

WOLKITE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

MASTER THESIS, IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

TITLE: THE QUEST FOR SELF RULE AND SELF DETERMINATION IN THE ETHIOPIA ETHNIC FEDERALISM: THE CASE OF GURAGE STATEHOOD CLAIMS IN CENTRAL ETHIOPIA.

BY SOLOMON HAILE WOLDEGEORGIES

MAJOR ADVISER YISHAK BEKELE (PhD)

MAY, 2024

WOLKITE, ETHIOPIA

Wolkite University

School Of Graduate Studies

College Of Social Science and Humanities

A Post Graduate Program in Political Science

Title: The Quest for Self Rule and Self Determination in the Ethiopia Ethnic Federalism: The Case of Gurage Statehood Claims In Central Ethiopia

A Thesis Submitted To the School Of Graduate Studies, In Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Art In

Political Science

By Solomon Haile Woldegeorgies

Major Adviser Yishak Bekele (Phd)

MAY, 2024

Wolkite, Ethiopia

APPROVAL SHEET

WOLKITE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

As Thesis proposal advisor, I hereby certify that all given comment by reviewer have considered, read and evaluated the proposal entitled "The Quest for Self Rule and Self Determination in the Ethiopia Ethnic Federalism: The Case of Gurage Statehood Claims, In SNNPR, Ethiopia.

Submitted by

Solomon Haile	_____	_____
Name of the student	Signature	date

Approved by

Yishak Bekele (PhD)	_____	_____
Name of Major Advisor	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Examiner	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of CPG coordinator	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of DGC chairman	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of CPG coordinator	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
SGS Approval	Signatur	Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all those who struggled to see the quest of Gurage regional statehood claims realized.

DECLARATION

I declare that “The Quest For Self Rule And Self Determination In The Ethiopia Ethnic Federalism: The Case Of Gurage Statehood Claims, In Central Ethiopia is my own work and that all the sources that I have been indicated and acknowledge by means of complete references.

SOLOMON HAILE W/GEORGIES

MAY, 2024 G.C

This thesis was submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor of the candidates.

YESHAK BEKELE (PhD)

MAY, 2024 G.C

WOLKITE, ETHIOPIA

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Above all, my deepest gratitude goes to the Almighty God for giving me all the endurance, patience and strength to do this thesis against all odds. With him everything is possible.

With great pleasure and indebtedness, I would like to express my sincerely gratitude to my advisor Dr.Yeshak Bekele for his unreserved assistance, timely guidance and comments starting from the proposal development until the completion of this thesis. Without his encouragement, guidance and professional expertise, the completion of my work would not be having possible.

My sincerely thanks also goes to my wife Maregnensh Tenkir and my brother Desalign Birhanu for their overall kindness, eagerness, courage and support for research which are really helpful for my study, as well.

I want also to extend my gratefulness to Gurage zone administration and Edja werda official, employees in different sectors of the study area, elders and Gurage communities for their unreserved support and cooperation in collecting necessary data for this thesis, without the kind cooperation of respondents and participants in Gurage zone, this study would not be possible.

I will not articulate all the names that support me during the whole process. So i want to say thanks you to all who help me intrinsical during this research work.

ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

EPRDF	Ethiopia people revolutionary democratic front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GPDF	Gurage People Democratic Front
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICESCR	the International Covenant Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
NNP	Nation Nationalities and People
SERAC	self-determination in the Social and Economic Rights Action Centre
SNNPR	South Nation Nationalities Peoples Region
TPLF	Tigrai People Liberation Front

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ABSTRACT

The purpose or objective of this study was to explore the challenges of Gurage community self-rule quest in SSNPR Ethiopia and to investigate the applicability of self-determination scope that is provided under the FDRE Constitution. To achieve the main objective, this study employed a qualitative research method and an exploratory case study design, relying on primary sources of data. In selecting key informants and focus group discussion participants, a purposive sampling strategy was employed. The data obtained from both primary and secondary sources were analyzed using thematic analysis. The research findings indicated that the unconstitutional response of the FDRE government to the people of Gurage's demand for self-rule and determination is a denial of constitutional rights. The major summary and conclusion that was drawn from the findings of the study indicated that there is a great gap between constitutional promises of the right to self-rule and determination for nations, nationalities, and people's and also the actual practice on the ground. Finally, recommendations are forwarded based on the research findings, and future research directions are indicated

Keywords: self-determination, self-rule quest, Gurage people, FDRE constitution.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

The modern concept of self-rule and determination can be traced back to the United States of America's Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, which proclaimed the right of the governed to decide over their own destiny (Daniel and Thomas, 2008). And this principle was reshaped by the French Revolution, which questioned wars of conquest and annexation, paving the way for popular sovereignty (Dickinson, 2009).

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Mills (2009), proposed that the principle of self-rule and determination was used by many nationalist movements and later was defined and developed by Lenin in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution. The world should be made fit and safe to live in, especially for every peace-loving nation that, like ours, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, and be assured of justice and fair dealings by the other peoples of the world in the face of force and self-aggression (Wilson, 1918). This was an appeal to the European countries with colonies to grant their subjects the right to become self-ruled or self-governed.

Woodrow Wilson (1918) mentioned that a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. This shows that all nations must be treated equally and should be able to have sovereign control over their boundaries or territories, irrespective of size, population, or resources. Importantly, every nation under colonial bondage had the right to self-rule, and determination had to do with relations between countries and the right of colonized and oppressed states to become free.

This declaration was more concerned with the rights of states to self-rule and determination than with the rights of groups to self-rule and determination, and arguably, the majority of subsequent declarations and resolutions by United Nations regional political organizations and institutions, as well as international legal institutions, concerning freedom, secession, self-rule and self-determination, and people's rights must have been inspired (informed) ei-

ther directly or indirectly by this declaration. However, this statement has been reinterpreted and twisted by pro-self-rule determination and secessionist activists around the globe, especially on the African continent, to suit their clamor for self-rule and determination. As a result, from the mid-20th century onwards, it became normal for groups of people in Africa to agitate (initiate) for self-rule and determination. This was seen in the case of the secessionist group in Nigeria called Biafra, which laid claims to self-rule and determination, using the ideas in the above document as leverage to buttress or validate its positions. Aside from Biafra, there have been waves of secessionist movements across the continent by both minorities and majorities; while some have succeeded in their struggle for self-rule and determination (for example, Eritrea and southern Sudan), the majority have failed. The authenticity (certainly) of their claims to the right to succession or self-rule and determination distinguishes those who succeeded from those who failed. As a result of these developments in the struggle for self-rule and determination, scholars were compelled to investigate the ideal conditions under which a group or groups of people within a sovereign state could lay claim to the legitimate right to self-rule, and equally important was the consideration of exactly who is entitled to claim the rights this right confers (Carley, 1997).

Due to a group has a legitimate claim to self-rule and determination only if an act of injustice is done to its members, the other argues that self-rule and determination are the rights of all people, especially if they consider themselves different ethnically, culturally, and linguistically from the rest of the people.

Of course, a doctrine of self-rule and determination has since developed, that differs considerably from the Wilson concept. Stalin, who is reported to have written extensively on the subject, once argued that the right to self-rule and determination cannot and must not serve as an obstacle to the exercise by the working class of its right to dictatorship. The first must explain why to the second. Since the Soviet doctrine operates within the overall framework of Marxist political thought, it is necessarily a limited one (Levin, 1963).

The constitutional recognition of the right to self-rule and determination in Ethiopia has a short history. In 1991, Ethiopia established an ethnic federal system that gives full recognition to ethnic autonomy while maintaining the unity of the state (Hashim, 2010). Its new constitution created a federal system largely consisting of ethnic-based territorial units. These include Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Ethiopian Somali, Beneshangul Gumuz, the Southern Nation, nationalities and people, Gambela, and Harari with a city administration. Regional states are divided hierarchically into zones, special woredas, and kebeles (Siraw, 2015).

According to Habtu (2013), the constitution's aspiration to achieve ethnic autonomy and equality also guarantees the unconditional right to self-rule and determination, including the right to secession, for every nation, nationality, and person in Ethiopia under it's a rticle 39 provision of the FDRE Constitution 1995. During some imperial eras, there was some degree of autonomy for the local chiefs, provided that they accepted the king at the center. The recognition of local units resembles that of regionalism rather than federalism, where its purpose was more of an administrative convenience.

Thus, the right to self-rule and determination of nations, nationalities, and peoples has become the cornerstone of the Ethiopian federal state structure and is seen as an instrument for addressing past injustices (Hashim, 2010). Similarly, Ethiopia's current federal democratic republic government adopted a federal policy that allows the formation of federal states, which is the right to self-determination and secession. Based on the new political arrangement, nations, nationalities, and people have started to administer themselves. By taking this opportunity, minority ethnic groups are also starting to establish their own regional autonomy.

Currently the Guraghe ethnic group, which presently resides in the Gurage zone of SNNPR Regional State, is presenting the demand of separate statehood in the federal arrangement. In this regard, the journey to establish the Gurage regional statehood and self-determination claim of the Gurage people living in the study area is not taking place in a smooth path. The claim has been embedded with many challenges and not settled yet. Thus, the concern of this study is to examine challenges of Gurage statehood claims and the behind the obscured response of the national government.

1.2. Statement of the problem

The preamble of the 1994 FDRE Constitution starts by heralding the full and free exercise of self-rule and determination as a precondition to build a political community founded on the rule of law and capable of ensuring a lasting peace, guarantee a democratic order as well as advancing economic and social development. Hence, the Constitution goes on declaring the right to self-rule and determination, including secession, as the right of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples up on which the state of Ethiopia was founded (FDRE Constitution, 1994). According to Hashim (2010) the adoption of the right of self-rule and determination as a basic principle of the FDRE Constitution was aimed at ensuring peace and democracy in the country. Despite this noble promise made by the Federal and regional constitutions, Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' quest for self-rule and determination has always been accompanied by the loss of innocent lives and destruction of property (Wubishet, 2015; Beken, 2007; Lovise, 2006; Vaughan, 2003).

Similar to the existing realities of most African countries, Ethiopia also has different ethnic groups residing in the country. Government that assumed political power in the country devised different strategies to rule multi-ethnic groups in the country (Smith, 2008). Likewise, the introduction of ethnic federalism by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) after the overthrow of the oppressive Dergue Regime in 1991 had different implications for the country. The current Ethiopian government is aware of the country's fragility due to the system it has adopted, particularly because of secession. They believed that self-rule and determination, decentralization, and constitutionally guaranteeing the right to secession in Article 39 of the FDRE constitution The promise of ethnic federalism was short-lived and soon betrayed by the TPLF's "divide and rule" strategy (Ghai, 2000), aiming at securing Tigrian political supremacy and resulting notably in a pro-Tigrian public goods allocation due to the excessive financial dependence of the federal regions and the central government. The recent political model of Ethiopia has less undeniably accorded ethnic and cultural rights, particularly to minority groups, through civil and political as well as economic rights, or has sided with selected ethnic groups that the ruling party affiliates (Mengistu, 2015).

The case of Gurage people's quest for regional self-determination goes far back to the inception of new administrative and constitutional reform in the country in 1991.After more than three decades, for Gurage, the constitutional provisions on the collective rights are not a real experience to them. The Gurage people have continued to express their grievance in many different ways. The purpose of the government among Gurage people, on the other hand, is said to have been marked by priority to get political support and strength its party base (Gurage zone council office 2018).

In the context of current ethnic federalism, the Gurage people quest for regional statehood has been associated with violent reactions from the regional or federal government that reacts violently to the statehood demand. On several occasions, some remarkable incidents and clashes had occurred between Gurage populace and state security forces. The most notable and recent actions that has been taken by the government(prosperity party) to hijack the quest of self-rule and determination is concluded after arresting government officials, more than 200 innocent youths, SSNPR council members, and Gurage residents while acting under the illegal command of the SNNPR government. However, the people of Gurage wait for the days of the referendum in patience and continued their struggle and quest for self-rule and determination in peace full ways (Reporter news paper November 30, 2022).

Government/prosperity party response towards the 'statehood quest' of Gurage people is anomalous. The government acknowledges the constitutional provision that unequivocally grants nations, nationalities, and peoples the right to self-determination up to and including secession, a right that cannot be suspended even during a state of emergency (FDRE Constitution, Article 93(4c)). The portrayal of such acknowledgement is the recent statehood grant for Sidama people and the emergence of South West regional state. On the other hand, contrary to the aforementioned constitutional promises and aspirations, Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' quest for this constitutionally acknowledged right has always been met with violence, which is against the aspiration of both the federal and regional constitutions (Reporter news paper on November 30, 2022.

Although the response of the regional and federal government towards the Gurage statehood is accompanied by violence and brutal action, the struggle of the people continued hoping the

happy ending of the case. So, the researcher is attracted to examine the case giving emphasis for the challenges that complicates the path to self-determination/referendum. In addition, the quest of the people of Gurage remained the focus of attention in recent political dilemmas of the country, and yet, as far as the knowledge of the author of this thesis; no research work has been conducted concerning the Gurage people's quest for self-determination. Hence, it calls for an in-depth explorative study aimed at generating new knowledge regarding the Gurage's quest for self-determination, the challenges and its future destiny.

To this end, this research has twofold objectives: exploratory and informative, i.e., exploring the legal bases under which the people of Gurage claimed regional autonomy with reference to the FDRE Constitution, the FDRE Government's response to the quest of the people of Gurage, and the circumstances that turned the constitutional quest of the people of Gurage into a crisis. Hence, informing the concerned public—the academia, political leaders, and others—of the legal bases under which the Gurage claimed regional autonomy with reference to the FDRE Constitutional framework.

1.3. Objective of the study

1.3.1. General objective

The main objective of this study was examining the Gurage quest for Self-determination under the FDRE Constitutional framework and the FDRE Government's response under the federal constitution.

