and regional elections.

As discussed in Section II., the interim phase, which formally began with the publication of the elections proclamation on February 8, 1992 is intended to create stable conditions to facilitate the holding of free and fair local and regional elections. Its full implementation has awaited final agreement, recently obtained, between the EPRDF and the OLF on the precise details of the encampment process and the quick elections for the provisional administrative councils.

A newly created National Election Commission (NEC), comprised of 10 members of the Council of Representatives, has begun organizing regional electoral committees. These committees have lead responsibility for monitoring the quick interim elections and subsequent local and regional elections, in coordination with the NEC and local supervisory bodies which the regional committees will organize.

A political consensus exists within the President's Office and the Council of Representatives that it is imperative that the interim phase, followed by local and regional elections, be completed before the onset of the rainy season in late June. Local and regional elections will be a moment of enormous political consequence. If successful, they will offer Ethiopians their first genuine experience in competitive electoral politics and lay the political and institutional groundwork necessary to implement fully the National Charter. Should they go sour, the future will become considerably more problematic.

Events leading up to the elections are unfolding rapidly, with minimal time to prepare. Several key policy decisions (e.g., on electoral procedures, and whether elections will be conducted on a regionally phased or all-at-once basis)

are still outstanding. In Addis Ababa and the Amhara region, controversy is likely to surround the TGE's decision to ban temporarily former WPE members from voting or running for office.

The NEC has begun to assess its logistical and financial requirements, how best to inform the public of the electoral process, how it will relate to and consolidate the confidence of competitive political movements, what specific forms of outside assistance are most appropriate, and what role an indigenously organized monitoring system, reinforced with outside international assistance, will play. It is clear from discussions with the NEC, the TGE leadership and representatives of the major political movements, and most importantly, from President Meles Zenawi's direct appeal to donors in early February, and the NEC's formal appeal to donors in late April 1992, that outside technical expertise and direct institutional support of the electoral process are strongly desired.

Against this background, donors have begun consultations with the NEC and among themselves to weigh what forms of assistance donors may provide the NEC and what involvement they will have in observer/monitoring initiatives.

It is estimated that, the D/G Support Project will provide financing to support local/regional and national elections. Resources will be concentrated in four areas:

(i) Administrative Strengthening Support of the NEC: in establishing its capacity to administer elections, e.g., voter registration, polling procedures, etc.

(ii) Direct assistance in meeting the NEC's organizational and logistical requirements: e.g., provision of paper, communications, computer and other equipment, transport, ballot boxes and other electoral materials.

(iii) Promotion of Civic Education: including organization and support of public fora to inform the public of the election process and stir debate among competing candidates and their parties; and support of grassroots polling aimed at revealing voters' priority concerns.

**(iv) Support to Emergent Election Monitoring Initiatives:** comprised of local interests (representatives of competing parties, church organizations, non-governmental development and relief groups, and academic and other professional bodies), and complemented by international observers.

The D/G Support Project's election activities will be coordinated with other major donors (the United Kingdom, Germany, the EC, Sweden, Holland, Italy, and the United Nations). As appropriate, project management will function as an informal secretariat to a donor task force on elections, for the purpose of identifying priorities, avoiding duplication, ensuring quick response to emergent developments, creating a common base of knowledge, sustaining a broad dialogue with the TGE, and formulating collective programs of action.

Regarding the NEC's logistical/material requirements, allocation decisions hinge on clarification of the NEC's total requirements. A preliminary listing of items required for local/regional elections was provided to key donors by the NEC in April 1992. (See Annex Q.) Further consultation with the key donors regarding their involvement and planned contributions, and the timing of satisfaction of legislative restrictions on U.S. development assistance remains a variable that will hopefully coincide with.

In addition, short- and medium-term technical expertise will support strengthening the NEC's capacity to design and implement the electoral system (e.g., polling procedures, electoral code of ethics, security and anti-fraud measures, training of poll watchers and supervisory committees, regularizing communications with political parties and field offices). For local/regional elections plans are to attach three experts to the NEC, for periods of eight weeks each. Most appropriate will be individuals who possess strong comparative experience in countries where elections occur in a context of weak democratic traditions, security concerns and a history of violent conflict, poor administrative capacities, ethnic or regional tensions, and skepticism of central government (e.g., Haiti, Zambia, Nigeria, Namibia, Nicaragua, the Phillipines, and Angola.)

It is expected that this assistance will be organized directly by the D/G Support Project management, in collaboration with U.S. and International non-governmental and International Organizations, e.g., the African American Institute (AAI), the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the National Democratic Institute

for International Affairs (NDI), Elections Canada and the Carter Presidential Center. Experts brought in under the USIS Academic Specialist Program can also play an important role.

In the areas of civic education and elections monitoring initiatives, inputs to be financed include advice and training on volunteer recruitment, communications and reporting systems, collection and delineation of accurate information, identification and investigation of potential abuses, and the organization of poll watching. It is expected that the Project will directly support the efforts of NGOs/PVOs such as the Inter-Africa Group (IAG), an independent, non-partisan organization, incorporated in the United States and headquartered in Addis Ababa. The IAG's first major initiative in post-Mengistu Ethiopia, a January 1992 symposium on rehabilitating the Ethiopian economy, was well-organized and comprehensive. Building upon months of careful preliminary consultations by IAG's leadership, the symposium succeeded in skillfully navigating Ethiopia's prevailing political tensions. It opened public debate on Ethiopia's most sensitive macroeconomic issues, created a dialogue that drew together government officials, political leaders, academics and intellectuals, attracted generous media attention, and resulted in a set of detailed, constructive conclusions. The IAG enjoys wide credibility as an effective, non-partisan organization. Its leadership has a thorough knowledge of Ethiopia, has the flexibility to integrate other Ethiopian individuals, and associations and NGOs/PVOs as partners, and is open to collaboration with donors.

In promoting civic education, it is expected that the Project will also support efforts of the Ministry of Information in public education and coverage of public fora (especially through radio, in local languages). Close coordination with, and likely support for outside institutions such as NDI and the Carter Presidential Center, to enhance the effectiveness of local election monitoring initiatives will also be emphasized.

At present, it is difficult to define with any degree of precision what priority needs will be at the time of the national elections, now planned for late 1993. For the moment, the D/G Support Project assumes that the four areas of concentration outlined above will remain the framework for the subsequent phase of national elections, subject to modifications that reflect lessons learned from the local and regional elections and what new priority requirements arise in the lead-up to national elections. Clear details of Project support for this area will be developed by the Mission in early FY 1993.

It is expected that the inputs provided for local/regional and national elections under the Project will result in the following outputs:

- o NEC establishes organizational logistical requirements for local/regional and national elections.
- o NEC designs/implements local/regional/national electoral system.
- o Civic education efforts provide parties, and rural and urban public with election process information and priority voter concerns identified.

## 2. Creating a New National Constitution

Between June and August 1992, after new regional leaderships have been established, the Council of Representatives plans to establish a Constitutional Commission (CC), drawn from Council ranks. The Commission will call together a constituent assembly to draft a constitution that, over the course of 1993, will be subject to popular debate, further revision and final ratification. Discussions with TGE officials and Council representatives who will have direct responsibility in the Constitutional Commission's work revealed a strong desire for the specific types of outside technical assistance reflected below.

The D/G Support Project will attach technical assistance specialists to the CC with expertise in legal drafting and international comparative experience in federalism models. One constitutional advisor will serve with the CC for an initial three month stint at the beginning of the constitutional revision and will make a one month follow-up visit, to provide the CC with assistance in revising the constitution, informed in part by input the CC will derive from public debates and reviews. In addition, two experts in tax, revenue and budgetary matters will serve with the CC for periods of three weeks each to complement the constitutional advisor's efforts.

The D/G Support Project will also finance the design and conduct of two seminars, each lasting approximately three days. These seminars will be chiefly for the benefit of the members of the CC, but will also incorporate TGE officials, other members of the Council, members of regional assemblies, and independent Ethiopian legal experts. On the agenda of the seminars will be: the design and historical experience of alternative models of federalism (e.g. India, Nigeria, Switzerland, the United States,

the Federal Republic of Germany); the organization of public input to the constitutional revision process; the separation of powers and jurisdiction over different areas of public policy (which policy areas are best reserved for which levels of government, given conditions in Ethiopia, and what political implications flow from alternative arrangements); and revenue generation and budgetary questions (including sources and amounts of revenue to be available to central, regional and local governments; extent of independent authority to tax and draft budgets; mechanisms for grants from the center to the periphery and other transfer mechanisms).

It is estimated that the three outside specialists will provide short-term technical assistance in support of each seminar. In addition, wherever possible, specialists brought to Ethiopia under the USIS Academic Specialist Program will be integrated into the seminars.

The D/G Support Project will also finance mechanisms for promoting local and regional debate on constitutional issues, to encourage consensus-building and the expression of opinion by a diversity of Ethiopian interests. The Project expects to finance four to five citizen fora, at select regional and local settings, aimed at facilitating public debate on draft constitutional proposals. It is expected that these will involve a plurality of local and regional political interests, and will be organized in collaboration with independent organizations such as the Inter-Africa Group, and possibly emergent legal associations.

As with the Project's support of civic education in the area of elections, the Project will also support the design and production of the Ministry of Information's efforts (and those of independent media, if viable) to disseminate information and provide coverage of debate on constitutional issues to local areas, in local languages.

It is expected that the A.I.D. inputs provided for constitutional development will result in the following outputs:

- o NCC publishes draft constitution.
- o TGE and NCC promotion of local/regional fora and media coverage for debate and dissemination of constitutional issues.

### 3. Human Rights and Restructuring of the Judiciary

The Mengistu regime's gross disregard for human rights has left people hungry for the establishment of human rights monitoring groups. Countless individuals now in positions of leadership have endured arbitrary arrest, torture, the execution of family members, the confiscation of property, and the destruction of careers.

The UN Declaration on Human Rights stands at the forefront of the National Charter. What remains is to translate that into an enduring reality, in a country where sustained respect for human rights has virtually no history, where the inherited judicial system and bar association are discredited, where past atrocities create strong pressure for swift justice, and where the present government confronts the still unresolved question of how, precisely, the several thousand still detained are either to be released or tried for war crimes. In the medium term, at least, the manner with which detainees are handled will color essential efforts in other areas: to anchor at the popular level respect for basic rights, including due process and tolerance of diverse views; to reconcile individual human rights with demands for group rights; to reform judicial and security institutions; and, to encourage the creation of independent monitoring agencies.

Policy debates are currently underway within the Council of Representatives on what form of a restructured judicial system Ethiopia should embrace. Discussions are also focussed on what portion of the inherited court system, the penal code and Ethiopia's pool of judges are to be retained, how the judicial system will relate to emergent regional entities, and what level of independence the judicial system will enjoy vis-a-vis central and regional authorities. These discussions are expected to extend well into 1992 and 1993 and to become an important element of broader debates on Ethiopia's new constitution.

There is considerable internal and external interest in the formation of a new, broad-based and impartial human rights commission. External support of such an organization would be welcome, and in all likelihood, essential. At present, however, there has been little concrete work done in this area of the sort that would guarantee that such an organization would transcend prevailing ethnic tensions in Ethiopia. Several initiatives by prominent individuals or potentially credible organizations have recently been launched, yet none have demonstrable strength and broad support. In practical terms, the current situation in Ethiopia suggests that if USAID is to seek to nurture an

Ethiopian human rights commission, while preserving USAID's neutrality and ensuring pluralistic representation and participation, USAID will need to actively initiate activities and become operationally involved as a direct sponsor and organizer.

In the area of human rights and the restructuring of the judiciary, the D/G Support Project expects to concentrate on two areas:

(a) targetted support for key elements of the Ministry of Justice's proposed project "Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Ethiopia."

(b) organization of a neutral introductory symposium on human rights monitoring, documentation and advocacy, and on restructuring Ethiopia's judicial system (1992).

The MOJ's proposal includes a series of discrete, but mutually reinforcing elements, e.g., training of lawyers and judges; workshops and seminars for senior government officials and political party representatives on governance and human rights; mass media programs to promote the rule of law; short term courses for secondary school teachers on human rights and legality; and workshops oriented to local women community leaders. The proposal's underlying strategy is to create new linkages with other ministries (Education, Information and Agriculture), to divide its energies across central government, regional authorities and localities, to tap the expertise of the Law Faculty at the University of Addis Ababa, and to establish collaborative relationships with outside independent human rights organizations and academic institutions.

The proposal is a major initiative, emanating from the personal leadership of the Minister, and with the potential of significantly advancing the understanding of human rights in Ethiopia. Outside donor support, moral and financial, is essential for the proposal to go forward. As the proposal now stands, its total budget is 1.4 million Birr (\$700,000). Under the D/G Support Project, the Mission can fund only a portion of what is proposed. During the first few months of Project implementation, USAID will consult closely with the MOJ and other interested donors (e.g., Sweden), to refine plans for the five areas of concentration and identify priorities.

In assuming major responsibility for organizing a symposium on human rights and the restructuring of the judiciary, the D/G Support Project will finance the costs of bringing together international and African human rights groups (Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International) with a diversity of Ethiopian interests: nascent human rights groups, members of the Council of Representatives' Legal Committee, representatives of the Ministry of Justice, political party leadership at the central and regional levels, faculty from the Law School at the University of Addis Ababa, and private attorneys and other interested individuals. It is expected that the symposium will include the support of approximately 200 participants, and will involve other co-sponsors, such as other donors, the Inter-Africa Group, and the Law Faculty of the University of Addis Ababa.

The symposium's chief aims will be: to widen public debate on the issue of creating an independent judiciary in Ethiopia; to create a dialogue between international organizations and a broad Ethiopian audience, concerning human rights monitoring, documentation and advocacy; to produce a constructive, consensus statement spelling out concrete future steps required to advance human rights and a credible independent judiciary; and to formulate plans for follow-on activities, supported by additional outside assistance, possibly oriented towards the eventual creation of a credible, national human rights commission. The D/G Support Project budget includes limited financing to support follow-on activities resulting from the symposium.

It is expected that the A.I.D. inputs provided for human rights and restructuring of the judiciary will result in the following outputs:

- o Collaborative relationships with outside human rights organizations and other ministries created to promote rule of law principles.
- o Widened public debate on human rights and action plan developed for symposium follow-on activities.

#### 4. Promotion of Independent Media

The TGE recognizes the need for independent political parties to express themselves through their own media. Indeed, both the EPRDF and OLF already possess radio stations and publish newspapers. Beyond that, however, is the need to institutionalize the concept of freedom of the press and to establish guarantees that such freedom is not ever threatened by any one dominant party. At least rhetorically, there appears to

be little disagreement over this goal. According to the Ministry of Information, a national press policy has been drafted that permits the establishment of private media and the sale of commercial advertising, and that spells out criteria for the registration of private media. A proclamation issued in early October 1991 moved the state-controlled media closer to a public corporation model, by declaring that access to public media will be apportioned to competing political interests and that a diversity of views, including criticism of TGE policies, will be tolerated.

It is not clear when action will be taken in the Council of Representatives on an independent media policy. Until a proclamation is issued legalizing private media, those many individuals and groups who have applied for permission to launch different media cannot begin operations. Even after passage of new press legislation, chronic foreign exchange shortages mean that several formidable barriers to a free press will not soon disappear, e.g., the extreme shortage of paper and newsprint; and the lack of computer, printing and other production equipment.

On the human side, there are other inherited difficulties, most importantly a near total lack of professional, independent journalists. In the Mengistu era, independent media were simply not tolerated; those journalists who worked in government were little more than propagandists, their professional association a party-dominated agency used to reward journalists on the basis of loyalty. Self-censorship, non-critical acceptance of government information, and an overriding tendency to glorify Mengistu and the upper hierarchy of his regime became the prevailing journalistic norms.

With the support of a \$48,000 grant from the National Endowment for Democracy, the Center for Foreign Journalists (CFJ), a U.S.-based organization, sponsored a three-day seminar in Addis Ababa in March on "Press Freedom and the Role of the Press in a Democratic Society." This represents the first such experiment of its kind in Ethiopia. Based on the outcome of the seminar and the results of a subsequent CFJ survey of Ethiopia's media and its needs, the CFJ will define plans for future on-site training workshops and U.S.-based training.

In the area of promoting a conducive policy environment and approach for establishing independent media, the D/G Support Project will support the organization and conduct of a symposium, shaped in part by the outcome of the CFJ seminar, focused upon three principal policy issues:

\* the policy and institutional requirements of converting the state media monopoly to a genuine public corporation and of reconfiguring its programming to meet the needs of linguistically and culturally diverse regions;

\* the legal policies and logistical requirements for an independent media to take root in Ethiopia; and

\* the prospects for establishing an independent 'media trust' that would solicit foreign exchange from donors chiefly for the purpose of increasing the importation of paper, newsprint and equipment.

It is likely that this three day symposium will involve co-sponsors, such as other donors, and include collaboration in implementation of NGOs, such as the Inter-Africa Group, CFJ and others. The symposium will bring to Ethiopia 15 outside experts. The CFJ is expected to play a lead role in facilitating and conducting this symposium. Approximately 100 participants are anticipated, to include private individuals and groups interested in establishing independent media, from within and outside Addis Ababa, Ministry of Information officials and journalists, members of the Media Committee of the Council of Representatives, and academics. It is expected to result in a summary of proceedings, a consensus statement of policy recommendations and a plan of action for subsequent activities.

To encourage greater Ethiopian journalistic professionalism, the D/G Support Project also plans to fund three journalist training workshops in Ethiopia, each lasting three days, and involving two outside experts. Each workshop will include 15-20 participants, drawn from within and outside Addis Ababa. The CFJ or similar organization is expected to provide support in the design and conduct of these workshops.

In addition, the D/G Support Project will finance the attachment of five Ethiopian journalists, for periods of three months each, to U.S. media organizations (to be done in possible collaboration with USIS and CFJ). This training approach has proven to be an effective way of providing trainees with on-the-job skills and broad exposure to professional media operations in the private sector.

The A.I.D. inputs to be financed under this component are expected to result in the following outputs:

- o Symposium defines policy/institutions requirements for transforming state media into public corporation, establishing independent media, and launching an independent media trust.
- o Journalist training workshops enhance quality of reporting and promote greater objectivity.
- o Attachments of Ethiopian journalists to U.S. media organizations provide effective exposure to professional standards of reporting.

### 5. Implementation of Federalism

Beginning in mid FY 1993, the D/G Support Project foresees commencing activities in support of emergent legislative institutions at the regional and local level. The success or failure of the TGE to fulfill its commitment to establish a federal system of government in Ethiopia turns on its ability to get regional and local governments up and running without undue delay. The elections scheduled for May/June 1992 to determine the membership of new legislatures in each of Ethiopia's fourteen new regions (i.e., states), and the membership of local councils in 588 wereda, are the first step of this process. Making these elected bodies function is the second, a task which poses a major challenge to the TGE. Few newly elected officials will have prior legislative experience as they will be the first in Ethiopia to be elected to legislative bodies with real decision-making authority. Nor are many civil servants or former legislative staff conversant with the procedures and day to day operation of such bodies.

There is an urgent need to establish the rules of procedure for both the regional legislatures and the local councils at the wereda level, and to provide training to key members of these bodies and selected staff to ensure their initial operation. Over the long term, additional technical assistance will be needed to support the policy-making process and government administration at the regional at local level, particularly in respect to the planning and budgeting for economic development.

To meet the immediate needs of the emergent elected governments at the regional and local level, the D/G Support Project will mount two efforts beginning in early FY 1993. The first effort will be to support the TGE in formulating the

initial rules of procedure for the new regional legislatures and for the new local councils at the wereፊa level. Funding will be provided for technical assistance in the form of two external experts with broad comparative knowledge of the operation of legislatures and elected local councils and two Ethiopian consultants who will work with the Ministry of Regional and Local Government of the TGE and with a selected sample of regionally-based officials for a period of two months to develop appropriate rules of procedure for the new legislative bodies. Issues to be considered in establishing such procedures will include basic parliamentary procedure, how proposed legislation is to be tabled for consideration; whether the regional assemblies will have standing committees, how many, and the rules pertaining to such committees; the size and functions for legislative staff (i.e. clerks, sergeants-at-arms, etc.); the duration of the legislative session; whether such procedures should be the same for all regional assemblies; the language of debate within the legislative body, etc. Similar issues as appropriate will be considered in respect to the local elected councils.

The second effort will be to support the holding of a series of three workshops on the topic of legislative procedure to provide short-term training for a total of 90 to 100 selected members of new regional assemblies. Each 3-4 day workshop will be held at a regional site, will follow the establishment of the basic procedures for the regional elected bodies, will train approximately 30 legislators (including leaders of the principal political parties in the region), and will be led by a team of two external experts and two Ethiopian consultants.

Clearly, the long-term needs of regional and local government exceed the funding levels of this Project. It is anticipated that the Mission will conduct a further assessment sometime in FY 1993, with PD&S funds, to define the key constraints and needs of regional and local government institutions. The results of this assessment may form the basis for development of a future Mission-funded project. Issues to be examined in the assessment will become more apparent during the first year of operation of local and regional governments, but will no doubt include the capacity of the civil service at the regional and local level, budgeting and economic planning requirements at the regional level, and clarification of jurisdictions among federal, regional and local governments. This assessment could draw heavily on USAID's prior expertise in assisting local and regional government (i.e., Kenya).

The A.I.D. inputs to be financed under this component are expected to result in the following outputs:

- o Initial rules of procedure formulated for newly elected regional and local councils.
- o Short-term training on legislative procedure for selected members of new regional assemblies provides effective initial orientation to enhance administrative and policy making functions.

## **V. PROJECT MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION**

### **A. USAID.**

The Ethiopia D/G Support Project will be managed by a Democracy/Governance Advisor/Project Manager, aided by a Program Assistant. Both positions will be located in the soon-to-be-established Office of Projects Implementation in the A.I.D. Mission.

The D/G Project Manager, to be hired under a U.S. Personal Services Contract (PSC), and the Program Assistant, to be hired locally under a PSC, will work closely with all members of the Country Team, including the Embassy and USIS. Within the Embassy and the Mission, an Interagency Democratization Committee has been established to oversee the D/G Project, chaired by the DCM.

Over the course of project implementation, there will be sustained contact with: other U.S. NGOs, such as NED, NDI, the Carter Center, IRI, IFES, HIID and the Center for Foreign Journalists; private firms and international NGOs, such as IAG and Amnesty International; and the international donors that are expected to play collaborative roles in support of Ethiopia's D/G initiatives. The D/G Project Manager will strive to ensure that Mission's D/G activities are well coordinated and not duplicative of other financed efforts. He/she will also be expected to provide advice to these groups concerning relevant evolving policies (e.g., elections) in Ethiopia.

Important to the Project's success will be the D/G Project Manager's ability to maintain effective and regular channels of communication with senior officials of the TGE, the COR, political parties, private associations, academia, and private individual Ethiopians.

With the guidance of the Director and Deputy Director, the D/G Project Manager will be responsible for the overall management of the D/G Project, including oversight of the Program Assistant's work and responsibilities. The incumbent will be expected to serve as the Mission Advisor on all D/G activities, and to report to, and be supervised by, on a day to day basis, the Office Chief, Office of Project Implementation. Specific management responsibilities include: preparation of all project documents and official correspondence (including Project Implementation Letters); coordination of all technical assistance; scheduling of short- and long-term technical assistance; attendance at Interagency Democracy Committee and Mission Project Review Committee (PRC) meetings; participation in the D/G/ donor coordination group; and briefing Mission management and the Committee on the status of Project activities. In order to respond quickly to priority needs during the 24 month transition period, the D/G Project Manager will take the lead in assessing the relevancy of planned support and/or related requests for financing. Depending upon the nature of the activity to be financed, the D/G Project Manager will prepare technical criteria to be used by the PRC for evaluation, selection and approval of project intermediaries or consultants.

To provide organizational backup to the Project Manager, and to relieve him/her of excessive paperwork requirements, most importantly the processing of routine implementation functions, the Program Assistant, under the direction of the Project Manager, will have the following responsibilities: monitoring the Project schedule; managing the Project Manager's weekly schedule; managing the flow of correspondence; putting into final form and managing the clearance approval process issuing the scopes of work (SOW) and terms of reference (TOR) for short- or long-term technical assistance requirements and for all requisite documentation (e.g., Project Implementation Letters (PILs), Project Implementation Orders/Technical and Commodity (PIO/Ts and PIO/Cs) to procure necessary services and/or equipment; tracking the evolving status of SOWs, TORs, PILs, PIO/Ts and PIO/Cs.

Six months into the life of the Project, Mission management will reassess workload requirements and the effectiveness of managing the Project with a Manager and Program Assistant. Should it be necessary, the Committee will at that time determine if additional managerial support is required and revise arrangements accordingly to meet them.

Though the Mission is currently thinly staffed, FY 1992 and 1993 staffing plans include establishment of several new USDH positions, including a Supervisory Program/Project Development Officer, a Supervisory General Development Officer, and a

Controller. These positions will provide critical support to the D/G Project Manager in maintaining programmatic administrative and financial oversight of the Project. Until the Mission is fully staffed, and then, as required, project implementation will also rely on the REDSO/Regional Legal Advisor, Contracting Officer and Regional Financial Management Controller (RFMC) to assist in procurement, financial monitoring and legal review to ensure that Project-financed efforts meet A.I.D. requirements and regulations.

On a quarterly basis, the D/G Manager will provide oral and, as appropriate, written briefing reports on the status of D/G Project financed activities to the Interagency Democratization Committee. These reports will provide an analysis of transition processes; progress on particular elements; future A.I.D. assistance requirements; and details on any programmatic or implementation issues/concerns. More indepth reporting on project status, including financing expenditures, will take place as part of the Mission's semi-annual program/project portfolio review.

A significant portion of the D/G Support Project budget will support specialized technical assistance in D/G related areas. The Mission has already conducted a preliminary assessment of potential organizations/firms that could provide such assistance, in consultation with the Africa Bureau Operations and New Initiatives' Democracy/Governance Office. A number of these organizations are referred to in Section IV. Project Description.

It is anticipated that the bulk of D/G financing for the components of elections, media and human rights support will be administered by nonprofit U.S. and local organizations under A.I.D. Handbook 13 Cooperative Agreement mechanisms. The Cooperative Agreement mechanism will provide the Mission with a financing structure that will ensure flexibility and the Mission's "substantial involvement" in guiding activities.

The D/G sector is relatively new, highly specialized and, at least at this stage, involves a limited number of potentially qualified collaborators in comparison to other sectors of A.I.D. support. The Project also calls for a number of efforts which, if carried out entirely as separate, discrete arrangements, could create an unnecessarily heavy management burden. Therefore, a streamlined approach to procurement will be followed that speeds the process while also consolidating certain activities.

First, the Mission will take the lead in defining basic assistance requirements under Project components. In consultation with REDSO Contracts, an Invitation for Applications (IFAs) will be issued to potentially qualified organizations that have been short-listed by the Mission. To maximize competition and ensure that the Mission has not neglected any other qualified firms or organizations, it will consult with ONI/DG prior to issuance of IFAs for comment and additions. In addition, the Mission will consult with ONI/DG to determine whether select activities lend themselves to "buy-in" arrangements under AID/W centrally-administered IQCs or Cooperative Agreements. ONI/DG will be asked to provide feedback on the administrative, technical and managerial capacity of applicants to collaborate effectively and support the requirements of the terms of reference for proposed activities. Validation of an intermediary's performance under previous AID-financed efforts will also be undertaken by the Project Manager, with assistance from ONI/DG.

Second, to reduce the number of IFAs, a single IFA or "buy in" will be issued covering activities under both constitutional support and the implementation of federalism. A single IFA or "buy-in" will be issued to cover election activities for both local and regional elections and the later national elections. Further, the Mission will seek to reduce the number of cooperative agreements required under components by working with groups like the Inter-Africa Group, i.e., it will seek to structure a multi-sectoral cooperative agreement, covering planned activities in elections, constitution redrafting and human rights. It is expected that the nature of a certain activities e.g., promotion of independent media, will require coordination and a rather strong degree of continuity in administration. Thus it is planned that support be structured under a single mechanism.

In the case of grants to NGOs and/or PVOs, it is expected that financing will be provided consistent with U.S.G. regulations (AID Handbook 13) under direct arrangements. Consistent with the approval authorities for A.I.D. Handbook 13 Cooperative Agreements, awards of \$100,000 or less will be executed by the Mission Director, and will require the Controller's and RLA clearance. Any activities over \$100,000 will be executed on the Mission's behalf by the REDSO Contracting Officer.

To the maximum extent, any financing for activities undertaken by Ethiopian government institutions, e.g., the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Information, will be financed and administered under direct A.I.D. buy-ins, grants, cooperative agreements or contracts. Official correspondence

(i.e., PILs) will be used to obtain approval and communicate the details of these arrangements to the TGE/MEEC.

The design of the Mission's D/G Support Project has benefitted from the intellectual input of REDSO/ESA Democracy/Governance Advisors and professional staff in the Africa Bureau's Office of Democracy/Governance. During Project implementation, the Mission will continue to consult as appropriate with these units/individuals to ensure that a productive "give and take" on generic issues, current thinking and policy developments is maintained. TDY assistance from these units/individuals may also be requested and will be factored into the Project's annual implementation work plan development and semi-annual review process.

It should be noted that while the Mission considered the management/administrative option of procuring the services of a single institutional contractor for overall project implementation, it determined that given the nature of the activity, the specialized skills/experience inherently required in the diversity of tasks and the need to maintain direct involvement in guiding the content of the efforts, this option was not feasible and would, at the same time, significantly increase Project costs.

#### B. TGE.

The active involvement and support of the TGE is essential for the success of this Project. Because of the mix of activities planned for support, it will be necessary to relate to and coordinate requirements with several ministries, offices and/or commissions. To facilitate participation and effectively target the results/products of Project-financed activities, the TGE's Ministry for External Economic Cooperation (MEEC) is expected to have the lead role in coordinating and designating individuals in other departments or ministries to collaborate with the Project's activities. The MEEC has been designated by the TGE as the unit responsible for liaison on donor-financed initiatives.

Any Project-financed consultants arriving to work on technical assistance designed to support TGE-led initiatives, e.g., elections, constitution drafting, etc., will initially meet with, and as appropriate, be briefed by the MEEC. As needed, the MEEC could be asked to provide assistance in scheduling appointments with implementing offices, e.g., National Election Commission, etc., and in obtaining documents or other forms of support.

The Mission does not see the need for an interministerial steering group or a permanent structure by the TGE to support the Project. The Mission will, however, regularly assess whether the overall coordinating role of the MEEC is mutually satisfactory to Mission and MEEC needs, and if not whether alternative arrangements are necessary.

It is anticipated that the D/G Support Project will also directly finance selected Ethiopian NGO activities. To ensure that the TGE and NGO community continue to enhance their collaboration and find new ways of developing mutually beneficial partnerships, USAID will share the substantive elements of any proposed Project-financed NGO projects with the MEEC for comment.

Reports and/or other documents prepared by Project-financed consultants or organizations resulting from technical assistance provided to TGE-related offices will be shared with those offices and the MEEC. In addition, it is planned that in the areas of constitution drafting and election support, the Mission and its designated TGE counterparts will closely consult in defining terms of reference and action/implementation plans, and in reviewing the results of any assessments detailing options and findings.

Monthly or more frequent meetings of the D/G Project Manager with the MEEC are anticipated and, as appropriate, will include senior Mission management and Embassy participation. More regular meetings with key implementing units, e.g., the National Election and Constitutional Commissions, are likely. Further, given the clearly political nature of this activity, it is expected that the Embassy will regularly discuss with the President D/G Support Project initiatives, critical requirements and concerns or issues.

### **C. DFA Procurement Plan - Goods and Services**

Under the proposed Project, U.S. \$5.0 million in goods and service support is planned. A.I.D. Geographic Code 935 source/origin procurement will be authorized according to Standard DFA policies. It remains A.I.D. policy, however, to maximize U.S. procurement wherever practicable. USAID/Ethiopia will require, for example, that any travel to and from the U.S. be on U.S. carriers. USAID/Ethiopia also will require conformance with the 50/50 requirements of the Cargo Preference

Act for ocean shipments from the United states. The following represents USAID/Ethiopia's procurement plan and analysis of the expected source and origin of goods and services.

It is expected that U.S. \$4.8 million of project goods and services will be procured under direct A.I.D. technical assistance Contracts and/or Cooperative Agreements, which will include financing for short-term international technical assistance, training outside of Ethiopia in the U.S., commodity/equipment procurement, other direct costs and overhead.

Eligible sources for bids to the Invitations for Applications (IFA's) or requests for Proposals (RFPs) for the activities will be A.I.D. Geographic Code 000 and the Cooperating Country, Ethiopia. Consistent with AIDAR 726.301 and the requirement for participation of those firms eligible for preferential consideration under Gray Amendment provisions any contract or modification for more than \$500,000 will contain a provision requiring that not less than 10% of the contract value will be adhered to in accordance with the requirements of the Federal Acquisition Regulations.

USAID/Ethiopia will enter into a direct A.I.D. Personal Services Contract (PSC) for a Project Manager and Program Assistant and direct A.I.D. contracts or Indefinite Quantity Contracts (IQCs) for evaluation and non-federal audit services. Standard A.I.D. competitive procurement procedures will apply.

The expected source/origin by estimated costs (\$million) for the various goods and services to be procured under the Project are as follows:

<u>Components</u>	<u>000</u>	<u>935</u>	<u>Total</u>
Elections	2.373	.127	2.500
Constitution	.200	.235	.435
H.R./Judiciary	.160	.140	.300
Independent Media	.345	0	.345
Implementing Federalism	.180	0	.180
A.I.D. PSC's, Evaluation, Audit	.970	.150	1.120
Contingency	.120	0	.120
<b>Total</b>	<b>4.348</b>	<b>.652</b>	<b>5.000</b>

In conformance with the requirements to be defined by A.I.D./W, USAID/Ethiopia will ensure that all financing

agreements with contractors/grantees, etc., provide detailed breakdowns of source/origin for all efforts/elements financed by the Project. On a quarterly basis, the Mission will collect and present data on source/origin derived from vouchers submitted to RFMC and/or the Mission Controller.

**D. Implementation Plan.**

The first year implementation plan outlined below is illustrative, and is based on the assumption that certain legislative restrictions, in particular the recently enacted Horn of Africa legislation, will be satisfied or removed in May 1992 that the PP will be authorized by USAID/Ethiopia's Mission Director and the Project Agreement with the TGE will be signed in May 1992, thereby obligating funds. Based on the timing of these events, it is assumed that the PSC D/G Project Manager will arrive in Addis Ababa in June/July 1992.

Upon arrival, the Project Manager's most immediate task will be to review the first year implementation plan and confirm estimated timelines for actions and related requirements. The Project Manager will be expected to consult with key actors in the D/G Support Project, e.g., TGE, COR, MEEC, MOJ, other donors, U.S. NGOs and IAG, to update schedules for elections, constitution drafting, etc. Within 30 days of arrival, the Project Manager will present a revised six month workplan to the Mission Director for approval.

It should be noted that the illustrative year one workplan represents a number of important start-up events and actions that will be governed by the pace and schedule ultimately set into motion by the TGE. Thus, adjustments are highly probable and flexibility will be essential.

**ILLUSTRATIVE YEAR ONE IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE**

<b><u>TASK/EVENT</u></b>	<b><u>TIMING</u></b>
	<b><u>1992</u></b>
1. D/G Project Paper Authorized by Mission Director	May
2. Receipt/Review of IFA Elec. Sup. Proposals	May
3. PROAG drafted by RLA	May

- |     |                                                                                       |           |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 4.  | ProAg with TGE signed                                                                 | May       |
| 5.  | Mission issues PIL No. 1 to TGE                                                       | May       |
| 6.  | REDSO/CON Coop. Ag. Award for Elections Support                                       | May       |
| 7.  | REDSO/CON contracts for D/G Project Manager                                           | May       |
| 8.  | Coop. Ag. Election Advisors arrive to work with NEC                                   | May       |
| 9.  | PSC Project Manager begins contract                                                   | June      |
| 10. | EXO contracts PSC Program Assistant                                                   | June      |
| 11. | Proj. Mgr. and REDSO/D/G Advisor prepare PIO/T for Const./Fed. Support                | June      |
| 12. | Proj. Mgr. submits six-month workplan                                                 | June      |
| 13. | IFA/RFP for Constitution and Federalism Support issued by REDSO/CON                   | July      |
| 14. | PSC Program Asst. begins contract                                                     | July      |
| 15. | Mission/REDSO/CON receives/r Review Proposals for Constitution and Federalism Support | August    |
| 16. | Proj. Mgr./Prog. Asst. prepare PIO/T for Ind. Media Support                           | August    |
| 17. | IAG Program Proposal Received/Reviewed by Mission                                     | August    |
| 18. | Local/Regional Elections evaluation completed by Cooperating Agency                   | August    |
| 19. | Contract/Coop. Ag. award for Constitution and Federalism Support by REDSO/CON         | September |
| 20. | Quarterly D/G Project Review-USAID                                                    | September |
| 21. | IFA for Coop. Ag. issued by REDSO/CON for Promotion of Indep. Media Support           | September |
| 22. | REDSO/CON awards Coop. Ag. award for IAG Program Proposal                             | October   |
| 23. | Constitution Support T.A. Advisors arrive                                             | October   |

- |     |                                                                                                     |             |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| 24. | Proposals Received/Reviewed for Promotion of Independent Media Support IFA by Mission and REDSO/CON | October     |
| 25. | Mission/IAG/Donors initiate Planning for H.R. Symposium                                             | November    |
| 26. | Quarterly D/G Project review - USAID                                                                | December    |
| 27. | Coop. Ag. award for Promotion of Independent Media Support Program by REDSO/CON                     | December    |
| 28. | Cooperating Agency initiates planning incountry for Media Symposium                                 | December    |
| 29. | Cooperating Agency Selects first 3 journalist attachments with Mission/USIS consultation            | December    |
|     |                                                                                                     | <u>1993</u> |
| 30. | T.A. Advisors for Implementation of Federalism activities arrive Addis Ababa                        | January     |
| 31. | IAG Constitutional Debate activities launched                                                       | Jan.-April  |
| 32. | Human Rights Symposium held in Addis Ababa                                                          | Feb./March  |
| 33. | Quarterly D/G Project review - USAID                                                                | March       |
| 34. | First 3 Ethiopian journalists depart for U.S. attachments (3 months)                                | March       |
| 35. | Cooperating Agency holds first Journalist Training Workshop                                         | April       |

The above schedule includes the major actions/events related to D/G Support Project implementation. In addition to the above, the D/G Project Manager will be expected to meet with Country Team and key donors on a biweekly basis and with collaborating grantees/cooperating agencies/contractors on a regular (probably monthly) basis. The above does not include any suggested schedule for meetings with the TGE and related offices/units, since it is assumed that the Project Manager, Mission management and the Embassy will ensure that opportunities for exchanges are arranged.

## **VI. COST ESTIMATES AND FINANCIAL PLAN**

### **A. Summary Cost Estimates/Project Funding Authority.**

Over the proposed three year life of project, the total estimated D/G Support Project cost and planned A.I.D. contribution is U.S. \$5 million. In April 1992, the A.I.D. Acting Assistant Administrator for the Africa Bureau approved a waiver of Section 110 of the Foreign Assistance Act, requiring that the Transitional Government of Ethiopia contribute at least 25% of the project costs for this activity.

Approval of the waiver was based on considerations of Ethiopia's serious financial constraints, its strong commitment to the D/G Project's objectives and proposed activities, which do not, per se, require the maintenance of institutions, but instead emphasize investing in the development of new norms, procedures, and policies that can enhance and nurture Ethiopia's democratic transition. Finally, the waiver was granted in recognition that the TGE is struggling simultaneously with a number of complex economic, political and social demands.

While there is no formal requirement that the TGE provide at least 25% of the costs of this activity, it is expected that certain efforts will in fact result in TGE human resource involvement, NGO contributions, and co-financing support from other donors activities. However, the exact amount of the contributions cannot be quantified at this time.

The proposed D/G Support Project will be funded under the Development Fund for Africa (DFA), with joint authorization under Section 116(e). This approach is consistent with the guidance, provided in May 1991 by the Africa Bureau's General Counsel, which advises such an approach in instances where the project is supportive of the development objectives reflected in the DFA, but equally supportive of the overall 116(e) framework by virtue of its direct linkage to civil and political rights activities.

### **B. A.I.D. Contribution.**

A.I.D. financing will cover the foreign exchange (FX) and local currency (LC) costs for Technical Assistance (TA), training, commodity/logistical support, overhead, project management, evaluation/audit and other direct costs. A.I.D. support for FX and LC costs includes an inflation/contingency

factor of 10%. Total LOP estimated cost is shown by project components/elements in Table 1 below.

**TABLE 1**  
**Summary Cost Estimate and Financial Plan**  
 (U.S.\$ 000)

Source	A.I.D.		TGE		Total
	FX	LC	FX	LC	
Project Element					
Elections Support	1,881	619	0	0	2,500
New Constitution	235	200	0	0	435
Human Rights/Restructuring Judiciary	160	140	0	0	300
Promotion of Independent Media	250	95	0	0	345
Implementing Federalism	147	33	0	0	180
Project Management Unit	708	262	0	0	970
Evaluation/Audit	150	0	0	0	150
Contingency	<u>88</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>120</u>
Grand Total	3,619	1,381	0	0	5,000

Detailed cost information by major categories with further unit cost breakdowns are provided in Tables 2 and 3 in Annex C.

**1. Elections Support.**

A total of \$2.5 million in A.I.D. financing is budgeted to support local/regional and national elections. This contribution is assumed to represent a portion of the overall funding the TGE will require to hold the elections, particularly as it relates to logistical/administrative support to the NEC and election monitoring. Refinement of these budget estimates is likely and will be based on further consultations with the NEC and other donors. In addition, it is expected that an early task of the short-term technical assistance consultants to be supported under

the Project will be to assist the NEC in examining options for implementing the elections, including related budget implications.

Short-term technical assistance to the NEC will be financed to strengthen NEC's capacity to design and implement elections. It is expected that 4 person months (pm) of S-T expertise in the area of election planning for pre-election surveying and assessment will be required for the local/regional elections. Illustrative activities include review of the electoral code and elections timetables, logistical planning, voter registration observation and ballot design. The same person-level of effort is anticipated for the national elections' planning. Short-term external technical assistance for local/regional elections has been estimated at \$150,000, with national election requirements expected to total about \$68,000.

For both local/regional and national elections, the Project budget includes financing for commodity and material support, to cover the foreign exchange costs associated with purchase of such items as paper, registration books, lap-top computers and related equipment, balloting and other electoral materials. The Project budget has estimated A.I.D. financing of \$600,000 for the local/regional elections; \$255,000 for the national elections. See Annex Q for the TGE's preliminary estimates of material support for local/regional elections.

Cost estimates for election monitoring initiatives are based on the assumption that local private organizations, international development and relief organizations, professional organizations and international observers will be engaged to assist during the period of elections. It is expected that the Project will finance the costs of recruitment, training and orientation in monitoring techniques, travel (incountry and international), and per diem for approximately 50 international observers each for both elections, along with approximately 20 Ethiopian observers. In addition, the budget includes salaries for three international training experts included to cover a three week period, including travel and per diem. Other direct costs related to meetings, workshops, and materials production have also been included. It is anticipated that approximately \$700,000 would be used to support local/regional election monitoring efforts; \$300,000 has been budgeted for the national election.

Promotion of civic education efforts, are estimated at \$427,000 for the local/regional/national elections. Organization of one-day public fora, estimated at six for both the local/regional and national elections, will involve

facilitation/consultant costs, materials support transport, per diem, facility rental and other support.

## 2. New Constitution.

The short-term technical assistance support for this component includes the following international experts for constitution drafting: one constitutional advisor (4 pm), two (2) tax, revenue and budget experts (2 pm). The budget includes support for design and implementation of two seminars (duration 3 days each), requiring three (3) international experts in budgeting, decentralization and constitutional development who will also facilitate the sessions, and the costs for international and local travel, per diem, facility rental and other direct costs. It is estimated that short-term technical assistance to the Constitutional Commission and the training/orientation seminars would total \$190,000.

To promote public debate on the draft constitution at select regional and local areas, the budget includes financing for 4-5 citizen fora of one day duration. The budget includes salary costs for two local consultants/facilitators, per diem, local travel/transport, communications and related supplies. Media dissemination efforts involving facility rental, video/radio spot production/rental, print materials reproductions and other costs will also be financed. The budget estimates total costs of \$245,000 for this element.

## 3. Human Rights and Restructuring the Judiciary

It is estimated that a total of \$300,000 will support initiatives in this component. Up to \$100,000 is planned for financing of "Human Rights and Rule of Law" activities, such as costs associated with workshops/seminars described in the MOJ proposal (e.g., international and Ethiopian facilitators, airfare per diem, equipment rental, transport).

The budget component includes \$160,000 to finance the costs of the planning, organization and conduct of a symposium on human rights monitoring, documentation and advocacy, and on revisions of Ethiopia's judicial system. It is anticipated that the symposium will be organized by an NGO, such as the Inter-Africa Group, in collaboration with an international organizations (e.g., Amnesty International), early in 1993. Depending on the number of participants, the overall costs of the symposium could exceed \$160,000. However, A.I.D. financing is budgeted to cover

invitational travel and per diem for up to 15 outside experts, the per diem, and local transport costs for 100 local participants, materials production and dissemination and supplies costs. This amount is deemed reasonable in light of donor co-sponsorship interest that has been expressed. In addition, \$40,000 has been budgeted for follow-on activities to be defined and initiated in late FY 1993.

#### **4. Promotion of Independent Media**

In this component, the Project budget includes \$150,000 in financing for the design, organization and conduct of a three day symposium. It is expected that the symposium will be organized and conducted by a U.S. NGO, e.g., the CFJ, in collaboration with the Inter-Africa Group and the MOI, sometime in CY 1993. As in the case of the human rights symposium the overall budget for the symposium could exceed \$150,000, however, the A.I.D. estimate is deemed reasonable in relation to approximately 100 participants. Furthermore co-sponsorship support from other donors and U.S. organizations is likely. Project financing will cover the invitational travel and per diem costs of up to 15 outside experts, 4 local consultants/facilitators, transport and/or per diem for up to 100 local participants from the region, equipment rental, purchase of supplies, materials reproduction and public dissemination.

The Project budget includes financing for the attachment of five Ethiopian journalists (three in FY 1993; two in FY 1994) with U.S. media organizations for up to three months each, at a total estimated cost of \$75,000, which includes round-trips travel, maintenance/per diem and administrative expenses.

To improve professional reporting standards, the Project budget includes three journalist training workshops for Ethiopian professionals to be organized and conducted within and outside Addis Ababa. Each workshop will be 3-5 days in duration and involve approximately 20 participants. Total costs for these workshops have been estimated at \$120,000 to include local participants' travel and allowances; international and local travel, salaries and per diem for two international short-term experts; local transport and salaries for two local facilitators materials/supplies support; facilities/equipment rental and other costs.

## **5. Implementation of Federalism**

A total of \$180,000 has been budgeted to finance activities in this component. \$100,000 will finance short-term technical expertise in the development of initial rules of procedures for the new regional legislatures and local councils to include, salaries for two international experts and two Ethiopian experts for a total of 4 person months. International and local travel for international consultants per diem and other support, including materials production, have also been included.

Allowances for short-term, incountry training workshops for approximately 100 selected members of new regional assemblies has been budgeted. The budget for these workshops totals \$80,000 and is based on the assumption that a series of three workshops of 3-4 days duration will be held and includes salary costs and international and local travel for the trainers (2 international experts and 2 Ethiopian experts for a total of 5 person months), per diem, communications, materials production and supplies, equipment and facilities rental, and other costs.

## **6. Project Management Unit**

A total of \$970,051 has been budgeted to finance the costs of hiring the USPSC, D/G Project Manager for the three year Project period. The salary and benefit package is set at the FS01 level, and is consistent with the international professional market levels for this type of position. Provision for housing, office space and equipment, vehicle, and driver has been made to assure that the Project is fully supported and that the Mission does not encumber OE funds for readily identifiable, legitimate D/G Support Project expenditures. The budget also includes the salary and benefits for a PSC-Program Operations Assistant calculated at the FS-05, step 1 level.

## **7. Evaluation and Audit**

The overall D/G Support Project budget allocates \$100,000 for the mid-term and final evaluations. It is expected that the REDSO/ESA's D/G Advisor will participate in these evaluations, thereby providing complementary support. Regarding audit, \$50,000 has been set aside to undertake close-out audits where warranted. Since it is anticipated that a significant portion of the overall Project budget will be financed under A.I.D. Handbook

13 Cooperative Agreements or A.I.D. direct contracts, the Mission Controller, or in the interim, RFMC, will ensure that all contract or grant agreements and related budgets contain adequate legal provision and financing for annual audits.

#### **8. Contingency/Inflation**

Approximately \$120,000 has been set aside in contingency funds to accommodate any shortfall in funding under any of the components. In addition, within each budget component, an inflation factor of approximately 10 percent has been factored in to mitigate against any deterioration in the economic condition of Ethiopia, and particularly on the U.S. dollar in the international markets.

#### **C. Expenditure Projections and Obligation Schedule.**

It is expected that the A.I.D. grant of \$5.0 million will be incrementally obligated under a Project Agreement with the TGE and will be expended as noted in Table 4, assuming that the Project is authorized in May, and that a total of \$2.5 million in financing will be initially obligated in May 1992. The planned obligation level in FY 1993 is \$2.5 million which combines FY 1993 and 1994 requirements to ensure that adequate resources are available for start-up costs of select project components, implementation and completion schedules.

#### **D. Reasonableness of Cost Estimates.**

The cost estimates developed for this Project appear reasonable and in line with actual costs for similar projects in Africa, e.g., Congo and Zambia. As noted in the Project description and financial narrative, in certain components, (e.g., election support and human rights,) budget estimates represent a planned A.I.D. contribution that will not necessarily cover all of the costs associated with these components. These levels are, however, assessed to be adequate and sufficient to ensure achievement of the Project's outputs and purpose.

The cost estimates presented for short-term technical expertise (expatriate) are based on FS 01 A.I.D. salary benefit levels. Airfares (international and local) are based on actual present costs.

The cost estimates for the USPSC D/G Project Manager and the PSC Program Operations assistant are based on the FS-01 and FS-05 levels respectively. Compensation for Ethiopian short-term technical expertise has been estimated at a daily rate of \$200.00.

Depending on the type of award made under the various components, it is expected that technical assistance and other support costs will vary. It is assumed, however, that efficiencies will be gained by packaging overall component requirements into single financing arrangements that might include provision for subcontracting or subgranting mechanisms. This approach would serve to reduce the proliferation of separate implementing units, thereby simplifying Mission management requirements. The costs for equipment and supplies represent broader estimates of requirements that will be refined based on assessments and details contained in proposals presented by applicants responding to IFAs or RFPs. The figures do, however, reflect the Mission's view of what portion of a component's budget should be allocated to each type of expense.

Overseas attachment costs include roundtrip airfare, basic support and other costs. Continuation of salary/benefits for the families while the individuals are in training will be required on the part of the employers and/or TGE.

In the event that the amount of technical assistance or other support budgeted under a specific project component is not required, funds will be transferred to another budget line-item within the same component by the Mission directly, or to another project component, upon the mutual consent of the TGE and USAID. Similarly, should savings accrue due to cost savings, such savings may be re-apportioned within the component by the Mission directly, or to another component by mutual agreement of the TGE and USAID.

#### **E. Methods of Implementation and Financing.**

While it is planned for D/G Project funds to be obligated through a Project Agreement signed between USAID and the TGE, USAID/Ethiopia will retain responsibility for procurement and/or award of technical, material and other services and goods required under the Project. As noted in the Project Description and financial narrative section, the Mission anticipates that the bulk of the assistance to be financed under this Project will be administered under A.I.D. Handbook 13 Cooperative Agreements and/or grants or and that such mechanisms would also support

instances where the Mission has assessed the capacity of the TGE institution to directly arrange for support the Mission will issue PILs specifying that A.I.D. will make direct payments to suppliers of goods and/or services.

The following is an illustration of the methods of implementation and A.I.D. financing arrangements required by this Project.

<u>COMPONENT</u>	<u>METHOD OF IMPEM.</u>	<u>FIN. METHOD</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Elections Support	HDBK 13 Coop. Ag.	Direct Payment	2.500
New Constitution/ Federalism	Direct Contract	Direct Payment	0.615
Human Rights & Judiciary	HDBK 13 Coop. Ag.	Direct Payment	0.300
Promotion of Ind. Media	HDBK 13 Coop. Ag.	Direct Payment	0.345
Project Mgmt. Personal Services	Direct Contracts	Direct Payment	0.970
Evaluations/Audit	Direct Contracts/ AID/W IQC's	Direct Payment	0.150
Contingency/ Inflation			<u>0.120</u>
		Total	5.000

## VII. MONITORING AND EVALUATION PLAN

Unlike more conventional A.I.D.-financed activities, the D/G Support Project's impact will be measured by the extent to which it has successfully translated principles articulated in the TGE's Charter into durable changes which: rest on consensus, entrench democratic values, minimize confusion and moderate tensions, encourage popular debate, build public confidence, promote transparency, create an environment for independent initiative, and avoid bias towards one political party or organized interest. By implication, the Project's success will be highly dependent upon its ability to promote attitudes, knowledge and behavior essential to establishing a democratic foundation.

As in the case of other A.I.D.-supported D/G sector initiatives, within and outside the region, the Project's emphasis is on providing Ethiopia with timely and targeted human and financial resources that are appropriate to public and private sector requests for assistance. The components that have been defined for support were identified in collaboration with the TGE, and private sector organizations and individuals.

#### **A. Monitoring Plan.**

Effective monitoring of the Project is required to ensure that the involvement of collaborators is maintained over the LOP. If the Project is to be dynamic, capable of assisting Ethiopia to develop opportunities to successfully make a democratic transition and respond to changing circumstances, the monitoring system must be closely tied to Project-related activities and the evolving priorities of the Ethiopian public and private sectors.

The D/G Project Manager will have the principal day-to-day monitoring responsibility for the overall Project, but it is expected that collaborating institutions responsible for supporting the design and conduct of D/G components will share the responsibility in their specific areas for assessing the degree to which their technical and material assistance efforts are in fact relevant and having the desired effects. It is expected that as much as 40% of the D/G Project Manager's time will be spent in monitoring activities.

To assure that "stock-taking" and regular assessments take place, all financing agreements with collaborating organizations will require that at a minimum quarterly meetings between the institutions and the D/G Project Manager occur. As appropriate, these meetings will include the participation of host country participating institutions, e.g., NEC and CC, thereby providing the key parties with an opportunity to assess the relevancy of inputs, the validity of expected outputs and, ultimately the realism of expected project achievements. Most importantly, these sessions will facilitate a process whereby the methods for measurement of Project achievement, the data sources and the currently proposed indicators can be refined and agreed upon.

As discussed in Section V. Project Management, the D/G Project Manager will meet with Mission Management (quarterly and semi-annually, as part of the Mission's regular Project/Program Implementation Review (PIR) process) to share information on Project status (programmatic and financial), discuss issues or concerns, and determine whether changes or revisions to any

elements of the Project appear warranted. In addition, the Interagency Democratization Committee, chaired by the DCM, will play a major role in informing and guiding the process of effective Project implementation and monitoring. Support from the REDSO/D/G Advisor and AFR's ONI in monitoring Project developments will also be emphasized over the LOP.

Monitoring data at the input level will be collected by the Project Manager, with support from the Program Assistant, on the basis of contractor/grantee reports, project disbursement reports, vouchers, receipts, etc. The Project Manager will have the principal responsibility for assuring that the data is collected by these collaborating institutions on a quarterly basis. At the output level, narrative written reports, consultant assessments, field reports, and financial documentation will serve to assess whether training, technical assistance, material support and other inputs have reached the intended beneficiaries, enhanced skills and knowledge, facilitated in the production of procedures, rules, and policies, as intended by the activities.

#### **B. Project Evaluation.**

During the first six months of Project implementation the Project Manager will meet with the REDSO/D/G Advisor and Mission personnel to review proposed Project output and impact indicators with primary concern for the issue of operationalizing the proposed indicators, i.e., do relevant data exist and, if not, can the data be reliably collected through the LOP using specified data collection sources.

To arrive at sound indicators of the Project's performance in each of the Project's areas of activity, the Project Manager will oversee collection of secondary data sources and as appropriate the preparation of background analyses that will provide an historical baseline on elections in Ethiopia, the role of the judiciary and respect for human rights, the role of state and private media in Ethiopia, and Ethiopia's successive constitutional experiences. It is expected that collaborating agencies assisting under selected Project areas will contribute to the process of refining performance indicators.

Evaluation of the D/G Support Project will follow standard A.I.D. procedures and is expected to be conducted in collaboration with the key Ethiopian institutions (public and

private) that have participated in or benefitted from the Project. Two Project evaluations are scheduled over the LOP to assess the relevancy of the D/G Support Project components in assisting Ethiopia's democratic transition.

While the first, mid-term evaluation of the overall Project would take place approximately 12 to 14 months after Project initiation, the Mission plans to include financing within the planned Cooperative Agreement for local/regional/national election support for an impact evaluation of the first phase. Key issues to be examined include whether the NEC established sufficient administrative capacity and launched a process that was perceived to be fair and open, that managed to minimize conflicts, that served to engage broader, informed participation, etc. The evaluation will also examine issues which a new government must address to retain credibility, constraints to effective governance, and lessons learned from the process that should be applied to the organization and conduct of the upcoming national elections. The collaborative participation of REDSO's D/G Advisor may be requested by the Mission for this assessment.

The mid-term evaluation, planned to occur sometime in Fall 1993, would be based on the broader Project framework, examining progress, constraints and issues. The scope for the evaluation will be developed by the D/G Project Manager, in consultation with REDSO's D/G Advisor and AFR/ONI. Input from collaborating grantees/contractors and Ethiopian institutions will also be sought.

While a number of the components may not be measurable at the impact level at this point in the Project, it is expected that the mid-term evaluation will be able to provide an assessment of the likelihood of the Project meeting stated objectives. Standard project management documentation will be relied upon in part by the evaluators. However, it is probable that questionnaires and mini-surveys will be more relevant in terms of this Project. Conduct of the evaluation will be the responsibility of an external team, e.g., ARD expert and REDSO D/G Advisor. A three-week effort is envisioned for this evaluation.

The final Project evaluation is scheduled to take place in October 1994 and will focus on the extent to which progress has been achieved in meeting the stated end of project status indicators. This evaluation will document successes and shortcomings in the strategic areas supported by the Project, assess the extent to which performance has furthered the transition to an increasingly democratic and stable Ethiopia, and

assess how any constraints to this transition have evolved. As recommended by the REDSO/ECPR in April 1992, the scope of this evaluation is expected to be broad enough to include a substantive analysis/definition of required follow-on activities. The results of this evaluation are expected to heavily influence a decision on whether a follow-on project is justified in order to effectively support Ethiopia's political liberalization. Techniques employed in this evaluation will be similar to those used in the mid-term assessment, including formal sampling of public opinion and consultation with other donors.

The scope of work for this evaluation will be prepared by the D/G Project Manager following the same process of consultation with REDSO, AFR/ONI, collaborating contractors/grantees, and Ethiopian public and private institutions. A three to four week level of effort is anticipated and the services of an external consultant will be required.

Both of the evaluations are expected to contribute to the Mission's information base on Ethiopia's progress in undertaking the transition. Along with the Mission's own plans to regularly revalidate the appropriateness of Project indicators, refinement of indicators in the logframe at the EOPs and output levels will also be based on AID/W/AFR's continued analysis and guidance on criteria. Consistent with A.I.D.'s current thinking on how to assess D/G indicators, it anticipated that most of the D/G factors embodied in this Project will be assessed on a somewhat more subjective fashion based on qualitative judgements.

The evaluations will require the participation of individuals who have a solid understanding of Ethiopian history, politics and economic development. Participation of the REDSO D/G Advisory and Social Scientist/Women in Development Officer is also anticipated.

Given the nature of the Project, broader political consideration (e.g., ethnic issues), and technical assistance to be provided under it, gender and women and development issues have not been specifically addressed. Nonetheless, the role, status, and involvement of women, legislation to protect their constitutionally-defined rights, and constraints to their participation in Project components will be examined and considered as specific assistance and analysis is undertaken under each component. Furthermore, the Mission will ensure that to the extent practicable implementing organizations collect and provide the D/G Project Manager with sex-disaggregated data.

## VIII. LEGISLATIVE CONDITIONS, COVENANTS AND NEGOTIATING STATUS

### A. Legislative Requirements.

Section 611(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) of 1961, as amended, provides that agreements of grants of the type involved here may not be executed if they require legislative action within the recipient country, unless such legislative action may reasonably be expected to be completed in time to permit the orderly accomplishment of the purposes of the agreement or grant. The D/G Support Project, designed to assist in Ethiopia's democratic transition, is not dependent on the prior passage of legislation within Ethiopia in order to be completed on time or to achieve its overall purpose.

It is recognized, however, that particular components where A.I.D. support will be focused are intended to assist the TGE develop and establish legal frameworks, e.g., a new constitution, revised and new policies on the judiciary and independent media, etc. Such legislative changes or reforms will not, however, be expected to lead to any modifications to the Project Agreement and conditions.

The D/G Support Project's overall aim is to strengthen the "process" of democratization in Ethiopia, not to win passage of specific pieces of existing legislation. Thus, the Mission is of the opinion that during the planned three year life of project FAA Section 611(a)(2) is not an issue.

Certain legislative restrictions remain which inhibit the Mission's ability to sign the PROAG for the subject Project. In particular, the recently enacted Horn of Africa legislation includes the restriction that unless a certification has been provided by the President as to Ethiopia's progress in certain areas, such as peace, human rights and democracy, DFA assistance can be provided only through private voluntary organizations (PVOs) or international organizations (IOS).

The legislation also contains broad waiver authority applicable to both Brooke and 620(q), so that it is no longer necessary to obtain specific waivers, noted as required in the AID/W PID approval cable, for these provisions in order to obligate and expend funds. Section 812, which was raised as a problem in the REDSO PRC review, has also been revoked. Accordingly, the primary legislative issue remaining involves certification -- which is necessary in order for the Project to be implemented under a bilateral agreement.

As a legal matter, the Project could, however, be implemented through PVOs or IOS prior to certification. The timing of the certification, therefore, may have implications on the Project's implementation mode; i.e., whether it is implemented under a bilateral Project Agreement or whether, at least initially, it is implemented through a HB13 Grant or Cooperative Agreement, or contract with the entities proscribed in the Horn legislation. Should implementation be through a HB13 Grant, Cooperative Agreement or Contract, the Mission has agreed with RFMC's suggestion that in order to reduce the administrative burden on the Mission, a limited number of activities would be funded under such arrangements. Furthermore, in such instances, the Mission will obtain some form of written concurrence from the TGE on the activities to be financed and the implementing entities, and as necessary, the tax exempt and duty free exemptions, that will be provided by the TGE to USAID and the implementing entities. In addition, if the decision is made to go through an IO, additional AID/W clearance may be needed to insure that this funding is not an inappropriate supplement to the U.S. contribution to such an agency's overall budget. AID/W (together with State in the case of certification) action is underway to waive and/or satisfy the foregoing restriction.

#### **B. Conditions and Covenants.**

In terms of conditionality, the Project Agreement will be drafted to include the basic Conditions and Covenants for such agreements. No special provisions are anticipated at this time.

Based on discussions with the TGE and their requests to A.I.D. for assistance in these areas, it is not anticipated that there will be any difficulties in their ability to ensure satisfaction of the standard CPs and covenants.

#### **C. Negotiating Status.**

During development and design of the Ethiopia D/G Support Project, the TGE and a number of Ethiopian private institutions have actively participated in defining priority areas for Project focus. The design team, with the involvement and leadership of the Embassy and A.I.D. Mission, have regularly engaged in dialogues with key implementing institutions, e.g., the COR, the NEC, the MOJ, to ensure that the project is responsive to their needs. As part of this process, a draft project description was

shared with the TGE for comments. The Embassy and USAID have received a formal request for assistance from the TGE for this activity (see Annex H).

At this stage in TGE/USAID negotiations, it is not anticipated that any major modifications will be made to the agreement text, CP's and covenants discussed above.

## ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT

Narrative Summary	Objectively Verif. Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>Goal: to establish an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia</p>	<p>*Shared consensus among competitive political movements, reduced armed conflicts and increased relative security.</p> <p>*Emergence of new regional and local structures that are democratic in nature with improved governance capabilities.</p> <p>*Independent Judicial System established</p> <p>*The private sector in Ethiopia, e.g., media and NGOs, inform and build consensus to promote democratic change.</p>	<p>*International Human Rights Reports; other donor report's World Bank Surveys, national events reports</p>	<p>*The TGE maintains commitment and significant concrete steps to achieve a democratic political systems.</p> <p>*TGE continues to welcome outside donor support for political and economic reforms.</p> <p>*Bilateral and multilateral donors support Ethiopia's emergency economic recovery needs.</p> <p>*The Nat'l Charter Plan of Action for regional restructuring is viable, promotes democratic forms of political competition, and pursuit of economic development.</p> <p>*Structural adjustment initiatives financed by donors are framed within the context of realistic plans and benchmarks that include analysis of all sectors.</p> <p>*TGE and other political parties and movements maintain efforts to mediate conflicts thru non-violent conciliation.</p>

## ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT

Narrative Summary	Objectively Verif. Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p><b>Purpose:</b> to provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The TG thru the National Election Commission (NEC) acquires administrative capacity to manage process of free and fair local/regional elections (1992) and national elections (1994).</li> <li>2. TG effectively manages drafting, revision and modification of National Constitution based on consultation, consensus and consistent with its Charter.</li> <li>3. Prospects advanced for establishing independent judicial system.</li> <li>4. Prospects advanced for establishment of credible Ethiopian human rights council.</li> <li>5. Legal policies and requirements for establishing independent media approved.</li> <li>6. Initial rules of procedure for new regional legislatures and local councils implemented.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Monitoring/survey reports polling and civic education results/reports; mid and final evaluations, fieldtrips.</li> <li>2. Ratified Constitution 1994, draft Constitution 1993, seminar reports, relate proceedings mid and final evaluations, citizens form records.</li> <li>3. Mid and final evaluations; proclamation issued.</li> <li>4. Symposium reports and proceeding; action plans and recommendations, final evaluation.</li> <li>5. Mid and final evaluation, official TG documents, e.g. guidelines or proclamations.</li> <li>6. Official TG guidelines; legislative proceedings; final evaluation, press, TV or radio coverage.</li> </ol>	<p>*The TGE and COR effectively manage conflicts thru non-violent conciliation.</p> <p>*The TGE and COR continue to desire outside technical/institutional support.</p> <p>*Nascent Ethiopian private sector and donors to build popular, informal consensus on policies and issues of democratic change.</p> <p>*Bilateral and multilateral support for Ethiopia's D/G initiatives is provided over the transition period.</p> <p>*Ethiopians at all levels of society, particularly in leadership, continue to embrace principles and support norms of accountability and constitutional limits.</p> <p>*Fundamental economic human, political and freedom of expression rights are supported in Government policies and laws.</p>

W

## ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT

Narrative Summary	Objectively Verif. Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p><b>Outputs</b></p> <p><b>I) Election</b></p> <p><b>A. Local/Regional:</b></p> <p><b>A.1. NEC establishes organizational and logistical requirements for elections.</b></p> <p><b>A.2. NEC designs/ implements electoral system.</b></p> <p><b>A.3. Civic education efforts provide parties, and rural and urban public with election process information and priority voter concerns identified.</b></p>	<p><b>A.1 NEC receives required material/ commodity assistance support.</b></p> <p><b>A.2. NEC establishes polling procedures electoral code of ethics, supervisory committees, security, anti-fraud measures, etc.</b></p> <p><b>A.3 Public fora organized in up to 6 locations.</b></p>	<p><b>A.1. Contractor reports; NEC records; other donor reports; special assessment; field trips.</b></p> <p><b>A.2. NEC records/files; contractor reports; special assessment; fieldtrips other donor reports.</b></p> <p><b>A.3. NEC records; NGO/ contractor reports; other donor reports; evaluation; field trips, MOI records.</b></p>	<p><b>A.1. Other bilateral donors finance elections material support requirements.</b></p> <p><b>A.2. NEC continues to desire outside donor assistance and technical support and cooperation.</b></p> <p><b>A.3. TGE policies continue to allow for freedom of assembly and expression.</b></p>

## ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT

Narrative Summary	Objectively Verif. Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p><b>B. National Elections (Late 1993)</b></p> <p><b>B.1. NEC establishes organizational logistical requirements for national elections.</b></p> <p><b>B.2. NEC designs/implements national electoral system.</b></p> <p><b>B.3. Civic education efforts provide parties, and rural and urban public with election process information and priority voter concerns identified.</b></p>	<p><b>B.1 NEC receives required material/commodity assistance support.</b></p> <p><b>B.2. NEC establishes polling procedures electoral code of ethics, supervisory committees, security, anti-fraud measures, etc.</b></p> <p><b>B.3 Public fora organized in up to 6 locations.</b></p>	<p><b>B.1. Contractor reports; NEC records; other donor reports; special assessment; field trips.</b></p> <p><b>B.2. NEC records/files; contractor reports; special assessment; field trips other donor reports.</b></p> <p><b>B.3. NEC records; NGO/contractor reports; other donor reports; evaluation; field trips, MOI records.</b></p>	<p><b>B.1. TG and NEC continue to enjoy confidence of public in promoting democratic political system.</b></p> <p><b>B.2. NEC continues to desire outside donor assistance and technical support and cooperation.</b></p> <p><b>B.3. Donor election task force continues to effectively coordinate programs of support to TG &amp; NEC.</b></p>
<p><b>II) Constitutional Development (mid 1992 thru 1993)</b></p> <p><b>A. National Constitutional Commission (NCC) publishes draft constitution.</b></p> <p><b>B. Thru public fora organized/held and national media dissemination.</b></p>	<p><b>A.1. Seminars held to acquaint NCC members, TGE and COR officials, regional assembly members on design and historical experience of federalism model.</b></p> <p><b>A.2. NCC effectively manages design and production of draft constitution.</b></p>	<p><b>A.1. Contractor reports, NCC records, mid-term eval.</b></p> <p><b>A.2. Contractor reports, NCC draft constitution, mid-term evaluation.</b></p>	<p><b>A.1. TGE establishes Constitutional Commission or designates similar body with mandate to draft constitution.</b></p> <p><b>A.2. TGE continues to desire outside technical support and cooperation.</b></p>

## ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT

Narrative Summary	Objectively Verif. Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>TGE &amp; NCC promoted local and regional debate on constitutional issues.</p> <p>III. Human Rights</p> <p>A. Collaborative relationships with outside human rights organizations and other ministries created to promote rule of law principles.</p> <p>B. Symposium widens public debate on human rights and action plan developed for follow-on activities.</p> <p>IV. Promotion of Independent Media</p> <p>A. Symposium defines policy/institutional requirements for: transforming state media into public corporation, establishing independent media, and launching an independent media trust.</p> <p>B. Ethiopian Journalist training workshop enhance quality of reporting and promote greater objectivity.</p>	<p>A. Regional Workshops/seminars for lawyers/judges/senior government officials on governance and human rights organized and held.</p> <p>B. Symposium organized on human rights monitoring documentation and advocacy, and on revisions to judicial system and held in cy 1992.</p> <p>A. Symposium for private individuals and group and MOI officials, organized and held in FY 1993.</p> <p>B. CFJ designs and implements 3 journalist training workshops for up to 60 participants within and outside Addis Ababa.</p>	<p>B. MOI records, NCC records, NGO/contractor reports, PILs, mid-term evaluation.</p> <p>A.2. MOJ Proposal, workshop curriculum and reports; PILS; MOJ records; field trips.</p> <p>B.2. NGO/contractor reports; symposium proceedings, media coverage, action plans or statements, mid and final evaluations.</p> <p>A. NGO/Contractor summary of proceedings, policy statement and plan of action for follow-up, media coverage, mid and final evaluation.</p> <p>B. NGO/Contractor reports, USIS informal evaluations, field-trips, workshop proceedings, media coverage samples, mid and final evaluations, pre-and post-training questionnaires.</p>	<p>B. Public fora and national media dissemination can effectively inform and stir debate in local languages</p> <p>A.1. TGE supports MOJ role in promoting human rights and governance understanding.</p> <p>B. Symposium can initiate process of linking Ethiopian individuals and organizations in defining role and informing an impartial broad-based human rights commission.</p> <p>A. TGE is receptive to liberalization and upgrading of professional standards for state-run media and for establishment of independent media channels/initiatives.</p> <p>B. CFJ survey defines clear agenda for future training needs of journalists in Ethiopia.</p>

## **ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT**

<b>Narrative Summary</b>	<b>Objectively Verif. Indicators</b>	<b>Means of Verification</b>	<b>Important Assumptions</b>
<p>C. Attachments of Ethiopian journalists to US media organizations provide effective exposure to professional standards of reporting.</p> <p>V. Implementation of Federalism</p> <p>A. Initial rules of procedure formulated for newly elected regional and local councils.</p> <p>B. Short-term training on legislative procedure for selected members of new regional assemblies provides effective initial orientation to enhance administrative and policy making functions.</p>	<p>C. CFJ and/or USIS facilitates attachment of five journalists to US media organizations</p> <p>A. Min. of Reg. and Local Gov't., U.S. experts and Ethiopian specialists define issues and develop draft rules/procedures.</p> <p>B. Three workshops on legislative procedure designed and conducted for a total of up to 100 legislators with external (U.S. and Ethiopian) technical facilitation.</p>	<p>C. CFJ and/or USIS records or reports participant records, samples of articles produced, participant final reports, Pre-and post-training questionnaires.</p> <p>A. Ministry of Reg. &amp; Local Gov't., records/documents contractor records, draft procedures, mid and final evaluations.</p> <p>B. Contractor records/reports, workshop proceedings, field reports, mid and final evaluation pre- and post-training questionnaires.</p>	<p>C. Sufficient member of US media organizations can be identified collaborate in practical training effort.</p> <p>A. TGE and Min. of Reg. &amp; Local Gov't. desire external assistance in effectively implementing federalism.</p> <p>B. Newly elected legislators are adaptable and interested in enhancing their understanding of issues and requirements for managing federalism at the regional levels.</p>

## ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT

Narrative Summary	Objectively Verif. Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
-------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

### Inputs

1. Elections Support	\$2,500		
2. Constitution	\$435		
3. Human Rights	\$300		
4. Independent Media	\$345		
5. Implementation of Federalism	\$180		
6. Project Mgmt.	\$970		
7. Evaluation/Audit	\$150		
8. Contingency	\$120		
<b>Total AID</b>	<b>5,000,000</b>		

ProAg w/TGE and related  
USAID direct Cooperative  
Agreements, Grants and Contracts.

Contractor/grantee reports.  
Evaluations and audit reports.  
Field monitoring visits.

20

**Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project  
(Project No. 663-0007)**

**5C(2) - ASSISTANCE  
CHECKLIST**

Listed below are statutory criteria applicable to the assistance resources themselves, rather than to the eligibility of a country to receive assistance. This section is divided into three parts. Part A includes criteria applicable to both Development Assistance and Economic Support Funds resources. Part B includes criteria applicable only to Development Assistance resources. Part C includes criteria applicable only to Economic Support Funds.

**CROSS REFERENCE: IS COUNTRY  
CHECKLIST UP TO DATE?**

**Yes.**

**A. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO  
BOTH DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND  
ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS**

**1. Host Country  
Development Efforts (FAA Sec.  
601(a)): Information and  
conclusions on whether  
assistance will encourage  
efforts of the country to: (a)  
increase the flow of  
international trade; (b) foster  
private initiative and  
competition; (c) encourage  
development and use of  
cooperatives, credit unions,  
and savings and loan  
associations; (d) discourage  
monopolistic practices; (e)  
improve technical efficiency of  
industry, agriculture, and  
commerce; and (f) strengthen  
free labor unions.**

**1. N/A.**

**2. U.S. Private Trade and**

**2. N/A.**

**Investment (FAA Sec. 601(b)):**  
Information and conclusions on how assistance will encourage U.S. private trade and investment abroad and encourage private U.S. participation in foreign assistance programs (including use of private trade channels and the services of U.S. private enterprise).

### **3. Congressional Notification**

**a. General requirement (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Secs. 523 and 591; FAA Sec. 634A):** If money is to be obligated for an activity not previously justified to Congress, or for an amount in excess of amount previously justified to Congress, has Congress been properly notified (unless the notification requirement has been waived because of substantial risk to human health or welfare)?

**b. Notice of new account obligation (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 514):** If funds are being obligated under an appropriation account to which they were not appropriated, has the President consulted with and provided a written justification to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and has such obligation been subject to regular notification procedures?

**c. Cash transfers and nonproject sector assistance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575(b) (3)):** If funds are to be made available in the form of cash transfer or nonproject sector

A Congressional Notification was sent to the Congress on April 28, 1992 and expired without objection on May 13, 1992.

N/A.

N/A.

84

assistance, has the Congressional notice included a detailed description of how the funds will be used, with a discussion of U.S. interests to be served and a description of any economic policy reforms to be promoted?

4. **Engineering and Financial Plans** (FAA Sec. 611(a)): Prior to an obligation in excess of \$500,000, will there be: (a) engineering, financial or other plans necessary to carry out the assistance; and (b) a reasonably firm estimate of the cost to the U.S. of the assistance?

a.) Yes.

b.) Yes.

5. **Legislative Action** (FAA Sec. 611(s)(2)): If legislative action is required within recipient country with respect to an obligation in excess of \$500,000, what is the basis for a reasonable expectation that such action will be completed in time to permit orderly accomplishment of the purpose of the assistance?

N/A.

6. **Water Resources** (FAA Sec. 611(b); FY 1991 Appropriations Act SEC. 501): If project is for water or water-related land resource construction, has benefits and costs been computed to the extent practicable in accordance with the principles, standards, and procedures established pursuant to the Water Resources Planning Act (42 U.S.C. 1962, et seq.)? (See A.I.D. Handbook 3 for guidelines.)

N/A.

7. **Cash Transfer and Sector Assistance** (FY 1991)

N/A.

Appropriations Act Sec. 575(b)): Will cash transfer or nonproject sector assistance be maintained in a separate account and not commingled with other funds (unless such requirements are waived by Congressional notice for nonproject sector assistance)?

8. Capital Assistance (FAA Sec. 611(e)): If project is capital assistance (e.g., construction), and total U.S. assistance for it will exceed \$1 million, has Mission Director certified and Regional Assistant Administrator taken into consideration the country's capability to maintain and utilize the project effectively?

9. Multiple Country Objectives (FAA Sec. 601(a)): Information and conclusions on whether projects will encourage efforts of the country to: (a) increase the flow of international trade; (b) foster private initiative and competition; (c) encourage development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations; (d) discourage monopolistic practices; (e) improve technical efficiency of industry, agriculture and commerce; and (f) strengthen free labor unions.

10. U.S. Private Trade (FAA Sec. 601(b)): Information and conclusions on how project will encourage U.S. private trade and investment abroad and encourage private U.S. participation in foreign assistance programs (including use of private trade channels and the services of U.S.

N/A.

The project will support activities intended to assist Ethiopia's democratic transition and it will not directly affect any of these objectives. In general, however, it is expected that it will help to foster a more conducive environment for private initiative, e.g., private media efforts.

The Project's principal aim is to assist in Ethiopia's democratic transition. While not designed to stimulate U.S. private trade, U.S. NGOs and private firms are expected to play a major role in technical assistance provision.

private enterprise).

### 11. Local Currencies

a. Recipient Contributions (FAA Secs. 612(b), 636(h)): Describe steps taken to assure that, to the maximum extent possible, the country is contributing local currencies to meet the cost of contractual and other services, and foreign currencies owned by the U.S. are utilized in lieu of dollars.

b. U.S.-Owned Currency (FAA Sec. 612(d)): does the U.S. own excess foreign currency of the country and, if so, what arrangements have been made for its release?

c. Separate Account (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575). If assistance is furnished to a foreign government under arrangements which result in the generation of local currencies:

(1) Has A.I.D. (a) required that local currencies be deposited in a separate account established by the recipient government, (b) entered into an agreement with that government providing the amount of local currencies to be generated and the terms and conditions under which the currencies so deposited may be utilized, and (c) established by agreement the responsibilities of A.I.D. and that government to monitor and account for deposits into and disbursements from the separate account?

(2) Will such local

A.I.D. has formally waived the FAA section 110 requirement for this Project, because of Ethiopia's serious financial constraints and the absence of any local currencies.

The U.S. owns no excess Ethiopian birr that could be used in lieu of dollars.

1.) N/A.

2.) N/A.

currencies, or an equivalent amount of local currencies, be used only to carry out the purposes of the DA or ESF chapters of the FAA (depending on which chapter is the source of the assistance) or for the administrative requirements of the United States Government?

3.) N/A.

(3) Has A.I.D. taken all appropriate steps to ensure that the equivalent of local currencies disbursed from the separate account are used for the agreed purposes?

4.) N/A.

(4) If assistance is terminated to a country, will any unencumbered balances of funds remaining in a separate account be disposed of for purposes agreed to by the recipient government and the United States Government?

## 12. Trade Restrictions

a.) N/A.

a. Surplus Commodities (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 521(a)): If assistance is for the production of any commodity for export, is the commodity likely to be in surplus on world markets at the time the resulting productive capacity becomes operative, and is such assistance likely to cause substantial injury to U.S. producers of the same, similar or competing commodity?

b.) N/A.

b. Textiles (Lautenberg Amendment) (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 521(c)): Will the assistance (except for programs in Caribbean Basin Initiative countries under U.S. Tariff Schedule "Section 807," which allows reduced tariffs on

articles assembled abroad from U.S.-made components) be used directly to procure feasibility studies, prefeasibility studies, or project profiles of potential investment in, or to assist the establishment of facilities specifically designed for, the manufacture for export to the United States or to third country markets in direct competition with U.S. exports, of textiles, apparel, footwear, handbags, flat goods (such as wallets or coin purses worn on the person), work gloves or leather wearing apparel?

13. Tropical Forests (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 533(c)(3)): Will funds be used for any program, project or activity which would (a) result in any significant loss of tropical forests, or (b) involve industrial timber extraction in primary tropical forest areas?

#### 14. PVO Assistance

a. Auditing and registration (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 537): If assistance is being made available to a PVO, has that organization provided upon timely request any document, file, or record necessary to the auditing requirements of A.I.D., and is the PVO registered with A.I.D.?

b. Funding sources (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Private and Voluntary Organizations"): If assistance is to be made to a United States PVO (other than a cooperative development

N/A.

a.) A portion of the Project's funding is likely to be made available to U.S. and international NGOs, including PVOs. Auditing and registration requirements for PVOs will be adhered to in Project implementation.

b.) USAID/Ethiopia will ensure that any U.S. PVO receiving assistance is in compliance with the 20% requirement.

organization), does it obtain at least 20 percent of its total annual funding for international activities from sources other than the United States Government?

15. Project Agreement Documentation (State Authorization Sec. 139 (as interpreted by conference report)): Has confirmation of the date of signing of the project agreement, including the amount involved, been cabled to State L/T and A.I.D. LEG within 60 days of the agreement's entry into force with respect to the United States, and has the full text of the agreement been pouched to those same offices? (See Handbook 3, Appendix 6G for agreements covered by this provision).

16. Metric System (Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 Sec. 5164, as interpreted by conference report, amending Metric Conversion Act of 1975 Sec. 2, and as implemented through A.I.D. policy): Does the assistance activity use the metric system of measurement in its procurements, grants, and other business-related activities, except to the extent that such use is impractical or is likely to cause significant inefficiencies or loss of markets to United States firms? Are bulk purchases usually to be made in metric, and are components, subassemblies, and semi-fabricated materials to be specified in metric units when economically available and technically adequate? Will A.I.D. specifications use

Upon satisfaction of legislative restrictions contained within the Horn of Africa Act, the Project will be obligated under a bilateral Project Agreement. Notification of funds obligation will be sent to State via cable, and a copy of the ProAg will be sent to these offices.

N/A.

metric units of measure from the earliest programmatic stages, and from the earliest documentation of the assistance processes (for example, project papers) involving quantifiable measurements (length, area, volume, capacity, mass and weight), through the implementation stage?

17. Women in Development (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Women in Development"): Will assistance be designed so that the percentage of women participants will be demonstrably increased?

18. Regional and Multilateral Assistance (FAA Sec. 209): Is assistance more efficiently and effectively provided through regional or multilateral organizations? If so, why is assistance not so provided? Information and conclusions on whether assistance will encourage developing countries to cooperate in regional development programs.

19. Abortions (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Population, DA," and Sec. 525):

a. Will assistance be made available to any organization or program which, as determined by the President, supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization?

b. Will any funds be used to lobby for abortion?

20. Cooperatives (FAA Sec.

Women will participate equally in the Project's ultimate output which is the establishment of an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia. Project monitoring and evaluation will track WID-related impact.

No. The Project is a country specific activity requiring a tailored approach to Ethiopia's emerging needs in democracy and governance.

a.) N/A.

b.) N/A.

N/A.

111): Will assistance help develop cooperatives, especially by technical assistance, to assist rural and urban poor to help themselves toward a better life?

**21. U.S.-Owned Foreign Currencies**

N/A.

a. Use of currencies (FAA Secs. 612(b), 636(h); FY 1991 Appropriations Act Secs. 507, 509): Describe steps taken to assure that, to the maximum extent possible, foreign currencies owned by the U.S. are utilized in lieu of dollars to meet the cost of contractual and other services.

No.

b. Release of currencies (FAA Sec. 612(d)): Does the U.S. own excess foreign currency of the country and, if so, what arrangements have been made for its release?

**22. Procurement**

Yes.

a. Small business (FAA Sec. 602(a)): Are there arrangements to permit U.S. small business to participate equitably in the furnishing of commodities and services financed?

Yes.

b. U.S. procurement (FAA Sec. 604(a)): Will all procurement be from the U.S. except as otherwise determined by the President or determined under delegation from him?

Yes.

c. Marine insurance (FAA Sec. 604(d)): If the cooperating country discriminates against marine insurance companies authorized to do business in the U.S., will commodities be insured in

92

the United States against marine risk with such a company?

N/A.

d. Non-U.S. agricultural procurement (FAA Sec. 604(e)): If non-U.S. procurement of agricultural commodity or product thereof is to be financed, is there provision against such procurement when the domestic price of such commodity is less than parity? (Exception where commodity financed could not reasonably be procured in U.S.)

N/A.

e. construction or engineering services (FAA Sec. 604(g)): Will construction or engineering services be procured from firms of advanced developing countries which are otherwise eligible under Code 941 and which have attained a competitive capability in international markets in one of these areas? (Exception for those countries which receive direct economic assistance under the FAA and permit United States firms to compete for construction or engineering services financed from assistance programs of these countries.)

No.

f. Cargo preference shipping (FAA Sec. 603): Is the shipping excluded from compliance with the requirement in section 901(b) of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, that at least 50 percent of the gross tonnage of commodities (computed separately for dry bulk carriers, dry cargo liners, and tankers) financed shall be transported on privately owned U.S. flag commercial vessels to the extent such vessels are

available at fair and reasonable rates?

g. **Technical Assistance** (FAA Sec. 621(a)): If technical assistance is financed, will such assistance be furnished by private enterprise on a contract basis to the fullest extent practicable? Will the facilities and resources of other Federal agencies be utilized, when they are particularly suitable, not competitive with private enterprise, and made available without undue interference with domestic programs?

h. **U.S. air carriers** (International Air Transportation Fair Competitive Practices Act, 1974): If air transportation of persons or property is financed on grant basis, will U.S. carriers be used to the extent such service is available?

i. **Termination for convenience of U.S. Government** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 504): If the U.S. Government is a party to a contract for procurement, does the contract contain a provision authorizing termination of such contract for the convenience of the United States?

j. **Consulting services** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 524): If assistance is for consulting service through procurement contract pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 3109, are contract expenditures a matter of public record and available for public inspection (unless otherwise provided by

Yes. Project's financing plan provides for technical assistance which will be provided under contracts, Hdbk 13 cooperative agreements and grants with private firms and NGOs. Collaboration with USIS for certain activities is also planned.

Yes.

Yes.

Yes.

law or Executive order)?

N/A.

**k. Metric conversion** (Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, as interpreted by conference report, amending Metric Conversion Act of 1975 Sec. 2, and as implemented through A.I.D. policy): Does the Assistance program use the metric system of measurement in its procurements, grants, and other business-related activities, except to the extent that such use is impractical or is likely to cause significant inefficiencies or loss of markets to United States firms? Are bulk purchases usually to be made in metric, and are components, subassemblies, and semi-fabricated materials to be specified in metric units when economically available and technically adequate? Will A.I.D. specifications use metric units of measure from the earliest programmatic stages, and from the earliest documentation of the assistance processes (for example, project papers) involving quantifiable measurements (length, area, volume, capacity, mass and weight), through the implementation stage?

Yes.

**1. Competitive Selection Procedures** (FAA Sec. 601(e)): Will the assistance utilize competitive selection procedures for the awarding of contracts, except where applicable procurement rules allow otherwise?

### **23. Construction**

N/A.

**a. Capital project** (FAA Sec. 601(d)): If capital

(e.g., construction) project, will U.S. engineering and professional services be used?

N/A.

b. Construction contract (FAA Sec. 611(c)): If contracts for construction are to be financed, will they be let on a competitive basis to maximum extent practicable?

N/A.

c. Large Projects, Congressional approval (FAA Sec. 620(k)): If for construction of productive enterprise, will aggregate value of assistance to be furnished by the U.S. not exceed \$100 million (except for productive enterprises in Egypt that were described in the Congressional Presentation), or does assistance have the express approval of Congress?

Yes.

24. U.S. Audit Rights (FAA Sec. 301(d)): If fund is established solely by U.S. contributions and administered by an international organization, does Controller General have audit rights?

N/A.

25. Communist Assistance (FAA Sec. 620(h)). Do arrangements exist to insure that United States foreign aid is not used in a manner which, contrary to the best interests of the United States, promotes or assists the foreign aid projects or activities of the Communist-bloc countries?

Yes.

## 26. Narcotics

a. Cash reimbursements (FAA Sec. 483): Will arrangements preclude use of financing to make reimbursements, in the form of cash payments, to persons whose

illicit drug crops are eradicated?

Yes.

b. Assistance to narcotics traffickers (FAA Sec. 487): Will arrangements take "all reasonable steps" to preclude use of financing to or through individuals or entities which we know or have reason to believe have either: (1) been convicted of a violation of any law or regulation of the United States or a foreign country relating to narcotics (or other controlled substances); or (2) been an illicit trafficker in, or otherwise involved in the illicit trafficking of, any such controlled substance?

N/A.

27. Expropriation and Land Reform (FAA SEC. 620(g)): Will assistance reclude use of financing to compensate owners for expropriated or nationalized property, except to compensate foreign nationals in accordance with a land reform program certified by the President?

No.

28. Police and Prisons (FAA Sec. 660): Will assistance preclude use of financing to provide training, advice, or any financial support for police, prisons, or other law enforcement forces, except for narcotics programs?

Yes.

29. CIA Activities (FAA Sec. 662): Will assistance preclude use of financing for CIA activities?

Yes.

30. Motor Vehicles (FAA Sec. 636(i)): Will assistance preclude use of financing for purchase, sale, long-term lease, exchange or guaranty of the sale of motor vehicles

manufactured outside U.S.,  
unless a waiver is obtained?

Yes.

31. Military Personnel (FY  
1991 Appropriations Act Sec.  
503): Will assistance preclude  
use of financing to pay  
pensions, annuities, retirement  
pay, or adjusted service  
compensation for prior or  
current military personnel?

Yes.

32. Payment of U.N.  
Assessments (FY 1991  
Appropriations Act Sec. 505):  
Will assistance preclude use of  
financing to pay U.N.  
assessments, arrearages or  
dues?

Yes.

33. Multilateral  
Organization Lending (FY 1991  
Appropriations Act Sec. 506):  
Will assistance preclude use of  
financing to carry out  
provisions of FAA Section  
209(d) (transfer of FAA funds  
to multilateral organizations  
for lending)?

Yes.

34. Export of Nuclear  
Resources (FY 1991  
Appropriations Act Sec. 510):  
Will assistance preclude use of  
financing to finance the export  
of nuclear equipment, fuel, or  
technology?

Yes.

35. Repression of  
Population (FY 1991  
Appropriations Act Sec. 511):  
Will assistance preclude use of  
financing for the purpose of  
aiding the efforts of the  
government of such country to  
repress the legitimate rights  
of the population of such  
country contrary to the  
Universal declaration of Human  
Rights?

No.

36. Publicity or

**Propaganda (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 516):**  
Will assistance be used for publicity or propaganda purposes designed to support or defeat legislation pending before Congress, to influence in any way the outcome of a political election in the United States, or for any publicity or Propaganda purposes not authorized by Congress?

**Yes.**

**37. Marine Insurance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 563):** Will any A.I.D. contract and solicitation, and subcontract entered into under such contract, include a clause requiring that U.S. marine insurance companies have a fair opportunity to bid for marine insurance when such insurance is necessary or appropriate?

**No.**

**38. Exchange for Prohibited Act (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 569):** Will any assistance be provided to any foreign government (including any instrumentality or agency thereof), foreign person, or United States person in exchange for that foreign government or person undertaking any action which is, if carried out by the United States Government, a United States Official or employee, expressly prohibited by a provision of United States law?

**B. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ONLY**

**N/A.**

**1. Agricultural Exports (Bumpers Amendment) (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 521(b), as interpreted by conference report for original enactment):**

If assistance is for agricultural development activities (specifically, any testing or breeding feasibility study, variety improvement or introduction, consultancy, publication, conference, or training), are such activities: (1) specifically and principally designed to increase agricultural exports by the host country to a country other than the United States, where the export would lead to direct competition in that third country with exports of a similar commodity grown or produced in the United States, and can the activities reasonably be expected to cause substantial injury to U.S. exporters of a similar agricultural commodity; or (2) in support of research that is intended primarily to benefit U.S. producers?

No.

2. Tied Aid Credits (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Economic Support Fund"): Will DA funds be used for tied aid credits?

N/A.

3. Appropriate Technology (FAA Sec. 107): Is special emphasis placed on use of appropriate technology (defined as relatively smaller, cost-saving, labor-using technologies that are generally most appropriate for the small farms, small businesses, and small incomes of the poor)?

4. Indigenous Needs and Resources (FAA Sec. 281(b)): Describe extent to which the activity recognizes the particular needs, desires, and capacities of the people of the country; utilizes the

The Project addresses needs identified by Ethiopian, who after 17 years of repressive rule seek to nurture a stable, democratic environment. All elements of Ethiopian society will actively engage in the Project's civic education and skills training efforts

country's intellectual resources to encourage institutional development; and supports civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government.

**5. Economic Development (FAA Sec. 101(a)):** Does the activity give reasonable promise of contributing to the development of economic resources, or to the increase of productive capacities and self-sustaining economic growth?

**6. Special Development Emphases (FAA Secs. 102(b), 113, 281(a)):** Describe extent to which activity will:

(a) effectively involve the poor in development by extending access to economy at local level, increasing labor-intensive production and the use of appropriate technology, dispersing investment from cities to small towns and rural areas, and insuring wide participation of the poor in the benefits of development on a sustained basis, using appropriate U.S. institutions; (b) encourage democratic private and local governmental institutions; (c) support the self-help efforts of developing countries; (d) promote the participation of women in the national economies of developing countries and the improvement of women's status; and (e) utilize and encourage regional cooperation by developing countries.

**7. Recipient Country Contribution (FAA Secs.**

required for their effective participation in the processes of elections, constitution development, etc., that are essential to their effective participation in the democratic transition.

The Project can contribute to an enhanced enabling environment for Ethiopia's economic and political recovery and thus promote greater internal and external confidence and participation in the country's development sectors.

- a.) Project will complement other AID and donor efforts that promote greater rural participation in the areas of democracy and governance. U.S. organizations will assist public and private Ethiopian institutions to promote these development.
- b.) The primary purpose of this Project is to support the development of mechanism, policies and democratic private and public institutions to assist in Ethiopia's transition.
- c.) N/A.
- d.) The status of women is expected to be enhanced through their more active participation in Ethiopia's systems for governance.
- e.) Regional cooperation opportunities, where relevant, will be encouraged.

The Section 110 requirement has been waived by A.I.D. for this Project on the basis of Ethiopia's severe financial

110, 124(d): Will the recipient country provide at least 25 percent of the costs of the program, project, or activity with respect to which the assistance is to be furnished (or is the latter cost-sharing requirement being waived for a "relatively least developed" country)?

constraints and its classification as a "relatively less developed" country.

N/A.

8. **Benefit to Poor Majority (FAA Sec. 128(b)):**  
If the activity attempts to increase the institutional capabilities of private organizations or the government of the country, or if it attempts to stimulate scientific and technological research, has it been designed and will it be monitored to ensure that the ultimate beneficiaries are the poor majority?

9. **Abortions (FAA Sec. 104(f); FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Population, DA," and Sec. 535):**

a. Are any of the funds to be used for the performance of abortions as a method of family planning or to motivate or coerce any person to practice abortions?

a.) N/A.

b.) N/A.

b. Are any of the funds to be used to pay for the performance of involuntary sterilization as a method of family planning or to coerce or provide any financial incentive to any person to undergo sterilizations?

c.) N/A.

c. Are any of the funds to be made available to any organization or program which, as determined by the President, supports or

participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization?

d.) N/A.

d. Will funds be made available only to voluntary family planning projects which offer, either directly or through referral to, or information about access to, a broad range of family planning methods and services?

e.) N/A.

e. In awarding grants for natural family planning, will any applicant be discriminated against because of such applicant's religious or conscientious commitment to offer only natural family planning?

f.) N/A.

f. Are any of the funds to be used to pay for any biomedical research which relates, in whole or in part, to methods of, or the performance of, abortions or involuntary sterilization as a means of family planning?

g.) N/A.

g. Are any of the funds to be made available to any organization if the President certifies that the use of these funds by such organization would violate any of the above provisions related to abortions any involuntary sterilization?

Yes.

10. Contract Awards (FAA Sec. 601(e)): Will the project utilize competitive selection procedures for the awarding of contracts, except where applicable procurement rules allow otherwise?

Any Project funds used for procurement of contract services over \$500,000 in total or modifications, will require, unless otherwise certified as not applicable or not possible,

11. Disadvantaged Enterprises (FY 1991)

Appropriations Act Sec. 567):  
What portion of the funds will  
be available only for  
activities of economically and  
socially disadvantaged  
enterprises, historically black  
colleges and universities,  
colleges and universities  
having a student body in which  
more than 40 percent of the  
students are Hispanic  
Americans, and private and  
voluntary organizations which  
are controlled by individuals  
who are black Americans,  
Hispanic Americans, or Native  
Americans, or how are  
economically or socially  
disadvantaged (including  
women)?

that 10% of such value be made  
available in financing to Gray  
amendment firms/organizations.

a. thru d.) No.

12. Biological Diversity  
(FAA Sec. 119(g): Will the  
assistance: (a) support  
training and education efforts  
which improve the capacity of  
recipient countries to prevent  
loss of biological diversity;  
(b) be provided under a  
long-term agreement in which  
the recipient country agrees to  
protect ecosystems or other  
wildlife habitats; (c) support  
efforts to identify and survey  
ecosystems in recipient  
countries worthy of protection;  
or (d) by any direct or  
indirect means significantly  
degrade national parks or  
similar protected areas or  
introduce exotic plants or  
animals into such areas?

13. Tropical Forests (FAA  
Sec. 118; FY 1991  
Appropriations Act Sec.  
533(c)-(e) & (g)):

Yes.

a. A.I.D.  
Regulation 16: Does the  
assistance comply with the  
environmental procedures set

N/A.

forth in A.I.D. Regulation 16?

**b. Conservation:**

Does the assistance place a high priority on conservation and sustainable management of tropical forests?

Specifically, does the assistance, to the fullest extent feasible: (1) stress the importance of conserving and sustainably managing forest resources; (2) support activities which offer employment and income alternatives to those who otherwise would cause destruction and loss of forests, and help countries identify and implement alternatives to colonizing forested areas; (3) support training programs, educational efforts, and the establishment or strengthening of institutions to improve forest management; (4) help end destructive slash-and-burn agriculture by supporting stable and productive farming practices; (5) help conserve forests which have not yet been degraded by helping to increase production on lands already cleared or degraded; (6) conserve forested watersheds and rehabilitate those which have been deforested; (7) support training, research, and other actions which lead to sustainable and more environmentally sound practices for timber harvesting, removal, and processing; (8) support research to expand knowledge of tropical forests and identify alternatives which will prevent forest destruction, loss, or degradation; (9) conserve biological diversity in forest areas by supporting efforts to identify, establish, and

105

maintain a representative network of protected tropical forest ecosystems on a worldwide basis, by making the establishment of protected areas a condition of support for activities involving forest clearance or degradation, and by helping to identify tropical forest ecosystems and species in need of protection and establish and maintain appropriate protected areas; (10) seek to increase the awareness of U.S. Government agencies and other donors of the immediate and long-term value of tropical forests; (11) utilize the resources and abilities of all relevant U.S. government agencies; (12) be based upon careful analysis of the alternatives available to achieve the best sustainable use of the land; and (13) take full account of the environmental impacts of the proposed activities on biological diversity?

N/A.

**c. Forest degradation:** Will assistance be used for: (1) the procurement or use of logging equipment, unless an environmental assessment indicates that all timber harvesting operations involved will be conducted in an environmentally sound manner and that the proposed activity will produce positive economic benefits and sustainable forest management systems; (2) actions which will significantly degrade national parks or similar protected areas which contain tropical forests, or introduce exotic plants or animals into such areas; (3) activities which would result in the conversion

of forest lands to the rearing of livestock; (4) the construction, upgrading, or maintenance of roads (including temporary haul roads for logging or other extractive industries) which pass through relatively undergraded forest lands; (5) the colonization of forest lands; or (6) the construction of dams or other water control structures which flood relatively undergraded forest lands, unless with respect to each such activity an environmental assessment indicates that the activity will contribute significantly and directly to improving the livelihood of the rural poor and will be conducted in an environmentally sound manner which supports sustainable development?

N/A.

**d. Sustainable forestry:** If assistance relates to tropical forests, will project assist countries in developing a systematic analysis of the appropriate use of their total tropical forest resources, with the goal of developing a national program for sustainable forestry?

N/A.

**e. Environmental impact statements:** Will funds be made available in accordance with provisions of FAA Section 117(c) and applicable A.I.D. regulations requiring an environmental impact statement for activities significantly affecting the environment?

N/A.

**14. Energy (FY 1991 appropriations Act Sec. 533(c)):** If assistance relates to energy, will such assistance focus on: (a) end-use energy efficiency, least-cost energy

planning, and renewable energy resources, and (b) the key countries where assistance would have the greatest impact on reducing emissions from greenhouse gases?

15. Sub-Saharan Africa Assistance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 562, adding a new FAA chapter 10 (FAA Sec. 496)): If assistance will come from the Sub-Saharan Africa DA account, is it: (a) to be used to help the poor majority in sub-Saharan Africa through a process of long-term development and economic growth that is equitable, participatory, environmentally sustainable, and self-reliant; (b) to be used to promote sustained economic growth, encourage private sector development, promote individual initiatives, and help to reduce the role of central governments in areas more appropriate for the private sector; (c) being provided in accordance with the policies contained in FAA section 102; (d) being provided in close consultation with African, United States and other PVOs that have demonstrated effectiveness in the promotion of local grassroots activities on behalf of long-term development in Sub-Saharan Africa; (e) being used to promote reform of sectoral economic policies, to support the critical sector priorities of agricultural production and natural resources, health, voluntary family planning services, education, and income generating opportunities, to being about appropriate sectoral restructuring of the Sub-Saharan African economies,

a.) The concepts Ethiopia is seeking to translate into processes, attitudes and practices are contained within its National Charter, consistent with the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Equity and participation are key elements of these documents and are inherent to the rationale for this assistance activity.

b.) The very nature of this Project is to assist the Government of Ethiopia to define and apply the principles of good governance that are essential to promotion of private sector growth and effective public administration.

c.) Yes.

d.) Yes.

e.) Yes. The Project supports the critical sector priority of the U.S. public, Congress and A.I.D. - democracy/governance.

to support reform in public administration and finances and to establish a favorable environment for individual enterprise and self-sustaining development, and to take into account, in assisted policy reforms, the need to protect vulnerable groups; (f) being used to increase agricultural production in ways that protect and restore the natural resource base, especially food production, to maintain and improve basic transportation and communication networks, to maintain and restore the renewable natural resource base in ways that increase agricultural production, to improve health conditions with special emphasis on meeting the health needs of mothers and children, including the establishment of self-sustaining primary health care systems that give priority to preventive care, to provide increased access to voluntary family planning services, to improve basic literacy and mathematics especially to those outside the formal educational system and to improve primary education, and to develop income-generating opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed in urban and rural areas?

f.) N/A.

N/A.

**16. Debt-for-Nature Exchange (FAA Sec. 463):** If project will finance a debt-for-nature exchange, describe how the exchange will support protection of: (a) the world's oceans and atmosphere, (b) animal and plant species, and (c) parks and reserves; or describe how the exchange will promote: (d) natural resource management, (e) local

conservation programs, (f) conservation training programs, (g) public commitment to conservation, (h) land and ecosystem management, and (i) regenerative approaches in farming, forestry, fishing, and watershed management.

N/A.

**17. Deobligation/Reobligation (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 515):** If deob/reob authority is sought to be exercised in the provision of DA assistance, are the funds being obligated for the same general purpose, and for countries within the same region as originally obligated, and have the House and Senate Appropriations Committees been properly notified?

N/A.

**18. Loans**

**a. Repayment capacity (FAA Sec. 122(b)):** Information and conclusion on capacity of the country to repay the loan at a reasonable rate of interest.

N/A.

**b. Long-range plans (FAA Sec. 122(b)):** Does the activity give reasonable promise of assisting long-range plans and programs designed to develop economic resources and increase productive capacities?

N/A.

**c. Interest rate (FAA Sec. 122(b)):** If development loan is repayable in dollars, is interest rate at least 2 percent per annum during a grace period which is not to exceed ten years, and at least 3 percent per annum thereafter?