1.3.2, Specific objectives

1. To explore how the quest for statehood is unfold.
2. To identify the challenges the process has been facing.
3. To examine the quest for statehood within the frame of the FDRE constitution.
4. To examines the legality of the federal government response under the federal constitution.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTION

The main research question of this study revolves around Gurage's quest for self-determination and the FDRE Government response under the Constitutional framework. Thus, in an effort to answer the main question of the study,

1. How does the Gurage self-rule and determination demand progress through decades?
2. What are the major challenges of self-rule and determination in the Gurage zone?
3. What are the responses of federal government towards Gurage self-determination demand?

1.5. Scope of the study

Conceptually the scope of this study is delimited to examine the self-rule quest of Gurage people with particular emphasis to its challenges and prospects. So the scope of this study was focus on the challenges and self-rule and determination in Ethiopian ethnic federal context in case of Gurage nationality. Geographically this research was limiting itself to the Gurage zone in South Nation, Nationalities and peoples Regional State (SNNPR).

1.6. Significance of the study

For achieving sustainable development in one nation, practicing self-rule and determination at the regional level plays an important role for a given nation and locality in particular. Therefore, the need for this study is due to the fact that practicing self-rule and determination at the regional level is the main thing for the country to brining development and identifying those opportunities, achievements and challenges. To this, the federal government of Ethiopia has planned to promote peace and development in the country. To realize this effort, the present case of Gurage zone looks in and cultural development in the study area. To the achievements, opportunities and challenges of the new political arrangement in terms of social, economic, political

The other significance of this study lies at the heart of its criticalness in showing the gap between promises made in both the Federal and the SSNP Regional State Constitution with the

actual practice on the ground and regard to nations, nationalities and people's right to self-rule and determination;

This study among others of importance or contribution to:

Indicate opportunities, achievements and challenges of the new political arrangement on the development of the Gurage regional state under FDRE.

Help for decision makers to plan a strategy which promotes the development of the Gurage zone.

Understand the challenges and which hamper the establishment of regional governance in the study area.

1.7. Limitation of the study

This study is going to be done in Gurage zone, SNNPR, since the researcher works there and he has thought that it is so difficult to have a study in the shortage of secondary data on the topic investigation and the respondents also hesitated to provide detail information because they may be afraid that victims of some political problems, although they are aware of the confidentiality of collected data for the purpose of this thesis. In addition, they also may be afraid of the existing problems followed by the new political arrangement since they believe that the consequence may affect them in the future.

1.8. Organization of the study

This thesis was organized in to five chapters. Chapter one deals with the back ground of the study in the introduction part and present statement of the problem. It also describes the research objectives, research questions, significance and scope, limitation of the study and operational definition of terms. The second chapter presents a review of related literature. Chapter three describe the study area, research approach, study design, sampling techniques and source of data, data collection instruments, data analysis techniques as well as the ethical consideration. Chapter four, in finding section, present, analysis and interpretation of the collected data, in regarding to the structures as well as the challenges of self-rule and determina-

tion in the case of the study area. Finally chapter five provides conclusion and recommendation of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter deals with reviewing literature related to the concept, scope, nature, evolution and practice of the Right to Self-rule and determination. The chapter also briefly discusses the right to Self-rule and determination from different perspectives and looks at the scope and application of the right to Self-rule and determination in the International Bill of Rights, the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights and the 1994 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution. The chapter further goes on discussing the trends in securing the right to self-rule and determination under the Ethiopian Federation with an emphasis to the application of the right to self-rule and determination in the Gurage zone, South Nation Nationality People Regional State (SNNPR).

2.1. Definition and concepts of self-rule and determination

Self-rule indicates that the ability of a person or a group to exercise all necessary functions without intervention from external authority. It is a right, which groups of minority want to possess after being recognized of their existence.

The concept of autonomy falls short of granting fully-fledged independence but enables the inhabitants of a territory to control their economic, social and cultural affairs. It is a pillar in which the federal system of administration stands. Daniel Elazar defined federalism as a combination of self-rule and shared-rule with self-rule referring to the extent to which regional units have the power to take decisions independently from central governments. As stated earlier, after recognizing a group, it should be expressed in a structural arrangement. It is the structural arrangement that enables the group to preserve their identities. The acknowledgement of ethnic diversity must be supplemented by institutional principles that give practical effect to this act of recognition. This institutional arrangement varies from federation to federation, constituting union, state, district, communities and other forms of local government structures. Yonatan (2008) describes this as: Self-rule finds practical expression through the different territorial and institutional structure of federation. It finds practical expression in the geographical configuration of a federation. Self-rule can also receive expres-

sion through the division of powers- which powers are allocated to which level of government. Self-rule is the expression of self-administration with full autonomy over internal matters. It also involves a substantial redistribution of political power and hence increased opportunities for effective political participation by national minorities as well as redistribution of economic opportunities. The autonomy is the derivative of power sharing among levels of the government.

The literature on the right to self-rule and determination distinguishes between the concept's constituent parts; „Self "and „determination". The self-component identifies the right-holder, whereas the determination component specifies the control, power, or autonomy exercised by this entity over its affairs (Cassese, 1999). Each component may be expanded or contracted for different purposes. In its expanded form, for example, Molos (2014) defines self-determination as the right of any collection of individuals who identify themselves as a group to exercise any level of autonomy (Molos, 2014). However, McVay (2012) defines it from a legal perspective narrowly as a right of people under international law to exist and have access to government. Yet another scholar Lino (2010) defines the right to self-rule and determination as the core idea that states peoples should collectively have control over, and be able to make decisions about, their own lives, group autonomy, self-government, independence, democracy and non interference.

The right to self-determination as put under Article 1 of the United Nations and both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) are „the right of all peoples to determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". This can be exercised through independence as well as local self-government and autonomy and integration, association, or some other forms of participation in government, all working externally and internally to ensure democratic governance" (Alshammari, 2014). Seemingly, with due respect for the international bill of rights, the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) recognizes the right to self-rule and determination as an unquestionable and inalienable right of people to exist (ACHPR, 1983; Art. 20). The long existed lack of international consensus on scholarly and legal definitions continues to be true in the Ethiopian case. However, with the downfall of the Dergue and their seizure of the political power,

the ethno-nationalist fronts led by the TPLF heralded the right to self-rule and determination up to secession to all linguistically defined ethnic communities, designated as nations, nationalities and people (FDRE Constitution, 1994; Art. 39). Hence, the constitution acknowledges both external and internal self-rule and determinations; externally to secede and internally to exercise self-government, meaningful political participation and democratic representation (FDRE Constitution, 1994; Art. 39). Thought all ethno-linguistic communities designated in the FDRE Constitution as Nations, Nationalities and Peoples are indiscriminately entitled to the right to self-rule and determination, not all Nations, Nationalities and Peoples are exercising the right; some have managed to establish their own regional state and others not. As broadly defined by Pomerance (1981), self-rule and determination is the principle by virtue of which people freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural determination. Thus the FDRE constitution article 47(b) allows Nation Nationalities and Peoples (NNP) to establish their own regional self-rule and determination as an extension of the right to self-rule and determination at regional level. However, besides the constitutional recognition there exists no clear understanding regarding the essence and exercise of the right to self-rule and determination. Therefore, the following section strives to discuss the theoretical perspectives that best describe the essence of the right to self-rule and determination with an emphasis to the issues under investigation.

2.2. Theoretical perspectives on the right to self-rule and determination

Besides its status as the guiding principle of the United Nations system, there is no agreement among scholars and practitioners regarding the essence of the right to self-rule and determination. However, there exist some major theoretical lenses that enable us answer the question, what the exercise of self-rule and determination.

2.2.1. Efficiency theory of self-rule and determination.

According to Chukwuemeka (2014), the local government exists to provide services and it must be judged by its success in providing services up to a standard measured by the national inspectorate. The same line of thought was found in the works of (Sharp 1970), that given that there is no local government, a functionally similar body must be in existence to provide services that are in nature. This explains why Eboth and Diejomaoh (2010) help those local

governments worldwide are considered as strategic institutions for the provision, among others, of basic socio-economic needs. This could be understood from the perspective that the size and spread of a national, particularly those that are large and heterogeneous in composition, may not be able to rely on the central and regional government to effectively meet up with needs that are local in nature. In effect, local government may effectively and efficiently respond to local needs. This theory therefore notes that local government may not justify its existence if it fails to provide needed services within its scope of competence effectively.

2.2.2. Liberal theory of self-rule and determination

The liberal theories of self-rule and determination assume that if a government fails to protect the right individuals, then individuals have the right to emigrate, resist or secede from a state. The most influential theory of the liberal theory of self-rule and determination is Buchanan's Remedial Right Only theory. This theory considers the right to secede as a remedy of last resort for persistent and grave injustices (Buchanan, 2007). Thus secession is justified if, and only if, the encompassing state fails to ensure basic human rights and the secured survival of a group. The only acceptable condition for secession with the framework of the remedial right only theory is to protect the right of individuals against grave injustices. The other strand of liberal theory of self-rule and determination is the Voluntaries' theory of Bearn. Bearn argues that a political community is right only if membership is voluntary. Thus, any individual who wishes to leave a political community has the right to do so. If a population inhabiting part of a state's territory wishes to secede from that state, they have the right to do so (Beran, 1984). This theory differs from the remedial theory, because it holds that human-rights violations are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions of the right to self-rule and determination. Liberal theories of the right to self-rule and determination, though addressed the external aspect of self-rule and determination, fail to consider self-rule and determination in its internal dimension. The liberal theories overlook the salience of self-rule and determination in the form of both political and cultural autonomies and even addressing through political mechanisms like federalism.

2.2.3. Marxist theories of self-rule and determination

Marxist theories of self-rule and determination understand the right to self-rule and determination as a political separation of nations from alien imperialists and recommend the formation of an independent national state. Lenin argued that self-rule and determination are achieved when people of oppressed nationalities get the power to decide for themselves and what is best for them (Lenin, 1914). According to Marxists it is nations that are oppressed by imperialism who have the right to self-rule and determination. Thus, Lenin goes on suggesting a secession of a given territory to be settled only on the basis of a universal, direct and equal vote of the population of that territory by secret ballot. Their understanding of the right to self-rule and determination implies a democratic system of a type in which there is not only democracy in general, but specifically one in which there could not be an undemocratic solution of the question of secession. However, Marxists denounce all forms of nationalism as a hindrance of international workers unity, they suggest all areas of the state that are distinguished by the national composition of the population to enjoy wide self-government and autonomy with institutions organized on the basis of universal, equal and secret voting. For the Marxist the overarching concern of the right to self-rule and determination is that it commits socialists to the fullest extension of democratic freedoms and to the swiftest liberation of lives from the yoke of national oppression. Marxist theory of self-rule and determination so critical in its class analysis fails to address the concern of cultural groups. Quest for self-rule and determination would always not appear as a response to the capitalist or imperialist domination, but sometimes for a lot of political and cultural reasons. However, Marxists confined the case only to class oppression.

2.3. The Democratic theory of self-rule and determination

Democratic theory of self-rule and determination assumes that the right of self-rule and determination is a democratic right in which decisions are made by those who are affected by a particular decision (Young, 1990; Habermas, 1998; Miller, 2009). The affectedness principle of the democratic theory of self-rule and determination constitutes the normative basis of democracy and is implicit in judging whether people are fairly represented in decision-making. Hence, self-rule and determination entails the ability to participate in deciding one's

actions and the conditions of one's actions (Young, 1990). Here, self-rule and determination is another way of saying that all persons affected by a decision should have a say in it. Proponents assume that self-rule and determination qualifies democracy by reminding us that democracy means rule by the people and Democracy qualifies self-rule and determination by clarifying that self-rule and determination is a principle that those affected by a decision should participate in its creation (Freeman, 1999; Robert, 2007). Thus, democratic self-rule and determination operates as a system of organized decision-making so as to empower affected parties to participate in relevant decisions (Young, 1990; Habermas, 1998; Miller, 2009; Philpott, 1995). Thus, it can be said that individuals are self-determining to the extent that they effectively participate in decisions affecting their actions or the conditions in which they act. On a community level this implies that communities should be able to participate in decisions to which they are subject. Since self-rule and determination is the opposite of domination, according to the proponents, each community should have enough decision-making power to manage its affairs (Margalit & Raz, 1990). This affirms the idea that those who are affected by a decision or course of action have moral grounds to participate in the decision. In this regard, the democratic theory of self-rule and determination comes in agreement with the International Bill of Rights, which recognizes the right to self-rule and determination as the right of peoples to freely determine their political status and pursue economic, social and cultural developments. From my observation and experience the exercise of the right to self-rule and determination in Ethiopia largely falls short of a democratic decision. Though all nations, nationalities and people in Ethiopia are constitutionally entitled to the right to self-rule and determination, yet there exists an impasse with regard to the exercise; the trend on the ground shows that nations, nationalities and people have not been determining their destiny. Thus, the democratic theory of self-rule and determination is reasonably employed to shape in my study.

2.4. Dimensions of Self determination

Self-rule and determination has two major dimensions: these are internal and external dimensions. Internal refers to the exercise of self-rule and determination within an existing state. External refers to the right of peoples to define their places within the international community. In the literature on the right of self-rule and determination, a distinction is regularly made

between external and internal aspects of the right; the former generally being conceived as the right of a people to be free from external domination (Buchanan, 1997; Margalit, 1990) and the latter as the right of a people to freely pursue and develop their language and culture, participate in government and choose representatives, and to be autonomous (Wellman, 1995; Horowitz, 2003; Cassese, 1999).The 1994 FDRE Constitution also recognizes both the external and internal dimensions of the right to self-rule and determination under the contested Article 39 of the constitution

2.4.1. Internal Self Determination.

Internal self-rule and determination refers to the right of a people to choose their political status within a State, to exercise meaningful political participation, or to preserve their cultural system (McVay, 2012). Thus, the driving force of the principle of self-rule and determination manifests itself in recent suggestions to focus more on internal self-rule and determination. More emphasis is laid on intra-State relations and on the internal aspects of the principle: on processes, models, and methods to realize the principle of self-rule and determination in a broad sense by allowing for a variety of options within the framework of State constitutions (Horowitz, 2003; Margalit, 1990; Thürer and Burri, 2008). Self-rule and determination would thus acquire a new constitutional dimension. On this basis it is further submitted that self-rule and determination should be developed to encompass the „right to democratic governance“on the level of the nation State. In a similar vein, it is suggested to interpret self-rule and determination as a people’s „right to be taken seriously“in internal affairs (Cassese, 1999).

Since the era of decolonization, major changes to the interpretation and application of the principle of self-rule and determination have taken place (Cassese, 1999; Buchanan, 1997; Hannun, 1990). This was because most non-self-governing territories have attained independence (Wright, 2014), thus, as Horowtiz (2003) elaborately discusses, analyses have shifted to looking at the internal application of self-rule and determination. Although competing theories have generally defined internal self-rule and determination as conditions under which human rights, democratic representation and access to the right to development are realized, there is continued uncertainty about how the concept is applied (Wright, 2014). However, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) has expanded the scope of the im-

mediate applicability of the principle of self-rule and determination beyond the traditional context of decolonization by recognizing the right of self-rule and determination of the Palestinians and of the inhabitants of South Africa (UNGA, Res 48/1994).

According to the explanation of Thürer and Burri (2008), the modern theories of self-rule and determination are mostly built on the context of the internal self-rule and determination. Currently, there is a general consensus among international law experts and political scientists that the implementation of external self-rule and determination would result in proliferation of weak mini-states, which would not be self-sufficient. Thus, the post decolonization self-rule and determination is encouraged to be implemented internally, without entitling the people to their own independent State (Beran, 1987; Cassese, 1999; McVay, 2012). In justifying the desirability of an internal self-rule and determination, Thürer and Burri (2008) argue that the principle of self-rule and determination certainly has considerable federalist potential; however, international law neither recognizes a federal right of self-rule and determination nor a right to autonomy as such.

2.4.2. The Legal Foundations of Internal Self-Determination

The codification of the right to self-determination in the UN Charter has a particular importance as it illustrates an international consensus over the recognition of the right (UN Charter, articles 1(2) and 55). However, the heyday of the principle was the 1950-1971 period (Alston 2001, p. 262), when decolonization and the rapid development of international human rights law rendered the right to self-determination a globally-acknowledged principle, ultimately stimulating the UN to recognize the right in its General Assembly Resolutions. These developments are analysed below respectively. The jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice is not assessed as a contribution since it has never directly confronted with the principle of selfdetermination beyond the colonial context (Crawford 2001, p. 36).

Both of the International Human Rights Covenants – the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (the ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (the ICCPR) – recognize the right to self-determination in their common Article 1 for all peoples. It can be claimed that these two covenants were the first substantial steps to

providing a context to the right to self-determination beyond the colonial framework. This is because neither of these Covenants restricted the scope or subjects of the right to colonial peoples (Castellino 2000, p. 32). Thus, the right of self-determination has gained a post-colonial scope, in addition to the colonial one

Furthermore, international human rights bodies also contributed to the development of the scope of the right. The Human Rights Committee (the HRC) made it clear that self-determination has some ramifications in the ICCPR. By this, the HRC added an ongoing aspect to the principle. In its General Comment, the HRC connected Article 1 with Article 25 which provides, inter alia, the right to take part in public affairs and to have access to the public service of one's own country. The HRC held that these mentioned rights are closely related to the right to self-determination (UN HRC GC 25, paras 1 and 2). As David Raic maintained, the collective right to internal self determination in Article 1 and the political rights in Article 25 have been "inextricably bound up" with each other by the HRC (Raic 2002, p. 274).

This argument begs a question: Can holders of this right bring a claim to the HRC under Article 1 with relation to the violation of any other rights? According to Antonio Cassese, this question should be answered in the affirmative. Cassese held that when the economic rights of a group are violated, an individual in this group can complain about the violation of, for instance, Article 25 and at the same time Article 1 (Cassese 1995, p. 145). However, in practice, the HRC rejected all individual communications for self-determination. One of these communications was the Kitok case. In this case, the HRC found the communication inadmissible since an individual cannot claim to be a victim of a violation of the right to self-determination (Ivan Kitok v Sweden para. 6.3). On many occasions the HRC did not find admissible any communication for self-determination. That is why it is hard to mention any contribution of the HRC to the development of the right to internal self-determination beyond its General Comment.

Unlike the HRC, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (the ACHPR) extended its enforcement mechanisms in a way that includes all categories of rights. The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the Banjul Charter) allows communications both

from states under Article 47 and from individuals under Article 55 for bringing a claim against the violations of any rights in the Banjul Charter. This is a very crucial step which enables individuals to allege violations of their internal selfdetermination, as happened in the Katangese Peoples' Congress v. Zaire (the Katangese) case. In this case, an individual, the President of the Katangese Peoples' Congress, alleged the violation of the self-determination of the people of Katanga under Article 20(1) of the Banjul Charter. The ACHPR, in Katangese in which the President of the Katangese Peoples' Congress alleged the violation of the self-determination of the people of Katanga under Article 20(1) Banjul Charter, recognised the post-colonial context of self-determination for the first time in its jurisprudence by ruling that all peoples have a right to self-determination (Mhango 2007, p. 14). Moreover, the ACHPR illustrated the ways in which peoples are able to exercise their right to internal self-determination as follows: "self-government, local government, federalism, confederalism, unitarism or any other form of relations that accord with the wishes of the people" (Katangese Peoples' Congress v Zaire para. 4). On the basis of this wording, it seems fair to hold that the ACHPR clearly distinguishes the colonial and non-colonial aspects of the right to self-determination. Equally important, here the ACHPR attaches the violation of self-determination to the infringement of other human rights. In other words, if there is evidence of gross violations of any rights in the Banjul Charter, then there is also a violation of the right to internal self-determination. Thus, this case shows that the ACHPR would find reasonable grounds for the violation of internal self-determination if the human rights of the Katangese were violated. On such an occasion, the people at stake could be granted self-government (or any other way mentioned in the case) to enjoy their right to internal self-determination.

However, the decision was not without problems. Although the ACHPR granted self-determination to all peoples, it did not define the meaning of 'peoples'. According to one scholar, the reason for this is the political sensitivity of the issue (Thio 2002, p. 466). In other words, the possible increase in the number of claims for internal self determination, and even external self-determination, forced the ACHPR to take a 'conservative approach' on this issue (ibid). Besides, it can be argued that the lack of a definition of 'peoples' can cause arbitrary decisions when deciding which group can be considered a people and which cannot. Nevertheless, the contribution of the ACHPR cannot be denied. This human rights body ena-

bles individuals to bring claims on behalf of groups for the violation of the right to internal self-determination. Thus, the right at stake becomes justiciable in front of the ACHPR.

Another crucial contribution to the development of internal self-determination was made by the GA. The first step was the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In this declaration, all peoples were granted self-determination. Moreover, in regard to this right they could freely determine "their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (UN GA Declaration 1960, para. 2). The significance of this declaration is two-fold. First, the right to self-determination goes beyond the colonial context by means of the term all peoples. Second, the declaration clarifies the content of the right by attaching it to determination of political status and to the right to pursue economic, social and cultural rights. Similarly, the 1970 Declaration on Friendly Relations adopted almost the same wording about the right to self-determination (UN GA Declaration 1970). It was unanimously adopted and paved the way for the development of self-determination beyond the colonial context (Alston 2001, p. 260). According to the wordings of both declarations, it seems that self-determination can be fulfilled by the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural human rights. Although this is not the whole idea about internal self-determination, this framework is completely in compliance with the HRC's General Comment 25 discussed above.

The development of the concept of internal self-determination does not end with these declarations. However, the aim of this section is not to give a comprehensive historical background to the principle of self-determination. Such works have been done before (see Thürer and Burri 2010). Instead, it is emphasized here that the development of internal self-determination goes back a long way. What is crucial for this section is to see that the pioneer sources of internal self-determination also outlined the conceptual framework of the concept. They explored the internal aspect of the right to self determination beyond the colonial context and linked it with the enjoyment of human rights.

2, 4.3.The Right to Internal Self-Determination: Definition, Scope and Methods

As discussed in the first section, the right to self-determination applies to all peoples, so not only to colonial peoples as holders of the right. Thus, the terminology signifies a universal and ongoing character of this right (Raic 2002, p. 228). While the external aspect of the right

to self-determination is mainly associated with decolonization, internal self-determination "directly relates with the spirit and application of international human rights law" in an ongoing process (Germanakou 2007, p. 2).

First, it should be emphasized that both internal and external self-determination are still applicable. However, internal self-determination is the first resort. In other words, all peoples might have both rights, but the application should have an order. Under the principles of territorial integrity and sovereignty, the application of external self-determination becomes the last resort. It seems clear that the UN adopts this approach. That is to say, external self-determination seems to be a last resort in the documents of the UN. For instance, the 1970 Friendly Relations Declaration held that the wording of the Declaration cannot be interpreted "as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part (…)" (UN GA Declaration 1970, Annex). It can therefore be inferred that the UN does not promote the external layer of the right to self-determination. On the contrary, the UN strongly promotes the internal layer since it is in compliance with the principle of sovereign equality and territorial integrity.

2.4.4. The political aspect of internal self-determination

The 1970 Friendly Relations Declaration laid the groundwork for the scope of the political aspect of the right to internal self-determination. It encouraged states to have a government which represents all the peoples in the territory at stake "without distinction as to race, creed or colour" (ibid). Thus, each state has the responsibility within its borders to have a representative government mechanism. This dimension of internal self-determination, as the HRC approved above, is much related to the entitlement to political participation. In other words, all peoples can choose their own political status and the form of their government under the right to internal self-determination (McCorquodale 1994, p. 864). Under this right, they have a right to govern themselves, take part in public affairs and participate in elections and referenda and so on (Rosas 1993, p. 249).

The application field of internal self-determination is intra-state relations (Raic 2002, p. 237). The relationship of the state and government with the peoples of the territory at stake is the main concern of the concept. The concept requires a transparent and accessible government which prioritizes all peoples equally without distinction as to race, creed or colour (German-

akou 2007, p. 19). Therefore, all peoples belonging to that territory can have the opportunity to take part in public affairs.

Without any distinction, all peoples should enjoy their economic, social and cultural human rights. It can be asserted that internal self-determination actually requires a legitimate state and government which is participative, representative and pluralist. In this sense, the theories of democracy and internal self-determination have close relations. Although the connections between democracy and the right to internal self-determination is beyond the scope of this paper, it is fair to say that enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights is also main principle of democracy. However, the question of who will enjoy these rights (individuals or groups) seems like the major difference between democracy and the right to internal self-determination. (For more, see Fan 2008; Wolff 2014) For now, it should be Affirmed that the political aspect of the right requires states and their governments to enable all peoples to enjoy 'a right to have a say' in the political decision-making process (Raic 2002, p. 237).

2.4.5. The economic aspect of internal self-determination

Another aspect of internal self-determination can be termed 'economic self-determination'. It is a very crucial right since its enjoyment enables the beneficiaries to enjoy their other human rights. To put it another way, the realization of economic self-determination paves the way for enjoying other human rights in both of the international human rights covenants, such as the rights to health, housing and education (Farmer 2006, p. 420).

Consideration of this aspect of the right has been more neglected in comparison with the political aspect, although it also has its foundations in both of the international human rights covenants (common Article 1(2)). According to the same wording in both of the covenants, all peoples have a right to dispose their natural resources freely (ICCPR art 1(2)). This can be adapted to a context which is beyond the colonial period under a human rights approach. In other words, a human rights approach enables us to expand the scope of the right beyond the colonial context. Thus, it can be concluded that all peoples belonging to a territory can claim control over the natural resources of that territory (Farmer 2006, p. 419).

The term 'freely dispose' has two meanings. According to Alice Farmer, first, it means that a representative body should distribute natural resources transparently (ibid p. 430). Here, it is

clear that the theory of democracy again overlaps with economic internal self-determination. The second meaning of the phrase requires that natural resources must be used for the peoples' own ends (ibid). In other words, the resources must be distributed equally for the benefit of the peoples.

Despite its importance, economic self-determination has always been underestimated in the literature. However, the ACHPR made a great contribution to the development of economic self-determination in the Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC) and another v Nigeria (the SERAC) case. Although this case is one of the milestones of environmental law, it is also very crucial for clarifying the duties of states with relation to the economic aspect of internal self-determination. In SERAC, the communication alleged that in Ogoniland an oil consortium had exploited the oil reserves with the permission of the government (para. 2). This created contamination of the environment of Ogoniland. The Ogoni person, who is one of the peoples in Nigeria, was severely affected by this situation. The issue with regard to internal selfdetermination was that the Ogoni people had not been allowed to be involved in the decision-making process (ibid para 4). Thus, the communication was brought on behalf of the Ogoni people under; inter alia, Article 21 of the Banjul Charter which grants economic self-determination.

The ACHPR found a violation of, inter alia, Article 218 (ibid para. 70). More importantly, it analysed the nature of the right to economic self-determination and identified three dimensions of the right. The first dimension was that the ACHPR held that the government did not respect the decisions of the Ogoni people by excludingthem from the decision-making process (ibid para 55). This expression may have two meanings. First, that the decision-making process should be inclusive. The beneficiaries of the natural resources, in this case the Ogoni people, should have been allowed to participate in this process and their decision should have been respected. Second, a state and its actors should refrain from preventing the peoples' enjoyment of their economic self-determination.