N/A.

**d. Exports to United States (FAA Sec. 620(d)):** If assistance is for any

productive enterprise which will compete with U.S. enterprises, is there an agreement by the recipient country to prevent export to the U.S. of more than 20 percent of the enterprise's annual production during the life of the loan, or has the requirement to enter into such an agreement been waived by the President because of a national security interest?

**19. Development Objectives (FAA Secs. 102(a), 111, 113, 281(a)):** Extent to which activity will: (1) effectively involve the poor in development, by expanding access to economy at local level, increasing labor-intensive production and the use of appropriate technology, spreading investment out from cities to small towns and rural areas, and insuring wide participation of the poor in the benefits of development on a sustained basis, using the appropriate U.S. institutions; (2) help develop cooperatives, especially by technical assistance, to assist rural and urban poor to help themselves toward better life, and otherwise encourage democratic private and local governmental institutions; (3) support the self-help efforts of developing countries; (4) promote the participation of women in the national economies of developing countries and the improvement of women's status; and (5) utilize and encourage regional cooperation by developing countries?

**20. Agriculture, Rural Development and Nutrition, and**

1.) The types of activities to be financed under the Project, e.g., public regional fora, civic education, and media dissemination, are intended to reach all levels of Ethiopian society, in particular rural female and male peasants. Extensive participation of U.S. NGOs with capacities in these areas will be engaged in Project implementation.

2.) Primary intent of this activity is to encourage democratic private and public organizations involvement and effectiveness in promoting positive political development in Ethiopia.

3.) N/A.

4.) Ethiopian women should be able to more effectively participate in the national economy as Ethiopia progresses in its transition to a more democratic society where the principles of equity become more visible and are adhered to.

5.) N/A.

N/A.

**Agricultural Research (FAA  
Secs. 103 and 103A):**

**a. Rural poor and small farmers:** If assistance is being made available for agriculture, rural development or nutrition, describe extent to which activity is specifically designed to increase productivity and income of rural poor; or if assistance is being made available for agricultural research, has account been taken of the needs of small farmers, and extensive use of field testing to adapt basic research to local conditions shall be made.

N/A.

**b. Nutrition:**  
Describe extent to which assistance is used in coordination with efforts carried out under FAA Section 104 (Population and Health) to help improve nutrition of the people of developing countries through encouragement of increased production of crops with greater nutritional value; improvement of planning, research, and education with respect to nutrition, particularly with reference to improvement and expanded use of indigenously produced foodstuffs; and the undertaking of pilot or demonstration programs explicitly addressing the problem of malnutrition of poor and vulnerable people.

N/A.

**c. Food security:**  
Describe extent to which activity increases national food security by improving food policies and management and by strengthening national food reserves, with particular concern for the needs of the

poor, through measures encouraging food reserves, expanding available storage facilities, reducing post harvest food losses, and improving food distribution.

N/A.

**21. Population and Health (FAA Secs. 104(b) and (c)):** If assistance is being made available for population or health activities, describe extent to which activity emphasizes low-cost, integrated delivery systems for health, nutrition and family planning for the poorest people, with particular attention to the needs of mothers and young children, using paramedical and auxiliary medical personnel, clinics and health posts, commercial distribution systems, and other modes of community outreach.

**22. Education and Human Resources Development (FAA Sec. 105):** If assistance is being made available for education, public administration, or human resource development, describe (a) extent to which activity strengthens nonformal education, makes formal education more relevant, especially for rural families and urban poor, and strengthens management capability of institutions enabling the poor, and strengthens management capability of institutions enabling the poor, and strengthens management capability of institutions enabling the poor to participate in development; and (b) extent to which assistance provides advanced education and training of people of developing countries in such disciplines as are required for

a.) Nonformal education, symposia, workshops, attachments, etc., will be extensively financed under the Project to strengthen administrative, professional and policy development capabilities in the public and private Ethiopian sectors.

b.) Incountry and stateside training will be financed under this Project to enhance professional standards, e.g., journalists, and provide orientation to local and regional policy-makers of the principles of federalism.

planning and implementation of public and private development activities.

**23. Energy, Private Voluntary Organizations, and Selected Development Activities (FAA Sec. 106):** If assistance is being made available for energy, private voluntary organizations, and selected development problems, describe extent to which activity is:

a.) N/A.

a. concerned with data collection and analysis, the training of skilled personnel, research on and development of suitable energy sources, and pilot projects to test new methods of energy production; and facilitative of research on and development and use of small-scale, decentralized, renewable energy sources for rural areas, emphasizing development of energy resources which are environmentally acceptable and require minimum capital investment;

b.) N/A.

b. concerned with technical cooperation and development, especially with U.S. private and voluntary, or regional and international development, organizations;

c.) N/A.

c. research into, and evaluation of, economic development processes and techniques;

d.) N/A.

d. reconstruction after natural or manmade disaster and programs of disaster preparedness;

e.) N/A.

e. for special development problems, and to enable proper utilization of

114

infrastructure and related projects funded with earlier U.S. assistance;

f.) N/A.

f. for urban development, especially small, labor-intensive enterprises, marketing systems for small producers, and financial or other institutions to help urban poor participate in economic and social development.

**C. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS ONLY**

**1. Economic and Political Stability (FAA Sec. 531(a)):** Will this assistance promote economic and political stability? To the maximum extent feasible, is this assistance consistent with the policy directions, purposes, and programs of Part I of the FAA?

**2. Military Purposes (FAA Sec. 531(e)):** Will this assistance be used for military or paramilitary purposes?

**3. Commodity Grants/Separate Accounts (Faa Sec. 609):** If commodities are to be granted so that sale proceeds will accrue to the recipient country, have Special Account (counterpart) arrangements been made?

**4. Generation and Use of Local Currencies (FAA Sec. 531(d)):** Will ESF funds made available for commodity import programs or other program assistance be used to generate local currencies? If so, will at least 50 percent of such local currencies be available to support activities

115

consistent with the objectives of FAA sections 103 through 106?

**5. Cash Transfer Requirements (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Economic Support Fund," and Sec. 575(b)).** If assistance is in the form of a cash transfer:

**a. Separate account:** Are all such cash payments to be maintained by the country in a separate account and not to be commingled with any other funds?

**b. Local currencies:** Will all local currencies that may be generated with funds provided as a cash transfer to such a country also be deposited in a special account, and has A.I.D. entered into an agreement with that government setting forth the amount of the local currencies to be generated, the terms and conditions under which they are to be used, and the responsibilities of A.I.D. and that government to monitor and account for deposits and disbursements?

**c. U.S. Government use of local currencies:** Will all such local currencies also be used in accordance with FAA Section 609, which requires such local currencies to be made available to the U.S. government as the U.S. determines necessary for the requirements of the U.S. Government, and which requires the remainder to be used for programs agreed to by the U.S. Government to carry out the

purposes for which new funds authorized by the FAA would themselves be available?

d. **Congressional notice:** Has Congress received prior notification providing detail how the funds will be used, including the U.S. interests that will be served by the assistance, and, as appropriate, the economic policy reforms that will be promoted by the cash transfer assistance?

USAID/ETHIOPIA  
 DEMOCRACY & GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT  
 PROJECT BUDGET  
 BY MAJOR CATEGORIES

ACTIVITY	1992	1993	1994	TOTAL
<b>I. ELECTIONS</b>				
1. SUPPORT TO NEC	310,000	545,000	0	855,000
2. SHORT TERM TAS	150,000	68,000	0	218,000
3. CIVIC EDUC	300,000	127,000	0	427,000
4. ELECTION MONITORING	700,000	300,000	0	1,000,000
Subtotal	1,460,000	1,040,000	0	2,500,000
<b>II. NEW CONSTITUTION</b>				
1. DRAFTER (4 MO)	80,000	0	0	80,000
2. TAX EXPERT (2 MO)	40,000	0	0	40,000
3. SEMINARS 2 @ 35,000	40,000	30,000	0	70,000
4. CITIZEN FORA 5 @ 29,000	30,000	115,000	0	145,000
5. DISSEM OF CONST. ISSUES	10,000	90,000	0	100,000
Subtotal	200,000	235,000	0	435,000
<b>III. HUMAN RIGHTS &amp; JUDICIARY</b>				
1. SYMPOSIUM ON JUD RFM	160,000	0	0	160,000
2. MIN OF JUSTICE AST	100,000	0	0	100,000
3. FOLLOW ON SYMPOSIUM	0	40,000	0	40,000
Subtotal	260,000	40,000	0	300,000
<b>IV. INDEPENDENT MEDIA</b>				
1. ATTACH 5 TO US	45,000	30,000	0	75,000
2. TRNING WORKSHOPS X3	0	40,000	80,000	120,000
3. SYMPOSIUM	0	150,000	0	150,000
Subtotal	45,000	220,000	80,000	345,000
<b>V. FEDERALISM</b>				
1. TRAINING SEMINARS	0	80,000	0	80,000
2. ST TA ON ORG/ADMIN PROC	0	100,000	0	100,000

Subtotal	0	180,000		180,000
<b>VI. PROJECT MGT UNIT (PMU)</b>				
1. USPSC (D/G ADVISOR)	224,600	255,000	193,166	672,766
2. OTHER PSC	25,600	64,110	77,471	167,181
3. OFFICE EQUIPMENT	19,800	6,450	6,968	33,218
4. VEHICLE	45,000	24,900	26,935	96,835
Subtotal	315,000	350,460	304,540	970,000
<b>VII. EVALUATION/AUDIT</b>				
1. EVALUATIONS MID & FINL	0	50,000	50,000	100,000
2. AUDIT/CLOSEOUT	0	0	50,000	50,000
Subtotal	0	50,000	100,000	150,000
<b>VIII. CONTINGENCY</b>				
TO BE DISTRIBUTED	120,000	0	0	120,000
Subtotal	120,000	0		120,000
<b>GRANDTOTAL</b>	<b>2,400,000</b>	<b>2,115,460</b>	<b>484,540</b>	<b>5,000,000</b>

DEMOCRACY & GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT  
DETAILED BUDGET BY COMPONENT ( US \$ )

	YEAR1		YEAR2		YEAR3		TOTAL
	FX	LC	FX	LC	FX	LC	
<b>I. ELECTIONS</b>							
<b>A. SUPPORT TO NEC</b>							
1. Elections Materials	180,000	20,000	210,000	90,000	0	0	500,000
2. Logistical support	40,000	10,000	150,000	50,000	0	0	250,000
3. Computers (2 Sets)	30,000	0	5,000	0	0	0	35,000
4. Other Costs	21,000	9,000	28,000	12,000	0	0	70,000
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>271,000</b>	<b>39,000</b>	<b>393,000</b>	<b>152,000</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>855,000</b>
<b>B. TECH ASSISTANCE</b>							
1. Short Term TA (8 PM)	45,000	0	45,000	0	45,000	0	135,000
2. Per Diem	24,000	0	24,000	0	9,000	0	57,000
3. Airfare (3 RTrips)	3,500	0	3,500	0	3,500	0	10,500
4. Local Travel	500	1500	500	1500	500	500	5,000
5. Secretarial support	1,000	0	1,000	0	500	0	2,500
6. Other Costs	2,000	1000	2,000	1000	1,000	1000	8,000
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>76,000</b>	<b>2,500</b>	<b>76,000</b>	<b>2,500</b>	<b>59,500</b>	<b>1,500</b>	<b>218,000</b>
<b>C. CIVIC EDUCATION</b>							
1. Fora X 12	126,000	54,000	126,000	54,000	0	0	360,000
2. Airfare	3,500	0	0	0	0	0	3,500
3. Perdiem	7,200	0	7,200	0	0	0	14,400
4. Transport/Allowance	12,000	12,000	0	12,000	0	0	36,000
6. Other Costs	3,930	9,170	0	0	0	0	13,100
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>152,630</b>	<b>75,170</b>	<b>133,200</b>	<b>66,000</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>427,000</b>
<b>D. ELECTION MONITORING</b>							
1. Int'l Observers (50)	125,000	0	52,500	0	0	0	177,500
2. Per diem (70)	190,000	30,000	65,700	22,500	0	0	308,200
3. Local Monitors	150,000	50,000	50,000	25,000	0	0	275,000
4. Local Travel	30,000	75,000	41,470	27,830	0	0	174,300
5. Other Costs	10,000	40,000	5,000	10,000	0	0	65,000
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>505,000</b>	<b>195,000</b>	<b>214,670</b>	<b>65,330</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,000,000</b>
<b>TOTAL ELECTIONS COSTS</b>	<b>1,004,630</b>	<b>311,670</b>	<b>816,870</b>	<b>305,830</b>	<b>59,500</b>	<b>1,500</b>	<b>2,500,000</b>

II. NEW CONSTITUTION

A. TECH ASSISTANCE

1. Short Term TA (6 PM)	45,000	0	0	0	0	0	45,000
2. Per Diem	36,000	0	0	0	0	0	36,000
3. Airfare (3 RTrips)	10,500	0	0	0	0	0	10,500
4. Local Travel	5,000	0	0	0	0	0	5,000
5. Secretarial support	1,000	1,000	0	0	0	0	2,000
6. Other Costs	13,500	8,000	0	0	0	0	21,500
<hr/>							
Subtotal	111,000	9,000	0	0	0	0	120,000

B. SEMINARS

1. Facilitators(3)	8,100	0	0	0	0	0	8,100
2. Airfare	10,500	0	0	0	0	0	10,500
3. Per diem	21,400	20,000	0	0	0	0	41,400
4. Material production	4,000	6,000	0	0	0	0	10,000
5. Other Costs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<hr/>							
Subtotal	44,000	26,000	0	0	0	0	70,000

C. CITIZEN FORA

1. Facilitators(2)	0	0	5,000	0	0	0	5,000
2. Per diem	0	0	5,000	15,000	0	0	20,000
3. Transpt/Allowance (100)	0	0	5,000	20,000	0	0	25,000
4. Material Prod/Dissem	0	0	55,000	120,000	0	0	175,000
5. Other Costs	0	0	10,000	10,000	0	0	20,000
<hr/>							
Subtotal	0	0	80,000	165,000	0	0	245,000
TOTAL N/CONST COSTS	155,000	35,000	80,000	165,000	0	0	435,000

III. HUMAN RIGHTS & JUDICIARY

A. SYMPOSIUM

B. ASSIST MOJ(TRNG/WKSHPS)

1. Facilitators(4)	0	0	12,000	0	0	0	12,000
2. Airfare (2 RTrips)	0	0	7,000	0	0	0	7,000
3. Per diem	0	0	25,200	26,000	0	0	51,200
4. Transpt/Allowance(20)	0	0	0	8,000	0	0	8,000
5. Other Costs	0	0	10,800	11,000	0	0	21,800
<hr/>							
Subtotal	0	0	55,000	45,000	0	0	100,000
TOTAL HR/JUD COSTS	105,000	95,000	55,000	45,000	0	0	300,000

IV. INDEPENDENT MEDIA

A. US ATTACHMENTS

1. Subst. Allowance(15 PM)	27,000	0	18,000	0	0	0	45,000
2. Airfare (5 RT)	10,500	0	7,500	0	0	0	18,000
3. Travel	4,500	0	3,000	0	0	0	7,500
4. Other Costs	3,000	0	1,500	0	0	0	4,500
<hr/>							
Subtotal	45,000	0	30,000	0	0	0	75,000

B. TRNG WKSHOPS

1. Facilitators(2)	0	0	5,400	0	2,700	0	8,100
2. Airfare (2 RTrips)	0	0	7,000	0	3,500	0	10,500
3. Per diem	0	0	4,400	40,000	22,200	0	66,600
4. Transpt/Allowance(20)	0	0	0	8,000	4,000	0	12,000
5. Other Costs	0	0	7,200	8,000	7,600	0	22,800
<hr/>							
Subtotal	0	0	24,000	56,000	40,000	0	120,000

C. SYMPOSIUM

1. Int'l expats(15;	0	0	27,000	0	0	0	27,000
2. Loc Facilitators(4)	0	0	0	4,000	0	0	4,000
3. Per diem	0	0	18,000	12,000	0	0	30,000
4. Transpt/Allowance (100)	0	0	9,500	17,000	0	0	26,500
5. Material Prod/Dissem	0	0	4,000	6,000	0	0	10,000
6. Airfare	0	0	52,500	0	0	0	52,500
<hr/>							
	0	0	111,000	39,000	0	0	150,000
TOTAL IND MEDIA COSTS	45,000	0	165,000	95,000	40,000	0	345,000

V. FEDERALISM

A. TECH ASSISTANCE

122

1. Short Term TA (4 PM)	0	0	33,000	0	12,600	0	45,600
2. Per Diem	0	0	24,000	0	7,200	0	31,200
3. Airfare (3 RTrips)	0	0	7,000	0	3,500	0	10,500
4. Local Travel	0	0	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000	5,000
5. Secretarial support	0	0	0	1,000	500		1,500
6. Other Costs	0	0	1,500	1,500	1,600	1,600	6,200

---

Subtotal	0	0	66,500	3,500	26,400	3,600	100,000
----------	---	---	--------	-------	--------	-------	---------

**B. ST TRAINING**

1. Short Term TA (4 PM)	0	0	21,000	0	0	0	21,000
2. Per Diem	0	0	24,000	0	0	0	24,000
3. Airfare (2 RTrips)	0	0	7,000	0	0	0	7,000
4. Local Travel	0	0	2,000	0	0	0	2,000
5. Allowances (100)	0	0	0	20,000	0	0	20,000
6. Other Costs	0	0	0	6,000	0	0	6,000

---

Subtotal	0	0	54,000	26,000	0	0	80,000
----------	---	---	--------	--------	---	---	--------

TOTAL FEDERALISM COSTS	0	0	120,500	29,500	26,400	3,600	180,000
------------------------	---	---	---------	--------	--------	-------	---------

**VI. PROJECT MANAGEMENT UNIT(PMU)**

**A. USPSC COSTS(DG ADVISOR)**

1. Salary FS01 Level	80,000	0	84,000	0	88,200	0	252,200
2. Post Diff	20,000	0	21,000	0	22,050	0	63,050
3. R&R/Separation	5,000	0	0	0	15,000	0	20,000
4. Home Leave	0	0	8,000	0	0	0	8,000
5. Guard service	0	20,000	0	22,000	0	24,200	66,200
3. Housing	0	25,000	0	27,500	0	30,250	82,750
4. Residential maintenance	20,000	0	5,000	0	5,500	0	30,500
5. R/Furniture/Fnshing	30,000	0	0	0	0	0	30,000
6. Int./Local Travel	12,000	8,000	12,000	10,000	12,000	12,200	66,200
7. Other Costs	23,700	0	20,094	0	10,073	0	53,867

---

Subtotal	190,700	53,000	150,094	59,500	152,823	66,650	672,767
----------	---------	--------	---------	--------	---------	--------	---------

**B. OTHER PSC COSTS**

1. Local USPSC (FS05)	32,200	0	33,810	0	35,501	0	101,511
2. Driver/Travel	0	12,000	0	13,800	0	15,870	41,670
3. Other Costs	6,000	1,000	6,000	2,250	5,000	3,750	24,000

---

Subtotal	38,200	13,000	39,810	16,050	40,501	19,620	167,181
----------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	---------

**C. OFFICE EQUIPMENT**

1. PC and Printer/UPS	7,000	0	0	0	0	0	7,000
2. Office Furniture	5,000	0	500	0	500	0	6,000
3. Typewriter	800	0	0	0	0	0	800
4. Office Supplies	3,000	0	3,450	0	3,967	0	10,418
5. Other costs	4,000	0	2,500	0	2,500	0	9,000
Subtotal	19,800	0	6,450	0	6,968	0	33,218

## D. PROJECT VEHICLE

1. CIF Addis Ababa	25,000	0	0	0	0	0	25,000
2. Running Costs	2,000	3,000	3,900	3,000	4,935	3,000	19,835
3. scheduled maintenance	1,000	2,000	2,000	3,000	2,000	3,000	13,000
4. Insurance	0	3,000	0	3,000	0	3,000	9,000
5. Other Costs	7,000	2,000	7,000	3,000	7,820	3,180	30,000
Subtotal	35,000	10,000	12,900	12,000	14,755	12,180	96,835

TOTAL PMU COSTS	283,700	76,000	209,254	87,550	215,046	98,450	970,000
-----------------	---------	--------	---------	--------	---------	--------	---------

## VII. EVALUATION/AUDIT

## A. MID TERM EVALUATION

1. Eval 2 p/months	0	0	19,800	0	0	0	19,800
2. Airfare return	0	0	7,000	0	0	0	7,000
3. Perdiem	0	0	12,000	0	0	0	12,000
4. Other Costs	0	0	11,200	0	0	0	11,200
Subtotal	0	0	50,000	0	0	0	50,000

## B. FINAL EVALUATION

1. Eval 3 p.months	0	0	0	0	26,400	0	26,400
2. Airfare Return	0	0	0	0	8,000	0	8,000
3. Perdiem	0	0	0	0	12,000	0	12,000
4. Other Costs	0	0	0	0	3,600	0	3,600
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	50,000	0	50,000

## C. AUDIT

1. NFA/Closeout 4 P/Months	0	0	0	0	39,250	0	39,250
2. Other Costs	0	0	0	0	10,750	0	10,750
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	50,000	0	50,000

TOTAL EVAL/AUDIT COSTS	0	0	50,000	0	100,000	0	150,000
GEN CONTINGENCY/INFLATION	88,000	32,000	0	0	0	0	120,000
<b>TOTAL PROJECT COSTS</b>	<b>1,681,330</b>	<b>549,670</b>	<b>1,496,824</b>	<b>727,880</b>	<b>440,946</b>	<b>103,550</b>	<b>5,000,000</b>

DEMOCRACY & GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT  
PROJECTED EXPENDITURES  
BY FISCAL YEAR

ACTIVITY	1992	1993	1994	1995	TOTAL
<b>I. ELECTIONS</b>					
1. SUPPORT TO NEC/Loc/Reg	400,000	200,000	0	0	600,000
2. SUPPORT TO NEC/National	0	0	255,000	0	255,000
3. SHORT TERM TAS	50,000	75,000	60,000	33,000	218,000
4. CIVIC EDUC	100,000	200,000	127,000	0	427,000
5. ELECTION MONITORING	700,000	0	300,000	0	1,000,000
Subtotal	1,250,000	475,000	742,000	33,000	2,500,000
<b>II. NEW CONSTITUTION</b>					
1. DRAFTER (4 MO)	0	80,000	0	0	80,000
2. TAX EXPERT (2 MO)	0	40,000	0	0	40,000
3. SEMINARS 2 @ 35,000	0	70,000	0	0	70,000
4. CITIZEN FORA 5 @ 29,000	0	100,000	45,000	0	145,000
5. DISSEM OF CONST. ISSUES	0	75,000	25,000	0	100,000
Subtotal	0	365,000	70,000	0	435,000
<b>III. HUMAN RIGHTS &amp; JUDICIARY</b>					
1. SYMPOSIUM ON JUD RFM	0	160,000	0	0	160,000
2. MIN OF JUSTICE AST	0	100,000	0	0	100,000
3. FOLLOW ON SYMPOSIUM	0	0	40,000	0	40,000
Subtotal	0	260,000	40,000	0	300,000
<b>IV. INDEPENDENT MEDIA</b>					
1. ATTACH 5 TO US	45,000	30,000	0	0	75,000
2. TRNING WORKSHOPS X3	0	80,000	40,000	0	120,000
3. SYMPOSIUM	0	150,000	0	0	150,000
Subtotal	45,000	260,000	40,000	0	345,000
<b>V. FEDERALISM</b>					
1. TRAINING SEMINARS	0	80,000	0	0	80,000
2. ST TA ON ORG/ADMIN PROC	0	70,000	30,000	0	100,000

Subtotal	0	150,000	30,000	0	180,000
<b>VI. PROJECT MGT UNIT (PMU)</b>					
1. USPSC	61,000	209,000	219,000	183,766	672,766
2. OTHER PSCs	25,000	55,860	60,121	26,200	167,181
3. OFFICE EQUIPMENT	20,000	6,000	7,000	218	33,218
4. VEHICLE	45,000	24,900	19,935	7,000	96,835
Subtotal	151,000	295,760	306,056	217,184	970,000
<b>VII. EVALUATION/AUDIT</b>					
1. EVALUATIONS MID & FINL	0	50,000	0	50,000	50,000
2. AUDIT/CLOSEOUT	0	0	0	50,000	0
Subtotal	0	50,000	0	100,000	150,000
<b>VIII. CONTINGENCY</b>					
TO BE DISTRIBUTED	0	120,000	0	0	120,000
Subtotal	0	120,000	0	0	120,000
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>1,446,000</b>	<b>1,975,760</b>	<b>1,228,056</b>	<b>350,184</b>	<b>5,000,000</b>

(5) ACTION: AID-3 INFO: DCM CHRG

VZCZCDS0243  
RR RUEFDS  
DE RUEFC #1929/01 214142P  
ZNP UUUUU ZZR  
R 141416Z JAN 92  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO RUEFDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2256  
INFO RUEENR/AMEMBASSY NAIRCEI 3339  
BT  
UNCLAS SECTION #1 CF 03 STATE #11889

LOC: 011 03  
14 JAN 92 1419  
CN: 01443  
CHRG: AID  
DIST: AIDA

AIDAC NAIRCEI FOR REDSO/ESA

F.C. 12356: N/A

TAGS:

SUBJECT: AID/WASHINGTON APPROVAL OF CONCEPT PAPER ON ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT.

REF: A) ADDIS ABABA 05176, B) ADDIS ABABA 04803, C) STATE 164030

1. SUMMARY: A TECHNICAL REVIEW MEETING WAS HELD ON THE CONCEPT PAPER FOR THE ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT ON OCTOBER 25TH IN WASHINGTON. THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY MOST OF THE KEY OFFICES WITHIN THE AFRICA BUREAU OF AID AND REPRESENTATIVES OF AF/RA AND EA FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. DAVE LUNDBERG, AFR/EA, BEGAN THE MEETING WITH A SUMMARY OF RECENT AID PROGRAM DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA, STRESSING THE BROAD AGREEMENT ON THE NEED TO PROVIDE PROMPT AND FULL SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE AS A KEY PART OF THIS PROGRAM. BILL HAMMINK, AFR/ONI/DG, PRESENTED THE PROJECT, AND RESPONDED TO QUESTIONS ON THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSED PROJECT.

- THERE WAS UNIVERSAL SUPPORT FOR PROCEEDING WITH THE DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROJECT PAPER BY THE

INDIVIDUALS ATTENDING THE MEETING. A NUMBER OF CONCERNS AND ISSUES WERE RAISED AND DISCUSSED WHICH ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW AS GUIDANCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROJECT. THE REVIEW MEETING ALSO AGREED ON RECOMMENDATIONS ON PROJECT DESIGN AND AUTHORIZATION PROCEDURES. AFR/WASHINGTON APPROVES THE CONCEPT PAPER IN LIEU OF A PID AND THE MISSION'S REQUEST TO PROCEED WITH PROJECT PAPER DESIGN. THIS RESPONDS TO THE REQUEST MADE IN ADDIS ABABA 04803 AND IS AN INTERPRETATION OF THE PROCEDURES SET OUT FOR DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE ACTIVITIES IN STATE 164030 OF MAY 1991 BASED ON THE URGENCY AND NATURE OF THE SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA. THE COMMITTEE WAS SUPPORTIVE OF THE MISSION'S AUTHORIZING THE PROJECT IN THE FIELD WITH REDSO/ESA CONCURRENCE, AND WILL PURSUE STEPS TO FORMALLY PROVIDE THIS AUTHORITY TO THE MISSION. END SUMMARY.

*what steps  
AA Act. memo*

2. DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY: IN RESPONSE TO THE REQUEST MADE BY THE MISSION THE COMMITTEE SUPPORTS THE CONCEPT THAT THE PROJECT BE APPROVED IN ADDIS ABABA WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF REDSC/ESA. THIS EXCEPTION FROM NORMAL PROCEDURES FOR DEMOCRACY ACTIVITIES (STATE 164030) IS BASED ON THE URGENCY OF CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN ETHIOPIA, THE STRONG COLLABORATION OF ALL RELEVANT ELEMENTS OF THE U.S. COUNTRY TEAM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS PROJECT, AND GREATER EFFICIENCY OF LOCAL AUTHORIZATION OF THE FINAL PROJECT. CURRENTLY, HOWEVER, NEITHER THE MISSION NOR REDSC HAS ANY AUTHORITY UNDER DCA 551 WITH RESPECT TO ETHIOPIA. THE COMMITTEE WILL PURSUE STEPS TO PROVIDE AUTHORITY TO THE MISSION, WITH REDSC CONCURRENCE, TO AUTHORIZE THIS PP PRIOR TO COMPLETION OF DESIGN. THIS MAY BE DONE THROUGH AN AD HOC DCA OR BY A REVISION TO THE DOA SCHEDULE OF MISSIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE MISSION MAY PROCEED WITH PP DEVELOPMENT.

THE REVIEW MEETING IMPLICITLY AGREED IN SUPPORTING THIS DELEGATION TO APPROVE MOVING DIRECTLY FROM THE EXISTING CONCEPT PAPER TO A PROJECT PAPER. THIS IS AN OPTION WHICH IS PROVIDED FOR IN STATE 164030 UNDER URGENT OR POLITICALLY COMPELLING CIRCUMSTANCES AND WHICH IS CONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF PROCEDURAL STREAMLINING CHANGES BEING CONSIDERED FOR ALL OF A.I.D. THIS CABLE ALSO SUPPORTS THIS COURSE OF ACTION IN ORDER TO ALLOW FOR THE EXPEDITIOUS IMPLEMENTATION OF A RESPONSIVE PROGRAM OF ASSISTANCE IN ETHIOPIA.

3. BROOKE AND SECTION 512: THIS PROJECT, FUNDED FROM THE DFA APPROPRIATION, CANNOT BE OBLIGATED UNTIL BROOKE IS LIFTED. HOWEVER, IT IS CURRENTLY PERMISSIBLE TO OBLIGATE PD&S FUNDS TO PREPARE THE PROJECT PAPER, SO LONG AS THE

WORK DOES NOT GO BEYOND WHAT IS NORMALLY CONTAINED IN A PP. THIS IS SUPPORTED BY THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE SANCTION WILL BE LIFTED IN A TIME FRAME THAT REQUIRES PP PREPARATION NOW. ADDITIONALLY THERE MAY BE RESOURCES OF OTHER USG AGENCIES THAT ARE NOT SUBJECT TO BROOKE, AND THE POST IS ENCOURAGED TO UTILIZE THESE TO MAXIMIZE USG SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN ETHIOPIA. | ?

SECTION 212 OF THE ISDCA OF 1935 PERMITS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA ONLY IF IT WILL DIRECTLY BENEFIT PEOPLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 116 OF THE FAA. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SOME OF THE PROJECT'S ACTIVITIES MAY BE SUBJECT TO THIS RESTRICTION. IF BROOKE IS LIFTED BY LEGISLATIVE ACTION OR PRESIDENTIAL WAIVER, IT IS LIKELY THAT THEY WILL ALSO REMOVE SECTION 512. HOWEVER, AS A

Odell  
RAD

UNCLASSIFIED

STATE 011289/21

BACKUP IF BROAD ALONE IS LIFTED, AFR/CC WILL SEPARATELY PROVIDE INFORMATION ON HOW THIS STANDARD HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY APPLIED.

4. FOCUS: WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT THE MISSION WISERS TO HAVE A FLEXIBLE MECHANISM TO WORK WITH IN A RAPIDLY EVOLVING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT, REVIEWERS QUESTIONED IF THE CURRENT CONCEPT OF THE PROJECT WAS NOT TOO BROAD AND UNFOCUSSED. AT THE END OF THREE YEARS AND THE PROPOSED THREE MILLION DOLLARS THAT WILL BE THE CUMULATIVE, MEASURABLE RESULTS FROM THE PROJECT? SELECTING SOME INITIAL PRIORITIES AND SETTING MORE SPECIFIC CRITERIA WOULD RESULT IN AN ACTIVITY WITH IMPACT THAT CAN BE MORE EASILY ASSESSED AND DEMONSTRATED. IF THE MISSION WANTS TO CONSCIOUSLY STRUCTURE THIS PROJECT AS A BROAD MECHANISM FOR TRANSITIONAL SUPPORT, IT SHOULD CLEARLY JUSTIFY THE PERIOD OF PROJECT SUPPORT PROPOSED AND THE LEVEL OF RESOURCES.

*Polit: econ. social? see later reference, is that the issue*

5. PROGRAM CONTENT AND ANALYSIS: SEVERAL REVIEWERS FELT THAT THE CONCEPT PAPER SHOULD HAVE PROVIDED A MORE DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE EXISTING SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA AND MORE DETAILS ON THE PROPOSED PROJECT ACTIVITIES. IT WAS EXPLAINED THE ONGOING NEED ASSESSMENT WOULD PROVIDE A MORE SYSTEMATIC DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA AND THIS WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT INPUT TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WORK ON THIS PROJECT. THE PROJECT DOCUMENTATION NEEDS TO REFLECT A MORE SUBSTANTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT STATUS AND LIKELY FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN ETHIOPIA. THIS ANALYSIS CAN BE USED AS A BASIS FOR PROVIDING MORE SPECIFIC CRITERIA FOR THE TYPES OF INTERVENTIONS WHICH THE PROJECT WILL SUPPORT AND THE RATIONALE FOR DOING SO. TO MEET SECTION 511(A) ADEQUATE PLANNING REQUIREMENTS, THE PP ALSO NEEDS TO LIST

ILLUSTRATIVE SUBACTIVITIES, COSTED OUT, AT LEAST TOTALLING THE AUTHORIZED AMOUNT, IN ADDITION TO THE SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL CRITERIA FOR SUBACTIVITY SELECTION AND THE ANALYSIS SHOWING HOW THESE CRITERIA WILL ACHIEVE THE PROJECT PURPOSE.

*with the quality of the annual review/adjustments/adjustments*

6. THE PP NEEDS TO EXAMINE AND MAKE CLEAR WHETHER THE PROJECT WILL BE AUTHORIZED UNDER BOTH SECTIONS 496 (DFA AUTHORIZATION) AND 116(E) OR UNDER SECTION 496 ALONE. FROM THE LIST OF POTENTIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE CONCEPT PAPER, SUCH AS CONSTITUTION WRITING AND ELECTORAL SUPPORT, IT APPEARED THAT USE OF SECTION 116 (E) AUTHORITY WOULD ALSO BE NECESSARY. TO THE EXTENT SECTION 496 IS UTILIZED, THE ANALYTIC LINK TO LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT RESULTS MUST BE DEMONSTRATED.

*economic - single level impact*

*implication managerial/political 116 (e) presumably identifies Emb role suggest 496 DFA out w/ 116 (e) more oriented to meeting reformer needs for idea. AIB/W. project*

7. MANAGEMENT: SEVERAL ISSUES RELATING TO THE MANAGEMENT OF PROJECT DEVELOPMENT AND PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION WERE RAISED IN THE REVIEW. CONCERN WAS EXPRESSED THAT THE CONCEPT PAPER DOES NOT ADEQUATELY DESCRIBE THE BROAD SUPPORT AND INVOLVEMENT OF THE U.S. MISSION IN ETHIOPIA THAT HAS LED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE

PROJECT. WHEN THE EXTENT OF THIS INVOLVEMENT WAS EXPLAINED BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING CONCERN ABOUT HOW THINGS ARE WORKING IN ADDIS WAS ALLEVIATED. SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS, HOWEVER, FELT THE SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA WAS AN EXAMPLE THAT OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD EMULATE IN DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE ACTIVITIES. THIS CAN CLEARLY HAVE MORE IMPACT IF IT IS MORE ADEQUATELY DESCRIBED. THIS CAN PARTIALLY BE DEALT WITH BY SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS PREPARED IN WASHINGTON, BUT THE MISSION SHOULD ENSURE THAT ADEQUATE CONSIDERATION AND DESCRIPTION OF MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES IS INCLUDED IN THE PROJECT DESIGN AND POSSIBLY SUPPLEMENTARY DESCRIPTIVE MATERIALS. THE COMMITTEE RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE COM AND THE EMBASSY INTERAGENCY DEMOCRATIZATION COMMITTEE IN COORDINATING ALL SUCH ACTIVITIES. THE AID MISSION NEEDS TO REMAIN AWARE, HOWEVER, THAT IT BEARS THE FINAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROPER USE OF THE PROJECT FUNDS IN ACCOMPLISHING PROJECT OBJECTIVES.

*super. DFT*

SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS FROM STATE DEPARTMENT FELT THAT THE MISSION'S PROPOSAL TO VEST DIRECT PROJECT OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITIES WITH A PERSONAL SERVICES CONTRACTOR DID NOT ADEQUATELY REFLECT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROJECT. AID STAFF ASSURED THEIR COLLEAGUES THAT SUCH MANAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS FREQUENTLY WORK OUT QUITE WELL AND THAT PSCS WERE A VALUABLE SOURCE OF HIGH QUALITY PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE. HOWEVER, EXPERIENCE IN OTHER

*non-issue if reporting to, involvement of and other relationships are spelled out.*

BUREAUS ON D/G PROJECTS POINTS TO THE NEED FOR A HIGH LEVEL OF USDR MISSION INVOLVEMENT IN PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION. SINCE THE MISSION IS IN THE PROCESS OF EXPANDING ITS STAFF TO MANAGE A BROADER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO COMBINE MATERIAL ON THE ROLE OF THE PROPOSED PSC WITH A HIGH LEVEL OF USDR MANAGEMENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE OVERALL PROJECT MANAGEMENT

UNCLASSIFIED

STATE 011889/02

ANALYSIS IN THE PP.

2. THE MISSION NEEDS TO SUBMIT AN ILE FOR THE PROJECT PROMPTLY, SINCE IT IS A PIPELINE REQUIREMENT.

BT

#1000

UNCLAS

UNCLASSIFIED

STATE 011059/23

000000  
000000  
000000

*HM*  
*Donna.../...*

VZCZCDSI •  
PP RUEHC RUEHNR  
DF RUFHDS #4803/21 2P4 ••  
ZNR UUUUU 22H  
P 11115PZ OCT 91  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO RUEHC / SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7205  
INFO RUEHNR / AMEMBASSY NAIROBI #126  
BT  
UNCLAS SFCTION 01 OF • ADDIS ABABA 24P03

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED  
CHGE: AID 10/09/91  
APPRV: AID:VPPARSON  
DRFTD: AID:WHAMMINK:VH  
CLFAR: AID:AVANFGMOND  
CHG:MBAAS  
DCM:JDETHOMAS  
DISTR: AID CHG DCM

AIDAC

STATE FOR AFR/EA, DLUNDBERG; AFR/ONI/DG, WHAMMINK  
NAIROBI FOR REDSO/FSA

E-O. 12356: N/A  
SUBJECT: ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT

REF: A) STATE 164030, B) ADDIS ABABA 4773

1- THIS CABLE PROVIDES A CONCEPT PAPER FOR AN IMMEDIATE DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT IN ETHIOPIA AND REQUESTS AFR/W REVIEW AND APPROVAL PURSUANT TO THE GUIDELINES FOR AID-FUNDED D/G ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA (REF A). MISSION WOULD LIKE TO BE IN A POSITION TO IMMEDIATELY DESIGN A FLEXIBLE PROJECT MECHANISM FOR TARGETED ASSISTANCE ONCE BROOKFIELD RESTRICTIONS ARE LIFTED OR WAIVED FOR ETHIOPIA.

2. CONCEPT PAPER- ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT.

A- SUMMARY- THE PLANNED ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT WILL PROVIDE A FLEXIBLE MECHANISM FOR THE MISSION TO ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT TARGETED GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INITIATIVES OVER THE NEXT TWO YEAR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD- THE PROJECT WILL SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL TRANSITION AS DELINEATED IN THE RECENT CHARTER, THE EMERGENCE OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE EITHER NON-EXISTENT OR MORIBUND AND THE EMERGENCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY THROUGHOUT ETHIOPIA. IT IS PLANNED THAT DOLS 3 MILLION WILL BE AUTHORIZED UNDER THIS PROJECT, WITH COMMITMENTS MADE OVER TWO YEARS AND A LIFE-OF-PROJECT OF THREE YEARS. END SUMMARY-

B. CONTEXT/CONSTRAINTS. ETHIOPIA HAS UNDERGONE FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES SINCE A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT TOOK POWER IN MAY 1991- A PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONAL CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE IN JULY 1991 WITH REPRESENTATION FROM MOST GROUPS IN ETHIOPIAN SOCIETY. THE NEW CHARTER APPROVED BY THIS CONFERENCE CHARTED A COURSE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM, BASED ON THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS- THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS EMBARKED ON A DIFFICULT PROCESS OF POLITICAL REFORM: REWRITING THE CONSTITUTION, SETTING UP FEDERAL POLITICAL AND

*123*

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES, CARRYING OUT LOCAL AND NATIONAL FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, ESTABLISHING A LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND ENABLING ENVIRONMENT TO ALLOW INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES AND POLITICAL EXPRESSIONS TO EMERGE-

- THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY, DIFFICULT IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, WILL FACE SPECIAL CHALLENGES IN ETHIOPIA- THERE IS LITTLE IN THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL HISTORY THAT SETS THE STAGE FOR DEMOCRACY--ETHIOPIA LACKS A HISTORY OF DEMOCRATIC GIVE AND TAKE, OPEN POLITICAL COMPETITION AND DEBATE, AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION THROUGH TOLERATION AND NEGOTIATION. THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE, DOMINATED BY AN IMPOVERISHED MAINLY RURAL MAJORITY AND INCLUDING AN EXTENSIVE BUREAUCRACY AND A SMALL PROFESSIONAL AND ENTREPRENEURIAL CLASS, IS UNLIKELY TO BE FACILITATIVE OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICS. CIVIL SOCIETY WAS EFFECTIVELY REPRESSED UNDER THE OLD REGIMES AND IS CURRENTLY ONLY MINIMALLY CAPABLE OF SERVING AS THE INSTITUTIONAL UNDERPINNING OF DEMOCRACY- FINALLY, THE COUNTRY FACES EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CHALLENGES OF ETHNICITY AS REGIONAL PROVINCES ARE BEING FORMED ON AN ETHNIC BASIS-

- AT THE SAME TIME, AFTER ALMOST THREE DECADES OF WAR, CIVIL STRIFE AND INTERMITTANT DROUGHT, ETHIOPIA IS ONE OF THE POOREST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD- THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IS DEDICATED TO A FREE MARKET SYSTEM, ALLOWING PRIVATE ENTERPRISE TO BE THE ENGINE OF GROWTH. HOWEVER, AFTER 17 YEARS OF MARXIST/LENINIST RULE, THE ECONOMY IS IN SHAMBLES AND THE PRODUCTIVE PRIVATE SECTOR IS ALMOST NON-EXISTANT. ECONOMIC REFORM IS INEXTRICABLY LINKED TO POLITICAL REFORM, WITH THE GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO BOTH SIMULTANEOUSLY AND BOTH DEPENDENT ON THE SUCCESS OF THE OTHER. THE TOUGHEST ECONOMIC REFORM QUESTIONS REQUIRE DIFFICULT POLITICAL CONSENSUS- DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL REFORM WILL REQUIRE SOME IMMEDIATE VISIBLE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE ECONOMY-

C- PROPOSED USAID APPROACH. SINCE 1984, USAID/ETHIOPIA HAS FOCUSED EXCLUSIVELY ON EMERGENCY

UNCLASSIFIED

ADDIS ABABA 4803/P1

V2CZCDSI

RELIEF ASSISTANCE- THERE WAS NO USAID PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA BETWEEN 1977 AND 1984; AND U.S. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN PROHIBITED BY THE PROOF

1000 AMENDMENT- WITH THE CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT, AND THE POTENTIAL FOR DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH EXHIBITED BY THE NEW POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT, USAID IS NOW MOVING TOWARD A RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PHASE OF ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA. ASSUMING THAT ETHIOPIA WILL SHORTLY COME OUT FROM UNDER QUOTE BROOKE UNQUOTE, THE USAID PROGRAM OVER THE NEXT TWO YEAR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL BE DESIGNED TO CONTRIBUTE TO LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH-

1000 - AS PART OF THIS FOUNDATION, USAID INTENDS TO MOVE QUICKLY TO ASSIST THE TRANSITION TO A DEMOCRATIC, PARTICIPATIVE AND PLURALISTIC SOCIETY- CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE A.I.D. AFRICA BUREAU, USAID WILL SET UP A FLEXIBLE, DEMAND-DRIVEN DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE FUND TO RESPOND TO IMMEDIATE NEEDS AS EXPRESSED BY ETHIOPIAN ORGANIZATIONS. THE ASSISTANCE WILL BE FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, ENCOURAGING THE FORMATION OF A PLURALISTIC CIVIL SOCIETY AND FREE PRESS, WHILE ASSISTING THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH A RULE OF LAW BASED ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ENABLING ENVIRONMENT AND FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, AS THE BUILDING BLOCKS FOR A SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

1000 - A HIGH DEMAND FOR IMMEDIATE TARGETED U-S- ASSISTANCE IS EVIDENT. DURING RECENT MEETINGS WITH CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS, THE U-S. CHARGE, A HIGH LEVEL A-I-D. DELEGATION, AND A NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY (NED)-FUNDED ASSESSMENT TEAM, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FROM THE PRESIDENT DOWN TO REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES HAVE REQUESTED U-S. ASSISTANCE IN MANY AREAS- MOREOVER, NASCENT PRESS GROUPS, PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE ASSOCIATIONS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE REQUESTED U.S. ASSISTANCE. FOR EXAMPLE,

1000 - IMMEDIATE NEEDS INCLUDE: SHORT-TERM TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN FEDERALIST CONSTITUTION WRITING, TECHNICAL ELECTORAL SUPPORT, CARRYING OUT A CENSUS AND WRITING A PRESS LAW AND OTHER LEGAL CODES- OTHER REQUESTS FROM ETHIOPIANS FOR MORE MEDIUM-TERM ASSISTANCE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD INCLUDE (1) TRAINING IN BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, MEDIA PROFESSIONALISM, GOVERNANCE AND CIVIC EDUCATION; AND (2) SUPPORT FOR ESTABLISHING AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, DECENTRALIZATION/LOCAL ADMINISTRATION, ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND ELECTION MONITORING, LEGAL REFORM AND POLICY AND DEMOCRACY RESEARCH GROUPS-

1000 - THE POLITICAL REFORM PROCESS IN ETHIOPIA IS FLUID AND IS MOVING QUICKLY- IN ORDER FOR THE U.S. TO SIGNIFICANTLY ASSIST AND SUPPORT ETHIOPIAN EFFORTS TO CREATE NEW AND MORE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES, A FLEXIBLE, AND QUICK FUNDING MECHANISM

DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT WILL PROVIDE THIS MECHANISM THROUGH AN ACCELERATED DESIGN PROCESS AND A PLANNED UMBRELLA-TYPE, FLEXIBLE IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM- DETAILED ANALYSIS AND REVIEW WILL TAKE PLACE AS EACH PROPOSAL IS FUNDED FOLLOWING AGREED-UPON CRITERIA.

1000 - APPROVAL CRITERIA: SPECIFIC APPROVAL CRITERIA FOR THE SMALL SUB-GRANTS ENVISIONED UNDER THIS PROJECT WILL BE FULLY ELABORATED IN THE PP. IT IS ENVISIONED THAT CRITERIA WOULD INCLUDE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE FOLLOWING:

- PROPOSED ACTIVITIES MUST BE NON-PARTISAN, BE WITHIN PRIORITY AREAS (PRIORITY AREAS TO BE DETERMINED BASED ON THE NED-FUNDED ASSESSMENT AND ON WHERE OTHER NGOS/GROUPS ARE FOCUSING), SHOW IMPACT, BE RELATED TO TRANSITION NEEDS, AND SHOW SPREAD EFFECTS.

1000 - MANAGEMENT: THE PROJECT, AND ALL OTHER AID-FUNDED DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE ACTIVITIES IN ETHIOPIA, WILL BE MANAGED AND COORDINATED BY A PSC D/G ADVISOR BASED IN ADDIS ABABA. A SCOPE OF WORK HAS BEEN DEVELOPED FOR

2/

UNCLASSIFIED

ADDIS ABABA 4883

1000

1000

1000

1000

VZCZCDSI

THIS IMPORTANT POSITION AND RECRUITMENT HAS BEGUN. THE MISSION HOPES TO HAVE THE D/G ADVISOR IN PLACE BY DECEMBER 1991-

COORDINATION: THE D/G ADVISOR WILL WORK CLOSELY AND COLLABORATIVELY WITH ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNTRY TEAM, INCLUDING THE EMBASSY AND USIA. IN ADDITION, THE D/G ADVISOR WILL MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH OTHER U.S. NGOS, SUCH AS NED, NDI, THE PEACE INSTITUTE, AND OTHERS PLANNING TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY IN ETHIOPIA, TO BOTH COORDINATE ACTIVITIES TO AVOID DUPLICATION AND PROVIDE ADVICE TO THESE GROUPS CONCERNING THE POLITICAL/ECONOMIC PROCESS IN ETHIOPIA.

HOW: THE PROJECT PAPER DESIGN WILL DELINEATE SPECIFIC TYPES OF MECHANISMS TO SUPPORT INDIGENOUS GROUPS AND GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS. ILLUSTRATIVELY, THESE COULD INCLUDE DIRECT GRANTS, PASAS WITH USIA, SUP-GRANTS THROUGH A U-S- INTERMEDIARY OR IQC BUY-INS. SINCE THE MISSION IS THINLY STAFFED, FOCUS WILL BE ON MINIMIZING THE MANAGEMENT BURDEN, MOVING QUICKLY AND ASSURING THE BEST POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE FOR THE PARTICULAR REQUEST- THE MISSION IS LOOKING FOR INNOVATIVE, FLEXIBLE APPROACHES AND WOULD WELCOME LATEST AID/W THINKING ON THIS-

D. ILLUSTRATIVE BUDGET- AT THIS POINT, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO BE TOO SPECIFIC ON BUDGET LEVELS. IT IS ENVISIONED THAT UP TO DOLS 3 MILLION WOULD BE NEEDED TO BE EXPENDED OVER A THREE YEAR PERIOD TO SUPPORT THE WIDE RANGE OF GOVERNMENT AND NGO INITIATIVES AND NFEDS- AS INDICATED ABOVE, THE TYPES OF ASSISTANCE WOULD BE SHORT-TERM TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, TRAINING, FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR INDIGENOUS GROUPS THROUGH LOCAL CURRENCY OR FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO INITIATE OPERATIONS OR CARRY-OUT SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES, AND COMMODITIES/EQUIPMENT.

E. PROJECT DESIGN- UPON APPROVAL OF THIS CONCEPT PAPER IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GUIDELINES IN REF (A), AND ASSUMING THE PROOF PROHIBITION IS LIFTED OR WAIVED, THE MISSION WILL DESIGN AN ABBREVIATED UMBRELLA-TYPE PROJECT PAPER WITH ASSISTANCE FROM REDSO/ESA AND POSSIBLY THE REGIONAL D/G IQC OR AFR/ONI/DG- THE DESIGN TEAM WILL USE INTER ALIA THE NED-FUNDED POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT ASSESSMENT, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND WILL BE AVAILABLE BY THE END OF OCTOBER 1991, AS THE ANALYTIC AND DESCRIPTIVE BASE FOR PP DESIGN. MISSION STAFF AND MEMBERS OF THE AFR/W PLANNING TEAM SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME WITH THE NED-FUNDED CONSULTANTS AND FEEL THAT A SEPARATE AID-FUNDED ASSESSMENT IS NOT NECESSARY AT THIS TIME- WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS A MISSION QUICK-RESPONSE FUNDING MECHANISM.

- NOTWITHSTANDING REF (A) DISCUSSION OF AFR/W PP APPROVAL FOR D/G PROJECTS, IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE THE

PROCESS MISSION REQUESTS AUTHORIZATION APPROVAL IN THE FIELD WITH RFD/ESA CONCURRENCE FOLLOWING CURRENT DELEGATIONS OF AUTHORITY- MISSION REALIZES THAT 92 AUTHORIZATION LANGUAGE, IF PASSED, MAY AFFECT THIS- THIS CONCEPT PAPER IS BEING SUBMITTED NOW FOR AFR/W REVIEW SO THAT MISSION IS IN A POSITION TO MOVE QUICKLY TO PP DESIGN ONCE BROOKS IS LIFTED. ASSUMING AFR/W GO-AHEAD FOR PP DESIGN BY EARLY NOVEMBER 1991, WE WOULD HOPE TO HAVE THE PP COMPLETED AND AUTHORIZATION APPROVED BY JANUARY 1992- UNTIL PROJECT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE, THE MISSION PLANS TO USE PD&S FUNDS TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS FOR SHORT-TERM TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THROUGH IQC BUY-INS (AGAIN, ASSUMING BROOKS IS LIFTED).

3- PLEASE ADVISE SOONEST. BAAS

BT  
#4823

NNNN

3/3

UNCLASSIFIED

ADDIS ABABA 4803

UNCLASSIFIED (2)

ADDIS ABABA 8167 *Per Democracy/Gen*

VZCZCDSI  
OO RUEHC RUEHNR  
DE RUEHDS #0367 023 \*\*  
ZNR UUUUU ZZH  
O 231404Z JAN 92  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO RUEHC / SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0716  
INFO RUEHNR / AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1026  
BT  
UNCLAS ADDIS ABABA #0367

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED  
CHRG: ATD 01/23/92  
APPRV: AID: WPFARSON  
DRFTD: AID: CBARPIRO:MM  
CLEAR: AID: AVANEGMOND  
DISTR: AID CHG DCM  
PCL/FCOM

*cc: AVEg  
DG Team  
W*

AIDAC

AID/W FOR AFR/EA, BILL DOUGLASS, AFR/DP AFR/GC AND  
AFR/ARTS  
NAIROBI FOR REDSO/RLA, PAT SHAPIRO

E.O. 12356: N/A  
SUBJECT: IEF FOR ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT  
P R O J E C T

REF: STATE #11889

1. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE. PER REFTEL, BELOW IS DRAFT TEXT OF IEF FOR SUBJECT ACTIVITY. REQUEST ASSISTANCE IN OBTAINING APPROVAL OF A DETERMINATION FOR A CATEGORICAL EXCLUSION BY AFR'S ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICER OF THE ACTIVITIES TO BE FINANCED UNDER PROPOSED PROJECT.

2. PROJECT DATA:

- PLANNED INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1992 (3 YEAR LOP)
- PLANNED LOP FUNDING: US DOLS 3 MILLION
- APPROPRIATION CATEGORY: DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR AFRICA
- (DFA).

3. NARRATIVE

THE PURPOSE OF THE ETHIOPIA D/G SUPPORT PROJECT IS TO SUPPORT AND FACILITATE THE TRANSITION TO A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN ETHIOPIA AS DELINEATED IN ITS RECENT CHARTER. THE PROJECT WILL SUPPORT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, TRAINING, CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS, SEMINARS AND LIMITED COMMODITIES THAT CAN ASSIST THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA TO SUCCESSFULLY DEFINE AND IMPLEMENT REFORMS IN GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRATIZATION INCLUDING: DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSTITUTION; DESIGN AND ESTABLISHMENT OF ADMINISTRATION FUNCTION PROCEDURES AND STRUCTURES; BASIC CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY; AND PROMOTION OF AND COOPERATION WITH KEY ACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CIVIL SOCIETY, F.G., INDIGENOUS NGOS, ASSOCIATIONS, ACADEMIC AND MEDIA GROUPS, THAT CAN FURTHER ENHANCE THE ENVIRONMENT FOR EXPRESSION, ANALYSIS AND EDUCATION ON THE ABOVE AREAS. THE PROJECT WILL BE MANAGED DIRECTLY BY USAID WITH ACTIVITIES FINANCED BY CONTRACT OR GRANT MECHANISMS.

3

4. RECOMMENDED DETERMINATION

PER THE PROCEDURES AND REQUIREMENTS DESCRIBED IN AID HB 3, CHAPTER 2 AND APPENDIX 2 D, AND FURTHER DEFINED IN REGULATION 16, SECTIONS 216. 2 (C) (2) (I) AND (III), THE MISSION HAS DETERMINED THAT THE PROPOSED PROJECT WILL NOT HAVE SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS ON THE ENVIRONMENT AND THAT A CATEGORICAL EXCLUSION IS JUSTIFIED.

5. PLEASE ADVISE IF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS NEEDED IN ORDER TO PROCESS THIS REQUEST. EAAS

BT  
#2367

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED

ADDIS ABABA 0367

SENT BY: USAID

:26- 3-92 : 18:47 :

2511550866-

0254 2 337304:8 4

UNCLASSIFIED

STATE 278152

D/S

(4)

ACTION: AID INFO: COM CHRG

VZCZCDS0742  
BT RUFHDS  
FM RUFHC #8152 2721642  
ZNF UUUUU 224  
R 121639Z MAR 92  
FM SFCSTATE WASHDC  
TO RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2896  
INFO RUFHNO/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 5552  
BT

LOC: OF2  
13 MAR 92  
CN: 09026  
CHRG: AID  
DIST: AIDA

UNCLAS STATE 278152

AIDAC

F.O. 123561 N/A

TAGS:

SUBJECT: IFF FOR ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT

Action Officer	ATZG
Action Due	5/18
Action Taken	W
By Whom	
Date	

RFF: ADDIS ABABA 22767

1. BUREAU ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICER HAS REVIEWED SUBJECT IFF, AND CONCURS IN CATEGORICAL EXCLUSION.

2. CC/AER HAS CLEARED THIS CABLE. BAYER

BT  
#8152

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED

STATE 278152



U.S. AGENCY FOR  
INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT

**ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR THE ACTING ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR AFRICA**

**FROM:** AFR/EA, David Lundberg *[Signature]*  
**SUBJECT:** Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Project Waiver of 25 Percent Host Country Contribution Requirement

**PROBLEM:** Your approval is needed to waive the requirement that the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) contribute at least 25 percent of project costs as specified in Section 110 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.

**Cooperating Entity:** Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE)  
**Project Name:** Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Project  
**Project Number:** 663-0007  
**Life of Project Funding:** U.S. \$5,000,000  
**Source of Funding:** Development Fund for Africa

**DISCUSSION:** Section 110 of the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) of 1961, as amended, provides that: "No assistance shall be furnished by the United States Government to a country under sections 103 through 106 of this Act until the country provides assurances to the President, and the President is satisfied, that such country will provide at least 25 percentum of the costs of the entire program, project, or activity with respect to which such assistance is to be furnished, except that such costs borne by such country may be provided on an 'in-kind' basis."

FAA Section 124(d) authorizes a waiver, on a case-by-case basis, of the requirements of the FAA Section 110 for projects in relatively least developed countries (RLDCs). Handbook 3, Appendix 2G, section E2b states that this includes countries on either the UN General Assembly list of RLDCs or on the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) list of low income countries and Ethiopia is on both these lists.

Appendix 2G also states that the relevant considerations which should be taken into account in determining when a waiver of FAA

142

2

Section 110 is appropriate are financial constraints, country commitment and the nature of the project. These constraints are addressed below.

**Financial Constraints:** As defined by the United Nations, Ethiopia is one of the "least developed countries" in the world. Ethiopia's GNP per capita for 1989 was \$120. According to the World Development Report 1991, issued by the World Bank, Ethiopia is listed as the second poorest country in the world. Between 1965 to 1989, Ethiopia's average annual growth rate was -0.1 percent.

In addition, it is estimated that the former government's war effort, covering almost seventeen years, consumed budgetary resources close to U.S. \$19 billion and foreign loans and credits for military assistance of U.S. \$10 billion. This spending, and the diversion of productive enterprises and institutions to support the war effort, left the economy and infrastructure inherited by the TGE in a devastated condition.

On the macroeconomic policy side, the TGE is committed to a number of structural and institutional reforms and has requested the IMF, the Bank and other major donors to assist it in undertaking this adjustment effort. Recently the Bank, African Development Bank, European Community and other donors have pledged to provide \$630 million in loan and grant assistance to Ethiopia. The United States also expects to provide parallel financing for this program. However, as yet this assistance package has not been approved and the budgetary pressures facing the TGE are considerable, including the requirements of dealing with displaced and impoverished people, destroyed infrastructure and assets, mounting debt service, soaring inflation, and severe lack of foreign exchange and local currency.

Given the TGE's inheritance of a generally bankrupt economy and the context of U.S. and other donor interest in directing the country's limited financial and human resources into productive sectors, Ethiopia warrants special consideration for approval of a waiver of the 25% contribution requirement for the proposed Democracy/Governance Project.

**Country Commitment:** The TGE demonstrates strong and sufficient commitment to this particular project in the context of its overall priorities. Since taking over the country's leadership in July 1991, the TGE has stressed its commitment to and strong support for undertaking a process to firmly establish a democratic society and political system based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It recognizes that an increasingly democratic and stable Ethiopia is essential if the country is to succeed in surmounting its economic crisis and in pursuing development objectives. On the basis of these needs, USAID/Addis Ababa determined that a free-standing democracy/governance project was justified to respond to the TGE's requests for support in making a successful transition to

143

3

a democratic government.

Under the proposed Ethiopia D/G Project, direct support will be provided to government institutions and nongovernmental organizations. For example, it is expected that in the area of local/regional elections support (scheduled to take place in May 1992), the project will assist the National Election Commission (NEC) to define the organizational, administrative and logistical requirements of its electoral system. The TGE, thru the NEC, has asked donors to provide direct institutional support for this process.

From USAID's discussions with the TGE leadership and representatives of Ethiopia's major political movements, there appears to be a strong consensus that the priority need for the country is to achieve demonstrable progress in implementing its national charter. With or without donor assistance, the TGE has stated its commitment to launching a competitive electoral system. At the same time, through its Council of Representatives, the TG is struggling to define the requirements for a judicial system. Between June and August 1992, after the new regional leaderships have been established, the Council of Representatives plans to call together a national assembly and draft a constitution which would be the subject of national debate over 1993. These are just some of the major challenges facing the TGE.

The TGE's strong desire to collaborate with and draw experience from other countries like the United States is evident. It is expected that members of the National Election and Constitution Commissions will be active participants in activities to be financed under the D/G Project. Planned support of the Ministry of Justice's (MOJ) "Human Rights and Rule of Law" project will engage the involvement of judges, lawyers, senior government officials and political party representatives. It will also work toward creating new linkages between the MOJ and other ministries including Education, Information and Agriculture. In sum, the bulk of the TGE's support can be termed as 'in-kind' participation, which for the purposes of this project and in the context of Ethiopia's continuing major budget constraints is far more critical than cash. Requiring the TGE to comply with 25 percent requirement, which would total \$1 million of a planned AID contribution of \$3 million, would severely jeopardize implementation of the Project.

Where Project financing will directly support nongovernmental organization involvement, e.g., the Inter Africa Group, the cost-sharing or 25% requirement would be encouraged and could be met on either a cash, 'in-kind', or combined basis. While the Mission will seek to maximize NGO grantee contributions, including those funds provided by other donors, the exact amount of the contributions cannot be quantified at this time since proposals from potential grantees have not as yet been received.

144

**Nature of the Project:** The very essence of the proposed Ethiopia D/G Project is to support Ethiopia's desire to learn more about the options, requirements, procedures, systems and institutions that can combine to create a democratic society as a foundation for stability and growth. It has been framed within the context of what is clearly a "transitional" period. The project has been designed to respond to the immediate, most urgent requirements of the 24-30 months period scheduled to end by early 1994. One of the most immediate, high priority needs the project will support are the interim elections scheduled to occur within the next 45 days, followed by local/regional elections slated to take place in June/July 1992.

Unlike more traditional AID-financed development activities, the D/G Project's impact will be measured by the extent to which it has successfully translated principles articulated in the TGE's Charter into durable changes which: rest on consensus, entrench democratic values, minimize confusion and moderate tensions, encourage popular debate, build public confidence, promote transparency, contribute to independent initiative, and avoid bias towards one political party or organized interest. The "durable" aspects of this project that must be sustained are not financial, but behavioral and attitudinal.

**RECOMMENDATION:** That you waive the FAA Section 110 requirement that Ethiopia contribute 25% or more of the project costs for the Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Project, subject to obtaining the contributions as indicated above.

Approved: 

Disapproved: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 5/14/92

Drafted: CEBarbiero:2/12/92

Clearances:  
D/AIDREP:AVEgmond: (Draft)  
DAA/AFR:RCobb:   
GC/AGR:MAKleinjan: MAK  
AFR/EA:WDouglass: 

REDSO FILE

VZC C  
 OO RUEHDS R E C  
 RF RUEHNR #0325 01 128 \*\*  
 ZNR UUUUU ZZR  
 O 070706Z MAY 92  
 FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 TO RUEHDS / AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMM DIATE 1502  
 RUEHC / SECSTATE WASHDC 6727  
 BT  
 UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 NAIROBI 10325

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED  
 CHRG: AID 05/06/92  
 APPRV: REDSO:PFISCHER  
 DRPTD: PDPS:SJFREUNDLICH  
 CLEAR: L.REDSO/DD:BODELL  
 DISTR: REDSO RFMC LEGAL  
 RCO APD USAID/PRO.  
 ECON RF  
 ORGIN: OCR

ADM AID

AID/W FOR B. DOUGLASS, R&D/EID

F.O. 12356: N/A  
 SUBJECT: ETHIOPIA - REDSO/ESA REVIEW OF THE  
 - - DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJEC PAPER

REFERENCE: DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE PROJECT PAPER

1. SUMMARY: A REDSO/ESA PROJECT REVIEW COMMITTEE (PRC) MEETING ON THE SUBJECT PP WAS HELD ON APRIL 2, 1992. (FYI: SUBSEQUENT TO THE PRC, A NUMBER OF INFORMAL MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD IN REDSO TO INSURE THAT THIS CABLE TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE LATEST LEGISLATIVE AND/OR PROCEDURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN WASHINGTON RELATED TO THE ETHIOPIA PROGRAM. END FYI.) THE PRC COMMENDED USAID/E AND THE DESIGN TEAM FOR A JOB WELL DONE. A NUMBER OF ISSUES AND CONCERNS WERE RAISED DURING THE PRC MEETING AND IT WAS AGREED THAT CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE PP WOULD BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO APPROVAL AND SIGNATURE OF THE PP FACTSHEET AND SUBSEQUENT AUTHORIZATION OF THE PROJECT. A SUMMARY OF PRC MEMBERS' GUIDANCE RELATED TO THESE ISSUES/CONCERNS IS DETAILED BELOW. HOWEVER, NONE OF THE ISSUES/CONCERNS RAISED DURING THE PRC PROHIBIT OR DELAY REDSO/ESA FROM CONCURRING IN THE APPROVAL OF THE SUBJECT PROJECT. THEREFORE, GIVEN EXISTING LEGISLATIVE CAVEATS AND THE GUIDANCE NOTED BELOW, REDSO/ESA CONCURS IN THE APPROVAL OF THE SUBJECT PP AND IN THE SUBSEQUENT OBLIGATION OF PROJECT FUNDS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE FOLLOWING ISSUES WERE RAISED DURING THE REDSO/ESA PRC:

A. LEGISLATIVE CAVEATS TO APPROVAL AND OBLIGATION - CERTAIN LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS REMAIN WHICH INHIBIT USAID/ETHIOPIA'S ABILITY TO MOVE AHEAD AND APPROVE THE PP AND SIGN THE PROAG FOR THE SUBJECT PROJECT. IN PARTICULAR, THE RECENTLY ENACTED HORN OF AFRICA LEGISLATION INCLUDES THE RESTRICTION THAT UNLESS A CERTIFICATION HAS BEEN PROVIDED BY THE PRESIDENT AS TO ETHIOPIA'S PROGRESS IN CERTAIN AREAS, SUCH AS PEACE, HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY, DPA ASSISTANCE CAN BE PROVIDED ONLY THROUGH PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

(PVOS) OR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (IOS). THE LEGISLATION ALSO CONTAINS BROAD WAIVER AUTHORITY APPLICABLE TO BOTH BROOKY AND 628(Q), SO THAT IT IS NO LONGER NECESSARY TO OBTAIN SPECIFIC WAIVERS FOR THESE PROVISIONS IN ORDER TO OBLIGATE AND EXPEND FUNDS (SECTION 812, WHICH WAS RAISED AS A PROBLEM IN THE REVIEW, HAS BEEN REVOKED). ACCORDINGLY, THE PRIMARY LEGISLATIVE ISSUE REMAINING INVOLVES CERTIFICATION -- WHICH IS NECESSARY IN ORDER FOR THE PROJECT TO BE IMPLEMENTED UNDER A BILATERAL AGREEMENT. AS A LEGAL MATTER, THE PROJECT COULD, HOWEVER, BE IMPLEMENTED THROUGH PVOS OR IOS PRIOR TO CERTIFICATION. THE TIMING OF THE CERTIFICATION, THEREFORE, MAY HAVE IMPLICATIONS ON THE PROJECT'S IMPLEMENTATION MODE; I.E., WHETHER IT IS IMPLEMENTED UNDER A BILATERAL PROJECT AGREEMENT OR WHETHER, AT LEAST INITIALLY, IT IS IMPLEMENTED THROUGH AN HB 13 GRANT OR COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS, OR CONTRACTS WITH THE ENTITIES PROSCRIBED IN THE HORN LEGISLATION. IN THIS LATTER CASE, THE ISSUES RAISED BELOW IN SUBPARAGRAPHS B, AND H, AS WELL AS THE HOST COUNTRY CONTRIBUTION, WILL NOT ARISE UNLESS AND UNTIL THE PROJECT IS IMPLEMENTED UNDER A BILATERAL AGREEMENT. NOTWITHSTANDING THE ABOVE, SHOULD IMPLEMENTATION BE THROUGH A HB 13 GRANT, ETC. THERE WOULD BE A REQUIREMENT FOR USAID/E TO SIGN A MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROJECT AND THE TAX AND DUTY PRIVILEGES, ETC. OF THE ENTITIES BEING FINANCED TO IMPLEMENT THE PROJECT ACTIVITIES. IN ADDITION, IF THE DECISION IS MADE TO GO THROUGH AN IOA ADDITIONAL AID/W CLEARANCES MAY BE NEEDED TO INSURE THAT THIS FUNDING IS NOT AN INAPPROPRIATE SUPPLEMENT TO THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO SUCH AN AGENCY'S OVERALL BUDGET. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT IN THE CASE OF A BILATERAL AGREEMENT, THERE IS A REQUIREMENT THAT AID/W WAIVE THE SECTION 118 REQUIREMENT FOR A HOST COUNTRY CONTRIBUTION. FYI: IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT AID/W (TOGETHER WITH STATE IN THE CASE OF CERTIFICATION) ACTION IS UNDERWAY TO WAIVER AND/OR SATISFY THE FOREGOING RESTRICTIONS. END FYI. THEREFORE, REDSO/ESA CONCURRENCE TO APPROVE THE SUBJECT PP AND OBLIGATE FUNDING IS PROVIDED WITH THE CAVEAT THAT REDSO/RLA HAS PROVIDED CLEARANCE THAT THE SAID LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AND REQUIRED WAIVERS HAVE BEEN REMOVED AND/OR PROVIDED.

UNCLASSIFIED WAIROBI 010325/01

IMPLEMENTING AGENCY - THE PRC REQUESTED USAID/E TO CLARIFY WHICH AGENCY IN THE TCB WILL SIGN THE PROAC AND BE DELEGATED AUTHORITY TO IMPLEMENT PROJECT, I.E., RECEIVE PILS AND THAT THIS INFORMATION BE INCLUDED IN THE PP OR IN THE OFFICIAL LETTER OF REQUEST FROM THE GOE, NOTED BELOW UNDER CONCERNS.

C. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN - THE PP DESIGN TEAM HAS AGREED WITH THE PRC REQUEST TO REVISE THE PP IMPLEMENTATION PLAN TO REFLECT THE STREAMLINING/ CONSOLIDATION OF PROCUREMENT ARRANGEMENTS NOTED BELOW IN ITEM (D) AS WELL AS TO INDICATE WHERE IN USAID/E OR THE GOE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMPLETION OF THE INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITY RESTS. ONCE REVISIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, THE FINAL PP FACESHEET WILL BE SIGNED BY RFMC.

D. ROLE OF THE PSC IN PROJECT MANAGEMENT - THE PSC D/G ADVISOR'S ROLE SHOULD BE REEXAMINED IN ORDER TO DIFFERENTIATE THE TA FUNCTION AND ROUTINE AID PROJECT MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS. IT IS STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT THE D/G ADVISOR BE RELIEVED OF ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES, WHILE PRESERVING THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF GUIDING CONTENT AND DIRECTION OF PROJECT ACTIVITIES. THIS ROLE CLARIFICATION SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO THE PP AND THE SUPERVISORY AND SUPPORT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PSC SHOULD BE CLEARLY DELINEATE. THE PRC DISCUSSED THE OPTION OF FUNDING AN INSTITUTIONAL CONTRACT FOR MANAGEMENT AND AWARD OF SUBGRANTS TO INTERNATIONAL OR LOCAL NGOS. BASED ON THE NATURE OF THE ACTIVITY AND FUNDING CONSIDERATIONS THIS OPTION WAS REJECTED. NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, USAID/ETHIOPIA IS URGED TO REVISE THE PROPOSED PROJECT MANAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS CONSIDERING THE FOLLOWING OPTIONS: (1) ADDING AN ASSISTANT PROJECT MANAGER POSITION (LOCALLY-HIRED, PROJECT FUNDED PSC); (2) PROCURING SERVICES OF A LOCAL FIRM TO ASSIST D/G PROJECT ADVISOR/MANAGER TO DEVELOP TOR/SOWS FOR RFA/IFA/RPPS, REVIEW INVOICES, BILLING AND SUPPORT DOCUMENTATION, ETC.; AND/OR (3) REDUCING THE NUMBER OF SEPARATE PROCUREMENT/FINANCING ARRANGEMENTS FROM 8 (INCLUDING THE PSC) TO BETWEEN 4-5. IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT USAID/ETHIOPIA CONTACT ONI/DG AND REDSO/RGO FOR INPUTS RELATED TO THESE QUESTIONS AND REVISE THE PP AS APPROPRIATE.

E. PROJECT FINANCIAL PLAN - THE PRC REQUESTED THAT THE PP FINANCIAL TABLES AND NARRATIVE BE REVISED IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A CLEARER PICTURE OF EXACTLY WHAT INPUTS THE PROJECT WILL FINANCE, I.E. HOW MUCH U.S. TA; LOCAL TA; HOW MANY SEMINARS, WORKSHOPS, ETC.; HOW MUCH LONG AND SHORT TERM TRAINING; HOW MUCH PROCUREMENT OF COMMODITIES, WHAT KINDS; AND WHAT COSTS THAT ARE ANTICIPATED PER INPUT. IN ADDITION, PER HB 3 REQUIREMENTS THE INPUTS SHOULD BE LINKED (IN MATRIX FORMAT) TO THE PROJECTED OUTPUTS, I.E., PROJECT COMPONENTS. RFMC HAS NOTED OTHER CORRECTIONS IN THE PP

147

WHICH WILL BE MADE BY THE PP DESIGN TEAM. ONCE REVISIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, THE FINAL PP FACESHEET WILL BE CLEARED BY RPMC.

- 4 -

F. OTHER DONOR'S CONTRIBUTIONS - THE PRC NOTED THAT CERTAIN ACTIVITIES (I.E., SUPPORT OF ELECTIONS AND/OR HUMAN RIGHTS) WHICH THE PROJECT MAY FUND WILL REQUIRE A MINIMUM LEVEL OF DONOR FUNDING TO INSURE COMPLETION. USAID/E IS REQUESTED TO INSURE THAT GIVEN THE DIFFICULTY OF GUARANTEEING SUCH OUTSIDE FUNDING AID PROJECT FUNDS ALONE WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO ACHIEVE THE PURPOSES/OUTPUTS OF ANY PARTICULAR PROJECT ACTIVITY THAT IS TO BE FUNDED UNDER THE PROJECT.

G. GRAY AMENDMENT - REDSO/RCO HAS REQUESTED THAT LANGUAGE COMPLYING WITH LATEST AFR BUREAU GUIDELINES ON GRAY AMENDMENT BE INCLUDED IN FINAL PP. WHILE NOT REQUIRING A SPECIFIC PORTION OF A GRANT OR COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT TO BE SET ASIDE, AS IN THE CASE FOR DIRECT CONTRACTS EXCEEDING \$500,000, LANGUAGE SHOULD BE INCLUDED WHICH ENCOURAGES THE PARTICIPATION OF GRAY AMENDMENT FIRMS, WHETHER AS JOINT VENTURES OR SUB-RECIPIENTS.

H. CONDITIONS PRECEDENT (CPS) TO DISBURSEMENT OF FUNDS - THE PRC NOTED THAT THE CPS SUGGESTED IN THE DRAFT PP ARE NOT REQUIRED. THEREFORE, IT WAS AGREED THAT THESE

UNCLASSIFIED NAIROBI 010325/02

149

5

CPS WILL BE DROPPED AND THAT THE DETAILS OF OBTAINING GOB APPROVALS OF ACTIONS TO BE FUNDED UNDER THE PROJECT BE INCORPORATED INTO THE BODY OF THE PP AND/OR THE AMPLIFIED PROJECT DESCRIPTION WHICH IS ATTACHED TO THE PROAG.

1. PROJECT EVALUATIONS, INDICATORS & EOPS- THE PRC NOTED THAT BOTH THE PP INDICATORS OF IMPACT AND THE LOGFRAME EOPS SHOULD BE REVISED TO MORE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE HOW ACHIEVEMENT OF PROJECT GOAL AND PURPOSE WILL BE MEASURED GIVEN THE PLANNED 3 YEAR LOP. IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THE PP MONITORING AND EVALUATION PLAN BE REVISED TO INCLUDE, WITHIN THE INITIAL SIX MONTHS OF THE PROJECT, COMPLETION OF THE FOLLOWING TASKS: (1) A BASELINE SURVEY IN KEY POLICY AREAS, E.G., ELECTIONS; JUDICIAL REFORMS; AND (2) A FURTHER DEFINITION OF WHAT PERFORMANCE INDICATORS WILL BE USED TO MEASURE ACHIEVEMENT OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES. THE REVISION OF THE EVALUATION PLAN SHOULD ALSO NOTE THAT THE FINAL PROJECT EVALUATION IS TO BE BROAD ENOUGH TO INCLUDE ASSESSMENT OF PROJECT IMPACT AND A SUBSTANTIVE ANALYSIS/DEFINITION OF REQUIRED FOLLOW-ON ACTIVITIES.

3. THE PRC ALSO RAISED A NUMBER OF CONCERNS WHICH SHOULD BE CONSIDERED BY USAID/ETHIOPIA IN THE FINALIZATION OF THE SUBJECT PP:

A. PP FACESHEET - A NUMBER OF ITEMS SHOULD BE INCLUDED ON THE PP FACESHEET FOR THE SUBJECT PROJECT. THESE INCLUDE: PROJECT NUMBER, AFR BUREAU NUMBER, TECHNICAL & ACTIVITY CODES, AN INDICATION OF THE SOURCE/ORIGIN OF AVAILABLE COMMODITIES, AND A CLEAR PURPOSE STATEMENT THAT THE TEXT IN THE BODY OF THE PP.

B. ACRONYMS - THERE ARE A GREAT MANY ACRONYMS IN THE PP. YET THERE IS NO COMPREHENSIVE LISTING OR DEFINITION OF THEM. THEREFORE, AN ACRONYMS LISTING SHOULD BE PROVIDED IN THE FINAL PP.

C. INDIGENOUS NGOS - THE PP REFERS IN A NUMBER OF PLACES TO THE POSSIBILITY OF PROVIDING FUNDS TO ETHIOPIAN OR LOCAL NGOS. IN ORDER TO RECEIVE SUCH FUNDING IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO REGISTER SUCH ORGANIZATIONS EITHER WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA OR WITH AID UNDER EXISTING LAWS OR REGULATIONS. THEREFORE PRIOR TO INITIATING ANY SUCH GRANT ACTIVITIES USAID/E SHOULD OBTAIN APPROPRIATE CLEARANCES FROM RLA AND/OR RCO RELATED TO THE PROPOSED GRANTEE HAVING COMPLIED WITH A ID/GOE LEGAL AND PROCEDURAL REQUIREMENTS.

4. AS NOTED ABOVE, SUBJECT TO CONFORMITY WITH THE LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY RESTRICTIONS AND RLA CLEARANCE, AND WITH THE PROVISIO THAT USAID/E REVISE AND/OR MODIFY THE PP AS NOTED BY THE PRC, REDSO/ESA CONCURS IN USAID/E APPROVAL OF THE SUBJECT PP AND SUBSEQUENT OBLIGATION OF THE FUNDING FOR THE PROJECT. FYI: ONCE PP NARRATIVE AND FACESHEET HAVE BEEN FINALIZED

150

WILL BE SIGNED BY RPMC AND FORWARDED TO USAID/E FOR  
SIGNATURE. . END FYI.

IMR. PLEASE ADVISE ANTICIPATED DATE OF OBLIGATION SO AS  
TO ALLOW RLA TO SCHEDULE APPROPRIATE TDY TO DRAFT PROAC.  
RMPSTONE

BT  
#0325  
NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED NAIROBI 010325/03

Vertical column of circular marks and symbols on the left margin.

የኢትዮጵያ የሽግግር መንግሥት  
የውጭ ኢኮኖሚ  
ትብብር ሚኒስቴር



THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT  
OF ETHIOPIA  
MINISTRY FOR EXTERNAL  
ECONOMIC COOPERATION

REF. No. AA7-3.2/229  
DATE 04 MAY 1992

Mr. Willard J. Pearson  
Director,  
USAID/Ethiopia,  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Routing slip with handwritten entries: "Stepu. cy.", "2/4", "cc: fax to Gully", "5/4/92".

Dear Mr. Pearson:

Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project (EDGS)

The Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) welcomes support from donors to help realize the National Charter's goal of establishing an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia, within the 24 to 30 month transitional period. It is for this reason that we have been working with you and members of your staff to define appropriate and viable ways in which USAID/Ethiopia can make use of newly re-introduced development assistance to advance democratization in Ethiopia.

The EDGS projects addresses key priorities of the TGE through its concentration upon five sectors critically important in defining Ethiopia's future:

- \* local and regional elections, followed by national elections;
- \* the drafting of the new national constitution;
- \* promotion of human rights, including the restructuring of the judicial system;
- \* promotion of democratically operating media and in general,
- \* implementation of local government establishments through due process of democratization.

On behalf of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, we would like to request that the United States Government approve the EDGS project paper, and thereby provide a grant of \$5 million for the programmed period of implementation.

ISRAEL KIDANE MARIAM  
DEPUTY HEAD WITH THE RANE

132

SENT BY: USAID

: 5- 5-92 : 18:08

2511550888-

0254 2 330945:8 3

ሲቲቶልያ የፕላንና ማገገሚያ

የውጭ ኢኮኖሚ  
ጎብእር ሚኒስቴር



THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

OF ETHIOPIA

MINISTRY FOR EXTERNAL  
ECONOMIC COOPERATION

☛TC \_\_\_\_\_  
REF. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
☛ \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_

- 2 -

In view of the urgency of this project, we earnestly hope that Ethiopia/ USAID will be able to take immediate steps to begin the implementation of the project. we hope this request will receive favorable consideration, and hereby look forward to further strengthen Ethio-US relations in other areas of development cooperation as well.



Yours sincerely,

ISRAEL KIBANE MARIAM  
DEPUTY HEAD WITH THE RANK  
OF VICE MINISTER

153

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LAOMARINO. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MAZZOLI). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. VENTO) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3457, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

**HORN OF AFRICA RECOVERY AND FOOD SECURITY ACT**

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill (S. 985) to assure the people of the Horn of Africa the right to food and the other basic necessities of life and to promote peace and development in the region, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:  
S. 985

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,  
SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE

This Act may be cited as the "Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act".  
SEC. 2. FINDINGS

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The Horn of Africa (the region comprised of Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, and Djibouti) is characterized by an extraordinary degree of food insecurity as a result of war, famine, mounting debt, recurrent drought, poverty, and agricultural disruption, as well as gross violations of human rights, political repression, environmental destruction, and the breakdown of such essential services as primary education and health care.

(2) Internal conflict and famine have killed an estimated 2,000,000 people in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia since 1985, and generated another 8,000,000 displaced persons and refugees, a number so high as to make millions wards of the United Nations and the international community. Relief officials now estimate that another 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 people are threatened by starvation as civil war and drought continue to ravage the area.

(3) Governments and armed opposition groups in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia have been guilty of gross violations of human rights, which further erode food security in those countries.

(4) Assistance policies have failed in large part because of political and economic insecurity, which have prevented the development of programs to achieve sustainable development and programs to achieve food security.

(5) Appropriate assistance should promote real food security, which means access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life and the availability of sufficient income and food to prevent chronic dependency upon food assistance.

(6) The end of the Cold War rivalries in the Horn of Africa affords the United States the opportunity to develop a policy which addresses the extraordinary food security problem in the region.

(7) Notwithstanding other pressing needs, the United States must accordingly fashion a new foreign policy toward the Horn of Africa and cooperate with other major donors and the United Nations—

(A) to develop an emergency relief plan which meets the immediate basic human needs that arise as long as civil strife and famine afflict the region;

(B) to promote immediately cease-fire, secure relief corridors, and an end to these conflicts; and

(C) to provide creative developmental assistance which attacks the root causes of famine and war and assists these nations on the path to long-term security, reconstruction, voluntary repatriation, economic recovery, democracy, and peace, and which targets assistance to assist the poor majority more effectively.

**SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY REGARDING INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES**

(a) ETHIOPIA.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) call upon the authorities who now exercise control over the central government in Ethiopia to protect the basic human rights of all citizens, to release from detention all political prisoners and other detainees who were apprehended by the Marxist regime, and to facilitate the distribution of international relief and emergency humanitarian assistance throughout the country;

(2) urge all authorities in Ethiopia to make good faith efforts to—

(A) make permanent the cease-fire now in place and to permit the restoration of tranquility in the country; and

(B) make arrangements for a transitional government that is broadly-based, that accommodates all appropriate points of view, that respects human rights, and that is committed to a process of reform leading to the writing of a constitution and the establishment of representative government; and

(3) support efforts to ensure that the people of Eritrea are able to exercise their legitimate political rights, consistent with international law, including the right to participate actively in the determination of their political future, and call upon the authorities in Eritrea to keep open the ports of Asseb and Assab and to continue to permit the use of those ports for the delivery and distribution of humanitarian assistance to Eritrea and to Ethiopia as a whole.

(b) SOMALIA.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) use whatever diplomatic steps he considers appropriate to encourage a peaceful and democratic solution to the problems in Somalia;

(2) commit increased diplomatic resources and energies to resolving the fundamental political conflicts which underlie the protracted humanitarian emergencies in Somalia; and

(3) ensure, to the maximum extent possible and in conjunction with other donors, that emergency humanitarian assistance to be made available to those in need, and that none of the beneficiaries belong to military or paramilitary units.

(c) SUDAN.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) urge the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army to adopt at least a temporary cessation of hostilities in order to assure the delivery of emergency relief to civilians in affected areas;

(2) encourage active participation of the international community to meet the emergency relief needs of Sudan; and

(3) take steps to achieve a permanent peace.

**SEC. 4. HORN OF AFRICA RELIEF AND REHABILITATION PROGRAM**

(a) SECTORS AND DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE.—It should be the policy of the United States in promoting equitable distribution of relief and rehabilitation assistance in the Horn of Africa—

(1) to assure noncombatants (particularly refugees and displaced persons) equal and ready access to all food, emergency, and relief assistance and, if relief or relief agreements are blocked by one faction in a region, to continue supplies to the civilian population located in the territory controlled by any opposing faction;

(2) to provide relief, rehabilitation, and recovery assistance to promote self-reliance and

(3) to assure that relief is provided on the basis of need without regard to political affiliation, geographic location, or the ethnic, tribal, or religious identity of the recipient.

(b) MAXIMIZING INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORTS.—It should be the policy of the United States in seeking to maximize relief efforts for the Horn of Africa—

(1) to redouble its commendable efforts to secure safe corridors of passage for emergency food and relief supplies in affected areas and to expand its support for the growing refugee population;

(2) to commit sufficient resources under Title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (relating to emergency and private assistance programs), and under chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to international disaster assistance), to meet urgent needs in the region and to utilize unobligated security assistance to bolster these resources;

(3) to consult with member countries of the European Community, Japan, and other major donors in order to increase overall relief and developmental assistance for the people in the Horn of Africa;

(4) to lend the full support of the United States to all aspects of relief operations in the Horn of Africa, and to work in support of United Nations and other international and voluntary agencies, in breaking the barriers currently threatening the lives of millions of refugees and others in need; and

(5) to urge the Secretary General of the United Nations to immediately appoint United Nations field coordinators for each country in the Horn of Africa who can act with the Secretary General's full authority.

(c) HORN OF AFRICA CIVIL STRIFE AND Famine ASSISTANCE.—

(1) AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.—The President is authorized to provide international disaster assistance under chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for civil strife and famine relief and rehabilitation in the Horn of Africa.

(2) DESCRIPTION OF ASSISTANCE TO BE PROVIDED.—Assistance pursuant to this subsection shall be provided for humanitarian purposes and shall include—

(A) relief and rehabilitation projects to benefit the poorest people, including—

(i) the furnishing of seeds for planting, fertilizer, pesticides, farm implements, crop storage and preservation supplies, farm animals, and vaccines and veterinary services to protect livestock;

(ii) blankets, clothing, and shelter;

(iii) emergency health care; and

(iv) emergency water and power supplies;

(B) emergency food assistance (primarily wheat, maize, other grains, processed foods, and oils) for the affected and displaced civilian population of the Horn of Africa; and

(C) inland and ocean transportation of, and storage of, emergency food assistance, including the provision of trucks.

154

April 7, 1998

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

H 2343

Handwritten notes at the top of the page, including "Not to" and "D/G's" with arrows pointing to specific sections.

Assistance described in subparagraphs (B) and (C) shall be in addition to any such assistance provided under title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

(3) USE OF PYOS FOR RELIEF, REHABILITATION, AND RECOVERY PROJECTS.—Assistance under this subsection should be provided, to the maximum extent possible, through United States, international, and indigenous private and voluntary organizations.

(4) MANAGEMENT SUPPORT ACTIVITIES.—Up to two percent of the amount made available for each fiscal year under paragraph (1) for use in carrying out this subsection may be used by the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1981 for management support activities associated with the planning, monitoring, and supervision of emergency humanitarian and food assistance in the Horn of Africa provided under this subsection and subsection (d).

(5) TRANSFER OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE FUNDS.—The authority of section 619 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1981 may be used to transfer for use in carrying out this subsection, without regard to the 20-percent increase limitation contained in that section, unobligated security assistance funds made available for fiscal year 1992 and 1993. As used in this paragraph, the term "security assistance funds" means funds available for economic support assistance, foreign military financing assistance, or international military education and training.

(6) EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE.—The President is urged to use the authorities of title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 to provide supplemental emergency food assistance for the various civilian victims of civil strife in the Horn of Africa, in accordance with paragraphs (2)(B), (3)(C), and (3) of subsection (c), in addition to the assistance otherwise provided for such purposes.

SEC. 2 HORN OF AFRICA PEACE INITIATIVE

(a) SUPPORT FOR GRASSROOTS PARTICIPATION.—It shall be the policy of the United States in promoting peace and development in the Horn of Africa—

(1) to support expanded pluralistic and popular participation, the process by which all groups of people are empowered to involve themselves directly in creating the structures, policies, and programs to contribute to equitable economic development, and to local, national, and regional peace initiatives;

(2) to ensure that all citizens enjoy the protection of civil, political, economic, social, religious, and cultural rights, an independent judiciary, and representative governmental institutions, regardless of gender, religion, ethnicity, occupation, or association; and

(3) to provide assistance to indigenous nongovernmental institutions that carry out activities in government-controlled or opposition-controlled territories and have the capacity or potential to promote conflict resolution, to advance development programs, or to carry out relief activities such as those described in section 619(2).

(b) CONSULTATIONS.—The President is encouraged to undertake immediate consultations, with appropriate countries, with armed and unarmed parties in the Horn of Africa, and with the Secretary General of the United Nations, in order to bring about negotiated settlements of the armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa.

(c) MECHANISMS.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) direct the United States Representative to the United Nations to—

(A) urge the Secretary General of the United Nations to make cease-fire, safe cor-

ridors for emergency relief and negotiated settlements of the armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa a high and urgent priority;

(B) propose that the United Nations Security Council establish a United Nations arms embargo to end the supply of arms to the region, pending the resolution of civil wars and other armed conflicts; and

(C) pledge diplomatic and material resources for enhanced United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking activities in the region, including monitoring of cease-fires;

(2) play an active and ongoing role in other fora in pressing for negotiated settlements to armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa; and

(3) support and participate in regional and international peace consultations that include broad representation from the countries and factions concerned.

SEC. 3 HORN OF AFRICA FOOD SECURITY AND RECOVERY STRATEGY

(a) TARGETED ASSISTANCE TO AID THE POOR MAJORITY: USE OF PYOS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.—

(1) TARGETED ASSISTANCE.—United States developmental assistance for the Horn of Africa should be targeted to aid the poor majority of the people of the region (particularly refugees, women, the urban poor, and small-scale farmers and pastoralists) to the maximum extent practicable. United States Government aid institutions should seek to—

(A) build upon the capabilities and experiences of United States, international, and indigenous private and voluntary organizations active in local grassroots relief, rehabilitation, and development efforts;

(B) consult closely with such organizations and significantly incorporate their views into the policymaking process; and

(C) support the expansion and strengthening of their activities without compromising their private and independent nature.

(2) PYOS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.—While support from indigenous governments is crucial, sustainable development and food security in the Horn of Africa should be enhanced through the active participation of indigenous private and voluntary organizations, as well as international private and voluntary organizations, and international organizations that have demonstrated their ability to work as partners with local nongovernmental organizations and are committed to promoting local grassroots activities on behalf of long-term development and self-reliance in the Horn of Africa.

(3) POLICY ON ASSISTANCE TO GOVERNMENTS.—United States assistance should not be provided to the Government of Ethiopia, the Government of Somalia, or the Government of Sudan until concrete steps toward peace, democracy, and human rights are taken in the respective country.

(4) SUPPORT FOR PYOS.—Meanwhile, the United States should provide developmental assistance to those countries by supporting United States, indigenous, and international private and voluntary organizations working in those countries. Such assistance should be expanded as quickly as possible.

(b) EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMS.—Assistance pursuant to this section should include programs to—

(1) reforest and restore degraded natural areas and residential resource management programs;

(2) reestablish veterinary services, local crop research, and agricultural development projects;

(3) provide basic education, including efforts to support the teaching of displaced children, and rebuild schools;

(4) educate young people outside of their countries of conflict within their countries' countries;

(5) reconstitute and expand the delivery of primary and maternal health care; and

(6) establish credit, microenterprise, and income generation programs for the poor.

(c) VOLUNTARY RELOCATION AND REPAIRATION.—Assistance pursuant to this section should also be targeted to the voluntary relocation and voluntary repatriation of displaced persons and refugees after peace has been achieved. Assistance pursuant to this Act may not be made available for any costs associated with any program of involuntary or forced resettlement of persons.

(d) DEBT RELIEF, INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR RECONSTRUCTION.—Developmental assistance for the Horn of Africa should be carried out in coordination with long-term strategies for debt relief of countries in the region and with emerging efforts to establish an international fund for reconstruction of developing countries which settle civil wars within their territories.

(e) ASSISTANCE THROUGH PYOS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.—Unless a certification has been made with respect to that country under section 2, development assistance and assistance from the Development Fund for Africa, for Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan shall be provided only through—

(1) United States, international, and indigenous private and voluntary organizations (as the term "private and voluntary organization" is defined in section 691(1)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1981); or

(2) through international organizations that have demonstrated effectiveness in working in partnership with local nongovernmental organizations and are committed to the promotion of local grassroots activities on behalf of development and self-reliance in the Horn of Africa (such as the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Development Program, and the World Food Program).

This subsection does not prohibit the organizations referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) from working with appropriate ministries or departments of the respective governments of such countries.

(f) WAIVER OF RESTRICTIONS.—Assistance pursuant to this section may be made available to Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan notwithstanding any provision of law (other than the provisions of this Act) that would otherwise restrict assistance to such countries.

(g) UNITED STATES VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE HORN OF AFRICA.—It should be the policy of the United States to provide increasing voluntary contributions to United Nations agencies (including the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Development Program, and the World Food Program) for expanded programs of assistance for the Horn of Africa and for refugees from the Horn of Africa who are in neighboring countries.

(h) DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE AUTHORITY.—Developmental assistance to carry out this section shall be provided pursuant to the authorities of chapter 1 of part 1 (relating to development assistance) and chapter 10 of part 1 (relating to the Development Fund for Africa) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1981.

Handwritten number "5" in the left margin.

Handwritten notes "PYOS" and "LOs" in the right margin.

Handwritten number "135" in the bottom right corner.

**SEC. 2. PROHIBITIONS ON SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, AND SUDAN**

(a) **PROHIBITION.—**Economic support assistance, foreign military financing assistance, and international military education and training may not be provided for fiscal year 1992 or 1993 for the Government of Ethiopia, the Government of Somalia, or the Government of Sudan unless the President makes the certification described in section 8 with respect to that government.

(b) **ASSISTANCE FOR ETHIOPIA: CONDITIONAL WAIVER OF BROOKER-ALEXANDER AMENDMENT.—**If the President makes the certification described in section 8 with respect to the Government of Ethiopia, the President may provide economic support assistance, foreign military financing assistance, and international military education and training for Ethiopia for fiscal years 1992 and 1993 notwithstanding section 620(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or any similar provision.

**SEC. 3. CERTIFICATION**

The certification required by sections 6(a) and 7 is a certification by the President to the appropriate congressional committees that the government of the specified country—

(1) has begun to implement peace agreements, national reconciliation agreements, or both;

(2) has demonstrated a commitment to human rights within the meaning of sections 116 and 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(3) has manifested a commitment to democracy, has held or established a timetable for free and fair elections, and has agreed to implement the results of those elections; and

(4) in the case of a certification for purposes of section 6(a), has agreed to distribute developmental assistance on the basis of need without regard to political affiliation, geographic location, or the ethnic, tribal, or religious identity of the recipient.

**SEC. 4. REPORTING REQUIREMENT**

Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act and each 180 days thereafter, the President shall submit a report to the appropriate congressional committees on the efforts and progress made in carrying out this Act.

**SEC. 5. DEFINITIONS**

As used in this Act—

(1) the term "appropriate congressional committees" means the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate;

(2) the term "assistance from the Development Fund for Africa" means assistance under chapter 10 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(3) the term "development assistance" means assistance under chapter I of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(4) the term "economic support assistance" means assistance under chapter 6 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(5) the term "foreign military financing assistance" means assistance under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act; and

(6) the term "international military education and training" means assistance under chapter 5 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. DYMALLY) will be recognized for 20 minutes and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BROOMFIELD) will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. DYMALLY).

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, today, we consider the 1992 Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act. This most worthy piece of legislation will send the message that the United States is prepared to coordinate with the rest of the world to help alleviate the pain and suffering in the region.

For years, the world has watched the tragedy of famine, civil war, refugee and displaced persons unfold before our very eyes on the national news. For years individual nations, international organizations, private voluntary organizations and nongovernmental organizations have devoted millions of dollars, manpower and resources to alleviating the crises.

In the interim, the end of the United States-Soviet rivalry in the region has led to a sweeping movement toward democratization and the ouster of dictatorial regimes in Somalia and Ethiopia. The people of Djibouti are engaged in a struggle with the government for equal access to the political system. In Sudan, with the onset of the dry season offensive, the north-south conflict is still ravaging the country.

Essentially, despite a clear and sweeping move toward democratic rule in most of Africa, the Horn of Africa remains mired in relentless civil wars, devastating famines, and severe economic crisis.

Mr. Speaker, the legislation before us today makes a serious attempt to refocus our policy toward humanitarian and emergency assistance in the Horn. What it does is reinforce our commitment and establishes the leading role of the United States in the international effort.

This legislation encourages the use of nongovernmental organizations. International organizations and private voluntary organizations in our overall strategy to help reduce the suffering of the innocent victims of intra-clan, inter-clan, and/or inter-ethnic conflicts.

While events continue to unfold in the Horn, the political landscape changes daily. This legislation does not automatically provide assistance, but rather clears the path for the U.S. Government to provide assistance where possible and appropriate.

It is important to note, Mr. Speaker, that this legislation does not contain any new money. This legislation is designed to give the President discretionary transfer authority over funds from existing appropriations. The fact that the Congress supports this measure is critical to the successful implementation of the President's humanitarian assistance programs. This legislation essentially represents the language in the amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill which passed the House with bipartisan support in a 410-0 vote of approval.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the foreign affairs committee, I applaud the

House for moving judiciously and expeditiously in passing this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I support this amendment in the nature of a substitute to S. 985, the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act of 1991.

I want to commend chairman FASCELL and Congressmen DYMALLY and BURTON for their determined efforts to bring this bill to the floor. But I would like to give special recognition to Congressman BURTON. It was due to his leadership on this legislation, and his strong interest in the welfare of the people in the Horn that we have this bill before the House today.

Last summer, S. 985 passed the Senate and most of its provisions were incorporated into the foreign aid bill in an amendment that was offered in the House by Congressman BURTON. That amendment had broad support and passed by a vote of 410 to 0.

It is that section of the Foreign Aid bill which is being offered as a substitute to the original Senate bill.

I want to point out that funds in this legislation would come from existing resources and that no new money is contained in this measure.

This substitute addresses the pattern of United States relief, recovery, diplomatic and assistance activities that are appropriate for the tragic situation in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia, where protracted civil war, drought and poverty have created a nightmare for the innocent people there.

When most Americans think of the Horn of Africa, they visualize terrible despair and starving people without hope who have been forgotten by the world. This legislation is a message to those who have suffered that the American people and Congress have not forgotten them.

I urge my colleagues to support the committee's amendment in the nature of a substitute to S. 985.

□ 1340

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL).

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the House amendment to S. 985, the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act. This is a bipartisan bill, which represents more than a year of work by international hunger experts and members of the Select Committee on Hunger: Mr. DONAHUE, Mr. WEXLER, and Mr. BURTON.

The Horn of Africa is one of the most infamous places on earth. It's known mainly for hunger, famine, civil war and death. More than 3 million people have died in the Horn since

April 7, 1992

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

H 2345

1985. Eight million have become refugees. This week, with the help of the legislation we are considering today, the leaders of the Horn of Africa are beginning to turn that situation around.

This bill authorizes the President to provide disaster relief to meet the needs of the region. It promotes efforts to bring peace, and insure the access to food to hungry people. The bill bars development assistance to any country until the President certifies that the government has improved human rights. This is a good bill, Mr. Speaker. And it will make a real difference to the lives of the people of the Horn.

But another event is taking place in Ethiopia this week, which makes it even more important for the House to pass this bill. The heads of state of the nations of the Horn, along with the leaders of the opposition groups, are going to come together for a summit conference. They are going to agree never to use food as a weapon again. These leaders are stepping up to a real challenge; they are taking their destiny into their own hands. They may disagree—there may even be civil wars—but after this week, all the leaders in the Horn will agree to put the needs of their people ahead of politics. They will not block humanitarian supplies, they will not attack relief convoys, they will not use food as a weapon, they will not allow innocent children to starve.

This is the first arms control agreement for the weapon of food, Mr. Speaker. It will save lives, and it sets a precedent that other nations around the world can follow.

The idea of a humanitarian summit for the Horn of Africa was first proposed during a meeting I had with the President of Ethiopia last summer, along with my Hunger Committee colleagues Representatives ALAN WHEAT and DENNY HASTERT. A member of the Hunger Committee staff is in Addis Ababa right now, as an observer. I was planning on attending the summit myself. The select committee played an important role in creating this summit.

That's why it makes me angry when I read about people in this House talking about eliminating the select committee. The Select Committee on Hunger is making a difference, around the world and here in America. We're working in the Horn of Africa. We're creating hunger-free communities here at home. We are doing our jobs, helping the Congress to meet the needs of hungry people around the world. And we are doing it all for less than it costs to run a single Member's congressional office.

I am very proud of my committee this week, Mr. Speaker. I am proud of this legislation that my colleagues produced, and I'm proud of the historic event in the Horn that we helped to create. And I'm disappointed in the Members of the House who are taking

out their frustrations on us, and on hungry people, on children, seniors, and our drug-plagued cities. It is not smart, and it is not fair, and it is not what this House is supposed to be about.

I urge my colleagues to pass this important legislation, and to reject any attempt to eliminate the select committees.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BERREUTER).

(Mr. BERREUTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BERREUTER. Mr. Speaker, this Member rises in strong support of S. 985, as amended, which establishes aid and food security policies toward the Horn of Africa region and the countries of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan. The legislation has grown from the concerns of many thousands of Americans who have watched with horror the tragedies of hunger and war which have afflicted those countries for too many years and have cost over 2 million human lives already. These citizens have written to their Members of Congress to ask that our Government lay out clear principles of action in the Horn countries, based on our history of humanitarian concern for people trapped in disasters—including man-made ones—and on our history of encouraging respect for human rights, democratic elections, economic freedom, and nondiscriminatory aid distribution in other countries.

This Member wants to thank Chairman FASCELL and ranking member BROOMFIELD of the Foreign Affairs Committee for their support in ensuring that this important legislation on foreign assistance policy in the countries of the Horn of Africa is considered today, and also to express my thanks to chairman DRYMALLY and ranking member DAN BURTON of the Africa Subcommittee for their interest in the welfare of the people in the Horn, for their support as original cosponsors of the bill (H.R. 1454) on which today's amended language is based, and for continually monitoring the rapidly changing needs in the Horn countries during the past year through hearings in their subcommittee.