The second dimension is that the ACHPR clearly pointed out that states have to protect their citizens through legislative and effective enforcement and by protecting them from damage caused by private actors (ibid para. 57). Thus, states also have to protect their citizens from the harmful acts of third parties. The final dimension of the right is that the government did

not facilitate the Ogoni people to enjoy their right at stake; conversely, it facilitated the destruction of the Ogoniland (ibid para. 58). Thus, the ACHPR recognised that states should take positive steps that might enable peoples to have a greater enjoyment of the right to economic self-determination. The SERAC concretized the meaning and scope of the right to economic self-determination and it illustrated the fact that the right has different dimensions in itself. Thus, a state cannot release itself from the obligation by just preventing its actors from violating the right concerned. It also has to prevent third parties' interference, and moreover it has to facilitate the enjoyment of the right by different measures, such as legislative, administrative or judicial (remedial) measures.

All in all, both the political and economic aspects of internal self-determination can be concisely summarized by the words of Jan Klabbers: the right to be taken seriously (Klabbers 2006, p. 202). From both aspects, all groups should have a right to contribute to shaping their own political and economic future. For this to happen, states should take the decisions of these groups seriously and grant them certain procedural rights, such as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and freedom from discrimination (ibid p. 205).

It should be emphasized here that when these rights are enjoyed by individuals, this does not mean that internal self-determination is necessarily respected. The main reason for this is that the identity of a group can be different from the sum of the identities of its individual members (Raic 2002, p. 239). Thus, the interests of a group will be different from the sum of the interests of each individual within it. Breaking groups into their various components would undermine the group identity (Klabbers 2006, p. 205). Thus, the subjects of the right to internal self-determination whose rights should be taken seriously are groups.

2.4.6. External self Determination

According to UNCERD define external self-rule and determination as the rights of all peoples to determine freely their political status and their place in the international community based on the principles of equal rights and exemplified by the liberation of peoples from colonialism and by the population to subject peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation (General Recommendation) No.21 1996.

External self-rule and determination refers to the right of people to free themselves from a foreign, colonial, racial, or any other form of domination by declaring own independent state (Buchanan, 1997). However the notion of external self-rule and determination conflicts with the principle of territorial integrity which is the fundamental principle of the International Law. Thus, McVay (2012) argues that the availability of external self-rule and determination is highly contentious. Like self-rule and determination, territorial integrity is expressed in the UN Charter under Articles 2(4) and 2(7). This principle suggests that self-rule and determination cannot support an action that would dismember or impair the territory or political unity of a State (UN Charter, Article 2(4) and 2(7). Nevertheless, the General Assembly also reaffirmed this in Resolution, which states the maintenance of international peace and security, which was the main objective of international law (Casses, 1999). Accordingly, self-rule and determination cannot operate to destabilize otherwise stable States or threaten international peace and security. However a Remedial theorist Allen Buchanan recommends the exercise of external self-rule and determination in situations where no other remedy is available (Buchanan, 1997; Horowitz, 2003; Cassese, 1999).

2.5. Evolution of the right to self-rule and determination

Self-rule and determination has philosophical and political roots in the European Enlightenment of the 16th century accompanied by the American Declaration of Independence (ADI 1776) which proclaimed that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed and that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it (Onyango, 1999). And further it was shaped by the leaders of the French Revolution of 1789 whose famous slogan of Liberate, Eaglet, and Fraternity strengthened the doctrine of popular sovereignty and contributed to the development of the notion of self-rule and determination (Thürer and Burri, 2008). As Wright (2014) argues the French revolution was more influenced by the political ideas of Rousseau led by his Social Contract theory, which advocates that the state „must have a universal and compelling power to move and dispose of each part in whatever manner is beneficial to the whole". He believed that de jure sovereignty was a product of „popular self-expression"manifested by the „general will".

Though self-rule and determination traces its origin back to the American and French Revolutions, no other period has had such a profound influence on its interpretation and application as the 20th, in which the concept gained its real currency (Wright, 2014; Lino, 2010). During the 20th century Self-rule and determination, as apolitical principle, was first advocated by both Vladimir Lenin and Woodrow Wilson in the early 20th century (Lino, 2010); but with differing emphases and motivations ; Lenin with the Marxist veil and Wilson with the main purpose of allocating territories between the existing states (Moise, 2002).

Lenin (1914) argued that the demand for self-rule and determination belonged wholly and exclusively to the sphere of politics. To him the right of nationalities to self-rule and determination implies exclusively the right to independence in the political sense; the right to free political separation from the oppressor nation. According to Lenin (1914), the principle of self-rule and determination has three components, namely, the right of small ethnic or national groups for political separation against the oppressor nation; the right of people not to be forcibly annexed by the military victorious powers; and the right of the people in colonies for independence and for the formation of independent states. Here, it can, however, be argued that the right of self-rule and determination in Leninist doctrine existed only for cases where it served the cause of class conflict and so-called socialist justice; it was only a tactical means to serve the aims of world communism and not an end in itself. On the other hand in his „Fourteen Points“ statement given on January 1918, Wilson linked the territorial integrity and political independence of all states with the right of peoples to self-rule and determination and the protection of national minorities (Paech & Topçuoğlu, 2014). However, as (Moise 2002) says Wilson, self-rule and determination was not welcomed by the international community of that time and was often criticized even by his close collaborators, who predicted self-rule and determination would become a source of political instability and domestic disorder and a cause of rebellion. Wilson's notion of self-rule and determination was further criticized for raising hopes, which could never be realized (Thurer and Burri, 2008). However, as Yusoff and Sanjoon (2016) explained, the 1920s and 1930s witnessed some successful movements for self-rule and determination in the beginning of the process of decolonization. Soon the ratifications of the United Nations Charter (UNC) in 1945, at the end of the World War II, placed the principle of self-rule and determination into the framework of international

law and diplomacy as the right to self-rule and determination of peoples (Yusoff & Sarjoon, 2016). Finally, this evolution culminated in the adaptation by the UN General Assembly in 1960 of the Declaration of Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Hannum, 1990). Finally, proclaimed as a goal of international governance under article 1(2) of the Charter of the United Nations, the right of self-rule and determination was enshrined in common article 1 of the1966 International Covenants. The incorporation of the right to self-rule and determination into the ICCPR and ICESCR has recognized self-rule and determination with its internal dimension more than the previous legal instruments (Cassese, 1999).

2.5.1 Evolution of the Right to Self-rule and determination in Ethiopia

Literatures on the Ethiopian history show that before the creation of Ethiopia by Emperor Menilik II, there existed self-governing provinces in the north [Abyssinia] under the imperial throne which served as symbol of unity and politically and culturally autonomous Kingdoms in the South, South West and South East (Marcus, 1975; Mekuria, 1960; Levine, 2011). However, the successful expansion of Menilik from Showa brought an end to the political and cultural autonomy of these Kingdoms (Bahiru, 1999). Here, it can be argued that there was the idea of de facto Self-rule and determination throughout the pre-Menilik II Ethiopia [both northern Abyssinia and the Southern, South Western and South Eastern Kingdoms]. The reign of Haile Selassie witnessed a period of fierce centralization and acculturation into the mainstream identity (Marcus, 1975; Bahiru, 1999). The concept of self-rule and determination in the era of the emperor can be raised in relation to the Eritrean case, in which they were allowed to exercise a relative autonomy; however, it didn't last long (Bahiru, 1999). Besides its reluctance to recognize the ethnic diversity in the country, the Haileselassie regime didn't escape the so-called „Nationalities Question"which was posed by the Haile Selassie I University students (Markakis, 2003; Bahiru, 2014). As Markakis (2003) describes it, the hitherto taboo, diversity, was resoundingly broken in the autumn of 1969, with the publication of an article by Wallelign Mekonnen in the University student paper entitled „On the Question of Nationalities in Ethiopia". Wallelign Mekonnen, a leading student radical, went on to describe a model state in which every nationality is allowed to preserve and develop its language, its music and its history, and where no nation dominates another (Bahiru, 2014)

Following the 1976 Ethiopian Revolution, the military junta that seized the political power, however, tried to contain the „nationalities question“ with its „Land to the Tiller“ declaration and slogan of „Ethiopia First“ under the banner of Scientific Socialism (Markakis, 2003; Bahiru, 1999). However, the reforms made by the Dergue couldn't culminate the deep rooted „Nationalities Question“[which I referred to as „the challenges and opportunities of self-rule and determination“in the study area]. Thus, the Dergue started to compromise the ignited „nationalities question“by the establishment of an Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities (ISEN) in 1983 (Markakis, 2003; Lovise, 2006; Young, 1996).

According to Merera Gudina (2003) the Dergue simply tolerated the principle of self-rule and determination to indicate its adherence to the socialist principle of „self-rule and determination of nationalities“in Leninist fashion. To this end little sensitivity towards ethnic issues emerged that with its new Constitution of 1987, five out of thirty administrative regions, including Eritrea, Dire Dawa, Tigray, Assab and Ogaden, gained the status as autonomous (Lovise 2006). Yet, as Lovise (2006) argues, the Dergue policy towards ethnic groups was to allow, and even to stimulate, cultural articulation of ethnicity, but to suppress political expressions of it. However, the Dergue tried to contain the issue of self-rule and determination of nationalities, the self-determined ethno nationalist liberators from the Northern Desert brought an end to the military junta in 1991.

The Right of Self-rule and determination with its contested and contestable dimension entered Ethiopia following the success of ethno nationalist „liberators“over the Dergue. Thus, the „liberators“in keeping their promise heralded the adoption of the right of self-rule and determination of nations, nationalities and peoples; who are later defined as „a group of people who share a large measure of a common culture or customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory“(FDRE Constitution, 1994: Art. 39(5)). In line with declaring the adoption of the right to self-rule and determination, the Preamble of the Transitional charter heralds the end of the era of subjugation and oppression (Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia, 1991).

2.6. The Right to Self-rule and determination in Global, Regional and National contexts

2.6.1. The Right to Self-rule and determination in the International Bill of Rights

The principle of self-rule and determination was first recognized as a general principle through Articles 1(2) and 55 of the United Nations Charter of 1945. The Charter expressly establishes the right to self-rule and determination in Article 1(2); stating that the purposes of the United Nations are to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights with self-rule and determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace (UN Charter, Articles 1(2). Article 55 further states that the UN shall promote various policies relating to economic and social conditions and respect for human rights, in favor of achieving the goal set forth in Article 1(2). The two International Human Rights Covenants of 1966; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) also refer to the principle of self-rule and determination. Phrased with the same wording, articles 1(1) state that „all peoples have the right of self-rule and determination, and by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". According to Zaric (2013), it was due to the adoption of these two covenants that the notion of self-rule and determination shifted from a legal obligation, in essentially the area of decolonization, to a universally recognized human right.

2.6.2. Self-rule and determination in the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR)

The principle of self-rule and determination was first recognized as a general principle through Articles 1(2) and 55 of the United Nations Charter of 1945. The Charter expressly establishes the right to self-rule and determination in Article 1(2), stating that the purposes of the United Nations are to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights with self-rule and determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace (UN Charter, Articles 1(2). Article 55 further states that the UN shall promote various policies relating to economic and social conditions and respect for human rights in favor of achieving the goal set forth in Article 1(2). The two

International Human Rights Covenants of 1966; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) also refer to the principle of self-rule and determination. Phrased with the same wording, articles 1(1) state that „all peoples have the right of self-rule and determination, and by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". According to Zaric (2013), it was due to the adoption of these two covenants that the notion of self-rule and determination shifted from a legal obligation, in essentially the area of decolonization, to a universally recognized human right.

2.6.3. The Right to Self-determination in the 1994 FDRE Constitution

The preamble of the 1994 FDRE Constitution affirms that the Ethiopian peoples, in full and free exercise of their right to self-rule and determination, are strongly committed themselves to build one political and one economic community based on their common interests, common outlook and common destiny (FDRE Constitution, 1994). Thus, the right to self-rule and determination of Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples is stipulated under the 1994 FDRE Constitution as the fundamental principle that guides the Ethiopian society and hence the right of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples under Article 39. Thus, under subarticles 1, 2 and 3 of Article 39 the right to self-rule and determination is designated as: Firstly, the rights of nations, nationalities, and peoples to speak, write and develop their own languages; and to express, develop and preserve their culture and preserve their history are guaranteed under the Constitution. These rights are considered the inherent rights of nations, nationalities and peoples. Secondly, the right to a full measure of self-government which includes the right to establish institutions of government in the territory that it inhabits. Under Article 88 of the Constitution, it obliges the government to promote and support the people's self-rule and determination at all levels guided by democratic principles as specified in the Constitution and House of Federation Consolidation Proclamation. Under this, nations, nationalities and peoples have the right to establish their own local governments such as Zones or Woreda or their own national regional states. Thirdly, the right of nations, nationalities and peoples to have representation at all levels of the government structure. And fourthly, the right of nations, nationali-

ties and peoples to secede whenever they feel that their constitutional rights are denied, abridged or abrogated (FDRE Constitution, 1994: Art. 39).