The amended language offered today is taken directly from the Horn of Africa provisions agreed upon in the conference report on foreign assistance authorizations for fiscal year 1992 and fiscal year 1993 and is identical to the version presently in Chairman FASCELL's foreign assistance authorization bill, H.R. 4546. Those conference provisions in turn reflected very closely the action of this House on June 20, 1991, when it passed, by a vote of 410-0, my amendment to the Africa title of H.R. 2508 on the subject of relief and recovery policies in the countries of the Horn. That amendment reflected the efforts and support

of 182 Members of this body who cosponsored H.R. 1454, the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act of 1991, which was introduced by Mr. DONGAN, Mr. WHEAT, and this Member on March 14, 1991. Over 60 major relief, development, and anti-hunger groups, including Bread for the World, endorsed the legislation. The latter organization played a very major role in offering to cosponsor to draft this legislation.

This amended version of S. 985, like H.R. 1454, addresses the pattern of United States relief, recovery, diplomatic, and assistance activities that are appropriate for the tragic situation in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia where protracted civil wars, drought, and poverty have created a living hell—a disaster where millions continue to starve while running from one war zone into another. Both governments and armed opposition groups in the Horn have been guilty of gross violation of human rights and of making the food security situation of civilians worse and impeding relief efforts.

Fortunately, in the case of Ethiopia, a generation-long war ceased in 1991, and there is hope for a new era of reconciliation and reconstruction on the basis of political and economic freedoms for both Ethiopia and the Eritrean region. Somalia and Sudan remain in a state of bloody civil war and national fragmentation along regional, ethnic, and clan lines.

Both the encouraging case of Ethiopia and the ongoing conflicts where so many lives are at risk have demonstrated that we need to have a clear United States policy that is directed at helping the people who are suffering while refusing to assist governments that are contributing to needless suffering.

The bill therefore defines four basic areas of United States policy toward the Horn countries because of the special, emergency conditions there:

First, an expanded authority for relief, rehabilitation, and recovery assistance under the international disaster assistance authorities carried out by the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA). No new or additional moneys are provided in this bill, but the President is given discretionary authority for fiscal years 1992 and 1993 to transfer unobligated security assistance funds to supplement OFDA resources for the Horn. OFDA is asked to carry out special rehabilitation and recovery activities such as primary health care, basic education, and restoring agricultural livelihoods of small producers in addition to normal emergency relief assistance. OFDA is also given the authority to fund the provision of emergency food to supplement Public Law 480, title II programs.

Second, the President is urged to take various actions to promote peace initiatives for the region in collaboration with Russia, other countries, the

157

United Nations, and parties in the Horn. This approach has already borne great fruit in the case of Ethiopia. The objectives are to promote negotiated settlement of conflicts in the region, an end to further militarization of the Horn, safe corridors of passage for relief supplies during conflicts, and support for international peacekeeping efforts that may be needed as is currently being investigated by the United Nations in Somalia.

Third, medium- and long-term development assistance to the region is targeted toward the poorest and most vulnerable people, to the extent practicable, and must be channeled only through private voluntary groups and through international organizations like UNICEF that work at the grassroots level unless and until governments respect basic freedoms.

Fourth, no United States economic assistance, military assistance, or security assistance money can go to or through the Governments of Ethiopia, Somalia, or Sudan until the United States President certifies that they are making concrete progress toward peace, human rights, democratic elections, and nondiscriminatory distribution of aid. Once this certification is made, as will be the case of Ethiopia based on its encouraging progress in recent months, flexibility is given to the administration to work with transitional governments on assistance that will consolidate democracy and peace. The legislative process thus establishes a standard consistent with the most deeply held values that the people of the United States want foreign assistance to serve, and recognizes that the fast-changing world of transitions to freedom requires eliminating some of the rigid restrictions on aid that might have characterized U.S. policy toward the previous undemocratic regimes. Development priorities outlined in legislation for the development fund for Africa will then become the guiding principles for the aid under normal conditions.

Mr. Speaker, the dramatic events of last year in Ethiopia demonstrate exactly why this legislation is so valuable, since we could have moved much faster to assist the democratic transition there if these policies had already been in place in 1991. They continue to be valuable for sending a clear signal of United States concern and leadership in expanding emergency relief efforts and promoting conflict resolution in Sudan and Somalia before many more lives are lost.

Mr. Speaker, my thanks to all who have made this legislation possible, and I urge your support for the bill.

○ 1350

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. WHEAT).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MAZZOLI). Does the gentleman mean the State of Missouri?

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I was referring to Kansas City.

Mr. WHEAT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa for his diligent work and leadership on this issue, even if he does not know where the middle of the country is, as well as thank the chairman of the Select Committee on Hunger, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL) for all of the work and leadership that he has provided on this issue.

I rise in strong support of the measure now before us. Today's consideration of the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act represents the culmination of over a year of hard work in the Congress and by a number of leading nongovernmental organizations to refocus United States policy toward the Horn of Africa.

The measure has enjoyed broad bipartisan support from the time it was first introduced in March 1991. In a vote of 410 to 0 last June, the House unanimously approved the Dorgan-Bereuter-Wheat amendment which incorporated the main provisions of the Horn legislation into the 1992 Foreign Assistance Authorization Act.

Now detached from the authorization bill, the House is once again considering this important measure. Since last June when the House last took up legislation regarding the Horn, the region has undergone change; however, the need to implement a comprehensive and coordinated relief and development policy toward this devastated part of the world remains just as critical and timely.

Over the course of the past year, Ethiopia has taken positive and hopeful steps toward establishing democratic rule. Finally rid of the brutal regime of Mengistu, the provisional Ethiopian Government has stated its commitment to securing a democratic future for its people.

The legislation before us today would help facilitate the transition to democratic rule by waiving restrictions which currently prohibit United States aid to the Ethiopian Government, thus permitting United States aid for development and electoral assistance.

Since last summer, the situation in Somalia has degenerated into the worst humanitarian crisis in the world today. From the time that bitter factional fighting erupted in the capital city of Mogadishu last November, an estimated 40,000 Somalis have been killed or wounded in the ensuing violence.

The legislation before us today would reinforce current efforts to bring an end to the fighting by calling on the administration to work through the United Nations to promote an end to civil strife and the safe passage of humanitarian relief supplies.

And in the past year, the repressive Government of Sudan has continued to challenge the dictatorships of the world in vying for the title of the

world's most brutal regime. Most recently, the Government has undertaken a wide scale military offensive throughout the southern part of the country.

The legislation before us today would help ensure that the Sudanese Government does not profit from its brutality by prohibiting United States aid to the governments of the horn unless they make firm progress in establishing peace and promoting human rights and democracy.

Beyond authorizing relief and assistance in the near term, the bill lays the foundation for long-term sustainable development. It focuses on the root causes of the problems in the region. It targets aid to the most vulnerable part of the population. It highlights grassroots participation throughout the developmental and political process. In short, it offers the people of the region the means to help them help themselves.

Mr. Speaker, today's consideration of the Horn of Africa legislation coincides with a regional humanitarian summit taking place this week in Ethiopia. By approving this initiative, we send a signal to the participants in the summit, indeed to the entire population of the region, that the United States is committed to helping promote peace, democracy, respect for human rights, and sustainable development in the Horn of Africa.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHEAT. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, not only do I know where Missouri is, I actually attended school in Missouri. I know where Kansas City is, it is famous for its blues and Central High School.

Mr. WHEAT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman claims his education in geography came from Missouri, we will have to do better to improve our school system.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), a member of our committee.

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 983, to assure the people of the Horn of Africa the right to food and the other basic necessities of life and to promote peace and democracy. I want to thank the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. FASCELL); the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BROOMFIELD); the gentleman from California (Mr. DYMALLY); the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa; and the committee's ranking minority member, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BROWN), for bringing the bill to the floor at this appropriate time. I also want to com-

commend the distinguished chairman of the Select Committee on Hunger, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL); the chairman of the International Task Force of the Select Committee on Hunger, the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. DORGAN); the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BRUNETT); and their staff for their support in this effort.

The Horn of Africa, the region comprised of Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, and Djibouti, is reeling from extraordinary food insecurity caused by war, famine, mounting debt, recurring drought, poverty, agricultural disruption, and environmental degradation. S. 985 tackles these problems by directing the United States to accomplish four basic objectives in the Horn of Africa. First, to assure the people of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan access to food and other basic necessities. Second, to target development assistance to poor and hungry people, building on their own efforts. Third, to set forth a peace initiative aimed at stopping ongoing wars and conflicts. And fourth, to restrict aid to governments in the region until progress toward peace, democracy and human right is made.

In the past decade, we have all been witness to the tragic cycle of drought, famine, and civil war that has touched the lives of millions of people throughout the Horn of Africa. S. 985 places the Congress firmly on record in attempting to alleviate these critical problems.

Accordingly, I support S. 985 and urge my colleagues to vote for this bill.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. DORGAN).

Mr. DORGAN of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues, DOUG BRUNETT and ALAN WHEAT, in urging passage of S. 985, as amended by the main provisions of our bill, the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act. Those provisions were already included as title X, chapter 4 of the pending conference report on the foreign aid authorization bill (H.R. 2508).

#### A SOUTH APPROACH

Passage of this bill will demonstrate that Congress can indeed address public policy needs in the right way.

First, it's a bipartisan bill. The chairman and ranking minority member of the Hunger Committee, TONY HALL and BILL EMERSON, have provided invaluable help in this effort. May I also thank African Subcommittee chairman MERVYN DYMALLY and chairman DANTE FASCELL of the Foreign Affairs Committee, as well as the respective ranking members, DAN BURTON and WILLIAM BROOMFIELD, for agreeing to take up this measure as a freestanding bill. Without such strong bipartisan support, we would not have been able to pass this bill.

Second, we developed this legislation with the strong backing of Bread for the World and a wide coalition of pri-

vate, voluntary organizations (PVO's) involved with promoting food security in the Horn of Africa. This common effort shows that Congress can respond to the grassroots concerns of the public.

Third, this bill will cost no new money. It provides food and other humanitarian aid through transfer of security aid. In other words, it converts the unused arms aid from the cold war into lifesaving resources: food, medicine, shelter, and farming tools.

#### RESPONDING TO BASIC HUMAN NEEDS

This measure will focus attention on the continuing human tragedy in the countries of Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia. The tragedy is hunger and civil war—killers which threaten some 20 million people in the Horn of Africa. As chairman of the Hunger Committee's International Task Force, I can think of no global problem which should receive greater attention in Congress.

Our legislation will also reformulate U.S. policy toward the region and set forth a comprehensive program to prevent widespread famine and to chart a course for long-term recovery and food security in the region. The bill underscores that a major tenet of our policy should be support for democracy and human rights. To that end, it sets forth realistic criteria for determining when the U.S. Government can provide aid to governments which previously had repressed human rights and freedom.

#### A REGION IN PERIL

The region has been plagued by persistent famine, widespread poverty, and decades of devastating civil wars. Some 2,000,000 Ethiopians and Sudanese have died from war or famine in the last 8 years alone. Relief officials estimate that another 8,000,000 have become refugees or displaced persons. Although the civil war in Ethiopia has ended, military conflict, famine, and poverty still threaten millions of people in the Horn. This is not an abstract problem but a current emergency.

Ethiopia has ended its own civil war. However, its early steps to establish a democratic government for the first time in history are imperiled by poverty and underdevelopment. This bill gives the President the authority to provide development aid once he certifies that the new government has made substantial progress to protect human rights and democracy. Instead of providing no aid, as we used to do with such transitional governments, we should offer it to governments which respect freedom and human rights.

Further, we must not overlook continuing fractional conflict which has resulted in the suspension of United Nations relief operations in areas with severe malnutrition and serious refugee problems.

Similarly, the people of Somalia concluded a fight against a repressive regime only to be engulfed by vicious

interclan warfare. This new, deadly conflict has killed or wounded 30,000 civilians since last November. It has also cut off most reliable supplies of food aid, leaving 1.8 million people at risk of starvation and epidemics in the capital of Mogadishu and another 4.5 million more in outlying areas. Artillery shelling in the capital area has been so intense at times that relief organizations have been all but forced to suspend lifesaving operations.

We must encourage the United Nations to play a more aggressive role in seeking peace and urge the warring factions to negotiate truces and a peace settlement. We should also support the use of U.N. peacekeeping personnel to protect relief workers, particularly in the capital area.

Continuing unrest and civil war menace the people of Sudan. Regional and fractional conflicts directly threaten the civilian population and also endanger the certain supply of food aid to refugees and displaced persons. The United Nations estimates that about 7.8 million people face food shortages, among which are 4 million internally displaced Sudanese. The Government of Sudan has exacerbated the latter problem by forcibly evicting one-half million homeless from Khartoum to remote desert camps.

Again, our Government must encourage reconciliation efforts by the United Nations and do our utmost to protect millions of vulnerable people.

#### NEW REALITIES OF AFRICAN FAMINE

Let me say that the sponsors of this legislation are acutely aware that famine stalks several other parts of Africa—particularly in Angola, Mozambique, and other southern African nations. Just yesterday, the Washington Post reported the worst drought of the century imperils 118 million people, who face acute shortages of both food and water. It appears that 10 million tons of food aid will be needed in the next year in order to avert massive starvation.

The United States will certainly need to exercise leadership in responding to these emergencies, as well. I know that the Hunger Committee has, and will continue, to press for timely and sufficient relief arrangements in these nations, too.

#### A NEW COURSE FOR THE HORN OF AFRICA

Our purpose, then, is not to single out the Horn of Africa to the exclusion of other needy nations. It is rather, to reaffirm that the United States will not neglect the Horn of Africa in an hour of dire human need. It is to say that many of the problems affecting individual nations in the region can only be resolved as peace, stability, and food security grow in the whole region.

We would also assert that the peace settlements which have been achieved elsewhere in Africa should be sought with equal diligence in the Horn, as well. This will require the top-level at-

tion of the President and the United Nations.

The bill does not authorize new funding, as I noted before. It provides authority to transfer from unobligated security aid balances such funds as are necessary to meet food and other emergency requirements in the Horn. It also authorizes the use of existing resources in the development fund for Africa to support the special, human-needs-based projects described in the bill. Among these are restoring agricultural extension services, veterinary assistance, and primary health care centers. It channels these resources through private, community, and international organizations with proven track records of working with impoverished people. If we truly believe that averting starvation and human tragedy should be a top foreign policy priority, then surely we should be prepared to divert resources from lower priority needs to achieve more important goals.

I urge the administration and all of my colleagues to join 182 sponsors in this fight to keep millions of people alive. And, then, I request support for the ensuring effort to help the people of Somalia, Sudan, and Ethiopia on the road to recovery and food security.

So I ask for unanimous support of the bill as amended and call for its prompt implementation by the administration.

Mr. FASCELL. I rise in support of S. 985, as amended, the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act, which outlines assistance and security policies toward the Horn of Africa countries of Ethiopia, Somalia, and the Sudan.

I want to thank Mr. DYMALLY and Mr. BURTON of the Africa Subcommittee for their efforts in support of this measure. In addition, I want to commend Mr. BERENSON for his leadership and work on this important piece of legislation.

Mr. Speaker, S. 985, as amended, is a non-controversial bill that originally passed the House on June 20, 1991, by a vote of 410 to 0 as an amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill. The bill is essentially unchanged from the version that was unanimously passed by the House last June. Funds for this legislation would come from existing authorities.

As we are all aware, conditions in the Horn of Africa are critical. The ongoing regional drought and massive displacements of the civilian population due to civil wars have brought about an incredible level of suffering and deprivation throughout the region. The legislation attempts to address these realities by providing the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance with expanded authority to carry out activities such as primary health care and education; by urging the President to promote peace initiatives in conjunction with other nations, including the United Nations; by stipulating that development assistance to the region shall be targeted toward the poorest, and to the extent possible, provided through non-governmental groups; and, finally, by stipulating that no U.S. economic, military, or developmental assistance shall be provided to any government in the region until the President certifies that they are making significant progress toward

peace, democratic elections, and ensuring human rights.

In addition, the bill provides for Presidential waiver authority for those countries in the Horn that are in arrears on their loan repayments. This is particularly significant in the case of Ethiopia, which, in our understanding, has or is about to reach an agreement with the United States Government on payment of its outstanding loans, therefore making it eligible for bilateral assistance from United States to aid in its transformation to a multiparty, democratic society.

As we are all aware, southern Africa is currently experiencing the worst drought of this century. U.N. agencies anticipate a 10 million ton food shortfall over the next 12 months. International relief experts now anticipate that this drought could very shortly engulf the whole eastern portion of the African continent.

I urge my colleagues to support this timely and important piece of legislation.

□ 1400

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MAZZOLI). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. DYMALLY) that the House suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill, S. 985, as amended.

The question was taken and (two thirds having voted in favor thereof), the rules were suspended and the Senate bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on S. 985, the Senate bill just considered and passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

#### WAIVING BROOKE-ALEXANDER PROHIBITIONS TO ALLOW LIMITED ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the Senate joint resolution (S.J. Res. 271) expressing the sense of Congress regarding the peace process in Liberia and authorizing limited assistance to support this process.

The Clerk read as follows:

S.J. Res. 271

Whereas the civil war in Liberia, begun in December 1989, has devastated that country, killing an estimated 25,000 civilians and forcing hundreds of thousands of Liberians to flee their homes;

Whereas in an effort to end the fighting, the parties to the Liberian conflict and the leaders of the West African states signed a peace accord in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire on October 26, 1991;

Whereas this agreement sets in motion a peace process, including the encampment and disarmament of the fighters and culminating in the holding of free and fair elections;

Whereas despite several difficulties, this peace process continues to proceed largely on track, including the recent opening of roads in Liberia and the initiation of the political campaigns by several parties; and

Whereas the election process outlined in the Yamoussoukro agreement is essential for reestablishing peace, democracy and reconciliation in Liberia, and limited United States assistance could play an important role in promoting this process: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Congress—

(1) strongly supports the peace process for Liberia initiated by the Yamoussoukro peace accord;

(2) urges all parties to abide by the terms of the Yamoussoukro agreement;

(3) commends and congratulates the governments of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for their leadership in seeking peace in Liberia; and

(4) extends particularly praise to President Babangida of Nigeria, President Houphouët-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire, and President Diouf of Senegal for their efforts to resolve this conflict;

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF LIMITED ASSISTANCE.—Notwithstanding section 620(q) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or any similar provision, the President is authorized to provide—

(1) nonpartisan election and democracy-building assistance to support democratic institutions in Liberia; and

(2) assistance for the resettlement of refugees, the demobilization and retraining of troops, and the provision of other appropriate assistance to implement the Yamoussoukro peace accord;

Provided, That the President determines and so certifies to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives that Liberia has made significant progress toward democratization and that the provision of such assistance will assist that country in making further progress and is otherwise in the national interest of the United States. A separate determination and certification shall be required for each fiscal year in which such assistance is to be provided.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. DYMALLY) will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BROOMFIELD) will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. DYMALLY).

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, today, we will consider Senate Joint Resolution 271, a bill to permit limited assistance to Liberia by way of a waiver of the Brooke-Alexander prohibition.

Specifically, this bill is designed to provide nonpartisan election and democracy-building assistance to support the democratic process in Liberia, and assistance for the resettlement of refugees, the demobilization and retraining

ing of troops, and that provision of other appropriate assistance to implement the Yamoussoukro peace accord, pending the President's certification.

The civil war in Liberia, which began in December 1989, has killed thousands of innocent Liberians, completely dismantled the agricultural infrastructure of the nation and totally collapsed the political system.

Through the efforts of the economic community of west African states, several agreements have been signed which were designed to lead the country toward free and fair elections.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation does not ask for any additional funds. This bill simply lifts the prohibitions preventing assistance and requires the President to make the determination that Liberia has made significant progress toward democratization. It further stipulates that a separate determination and certification shall be required for each fiscal year in which such assistance is to be provided.

This action on the part of the House will send the message to the two main parties in Liberia that if they are willing and prepared to settle the political dispute peacefully, the United States is prepared to remove the barriers which prohibit assisting the democratic process in Liberia.

Mr. Speaker, we have rewarded nations around the globe for their sincere and consistent movement towards democratization. We are pleased to lend our support and encouragement to the people of Liberia—who are now scattered around the globe.

This legislation speaks directly to our commitment to democracy on the continent of Africa. The Liberian people need to know that our devotion to the democratic process is not limited to lip service, but includes concrete deeds of support and encouragement.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I applaud the House for acting expeditiously on this most important piece of legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I support the passage of Senate Joint Resolution 271, which would allow the provision of limited assistance to Liberia.

I am usually very reluctant to waive the so-called Brooke-Alexander amendment which prohibits further aid to countries that are in default on past debts. I believe we should not normally provide additional aid to countries which have not proven to be responsible debtors.

However, the case of Liberia is unique for several reasons. First, the debt in question was incurred by a previous government which no longer exists.

Second, assistance is available from existing resources and, therefore, this bill does not increase foreign aid by one dollar.

Finally, aid could go to Liberia under Senate Joint Resolution 271 only after the President certifies that progress toward peace has been made and that such aid is in the United States national interest.

Liberia and the United States have a long history of close cooperation. I join my colleagues in supporting this legislation which may help bring an end to the tragic civil war in Liberia.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of Senate Joint Resolution 271, which expresses the sense of Congress regarding the peace process in Liberia and authorizes limited assistance to support this process.

I would like to commend my colleague, Mr. DYMALLY of California, for bringing this matter to the attention of the House and for his longstanding concern about conditions in Liberia.

Mr. Speaker, Senate Joint Resolution 271 is a noncontroversial resolution that recognizes the efforts by the parties of Liberia for moving toward a peaceful resolution of 2 years of bloody warfare that has led this small African nation to the brink of economic and social dissolution. Under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Interim Government of Liberia, and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) have begun implementing the breakthrough agreement reached in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast, on October 30, 1991. This agreement calls for democratic elections in 1992. While a number of obstacles still remain before elections can be held, not the least of which is the large number of Liberian refugees and displaced persons that still must be attended to, the West African nations and the leaders of the Liberian parties remain committed to the process.

As part of the effort to implement the terms of the accords, the Liberian Elections Commission was constituted in early January and is made up of members of both major political parties. The elections commission has issued an appeal for external support to help preserve its impartiality. In addition, the West African heads of state and the various Liberian parties have unanimously invited the Carter Center to help organize and monitor the elections.

However, because of the mismanagement and widespread corruption of the previous Doe government, Liberia is ineligible for development assistance under the Brooke amendment (section 620c) of the Foreign Assistance Act. Senate Joint Resolution 271 would provide relief from the Brooke sanctions, subject to a Presidential determination that the country of Liberia has made significant progress toward democratization and that it is in the United States national interest to provide such assistance.

Mr. Speaker, the nations of Liberia and the United States have enjoyed a special relationship for the past 150 years. In spite of the recent hardships that the nation of Liberia has endured, most Liberians continue to believe in the special bond between our two nations. Senate Joint Resolution 271 rightly affirms that the United States will and should continue to play the leading role in Liberia's transformation to peace and democracy in view of our strong historic relationship with Liberia, our strong support of the regional peace plan, and the major role that United States NGO's will play in rebuilding this country.

In closing, I urge the speedy adoption of this timely, important, and noncontroversial resolution.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. DYMALLY) that the House suspend the rules and pass the Senate joint resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 271.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof), the rules were suspended and the Senate joint resolution was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on Senate Joint Resolution 271, the Senate joint resolution just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

#### CHILD ABUSE, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, ADOPTION AND FAMILY SERVICES ACT OF 1992

Mr. PASTOR. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4712) to amend the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, to revise and extend programs under such act, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 4712

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Child Abuse, Domestic Violence, Adoption and Family Services Act of 1992".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

#### TITLE I—CHILD ABUSE PREVENTION AND TREATMENT ACT

##### Subtitle A—General Provisions

Sec. 101. Amendatory references.

Sec. 102. Findings.

##### Subtitle B—General Program

Sec. 111. Advisory board on child abuse and neglect.

Sec. 112. Research and assistance activities of the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect.

Sec. 113. Grants to public agencies and non-profit private organizations for demonstration or service programs and projects.

Sec. 114. Grant program for child abuse neglect prevention and treatment.

Sec. 115. Emergency grant program.

አዋጣጥ ዓመት ቁጥር ፩  
30th Year - No. 1

አዲስ አበባ ሐምሌ ፲፩ ቀን ጊዜ ፲፱፻፹፩ ዓ.ም.  
Addis Ababa, 22nd July 1991

የኢትዮጵያ ሰላማዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሽግግር ጉዞ

# ነጋሪት ጋዜጣ

PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONAL CONFERENCE OF ETHIOPIA

# NEGARIT GAZETA

የአንቀጽ ዋጋ 0.60	የኢትዮጵያ ሰላማዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሽግግር ጉዞ PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONAL CONFERENCE OF ETHIOPIA	
---------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

ገ ወ ጊ

የኢትዮጵያ የሽግግር ወትት ቻርተር  
ተገር ፩

C O N T E N T S

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD CHARTER OF ETHIOPIA  
No. 1

ኢትዮጵያን ለአሥራ ሰባት ዓመታት ሲገዛ የቆየው የወታደራዊ አዋጣጥን መንግሥት መገርሰስ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ አገሩንና መንግሥቱን በዲሞክራሲያዊ መንገድ እንደ አዲስ ለመገንባት የሚችልበትን ዕድል የከፈተ ታሪካዊ ወትት በመሆኑ፤

በመሠረቱ ወታደራዊው አዋጣጥን መንግሥት የተደገፈ የዎቅ መንግሥታት ተቀጥሎ እንደመሆኑ መጠን ውድቀቱ የጭቆናና የአረናን ዘመን ግዝተኛ በግመልከት ነፃነት፣ የአኩላነት መብቶችና የሁሉም ሕዝቦች የራሱን ዕድል በራሱ የመወሰን መብት መርሆዎች፣ የፖለቲካ፣ የፈላጊነት፣ የግንባራ ሕይወት የሰለጠኑትን አዲስ የዕድራና በመክፈት የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝቦች ከዘመናት የጭቆናና የጸላቀር ነት ቀንበር አውጥቶ ደገንነታቸው የሚጠበቅበትን ሁኔታ ለመፍጠር አስተዋጽኦ የሚያበረክት በመሆኑ፤

የዕድገት መሠረታዊ ሁኔታዎች የሆኑትን ሰላምና ግንባራ ጋጋት ለግስረት ግናቸውም ዓይነት የጠላትነት ስጋቶችን ግስወገድ፣ በግጭቶች ምክንያት የተፈጠረ መቆሰሰ መኛ ርገና እንዲሁም መላክ ጎርብትናንና የመረገገት ግንኙነትን መመሥረት የሚያስፈልገው በመሆኑ፤

ከላይ የተጠቀሱት ሁኔታዎችን ለግንባራና ፍትሐዊ ሰላም ለግምገማት ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓትን ግወጅ አግራጭ የሌለው ግድታ በመሆኑ፤

ለዚህም ሲባል ባለፈው መንግሥት የተደገፈው የመሬት ቆይታ ተደግጎ በሙሉ ግራራረሰ፣ የተገተኑን ዜጎች መብቶችና ጥቅሞች በሕዝብ በተመረጠና ለሕዝብም ተጠሪ በሆነ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግሥት አግካሻነት ግስከር፣ ከባላይ ለድልዎችን ግካህና ግስቀረት አስፈላጊ በመሆኑ፤

WHEREAS the overthrow of the military dictatorship that has ruled Ethiopia for seventeen years presents a historical moment, providing the Peoples of Ethiopia with the opportunity to rebuild the country and restructure the state democratically;

WHEREAS the military dictatorship was, in essence, a continuation of the previous regimes and its demise marks the end of an era of subjugation and oppression thus starting a new chapter in Ethiopian history in which freedom, equal rights and self-determination of all the peoples shall be the governing principles of political, economic and social life and thereby contributing to the welfare of the Ethiopian Peoples and rescuing them from centuries of subjugation and backwardness;

WHEREAS peace and stability, as essential conditions of development, require the end of all hostilities, the healing of wounds caused by conflicts and the establishment and maintenance of good neighbourliness and co-operation;

WHEREAS for the fulfilment of the aforementioned conditions and for the reign of a just peace, the proclamation of a democratic order is a categorical imperative, and;

WHEREAS to this end, all institutions of repression installed by the previous regimes shall be dismantled, regional prejudices redressed and the rights and interests of the deprived citizens safeguarded by a democratic government elected by and accountable to the People;

በኢትዮጵያ ኅብረተሰብ ከሚገኙት የተለያዩ አመለካከት ዓይነቶች የሰላምና የዲሞክራሲ ኃይሎች ውስጥ የተወሰኑ ሰኔ 24 እስከ ሰኔ 28 ቀን 1983 ዓ ፆ በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ባደረጉት አገር አቀፍ ጉባኤ ይህንን ለመሸጋገሪያ መገገሚያ መሠረታዊ መመሪያና ለሽግግር ዘመን መሪያ የሆነውን ቻርተር መክረውና ተተብሎ ያጸደቁት በመሆኑ፤ እነሆ እንደሚከተለው ታውጥታል፡

**ክፍል አንድ**  
**የዲሞክራሲ መብቶች**

**አንቀጽ አንድ ፤**

በተባበሩት መንግሥታት ጠቅላላ ጉባኤ እ. አ. አ. በዲ ሴፕቴምበር 10 ቀን 1948 ዓ/ም የጸደቀውንና የታወጀውን ቁጥር 217 A (III) ውሳኔ መሠረት በግድረግ የገለለብ ሰብአዊ መብቶች ያለአንዳች ገደብ ሙሉ ሙሉ ተከብራል። በተለይ ለደፍ እያንዳንዱ ገለበጠ ፤

- ሀ) የእምነት ፣ ሐሳብን የመገለጽ ፣ የመደራጀት ፣ በሌላ ላይ የመሰብሰብና የመታወቅ ነፃነት አለው።
- ለ) የሌሎችን ሕጋዊ መብቶች እስካልተገደቡ ድረስ በግንኙነት የፖለቲካ እንቅስቃሴ ውስጥ ያለአንዳች ገደብ የመሳተፍ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችን የግደራጀት መብት አለው።

**አንቀጽ ሁለት ፤**

የብሔሮች ፣ የብሔረሰቦችና የሕዝቦች የራሳን ዕድል ለደብ የመወሰን መብት ተረጋግጧል። በዚህም መሠረት የሕግን ጥበቃ ፣ የብሔረሰብና ሕዝብ ፤

- ሀ) የራሱን ግንኙነት የመጠበቅና የግልበኝ ፣ ባህሪ ገና ስራሱን የግበአዳግ ፣ እንዲሁም በደንብ የመጠቀምና ደንብን የግለጽግ መብት አለው።
- ለ) በራሱ የተወሰነ መልክ ያደራግ ከሌለ ውስጥ የራሱን ገደብ በራሱ የግበተኛደር ፣ እንዲሁም በግዕዝዊው መንግሥት ውስጥ በነፃነት ፣ ለደፍ ለሌሎችና ተገቢ በሆነ የውክልና አገባብ መታዘግ ተስተር የግድረግ መብት አለው።

የግንባር ፣ የብሔረሰብና ሕዝብ ከላይ የተጠቀሱት መብቶች ታገዱ ፣ ተረገጡ ፣ ወይም ተገደሩ ብዙ ግደብ ጊዜ የራሱን ዕድል በራሱ እስከ ነፃነት ድረስ የመወሰን መብትን ተገብራዊ የግድረግ መብት አለው።

**ክፍል ሁለት**  
**የውጭ ጉዳይ ፖሊሲ መርፍቶች**

የግንባር መንግሥት የውጭ ጉዳይ ግንኙነትን የሚገኝ ለውጭ ጉዳይ ግንኙነትን ለግደብና ለውጭ ጉዳይ ግንኙነት ውስጥ ግልጽ ባለው ግንኙነትና እንዲሁም የጋራ ግንኙነትን በግራጽ መሪያ ላይ ተመሥርቶ ነው።

**አንቀጽ ሦስት ፤**

ይህ ቻርተር ከወጣበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ ጉረቤት አገሮችን በሚመለከት የተደገፉ መንግሥቶች ሆነ ብዙ ሲከተሉ የተፈጸሙ ለመረጋጋትን የመፍጠርና የጸብ አግራት ፖሊሲ ይደረግልል ፤ ይወገዳል።

Whereas from the peace loving and democratic views prevalent in the Ethiopian society and having varied views, having met in a Conference convened from July 1-3 in ADDIS ABABA, have discussed and approved The Charter laying down the rules governing The Transitional Government as well as setting down the principles for the transitional period.  
NOW THEREFORE, it is hereby proclaimed as follows:

**PART ONE**  
**DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

**Article One**

Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly by resolution 217 A (III) of 10 Dec. 1948. Individual human rights shall be respected fully, and without any limitation whatsoever. Particularly every individual shall have:

- a/ The freedom of conscience, expression, association and peaceable assembly;
- 1. The right to engage in unrestricted political activity and to organize political parties, provided the exercise of such right does not infringe upon the rights of others.

**Article Two**

The right of nations, nationalities and peoples to self-determination is affirmed. To this end, each nation, nationality and people is guaranteed the right to:

- a/ Preserve its identity and have it respected, promote its culture and history and use and develop its language;
- b/ Administer its own affairs within its own defined territory and effectively participate in the central government on the basis of freedom, and fair and proper representation;
- c/ Exercise its right to self-determination of independence, when the concerned, nation, nationality and people is convinced that the above rights are denied, abridged or abrogated.

**PART TWO**  
**PRINCIPLES GUIDING FOREIGN POLICY**

The Transitional Government will conduct its foreign relations on the basis of the principles of respect for the sovereignty and equality of states and non-intervention and non-interference in internal affairs, as well as the promotion of mutual interests. Accordingly:

**Article Three**

The policy of destabilization and conflict-promotion hitherto actively pursued by the previous regime with respect to the country's neighbours shall cease forthwith with the issuance of this Charter.

163

**አንቀጽ አራት ፣**

የኢትዮጵያን ሉዓላዊነት ለሚያከብሩና የሕዝቡን ጥቅም ለማድገሩ የጋራ ስምምነቶች ሁሉ ተገዥ ይሆናል ።

**አንቀጽ አምስት ፣**

ዘልላዊ አስተዳደሮች የሰብዓዊ ዕርዳታ ጉዳይን በሚመለከት ከሰብዓዊ እርዳታ ሰጪ ድርጅቶች ጋር ቀጥተኛ ግንኙነት የማድረግ መብት አላቸው ።

**ክፍል ሦስት**

**የሽግግር መንግሥት አወቃቀርና ተዋፅኦ**

**አንቀጽ በድስት ፣**

የተወካዮች ምክር ቤትንና የሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤትን የያዘ የሽግግር መንግሥት ይቋቋማል ።

**አንቀጽ ሰባት ፣**

የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ከብሔራዊ ነፃነት ጎትናቴዎች፣ ዘሎሎች የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶችና ከታዋቂ ግለሰቦች ተውጣጥተው ዘጸኝ በግዴታ ለሰባት ይመሠረታል ።

**አንቀጽ ስምንት ፣**

በአዲስ ሕገመንግሥት ላይ ተመስርቶ በሕዝብ ለሚመረጥ መንግሥት ሥልጣን እስኪያስረከብ ድረስ የሽግግር መንግሥቱ ሕጋዊና ፖለቲካዊ ኃላፊነቶችን በሙሉ በመያዝ አገሪቱን ያስተዳድራል ።

**አንቀጽ ዘጠኝ ፣**

የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ከዚህ በታች የተሠረዘሩትን ኃላፊነቶች የሚያካትት ሕግ የግድግዳና የግወጅ እንዲሁም የሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት ተግባራትን የመከታተል ኃላፊነት አለው ።

- ሀ. የራሱን መቀዳደፊያ ደንብ ያወጣል ።
- ለ. የአገሪቱ ርዕሰ ብሔር የሚሆነውን ሊቀመንበር፣ እንዲሁም ምክትል ሊቀመንበርንና ጸሐፊውን ይመርጣል ። ርዕሰ ብሔሩ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩን ይሾግል፣ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ሹመት በምክር ቤቱ ይጸድቃል፣ ርዕሰ ብሔሩ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ፣ የምክር ቤቱ ምክትል ሊቀመንበርና ጸሐፊ ዘተለያዩ ብሔሮችና ብሔረሰቦች እንዲሆኑ ይደረጋል ።
- ሐ. ሰፊ ብሔራዊ ተዋፅኦ፣ ቴክኒካዊ ብቃትንና ለቻርተሩ የግዴናዎች ስርዓትን ግምት ውስጥ በሚያስገባ መንገድ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ የሚያቀርበውን የሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት አባላት ሹመት ያጸድቃል ።
- መ. በዚህ ቻርተር መሠረት አዋጆችንና ድንጋጌዎችን ያፈልቃል፣ ያወጣል ።
- ሠ. የአገሪቱን በጀት ያጸድቃል ።
- ረ. ቻርተሩን መሠረት በግድረግ የፍትሕ አስተዳደር ሥርዓትን ይመሠርታል ። በዚህ ቻርተር ክፍል አንድ አንቀጽ አንድ ላይ የሠፈሩትን ጉዳዮች በሚመለከት ፍርድ ቤቶች ከመንግሥት ተፅዕኖ ነፃ ሆነው ይሠራሉ ።
- ሰ. የሕገ መንግሥት አርቃቂ ኮሚሽንን ያቋቋማል ።
- ሸ. ዓለም አቀፍ ስምምነቶችን እየመረመረ ያጸድቃል ።
- ቀ. የመሸጋገሪያው ወቅት የመከላከያና የደህንነት ፖሊስ ኮሚቴዎችን ያቋቋማል ።

**Article Four**

It shall abide by all mutual agreements that respect the sovereignty of Ethiopia and are not contrary to the interests of the People.

**Article Five**

Local governments shall have the right to establish direct contact with relief organizations with respect to relief work.

**PART THREE  
STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE  
TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT**

**Article Six**

There shall be established a Transitional Government consisting of a Council of Representatives and a Council of Ministers.

**Article seven**

The Council of Representatives shall be composed of representatives of national liberation movements, other political organizations and prominent individuals, to make-up a total of no more than 87 members.

**Article eight**

The Transitional Government shall exercise all legal and political responsibility for the governance of Ethiopia until it hands over power to a government popularly elected on the basis of a new Constitution.

**Article nine**

The Council of Representatives shall exercise legislative functions as follows and oversee the work of the Council of Ministers:

- a/ draw-up it's rules of procedure.
- b/ election of its Chairperson, who shall also be the Head of State, and a Vice-Chairperson and Secretary, the Head of State shall appoint the Prime Minister, whose appointment shall be approved by the Council of Representatives. The head of state, the Prime Minister, the Vice-Chairperson and Secretary of the Council of Representatives shall be from different nations/nationalities;
- c/ approve the Prime Minister's nomination of the members of Council of Ministers drawn-up on considerations of ascertaining a broad national representation, technical competence and unwavering adherence to the Charter;
- d/ initiation and promulgation of proclamation and decrees pursuant to the Charter;
- e/ adoption of national budget;
- f/ provide for the administration of justice on the basis of the Charter; the Courts shall, in their work, be free from any governmental interference with respect to items provided for in Part One, Article One of the Charter;
- g/ establish the Constitutional Commission;
- h/ ratify international agreements;

164



ሆኖም ባለፈው መንግሥት የገጻጽ ሰፈራና የመንገድ ምሥራቅ ፖሊሲዎች አግካይነት የተነቀሱትን ሕዝቦች መልሶ የግድግዳ ተገባር በሕዝቦቹ በራሳቸው ፍላጎት ላይ ተመስሮት የሚከናወን ይሆናል ።

አንቀጽ አስራ አምስት ፡

በጦርነቱ ምክንያት የፈራረሱትና የተጉዳት መሠረተ ልማቶች እንዲጠገኑ ወይም እንደገና እንዲገነቡ አፋጣኝ እርምጃ ይወስናል ።

አንቀጽ አስራ ስድስት ፡

እስከህዳር ድረስ ተረቡተውና ተገለጹ ለቆዩት አካባቢዎች የተለየ ትኩረት በመስጠት እንክብካቤ ይደረጋል ።

ሐ. አንቀጽ አስራ ሰባት ፡

ባለፉት መንግሥታት ሲሰራጩ የኖረውንና የሰረጸውን በዘረኛነት ላይ የተመሠረተ የጥላቻ አሰባልታ ፣ እንዲሁም በሕዝቦች ሙከራ ዘረኛ ጥርጣሬ እንዲስፋፋ የተደረገውን ሥራ ለግብፋት ልዩ ጥረት ይደረጋል ።

ዘፍል አምስት

የቻርተር ሕጋዊነት

አንቀጽ አስራ በምንት ፡

ይህ ቻርተር በሽግግሩ ወቅት በአገሪቱ ውስጥ የሁሉም ሕጎች የበላይ ሆኖ ያገለግላል ። ይህንን ቻርተር የሚጸረር ግንኙነት ሕግና ውሳኔ ተፈጻሚነት አይኖረውም ።

አንቀጽ አስራ ዘጠኝ ፡

የዚህ ቻርተር የአግርኛና የእንግሊዝኛ ቋንቋዎች ቅጂ እኩል ሕጋዊ ተቀባይነት አላቸው ። በሁለቱ ቋንቋዎች መካከል ያለው ግጭት ከተፈጠረ የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ይወስናል ።

አንቀጽ ሃያ ፡

ይህ ቻርተር በነጋሪት ጋዜጣ ታትሞ ከወጣበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ ተፈጻሚነት ይኖረዋል ።

አዲስ አበባ ስራ ስራ ቀን ፲፱፻፹፫ ዓ.ም.

መለስ ዜናዊ

(ጉገአው ሊቀ መንበር)

The rehabilitation of those forcibly uprooted by the previous regime's policy of villagization and resettlement shall be done in accordance with their desire.

*Article Fifteen*

It shall take immediate steps to reconstruct or repair the infrastructure that has been destroyed or damaged by the war.

*Article Sixteen*

It shall give special consideration to hitherto neglected and forgotten areas.

*Article Seventeen*

It shall make special efforts to dispel ethnic mistrust and eradicate the ethnic hatred that have been fomented by the previous regimes.

**PART FIVE  
LEGALITY OF THE CHARTER**

*Article Eighteen*

This Charter shall serve as the supreme law of the land for the duration of the transitional period. Any law or decision that is contrary to the Charter shall be null and void.

*Article Nineteen*

The Amharic and the English texts of this Charter have equal authenticity. Where disparity occurs between the two languages the Council of Representatives shall decide.

*Article Twenty*

This Charter shall be effective upon publication in the Negarit Gazette.

ADDIS ABABA THIS 22nd DAY OF JULY 1991

MELES ZENAWI

CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE

(THE EXECUTIVE) WILL HAVE THE FOLLOWING POWERS:

- (A) ELECTORAL COMMITTEE
- (B) THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE
- (C) ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE
- (D) DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE
- (E) PEOPLE'S ELECTORAL COMMITTEE

THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL DETERMINE THE AREAS AND THE NUMBER OF ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES.

(2) THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SHALL ISSUE DIRECTIVES TO THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES, COORDINATE AND CHECK ON THEIR ACTIVITIES.

(3) THE STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE: (I) IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 3 OF DECRET NO. 7/1991 TO ESTABLISH THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS, EVERY REGION SHALL HAVE ONE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(II) THERE SHALL BE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEES AND PEOPLE'S ELECTORAL COMMITTEES UNDER EVERY NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE. IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 1 SUBARTICLE (II), THERE MIGHT BE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES.

(4) ACCOUNTABILITY OF ELECTORAL COMMITTEES:

(I) EVERY NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

(II) IN AREAS WHERE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES ARE NOT ESTABLISHED, EVERY DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE AREA NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE. IN AREAS WHERE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES ARE ESTABLISHED, THEN THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEES SHALL BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES.

(III) EVERY PEOPLE'S ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE AREA DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(5) ON COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

(I) THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL HAVE REPRESENTATIVES FROM MOST OF THE CONCERNED ORGANIZATIONS AS MEMBERS. IT WILL ALSO HAVE MEMBERS FROM OTHER INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS. THE NUMBER OF THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHALL NOT EXCEED 11 PEOPLE.

(II) THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL HAVE REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZATIONS WHO ARE MAINLY OPERATING IN ITS ZONE AS ITS MEMBERS. IT SHALL ALSO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS AS ITS MEMBERS. THE NUMBER OF THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHALL NOT EXCEED 11 PEOPLE.

(III) THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL HAVE REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZATIONS WHO MAINLY ARE OPERATING AND CONCERNED IN THE DISTRICT AS MEMBERS. IT SHALL ALSO INCLUDE AS ITS MEMBERS REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS. THE NUMBER OF THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHALL NOT EXCEED 11 PEOPLE.

(IV) ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES WILL BE GIVEN PRIORITY SO THAT THEY CAN PARTICIPATE IN THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEES.

UNCLASSIFIED

FPIS ARIDJAN IV 000000

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

167

CE (V) THE KFFLE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL CONSIST MOSTLY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED IN THE AREA AS MEMBERS. IT SHALL ALSO INCLUDE MEMBERS OF OTHER INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS. THE NUMBER OF THE KFFLE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL NOT EXCEED FIVE PEOPLE.

(VI) (A) MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL BE PRESENTED TO THE COUNCIL OF REPRESENTATIVES THROUGH THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(B) MEMBERS OF THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL BE NOMINATED BY THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

CE (C) MEMBERS OF THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL BE NOMINATED BY THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE OR BY THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

PART II: ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

(A) ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE: THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL HAVE THE FOLLOWING RESPONSIBILITIES:

(I) IT SHALL DIRECT, COORDINATE, AND FOLLOW UP THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES IN ITS REGION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROGRAM AND TIMETABLE ISSUED BY THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(II) IT SHALL ENSURE THAT BRIEFINGS AND OTHER PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS ARE CARRIED OUT.

10 00 (III) IT SHALL EXAMINE MISTAKES AND RULE ON COMPLAINTS DURING THE ELECTIONS IN ITS AREA.

(IV) IT SHALL PRESENT THE ELECTION RESULTS AND REPORTS FROM THE DISTRICT OR ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES, AS THE CASE MAY BE, TO THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(V) IT SHALL ANNOUNCE THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE MEMBERS WHO HAVE BEEN ELECTED IN ALL DISTRICTS IN THE REGION TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

(VI) IT SHALL SUBMIT ITS REPORT ON ITS ACTIVITIES TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

(VII) IT SHALL CARRY OUT OTHER DUTIES AS DIRECTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

00 00 (7) RESPONSIBILITIES OF ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE:

(I) IT SHALL DIRECT, COORDINATE, AND FOLLOW UP THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL AND KFFLE ELECTORAL COMMITTEES IN ITS ZONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROGRAM AND TIMETABLE ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(II) IT SHALL ENSURE THAT BRIEFINGS AND PREPARATIONS FOR ELECTIONS ARE CARRIED OUT PROPERLY.

(III) IT SHALL EXAMINE MISTAKES AND COMPLAINTS PRESENTED TO IT DURING THE ELECTION IN ITS ZONE AND RULE ON THEM ACCORDINGLY.

(IV) IT SHALL COMPILE THE RESULTS FOR ITS ZONE OF THE ELECTIONS FOR INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND INFORM THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

00 00 (V) IT SHALL PRESENT THE RESULTS AND REPORTS FROM THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEES TO THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(VI) IT SHALL REPORT ON ITS ACTIVITIES TO THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(VII) IT SHALL CARRY OUT OTHER TASKS ASSIGNED TO IT BY THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(8) RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE: THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL HAVE THE FOLLOWING RESPONSIBILITIES:

(I) IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROGRAMS AND TIMETABLE OF THE

COUNTRY: ETHIOPIA  
SUBJ: DIRECTIVE ISSUED ON NEIGHBORHOOD ELECTION DATES

SOURCE: ADDIS ABABA VOICE OF ETHIOPIA NETWORK IN AFRIC 1726 3/1  
18 APR 92

TEXT:

100

89 8C

(((DIRECTIVE ON ELECTION DATES, NO. 4/1992, ISSUED BY THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA, ON 18 APRIL IN ADDIS ABABA)))

((TEXT)) I. ELECTION DATES:

A. THE ELECTION OF INTERIM KEBELE ((NEIGHBORHOOD)) ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHALL BE FINALIZED BY 21 APRIL.

B. THE ELECTION OF INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHALL BE FINALIZED BY 21 APRIL.

C. REPORTS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ELECTIONS WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE HIGHER OFFICIALS.

88 8C

D. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS DIRECTIVE, AND ACCORDING TO THE INFORMATION RECEIVED SO FAR BY THE COMMISSION SECRETARIAT, THE REGIONAL DISTRICT AND KEBELE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD ON THE FOLLOWING DATES:

- 1. REGION ONE: IN KEBELES, 12 APRIL; IN DISTRICTS, 13 APRIL.
- 2. REGION FOUR: IN KEBELES 17-18 APRIL; IN DISTRICTS, 20-21

UNCLASSIFIED

FBI ABIDJAN IV 060006

UNCLASSIFIED

FBI ABIDJAN IV 062206

87 8C APRIL.

3. REGION SEVEN: IN KEBELES, 19 APRIL; IN DISTRICTS, 21 APRIL.

4. REGION EIGHT: IN KEBELES, 15-16 APRIL; IN DISTRICTS, 20-21 APRIL.

5. REGION TEN: IN KEBELES, 15 APRIL; IN DISTRICTS, 17 APRIL.

6. REGION ELEVEN: IN KEBELES, 17 APRIL; IN DISTRICTS 20-21 APRIL.

II. DECLARATION OF KEBELE RESIDENCE:

A. IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT AN INDIVIDUAL DOES NOT VOTE OR GET ELECTED IN MORE THAN ONE PLACE, PRIOR INVESTIGATIONS SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT TO ENSURE THAT HE HAS BEEN RESIDENT IN THE KEBELE DURING THE PERIOD STATED IN THE DIRECTIVES.

B. IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLES 15 AND 17, IF AN INDIVIDUAL HAS NOT LIVED IN THE KEBELE FOR THE PRESCRIBED PERIOD FOR WELL-KNOWN REASONS, THE REASONS MUST BE MADE KNOWN PRIOR TO THE ELECTIONS.

III. ASSESSMENT OF ELECTIONS:

A. AT THE END OF THE ELECTION OF THE KEBELE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND AFTER THE NAMES OF THE WINNERS HAVE BEEN ISSUED TO THE PUBLIC, THE PEOPLE WILL GIVE THEIR VIEWS ON THE ELECTIONS THROUGH THE KEBELE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

B. THE ASSESSMENT OF THE PUBLIC'S VIEWS SHALL BE COMPILED AND PRESENTED TO THE HIGHER ELECTORAL COMMITTEE ALONG WITH THE REPORT.

88 8C

C. IN DISTRICTS AND IN TOWNS WHERE THERE ARE TWO OR MORE QUARTERS ((HIGHER URBAN DWELLERS ASSOCIATIONS)), THE VIEWS OF THE ELECTORATE WILL BE RECORDED, COMPILED, AND SENT TO THE HIGHER ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

D. ACCORDINGLY, THE HIGHER ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL ASSESS THE LOWER ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, AND THE RESULTS OF THESE ASSESSMENTS SHALL BE COMPILED AND SENT BY THE REGIONAL OFFICE TO THE COMMISSION SECRETARIAT NO MORE THAN THREE DAYS AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE ELECTIONS.

((ISSUED BY)) THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA, 18 APRIL, IN ADDIS ABABA.

(ENDALL) 181700 NBY/DUS/A/R1B 08561204.003 12/1806Z APR

BT

88 8C 0375

NNNN

88 8C  
100

2 CC CHRG DCM P/E USIS POL

LOC: 229 223  
#7 APR 92 2546  
CN: 12782  
CHRG: PROG  
DIST: FBIS

VZCZCDS0632  
RR RUFHDS  
RF RUFSDA #2167 2971821  
ZNR UUUUU ZYN  
R 261822Z APR 92  
FM FBIS APIDJAN IV  
TO RUCWAAA/FPIS RESTON VA  
RHFLENE/CINCUSNAVEUS LONDON UK//N2//  
RHHMCMY/JICPAC HONOLULU HI  
10 00 RUCIAFA/EASTC/TAI WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH  
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL  
RUDHSIC/CDRUSASOIC WASH DC//DIS//  
RUDOGHA/USNMR SHAFB BE//SURVEY SECTION//  
RUDPMAX/FAISA FT BRAGG NC  
RUDPWDC/DA AMHS WASHINGTON DC  
RUEPFGA/VCA WASH DC  
RUFPHAA/STORAGE CENTER FBIS RESTON VA  
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
RUEKJCS/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC  
RUF0ACC/CDR PSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//ASOF-POG-SR//  
RUESDQ/FBIS TEL AVIV IS  
10 00 RUETIAV/MPC FT GFG G MFADE MD  
RUHGH0V/CTF 158  
RULKQAN/MARCOPIINTCEN QUANTICO VA  
ACCT FBAP-FWDK  
BT  
UNCLAS EP

WARNING: ATTN TEL AVIV DFDF

SERIAL: FAP224182202

COUNTRY: ETHIOPIA  
SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 5 -- DECREE ON ELECTION OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

50 CC SOURCE: ADDIS ABABA VOICE OF ETHIOPIA NETWORK IN AMHARIC 1748 GMT  
1 APR 92

TEXT:

(((DIRECTIVE NO. 1 ON THE ELECTION OF INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE  
COMMITTEE MEMBERS FOR DISTRICTS AND KEBELFS, ISSUED BY THE ELECTORAL  
COMMISSION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA--DATE NOT  
GIVEN)))

30 00 ((EXCERPT)) THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION,  
HEREIN REFERRED TO AS THE EXECUTIVE, HAS ISSUED THE FOLLOWING  
DIRECTIVE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ELECTION OF THE INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS FOR DISTRICTS AND KEBELFS IN  
ACCORDANCE WITH THE POWERS CONFERRED TO IT BY DECREE NO. 9/1991  
ARTICLE 6 (27) AND (28) TO CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS TO CARRY OUT  
THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS.  
PART I ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE ELECTORAL BODIES:  
GENERAL:  
(1) IN ORDER TO CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE NATIONAL/  
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS AND TO FACILITATE THE INTERIM  
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECREE, IT

NATIONAL/REGIONAL OF THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, AS THE CASE MAY BE. IT WILL DIRECT, COORDINATE, AND FOLLOW UP ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE VARIOUS ELECTORAL COMMITTEES.

(II) IT SHALL ENSURE THAT BRIEFINGS AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS ARE PROPERLY CARRIED OUT.

1 BC (MORF) 011740 NP151-4/T-SMITH/PC 00510004.007 06/1003Z APR  
PT  
#6167

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

FPJS

8 BC

18 08

20 08

28 08

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

1-11

0 86 CHRG DCM P/F USIS PCL

LOC: PR9 222  
07 APR 92 0547  
CN: 12784  
CHRG: PRG  
DIST: FBIS

VZCZC00032  
FF 5074DS  
DF 00FSDA #2160 0971011  
ZNP UUUUU ZYN  
R 021010Z APR 92  
FM FBIS ABIDJAN IV  
TO RUCWAAA/FBIS RESTON VA  
RHOICNE/CTNCUSNAVEUP LONDON UK//N2//  
RHHMMCY/JICPAC HONOLULU HI  
RUCJAFB/FASTC/TAI WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH  
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL  
RUDHSTC/CDRUSASOIC WASH DC//DIS//  
RUDOGHA/USNMR SHAPE AF//SURVEY SECTION//  
RUDPMAX/FAISA FT BRAGG NC  
RUDPWDC/DA AMHS WASHINGTON DC  
RUFPPGA/VOA WASH DC  
RUFWAAA/STORAGE CENTER FBIS RESTON VA  
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
RUFKJCS/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC  
RUEOACC/CDR PSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//ASOF-POG-SB//  
RUFSDQ/FBIS TFL AVIV IS  
RUFTHAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD  
RUEGHGV/CTF 158  
RULYQAN/MARCOMBEN QUANTICO VA  
ACCT FBAR-FWDX  
PT  
UNCLAS 8P

0 86

0 86

WARNING: ATTN TFL AVIV DFDF

SERIAL: FAF004101092

COUNTRY: ETHIOPIA

SUPJ: TAKE 2 OF 5--DECREE ON ELECTION OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS  
RFF: AF0004100092 ADDIS ABABA VEN AMHARIC 011740///PROPERLY  
CARRIED OUT.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) (III) IT SHALL EXAMINE MISTAKES AND COMPLAINTS REGARDING THE DISTRICT ELECTIONS AND RULF ON THEM ACCORDINGLY.  
(IV) IT SHALL COMPILF THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS FOR THE INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.  
(V) IT SHALL SUBMIT REPORTS ON THE ELECTION RESULTS FROM THE KEBELE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE TO THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE OR THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE AS THE CASE MAY BE.  
(VI) IT SHALL REPORT ON ITS ACTIVITIES TO THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE OR THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE AS THE CASE MAY BE.  
(VII) IT SHALL CARRY OUT OTHER DUTIES ASSIGNED TO IT BY THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE OR THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE AS THE CASE MAY BE.  
(9) RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE KEBELE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE: THE KEBELE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL HAVE THE FOLLOWING RESPONSIBILITIES:

0 86

112

(I) IT SHALL CARRY OUT THE ELECTION OF INTERIM DISTRICT AND KEBELE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND DIRECT THEIR ACTIVITIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROGRAMS AND TIMETABLE ISSUED TO IT BY THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(II) IT SHALL CARRY OUT BRIEFINGS AND PREPARATIONS TO ENABLE ELECTIONS TO BE HELD IN THE KEBELES.

(III) IT SHALL ANNOUNCE THE DATE AND TIME FOR THE ELECTION OF INTERIM DISTRICT AND KEBELE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, MAKE THE NECESSARY PREPARATIONS FOR THE MEETING AND CHAIR THE MEETING.

(IV) IT SHALL BRIEF THE KEBELE RESIDENTS AT THE MEETING ON THE NEED TO ESTABLISH THE INTERIM DISTRICT AND KEBELE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES. ((AND OUTLINE)) THEIR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

(V) IT SHALL ALSO ACCEPT THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FROM THE INTERIM KEBELE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE AT THE MEETING.

(VI) IT SHALL PRESENT THE NAMES OF NOMINEES FOR VOTING AND ANNOUNCE THE RESULTS TO THE ELECTORATE.

(VII) IT SHALL SUBMIT THE LIST OF NOMINEES AND THOSE ELECTED AND THE NUMBER OF VOTES RECEIVED TO THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(VIII) IT SHALL REPORT ON ITS ACTIVITIES TO THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(IX) IT SHALL CARRY OUT OTHER TASKS ASSIGNED TO IT BY THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE OR THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE AS THE CASE MAY BE.

ON THE ELECTION AND MODE OF MEETING OF FUNCTIONARIES OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE:

(10) THE ELECTION OF THE FUNCTIONARIES OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE:

(I) EVERY NATIONAL/REGIONAL, ZONAL, DISTRICT AND KEBELE ELECTORAL

COMMITTEE SHALL HAVE A CHAIRMAN, SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

(II) THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL, ZONAL, DISTRICT AND KEBELE ELECTORAL COMMITTEES WILL HOLD THEIR MEETINGS AND ELECT THEIR OWN CHAIRMAN, SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

(11) RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CHAIRMAN OF A COMMITTEE: THE CHAIRMAN OF A ELECTORAL COMMITTEE OR CHAIRMAN OF A SUBCOMMITTEE SHALL HAVE THE FOLLOWING TASKS TO ACCOMPLISH IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS DIRECTIVE:

(I) TO ORGANIZE, DIRECT AND COORDINATE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE.

(II) TO CALL COMMITTEE MEETINGS AND CHAIR THEM.

(III) TO CORRECTLY IMPLEMENT THE DECISIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.

(IV) TO APPROVE THE FINANCIAL EXPENDITURES OF THE COMMITTEE.

(V) TO OPEN AN ACCOUNT IN THE NAME OF THE COMMITTEE WITH THE JOINT SIGNATURES OF HIMSELF AND THE TREASURER OPERATING THE FUNDS.

(VI) TO REPRESENT THE COMMITTEE IN ALL MATTERS CONCERNING A THIRD PARTY.

(VII) TO REPORT ON THE COMMITTEE'S ACTIVITIES TO THE HIGHER AUTHORITIES.

(VIII) TO CARRY OUT OTHER TASKS ASSIGNED TO HIM BY THE COMMITTEE.

(12) RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SECRETARY OF A COMMITTEE: THE SECRETARY OF A COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED AT ALL LEVELS OR SECRETARY OF ANY SUB-COMMITTEE SHALL HAVE THE FOLLOWING RESPONSIBILITIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS DIRECTIVE:

- (I) TO ORGANIZE THE OFFICE OF THE COMMITTEE.
- (II) TO PROPERLY STORE THE DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE.
- (III) TO PROPERLY RECORD THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE.
- (IV) TO ENSURE THAT THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COMMITTEE IS PROPERLY CHANNELLED.
- (V) TO ACT ON BEHALF OF THE CHAIRMAN IN HIS ABSENCE.
- (VI) TO CAREY OUT OTHER DUTIES ASSIGNED TO THE CHAIRMAN AND THE COMMITTEE.

(13) RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COMMITTEE TREASURER: THE TREASURER OF A COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED AT ALL LEVELS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS DIRECTIVE SHALL HAVE THE FOLLOWING RESPONSIBILITIES:

- (I) TO ENSURE THAT THE COMMITTEE'S FUNDS, FINANCES AND PROPERTY ARE PROPERLY MANAGED.
- (II) TO CERTIFY TO THE CHAIRMAN THE ACCURACY OF THE EXPENDITURES FOR THE COMMITTEE'S ACTIVITIES.
- (III) TO SIGN JOINTLY WITH THE CHAIRMAN IN OPERATING THE COMMITTEE'S BANK ACCOUNT.
- (IV) TO CARRY OUT ALL FINANCIAL DUTIES OF THE COMMITTEE.
- (V) TO CARRY OUT OTHER DUTIES ASSIGNED TO HIM BY THE CHAIRMAN AND THE COMMITTEE.

(14) MEETING PROCEDURES:

- (I) THE PRESENCE OF MORE THAN HALF THE MEMBERS OF A COMMITTEE AT ANY LEVEL WILL CONSTITUTE A QUORUM.
- (II) DECISIONS PASSED BY THE COMMITTEE SHALL WHEN POSSIBLE BE UNANIMOUS AND IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE ANY DECISION SHALL BE DECIDED BY MAJORITY VOTE.

(III) WHEN VOTES CAST ON BOTH SIDES ARE EQUAL IN NUMBER, THE CHAIRMAN SHALL HAVE THE CASTING VOTE.

(IV) ANY DECISION PASSED AT ANY MEETING SHALL PROPERLY RECORD THE PROCESS OF VOTING BY RECORDING UNANIMOUS, MAJORITY, MINORITY VOTES, ABSTENTIONS AND THE LIKE IN ITS MINUTES.

PART IV ((AS RECEIVED)) ON ELECTION PROCEDURES.

(15) CRITERIA FOR ELECTIONS: ANYBODY WHO

- (I) IS ETHIOPIAN.
- (II) IS 18 YEARS OR ABOVE AT THE TIME OF THE ELECTIONS
- (III) HAS BEEN A RESIDENT IN THE KEBELE FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS PRIOR TO THE DATE OF ELECTIONS OR EVEN IF A RESIDENT FOR LESS THAN TWO YEARS BUT HAD TO LEAVE DUE TO THREATS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OR TO WAGE ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FORMER GOVERNMENT OR BECAUSE OF A WORK TRANSFER OR TO FURTHER HIS EDUCATION AND

(IV) THERE ARE NO RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED AGAINST HIM IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 16 OF THIS DIRECTIVE, SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO ELECT INTERIM DISTRICT AND KEBELE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

(16) RESTRICTIONS: ANY PERSON WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THE ((WORKERS' PARTY OF ETHIOPIA ((WPE)) AND SECURITY PERSONNEL, A SOLDIER WHO HAS NOT UNDERGONE THE PROCESS OF REHABILITATION, WHO IS CONVICTED AND HAS NOT YET COMPLETED HIS SENTENCE, OR AN INSANE PERSON DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO ELECT OR BE ELECTED.

(17) PRECONDITIONS FOR CANDIDATURE:

- (I) ANYONE: WHO IS
  - (A) AN ETHIOPIAN, WHO KNOWS THE LANGUAGE OF THE AREA IN WHICH HE IS RUNNING,
  - (B) WHO IS 21 OR OVER AT THE TIME OF THE ELECTIONS,



...KEBELE MEMBERS SHALL BRING THEM ON THE CRITERIA FOR CANDIDATES AND ELECTORATES.

(II) IT SHALL INVITE THE KEBELE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE TO CALL MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC IN THE KEBELE TO A MEETING TO NOMINATE CANDIDATES FOR THE INTERIM KEBELE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE ELECTIONS AND ACCEPT NOMINATIONS. ANY PROPOSER OF A NOMINEE SHALL GIVE A BRIEFING ON THE IDENTITY OF HIS NOMINEE AND REASONS FOR NOMINATING HIM. IF THE NOMINEE IS SECONDED BY ONE-THIRD OF THE VOTES, HE WILL BE ASKED FOR HIS CONSENT. IF THE INDIVIDUAL EXPRESSES HIS WILLINGNESS TO STAND THEN THOSE OPPOSING THE INDIVIDUAL WILL BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO AND IF THE OPPOSITION IS BASED ON ARTICLES 16 AND 17, THE NOMINEE SHALL BE DISQUALIFIED IMMEDIATELY. (III) IN ACCORDANCE WITH SUB-ARTICLE (III) OF THIS ARTICLE, 10 CANDIDATES SHALL BE NOMINATED FOR THE FIVE KEBELE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

(IV) EVERY CANDIDATE SHALL PROVIDE BRIEF BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON HIMSELF.

(V) BEFORE VOTING, THE MEETING SHALL ELECT VOTE COUNTERS FROM AMONG ITSELF. THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL ASSIGN ITS OWN VOTE COUNTERS FROM AMONG ITS OWN MEMBERS.

(VI) AFTER THE VOTE COUNTERS DEFINE THEIR COUNTING AREAS, THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL CALL UPON THE PEOPLE TO VOTE FOR EVERY CANDIDATE. THE ELECTORATE SHALL VOTE BY A SHOW OF HANDS AND VOTE-COUNTING SHALL BE CARRIED OUT BY BOTH SIDES. AFTER CONFIRMING THE OUTCOME, THE RESULTS SHALL BE RECORDED.

(VII) IF THERE ARE ANY DIFFERENCES IN THE COUNTING OF VOTES BY THE TWO SIDES, THEN COUNTING SHALL BE CARRIED OUT FOR A SECOND TIME AND THE RESULT SHALL THEN BE RECORDED AS FINAL.

(VIII) EVERY MEMBER OF THE ELECTORATE SHALL HAVE ONLY ONE VOTE TO ELECT THE FIVE CANDIDATES AMONG THE 10 NOMINEES.

(19) ON COMPILATION OF VOTES.

(I) THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL COMPILE THE NUMBER OF VOTES EVERY CANDIDATE HAS RECEIVED, RECORD THE RESULTS AND ANNOUNCE TO THE MEETING THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION.

(II) THE CANDIDATES WHICH RECEIVED THE HIGHEST VOTES SHALL BE DECLARED WINNERS OF THE ELECTION.

(20) ELECTION OF INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS: IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE DIRECTIVE ON THE ELECTION OF THE INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES BECAUSE OF THE DIFFERENCE OF THE NUMBER OF KEBELES IN ALL DISTRICTS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE NUMBER OF KEBELES IN A GIVEN DISTRICT MIGHT BE 50 OR 100. HENCE, IN ORDER TO ELECT SEVEN PEOPLE IN A DISTRICT, THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE HAS BEEN MANDATED TO FORMULATE A DETAILED DIRECTIVE AND CARRY OUT ITS ACTIVITIES AS APPROPRIATE TO THE RELEVANT DISTRICT.

(21) ON OBSERVERS: DURING THE ELECTION OF THE INTERIM DISTRICT AND KEBELE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS CAN ATTEND THE PROCESS AS OBSERVERS.

UNCLASSIFIED

THIS ABIDJAN .IV 000000

00 01

116

**(22) ON SUBMITTING COMPLAINTS:**

(1) ANY INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION WHO HAS A COMPLAINT ABOUT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AT ANY LEVEL IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS DIRECTIVE CAN SUBMIT COMPLAINTS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) IF THE DECISION RESULTING IN THE COMPLAINTS WAS ISSUED BY THE KEFFLE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THEN THE COMPLAINTS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE AS THE CASE MAY BE.

(B) IF THE DECISION CONTESTED IS ISSUED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THE COMPLAINT SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE OR THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE AS THE CASE MAY BE. THE COMMITTEES WHICH RECEIVED THE COMPLAINTS SHOULD WITHIN THREE DAYS FULF ON THE COMPLAINTS AND THE RULING SHALL BE FINAL.

**(23) ON GIVING ADDITIONAL DIRECTIVES:** IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS OF THE ELECTION OF DISTRICT AND KEFFLE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SHALL, AT ANY TIME, ISSUE THE NECESSARY ADDITIONAL DIRECTIVE.

ADDITIONAL DIRECTIVE NO. 2/1991, ISSUED BY THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA ON THE PROCEDURE OF INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

IT IS CLEAR THAT DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES ARE UNDER WAY AT DIFFERENT LEVELS TO CARRY OUT THE ELECTION OF INTERIM DISTRICT AND KEFFLE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS. AT THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL LEVEL, THE STRUCTURES OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN ALL THE 14 REGIONS AND HAVE STARTED THEIR ACTIVITIES. THE ACTIVITY OF ESTABLISHING THEM DOWN TO THE LOWEST ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IS IN THE PROCESS OF COMMENCING ACCORDINGLY.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE POWERS CONFERRED UPON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMISSION TO ISSUE DETAILED DIRECTIVES ON THE ELECTORAL PROCESS THROUGH DECREE NO. 9, ARTICLE 6, 27, AND 28, IT PRESENTED ITS DIRECTIVE AT THE ELECTORAL FUNCTIONARIES MEETING HELD AT THE ETHIOPIAN INSTITUTE OF NATIONALITIES STUDIES FROM 29 FEBRUARY TO 2 MARCH AND ISSUED DIRECTIVE NO. 1. SINCE IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TO ISSUE AN ADDITIONAL DIRECTIVE AS REGARDS THE PREPARATION FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HAS ISSUED DIRECTIVE NO. 2:

**(1) STRUCTURE OF THE COMMISSION:** IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 1 OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS DIRECTIVE, THE FOLLOWING BODIES SHALL BE ESTABLISHED URGENTLY AND START THEIR ACTIVITIES FOR THE ELECTIONS OF THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS ACCORDINGLY FROM HIGHER TO LOWER LEVELS:

- (A) REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.
- (B) ZONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.
- (C) DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.
- (D) KEFFLE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

**(2) THE DIVISION OF REGIONS INTO ZONES:** IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TO DIVIDE THE REGIONS INTO ZONES UNTIL THE ELECTION PROCESS IS OVER ONLY AS STIPULATED IN THE EARLIER DIRECTIVE. THE REGIONS WERE DRAWN UP TO BE STRUCTURED IN THE FOLLOWING ZONES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS BASED ON THE SUGGESTIONS BY THE REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES REGARDING THE REGIONS AND THE NUMBER OF ZONES FOR EVERY REGION IN LINE WITH ARTICLE 1 OF THE DIRECTIVE.

- REGION 1 INTO THREE ZONES.
- REGION 2 INTO THREE ZONES.
- REGION 3 INTO FOUR ZONES.
- REGION 4 INTO EIGHT ZONES.
- REGION 5 INTO FOUR ZONES.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

UNCLASSIFIED

CHRG DCM P/F USIS POL

LOC: PP9  
27 APR 07  
CN: 12786  
CHRG: PROG  
DIST: FPIS

VZCZCDSOCT4  
RR BUFBDS  
DF FJFSDA #2172 2971626  
ZNR UUUUU ZYX  
F 061025Z APR 02  
FM FPIS APIDJAN IV  
TO FUCHAAA/FPIS FFSTON VA  
RHLCHNE/CINCUSNAVEUP LONDON UK//N2//  
PUMMYCY/JICPAC HONOLULU HI  
RUCIAFA/FASTC/TAI WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH  
RUCJACC/JSCINCENT MACDILL AFB FL  
RUDHSIC/CDRUSASOIC WASH DC//DIS//  
RUDCGHA/USNMB SHAPE BE//SURVEY SECTION//  
RUDPMAX/FAISA FT BRAGG NC  
RUDPWDC/DA AMHS WASHINGTON DC  
RUEFFGA/VOA WASH DC  
RUEFHAA/STORAGE CENTER FPIS FFSTON VA  
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
RUEKJCS/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC  
RUFACC/CDR PSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//ASCF-POG-SE//  
RUFSDQ/FPIS TEL AVIV IS  
RUEHIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD  
RURHGHV/CTF 15P  
RULKOAN/MARCOPINTCFN QUANTICO VA  
ACCT FBAP-ENDX  
BT  
UNCLAS 8P

WARNING: ATTN TEL AVIV DDFD

SERIAL: 512664182592

COUNTRY: ETHIOPIA

SUBJ: TAKE 4 OF 5 -- DECREE ON FLECTION OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

REF: 512664182592 ADDIS ABABA VEN AMHARIC 211748///INTC FOUR ZONFS.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) REGION 6 INTO THREE ZONES.

REGION 7 INTO THREE ZONES.

REGION 8 INTO TWO ZONES.

REGION 9 INTO TWO ZONES.

REGION 10 INTO TWO ZONES.

REGION 11 INTO THREE ZONES.

REGION 12 INTO TWO ZONES.

REGION 13 SHALL NOT BE DIVIDED INTO ZONES.

REGION 14 SHALL NOT BE DIVIDED INTO ZONES.

GENFRALLY, 12 REGIONS HAVE BEEN DIVIDED INTO ZONES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THEIR SURFACE AREA, COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEMS, POPULATION, AND OTHER FACTORS. IT WAS FOUND THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO DIVIDE TWO REGIONS INTO ZONES.

(3) MEETING OF ELECTORAL COMMITTEES:

(A) REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES SHOULD ESTABLISH THE COMMISSION'S STRUCTURES AT ALL LEVELS AND SHOULD HOLD DAILY MEETINGS

UN CL

UNCLASSIFIED

FPIS APIDJAN IV 060000

IN THESE FIRST PHASES AND IN CONSULTATION WITH THEIR SUBORDINATE COMMISSION BODIES AND REPORT ON THE PROCESS, PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND RESULTS ACHIEVED TO THE RELEVANT BODIES ESTABLISHED IN THE COMMISSION'S OFFICE BY TELEPHONE, TELEGRAM, RADIO COMMUNICATIONS OR ANY OTHER AVAILABLE MEANS ON A DAILY BASIS.

(E) THE COMMITTEES SHOULD COMPILE DOCUMENTARY REPORTS ON ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT, PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED, DECISIONS TAKEN, ISSUES TO BE GIVEN ATTENTION TO IN FUTURE ETCETERA AND SEND THIS REPORT TO THE COMMISSION'S OFFICE ONCE A WEEK.

(4) ON THE USE OF THE COMMISSION'S PROPERTY FOR THE SOLE USE OF COMMISSION ACTIVITIES: ELECTORAL COMMITTEES SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE BUDGET ALLOCATED FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, VEHICLES, GOODS, STATIONERY AND ANY OTHER PROPERTY THEY BORROW FROM THE REGIONAL BODIES ARE PROPERLY MAINTAINED, USED THRIFTILY AND ENSURE THAT THEY ARE NOT USED FOR UNAUTHORIZED PURPOSES.

(5) FULL-TIME ELECTORAL SERVICE: INASMUCH AS MEMBERS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE FROM THEIR DEPLOYMENT TO SUCH POSTS UNTIL THE END OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS ARE AGENTS OF THE COMMISSION AND NOT OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONS AND ARE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THE OBJECTIVES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS, THEY ARE TO SPEND ALL THEIR TIME AND ENERGY ON ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES.

(6) PREPARING FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE HOLDING OF FREE ELECTIONS: ENABLING THE PEOPLE TO USE THEIR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER AND CORRECTLY USE THEIR RIGHTS TO ELECT AND BE ELECTED AND PREPARE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE HOLDING OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS IS THE MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF THE DEGREE OR THAT OF THE DIRECTIVES. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ETHIOPIAN TRANSITIONAL CHARTER ARTICLE 1/A, EVERY INDIVIDUAL OR THE ENTIRE SOCIETY HAS THE FREEDOM TO SUPPORT ((THE CANDIDATE)) OF HIS CHOICE AND TO OPPOSE THE CANDIDATE NOT OF HIS CHOICE AS LONG AS THIS DOES NOT INTERFERE WITH THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF OTHERS. THIS MEANS THAT INASMUCH AS THE CHARTER GIVES THE PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS, DEMONSTRATE, MEET AND GIVES THEM UNRESTRICTED RIGHTS IN A LAWFUL MANNER, THERE SHOULD BE NO ACTIONS THAT TAMPER WITH THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OR RESTRICT THESE RIGHTS. IN THIS RESPECT, THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEES HAVE THE DUTY TO:

(A) ENSURE THAT DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS ARE RESPECTED IN THEIR REGIONS DURING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

(B) ENSURE THE RIGHT TO PEACEFULLY EXPRESS INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP VIEWS SUPPORTING OR OPPOSING A MEMBER OF ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION NOTWITHSTANDING.

(C) IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE PEOPLE TO IMPLEMENT THEIR RIGHTS TO FREELY ELECT OR BE ELECTED, THERE SHOULD BE NO INTIMIDATION OR COERCION FROM ANY GROUP.

(D) TO ENSURE THAT MEMBERS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE ARE NOT INTIMIDATED, COERCED, THREATENED, OR PHYSICALLY CONFRONTED ILLEGALLY BY ANY SIDE WHILE CARRYING OUT THEIR ELECTORAL DUTIES BY MAKING THE NECESSARY ((ARRANGEMENTS FOR)) PROTECTION AND COOPERATION BY ALL NATION/NATIONALITY POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THESE REGIONS.

(F) INDIVIDUALS, GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO MAKE UNRESERVED EFFORTS TO MAKE SURE THAT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN LINE WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE CHARTER, THE DECREE, AND THE DIRECTIVES IS CARRIED OUT FOR A FREE, FAIR, PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTION.

(7) THE ELECTION PERIOD:

(A) ELECTORAL COMMITTEES SHOULD MAKE ALL THE NECESSARY PREPARATIONS AT ALL LEVELS IN LINE WITH THE COMMISSION'S PROGRAMS AND TIMETABLES FOR THE ELECTION OF THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND ENSURE THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DIRECTIVES.

(B) THE ELECTION OF THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS THROUGHOUT THE REGIONS AND DISTRICTS OF THE COUNTRY SHALL BE CARRIED OUT BY 22 APRIL AND NATIONAL/REGIONAL AND DISTRICT ELECTIONS SHALL BE HELD AND COMPLETED BY 5 OR 6 JUNE.

(8) ELECTION OF FUNCTIONARIES OF ELECTORAL COMMITTEES:

(A) THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEES WILL HAVE ELECTED THEIR RESPECTIVE CHAIRMAN, SECRETARY AND TREASURER AT A MEETING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ELECTORAL PROCESS DIRECTIVE ARTICLE 10/1 AND 10/2, MEMBERS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS THAT SHALL BE ESTABLISHED AT LOWER LEVELS SHALL ELECT THEIR FUNCTIONARIES ((CHAIRMAN, SECRETARY AND TREASURER)) AND INFORM THE COMMISSION

MODIFS ABOVE THEM.

(MORF) 211740 NR12-15/T-SMITH/PO R05106R4.01R 06/1926Z APR

BT

#617R

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED

FBI'S

00 CC

00 CC

3 00 (A) DURING THE ELECTION, WHOSE PLACE, DATE AND TIME ARE TO BE STATED BY THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE IN ADVANCE, THE PEOPLE SHALL COME OUT PROMPTLY TO ELECT THEIR INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

(P) THE NUMBER OF VOTES SHALL BE COUNTED BY THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

(C) IF THERE ARE WPE MEMBERS, SECURITY PERSONNEL AND SOLDIERS WHO HAVE NOT GONE THROUGH THE REHABILITATION COURSES, THEY SHALL BE REMOVED FROM THE ELECTION PROCESS BY THE PEOPLE.

(D) THE PEOPLE AND THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL MAKE SURE THAT THERE ARE NO ARMED PEOPLE IN THE GATHERING AND THAT CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE FOR THE PROCESS.

10 00 (E) AFTER THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE'S BRIEFING ON THE OBJECTIVES AND PROCESS OF THE ELECTION, DISCUSSIONS WILL BE HELD IF THERE ARE ANY QUESTIONS.

(F) IN ORDER TO ELECT FIVE KFBELF INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND FIVE RESERVE MEMBERS, 15 CANDIDATES SHALL BE NOMINATED FOR ELECTION IN AN OPEN BALLOT.

(G) IN THE PROCESS OF NOMINATION, IF THE INDIVIDUAL NOMINATED IS A MEMBER OF THE WPE AND SECURITY PERSONNEL, OR IS A CRIMINAL, OR IF THERE IS ANY OTHER OPPOSITION TO HIM, THEN INVESTIGATIONS SHALL BE MADE.

30 00 (H) IF THERE IS NO OPPOSITION, THEN THOSE WHO SECOND THE NOMINATION WILL BE CALLED ON TO RAISE THEIR HANDS IN CONFIRMATION.

(I) IN THIS RESPECT, A NOMINEE WHO RECEIVES MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE VOTES SHALL BE RECORDED AS A CANDIDATE.

(J) AFTER THE CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN LISTED, THE LIST OF THE CANDIDATES SHALL BE READ AGAIN IN PUBLIC.

(K) THE PEOPLE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, SHALL ELECT PEOPLE TO COUNT CORRECTLY THE VOTES CAST AND THEY WILL BE REGISTERED.

(L) EVERY CANDIDATE IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER SHALL BE ASKED TO GIVE HIS VOTE AS WELL, THE VOTES TO BE COUNTED BY COUNTERS ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE AND OTHERS ASSIGNED FROM THE COMMITTEE WHO SHALL GIVE THE NUMBER OF VOTES TO THE SECRETARY.

00 00 (M) IF THERE IS ANY DIFFERENCE IN THE NUMBER OF VOTES COUNTED BETWEEN THE TWO, THEN THE VOTES SHALL BE COUNTED AGAIN.

(N) WHILE THE VOTE COUNTERS ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE, THOSE VOTE COUNTERS ASSIGNED FROM THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL NOT VOTE.

(O) AFTER THIS PROCESS IS OVER, THE RESULT OF THE VOTE COUNTING WILL BE MADE PUBLIC AND THE FIVE CANDIDATES WHO HAVE RECEIVED THE MOST VOTES SHALL BE ELECTED AS THE INTERIM KFBELF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE WHILE THE NEXT FIVE WILL BE ELECTED AS ALTERNATES.

00 00 (P) IF THERE ARE ANY AMONG THE FIVE CANDIDATES ELECTED WHO ARE CURRENTLY WORKING WITH THE DISTRICT OR TOWN INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE, OR IF FOR ANY REASON THEY CANNOT MAKE FIVE, THEN THEY SHALL BE REPLACED FROM AMONG THE FIVE ALTERNATES ACCORDING TO THE PREFERENCE SHOWN THEM IN THE VOTING.

UNCLASSIFIED

FPIS APIDJAN IV

CHRG COM P/F USIS P/L

LOG: PRO 971  
17 APR 92 0558  
CR: 12787  
CHRG: PROG  
DIST: FPIS

VZCZCPS0035

BT FUFHDS

DE RUEFAA #F171 0971031

UZNR UUUUU ZYV

F 261000Z APR 92

FM FPIS APIDJAN IV

TO RUCWAAA/FPIS RFSTON VA

RHDLKCF/CINCPACNAVFUS LONDON UK//42//

RHMMMCY/JICPAC HONOLULU HI

RUCIAFA/FASTC/TAI WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH

RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL

RUDHSTC/CDRUSASOIC WASH DC//DIS//

RUDCGHA/USNMB SHAPE BE//SURVEY SECTION//

RUDPMAX/FAISA FT BRAGG NC

RUPPWDC/DA AMHS WASHINGTON DC

RUFFFGA/VDA WASH DC

RUFHAA/STORAGE CENTER FPIS RFSTON VA

RUFHDS/AMFEMASSY ADDIS ABABA

RUEJCS/DFINTAGENCY WASH DC

RUFACCC/CDR PSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//ASOP-POG-SE//

RUFSDQ/FPIS TFL AVIV IS

RUFIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD

RUHGHCV/CTF 158

RULQAN/MARCORINTCFN QUANTICO VA

ACCT FBAB-ENDK

BT

UNCLAS 80

WARNING: ATTN TFL AVIV DDFD

SERIAL: FAP6P41P3092

COUNTRY: ETHIOPIA

SUBJ: PAGE 5 OF 5 -- DECREE ON ELECTION OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

REF: A06P41P092 ADDIS ABABA VFN AMHARIC P11740///EODIFS  
APOVF THEM.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) (B) INASMUCH AS THE CHAIRMAN, THE SECRETARY AND THE  
TREASURER ARE ANSWERABLE TO THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THEY SHALL BE  
ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE DECISIONS MADE BY THE REGIONAL ELECTORAL  
COMMITTEE IN ANY ACTIVITY.

(9) SITUATIONS THAT NEED COMMISSION APPROVAL:

(A) ANY COMMISSION MEMBER OR BODY, AT ANY LEVEL, SHOULD SEEK  
PERMISSION FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION  
BEFORE DISSEMINATING ANY SORT OF STATEMENT, REMINDER, NOTICE AND ANY  
OTHER INFORMATION TO THE PEOPLE THROUGH THE MASS MEDIA.

(B) APART FROM STATEMENTS AND MESSAGES APPROVED BY THE SEAL AND  
SIGNATURE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMISSION, ANY OTHER  
MESSAGE AND PAPERS DISSEMINATED THROUGH THE MASS MEDIA BY ANY  
ORGANIZATION WITH REGARD TO ELECTIONS SHALL NOT BE REGARDED AS THE  
COMMISSION'S LEGAL STATEMENTS AND MESSAGES.

(10) THE PROCEDURE OF ELECTIONS DURING THE ELECTIC PROCESS SHALL  
BE BASED ON DIRECTIVE ONE, NUMBER 10 AND 10.

FPIS APIDJAN IV 000008

UNCLASSIFIED

152

(11) THE STRUCTURE OF DISTRICT COUNCIL: THE DISTRICT COUNCIL THAT SHALL MEET TO ELECT THE INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHALL BE:

(A) ATTENDED BY THE FIVE ELECTED MEMBERS AND THEIR FIVE RESERVES DURING THE INTERIM KEBELE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER ELECTIONS, MAKING A TOTAL OF 10 PEOPLE FROM EVERY KEBELE.

(B) THE KEBELE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE SHALL ANNOUNCE THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE ELECTIONS DURING THIS MEETING.

(C) PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISTRICT COUNCIL SHALL ALREADY HAVE THEIR SEATS AT THE TIME OF THE MEETING.

(D) A QUORUM IS TO BE ENSURED, AND IF TWO-THIRDS OF THE PARTICIPANTS ARE PRESENT, THEN THERE SHALL BE A QUORUM.

(E) FOURTEEN PEOPLE SHALL BE NOMINATED IN ORDER TO ELECT THE SEVEN INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, AND THE PROCEDURE OF THE ELECTION PROCESS SHALL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH DIRECTIVE NUMBERS ONE, TWO AND THIS DIRECTIVE NUMBER 12.

(F) CARE SHALL BE TAKEN THAT CANDIDATES SHALL NOT COME FROM ((ONLY)) ONE KEBELE IN A DISTRICT, TO MAKE SURE THAT THERE IS A BALANCED REPRESENTATION BY KEBELES.

(G) AFTER THE ELECTIONS, THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE AND THE VOTE COUNTERS ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE SHALL GIVE A SIGNED CONFIRMATION THAT THE ELECTION HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DIRECTIVES.

(12) ON THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATION OF TOWNS: FOR THE SAKE OF SMOOTH ADMINISTRATION, IT HAS BEEN DEEMED NECESSARY TO FORM ONE TOWN ADMINISTRATIVE ORGAN:

(A) TOWNS WITH TWO OR MORE HIGHER KEBELES ((ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT MADE UP OF SEVERAL KEBELES)) SHALL ESTABLISH ONE INTERIM TOWN ADMINISTRATIVE ((BODY)) THAT WOULD COORDINATE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE KEBELES IN THE TOWN UNDER THE INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE.

(B) THE NUMBER OF THE TOWN INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHALL BE DETERMINED BY THE DISTRICT INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE, BUT SHALL BE NO LESS THAN FIVE AND NO MORE THAN SEVEN.

(C) ON THE DAY OF THE ELECTION OF INTERIM DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISTRICT COUNCIL SHALL TOGETHER ELECT THEIR SEVEN MEMBERS AND AFTER THE RURAL ONES HAVE BEEN DISBANDED, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TOWN KEBELES SHALL MEET AGAIN ON THE SAME DAY UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE AND SHALL ELECT FROM AMONG THEMSELVES THE TOWN INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

(D) THE ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE TOWN INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE SHALL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH NUMBER 12 OF THIS DIRECTIVE.

(13) ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACTIVITIES CONNECTED WITH ELECTION PROCESS: ANY PARTY WHO HAS ANY GRIEVANCE, VIEW, OR COMMENT, CAN EXPRESS THE SAME TO THE DESKS ESTABLISHED IN THE COMMISSION'S OFFICE, AND IF NECESSARY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THROUGH THE ADDRESS ATTACHED IN THE APPENDIX. ((PASSAGE OMITTED ON ADDRESSES OF DESKS, THE COMMISSION AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES)).

(ENDALL) #1174# #216-19/T-SMITH/PO R0512#4.#11 #6/1233Z APR

BT  
#0171

COUNTRY: ETHIOPIA

SUBJ: ADDITIONAL ELECTORAL DIRECTIVE ISSUED

REF: 1A952-120092 AND ADDS ADDIS ABABA VOICE NETWORK AMERICAN  
211742--DECREE ON ELECTION OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

SOURCE: ADDIS ABABA VOICE OF ETHIOPIA NETWORK IN AMERICAN 1700 GMT 7  
APP 52  
TEXT:

// ("AN ADDITIONAL DIRECTIVE" ISSUED BY THE TRANSITIONAL  
GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA ELECTORAL COMMISSION ON THE ELECTION OF THE  
MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE, NO. 3/1992;  
DATE NOT GIVEN)

((TEXT)) ALL PREPARATIONS ARE UNDER WAY TO AID THE ELECTION OF  
MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. THE SETTING UP  
OF THE COMMISSION'S INFRASTRUCTURE ON ALL LEVELS IS CONTINUING, AND  
TRAINING OF ELECTORAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS IS TAKING PLACE IN ALL  
REGIONS. ACCORDING TO REPORTS FROM ALL REGIONS' ELECTORAL  
COMMITTEES, THE GROUND WORK TO PREPARE THE ELECTION HAS BEEN  
COMPLETED.

THE ACTIVITIES ARE GETTING CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE, AND THE ELECTION  
DATE IS GETTING CLOSER; SINCE SOME PROBLEMS CAN BE SEEN WHEN IT

UNCLASSIFIED

FBI SAIDJAN IV 000006

COMES TO THE PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TASK, IN SUCH SITUATIONS IT IS EVIDENTLY IMPORTANT TO ISSUE ADDITIONAL DIRECTIVES TO FOLLOW UP ON THOSE PROBLEMS IN DETAIL. HENCE THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION, WHICH PREVIOUSLY ISSUED TWO DIRECTIVES, NO. 1 AND 2, IS NOW ISSUING THIS DIRECTIVE NO. 3 TO AMEND SOME OF THE POINTS IN THE TWO PREVIOUS DIRECTIVES.

A. ON THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE OF KEBELES ((NEIGHBORHOOD)):

1. IF NO ORGANIZATION HAS COME TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THEN THE WEREDA ((DISTRICT)) COMMITTEE WILL ASSIGN AT LEAST ONE MEMBER FROM THE ORGANIZATIONS OR FROM THE PEOPLE.

2. THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE WILL GIVE A HALF-DAY SEMINAR ON HOW TO ELECT THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

3. MEMBERS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE WHO HAVE UNDERGONE TRAINING WILL LEAVE FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE KEBELES BEFORE ELECTION DAY.

4. BEFORE ELECTION, IF THERE ARE LESS THAN THREE MEMBERS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THEN THE COMMITTEE WILL SUPERVISE THE ELECTION OF THE REMAINDER FROM AMONG THE PEOPLE AND BY THE PEOPLE, UNTIL THERE ARE THREE OF THEM.

5. EVEN THOUGH IT WAS STATED IN DIRECTIVE NO. 1 THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE MORE THAN FIVE MEMBERS OF THE KEBELE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THERE SHOULD ALSO NOT BE LESS THAN THREE.

6. IN ORDER FOR ALL COMPATRIOTS TO PARTICIPATE EQUALLY, NO ORGANIZATION IS ALLOWED TO ADD AN ADDITIONAL MEMBER TO THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEES: THE ADDITIONAL MEMBER ((I.E., TO MAKE UP TO THREE)) IS ELECTED FROM THE PEOPLE.

7. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS, PEOPLE, OR ELECTORAL COMMITTEE WHO PARTICIPATED AT THE SEMINAR ORGANIZED BY THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE WILL BRIEF THE PEOPLE ABOUT HOLDING THE ELECTION, WHICH IS STIPULATED IN DIRECTIVE NO. 2.

8. THE ELECTION PROCEDURE WILL BE CARRIED OUT ACCORDING TO THE DIRECTIVES.

B. ON THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE:

1. EVEN THOUGH IT WAS STATED IN DIRECTIVE NO. 1 THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE OVER 11 MEMBERS OF THE DISTRICT ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THEY SHOULD ALSO NOT BE LESS THAN THREE.

2. ALSO, IF LESS THAN THREE ORGANIZATIONS COME TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THEN THE ZONAL OR REGIONAL ELECTORAL COMMITTEE WILL ASSIGN ADDITIONAL MEMBERS FROM THE PEOPLE OR FROM THE ORGANIZATIONS.

C. COMPATRIOTS WHO CAN PARTICIPATE AS MEMBER OF AN ELECTORAL COMMITTEE: IF LESS THAN THREE ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE, THEN THE HIGHER ELECTORAL COMMITTEE CAN NOMINATE COMPATRIOTS FROM THE AREA--THAT MEANS FROM AMONG THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, ELDERS, AND PROMINENT PEOPLE OF THE AREA, FICETRA, AND PASS THEM TO THE LOWER ELECTORAL COMMITTEE.

ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF THE ETHIOPIAN TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(INCALL) 471700 NB15/DUS:KA/PC 20512804.415 08/221-2 APR

BT

#0250

NNNN









- ፩. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድር ምክር ቤት ተጠሪነቱ ለግዕዝነት የሽግግር መገገሚያ የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት እና ለመረጠው ክልል ሕዝብና ብሔር ይሆናል ።
- ፪. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ተጠሪነቱ ለክልሉ ምክር ቤትና ለግዕዝነት የሽግግር መገገሚያ የሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት ይሆናል ።
- ፫. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ሊተወጋገብ ይችላል ። ፕሬዚዳንትና ከጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ጋር በቀጥታ ለመገናኘት ይችላል ።

**I. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድሮች ላይ ሥልጣን**

የዚህ አዋጅ አገባብ ሆኖ የተደነገገው ጠቅላላ ሥልጣን እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድሮች ከዚህ የሚከተለው ሥልጣን ይኖራቸዋል ፡

- ፩. በዚህ አዋጅ አገባብ ሆኖ ገደብ አገባብ /፩/ እና /፪/ እንዲጠበቁ ሆነው ከአገር ውስጥ የብድር ምግጫ የመበደር ተቀባይ ገብር የመጣል ፡
- ፪. አገባብ ካለው የግዕዝነት የሽግግር መገገሚያ ፖሊሲ ጋር የግድጋጋ ሕዝባዊ አገልግሎቶችን የሚመለከቱ ሕጎችና ደንቦች የግድግዳ ሥራ ላይ የግጥል ፡
- ፫. አገባብ ባለው የግዕዝነት የሽግግር መገገሚያ ፖሊሲ መሠረት የግንባራና የህዝባዊ ልማት ፕሮግራሞችን የግብር ፣ የጥቅም ፣ የጥቅም ጠር ፡
- ፬. የግንባራና የህዝባዊ ልማት ተጽዕኖን ወይም ድርጅቶችን የግድግዳ ፣ የጥቅም ፣ የጥቅም ጠር ፡
- ፭. በጀት የግድግዳ ፣ የግድግዳና በተግባር ላይ የግጥል ፡
- ፮. የክልሉን የተረጎሙ ሀብት አገባብ ለባዎ የግዕዝነት የሽግግር መገገሚያን አጠቃላይ ፖሊሲና ሕግ መሠረት የግብር ፣ የግድግዳ ፣ የጥቅም ጠር ፡
- ፯. ይህንኑ ሥልጣንና በጀት የመስተዳድራዊ ሕጎችን የጥቅም ጠር የግብር ፣ የጥቅም ፣ የጥቅም ጠር ፡
- ፰. የግዕዝነት የሽግግር መገገሚያ ፖሊሲና መሠረት የግንባራና የህዝባዊ ልማት ፕሮግራም ፣ የግድግዳ ፣ የጥቅም ጠር ፡
- ፱. በባህሪያቸው የተነሳ በግልጽ ተለይተው ለግዕዝነት የሽግግር መገገሚያ ፖሊሲና መሠረት የግንባራና የህዝባዊ ልማት ፕሮግራም ፣ የግድግዳ ፣ የጥቅም ጠር ፡
- ፲. የመስተዳድሩ ገብረት ባለቤት መሆን ፣ ገብረት ግድራት ፣ እና ግብር ፡

- 3. A National/Regional Transitional Self-Government shall be accountable to the Council of Representatives of the Central Transitional Government and to the people of the region and to the nation that elected it.
- 4. The Executive Committee of a National/Regional Transitional Self-Government shall be accountable to the National/Regional Council and to the Council of Representatives of the Central Transitional Government.
- 5. The Chairman of a National/Regional Transitional Council shall have direct access to the President of the State and to the Prime Minister.

**10. Special Powers of National/Regional Transitional Self-Governments**

Subject to the provisions of Article 9 of this Proclamation, National/Regional Transitional Self-Governments shall have the following powers and duties:

- 1. subject to sub-articles 1 and 3 of Article 9, to borrow from domestic lending sources and to levy dues and taxes;
- 2. to issue and implement laws and rules relating to public services which do not conflict with the relevant policy of the Central Transitional Government;
- 3. to plan direct and supervise social and economic development programmes in accordance with the relevant policy of the Central Transitional Government;
- 4. to establish, direct and supervise social and economic development establishments or enterprises;
- 5. to prepare, approve and implement their own budgets;
- 6. to administer, develop and protect the natural resources of the region in accordance with the relevant general policy and law of the Central Transitional Government;
- 7. to employ and administer the personnel of their own Self-Governments on account of their own powers and budgets provided, however, that the conditions of administration and pensions of such personnel shall be in accordance with the public service and pensions law of the Central Transitional Government;
- 8. to establish and direct, in accordance with the relevant policy and directives of the Central Transitional Government, security and police forces for maintaining the peace and security of the people;
- 9. to establish a judicial organ with jurisdiction to decide any dispute within the region with the exception of those matters which, because of their nature, are specifically assigned to the courts of the Central Transitional Government;
- 10. to be the owner of the properties of the Self-Government; to acquire ownership of, and to transfer, property.

የዕራፍ ሀላት

የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድር ለደረጃዎች እና ሥልጣን

ከፍላ ለገድ

መጥቀሻ ሥልጣን

፩. የመስተዳድሮች መጥቀሻ

- ፩. ግንኙነት የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድር የሚከተሉት ለካላት ይኖራታል ።
  - ሀ) ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ፣
  - ለ) ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሥራ ለስረዳ ስራ ፣
  - ሐ) የዳኝነት ለካላ ፣
  - መ) የዳኝ ስጋት መሥሪያ ቤት ፣
  - ሠ) የሥነ ምግባር የቴክኖሎጂ መሥሪያ ቤት ፣
  - ረ) የፖሊስና የፀጥታ መሥሪያ ቤት ፣
  - ሰ) የአገልግሎትና የልግነት ስራ ።

፪. ሀ) በአገድ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድር ውስጥ ያለ ጅርተር የተሰጠው የከተማ ግዛጃ ቤት በጅርተር መሠረት ይተዳደራል ።

- ለ) ከገደብ የተሰጠው የከተማ ነዋሪ ሕዝብ ይመረጣል ተጠሪነቱም ለመረጠው ሕዝብና ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ይሆናል ።
- ሐ) የምርጫው ዝርዝር የግዕዝካላ የሽግግር መገን ሥነ ምግባር የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት በሚያወጣው ስጋት ይወሰናል ።

፫. የብሔራዊ መስተዳድሩ ስፋት ከወረዳ የግደባላት ካህንነት በስተቀር ብሔራዊ መስተዳድሮች ለዚህ ለዎጅ ለደረጃ ሲባል በሁለት ደረጃ ፣ በወረዳና በብሔራዊ ፣ የተከፈለ ለስተዳድር ይኖራቸዋል ። ሆኖም በዚህ ለዎጅ ለገንባታ ስራ/፩/ሀ/መሠረት ለሌሎች የመካከለ ለስተዳድር ደረጃዎች ሊጻጹ ይችላሉ ።

፪. የመስተዳድሮች አጠቃላይ ሥልጣን

፩. ከባሕርያቸው የተነሳ በግልጽ ተለይተው በግዕዝ ላይ የሽግግር መገንገሎች ሥልጣን ሥር ከሆኑ ገን ሆኑ ግለትም መከላከያ ፣ የውጭ ጉዳይ ፣ የሥነ ምግባር ፣ የጤንነት መብት መስጠት ፣ የሥነ ምግባር ፣ የጤንነት ስራ ለዎጅ ግዕዝካላ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድር ለትም ህግ ሆነ ሁኔታ ሲፈጠር ሠራዊት ግብግብ ፣ ገንዘብ ግዛት ፣ ከፍተኛ የልግነት ተጽዕኖ ግደባላትና ግብግባር ከፍተኛ የግደባላት ስራዎችን መደባከም ግብግባር ከመሰለሉት በስተቀር ፣ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድሮች በመልክል የደረጃ ክልላቸው ውስጥ ባሉ ጉዳዮች ሁሉ ላይ የሰጠ ስራ ሆነ ፣ የሰጠ ለስረዳነትና የዳኝነት ሥልጣን ላላቸው ።

፪. የግዕዝካላ የሽግግር መገንገሎች የሚሰጡት መሥሪያ ቤቶች ፣ ባለሥልጣናትና ስራዎች ሥልጣናቸው ሆነ ጋራነታቸው ከብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድሮች ሥልጣንና ተግባር ጋር በግደታ ጋጭ መልኩ በሚሰጡት ምክር ቤት ተዘጋጅቶ በግዕዝካላ የሽግግር መገንገሎች የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ይወሰናል ።

CHAPTER TWO

Structure and Powers of National/Regional Transitional Self-Governments

PART ONE

Structure and Powers

8. Structure of Self-Governments

1. Every National, Regional Transitional Self-Government shall have the following organs:
  - a) a National/Regional Council;
  - b) a National/Regional Executive Committee;
  - c) a Judicial Organ;
  - d) a Public Prosecution Office;
  - e) an Audit and Control Office;
  - f) a Police and Security Office; and
  - g) a Services and Development Committee.

2. a) A chartered municipality of an urban centre within a National/Regional Transitional Self-Government shall be administered in accordance with its Charter.

b) The mayor shall be elected by the residents of the urban centre; and he shall be accountable to the people which elected him and to the National/Regional Council.

c) Details of the election shall be prescribed by a law to be issued by the Council of Representatives of the Central Transitional Government.

3. With the exception of any National Self-Government the size of whose territory does not exceed that of a woreda, National Self-Governments shall, for the purpose of implementing this Proclamation, have administrations divided into two hierarchies, namely woreda and national levels, provided, however, that other intermediate hierarchies may be created in accordance with Article 15 (1) (d) of this Proclamation.

9. General Powers of Self-Governments

1. National, Regional Transitional Self-Governments shall have legislative, executive and judicial powers in respect of all matters within their geographical areas except such matters as defence, foreign affairs, economic policy, conferring of citizenship, declaration of a state of emergency, deployment of army where situations beyond the capacity of National/Regional Transitional Self-Governments arise, printing of currency, establishing and administering major development establishments, building and administering major communications networks and the like, which are specifically reserved for the Central Transitional Government because of their nature.

2. The powers and responsibilities of ministries, authorities and commissions of the Central Transitional Government shall be proposed by the Council of Ministers consistent with the powers and duties of National/Regional Transitional Self-Governments and shall be decided upon by the Council of Representatives of the Central Transitional Government.