2.7. Holders of the Right to Self-rule and determination

Holders of the right to self-rule and determination are not uniform throughout all legal instruments. While the international bill of rights and the African charter on human and people's rights make bearers „people", the 1994 FDRE Constitution entitles it to Nations, Nationalities and Peoples. Thus, the following section discuses bearers of the right to self-rule and determination under the international bill of rights, ACHPR and the 1994 FDRE Constitution

2.7.1. Holders under the International Bill of Rights

Article 1 of the United Nations Charter (UNC) declares one of the purposes of the United Nations to be to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-rule and determination of „peoples". The common article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which were both adopted by the UN General Assembly (UNGA) in 1966, appears to spell out this principle in unequivocal terms, saying „All peoples. Thus, it is obvious that all „peoples"are entitled to the right to self-rule and determination under the International Bill of Rights. Now the question remains: „Who are the people? " Is that the entire people of a state or different ethnic communities residing within the state? However, despite the repeated use of the term „peoples" under the International Bill of Rights, the term has never been clarified or given a precise definition. Brown (2005) argues that the term „people" has been purposely left undefined in international law, because if the right to self-rule and determination were to be applied broadly to all conceivable groups, this could destabilize states and cause peace and security problems. Thus, the term „people"remain to be a source of positional interpretations among state representatives within the UNGA and scholars in the field (Cheno, 2010; Sustein, 1991; Wellman, 2005). This is because according to the explanation of Antonio Cassese, international lawyer and an author of an authoritative book on the right to self-rule and determination, in the UNGA some representatives would opt for the broadest interpretation of the term, while others would opt for

narrow interpretations, standing from the position of their respective state (Cassese, 1999). Besides state representatives and politicians there also exists difference among scholars in defining the term „people“. For example, Dahlitz (2003) defines the term people as groups of persons who, whatever their rank, have been separated from each other on ethnical, racial, linguistic, cultural, religious, traditional, or historical grounds. Crawford (2006) claimed that a people can be identified with 'reasonable precision"; he tends to use a vague term'self-rule and determination unit' in order to define the subject of the right. „Self-rule and determination unit“was described by Higgins (1963) as the „right of the majority within a generally accepted political unit to the exercise of power. Furthermore, some authors have tried to suggest a workable definition of a „people“. Murswiek (1993) in his definition links a people to a territory. He defined a people as „a group which can be a holder of the right to self-rule and determination which exists only if it lives in a distinct territory; where it constitutes the majority and where it is able to speak its own language, develop its own culture, cultivate its traditions or practice its particular religion“(Murswiek, 1993). Yet another scholar Michael Kirby (1988), an Australian jurist, suggested that the holders of the right to self-rule and determination should be based on the identification of a group of individual human beings who enjoy some or all of the following common features: a common historical tradition; racial or ethnic identity; cultural homogeneity; linguistic unity; religious or ideological affinity; territorial connection; and common economic life. According to him the group as a whole must have the will to be identified as a people or the consciousness of being a people, as the key subjective element.

On the other side Adam (2002), one of the world's leading authorities on self-rule and determination, suggested that international law should move away from the theoretical concept of „peoples“ to self-rule and determination for all local communities down to the smallest community, because a community is easier to define than a „people“. Hans Adam's suggestion goes with the current Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia’s Constitutional entitlement of the right to self-rule and determination to all ethnic communities designated as Nations, Nationalities and Peoples residing in the country, irrespective of their number. However, the FDRE Constitution categorizes the entire ethnic communities in the country into nations, nationalities and peoples based on unspecified criteria and peoples are deemed to be

the smaller group, and all are entitled to exercise self-rule and determination (FDRE Constitution, 1994: Art. 39(5)).Yet, the extent and scope of the right is still open to some debate. Therefore it seems that the scholars cannot agree on who deserves rights of self-rule and determination. Thus, the controversy over who constitutes a people continues.

2.7.2. Holders under the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights

Like the International Bill of Rights (IBR) under the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, people"are entitled to the right to self-determination. However the same question remains here with regard to „who are the people? " Are they the whole Africans? Are they the people within the constituting states? Or, are they all the ethnic communities within all African states? The explanation given by Gittlemen (1982) shows that, the ACHPR has purposely left the task giving a precise definition to the term „people"to the Commission. Thus, led by the authoritative definition of the Commissioners, in Africa, there appear to be two schools of thought regarding the term „people". The first is represented by Commissioner Isaac Nguema, who holds that „peoples", as understood by the framers of the ACHPR, applies to the entire population of a country, i.e., those that had formerly been colonized by European states. Here, it fails to appreciate the fact that many ethnic groups within African states are internally dominated and claiming self-determination. Thus, this school of thought has been criticized for denying ethnic groups, many of whom feel dominated by another group within their state and claiming the right to meaningfully participate and have democratic representation in government; the right to pursue and develop their language and culture and the right to a level of political autonomy.

The second school is represented by Commissioner Oji Umozurike, who holds that the term „people" denotes groups of people that have an identifiable interest, such as tribes or fishermen. The definition of the term „people "by this school of thought is stretched beyond the possible meaningful application. For example, the interest of Fishermen may not extend economic gain. Fishermen are economic groups, not ethnic or any other social groups.Thus, stretching the application of the term people"to interest groups like Fishermen would bring unintended political consequence.

2.7.3. Holders under the FDRE Constitution

The 1994 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's Constitution assigns nations, nationalities, and peoples as the holders of the right to self-rule and determination (FDRE Constitution, 1994; Art. 39). Hence, these nations, nationalities, and peoples are defined in the 1994 FDRE Constitution as "a group of people who share a large measure of a common culture or customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identity, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory" under Article 39(5), unlike the International Bill of Rights and the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, which left the term „peoples" undefined. However, the FDRE Constitution doesn't set the criteria to distinguish the bearers of the right to self-rule and determination: nations, nationalities, and peoples. Wubishet (2015), a Constitutional Law Expert, in his work titled „አ ን ቀ ጽ 39 comes to identify the distinction between nations, nationalities, and peoples. Taking the Leninist origin of the 1994 FDRE Constitution into account and the way it is currently being played in the politics led by the incumbent, EPRDF, he comes to explaining the categorization of the people [in a universalistic sense] of Ethiopia into nations, nationalities, and peoples as a categorization based on numeric criteria (Wubishet, 2015). The explanation of Wubishet seems convincing because, for example, within the regional state of Amhara, while the Amharas are called "nations, the Agaws and the like are referred to as „nationalities," and yet the recently recognized Kimants are categorized as „peoples.". The other important thing to be noted is that the core criterion used to define nations, nationalities, and peoples as right holders is a linguistic criterion. Language, inter alia, is used as the most important identity marker and thus a foundational prerequisite in one's pursuit of self-rule and determination.Played in the politics led by the incumbent, EPRDF, when it comes to explaining the categorization of the people [in a universalistic sense] of Ethiopia into nations, nationalities, and peoples as a categorization based on numeric criteria (Wubishet, 2015). The explanation of Wubishet seems convincing because, for example, within the regional state of Amhara, while the Amharas are called "nations, the Agaws and the like are referred to as „nationalities," and yet the recently recognized Kimants are categorized as „peoples.". The other important thing to be noted is that the core criterion used to define nations, nationalities, and peoples as right holders is a linguistic criterion. Language,

inter alia, is used as the most important identity marker and thus a foundational prerequisite in one's pursuit of self-rule and determination.

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Description of the Study Area

3.1. 1.The Gurage Community

According to the historian Paul B. Henze, their origins are explained by the traditions of a military expedition to the south during the last years of the Axumite Kingdom, which left military colonies that eventually became isolated from both northern Ethiopia and each other. Guraghe zone stands in 4th position in the southern region in terms of zonal population, next to Sidama, GamoGoffa, and Wolayta zones, respectively. The Gurage are sedentary agriculturalists practicing a complex system of crop rotation and transplanting. Ensete is their main staple crop, but other cash crops are grown, which include coffee and chat. Animal husbandry is practiced, but mainly for milk supply and dung. Other foods consumed include green cabbage, cheese, butter, and roasted grains, with meat consumption being very limited. The Gurage, the writer Nega Mezlekia notes, 'have earned a reputation as skilled traders.

3.1.2. The Geographical Location of Gurage Zone

Guraghe Zone is one of the 13 zones of the southern nation's nationalities and peoples, a regional state. It is located 430 km north of the southern nation's nationalities and peoples, the regional state capital (Hawassa), and 155km south of Addis Ababa. Relatively, Guraghe zone is bordered in the north, north, North West, northeast, and east by the Oromiya region; in the west by Yem special woreda; in the south by Hadiya zone; and in the south-east by Silte zone. Astronomically, the Guraghe zone extends from 7.76^0–8.45^0 north latitude and 37.45^0–38.71^0 east longitude.

Currently, Guraghe zone is restructured into fifteen woreda administrations, such as Abeshge, Kebena, Kokir Gedebano, Muhur-Aklil, Ezha, Cheha, Enemor, Geta, Gumer, Endegagn, Meskan, Sodo, Mareko, Misrak Meskan, South Sodo, and Enor woredas, as well as eight town administrations, namely Wolkite, Butajira, Agena, Emdebir, Gunhere, Arekte, Buye,

and Enseno town administrations. On the other hand, the Guraghe zone contains 437 rural kebeles.

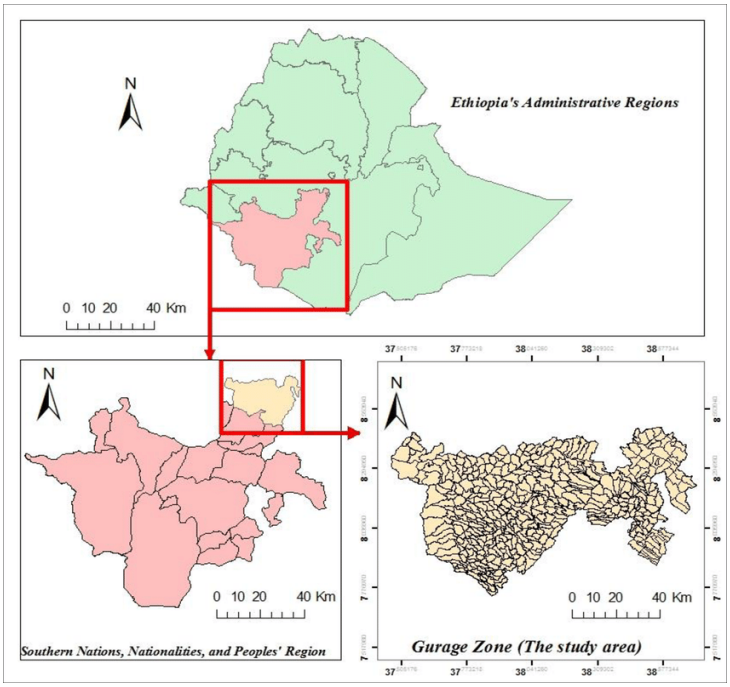


Figure 1 Map of the study area

3.2 Research Approach

In this study, a qualitative research approach was employed to explore the challenges of self-rule and determination in the study area. A qualitative approach is usually employed for deeply rooted studies that attempt to interpret political, economic, and social reality. The need to utilize a qualitative approach in this study basically arises from the exploratory and descriptive nature of the research. Obviously, exploration requires going deep into people's day-to-day lives, interactions, and expressions of past experiences that can be better captured through gathering qualitative information. Moreover, the qualitative approach was based on methods of data generation that were both flexible and sensitive to the social contexts in which data were produced, rather than rigidly standardized or structured and entirely abstracted from real-life contexts (Mason, 2005). Such an inquiry also permits the researcher to incorporate the participant's actual expression of matters from their own perspective through their own words. The issue of self-rule and determination was related to aspects of political,

economic, and social realities; qualitative analysis was believed to be providing an appropriate understanding of the subject. Accordingly, this research was focus on a qualitative approach with the view that exploring the challenges of self-rule and determination in the local context can be collected by taking into account the views, experiences, and events of the local officials, office heads, team leaders, communality members, the members of the council in the Gurage zone,the members of the House of Representatives, and elders, as well as other ordinary workers currently working in the different sectors of the Gurage zone. The options and experiences of a small number of respondents can be properly collected through a qualitative approach, but the context of these groups tends to last a bit longer.

According to Anderson (2010), a qualitative approach allows the researcher a kind of flexibility in that the research framework and direction can be quickly revised as new information emerges. Thus, the qualitative approach was reasonably employed to achieve the objective of the study, which could not have been achieved without this method.

3.3. Research Design

In this research, case study research design was used as the appropriate research strategy because, as different writers like Creswell (2003) pointed out, case study design helps the researcher explore detailed information about the nature of a program, event, activity, or process that can be done by one or more individuals or groups of individuals.

Pragmatically, how federalism is functioning and what challenges of self-rule and determination at the grass-roots level have to be empirically faced in order to understand the process and structure of the new political arrangement. The qualitative case study design was adapted following thorough analysis of the situation under investigation. According to Kothari (2014), the research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted and serves as a blueprint for the collection and analysis of data. In line with this assumption, Bhattacherjee (2012) advises the choice of research design to depend on the nature of the research phenomenon being studied. Accordingly, among the five approaches to qualitative study (narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study) as categorized by Creswell (2007), the case study design was found to be the most appropriate to study the case of Gurage Zone. The adaptation of the case study design was purposely taking

into account the issue of the study at hand and the chosen design's strength to derive a richer, more contextualized, and more authentic interpretation of the phenomenon of interest than most other research methods by virtue of its ability to capture a rich array of contextual data (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Moreover, the strength of the case research method lies at the heart of its ability to capture reality in great detail within field settings and to develop an informed understanding of the interlocking set of social, cultural, and political factors that might have influenced the phenomenon of interest (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Therefore, I preferred to use a case study research design to explore in detail the challenges of self-rule and determination in the study area.

3.4 Data Source

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used for this study. The primary sources of data were in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, and the secondary sources of data was both published and unpublished documents, for example, the FDRE constitution and letters of zonal councils.

3.4.1. Primary data

Primary data was secured using in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. For this purpose in-depth interviews were held with purposively selected the scholar of political science and law, the opponent political party leader, the prosperity party leader, the elders, the peace ambassadors, the member of zonal council, the government officials at, Zonal and Woreda level, expert of house of federation and residents from the study area. All participants were select based on their personal involvement with the phenomenon under investigation and their ability and willingness to answer the researcher's questions accurately and adequately, and not based on convenience or access. In addition to the in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions have also served as another source of primary data.

3.4.2. Secondary data

A secondary source of data refers to the data that has already been collected and analyzed by someone else (Kothari, 2014). Thus, adequate secondary sources of data were secured from both published and unpublished sources and used by authenticating their reliability and suita-

bility to the issue under investigation. These secondary sources of data include books, journals, YouTube interviews, and annual reports that relate to the research problem or are directly related to the study.