፩. የሠራተኛ አስተዳደርንና ጠረጎን በሚመለከት የግዕዛዊ የሽግግር መንግሥት ሠራተኞች አስተዳደር ሕገና ፖሊሲ እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ፣ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳደሩን ሠራተኞች አቀጣጠር፣ አመዳደብ፣ ዝውውር፣ ቁጥጥር፣ ዕድገት፣ ሥልጠና፣ ዲሲፕሊንና ጅምት በባላይ ነት ይመራል፣ ይቀጣጠራል።

፪. ያርተሩ፣ የግዕዛዊ የሽግግር መንግሥት ሕጎች እና ፖሊሲዎች እንዲሁም የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳደር ሕጎች፣ ደንቦችና መመሪያዎች በትክክል ሥራ ላይ መጥፋታቸውን ያረጋግጣል።

፫. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳደሩን አጠቃላይ እንስታዎሲ የሚመለከት ሪፖርት በየጊዜው ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤትና ለግዕዛዊ የሽግግር መንግሥት ያቀርባል።

፬. በብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት የሚሰጡትን ሌሎች ተገባሮች ያከናውናል።

**፩፩. የፖሊቀመንበሩ ሥልጣንና ተገባር**  
የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት የፖሊቀመንበር፣

፩. በፖሊቀመንበሩና በሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴው የሚሰጡትን ተገባሮች ያከናውናል።

፪. ሲቀመንበሩ ተገባሩን ለግክናውን በግደችልበት ጊዜ ተከተ ይሠራል።

**፩፪. የፀሐፊው ሥልጣንና ተገባር**  
የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ፀሐፊ የሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ አባል በመሆን፣

- ፩. የምክር ቤቱን ጽ/ቤት ያደራጃል።
- ፪. የምክር ቤቱን ሠንዶች በአግባብ ይይዛል።
- ፫. የምክር ቤቱ ቀለ ገብሎ በሚገባ መያዙን ያረጋግጣል።
- ፬. የጽሕፈት ሥራዎችን በጋራነት ይመራል።
- ፭. በሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ የሚሰጡትን ሌሎች ተገባሮች ያከናውናል።

**ከፍላ አዎስት**  
**በሰ ጻኝነት ሥልጣን**

**፩፫. የጻኝነት ሥልጣን**  
በግንኛውም ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳደር የጻኝነት ሥልጣን የኖርድ ቤት ብቻ ነው።

**፩፬. ኖርድ ቤቶች**  
በግንኛውም ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳደር ለገደ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የባላይ ኖርድ ቤትና በመስተዳደሩ ምክር ቤት በሚወጣው ሕግ የሚጻጹ ሌሎች የቤታች ኖርድ ቤቶች ይኖራሉ።

**፩፭. የመወረዥ ውጤት**  
፩/ በሕግ ተለይተው በግዕዛዊ የሽግግር መንግሥት ጠቅላይ ኖርድ ቤት የሥልጣን ክልል ሥር ከሆኑ ጉዳዮች በስተቀር፣ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የባላይ ኖርድ ቤት በሌሎች በግንኛውም ጉዳዮች ላይ የሚሰጡው ውጤት የመወረዥ ይሆናል።

5. provide without prejudice to the laws and policies of the Central Transitional Government relating to the administration of employees and pension, an overall direction and supervision regarding the employment, classification, transfer, control, promotion, training, discipline and appointment of the employees of the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government;

6. ensure that the Charter, the laws and policies of the Central Transitional Government as well as the laws, regulations and directives of the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government are properly implemented;

7. submit report to the National/Regional Council and the Central Transitional Government from time to time on the overall activity of the National/Regional Transitional Self Government;

8. perform other duties that may be assigned to him by the National/Regional Council.

**21. Powers and Duties of the Vice-Chairman**  
The Vice-Chairman of the National/Regional Council shall

- 1. perform duties that may be assigned to him by the Chairman and the Executive Committee;
- 2. act in place of the Chairman where the latter is not in a position to discharge his duties.

**22. Powers and Duties of the Secretary**  
The Secretary of the National/Regional Council shall be a member of the Executive Committee and shall:

- 1. organize the Secretariat of the Council;
- 2. keep properly the documents of the Council;
- 3. ensure that the minutes of the Council are properly kept;
- 4. be responsible for the direction of secretarial activities;
- 5. perform other duties that may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee.

**PART FIVE**  
**Judicial Jurisdiction**

**23. Jurisdiction**  
Judicial power in any National/Regional Transitional Self-Government shall exclusively be vested in courts. (፩)

**24. Courts**  
In any National/Regional Transitional Self-Government there shall be one National/Regional Superior Court and other lower courts to be established by a law to be issued by the Council of the Self-Government.

**25. Finality of Decision**  
1. With the exception of matters specifically determined by law to be under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the Central Transitional Government, a decision of the National/Regional Superior Court on any case shall be final.

194





፪/ በግዕዝዳዊ የሽግግር መገገሚያ ሕግ በተለየ ሁኔታ የተደነገገው እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ ፣ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ፍርድ ቤቶች የላኝነት ውጤት በብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድር ሌሎች ለካላት ወይም ባለሥልጣናት ወይም በግዕዝዳዊ የሽግግር መገገሚያ ሕግ ወይም ባለሥልጣናት እንደገና ለውረውር ርዎ ፣ ለይዘርዎ ።

፫. የላኝነት ነፃነት  
ላኞች የላኝነት ተግባራቸውን በሙሉ ነፃነት ያከናውናሉ ፤ ከሕግ በስተቀር ማንኛውም ሌላ ሥልጣን ሊሰጥላቸው ይችላል ።

፬. የላኝነት ሂደት ጽንጻ  
የላኝነት ሂደት በብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድር የሥራ ጽንጻ ይካሄዳል ። የሥራ ጽንጻውን ለማይችሉ ተከራካሪ ወገኖች ለስተርጓሚ ይመደባላቸዋል ።

፭. የላኞች ለውረውር  
የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድር ፍርድ ቤት ላኝ ላኞች ወደረዘብ በግዕዝዳዊ ሕግ መሠረት ተወርጠው ይሾገሉ ።

፮. የላኞች ለስተዳደር  
የላኞችና የላኝነት ለስተዳደር በብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት በግዕዝዳዊ ሕግ ይወሰናል ።

፯. የላኝነት ሥልጣን ክልል  
ፍርድ ቤቶች የላኝነት የሥልጣን ክልል በላይ ሕግ ይወሰናል ።

ከ ፍ ል ሰ ድ ስ ት  
በ ለ ግ ጋ ስ ሌ ሕ ግ ሙ ሥ ሪ ስ ሌ ቤ ት ጋ ለ ሌ

፱. የግዳቤ ሕግ ሙሥሪያ ቤት ጋላ ሥልጣንና ተግባር  
የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ግዳቤ ሕግ ሙሥሪያ ቤት ጋላ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የሽግግር መስተዳድርን ግዳቤ ሕግ ሙሥሪያ ቤት በበላይነት ይመራል ፤ በሕግ ተወስኖ የግደጠውንም ተግባር ያከናውናል ።

፲. ተጠሪ ነ ት  
ግዕዝዳዊ የሽግግር መገገሚያ ሕግ በሌላ ሁኔታ ሕግ የግደጠው ሕግ እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ግዳቤ ሕግ ሙሥሪያ ቤት ጋላ ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ተጠሪ ይሆናል ።

ከ ፍ ል ሰ ባ ት  
በ ለ ለ ሊ ት ስ ፍ ተ ጥ ጥ ር ሙ ሥ ሪ ስ ሌ ቤ ት ጋ ለ ሌ

፲፩. የሊትና ፍተጥር ሙሥሪያ ቤት ጋላ ሥልጣንና ተግባር  
የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ሊትና ፍተጥር ሙሥሪያ ቤት ጋላ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ሊትና ፍተጥር ሙሥሪያ ቤትን በበላይነት ይመራል ፤ የፋይናንስ ሕግ ፣ ደንቦችና መመሪያዎች በትክክል ሥራ ላይ እንዲውሉ ተገቢውን እርምጃ ይወስዳል ።

፲፪. ተጠሪ ነ ት  
ግዕዝዳዊ የሽግግር መገገሚያ ሕግ በሌላ ሁኔታ ሕግ እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ሊትና ፍተጥር ሙሥሪያ ቤት ጋላ ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ተጠሪ ይሆናል ።

2. Without prejudice to the laws of the Central Transitional Government providing to the contrary, no judicial decision of the National/Regional courts may be reviewed or reversed by the organs or authorities of the National/Regional Transitional Self-Governments, or, of the Central Transitional Government.

26. Judicial Independence  
Judges shall exercise their judicial function in complete independence; they shall be guided by no other authority than that of the law.

27. Working Language of Judicial Proceedings  
Judicial proceedings shall be conducted in the working language of the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government. Interpreters shall be assigned to those parties who do not understand the working language.

28. Election of Judges  
Judges of the courts of a National/Regional Transitional Self-Government shall be selected and appointed in accordance with a law to be issued thereon.

29. Judicial Administration  
The administration of judges and of the judiciary shall be determined by a law to be issued by the National/Regional Council.

30. Jurisdiction of Courts  
The jurisdiction of courts shall be determined by a special law.

PART SIX

*The Head of the Public Prosecution Office*

31. Powers and Duties of the Head of the Public Prosecution Office  
The Head of the National/Regional Public Prosecution Office shall direct the Public Prosecution Office of the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government and perform duties to be specifically assigned to him by law.

32. Accountability  
Without prejudice to the law to be issued by the Central Transitional Government concerning public prosecution offices, the Head of the National/Regional Public Prosecution Office shall be accountable to the National/Regional Council.

PART SEVEN

*The Head of the Audit and Control Office*

33. Powers and Duties of the Head of the Audit and Control Office  
The Head of the National/Regional Audit and Control Office shall direct the National/Regional Audit and Control Office; and shall take appropriate measures to properly implement financial laws, regulations and directives.

34. Accountability  
Without prejudice to the law to be issued by the Central Transitional Government concerning auditors, the Head of the National/Regional Audit and Control Office shall be accountable to the National/Regional Council.

10/1

**ከፍላ ጥበት**

**በላዕሊ ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ**

**98. ጠቅላላ**

- ፩. የዕረጎው የሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ከምክር ቤት ለሰዓት ማከበር የሚመረጡ ሊቀጣጠሩት ፣ የ/ሊቀ መስጊትና ጸሐፊውን ወይም ፋጥኔቸው ከዘመኝ (ዘ) የገንዘብ ፣ ከሌሎች ለምሳሌ (ዘ፩) የግድበላጥ ለሰዓት የሚገኙት ለክልል ይሆናል ።
- ፪. የዕረጎው የሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ የዕረጎው የሥራ አስፈጻሚ ለክልል ነው ።
- ፫. የዕረጎ ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ለዕረጎው ምክር ቤትና ለመስጊቱ የሰላይ ለክልል ተጠቅሞ ነው ።
- ፬. የዕረጎው ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ለሰዓት በጋራ ጭንቀት የዕረጎ ለስተዳደርን ማስተካከል ለማድረግ ይሆናል ።

**99. የዕረጎው ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ሥልጣንና ተግባር**

- ፩. የግዕዝ ጥናት ማግኘት የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ፣ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስጊቶችና የዕረጎው ለስተዳደር ሕጎች ፣ ደንቦች ፣ ፖሊሲዎች ፣ መመሪያዎች ፣ ስጦታዎችና ፕሮግራሞች ሥራ ላይ ለገደብ ማድረግ ይሆናል ።
- ፪. የተፈጥሮ ለካሳዎችን ይጠብቃል ፣ ያለግል ፣ ያንክ ያከባል ።
- ፫. በግዕዝ ጥናት ማግኘት የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ፣ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ፣ ፖሊሲና መመሪያ መሠረት የዕረጎውን ቅርፅ ቅርፅና የተፈጥሮ ጭንቀት ለማላገጥና ሥራ ላይ ለማዋል ለሰላይ ለሚገኙ ለጭንቀት ሁሉ ይጠብቃል ።
- ፬. የዕረጎውን ሰላይ ማስጠበቅ ይሆናል ።
- ፭. በዕረጎው ምክር ቤት የሚሰጡትን ስልጣንና ተግባር ያከናውናል ።

**100. የዕረጎው ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ሊቀጣጠሩ ሥልጣንና ተግባር**

- የዕረጎው ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ሊቀጣጠሩ ተጠቅሞ ለዕረጎው ምክር ቤት ለፍ ለሰላይ የመስጊቶች ለክልል ሆኖ ፣
- የዕረጎው ለስተዳደር ጋራና ተጠቅሞ ይሆናል ።
- የዕረጎውን ምክር ቤትና የሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ለመስጠት ይሆናል ።
- የዕረጎውን የጸገቶችና የፍጥነት ጋደል ለማስጠበቅ ይሆናል ።
- የግዕዝ ጥናት ማግኘት የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ፣ የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት ፣ ፖሊሲና መመሪያ ሕጎች ፣ ደንቦች ፣ ስጦታዎችና ፕሮግራሞች ለማላገጥና ለማዋል ለሰላይ ለሚገኙ ሁሉ ይሆናል ።
- ለዕረጎው ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ፣ ለዕረጎው ምክር ቤትና ለሰላይ የመስጊቶች ለክልል ለማስጠበቅ ለማድረግ ይሆናል ።

**PART THREE**

*The Executive Committee of the Wereda*

**45. General**

1. The Wereda Executive Committee shall be an organ comprising of members to be elected from among members of the Wereda Council whose number shall not be less than nine (9) and not more than fifteen (15) including the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary.
2. The Wereda Executive Committee shall be the executive organ of the Wereda.
3. The Wereda Executive Committee shall be accountable to the Wereda Council and to be superordinate executive organ of the Self-Government.
4. Members of the Wereda Executive Committee shall collectively and individually provide an overall guidance to the offices of the Wereda Administration.

**46. Powers and Duties of the Wereda Executive Committee**

The Wereda Executive Committee shall:

1. cause the implementation of the laws, regulations, policies, directives, plans and programmes of the Council of Representatives of the Central Transitional Government, the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government and of the Wereda Administration;
2. preserve, develop and tend the natural environment;
3. take all the necessary measures to develop and put to use the heritage and the natural resources of the Wereda in accordance with the policy and guidelines of the Council of Representatives of the Central Transitional Government and of the National/Regional Council;
4. maintain the peace and security of the Wereda;
5. perform other duties that maybe assigned to it by the Wereda Council.

**47. Powers and Duties of the Chairman of the Wereda Executive Committee**

The Chairman of the Wereda Executive Committee shall be accountable to the Wereda Council and to the superordinate Self-Government organs and shall:

1. be responsible for the Wereda Administration;
2. preside over the meeting of the Wereda Council and of the Wereda Executive Committee;
3. provide an overall guidance to the Wereda Security and Police Force;
4. ensure that laws, policies, plans and programmes as well as directives of the Council of Representatives of the Central Transitional Government and the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government are properly implemented;
5. submit report from time to time to the Wereda Executive Committee, the Wereda Council and to the superordinate Self-Government organs;

1992





- ፩. የወረዳውን የሥራ አፈጻጸም ኮሚቴና ሌሎች ልማት ስራዎች ለማስፈጸም ማስተዳደር ማድረግ፤
- ፪. የወረዳውን የገንዘብ አገልግሎትና የህዝብ አገልግሎት ጥራት ማረጋገጥ፤
- ፫. በወረዳው ያሉ ልማት ስራዎች ላይ ተገባሪ ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤

- ፶፮. የወረዳው የ/ሊቀመንበይ ሥልጣንና ተገባር
- የወረዳው የ/ሊቀመንበይ ሥልጣን ሲሰጥ፡
- ፩. ሊቀመንበይ በግዴታ ላይ ሆኖ ስራዎችን ማስፈጸም፤
  - ፪. የሥራ አፈጻጸም ኮሚቴውን ለማሰጠትና ለማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤

- ፶፯. የወረዳው የገንዘብ ስራ ሥልጣንና ተገባር
- የወረዳው የገንዘብ ስራ ላይ የወረዳውን ሥራ አፈጻጸም ማረጋገጥ፤
- ፩. የገንዘብ ስራን ለ/ቤት ማስፈጸም፤
  - ፪. የገንዘብ ስራን ለሌሎች ለማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤
  - ፫. የገንዘብ ስራ ስለሌሎች ለማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤
  - ፬. የገንዘብ ስራ ስለሌሎች ለማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤
  - ፭. በሥራ አፈጻጸም ኮሚቴው ላይ ተገባሪ ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤

- ፶፰. የወረዳው የላይኛው ስራ
- ፩. ለላይኛው ስራ ላይ የገንዘብ ስራ ማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤
  - ፪. በዚህ ላይኛው ስራ ላይ ተገባሪ ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤

- ፶፱. የወረዳው የዓቃቤ ስራ ሥልጣንና ተገባር
- ፩. የገንዘብ ስራ ማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤
  - ፪. የወረዳው የዓቃቤ ስራ ላይ ተገባሪ ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤

- ፷. የወረዳው የሥራ ስራ ሥልጣንና ተገባር
- የወረዳው የሥራ ስራ ላይ የገንዘብ ስራ ማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤
- ፩. የገንዘብ ስራ ማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤
  - ፪. በፋይናንስ ስራ ላይ ተገባሪ ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤

የወረዳው ሌሎች ስራዎች

- ፷፩. የበጀት ስራ
- የገንዘብ ስራ ማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤
- ፩. የበጀት ስራ ማስፈጸም ስራዎችን ማድረግ፤

- 6. direct, supervise, follow up, coordinate the Wereda Executive Committee and the various establishments of the Wereda;
- 7. prepare and submit to the Wereda Council the social service and economic development programmes (plans) of the Wereda;
- 8. perform other duties that may be assigned to him by the Wereda Council.

48. Powers and Duties of the Vice-Chairman of the Wereda Executive Committee
- The Vice-Chairman of the Wereda Executive Committee shall:
- 1. act as Chairman in the absence of the latter;
  - 2. perform other duties that may be assigned to him by the Wereda Executive Committee and the Chairman.

49. Powers and Duties of the Secretary of the Wereda Council
- The Secretary of the Wereda Council shall be a member of the Wereda Executive Committee and shall:
- 1. organize the Secretariat of the Council;
  - 2. keep properly the documents of the Council;
  - 3. ensure that the minutes of the Council are properly kept;
  - 4. be responsible for the direction of secretarial activities;
  - 5. perform other duties that may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee.

50. The Wereda Judicial Organ
- 1. Without prejudice to the laws to be issued on judicial administration by the Central Transitional Government, the judicial organ of the Wereda shall be the subordinate judicial organ of the National Regional Self-Government.
  - 2. The provisions of Articles 26-30 of this Proclamation shall be applicable to the judicial organ of the Wereda.

51. The Wereda Public Prosecution Office
- 1. Without prejudice to the law to be issued by the Central Transitional Government concerning public prosecution offices, the Wereda Public Prosecution Office shall be the subordinate office of the Public Prosecution Office of the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government.
  - 2. The Public Prosecution Office of the Wereda shall perform duties to be specifically assigned to it by law.

52. The Wereda Audit and Control Office
- The Wereda Audit and Control Office shall:
- 1. be the subordinate organ of the Audit and Control Office of the Council of Representatives of the Central Transitional Government and of the National/Regional Transitional Self-Government.
  - 2. carry out its duties in accordance with financial laws, regulations, orders and directives.

CHAPTER FIVE  
Miscellaneous Provisions

53. Allocation of Budget
- The Central Transitional Government shall allocate appropriate budget to National Regional Self-Governments for the transition period in order that they begin their activities immediately.

201



አዋጅ ቁጥር 9  
5th Year No. 4

አዲስ አበባ ጥር 12 ቀን ጊዜ 9. ም.  
Addis Ababa, 27th January, 1992

የኢትዮጵያ ህግግር ግንባታ

# ነጋሪት ጋዜጣ NEGARIT GAZETA

OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA.

የአገልግሎት ዋጋ 0.60	በኢትዮጵያ ህግግር ግንባታ የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ተጠባባሪነት የወጣ	የፖለቲካ ጥ. ጊዜ (30,001)
-----------------	--------------------------------------------	----------------------

ግ ም ግ

### CONTENTS

አዋጅ ቁጥር 9/ጊዜ 9. ም.  
የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳድራዊ ምክር ቤቶች ደካሄድ ዘንድ የተመዘገቡ ሁኔታ ለመፍጠር የወጣ አዋጅ . . . . . ገጽ 28

Proclamation No. 9/1992  
A Proclamation to Provide for the Creation of Expeditious Conditions for the Election of National/Regional Self-Governments . . . . . Page 28

### አዋጅ ቁጥር 9/ጊዜ 9. ም.

### PROCLAMATION No. 9/1992

የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳድራዊ ምክር ቤቶች ደካሄድ ዘንድ የተመዘገቡ ሁኔታ ለመፍጠር የወጣ አዋጅ

### A PROCLAMATION TO PROVIDE FOR THE CREATION OF EXPEDITIOUS CONDITIONS FOR THE ELECTION OF NATIONAL/REGIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENTS

የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳድራዊ ምክር ቤቶች ደካሄድ ዘንድ የተመዘገቡ ሁኔታ ለመፍጠር የወጣ አዋጅ

WHEREAS it is necessary to facilitate conditions for the implementation of the Proclamation issued on guaranteeing the right to self-determination of nations, nationalities and peoples and on respecting their right to administer their own affairs:

ከዚህ የግንባታ ስራ ለማድረግ የሚያስፈልጉ ሁኔታዎች ለመፍጠር የወጣ አዋጅ

WHEREAS it is necessary to this effect, to implement immediately, though partially, the Deployment of the State Defence Army of the Central Transitional Government and the Establishment of the Police Force;

በዚህ ስራ ላይ የሚያስፈልጉ ሁኔታዎች ለመፍጠር የወጣ አዋጅ

WHEREAS conditions which are conducive to directly go over to elections in accordance with the National/Regional Self-Governments Establishment Proclamation are lacking in several of the various regions of the country;

በዚህ ስራ ላይ የሚያስፈልጉ ሁኔታዎች ለመፍጠር የወጣ አዋጅ

WHEREAS there are preconditions which must be created in advance in order for citizens to freely elect and be elected in the exercise of their rights guaranteed under the Charter, the National/Regional Self-Governments Establishment Proclamation and the Deployment of the State Defence Army and Establishment of the Police Force Proclamation;

እነዚህ ሁኔታዎች ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ የወጣ አዋጅ

WHEREAS it is necessary to create appropriate conditions in order to fulfill these preconditions and conduct elections of National/Regional Self-Governments;

በዚህ ስራ ላይ የሚያስፈልጉ ሁኔታዎች ለመፍጠር የወጣ አዋጅ

NOW, THEREFORE, in accordance with Article 9(d) of the Transitional Period Charter, it is hereby proclaimed as follows:

207

**ኖሪፍ ሁለት**  
**በግ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደሮች**

**፩. ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ስለግዳጭ**

- ፩. የአስተዳደር ሥራን የሚጠናው በወረራና በቀበሌ ደረጃ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደሮች በዚህ አዋጅ መሠረት ይጸድግሉ ።
- ፪. በዚህ አዋጅ መሠረት የግዳጭ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደሮች ከድርጅቶች ገለልተኛ ይሆናሉ ።

**፪. በግ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ምርጫ**

- ፩. በግንኛውም ወረራ በወረራው ሕዝብ ሙሉ ተሳታፊነት ለባት (፮) አባላት የሚገኙበት የወረራ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ኮሚቴ ይመረጣል ።
- ፪. በግንኛውም ቀበሌ ሕዝብ ሙሉ ተሳታፊነት አያበት (፮) አባላት የሚገኙበት የቀበሌ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ኮሚቴ በነጥሪያዎቹ ይመረጣል ።

**፫. በግ ምርጫ አሰጣጥ**

- ፩. የወረራ እና የቀበሌ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ኮሚቴዎች አባላት ምርጫ ምርጫ አሰጣጥ ኮሚቴ በሚያወጣው መመሪያ መሠረት ይሰጣል ።
- ፪. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ አባላት በላብዛኛው ከሚመለከታቸው ድርጅቶች የሚወጡ ሆነው የሌሎች ገለልተኛ ድርጅቶች አባላትም ይሳተፋሉ ። እንደአስፈላጊነቱ ገዕዥ ኮሚቴዎች ሊመሠረቱ ይችላሉ ።
- ፫. የቀበሌ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ኮሚቴ አባላት ምርጫን የወረራው ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ኮሚቴ ይቆጣጠራል ።

**፬. ለመምረጥና ለመመረጥ ስለሚያበቁ መመዘኛዎች**

- ፩. በዚህ አዋጅ መሠረት ለሚጸድጉት የወረራና የቀበሌ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደሮች ለመመረጥ የሚተርጡ ገለበጦች የድርጅቶች ምድብተኛ አባላት ያልሆኑ የመመረጥና የመምረጥ መመዘኛዎችን የሚያሟሉ መሆን ይገባቸዋል ።
- ፪. የድርጅቶች ምድብተኛ አባላት የመምረጥ መመዘኛዎችን የሚያሟሉ ከሆኑ የመምረጥ መብታቸው የተጠበቀ ይሆናል ።

**፭. የጊዜያዊ አስተዳደሮች ሥልጣንና ተግባር**

- ፩. የወረራና የቀበሌ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደሮች የሚከተለው ሥልጣንና ተግባር ይኖራቸዋል ።
  - ፩. በየአካባቢያቸው የሚካሄዱ የመንግሥት መሠረተ ልማት ተግባሮች ያለአገዳኝ መሰናከል መከናወኛቸውን ያረጋግጣሉ ።
  - ፪. በየአካባቢያቸው የትጥቅ ግብረታት ተግባሮችን ይመራሉ ።
  - ፫. የየአካባቢያቸውን የፖሊስ ኃይልና የፀጥታ ኃይል ያልመጣ ያስፈልግሉ ።
  - ፬. የየአካባቢያቸውን ሕዝብ በግብተኛ ሕገወጥ ገለበጦችን በቆይታ ሥር እንዲወሉ ያደርጋሉ ።
  - ፭. ከአገራዊ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደሮች ጋር በመተባበር የአካባቢውን ሕዝብ ወክሎ የግረጋጋት ተግባሮችን በትንጹት ይሰጣሉ ።

**CHAPTER TWO**

**Provisional Administrations**

**4. Establishment of Provisional Administrations**

- 1. There shall be established in accordance with this Proclamation wereda and kebele provisional administrations which shall carry on administrative activities;
- 2. Provisional administrations established in accordance with this Proclamation shall be independent of organizations.

**5. Election of Provisional Administrations**

- 1. A wereda provisional administrative committee composed of seven (7) members shall be elected in every wereda with the full participation of the people of the wereda.
- 2. A kebele provisional administrative committee composed of five (5) members shall be elected in every kebele with the full participation of the residents of the kebele.

**6. Executive of Elections**

- 1. Elections of the members of wereda and kebele provisional administrative committees shall be executed in accordance with the directives to be issued by the Electoral Executive Committee.
- 2. Members of National/Regional Electoral Committees shall be composed mainly of members drawn from the concerned organizations; and members of other neutral organization shall also participate. Sub-committees may be established as may be necessary.

3. Election of members of a Kebele Provisional Administrative Committee shall be supervised by the Wereda Provisional Administrative Committee. ] *delete 2-13-*

**7. Criteria to Elect and to be Elected**

- 1. Persons to be elected to wereda and kebele Provisional Administrative Committee established in accordance with this Proclamation shall be not staff members of organizations and shall have to fulfill the criteria for electing and being elected.
- 2. The right of members of organizations to elect shall be reserved as long as they fulfill the criteria for electing.

**8. Powers and Duties of Provisional Administrations**

- Wereda and Kebele Provisional Administrations shall have the following powers and duties:
  - 1. to ensure that government infrastructural activities within their respective localities are conducted without obstructions;
  - 2. to direct disarming activities within their respective localities;
  - 3. to execute the recruitment of members of the police and security forces of their respective localities;
  - 4. to ensure that those who break the law are brought under control by coordinating the people of their respective localities;
  - 5. to undertake on behalf of the people of the locality joint normalization activities in cooperation with neighbouring provisional administrations.

*204-*

**ዘ. የጊዜያዊ ለስተዳደር ስራ ዘመን**  
በዚህ ለዋጅ መሠረት የተጻፉት ጊዜያዊ ለስተዳደር ስራ የሥራ ዘመን ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ለስተዳደር ስራ ለግድግ በወጣው ለዋጅ ቁጥር ፯/ ሰኔ ፳፻፲፱ መሠረት ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ የወረዳ ለስተዳደር ስራ ለስከጫ ጽሑፍ ደረሰ ይሆናል ።

**የዕረፍ ሦስት**  
**ትጥቅ ለሌላ ሰጠረታት**

**I. ደርግ ለሠጋጋ ትጥቅ ለሌላ ሰጠረታት**  
የደርግ ለሠጋጋ መጥቅር በገጠፋ ወርሶ ሳለመረጠረጠ ምክንያት ሊፈጠሩ የሚችሉትን ችግሮች ለግብዓዊና በሕገ ወጥ መንገድ በዜጎች ላይ የገባውን ትጥቅ ፀጥታን በግምገማ መንገድ ግብረታት እንዲቻል የሚከተሉት ተግባራዊ ይሆናሉ ።

- ፩. የሌላ ግንባር ለመሥሪያ ለባላት ፣ የቀድሞ ሕዝባዊ ድርጅቶች ለመሥሪያ ለባላት እንዲሁ የሌላ ግንባር የሚገኝበት ለባላት የነበሩ ይመዘገባሉ ።
- ፪. በሌላ ግንባር ተባብሮ ገቢ ግንባር ወይም ተባብሮ ከገንዘብ በስፋት ወይም በገለፅ ያስታጠቃቸው ገለበጦች ትጥቃቸውን ያስረክባሉ ። ለመንግሥት ወይም ለድርጅት ለስረክባል ካሉ ግብረጽ ያቀርባሉ ። ይህን ባያደርጉ የትጥቅን የጋ ይከፍላሉ ። እነዚህ ገለበጦች ትጥቅ እንዳላቸው ከተረጋገጠ ከአሥር (10) ዓመት እስከ ሃያ (50) ዓመት በሚደርስ ጽኑ እሥራት ይቀጣሉ ።
- ፫. ትጥቅ እንደያዙ ወደቀበሌያቸው የተመለሱ የቀድሞ የጦር ኃይል እና የፖሊስ ለባላት ካሉ ትጥቃቸውን ያስረክባሉ ።

**II. ለሌሎች ታጣቂዎች**

- ፩. ደርግ ከወደቀ በኋላ ግንኛውም ድርጅት ለስታጠቀ ቀኝ የሚል ታጣቂ ገለበጦች ትጥቅን ያስረክባሉ ።
- ፪. ደርግ ከመደቀ በፊት በድርጅቶች ቁጥጥር ሥር በነበሩ ለካባቢያት ከደርግ መደቀ በፊት በሕዝቡ የታጠቁ ዜጎች ከነትጥቃቸው ይቆያሉ ።

**III. ገንባታ ለሌላ ግንባር**  
ትጥቅ በራሱ ገንባታ ገዛሁ የሚል ግለሰብ ትጥቅን ለሌላ ግንባር ተገቢውን ግብረጽ ሊቀድስ ካቀረበ ትጥቅን ለይረዳ ፣ ሆኖም ግንኛውም የሌላ ግንባር ፣ የሚገኝበት ፣ የቀበሌ ፣ የግንባር ለመሥሪያ ፣ የቀድሞ የጦር ኃይል እና የፖሊስ ለባላ የተባለው ግብረጽ ሊቀድስ ያለው ቢሆንም ትጥቅን ያስረክባል ።

**IV. ትጥቅ ለግብረታት ለሌላ ሰጠረታት ኃይል ፣**  
በዚህ ለዋጅ ለገባቱ I ፣ II ፣ እና III የተከረከረውን ትጥቅ ለግብረታት ተግባር የወረዳና የቀበሌ ጊዜያዊ ለስተዳደር ኮሚቴዎች ያስፈጽማሉ ። ለስረክባሉ ቢሆን በግዕዛዊ የሕግ መንግሥት የላገር መከላከያ ሠራዊት ለግብረታት ለግብረጽ ይችላሉ ።

**9. Term of Office of Provisional Administrations**  
The term of office of provisional administrations established in accordance with this Proclamation shall be until the establishment of National/Regional and Wereda Self-Governments in accordance with the National/Regional Self-Governments Establishment Proclamation No. 7/1992.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**Disarming**

**10. Disarming Dergue-WPE**  
The following shall be implemented with a view to avoiding problems which may arise due to the fact that the structure of Dergue-WPE has not been demolished in the rural areas and to collecting, without disrupting peace, arms which illegally fell into the hands of citizens:

- 1. former members of the leadership of each kebele association and of mass organizations as well as former members of WPE and of the Security shall be registered;
- 2. persons in every kebele peasant association and kebele urban dwellers' association whom the Dergue armed in secret or openly shall surrender their arms; where they allege that they have surrendered arms to the state or to organizations, they shall produce evidence to that effect; and where they fail to do this, they shall pay the price of the arms; such individuals convicted of possessing arms shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment from ten (10) to twenty (20) years;
- 3. members of the former Armed Forces and of the Police who returned to their kebeles with their arms, if any, shall likewise surrender their arms;

**11. Other Persons in Arms**

- 1. Any person who claims to have been armed by any organization after the fall of the Dergue shall surrender his arms.
- 2. Citizens armed by the people prior to the fall of the Dergue in localities which were controlled by organizations before the fall of the Dergue shall remain armed.

**12. Persons Armed at Their Own Expenses**  
Any person who claims that he himself purchased his own arms at his own expenses shall not be disarmed if he produces proper evidence and licence, provided that any member of the WPE and the former Security, of the former leadership of kebele associations and mass organizations and of the former Armed Forces and of the police shall surrender his arms notwithstanding that he produces such evidence and licence.

**13. Armed Personnel Required for Disarming**  
Disarming activities specified in Articles 10, 11 and 12 of this Proclamation shall be carried out by Wereda and Kebele Provisional Administrations; they may, where necessary, carry out such activities through the State Defence Army.

205



፪. ከአካባቢው ከግራሰሰሰው ትጥቅ ውስጥ ሙሉ እውቀት ከ የሆኑት በቅድገት ለፖሊስ ጋይል ይሰጣል ። የአካባቢው ፍጥነት ጥበቃ ጋይል ከፖሊስ ጋይል የግራሰሰውን ይታጠቃል ።

**፲፱. መሪያ ስልጣን**

በዚህ አዋጅ ከአገቶቹ ፲ እስከ አገቶቹ ፲፮ በአተሞላክ ቁጥጥሮች የመከላከያና የደገገነት ፖሊሲ ጽግ ኮሚቴ ቻርተርና ይህንን አዋጅ መሠረት በግድረግ ዝርዝር መሪያ ሊያወጣ ይችላል ።

**፶፬. ስልጣን**

**ሠራዊት ያላቸውን ድርጅቶች በሌሎችና የሠራዊታቸውን**

**ብዛት ስለመወሰን**

**፳. ሠራዊት አለን የግራ ድርጅቶችን በሌሎች**

በግዕዝላይ ሸገግር መገገሥት የአገር መከላከያ ሠራዊት ለምሪትና የፖሊስ ጋይል ግጽግግግ አዋጅ ቁጥር ፳/፲፱፻፹፪ መሠረት የግራሰሰው ተገባራዊ ይሆናሉ ።

፩. የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አባል ከሆኑ ድርጅቶች ውስጥ ሠራዊት አለን የግራ ድርጅቶች ይህንን በይፋ ያስታውቃሉ ፣ ያስመዘገባሉ ።

፪. የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አባል ከሆኑ ድርጅቶች ውስጥ ሠራዊት አገልግሎት ያስታወቀና ያስመዘገበ ግናቸውም ድርጅት ቻርተርን ባይደቀው የኢትዮጵያ ሰላማዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ የሸገግር ጉባኤ ላይ የተሳተፈና የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አባል ድርጅት ሆኖ አለኝ የግራው ሠራዊት ፣

- ሀ) ደርግ ከመውደቅ በፊት የተጻጸመ መሆኑን ፣
- ለ) በመደበኛ ተዋጊነት የተደራጀና የተጻጸመ መሆኑን ፣
- ሐ) አቅጣጫ የፈቀደውን ያህል እስከ መጨረሻው የደርግ መውደቅ ድረስ ደርግን ቢፋለፍ የኖረ መሆኑን ፣ እና
- መ) ከደርግ ተፋለፍ በሀገር ውስጥ ነፃ ክልሎች በመቆጣጠር ሕዝብ ቢያስተዳድር የቆየ ፣ ሠራዊቱም እስከ መጨረሻው የደርግ መውደቅ ፣ ድረስ ነፃ ባጣጣው ሕዝብና ቦታ ላይ ሆኖ ቢዋጋና ቢከላከል ለመቆየቱ ለውሎው ግስረጃ ያለው መሆኑን ፣ ግራግጥ አለበት ።

፫. ሠራዊት አለኝ የግራ ግንኛውም ድርጅት በዚህ አዋጅ አገቶቹ ፩ (፪) በተዘረዘሩት ሁኔታዎች ላይ ስለአቀረበው መግለጫ ትክክለኛነት ቢያገባ በሁለት ድርጅቶች የሰከርነት ያረጋግጣል ። እነዚህም የሰከርነት የግራ ድርጅቶች በተካፈሉት የትጥቅ ትግሎች ጉልህ ግድያ የተጫወቱና በተለያዩ ነፃባቢዎች በሰፊ በመገናኛታቸው ከሌሎች ደርጅቶች ጋር ግንኙነት ለመፍጠር ዕድል የነበራቸው ይሆናሉ ። የሰከርነት ስለግራ ድርጅቶች ብቁ መሆን አለመሆን የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ይወስናል ።

2. The police force shall be given priority to receive full automatic arms out of arms collected from the locality. The security force of the locality shall be armed with what is left of the share of the police force.

**19. Issuance of Directives**

The Defence and the Security Policy Standing Committee may issue detailed directives in accordance with the Charter and this Proclamation on matters covered by the provisions of Articles 10-18 of this Proclamation.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

*Identifying Organizations with Armies and Determining the Size of their Armies*

**20. Identifying Organizations Claiming to Have Armies**

The following shall be translated into action in accordance with the Proclamation on the Deployment of State Defence Army of the Central Transitional Government and the Establishment of the Police Force Proclamation No. 8/1992.

1. Organizations who are members of the Council of Representatives claiming to have armies shall declare and register their armies.

2. Any member organization of the Council of Representatives which declared and registered claiming to have an army shall, in addition to having participated in the Peace and Democracy Conference which adopted the Charter, prove that its alleged army:

- a) was established before the fall of the Dergue;
- b) was organized and established as a regular fighter;
- c) fought the Dergue with full effort until the final down fall of the Dergue;
- d) in its struggle against the Dergue it controlled a liberated territory administering the people therein; and remained with the people in the liberated territory fighting and defending until the final down fall of the Dergue.

3. Any organization alleging to have an army shall prove its veracity in reference to specified conditions under sub-article 2 of this Article by producing a minimum of two attesting organizations; organizations called on to give testimony shall be those which played a significant role in the armed struggle and had the opportunity to make contact with other organizations through their wide mobility in various regions. The Council of Representatives shall decide on the capacity of such attesting organizations.

207

፪. ሠራዊት አለን ብለው ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ካለ ታወቁና ከአለ-መዝገቡ ድርጅቶች ውስጥ በዚህ አንቀጽ በንዑስ አንቀጽ ፪ እና ፫ የተዘረዘሩትን መመዘኛዎች ያሟሉትን የመከላከያና ደህንነት ፖሊሲ ጽግ ኮሚቴ አጣርቶ ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት በግቅረብ ያለው ስላል ።

**፳፩. ስለ ድርጅት ሠራዊት ብዛት መወሰን መርሆች**

፩. ሠራዊት እንዳላቸው የተረጋገጠላቸው ድርጅቶች የሠራዊታቸውን ብዛትና አወቃቀር ይታዩ ያደርጋሉ ።

፪. በግንኙነት ድርጅት ፡

ሀ) የደርግ ሠራዊት መፍረስ ከጀመረበት ከሠመቻ ቴዎድሮስ ወዲህ የተመለሱ የደርግ ወታደሮች በሙሉ ፣ እና

ለ) ደርግ ከወደቀ በኋላ የተመለሱ የአሠጋጅ ታጣቂ የተባሉ ለመራራ አባላት እና የደገን ነት አባላት (ካሉ) ፡

ከተመለሱበት የድርጅት ሠራዊት ይሰናበታሉ ።

፫. በዚህ አንቀጽ በንዑስ አንቀጽ (፪) የተመለከተው አረጋጋጅ እንደ ተጠበቀ ሆኖ ፣ በግንኙነት ድርጅት ውስጥ ሊኖር የሚገባው የሰው ኃይል ብዛት ቀጥሎ በተዘረዘሩት መመዘኛዎች ላይ የተመሠረተ ይሆናል ። እነዚህም ፡

ሀ) የሠራዊቱ ብዛትና አወቃቀር ከደርግ ጋር ፍልግ ሲያደርጉ በነበረበት ወትት ከነበረው የውጊያ ጥንካሬ ጋር ተቀራራቢነት ያለው መሆኑ ፤

ለ) የሠራዊቱ ብዛትና አወቃቀር ነፃ ከወጣው ለካባቢ ስፋትና ለካባቢውን ለመከላከል ከሚጠይቀው ኃይል ጋር ተቀራራቢነት ያለው መሆኑ ፤

ሐ) የሠራዊቱ ብዛት ሌሎች ኃይሎች ከድርጅቱ ጋር በነበራቸው የመተባበርና ለብር የመሥራት ህጻናት በተያያዙ ከሚያውቁት ኃይል ብዛት ጋር ተቀራራቢነት ያለው መሆኑ ፤ ማለት ።

፬. የዚህ አንቀጽ ንዑስ አንቀጽ ፫ ቢኖርም እንደ-ግዛ የሚወሰደው የሠራዊት ብዛት ደርግ ሊወድቅለት ሊያገባው ኃይል ሆኖ ፣ የሠራዊቱ ብዛት ከግዛው በልጠ ቢገኝ እንኳ ጭግራው እንደ-ግዛ ከተወሰደው ቀጥሎ ከአሥር በሙቶ (1) መብላት የለበትም ።

**፳፪. ስለ ድርጅት ሠራዊት ብዛት ውሳኔ**

፩. የመከላከያና ደህንነት ፖሊሲ ጽግ ኮሚቴ በዚህ ለዋጅ አንቀጽ ፩ መሠረት የግንኙነት ድርጅት ሠራዊት ብዛትና አወቃቀር አጥንቶ ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የውሳኔ ሀሳብ ያቀርባል ።

4. The Defence and the Security Policy Standing Committee shall select out of those declaring and registering organizations which fulfil the criteria set under sub-articles 2 and 3 of this Article and submit same for decision to the Council of Representatives.

**21. Principles to Decide the Size of Armies of Organizations**

1. Organizations proved to have armies shall officially declare the size and organizational set up of their armies.

2. Any organization shall disband:

a) all Dergue soldiers recruited into its army since the launching of "Zemocha Tewodros" which marks the beginning of the collapse of the Dergue army; and

b) all members of WPE, armed members of Kebele leadership and members of the security recruited into its army (if any) after the fall of the Dergue.

3. Without prejudice to the provisions of sub-article 2 of this Article, the size of manpower that should be found in any organization shall be based on the following criteria; and these are:

a) the size and organizational set up of the army shall be close to the fighting strength it revealed when fighting against the Dergue;

b) the size and organizational set up of the army shall be close to the size of manpower required to liberate and defend the area it liberated;

c) the size of the army shall be close to the size of the force known to the forces of other organizations which came to their knowledge as a result of cooperating and operating together in the armed struggle.

4. Notwithstanding the provisions of sub-article 3 of this Article, the size of the army that an organization maintains at the eve of the fall of the Dergue shall be taken as a base unit. Even if the size of the army is found to exceed the base unit, the excess may not be more than ten percent (10%) of such base unit.

**22. Decision on the Size of an Army of Organisation**

1. The Defence and the Security Policy Standing Committee shall study the size and organizational set up of an army of any organization pursuant to Article 20 of this Proclamation and submit proposals for decision by the Council of Representatives.

208



- ፩. የግንኙነት ድርጅት ሠራዊት ፡
  - ሀ) ወደፊት በሚገለጹ የጊዜ ገደብ ድረ ተመዳሪ ለት ጦር ሠራዊ ይገባል ፤ እና
  - ለ) ወደ ተመዳሪነት ጦር ሠራዊ ተጠቃሎ ከገባ በት ጊዜ ጀምሮ መገገሥት በወሰነለት በጀት ይተዳደራል ።

፳፯. ስለ ሕገ ወጥ ታጣቂዎች

- ፩. በዚህ አዋጅ አንቀጽ ፲፣ ፲፩፣ ፲፪፣ እና ፳፫/፱/ መሠረት ትጥቅ መፍታት ሲገባው ይህን ለግድረግ ረቃ ደኛ ሆኖ ያልተገኘና በዚህ አዋጅ አንቀጽ ፳፫/፲፩ መሠረት ወደ ጦር ሠራዊ ሲገባ ሲገባው ይህን ተገባራዊ ያላደረገ ሕገወጥ ታጣቂ ይሆናል ።
- ፪. የወረሳው ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ሕዝቡን በግብተኛነት ሕገወጥ ታጣቂዎችን በቁጥጥር ሥር እንዲውሉ ያደርጋል፤ ከወረሳው ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ወይም ከብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ አትም በላይ ሆኖ ጥሪ ከተደረገለት የግዕዝላዊ የሽግግር መገገሥት የሕገ ጥር መከላከያ ሠራዊት ሕገወጥ ታጣቂዎችን በቁጥጥር ሥር እንዲውሉ ያደርጋል ።

ምዕራፍ ሰባት  
ልዩ ልዩ ንጋሪዎች

፳፰. ስለ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ

- የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ፡
- ፩. ከምርጫ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ በሚሰጠው መመሪያ መሠረት በዚህ አዋጅ የተጻፉትን የወረሳ ጊዜ ያደ አስተዳደር ኮሚቴ አባላትን ያስመርጣል ፤
- ፪. ምርጫን በሚመለከት ስለግንኙነት የሥራ ክንዎን በየጊዜው ለምርጫ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ሪፖርት ያቀርባል ፤ እና
- ፫. የምርጫ ተገባር ከተፈጸመ በኋላ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳደሮች በብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳደሮች ግድግዳ ላይ አዋጅ ተገባር ፤/፲፱፻፹፯ መሠረት እስኪደረጁ ድረስ በጥቅም ያሉ ወረሳዎች በዚህ አዋጅ የተመደቡትን ሥራዎች እንዲያከናውኑ ያስተባብራል ፤ ይቆጣጠራል ፤ ይህን ተገባር በግክፍግን ረገድ ከመከላከያና የደንበኝነት ፖሊስ ቶራ ኮሚቴ አመራር ይቀበላል ።

፳፱. ስለ ኮሚቴዎች የሥራ ግንኙነት

- ፩. የምርጫ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ፡
  - ሀ) በዚህ አዋጅ አንቀጽ ፮/፱/ መሠረት ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ የሚሰጡ አባላትን ዝርዝር ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አትርቦ ያስፀድቃል ፤
  - ለ) በዚህ አዋጅ አንቀጽ ፮/፱/ በተመለከተው መሠረት ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ መመሪያ ይሰጣል ፤ ተገባራዊነቱን ይቆጣጠራል ፤
  - ሐ) ስለ ሥራው ሂደት በየጊዜው ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ሪፖርት ያቀርባል ፤

- 3. An army of any organization shall:
  - a) move, within a time to be specified, into a military camp allocated to it; and
  - b) live on a budget determined by the Government starting from the time it fully moved in.

26. *Illegally Armed Persons*

- 1. Any person referred to under Articles 10, 11, 12 and 23 (2) of this Proclamation who is not willing to surrender his arms and decline to move into military camps in accordance with Article 25 (2) of this Proclamation shall be an illegal arms bearer.
- 2. The Wereda Provisional Administration shall, by coordinating the people, put under arrest all illegal arms bearers. However, where it is beyond the capacity of the Wereda Provisional Administration or the National/Regional Election Committee, the State Defence Army of the Central Transitional Government shall, upon request, put under arrest the illegal arms bearers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

*Miscellaneous Provisions*

27. *The National/Regional Electoral Committee*

The National/Regional Electoral Committee:

- 1. shall cause the election of members of the Wereda <sup>kebece</sup> Provisional Administration Committee in accordance with directives to be issued to it by the Electoral Executive Committee;
- 2. shall submit report from time to time to the Electoral Executive Committee on matters concerning election; and
- 3. coordinate and supervise the weredas of the region in performing the duties assigned to them by this Proclamation until National/Regional Self-Governments are organized in accordance with the National/Regional Self-Governments Establishment Proclamation No. 7/1992; and shall, in this respect, receive guidance from the Defence and Security Policy Standing Committee, excepting matters relating to elections.

28. *Working Relations of Committees*

- 1. The Electoral Executive Committee shall:
  - a) submit for approval to the Council of Representatives the list of National/Regional Election Committee members in accordance with Article 6 (2) of this Proclamation;
  - b) issue directives to the National/Regional Electoral Committee in accordance with Article 6(4) of this Proclamation; and supervise its implementation;
  - c) submit report to the Council of Representatives concerning its activities;

210

- ፩. የመከላከያ የደንበኛ ፖሊስ ቋንቋ ኮሚቴ ፡
  - ሀ) የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስፈላጊ ኮሚቴ የፖሊስ ቋንቋ ተገባሪነት ከጠናቀቀ በኋላ ይህን አዋጅ በግብረሰብ ርዕይ ለጊዜያዊነት የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ አሰፈራ ይሰጣል ፡ በበላይነት ይቀጣጠራል ፡ ይከተላል ።
  - ለ) ከፖሊስ ቋንቋ በስተቀር በዚህ አዋጅ ሙሉ ረት በጥቅም ለሌሎች ቋንቋዎች ተገባሪነት በፖሊስ ዘው ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ሪፖርት ያቀርባል ።
- ፪. የመከላከያ የደንበኛ ፖሊስ ቋንቋ ኮሚቴ እና የፖሊስ አስፈላጊ ኮሚቴ ይህን አዋጅ በግብረሰብ ርዕይ በትንሹት ይሠራሉ ።

**፳፱. ት ግ ት**

ይህን አዋጅ የተላለፈ ወይም ሥራ ላይ እንዲያው ያስገባል ግንኙነት የብሔራዊ ነፃነት ግንባር ፣ የፖለቲካ ድርጅት ፣ ቡድን ፣ ጥላ ድርጅት ወይም ገለበጥ ለገባብ ባለው የወገኛዎች ሙሉ ሕግ ሙሉ ረት ይተግላል ።

**፳፲. ከሌሎች ሕጎች ጋር በላለው ትራኔ**

በዚህ አዋጅ ጋር የጊዜያዊ ግንኙነት ሕግ በዚህ አዋጅ ውስጥ በተለየ ጉዳዮች ላይ ተፈጻሚ አይሆንም ።

**፳፫. አዋጁን ተገባሪ ስለገደረገ**

በዚህ አዋጅ ላይ ላይ ያሳፈነው የተግባራዊ ለካላት አዋጅ ከፍበት ቀን ጀምሮ ከሠላሳ (፳) እስከ አርባ አምስት (፵፩) ባሉት ቀናት ውስጥ አዋጁን ተገባሪ ያደርጋል ።

**፳፬. አዋጁ የጊዜያዊነት ጊዜ**

ይህ አዋጅ በነጋሪት ጋዜጣ ታትሞ ከወጣበት ቀን ጀምሮ የፅና ይሆናል ።

አዲስ አበባ ጥር ፤ ቀን ፲፱፻፹፯  
ሙሉ ዘናዩ  
የኢትዮጵያ የሕግ ማንገሥት  
ፕሬዚዳንት

- 2. The Defence and the Security Policy Standing Committee shall:
  - a) provide guidance to the National/Regional Electoral Committee after the completion of its electoral activities in matters concerning the implementation of this Proclamation excepting matters relating to election; and make an overall supervision and follow up of same;
  - b) submit report periodically to the Council of Representatives on activities carried out in every region in accordance with this Proclamation other than election.
- 3. The Defence and Security Policy Standing Committee and the Electoral Executive Committee shall work out in coordination regarding the implementation of this Proclamation.

**29. Penalty**

Any National Liberation Front, Political Organization, groups, private organization or an individual who violates or obstructs the implementation of this Proclamation shall be punishable in accordance with relevant penal law.

**30. Conflict with Other Laws**

Any law inconsistent with this Proclamation shall not apply to matters covered under this Proclamation.

**31. Implementing the Proclamation**

Various organs given responsibility under this Proclamation shall implement this Proclamation within thirty (30) to forty-five (45) days starting from the effective date of the Proclamation.

**32. Effective Date**

This Proclamation shall be effective on the date of its publication in the Negarit Gazette.

Done at Addis Ababa, this 18th day of January, 1992  
**MELES ZENAWI**  
President of the Transitional  
Government of Ethiopia.

211

የኢትዮጵያ ሽግግር ወገን ሥልጣን

# ነጋሪት ጋዜጣ NEGARIT GAZETA

OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA

የአንድ ገጽ 0.60	በኢትዮጵያ ሽግግር ወገን ሥልጣን የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ተጠባባሪነት የወጣ	የገጽ ፲፱፻፹፩ ሩ. ቶሊ (፬፬,፬፬፯)
--------------	------------------------------------------------	--------------------------

ገ ወ ጌ

### CONTENTS

አዋጅ ቁጥር ፲፩፡፲፱፻፹፩ ዓ.ም.

የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ እና የወረዳ ምክር ቤቶች አባላት ምርጫ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚሽን ለግድግ የወጣ አዋጅ . . . ገጽ ፱፻

Proclamation No. 11 1992

A Proclamation to Provide for the Establishment of the National Regional and Wereda Councils Members Election Commission

Page 43

አዋጅ ቁጥር ፲፩፡፲፱፻፹፩ ዓ.ም.

የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ እና የወረዳ ምክር ቤቶች አባላት ምርጫ

አስፈጻሚ ኮሚሽን ለግድግ የወጣ አዋጅ

PROCLAMATION No. 11 1992

A PROCLAMATION TO PROVIDE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL REGIONAL AND WEREDA COUNCILS MEMBERS ELECTION COMMISSION

Proclamation No. 11 1992

A Proclamation To Provide For The Establishment Of The National Regional and Wereda Councils Members Election Commission

Whereas the right of each nation, nationality and people to foster, preserve and protect its own identity, to enrich its own culture and history and to use and develop its own language are guaranteed by the Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia;

Whereas these rights can only be achieved when the right of each nation, nationality and people to administer its own affairs within a defined geographical territory of its own and to effectively participate in the affairs of the Central Government on the basis of free, fair and appropriate representation is realized;

Whereas a proclamation defining regions, and establishing self-government and Councils has been issued with a view to implementing the said right of each nation, nationality and people to administer its own affairs as guaranteed by the Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia;

WHEREAS it is necessary to issue the appropriate law for conducting the election of members of the Council of each self-government at every level in accordance with the Proclamation previously issued;

NOW, THEREFORE, in accordance with Articles 9(d) and 13 of the Transitional Period Charter, it is hereby proclaimed as follows:

እያንዳንዱ ብሔር ፣ ብሔረሰብና ሕዝብ የራሱን ግንኙነት የማረጋገጥ ፣ የመጠበቅ እና የግልበዴ ፣ ባህሉንና ታሪኩን የግብልጫ እንዲሁም በጽንጻው የመጠቀም ጽንጻውን የማላደግ መብት በኢትዮጵያ የሽግግር ወቅት ጅርተር የተረጋገጠ በመሆኑ ፣

ይህም በተገባር የሚተረጎሙ እያንዳንዱ ብሔር ብሔረሰብና ሕዝብ በራሱ የተወሰነ መልክ ምድራዊ ክልል ውስጥ የራሱን ግድግ በራሱ የግብተኛ እንዲሁም በግዕዝ ላይው መንግሥት ውስጥ በነፃነት ፣ ለጽዳብ በሌለበትና ተገቢ የውክልና አገባብ ውጤታማ ተሳትፎ የግድረግ መብት በተገባር ሲገለጥ በመሆኑ ፣

ይህ የኢትዮጵያ የሽግግር ወቅት ጅርተር ብሔራዊ ብሔረሰቦችና ሕዝቦች ያረጋገጠውን የራሱን ግድግ በራሱ የግብተኛ ላይ መብት ተገባራዊ ለግድረግ ይቻላል ማድከሙን የሚወስን ፣ መስተላለፊያ ምክር ቤቶችን የሚያጽድቅ አዋጅ በግድግቱ ፣

በወጣው አዋጅ መሠረት በየደረጃው ያሉትን የመስጠት ተጽዕኖ ምክር ቤት አባላት ምርጫ ለግድግ ተገቢ ሕግ ግድግ ለአስፈላጊ በመሆኑ ፣

በሽግግር ወቅት ጅርተር አንተጽ ዘ/መ፡ እና ፲፩ መሠረት የሚከተለው ታወቅዋል ።

212



**8. የኮሚሽኑ ዓላማ**

የኮሚሽኑ ዓላማ ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊና የወረዳ ምክር ቤት የሕዝብ ተወካዮችን በቻርተሩና በዚህ ለጥጅ መሠረት ግለሰቦችና ፍርዳውን ግለሰብ ይሆናል ።

**9. የኮሚሽኑ ሥልጣንና ተግባር**

ኮሚሽኑ ተገባዩ የተዘረዘሩት ሥልጣንና ተግባራት ይኖረዋል ፤

- ፩. ይህን ለጥጅ በግንባ ሥራ ላይ ግጥምና የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊና ወረዳ ምክር ቤቶች ተመርጠው እንዲወከሉ መከታተል ፤
- ፪. ለፍርዳው አረጋጊ ለሰላሳ የሆኑ ሰነዶችን መሠረታዊ ግድግዳ ግብተላላፍ ፤
- ፫. በዚህ ለጥጅ በተደነገገው መሠረት በተለያዩ ደረጃ ኮሚቴዎች መጽደባቸውን ግረጋገጥ ፤
- ፬. ፍርዳውን ለግለሰብ የሚረዱ ቁሳቁሶች እዘጋጅቶ ግራጫት ፤
- ፭. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴን ሥራ መቆጣጠር ፤ በአጠቃላይ የሌሎች አስመራጭ ኮሚቴዎችን ሥራዎች በበላይነት መከታተል ፤ መቆጣጠር ፤
- ፮. ሕዝቡ በፍርዳው ሂደት ውስጥ ሰፊ ተሳትፎ እንዲያደርግ የሚረዱ ገለጻ መደረጉን ግረጋገጥ ፤ መከታተል ፤
- ፯. ፍርዳ ጣቢያዎችን ዝርዝር ቁጥር ግራጫት ፤ መዝገብ በሥርዓት መያዝ ፤
- ፰. ለፍርዳ የተመዘገቡ ዕድሜ ተወሳዳሪዎችን ዝርዝር መዝገብ በሥርዓት መያዝ ፤
- ፱. ተቀባይነት ያላቸው ዕድሜ ተወሳዳሪዎች ሁሉ መመዝገባቸውንና ተገቢውን የዕድሜ ተወሳዳሪነት የምስክር ወረቀት ግንኙነታቸውን ግረጋገጥ ፤
- ፲. ፍርዳዎች በትክክልና በነፃ መካሄዳቸውን ግረጋገጥ ፤ ስህተቶች እንዲታረሙ ግድረግ ፤
- ፲፩. በሥራው እንቅስቃሴ ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ሪፖርት ግብረብ ፤
- ፲፪. የኮሚሽኑን ጽሕፈት ቤትና የኮሚሽኑን ልዩ ልዩ ኮሚቴዎች የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ መኖራት ፤ ግለተኛ ግብር ፤
- ፲፫. ፍርዳውን ለግካሄድ የሚያስፈልጉ ሰነዶች ተዘጋጅተው መቅረባቸውንና ባዕታ ለክልሎች ፤ ለወረዳዎች ፤ ለፍርዳ ጣቢያዎችና ተበሌዎች መሠረዳታቸውን ግረጋገጥ ፤
- ፲፬. ከኮሚሽኑ የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ ጋር ገንዘብ ያላቸውን ስታትስቲካዊ መረጃዎች ሁሉ መልዕክት ፤ መሰብሰብ ፤ በሥርዓት ግክግጥ ፤
- ፲፭. የኮሚሽኑን ጽሕፈት ቤት የፋይናንስና የስፖርት ሪፖርት ግብረብ ።

**I. የኮሚሽኑ ድርጅታዊ መዋቅር**

- ኮሚሽኑ ፤
- ፩. የሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ፤
- ፪. ጽሕፈት ቤትና የጽሕፈት ቤቱ ኃላፊ ፤

**8. Objective of the Commission**

The objective of the Commission shall be to cause the election of people's deputies to National/Regional and Wereda Councils and conduct elections in accordance with the Charter and this Proclamation.

**9. Powers and Duties of the Commission**

The Commission shall have the following powers and duties:

- 1. to properly implement this Proclamation and follow-up the election and representation of people's deputies to National/Regional and Wereda Councils;
- 2. to prepare and transmit documents and directives necessary for holding elections;
- 3. to ensure the establishment of committees at different levels in accordance with this Proclamation;
- 4. to prepare and distribute provisions to facilitate the holding of elections;
- 5. to supervise the activities of the National/Regional Electoral Committee; to generally follow-up and supervise the activities of other electoral Committees;
- 6. to ensure that explanations helpful for achieving wider participation of the people in the election process are made; and to follow up same;
- 7. to organize, register and keep orderly the list and number of polling stations.
- 8. to register and keep orderly the list of prospective candidates registered for elections;
- 9. to ensure that all confirmed prospective candidates are registered and that they are issued with certificates of candidacy;
- 10. to ensure that fair and free elections are conducted and that irregularities are rectified;
- 11. to submit to the Council of Representatives reports on its activities;
- 12. to direct and coordinate the activities of the Secretariat and the various committees of the Commission;
- 13. to ensure the preparation and timely distribution of documents necessary for holding elections to regions, weredas, polling stations, and kebeles;
- 14. to collect, compile and keep orderly all statistical data related to the activities of the Commission;
- 15. to submit the financial and activity reports of the Secretariat of the Commission.

**10. Organizational Structure of the Commission**

The Commission shall have:

- 1. an Executive Committee;
- 2. a Secretariat and a Head of the Secretariat;

- ፪. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ፤
  - ፫. የወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ፤
  - ፬. የምርጫ ጣቢያ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ፤
- ይኖረዋል ።

**II. የኮሚሽን ጽ/ቤት ጋራ ሥልጣንና ተግባር**

- የኮሚሽን ጽሕፈት ቤት ጋራ**
- ፩. የኮሚሽን ጽ/ቤት የልዩ ልዩ ተከላኪ ኮሚቴዎችን የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ ይመራል ፤ ያስተባብራል ፤
  - ፪. ምርጫውን ለግክሄድ የሚያስፈልጉ ሰነዶች ተዘጋ ጅተው መቅረባቸውን እና በወቅቱ ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አካላት ፣ ለወረዳዎችና ለምርጫ ጣቢያዎች መሰራዊታቸውን ያረጋግጣል ፤
  - ፫. ከኮሚሽን የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ ጋር ግንኙነት ያላቸው ስታትስቲካዊ መረጃዎች ተሰብስበው በሥርዓት መያዛቸውን ያረጋግጣል ፤
  - ፬. ለሌሎች ጽ/ቤት ፈንገሳዎች ለሥራ ለስራ ለሥራ ኮሚቴ ሪፖርት ያቀርባል ፤
  - ፭. ከሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ የሚመደቡትን ሌሎች ተግባራት ያከናውናል ።

- III. የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ አባላት**
- የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ አባላት የሚሆኑት ፤**
- ፩. ከተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አባላት መካከል በተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ከተወካዮች ድርጅቶች የተውጣጡ ፤ አባላት ይሆናሉ ።
  - ፪. የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴው ሊቀ መንበር ፣ ምክትል ሊቀ መንበር እና ሌላ ይኖረዋል ።

- IV. የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ ሥልጣንና ተግባር**
- የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ በዚህ ለዋጅ መሠረት ለኮሚሽን የተሰጠው ሥልጣንና ተግባር ይኖረዋል ።**

- V. የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ ሰብሰባዎች**
- ፩. የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ የሚሰበሰበው ሊቀ መንበሩ ወይም ለሌላ ምክትል ሊቀ መንበሩ ሲጠራ ወይም ከአባላት አንድ ለስተኛው ሲጠይቁ ነው ።
  - ፪. ለብዛኛው የኮሚቴ አባላት በሰብሰባው ከተገኙ ያልገኙ ጉባኤ ይሆናል ።
  - ፫. የኮሚቴው ውሳኔ ቢያቆም ብልጫ ይሆናል ።

- VI. የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ ሊቀ መንበር ሥልጣንና ተግባር**
- የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ ሊቀ መንበር ፤**
- ፩. የኮሚቴውን ሰብሰባ ይመራል ፤
  - ፪. ኮሚሽንና በዚህ ለዋጅ መሠረት የተጻፉትን የሌሎች ኮሚቴዎችን የሥራ እንቅስቃሴዎች ይቆጣጠራል ፤
  - ፫. በአጠቃላይ የኮሚሽን እንቅስቃሴ ያስተባብራል ፤
  - ፬. ለሌሎች የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ሪፖርት ያቀርባል ።

- VII. የምክትል ሊቀ መንበሩ ሥልጣንና ተግባር**
- የሥራ ለስራ ኮሚቴ ምክትል ሊቀ መንበር ፤**
- ፩. ሊቀ መንበሩ በሌሎች ጊዜ የኮሚቴውን ሰብሰባ ይመራል ፤ የሊቀ መንበሩን ሌሎች ተግባራት ያከናውናል ።

- 3. National/Regional Electoral Committee;
- 4. Woreda Electoral Committee;
- 5. Polling Station Electoral Committee.

**11. Powers and Duties of the Head of the Secretariat of the Commission**

The Head of the Secretariat of the Commission shall:

1. direct and coordinate the activities of the Secretariat of the Commission and the various technical committees;
2. ensure the preparation and timely distribution of documents necessary for holding elections to National/Regional organs, woredas, and polling stations;
3. ensure that statistical data related to the activities of the Commission are collected and kept orderly;
4. submit to the Executive Committee the financial and activity reports of the Secretariat of the Commission;
5. perform other activities to be assigned to him by the Executive Committee.

**12. Members of the Executive Committee**

1. The Executive Committee shall have ten members of the Council of Representatives who shall be drawn from organizations represented in the Council of Representatives.
2. The Executive Committee shall have a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a Secretary.

**13. Powers and Duties of the Executive Committee**

The Executive Committee shall exercise the powers and duties vested in the Commission by virtue of this Proclamation.

**14. Meetings of the Executive Committee**

1. The Executive Committee shall meet when called by the Chairman, or in his absence, by the Vice Chairman, or when requested by a one-third of the members of the Committee.
2. There shall be quorum for the meetings of the Committee when the majority of the members are present.
3. The decisions of Committee shall be made by a majority vote.

**15. Powers and Duties of the Chairman of the Executive Committee**

The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall:

1. preside over the meetings of the committee;
2. supervise the activities of the Commission and other committees established in accordance with this Proclamation;
3. coordinate in general the activities of the Commission;
4. submit to the Council of Representatives reports on the activities of the Commission.

**16. Powers and Duties of the Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee**

The Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee shall:

1. preside over the meetings of the Committee and perform the other functions of the Chairman in the absence of the latter;

8. ሊቀ-መንበሩ የሥራ ለሰሪዎች ኮሚቴ የሚሰጡ ደብዳቤዎችን ለሌሎች ተገባሪነት ያስያዛል ።

**II. የኮሚቴው ደህረ ሥልጣንና ተገባር**

የሥራ ለሰሪዎች ኮሚቴ ደህረ ።

- 8. የሰብሰባ ታላቅ ማህበረሰብን ለማሰባሰብ ማዘጋጀት ።
- 9. ሊቀ-መንበሩን ለማረጋገጥ ወይንም ለሌላ ሰው ለማረጋገጥ ማዘጋጀት ።
- 10. የሥራ ለሰሪዎች ኮሚቴ ለሊቀ-መንበሩ ወይንም ለሌላ ሰው ለማረጋገጥ ማዘጋጀት ።

**IS. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ለሰጠጥ ኮሚቴ ለባላት**

- 8. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ለሰጠጥ ኮሚቴ ለባላት ሰጥኝ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት የሚያስፈልገውን ሥልጣን ለሰጠጥ ኮሚቴ ለሰጠጥ ሰጥኝ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።
- 9. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ለሰጠጥ ኮሚቴ ለባላት ሰጥኝ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።

**IS. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ለሰጠጥ ኮሚቴ ሥልጣንና ተገባር**

- 1. ለሥራ ለሰሪዎች ኮሚቴ ለሰጠጥ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።
- 2. የወረዳውን ለሰጠጥ ኮሚቴ ለሰጠጥ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።
- 3. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ስልጣን ለሰጠጥ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።
- 4. የወረዳውን ለሰጠጥ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።
- 5. የወረዳውን ለሰጠጥ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።
- 6. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ስልጣን ለሰጠጥ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።
- 7. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ስልጣን ለሰጠጥ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።
- 8. የተካሄደውን ስልጣን ለሰጠጥ ስልጣን ለማሰጠት ።

2. perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Chairman and the Executive Committee.

**17. Powers and Duties of the Secretary of the Executive Committee**

The Secretary of the Executive Committee shall:

- 1. ensure that the minutes of meetings are prepared, approved, and properly kept;
- 2. represent the Executive Committee, in consultation with the Chairman, and in his absence, with the Vice-Chairman, in its dealings with third parties;
- 3. perform such other duties as the Executive Committee, the Chairman, or Vice-Chairman may specifically assign to him.

**18. Members of the National/Regional Electoral Committee**

- 1. The National/Regional Electoral Committee shall comprise of members representing the main political forces in the nation and a representative to be assigned by the Executive Committee. The number of the members shall be determined by the Executive Committee.
- 2. The members of the National/Regional Electoral Committee may not be eligible for election.

**19. Powers and Duties of the National/Regional Electoral Committee**

- 1. establish, direct, coordinate and supervise the activities of the Wereda Electoral Committee;
- 2. ensure the preparation and distribution to the Wereda Electoral Committee of document and provisions necessary for holding elections to the National/regional Council;
- 3. ensure that explanations and other preparations necessary for holding elections are carried out;
- 4. register the list of voters and candidates submitted to it by the Wereda Electoral Committee;
- 5. facilitate the nomination of candidates, ensure that they have obtained the necessary support;
- 6. forward to the Executive Committee the list of prospective candidates for National/Regional elections and prospective candidates submitted to it by the Wereda Electoral Committee;
- 7. examine and decide on irregularities and grievances related to the election process within the National/Regional territory;
- 8. ensure that the National/Regional and Wereda elections are held in accordance with the Charter, this Proclamation and directives issued hereunder;

- II. ከወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴዎች የተረጋገጡትን የምርጫ ውጤትና ሪፖርት ለሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ያስተላልፋል።
- III. በወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴዎች የተላለፉትን ከብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ክልሉ ውስጥ የተመረጡትን የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ ምክር ቤት አባላትን ምርጫ ለጸደቀው ያሳውቃል።
- IV. በለሥራው እንቅስቃሴ ለሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ሪፖርት ያቀርባል።
- V. የሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ የሚመድብለትን ሌሎች ተግባራት ያከናውናል።

**8. የወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ሥልጣንና ተግባር**

- እያንዳንዱ የወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ከብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ በሚሰጠው መሪያ መሠረት፤
- ሀ. በወረዳው ክልል ውስጥ ያሉትን የምርጫ ጣቢያዎች አስመራጭ ኮሚቴዎች ይመራል፤ ያስተባባራል፤ ይቆጣጠራል።
  - ለ. ምርጫውን ለግክሄድ የተዘጋጁ በነጻነትና ቅጥራት ለምርጫ ጣቢያ ኮሚቴዎች ያከፋፍላል።
  - ሐ. በወረዳው ክልል ውስጥ ምርጫ ለግክሄድ የሚረጉ ገለጻዎችና ሌሎች ማገደቶች ሁሉ በአግባቡ መከናወናቸውን ያረጋግጣል።
  - ከ. በወረዳው ውስጥ ያሉትን የምርጫ ጣቢያዎች ምርጫ ስታ ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ያሳውቃል።
  - ወ. ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አወራሪ ምክር ቤቶች የተረጋገጡ ፅዕን ተወጻጻሪዎችን የሰጡ ምርጫ ለሚመለከታቸው የምርጫ ጣቢያ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴዎች ያስተላልፋል።
  - ደ. በወረዳው ውስጥ በምርጫ ከገጠነ ወትት የተከሰቱ ለኋላተገባር እባይተዎችን ወርምሮ ይወስናል።

- 9. forward to the Executive Committee election results and reports submitted to it by the Wereda Electoral Committees;
- 10. publicise the list of members of the National/Regional Council elected in the National/Regional territory forwarded to it by the Wereda Electoral Committee;
- 11. submit to the Executive Committee reports on its activities;
- 12. perform other duties as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee.

**20. Powers and Duties of the Wereda Electoral Committee**

Each Wereda Electoral Committee shall, in accordance with the directives of the National/Regional Electoral Committee:

- 1. direct, coordinate and supervise the Polling Station Electoral Committees in the Wereda;
- 2. distribute to Polling Station Electoral Committees documents and materials necessary for holding elections;
- 3. ensure that explanations and other preparations necessary for holding elections in the wereda are properly carried out;
- 4. notify to the National/Regional Electoral Committee the list and site of polling stations in the wereda;
- 5. transmit to the relevant Polling Station Electoral Committee the list of prospective candidates to National/Regional and Wereda Councils;
- 6. examine and decide on irregularities and grievances arising in connection with elections in the wereda;

20. የምርጫ ጣቢያ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ሥልጣንና ተገባር
- እያንዳንዱ የምርጫ ጣቢያ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ከወረዳው አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ በጊዜው መሪያ መሠረት፤
- ሀ. በምርጫ ጣቢያው ድምፅ ለመስጠት አስፈላጊ ህግ ጅቶች መከናወናቸውን ያረጋግጣል፤
  - ለ. ከወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ የተላለፉትን ሰነዶችና ቁጥቶች ተቀብሎ በተገቢው መንገድ ሥራ ላይ ያውላል፤
  - ሐ. ድምፅ ለወደቀችን ይመዘገባል፤ የምዝገባ ምስክር ወረቀት ይሰጣል፤
  - ተ. የድምፅ ለወደቀችን መዝገብ ይጠብቃል፤ ይገኝበባ ከባል፤
  - ሐ. ሕዝቡ እንዲያውና እንዲመረጥረው የድምፅ ለወደቀችን መዝገብ ግልጽና አሙኒ በሆነ ቦታ ያስተምጣል፤
  - ከ. በምርጫ ጣቢያ በምርጫ ክንውን ወቅት የተከለከሉ ስልተተኞችና የተረቡ አቤታታዎችን መርምሮ ይወስናል፤
  - ዘ. ስለምርጫው ሥነ ሥርዓት ለሕዝብ ያሰረዳል፤
  - ረ. ሀ) የድምፅ ለወደቀች ምስጢር ድምፅ በጊዜው በት ጊዜ መጠበቅ፤
    - ለ) ለድምፅ መስጫ ጥጥ ጥቢያ ተገቢ ርምጃ መወሰድ፤
    - ለ. ለድምፅ መስጫ ጣቢያው ትጥር ግቢ ውስጥ የታጠቁ የጥቢያ ዝብ አለመሠግራታቸውንና ድምፅ ለወደቀው መግሪያ አለመያዙን፤
    - መ) ለድምፅ መስጫ ጣቢያው የወረዳው የድምፅ ለወደቀች ዝርዝር ትዩ ማኖሩን፤ ያረጋግጣል።
  - ረ. በምርጫ ቀን ድምፅ እንዲሰጥ ያደርጋል፤ የወረዳውን አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ድምፅ ቆጠራ ላይ ያገዛል፤
  - ረ. በምርጫ ጣቢያው ስለምርጫው አረጋጋጭ ሂደት ለወረዳው አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ሪፖርት ያቀርባል፤
  - ረ. ከወረዳው አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ለተላለፉት ሰነድ ሪፖርት የተመረጡትን የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ዝርዝር ለሕዝብ ያሳውቃል፤
  - ረ. የወረዳው አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ የሚመደቡበትን ሌሎች ተገባራት ያከናውናል።

ምዕራፍ ሶስት  
ስለምርጫ ሂደት  
ክፍል አንድ  
ስለምርጫ ክልሎች

21. የምርጫ ወረዳዎች

የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳደሮችን ለግዳጃዎቻቸው በወጣው ለዋጅ ትጥር 2/1992 የተደገመው የኢትዮጵያ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳደር ወረዳዎች ለዚህ ለዋጅ አረጋጋጭ የምርጫ ወረዳዎች ይሆናሉ።

21. Powers and Duties of the Polling Station Electoral Committee

Each Polling Station Electoral Committee shall, in accordance with the directives of the Wereda Electoral Committee:

1. ensure that preparations necessary for voting are made at the polling station;
2. receive and make proper use of documents and material dispatched to it from the Wereda Electoral Committee;
3. register voters and issue them with registration cards;
4. keep and properly maintain the register of voters;
5. keep the register of voters in a conspicuous place convenient for public viewing and inspection;
6. examine and decide on irregularities and grievances arising in connection with the election process in the polling station;
7. familiarize the people with election procedures;
8. ensure that:
  - a) the Secrecy of balloting is kept;
  - b) proper measures are taken to protect the safety of ballot boxes;
  - c) no members of armed guards are present in the premises of the polling station, and that the voter is not armed;
  - d) the list of voters of the wereda is kept at the polling station.
9. Conduct voting on election day and assist the Wereda Electoral Committee in the counting of votes;
10. submit to the Wereda Electoral Committee reports on the conduct of election in the polling station;
11. publicize the list of people's deputies elected in the wereda upon transmission to it by the Wereda Electoral Committee;
12. perform other duties assigned to it by the Wereda Electoral Committee.

Chapter Three

The Election Process

Part One

Constituencies

22. Constituencies

Weredas of each National/Regional Self-Government established in accordance with the National/Regional Self-Governments Establishment Proclamation No. 7/1992 shall be deemed to be constituencies for the purpose of this Proclamation.

**፩። የተመራጮች ቁጥር**

- ፩. የአገልግሎት የብሔራዊ መስተዳድር ወረዳ ሕዝብ ለብሔራዊ ምክር ቤትና ለወረዳው ምክር ቤት ወኪሉን ይመርጣል ። የመረጫና የተመራጭ ጥያቄ ረት በዝርዝር መመሪያ በኮሚሽን ይወሰናል ።
- ፪. የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መስተዳድርን ለግደዳዎ በወጣው አዎጅ ቁጥር ፤ ለገደዳዩ አገታዊ ፩፤ የተደነገገው እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ ለዚህ አዎጅ አረጋጊያዎ ከተዋቸ ባሉባቸው ወረዳዎች አስተዳደርን ውስጥ ይጠቃላሉ ።

**፪። ለዩ ሁኔታ**

በወረዳው ውስጥ የሚገኙ ለኃላ ብሔረሰቦች ቀጥራቸው ቢያንስም እንኳን ለብሔራዊ ተዋጽኦ ሲባል በወረዳው ሽንገን አገባብ ያለው ውክልና ይኖራቸዋል ።

**፫። የመረጫነት መመዘኛ ነጥቦች**

- ፩. ሊትዮጵያዊ የሆነ ፣
- ፪. በምርጫው ቀን ዕድሜው ፲፰ (አሥራ ስምንት) ዓመት የሚያሳው ወይም ከዚያ በላይ የሆነ ፣
- ፫. የሚወሰድበትን የፖለቲካ እርምጃ በመስጠት ፣ ወይም በነበረው መንግሥት ላይ የትጥቅ ትግል ለግካሄድ ወይም ቢሥራ ወይም ለትምህርት ከምርጫ ክልሉ ተለይቶ የቆየ ሰው ካልሆነ በስተቀር ፣ ከምርጫው ዕለት አስተዳደር ከሁለት ዓመት በላይ መሥሪያ ነዋሪነቱ በምርጫ ክልሉ የሆነ ፣
- ፬. ለምዝገባ የሚያስፈልጉት ቅድመ ሁኔታዎችን የሟላ ሰው የመምረጥ መብት አለው ።

**፬። የውብት ገደብ**

የአሠጥ ወይም የደንገነት አባል የነበረ ፣ በተሐድሶ ኮሚሽን ገርሶበ ያላለ ወታደር ፣ በኖርድ የተወሰነበትን የሥራ ትግት በሠራጊያ ላይ ያለ ፣ ወይም የአእምሮ ሕመምተኛ የሆነ ሰው የመምረጥ መብት የለውም ።

**፭። ስለነፃ ምርጫ ለካሄድ**

ነፃና ሰላማዊ ምርጫ ለግካሄድና ዲሞክራሲያዊ የምርጫ ሂደት እንዲኖሩት ፣ አመቺ ሁኔታ ለመፍጠር ግዳቸውም የመንግሥት ፣ የሌሎችም የተደራጁ ታጣቂ ጋደሎችና ገለበጠች ምርጫው ከመጀመሩ ቢያንስ ከሁለት ሳምንት አስተዳደር ከምርጫው ለካሄድ ፣ ከሰባሰባ ቦታዎችና ከሕዝብ መወያያ ለካሄድ ይገለጻል ። የምርጫው ሥነ ሥርዓት በሰላማዊ የፖሊስ አባሎች ይከበራል ። ሰላማዊ የፖሊስ ጋደሎ በአካባቢው የምርጫ አስፈጻሚ ከሚቱ ቀጥጥር ሥራውን ያከናውናል ። ሆኖም ከሥነ ሥርዓት አስከባሪ ኮሚቴ ለትምህርት በላይ የሆነ ሁኔታ ሲኖረው የምርጫ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ ከመንግሥት ፅርዓት ይጠቃልል ።

**ከዚህ ሁለት ለመምረጥ ስለመመዘኛ**

**፮። በመረጫነት ለመመዘኛ የሚያስፈልጉት ቅድመ ሁኔታዎች**

**23. Number of Deputies**

- 1. The people of each Wereda of each National Self-Government shall elect their deputies to the National Council and the Wereda Council. The correlation of the electors and the elected shall be determined by detailed directives to be issued by the Commission.
- 2. Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 8(2) of the National, Regional Self-Government Establishment Proclamation No. 7, 1992, towns shall be incorporated into their respective administrative weredas for the purposes of this Proclamation.

**24. Special Cases**

Minorities in the Wereda shall be properly represented in the Wereda Council for purposes of National representation notwithstanding the size their population.

**25. Right to Vote**

Any person who:

- 1. is an Ethiopian citizen;
- 2. attains eighteen (18) years of age or above on the date of election;
- 3. has been a *bona fide* resident in the constituency for at least two (2) years immediately preceding the election, except where he had left that constituency as a result of political persecution, or to engage in an armed struggle against the previous regime, or to study or work elsewhere;
- 4. fulfills the preconditions for registration; shall have the right to elect.

**26. Restriction of Rights**

No former member of the WPE, or of the security or of the armed forces who has not undergone the reeducation process of the Rehabilitation Commission, or person serving a sentence imposed by a court or a person who is insane shall have the right to elect.

**27. Free Elections**

All armed groups and individuals, whether of the governments or of other bodies shall withdraw from the vicinity of polling stations, meeting places, and places of public discussion at least two weeks before the day of election to facilitate conditions for free and peaceful elections and to create conditions conducive for avoiding obstructions to the democratic election process. Order during election shall be maintained by members of the police. The police force shall carry out its duties under the supervision of the Electoral Committee of the locality, provided, however, that the Electoral Committee may request the assistance of the government in cases where the situation is beyond its control.

**Part Two**

**Registration For voting**

**28. Preconditions for Registration as a Voter**

በዚህ አዋጅ አንቀጽ 85 የተደነገጉትን ቅድመ ሁኔታዎች ያሟላ ግኝታዎቹ ለው በሚደበኙበት (Domicile) በሚኖርበት የምርጫ ጣቢያ በምዝገባ ወትትና በግንኛ ወያ ምዝገባ ላይ የጣቢያው መዝጋቢ ጋላጊ ዘንድ ራሱ ለመገኘት ለመቻሉ ለመዝገብ ይችላል ።

**8. የመራሮች መዝገብ ደዘት**

የሚከተሉትን አርጠት ለመሙላት የሚያስችሉ አዎ አዎ ያሉት የመራሮች መዝገብ ይኖራል ፤

- ፩. የምዝገባ ተራ ቁጥር ፤
- ፪. የምዝገባ ቀን ፤
- ፫. ስያ የለባትና የወንድ ስያ ፤
- ፬. እድሜ ፤
- ፭. ጾታ ፤
- ፮. ብሔር/ብሔረሰብ ፤
- ፯. በክልሉ በሚደበኙበት የኖረበት ወትት ልክ ወይም በአንቀጽ 85 /ዩ/ በተደነገገው ልዩ ሁኔታ ተመዝጋቢው የነበረበት ቦታና ያካንያቱ ፤
- ፰. ካሁኑ ነዋሪነት በረዕይ ለስቀድሞ ይኖርበት የነበረበት ቦታ ፤
- ፱. የምዝገባ ቁጥር ፤
- ፲. የምዝገባው ዕለት የአውራ ጣት ወይም የጽሕፈት ፈርግ ፤
- ፲፩. የምርጫው ወትት የአውራ ጣት ወይም የጽሕፈት ፈርግ ፤
- ፲፪. ለአስፈላጊ ሥራ ሁለት ተወግሮ አዎአች ።

9. የመራሮች የምርጫ መዝገብ በምርጫ ጣቢያ ስለመኖሩ በምርጫው ወረቀት ውስጥ ያለው እያንዳንዱ የምርጫ ጣቢያ የራሱ የመራሮች መዝገብ ይኖረዋል ።

10. የምዝገባ ገደብ ግንባታ ለው ከአንድ ጊዜና ቦታ በላይ አይመዘገብም ።

11. የተመዝጋቢነት ግለጫ በአግባቡ ለመተዘዝ ግኝታዎቹ ለው የተመዝጋቢነት ግለጫ ይሰጣል ።

**12. ለመራጭነት ለመመዝገብ ያልተፈቀደለት ሰው ተቃዋሚ**

- ፩. ለመራጭነት ለመመዝገብ ያልተፈቀደለት ግንኛ ወያ ሰው የመመዝገቢያው ቀን ከግለጹ በፊት በግንኛው ጊዜ ለምርጫ ጣቢያ ለመራጭ ኮሚቴ ቅሬታውን ሊያቀርብ ይችላል ።
- ፪. የምርጫ ጣቢያ ለመራጭ ኮሚቴም የቀረበለትን ቅሬታ በወትት ያጣራል ።
- ፫. ቅሬታ አቅራቢው ለቤተታው ያልተሰጠለት እንደ ሆነ ወይም ለቤተታው ገብረባል በአዎስት ቀናት ውስጥ ያልተጣራለት እንደሆነ ለወረቀት ለመራጭ ኮሚቴ ለቤተታው ሊያቀርብ ይችላል ።

**13. የመራሮችን መዝገብ ለሕዝብ ግልጽ ስለግድግ**

የመራሮች ምዝገባ የተወሰነው ጊዜ እንዳይቆይ ወይም ወገን የምርጫ መዝገብ ለሰባት ቀናት ለሕዝብ ግልጽ ይደረጋል ።

Any person who fulfills the preconditions set forth under Article 25 hereof may register as a voter by presenting himself personally before the Registration Officer of any polling station of which he is a resident at any registration hour during the registration period.

**29. Contents of the Register of Voters**

There shall be a register of voters with columns to fill in the following particulars:

1. serial number of registration;
2. date of registration;
3. name, father's and paternal grandfather's name of the voter;
4. age;
5. sex;
6. nation/nationality;
7. length of time during which the voter resided in the constituency, or in the special case provided for under Article 25(3) of this Proclamation, the place in which the voter resided and the reason thereof;
8. place of residence immediately prior to the present one (if any);
9. number of registration;
10. the thumb mark or the signature of the voter on the date of registration;
11. the thumb mark or the signature of the voter on the date of election;
12. two columns for other purposes.

**30. Keeping Register of Voters at Polling Station**

Each polling station in the constituency shall have its own register of voters.

**31. Limitations of Registration**

No person may be registered as a voter more than once, or in more than one place.

**32. Certificate of Registration**

A certificate of registration shall be issued to any person properly registered

**33. Objection of Person Refused to be Registered as a Voter**

1. Any person who has been refused to be registered as a voter may present his grievance to the Polling Station Electoral Committee at any time before the deadline for registration expires.
2. The Polling Station Electoral Committee shall duly investigate the grievance.
3. The person aggrieved may appeal his case to the Wereda Electoral Committee where his grievance is not heard, or is not investigated within five (5) days of the submission of his grievance.

**34. Public Display of Register of Voters**

The register of voters shall be kept open to the public for three days immediately after the end of registration.



**፩. አቤቱታ ስለግቅረብ**

በዕውነት ለመመዘን ያቀረበው ጥያቄ ተቀባይነት ያጣ በት ለው ወይም በዕውነት እንዲመዘንበት የጠቀሰው ሰው ያልተመዘንበለት የፖለቲካ ድርጅት ጥያቄው ተቀባይነት ግጣቱን ባወቀ የአሥር ቀናት ውስጥ አቤቱታ ወን ለወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ሊያቀርብ ይችላል ።

**፪. የቀረበውን አቤቱታ ለመመርመር**

የወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ የቀረበውን ቅሬታ የሚመረጥ ምርቦት ቀን ወስኖ እና ያቀረበለትን አስረገጠውን መረጃ መርምሮ ኮሚቴውን ቀን ባለበለጠ ጊዜ ውስጥ ይወስናል ።

**፫. ወደሚቀጥለው አካል አቤቱታ ስለግቅረብ**

በወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ውሳኔ ያልተሰጠው ሰው ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ የውሳኔው ግልጣት እንደሚረሰው ወዲያው አቤቱታውን ሊያቀርብ ይችላል ።

**፬. የመወረዳ ውሳኔ**

የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ውሳኔ የመወረዳ ህግ አስረገጠው ግለሰብ ወይም ግለሰብ ለወረዳ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ይላካል ።

**፭. ውሳኔ የሚሰጥበት ጊዜ**

የብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ በአቤቱታው ላይ በአምስት ቀናት ጊዜ ውስጥ ውሳኔ ይሰጣል ፤ ይህም ለህግ በምንም ዓይነት የተመራመሩ የመወረዳው ስም ዝርዝር ለሕዝብ ከመገለጹ በፊት መሆን አለበት ።

**፮. የዕውቀትን ስም ዝርዝር ለሕዝብ ስለመገለጽ**

የዕውቀት ስም ዝርዝር በአስተገግኝ ከመረጋገጡ በፊት የተጠቀሙ ዕውቀት ስም ዝርዝር በምርጫ ጣቢያዎች አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ አግካይነት በምርጫ ወረዳ ውስጥ ባሉ ምርጫ ጣቢያዎች ህንጻ ይለጠፋል ።

**፯. ተቃዋሚ ስለግቅረብ**

የተጠቀሙዎች ስም ዝርዝር በተለጠፈ በሰበት ቀናት ውስጥ ግንኛውም የተመዘገበ መረጃ የግንኛውንም ሰው የዕውነት በመቃወም ቅሬታውን በጽሑፍ ለወረዳው አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ግቅረብ ይችላል ።

**፰. በተቃዋሚ ላይ ውሳኔ የሚሰጥበት ጊዜ**

የወረዳው አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ቅሬታ በቀረበለት በሰበት ቀናት ውስጥ በገዳይ ላይ ውሳኔ መስጠት አለበት ።

**፱. ወደሚቀጥለው አካል አቤቱታ ስለግቅረብ**

በወረዳው አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ውሳኔ የግደብግግ ቅሬታ አቅራቢ ውሳኔ በተሰጠ በሰበት ቀናት ውስጥ ለብሔራዊ ክልላዊ አስመራጭ ኮሚቴ ቅሬታውን ሊያቀርብ ይችላል ።

**፲፩. ቅስቀሳ ስለግቅረብ**

፩. የመወረዳው የዕውቀት ስም ዝርዝር ለሕዝብ ገልጽ ከተደረገ በኋላ ብቻ ዕውቀት ወይም በሌላ ግለሰብ የተሰጠው ወይንም ወይም የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች ቅስቀሳ ለግቅረብ ይችላሉ ።

**62. Submission of Petition**

Any person whose application for candidacy has been refused, or any political organization whose nominee for candidature has been rejected may present his or its grievance to the Wereda Electoral Committee within ten (10) days from the date on which he or it become aware of the rejection of the application.

**63. Examination of Petitions**

The Wereda Electoral Committee shall fix a day for hearing the grievance presented to it, and shall after examining the necessary evidence, decide on the grievance within five (5) days.

**64. Appeal**

Any person aggrieved by the decision of the Wereda Electoral Committee may appeal to the National, Regional Electoral Committee as soon as he receives a copy of such decision.

**65. Final Decision**

The decision of the National, Regional Electoral Committee shall be final and the necessary corrections or evidence shall be transmitted to the Wereda Electoral Committee.

**66. Time for Rendering Decisions**

The National, Regional Electoral Committee shall decide on such appeal within five days and in no case shall it be later than the date of disclosure of the final list of candidates to the public.

**67. Publicizing the List of Candidates**

Before the confirmation of candidates, the list of nominees for candidacy shall be posted by the Polling Station Electoral Committees in polling stations within the wereda constituency.

**68. Objections**

Any registered voter who objects to the nomination of any candidate may lodge his objection in writing to the Wereda Electoral Committee within three days of the posting of the list of candidates.

**69. Time for Rendering Decision on Objection**

The Wereda Electoral Committee shall decide on the objection within three days of receipt of such objection.

**50. Appeal**

Any person aggrieved by the decision of the Wereda Electoral Committee on his objection may appeal to the National, Regional Electoral Committee within three days of the making of the decision.

**51. Campaigning**

1. Campaigning may be carried out by candidates, their duly appointed representatives, or political organizations only after the final list of candidates is publicized.

722

- ፩. አገባብ ባላቸው የጾርተው እንቅስቃሴ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።
- ፪. ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ወይንም ሌላ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ወይንም ሌላ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የሚሆኑት ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።

**፳፪. ሥነ ሥርዓታዊ ደንቦች**

ኮሚሽኑ ከፍርድ ጋር የተያያዘ ዝርዝር የሥራ ስልጠና ሥነ ሥርዓታዊ ደንቦችን ያዘጋጃል ፤ ለፍርድ ቤቅ ለትርጉም ያስፈልጋል ። የፍርድ ሥርዓታዊ ደንቦችን ያዘጋጃል ።

**የዕረፍ ስራት**  
**ለፍ ለፍ ደንቦች**

**፳፫. ሰነድ ለመሥሪያ**

የብሔራዊ ዘመናዊ የዕረፍ ስራት ስርዓት ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።

**፳፬. የመተባበር ግዴታ**

ግንኙነት የሚገኝበት ሁኔታ ሲሆን ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።

**፳፭. ቅጣት**

ይህ ስርዓት ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።

**፳፮. ከሌሎች ስርዓቶች ጋር በላይ ቅጣት**

ከዚህ ስርዓት ጋር የሚደረግ ግንኙነት ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።

**፳፯. ለገባብ ገንዘብ ማረጋገጫ**

ይህ ስርዓት በገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።

ለዚህ ስርዓት ጋር የተያያዘ ስርዓት ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።

መለስ ዜናዊ

የኢትዮጵያ የሕግ ማረጋገጫ ስርዓት ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።

ፕ	፩	5. 17	9. 29	11. 29
፳፮	24	6. 14	10. 6	12. 7
	126a	7. 21		13.
	214	8. 16		14.

የገጠማ ስራ ስርዓት ለገባብ ገንዘብ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ለገባብ ማረጋገጫ ይካሄዳል ።  
BERHANEMIA SELAM PRINTING PRESS

- 2. Campaigning shall be carried out in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter openly and with no restrictions.
- 3. Campaign speeches, publications, pamphlets, or posters distributed by candidates, their duly appointed representatives, or their political organization shall not affect the rights of other candidates.

**52. Procedural Regulations**

The Commission shall prepare and present to the Council of Representatives for approval, detailed procedural rules of implementation relating to elections; it shall organize provisions for the election.

**Chapter Four**

**Miscellaneous Provisions**

**53. Allocating Budget**

The Central Transitional Government shall allocate to the Commission the necessary budget for holding elections of National/Regional and Wereda Councils.

**54. Duty to Cooperate**

Any government office, national liberation front, political party or group, private organization and individual has the duty to cooperate in a matter concerning the implementation:

**55. Penalty**

Whoever obstructs the implementation of this Proclamation shall be punishable in accordance with the appropriate penal law.

**56. Conflict with other laws**

Any law which is inconsistent with this Proclamation shall not apply to matters provided for in this Proclamation.

**57. Effective Date**

This Proclamation shall come into force on the date of its publication in the Negarit Gazette.

Done at Addis Ababa, this 8th day of February, 1992.

**MELES ZENAWI**

*President of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia*

123

# JOINT DECLARATION

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE  
ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY  
DEMOCRATIC FRONT  
( EPRDF )

AND THE  
OROMO LIBERATION FRONT  
( OLF )

The EPRDF and the OLF, concerned about the grave security situation in certain areas of the country, aware of the need for vigilance and co-operation to safeguard and strengthen the gains of the struggle against oppression and dictatorship, committed to the charter and the successful fulfilment of the objectives of the transition, met on February 18-20 to appraise the progress of events in the country and the development of their relations and have come out with the following positive agreements.

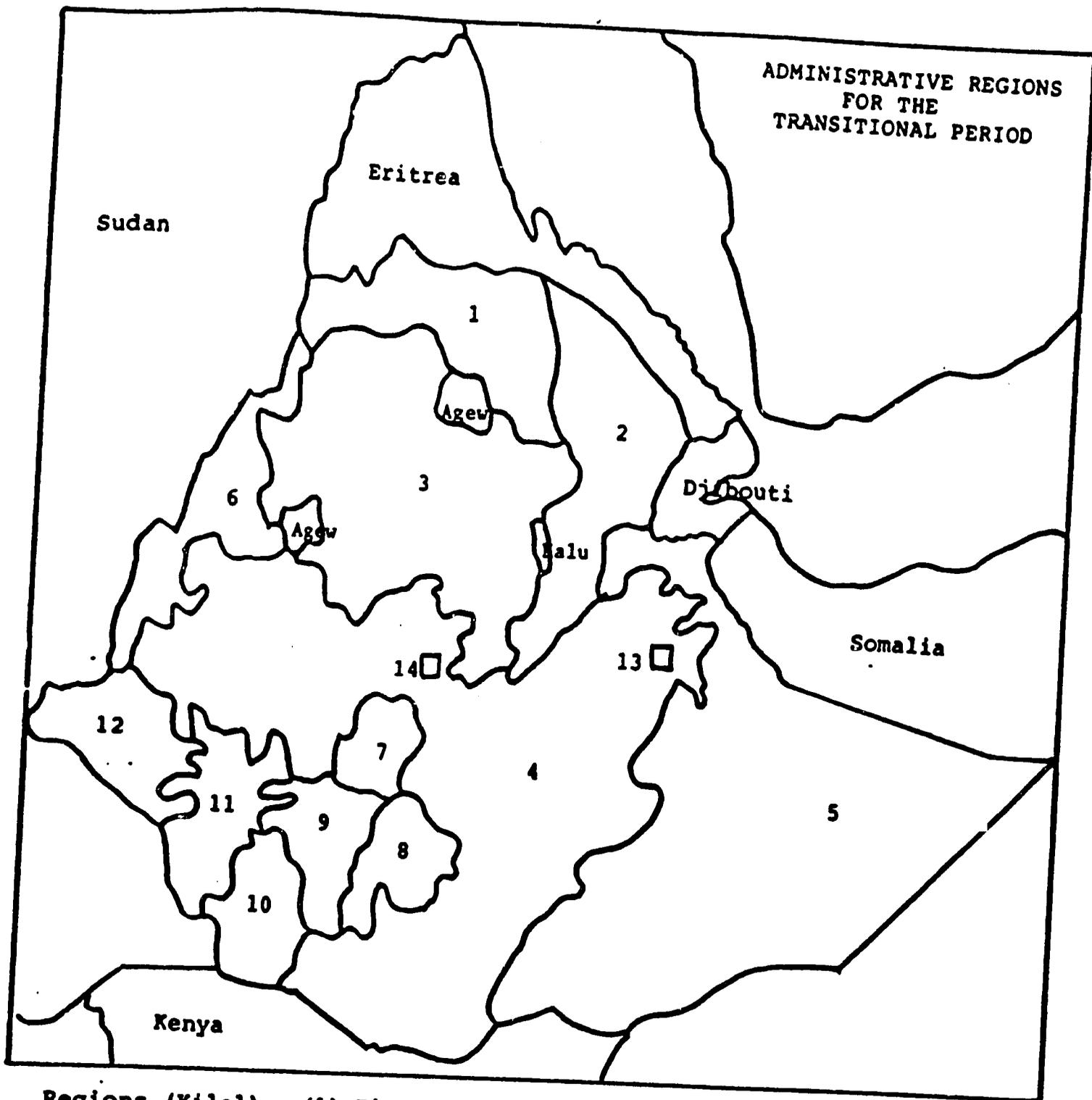
1. To determinedly continue their commitment to work for the success of the transition;
2. To ensure security and establish peace as pre-condition for free and fair political competition and overall stability, particularly by garrisoning all armies as soon as possible in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Representatives with the necessary guarantees;
3. To ascertain free and fair elections in accordance with the law and guidelines set by the Council of Representatives, and in presence of independent observers;
4. To remove and avoid obstacles and misunderstanding having developed mechanisms for joint consultation, and the involvement of neutral parties;
5. To strengthen co-operation between their two organizations.

The two organizations have also worked out details for the implementation of the above agreements and will immediately commence on them. Both organizations call on all the Ethiopian people and organizations committed to the Charter and the transition to democracy, equality, peace and progress in the country to contribute positively to the success of the measures the two organizations have pledged to strive for.

February 20, 1992

THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S  
REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT





Regions (Kilel): (1) Tigray; (2) Afar; (3) Amhara; (4) Oromo;  
 (5) Somali; (6) Benishangul; (7) Gurage-Hadiya;  
 (8) Sidamo; (9) Wolayta; (10) Omo; (11) Kefa;  
 (12) Gambela; (13) Harer; (14) Addis Ababa



No. 710/276/3/131

23 APR 1992 Addis Ababa

የኢትዮጵያ የሽግግር መንግሥት የምርጫ ኮሚሽን

Tel. { 51 04 00 P. O. Box } 40812

The Election Commission of The Transitional Government of Ethiopia

TO: The Swedish Embassy Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Subject: Requirement for the Regional Election

The Transitional Government of Ethiopia is in the process of establishing National/regional and Wereda/district/ councils members. The election commission is responsible for facilitating the election process, thereby, also responsible for technical support. Therefore, the commission is requesting financial and material support from friendly countries, one of which is Sweden.

1. The cost estimate for the regional and wereda election amounts to 9,347,382 Ethiopian Birr. The supplies and printing items presented in the schedule of expenditure will be utilized directly in the election process. For further information, these are the bases for the projection of requirement:

- 1.1. Polling stations are estimated to be around 33,000
1.2. Number of voters is estimated to be about 33,000,000
1.3. Number of weredas/districts/ is estimated to be 650

2. According to proclamation No. 11/1992 Article 10, the organizational structure of the election commission is as follows:

- 2.1. An Executive committee,
2.2. A Secretariat and Head of the Secretariat,
2.3. National/Regional Electoral Committee,
2.4. Wereda Electoral Committee,
2.5. Polling Station Electoral Committee.



Handwritten signature

226

Here, the quantity of forms requested for printing are directly linked with the function of the five(5) structures of the Commission. Therefore, the quantity of forms presented in the schedule of expenditure from item No. 17 to no. 27 are forms relevant for correspondence, filing and reporting purposes.

3. Regarding the requirement of Ballot Boxes, Registration books and stamps, here is additional information clarifying some basic characteristics of the election process.

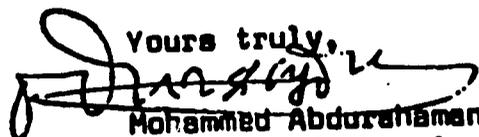
3.1. All polling stations will have at least one ballot box each.

3.2. Each polling station will conduct Registration and voting process in three rows. Therefore, the need of three registration books, three special stamps and three official stamps is a must.

4. In conclusion, we had the opportunity of meeting Swedish experts — Mr. Jan Hult and Mr. Anders Eriksson. Both experts have shared their experience with us. Their advice on some technical approach will help us in the preparation of procedural Guideline for the election process. In brief, there was a general understanding about the election process and the requirement of supplies and materials to be utilized in the election process.

Finally, we appreciate if the Embassy could also give special emphasis to the cost of petrol and spareparts requirement submitted in the other wish-list.



Yours truly,  
  
Mohammed Abdurahaman  
Chairman of the election  
Commission of the  
Transitional Government  
of Ethiopia

227

u. t. 7 m

Schedule of Expenditure

No.	ITEMS	Quantity	Unit price	Total Amount
1	Registration Book	120,000	15.00	1,300,000
2	Registration card	33,000,000	-	334,870
3	Ballot paper	33,000,000	-	2,100,000
4	Ballot Boxes	35,000	41.00	1,435,000
5	Special Stamp	105,000	5	525,000
6	Official Stamp	105,000	5	525,000
7	Stamp PAD	105000	6	630,000
8	Ink For Stamp Pad	35,000	5	175,000
9	Envelope /Large size/	175,000	1.00	175,000
10	Envelope /Medium size/	175,000	.75	131,250
11	Envelope/Small size/	175,000	.50	87,500
12	Card board Boxes	10,000	5.00	50,000
13	Election Posters /candidates/	80,000	1.00	80,000
14	Election Posters /procedural/	80,000	1.00	80,000
15	Proclamation	40,000	.60	24,000
16	Seal For Ballot Box	70,000	.20	17,500
17	Form No. 01	30,000	-	5,000
18	Form No. 02	170,000	-	11,000
19	Form No. 03	30,000	-	5,000
20	Form No. 04	170,000	-	11,000
21	Form No. 05	30,000	-	5,000
22	Form No.06	70,000	-	10,000
23	Form No.07	15,000	-	2,000
24	Form No.08	15,000	-	28,500
25	Form No. 10	70,000	-	10,000
26	Form No. 11	10,000	-	2,000
27	Form No. 12	15,000	-	2,000
28	Form No. 13	40,000	-	26,000
29	Form No. 14	165,000	-	10,000
30	Procedural Guide line	40,000	5.00	200,000
			Total cost	8,497,620
			Tax 10%	849,762
			Grand Total	9,347,382

228