3.5. Data gathering Instrument

In this study, different types of data collection instruments were used to get detailed information from the participants regarding the challenges of self-rule and determination in the Gurage zone. Accordingly, the data collection instruments were in-depth interview focus group discussions, and document reviews.

3.5.1. In Depth Interview

The researcher used interviews as the major source of data collection for this study. The rationale of the qualitative research technique is that it allows for a person-to-person discussion. Such discussion provides the opportunity to have a deeper understanding of one's beliefs, feelings, and behaviors on important issues. It also gives the researcher a lot of opportunity to probe (critically analyze) deep into the interviewer, who has the opportunity to ask and direct questions using personal contact with the participant depending on the interview situation (Kojo, 2001).

According to Kojo (2001), the need to rely on interviews as a major form of data collection arises from the exceptionally interactive nature of the instrument, which gives the researcher many opportunities to probe deep into the interviewees, personal experiences. Furthermore, it is a useful approach that helps capture the required information.

Therefore, in this study, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with Gurage Zone Council members, administration officials, elders, political elites, and members of the community at large. The key informants were interviewed using a semi-structured interview technique. The researcher managed the individual interviews. The researchers used a tape recorder during the interview session.

3.5.2. Focus group discussion

According to Dwson (2007), focus group discussion can be a useful supplement to a one-to-one interview. It was used to obtain options, attitudes, and experiences at a group level that can help the researcher as a source of validation. Hence, in this study, after having the necessary data from the participants through individual interviews, two separate focus group discussions with 2–4 participants each were employed to triangulate the unclear ideas and information related to the subject under study. Some of the team leaders and the heads of local officials who were interviewed previously participated in the focus group discussion. This was because the researcher strongly believes that the invitation of the participants from one category of interview technique to the other category (FGDs) increased the breadth (arena) and readability of the data collected for this study. The discussion lasted for about 90 minutes. The researcher has the role of moderator during the discussion.

Accordingly, the main purpose of FGD was to draw on the respondent's attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences, and reactions in a way that would not be feasible using other methods. In this context, an individual's attitudes, feelings, and beliefs may be partially independent of those of the group or the social setting. Unlike individual interviews, which aim at the individual's feelings, attitudes, and perspectives, a focus group evokes a multiplicity of views.

3.5.3. Document Review

To get comprehensive data, documents including regional and federal constitutions were examined and included. The UN Charter (including the two 1966 Covenants), the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights, books, journal articles, working papers, MA theses, PhD dissertations, and other published and unpublished personal documents were also be reviewed in order to assess their suitability and reliability for this study. Newspapers and magazines could additionally be accessed.

3.6. Sample of the Study and Sample Techniques

According to Zikmmnd (2006), the major ways of taking a sample may be grouped into probability and non-probability techniques. Probability sampling was where each member of the study population has an equal chance of being included in the study sample, whereas under non-probability sampling, members are chosen depending on the nature of the study without giving each member of the study population an equal chance of being included. For this particular study, local government officials, community members, ethnic leaders or elders, and members of the Gurage Zone Council who are relevant to the research objectives were targeted as participants. There are no strict rules about sampling or sample sizes in qualitative research. The sample size depends on the purpose of the research, the quality of the information being collected, and the available resources. To this end, the sample size of this study was determined based on the saturation point.

There are many different ways to choose a sample, and the method used depends on the area of research, research methodology, and preference of the researcher.The researcher was employing purposive samples. This was based on the assumption that purposive samples were used if description rather than generalization was the goal. Therefore, in this study, 5 zonal officials, 7 the council of the Gurage zone, 1 the expert of the FDRE Secretariat of Constitutional Inquiry in the House of Federation, 1 peace ambassador, 8 resdiential of the Gurage zone, 2 experts in political science and law, 2 from political parties, but also 2 elders of the community members, totaling 28 intervewr's of the Gurage zone, participated. Among these subjects, a few of them were purposefully select to be participants in the focus group discussion. Generally, purposive sampling was used to select the key informants in this study.

3.7. Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organizing the data for analysis and then reducing the data into themes through the process of coding and condensing (Creswell, 2007). Thus, for analyzing data collected through in-depth interviews, FGDs, and document analysis, a thematic way of data analysis were employed. As Creswell (2007) advises, the processes of data collection, analysis, and report writing are interrelated and can go together. The analysis of in-depth interviews and focus group discussion notes involved the

process of grouping emerging themes. This analysis was what Fox (1969) calls an intriguing process, probably the most intellectually demanding of all techniques of data analysis and one of the few areas in the later stage of the research process in which the researcher plays a strong and creative role. In addition, a huge portion of the documents were reviewed and integrated with the information obtained from the participants of the study in the result and discussion part of this study.

The researcher uses thematic qualitative data analysis. In this stage, the data obtained from interviews and discussions was initially translated from Amharic to English. Following this, the data collected from various sources was recorded, coded, and transcribed according to their order of categories by the researcher.In doing so; the stored and categorized data were interpreted to reach the stage of the findings of the study. Similarly, the documents are also analyzed using the document analysis technique, and the data collected from them were triangulated with the participant's information. Accordingly, the coding of the data was done manually, and the data were analyzed thematically based on the research objectives that guided the study and a conclusion were made with reference to the main objective.

3.8. Ethical consideration

According to Raune (2005), for the prevalence of ethically grounded work, one must be ready to consider the research plans and activities in light of generally accepted rules and conducts. On this understanding, the researcher informed research participants that all personal information's they were given and kept confidential and that their names were not disclosed to keep confidentially of information's throughout the phase of research work. Apart from this, I respected the rules and regulations of the study participants.

Necessary ethical considerations were also given due emphasis. In approaching the respondents, informed consent of the participants was given priority. The privacy of the research participants was respected and the collected data were carefully kept. It is evident that the study was conducted in a politically sensitive topic and under unstable political atmosphere that participants were reluctant to participate from the beginning. However, by presenting the general information regarding the purpose of the study I came to winning their interest. Thus,

because of the aforementioned political sensibility of the topic and the issues under discussion, I've adopted the policy of not naming the interviewees.

In line with the viewpoints of the scholar, different ethical principles were considered throughout data collection methods in order to get accurate information. Firstly, I was taking permission letter from the department of governance and development studie and administrator of the district. Secondly, negotiation were made with the interviewed respondents to gain permission in order to conduct discussion ethically through describing the objective of the study by using Amharic language that enables every participants and respondents to understand and aware them that all data is collected from them and used only for the purpose of this research, or no any other hidden mission. Likewise, the interview schedule were prepared by using Amharic language since the medium of communication is Amharic and the data were collected through enumerators who was trained about whole part the study by the researcher. In addition, ethical clearance was attached corresponding with cover page of interview schedule to make clear about the purpose of the study and the data were handled confidential.

4. CHAPTER FOUR

4.1. Data presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine and discuss the findings from the collected data on The Quest for Self-Rule and Self-Determination in Ethiopian Ethnic Federalism: The Case of Gurage Statehood Claims, in SNNPR, Ethiopia. Hence, this study critically addressed the basic objectives of the study after organizing the data that was gathered through interviews and documents that were found to be relevant for the study and presenting the views of key informants in accordance with the code given in G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, and On the order of the date of the interview to ensure their privacy. As well, this chapter discusses, analyzes, and interprets the overall research of The Quest for Self-Rule and Self-Determination in Ethiopian Ethnic Federalism: The Case of Gurage Statehood Claims in SNNPR and Ethiopia. Based on the estimated research objectives of the study, Therefore, the research findings from the study, which focused on The Quest for Self-Rule and Self-Determination in Ethiopian Ethnic Federalism: The Case of Gurage Statehood Claims in SNNPR, are as follows;

4 .2 back ground the Gurages quest for self-determination

The data obtained from the primary sources indicated that the back ground of the Gurage self-determination quest had its own historical foundation in the political space in Ethiopia. The transitional charter, which established the transitional government, in 1991G.C, abolished the old 14-part country (kifel-hager) and district organization (Awuraja) or geographical division and organized state structure of the country that was based on ethno-linguistic federalism. Based on such structure Gurage zone was lumped with Kenbata and Hadya, and were organized into regions seven. However, such structure raised complaint among Gurage elites as the numerical strength of Gurage people in Ethiopia is only 4th after Oromo, Amara, and Tigre, so it should be organized as a separate regional autonomy.

When the people of Gurage protested the creation of a new SNNPR region in Hawasa for the second time in 1995 G.C. the community of Gurage was found in Region 7. The Gurage

people, who were then represented in the council, made it clear that they were against the pressure that was organized under SNNPR because the Gurage regions are not comparable in terms of location, cultural history, or other factors.

One of the key informants portrayed the sentiments of the people towards the new SNNPR structure as:

For unknown reasons, the five regions that are home to 56 different ethnic groups were combined into one region in 1995G.C. People organized in SNNPR using an unconstitutional approach, and they continued the struggle of the quests in various forms. The people of Gurage have been asking the same question since 1995G.C, and they have not received a response to their request to organize in the region in recent years (R-5 welkite, January 6, 2024G.C).

Similarly other interviewer's opinion that shares the above point of views;

> *Durinig In the 2005G.C national election and after the election, the people of Gurage raised their voices against the EPRDF government. The basic key reasons for not being elected by the EPRDF in the zone are the denial of response to the constitutional question of self-governance in Gurage and the question of regional organization due to the riots in all the districts of the zone after the election. For the urban to rural public discussion forums, the question of training forums where indigenous leaders of the native university students of the zone were held was raised and passed (E-1Agena 15th of January 2024G.C).*

4.2.1. The first self-determination quest

The first quest for self-determination occurred during the rise to power of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in 1991G.c, which introduced a new political system that drastically altered Ethiopia's governance structure and was warmly welcomed by the majority of the population in the Gurage zone. This information is based on data gathered from primary sources. C-2 is forwarding the subsequent opinions:

> *When it was organized as a region in 1992G.C and when it was organized as a district in 1993G.C. Since most of the educated people did not have signifi-*

cant participation in the EPRDF organization and the people stood with an organization of opposition political parties called GPDF that was moving in opposition to the EPRDF, at the level of this organization, by organizing and promoting an idea against the organization of a new ethnic region and negotiating with the ethnic region, Gurage should be organized as a separate region. Starting from the discussion forum of the Constitution, EPRDF opened in all the districts where the people of the zone are located in the transition period, and the representatives and elders of the organization represented by the people in the zone and regional forums argued that Gurage should be organized independently in the region (C-2Hawriat, January 23rd, 2024G.C)

Similarly, other key informants said that the historical context of the Gurage Self-determination Quest was accompanied by a serious challenge.

During the initial phase of the Transitional Period, the Transitional Charter divided Ethiopia into fourteen regions. The area that is now called SNNPRS was, at that time, composed of five separate regions. Region 7 constituted the Gurage. However, the EPRDF government decided in an anti-constitutional way that the quest was collapsed by political conspiracy, and finally, the Gurage people, without any consensus, were under the control of the SNNPR. The Gurage lost their first opportunity and aborted their statehood attempt (E-2Welkite, January 6, 2024G.C).

4.2. 2.The second self-determination request and current updates

The information gathered from the original sources the current updates of the quest are based on political opinions. The country's newfound political space (reform) was made possible by the EPRDF party's crackdown and the federal government's weakness. Additionally, with PM Abiy taking office, the country faced a variety of scenarios. One of those was the continuation of the quest, primarily in the SNNPR, which is a good starting point for relaunching the Gurage quest in the public and government structures.

In the 4th round, 6th year, 6th emergency meeting in25\11\2018 G.C held by the Gurage Zone Council discussed the proposed agenda for the administration of Gurage zone to be or-

ganized as a region .It was unanimously approved and the main reasons why this organization is necessary;C6are described as follows;

About the constitutional right to submit a request since the southern region was organized, the people did not accept under SNNPR government. Article 47, sub-paragraphs 2 and 3 of A-E of the Federal Constitution The age-old public question of the way in which the constitutional rights were violated In addition to living as a psychological victim, the people of Gurage have hope the new political reforms of the country (C-5 Welkite 14th of January 2024G.C).

The data obtained from primary sources displayed major factors that forced the people of Gurage demanded self-determination three decades ago C-6 has forwarded the following views:

The basic reason they raised in 1992G.C and 1993G.C. was that the people of Gurage were scattered in different three- or four-district administrations under the previous regimes. Not only were they unable to play a proper national role in the economic, political, and social development of the country, but they also met each other to enrich their culture, language, and history and to prove that they were the great people of Gurage. It has become a victim of various political, economic, and cultural influences (C-6th Adis Ababa, 22nd of January 2024G.C).

The data obtained from the primary source confirmed that the factors that trigger the quest are that the language and culture are disappearing and their identities are being lost and absorbed by others. He could not get out of poverty to organize and develop the area. Apart from yesterday's development of self-help activities, the community has been forgotten by the government; they are not the fair beneficiaries of the government's infrastructure construction, etc. In 2005G.C and 2019G.C, the people lost them because they were not organized in the region. A 54-page document has been prepared and submitted as an attachment to the regional and federation councils in connection with the question, which describes the political, economic, and social benefits and the many benefits at the regional level.

Similarly, other key informants share the above views:

From a political point of view, the fact that the people represent their natives in key leadership positions from the state to the federal level, the lack of representation of power based on the Gurage people of the Addis Ababa regional administration, the lack of a representative to present the basic demands of the people, the lack of adequate representation of the people at every level of authority, the fair economy, i.e., infrastructure, social development, etc. (R1, Moher, 3rd of January 2024G.C).

The primary data obtained from the key informants, the people of Gurage, shows that if organized as regional autonomy based on the FDRE constitution, it has gained the following opportunities:

Due to its status as a region, Gurage is entitled to its institutions, regional administration, and political authority. Liberating the zone from gang oppressors who only serve as envoys allows citizens to make decisions at the national level, share resources equally, build infrastructure, and be fairly represented in government positions. It also helps to manage development, develop a stable and viable economy and political life, and strengthen Gurage's distinct territory and topography (S-1 January 9th, 2024G.C, Welkite University).

Similarly, other interviewers share their points of view.

As long as Gurage organizes its regional autonomy according to the FDRE constitution, the people will grow in culture and language, respect human and democratic rights, encourage investment, and are able to participate appropriately in the political, economic, and social spheres of the nation. Its regional flag, regional territory, own legislative, executive, and judicial branches, and regional constitution (C-1Janiary 23rd 2024G.C.Hawriat).

Formalizing the regional demand of the regional statehood, according to the Gurage Zone Council, wrote a letter for the SNNPR Council outlining the formal demand of the regional quest of the Gurage Zone based on the legal ground. Hence, the council argued that there is no doubt that the Gurage people more than satisfy the criteria of NNPs, who are the right holders of the constitution. Accordingly, the zonal council was reported to “have resolved to establish the “Gurage National Regional Government” and ‘unanimously approved and voted for the regional statehood of Gurage. The participants, including the members of the Gurage Zone Council, elders, cultural leaders, and religious fathers, supported the approval in which

acclamation lasted for over one day". In line with the procedures set out in the constitution, then, the zonal council wrote a letter for knowledge and execution of the decision made by the zone council to the SNNPR State Council dated November 29, 2018 G.C. This letter was noticed by the regional state council about the unanimous decision of the zonal council per Art. 47(2) and (3a) of the FDRE constitution and called for the proper implementation of the decision of the zonal council within the appropriate time. Consequently, the regional state council was not accepted and was not investigated and verified for its legality.

When these procedures are seen in light with the constitution, one can from the outset conclude that it is in conformity with the provisions of the constitution which states that the right of any nation, nationality or people to form its own state is exercisable, inter alia, when the demand for statehood has been approved by a two-thirds majority of the members of the council of the NNPs concerned and the demand is presented in writing to the state council.

The key informants shares about the above views

The Gurage people's interest and the FDRE constitution justify the Gurage quest's legal and procedural foundation.Both internal and exterior dimensions of self-determination are recognized under the FDRE Constitution. This suggests that any ethnic group that is acknowledged as a nation, nationality, or people has the right to demand internal recognition for all forms of self-governance, autonomy, and democratic representation, as well as the right to demand external recognition for the establishment of their own state once they have satisfied the requirements outlined in the constitution (C-3 Welkite, January 24th of January 2024G.C).

Similarly other keyinformants said the following point of views

Claims that it is a matter of survival to receive the people's legal reaction after 28 years.The government is demanding a response based on the constitution, pointing out that there are people in the Gurage region who cannot be perceived through any other lens. Sidaman's reaction to regional aspirations is the true legacy of federalism.However the Gurage quest is still continue as a quest there fore the government must be given a response based on the FDRE constitution (C-6Addis Ababa 22nd of January 2024G.C).

4.3. The challenges of the quest.

The data obtained from the primary sources regarding on the challenges of the Gurage quest C-1; Hawriat 23rd of January 2024G.C forward the following opinions;

> *The challenges of the Gurage quest can be shown by the fact that the government is one of the challenges of the quest in the framework of the constitution because the government did not respect the FDRE constitution; therefore, the quest of the Gurage was challenged by the government, and the response was unconstitutional. The government said that concerning the quest, the SNNPR region is home to numerous zones and ethnic groups, making it impossible for Gurage to rule a region on his own. As a result, the government established a study group, which then suggested an unconstitutional solution and a political choice to form a cluster. To carry out this cluster, the government in the Gurage Zone uses a variety of tactics, including rating and elevating the leadership, applying pressure in line with the Prosperity Party's directives, and adhering to a procedure that carries significant authority. By offering a political conspiracy to the Gurage people, splitting them into East and West Gurage, promising the East Gurage people an opportunity to organize in a new zone, and giving them a negative mission to execute the cluster with all their abilities, but also giving a political mission to the other governorates in Gurage Zone (Kebena and Mareko) to implement the cluster with the promise that they will be given a special district (C-1 Hawriat; 23rd of January 2024G.C).*

The key informants said that the challenges of the Gurage quest were accompanied by the following issues:

The government is to take illegal warning action against the Gurage Zone council members and leaders if they do not carry out the cluster's organizational structure. Before the assembly, the higher official of the Prosperity Party called the Gurage Zone Council and organized a special meeting, during which the higher officials of the Gurage, ranging from federal to regional levels, discussed the matter and exerted pressure on the assembly to reject the claim

*of statehood by voting against the cluster. They are threatening to withhold the letter from the Gurage Zonal Council approving the proposal for statehood, but the government is exerting pressure on it to avoid receiving media attention (*C-4 *Edja 25th of January 2024G.c.).*

One of the prominent members of the Gurage zone council describe that the government and the internal rival of the quest planed different strategies for the challenge of the quest;C-6 Addis Ababa ,january 2024G.C forwarded the following opinions.

> *The government making a political conspiracy to organize a new central region by hands of the Federation Council makes the false decision that Gurage Zone would be included in the central region. The people that opposed the decision of HOF, but the government arresting the youths and forcing them to migrate from the area-the leadership that was-created differences by dividing the people into two zones and special districts. And the leadership is threatening the young people to prevent them from raising their questions and holding them by dividing them with power, allowances, and benefits.*
>
> *The Kebena and mareko activist and cadre have a mission in the Gurage zone to create a conflict by provokinig different conflict in the Gurage zone by using the false narrative that they will be wronged if they organize in one region with Gurage. To keep working to pretend that there is no peace in the neighborhood.*
>
> *The Gurage cadre did not believe in the cluster's request, however for fear of being removed from power, but at the last moment they changed their mind and became a supporter of the cluster and said that he would not deviate from the direction of the government and the party (C-6 Addis Ababa, January 22nd2024G.C).*
>
> *Furthermore* the interviewer shares the opinion towards the government strategies for created obstacle on the quest;

The government declares a state of emergency in the Gurage zone to facilitate the fertile condition to take different measures for the supporters of the quest, dividing the people of

Gurage into two East and West as the surveyors of the cadre, to support the council members of East Gurage to give support to the cluster during the council meeting. The government is to pressure the leadership to accept the proposal of the cluster by threatening the people. Work on persuading the elders to change to the cluster by buying those allowances and benefits, becoming supporters of the cluster, and arresting the active participants in the quest in different social bases of the communities (C-5 welkite, January 14th, 2024 G.C).

The constitution and legal arguments about the quest is beyond the caution of considering the Gurage people's demand and those who push for it as a "threat to security", Mohammed states the violation of the Ethiopian constitution by political actors as more worrisome. The high ranking officials of government who are working to implement the cluster restructuring while neglecting the legitimate decision of the Gurage Zone Council which has followed all the legal procedures that are enshrined in the constitution is a dangerous precedent.

Enumerating the number of regional states in Ethiopia, Article 47 (3) of the constitution vested article 47 (3) of the Ethiopian constitutions stipu-lates the right of any Nation, Nationality or People to form its own state where it is exercisable under the following procedures:

(a) When the demand for statehood has been approved by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Council of the Nation, Nationality or People concerned, and the demand is presented in writing to the State Council;

(b) When the Council that received the demand has organized a referen-dum within one year to be held in the Nation, Nationality or People that made the demand;

(c) When the demand for statehood is supported by a majority vote in the referendum;

(d) When the State Council will have transferred its powers to the Nation, Nationality or People that made the demand; and

(e) When the new State created by the referendum without any need for application, directly becomes a member of the Federal Democratic Re-public of Ethiopia.

P1 discusses the following point of view: the Gurage zone's forced choice of cluster reorganization is unlawful due to government opposition to all of these measures, including pressure

from the regional president's office. He emphasized that "the people shall prevail" in their desire for the right to self-govern through a "new region" and that "the Council of the Gurage Zone is resisted, against all odds" (P-2Adis Ababa January 7th of 2024G.C).

4.4. Response from federal government

According to the data obtained from primary and secondary sources, the response of the federal government to the Gurage quest is the reverse of the constitution. The HoF is required by the constitution to arrange a referendum within a year of obtaining a directive from the relevant zonal council. The NNP's area is where the referendum must be held in order to fulfill the constitution's explicit requirement that states be formed. But we cannot move forward in a nation where the extralegal actions of the ruling class significantly restrict the country's constitutional rights, which proclaim it to be the highest law of the land. To the dismay of the Gurage people, no referendum was held as promised by the constitution after that. As soon as the new Ethiopian leaders understood that the creation of the Gurage regional state jeopardized their interests and provided political direction, they gave the government's political direction, ignored the search, and arranged in an anti-constitutional manner. The central authorities initiated the resurgence of the Gurage people in regional matters under the cluster system without the agreement of the people.

The following opinions are shared by regional council members, according to key informants:

She said that the cluster has no constitutional basis and that it is not a proposal that is forcibly imposed without the approval of the community. "It destroys the language, culture, and culture of the Gurage community." A society that has not been able to educate and develop the language until now and who has been exhausted by the tyranny of politicians will no longer be able to be revived if it is organized in clusters," C1 expresses concern (C-1 Hawriat,Muher Akilele, 23rd of January 2024G.C).

Similarly, other key informants said that the unconstitutional response of the government

The regional request was 100% approved by the council in November 2018G.C. Before the creation of a confusing agenda, the cluster proposal was presented to the council on August 5, 2022G.C. The agenda was created, and the response to the regional question of the Gurage zone was to create two special districts and two zones. The question of being a different nation between Gurage and Instead of reversing the constitutional question in the middle, the response was to reform the politics and make the region a riot zone by arresting, threatening, extorting, and deposing the elites, the youth, and the leadership (R-3 Cheha, January 6th, 2024G.C).

Further, other interviewers share the above point of view:

He said that HoF was pressured to provide a "cadre answer" by the Federation Council when they needed to consult with the Election Board and get ready for a referendum. He claimed that one of the reasons for the lack of reaction is the worry that people outside of Gurage would bring up the regionalism issue. While the Prosperity Party did not directly address Gurage's query about regionalization, it does not support organizational inquiries and acknowledges their difficulty(C-6.Adis Ababa, 22nd January 2024G.C).

Other key informants's strengths strengthen the above point of view:

The Federal Council did not respond to this request. Again, in early August 2022G.C, the Gurage Zone Council voted for a regional state despite the enormous pressure, harassment, and intimidation from the government. Still, the government denied the people's vote and put pressure on reversing their vote and citizenship rights. This was actively reinforced by the existing SNNPR regional government, which is actively advocating for "cluster" restructuring (C-4Edja Werda, January 25th, 2024G.C).

4.4.1. Response under institutional perspective

The data obtained from the primary and secondary source towards the response of the quest under institutional view.If it is believed in principle, it is their contitutional right for zones and even special districts to ask for statehood. It stipulates that any ethnic group can establish its own region. According to Article 47 of the Federal Constitution, there is a process by which any ethnic group can get a response whenever they raise a question of regionalism.

If the constitution stipulates this, then there are those who say that it is not an offense for any society to raise the question of territoriality. There are those who say that the fault lies with the new government which continued without amending the constitution issued during the EPRDF.

The question of regionalism, zone and district are being raised by various nationalities, and the government is trying to respond by organizing them in clusters. It is true that the zones and special districts in the southern region have decided to be organized into two new regions in their respective councils and submitted the decision to the Federation Council. It is true that new regions decide to organize in their respective councils and submit the decision to the Federation Council.It is known that there is no Gurage zone among those who passed the resolution of the council and submitted the request to the federation council saying that they will reign in a new region. The government directed that the zone would be organized into one region along with the neighboring Silete, Kembata Tmbaro, Hadia, Halaba zones and Yem special district.

But the zonal council has not discussed the issue till date. He did not approve of the new arrangement. As previously stated, the zone has submitted a request for regionalization to the Federation Council and is awaiting a response.The government has stated that it is difficult to organize the zone into a region and is proposing that it be integrated with neighboring zones and special districts.The people of the zone, however, that their request to be organized in a region has been going on for a long time and that they should be given a legal response to their legitimate request; Blom is asking in different ways for the organization of Gurage region to be implemented.In this sense, Addis Maleda spoke to political parties, political scholars and lawyers about the issue. According to Mamushet Amare, the president of the All Ethiopia Unity Organization (EOU), the question raised by the Gurage community is appropriate if it is in accordance with the constitution. They say that it is enough to mention that there is a process in which the people of Sidama and Southern Ethiopia have asked this question and received a response.

In this regard, he said that his party would ask for a process where the question of the Gurage ethnic group would be answered.

The president says that the current constitution is an issue that needs to be raised about where the destiny of the nationalities in Ethiopia is heading, and for this reason, there is a fear that Ethiopianism will be eroded when different nationalities ask for regional status and receive a response.

He added that if the government fails to amend the existing constitution, they will not refrain from raising questions in other areas and they should respond to the questions asked by the Gurage community. In addition, the Gurage community says that before asking and responding to the question of regionalism, it is necessary to study the benefits of others who have asked and received a response to the question of regionalism.After this, they said that the Gurage community can pursue their claim in a legal way, in a way that does not harm human life, property, and there is a possibility that their claim of regionalism will be answered.In addition, the president suggested that the government fulfill its responsibility by providing solutions to legitimate questions. According to Asefa Adane (R/N), a teacher and political scholar at Kotebe Metropolitan University, it is stated in the constitution that any nation can govern itself and establish a region.

He also explained that two years ago, when the current government allowed the question of Sidaman's statehood, it was an issue that had been raised by various political scholars, political parties, and various sections of the society.In addition, the government is made up of various academics, political members, and researchers, so it is known that they hold consultations on the long-term situation of Ethiopia.He also said that the demand for regionalization is appropriate as the Gurage ethnic group has a large community, many intellectuals and vast resources.They stated that the question raised by the community of Gurage is appropriate according to the law laid down in the constitution, and that there is no reason for any problem or contradiction. The government is allowing communities that question regionalism to become regions by organizing them in clusters.

However, according to the constitution, it is not appropriate to set aside the appropriate question raised by a community and create a cluster organization and the law does not allow it.Despite this, if the Gurage community does not accept the cluster organization that the government is organizing, they say that it is not appropriate to force them to be organized in a cluster or not to answer the legal question.He added, as Ethiopia's affairs have a wide stake

in the government that is managing the country, it is appropriate to amend the article that allows any community to govern itself or issue an emergency proclamation that does not entertain the request of becoming a region.

He said that if he fails to do this, the people of Gurage will have the fate of regionalism. He said that the government should take into account the various reasons for the present situation and hold a wide discussion with the Gurage and other communities and explain the current situation of Ethiopia and create a situation where the questions of regionalism will not be raised for some time.He pointed out that if the government is unable to create discussions with the community, then there is a need to answer the question of Gurage regionalism and unless it takes time, there is a situation where the community will get a response.

Regarding the question of territoriality that the Gurage zone has been presenting for years, it has been stated to Addis Morning that the opposition to the recent order of the Prosperity Government to be organized in clusters will go to the International Court of Justice.In the meeting held by the Federation Council on July 28/2014 with the other zones and special districts organized as a cluster, it was said that the question of regionalization of Gurage zone was not included because the government is violating the constitution.

On the other hand, legal advisor and lawyer Jembir Abdo said that the Gurage zone did not accept the cluster organization brought down by the government.Jember recalled that on November 17/2011.the council decided to organize the Gurage zone into a state without any opposition, and that the referendum was sent to the state council with supporting documents so that the referendum could be carried out in accordance with the constitution. They said that both the state and the federation council chose to remain silent instead of responding.

Therefore, the regionalization of the Gurage zone that I decided in 2011 will be fulfilled. It is said that he cannot reverse his legal position that he will not organize as a cluster.Because there is no legal basis or concept of clustering in the constitution; Gurage Zone cannot accept the order. They said that the question of regionalism should be answered.Clustering "prosperity is what he brought from his back pocket," said Jember. As a legal body and professional, we do not know yet, he said.Jamber mentioned that the constitution in article eight states that nations, nationalities and peoples are the owners of sovereign power, and sub-article two

stipulates that they exercise this power through their representatives.He also said that the Gurage region is waiting for its constitutional right to be answered.Jembar said that based on this, the Gurage zone is of the opinion that a referendum should be held on the decision through its representatives.

Therefore, the lawyer said that Gurage did not accept the cluster because the matter has no legal basis and the council discussed and the people did not decide to become a cluster.It is mentioned that the siege and harassment of the defense forces in Wolkite city without any problems; Wearing a t-shirt that says it is never in the Guage region at the command post that was recently erected in the city; An instruction is being passed that it is not possible to carry a paper saying that I do not want a cluster.In search It is said that bringing the defense force to Wolkete is not relevant in terms of the law when it should be deployed in Amaro special district and Guji border areas as well as other areas that are victims of violence. The legal expert and the lawyer explained that "the prosperous government in power is violating the constitution by force".Jamber said that if Gurage goes to the Federation Council for the third time, he will file his complaint. They said that if their rights are not respected according to the constitution, they will go to the international court (adis maleda -13/08/2022G.C).

Shares the above point of views;

The key informants, who say that the ruling government is following an illegal practice, explained the issue from the point of view of the law, saying that the public's question should be properly answered based on the FDRE constitution. He said that no matter what happens, the position of the Gurage zone is based on the constitution, and we will continue our struggle until the region's question is given a fair response (C2 welkite 24th of January 2024G.C).

As the lawyer Tagabu Dessalen told Addis Morning, following the situation where different zones and special districts have been asking for statehood, the government is working to respond to the statehood request by coordinating and organizing different areas into clusters.

"If we look at it from the point of view of the law, it is mentioned in Article 47 of the Constitution that the law allows any zone, special district to ask for regional status," he said. The lawyer said that the government believes that Gurage's request for statehood is correct in terms of the federal constitution and that the request is appropriate.However, he explained

that if there is a situation where the government responds to the question of Gurage's regionalism, there will be a risk of division of the country as there are questions raised by other areas.In addition, if the question of Gurage's regionalism is answered, it will create a headache for the federal government, combined with the budget and other overlapping questions, as there are many tasks such as the construction of extensive infrastructure and other political questions.

The lawyer added that as Gurage's request for statehood is legal, the government cannot deny it. He said that it is good to explain to the community that forming a state is useless and will strengthen the division of citizens.In addition to this, the lawyer pointed out that if he is unable to inform the constitution that he will amend the constitution soon and persuade the Gurage community to be organized in the cluster organization he has set as an alternative, he cannot stop the question by force and the question of Gurage statehood will not be answered.

It is recalled that a strike was held in Wolkite, a city in Gurage zone, related to the question of regionalism. Demonstrations were held in other cities of Gurage against the government's proposal to organize in clusters and in support of the demand for regionalism.In relation to the question of regionalism, the fact that the members of the prosperity of the zone and the representatives of Ezema have submitted their resignations to their parties is an issue that has been airing. In order to solve the current issue of the zone, the leadership of the zone called the council members for an urgent meeting on Thursday, August 5, 2022G.C, without informing them of the agenda.

In the emergency meeting held by the Gurage Zone Council that day; it overwhelmingly rejected the proposal to cluster with other governance structures. In the emergency meeting held by the council, the proposal to form a common region by combining the Gurage zone with four other zones under the southern region and one special district was rejected by 52 members of the council against and 40 in support.

The council confirmed the decision to organize Gurage into a region. Following the council's decision, the people in Wolkite city came out and expressed their happiness (Adis maleda-13/08/2022 G.C).

C6 expresses the following opinions. The Gurage Zone Council had an emergency meeting where they discussed and decided unanimously to adopt the agenda for organizing the Gurage Zone administration as a region. It is known that he complained to the Federation Council about not receiving it in a timely manner. The complaints are being presented to the necessary parties in a number of legal and pertinent forums by the Zonal Council, which speaks for the residents of the zone. There have been no adjustments made at the national level to the Gurage people's constitutional desire to be organized in the region; it is a peaceful and legitimate demand that will never go away {C6 Adis abeba 22nd of January 2024G.C).

Similarly other key informant's shares that the above point of views;

With a 100% vote in favor of Gurage State on November 26, 2018, Gurage Free of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR) was established. The regional council was tasked with making a judgment on this vote one year ahead of the referendum. However, the regional council did not respond to the political conspiracy issue promptly. The zone council made a plea to the Federal House, citing the Constitution's procedural rules, urging it to uphold citizens' rights and assist them in establishing the regional state that the document envisions (C-2 Welkite, January 24, 2024 G.C.).

According to information gathered from primary and secondary sources, the issue of territorial integrity was brought up in the past. The founder and vice chairman of the Gurage Traditional Council, who are important sources, stated that the Gurage Zone has been questioning its right to self-determination in the region for years currently continued the struggle for the quest.

He stated that this is the first time that a law that would have made it simpler for citizens to cast ballots in state legislatures has been passed by Congress.

"The people are angry." It's politically motivated," imposed on the people without any constitutional ground, the so-called cluster designed by the government (prosperity party). He said the cluster was "unable to develop and protect his own language, his identity, and his culture." The language of Gurage has been destroyed. "The language is not enough to be learned, because all of these issues need to be addressed (R-6, January 7, 2024G.C).

Other key informants described the following views concerning the disadvantages of clusters: the cluster has no constitutional basis and is not a proposal that is forcibly imposed without the approval of the community.

Similarly he said the opinion:

They also fear that if the Gurage is organized in clusters, the people will be divided into more political victims in the zones and out of the zones, thus losing the identity of the Gurage. "Nothing will change in the struggle," she said, adding, "We will continue to follow the legal line and continue to work to ensure that the question of the zone council is respected without harming the rest of the people (R-7Gumer, January 5th, 2024G.C).

4.4.2. Response under coercive perspective

The data obtained from the primary and secondary source indicated about the response of the government under coercive view Southern region puts Gurage zone under indefinite command post after protests over statehood demand. The Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNPR) region Peace and Security Bureau said that decision has been made to put the entire Gurage zone under the rule of an organized command post as of 25 November 2022G.C**.**In a presser he gave to the local broadcaster, Debub TV, the bureau's head Alemayehu Baudi said "illegal and destructive" activities have been carried out by irregular groups in the zone under the guise of demands for statehood, and that these activities cannot be stopped using the regular law enforcement system.Accordingly, Alemayehyhu said that security forces are authorized to take a number of measures and legal actions against groups accused of actively taking part "in destruction", including those who participate in "activities that are not allowed by the law, and those who are doing any activity in any illegal way" outside of the auspices of legally mandated government officials.On 18 August this year, a region-wide military command post had already issued restrictions against holding any governmental and non-governmental meetings in woredas and towns of the Gurage zone for an indefinite period of time. Regardless, Gurage zone has seen protests which include suspending civil service works and business activities as part of the zones push for own statehood and increased self-administration. The latest of such protest took place on Friday 18 November when residents in Wolkite city, the capital city of the Gurage zone, staged protests boy-

cotting routine activities in the city and its environs which included suspending civil service works and business activities. But heavy crackdown in the aftermath of the protests saw more than 100 people detained by security forces. The protests are in opposition to a decision made by Ethiopia's House of Federation in August, to restructure the Gurage zone into a new regional state in a cluster with Hadiya, Halaba, Kambata Tambaro, Silte and Yam special woreda; (Addis standard November 25, 2022G.C).

R-5shares the above idea

In recent months, officials from the Zone and the Bureau who endorse the Gurage Zone's stance have been imprisoned since the Zone has continuously rejected the new cluster proposal.At the end of August 2024G.C. representatives from the Gurage Zone official, the figure of the participant of the regional quest, the active partipant of the youth who support the demand of the the people and the scholar of active participant of the Gurage quest were jailed. (Go-2 welkite 23 January 2024G.C).

According to another secondary source confirmed to the government taken action against for the constitution and the people of Gurage puts under state of emergency mention for the following;It will be under a "Command Post" a form of practice in Ethiopia whereby security forces (including Defense in most cases) administration. It is unspecified how long the region is going to be under the command post arrangement gov't puts Gurage zone under State of Emergency November 27, 2022G.C .Command Post to run the Gurage zone as residents push for ethnic based statehood a dominant attribute of Ethiopia's .The Ethiopian government seems to have decided to employ a heavy-handed policy to the statehood demands of Ethiopians in the Gurage zone.

The South region (and this is the only region in Ethiopia that is not strictly organized based on and named after ethnicity) Peace and Security Office announced that it has decided to bring the Guraghe zone of the region under what looks like a state of emergency arrangement

The region made claims that the security situation in the Guragh zone could no longer be handled with regular law enforcement practice due to security problems in connection with the demand for statehood.The Federal Police and Special Forces in the region will be in

charge of the security situation, and that body is formed to coordinate the work in the zone, according to a statement from the regional authorities.

Alemayehu Bawudi, head of the region's peace and security office, on Thursday said the two bodies will coordinate with other security forces to handle what he called organized security problems in the Gurage zone.He added that a regional-level body is formed to coordinate all the work. Furthermore, he has announced that the "Command Post" will make arrests against what he described as forces that were organized and involved in violence.The region has also announced that over 70 people were arrested. There has been a stay-at-home protest and strike in the region as people in the Gurage zone pursue demands for ethnic-based state-hood. The Federal government set precedents for ethnic groups in what is now the South Nations and Nationalities People region by allowing groups who demanded ethnic-based state-hood (borkena.com/2022/11/27).

R2 is sharing the above views;

We ask the quest based on the FDRE constitution and the Gurage zone council to decide on the issue 2018G.C, but now the government is taken serious measure about the legal quest. This is show the government does have not implemented constitution in the ground and not respected the human and democratic rights of the citizen but also all nation and nationalities of Ethiopia are not equal in eyes of the governments (.R-2 Edja 4th of January 2024G.C).

Similarly other key informant is strengthening the above views the government denial of the constitutional rights of the Gurage people and he said that*;*

We are presenting a constitutional question. This constitutional question was discussed by the government in the House of Representatives four years ago on November 26, 2018. Since it was approved by the zonal council, the people are asking for it to be respected," said he., who remembers that the government conducted a study to change this and came up with a regional structure called cluster organization, explained that the Gurage zone has entered into the current political crisis by opposing this (c-5 Welkite 14th January 2024G.C).

4.4.3. Failed Trends of Self-rule Claims

Constitutionally, there is no doubt that Ethiopia is a federal state. But its federal entities are controlled by the strongly centralized prosperity that predetermines decisions from the prime minister's office in the capital to the remote Zonal administration (Aalen, 2008, p. 16). A dual dynamic is at work: a more visible, formally decentralized state structure and a more subtle and effective capture of the state by the EPRDF and its affiliated regional parties. A well-organized one-party network extends from the center to the region, which actually undermines the realization of constitutional federalism in Ethiopia (Berhanu, 2007, p. 60). The right to self-determination up to and including secession was incorporated into the Soviet constitution. This was, however, a mere lip service, as the Soviets never allowed administrative autonomy, let alone secession. In spite of the formal commitment for a multiparty democracy in the 1994 Ethiopian constitution, a monolithic power structure emerged under the Prosperity (Ibid.). Like the former communist party of EPRDF, the Prosperity Party claims to play the role of the vanguard" of political activity (Merera, 2007, p. 20). Like the practice of the Soviet Union, the decision to give a certain level of administrative status to ethnic groups solely rests upon"the prosperity party (Ibid.).

As a result, there are some paradoxes that are still difficult to explain. For instance, the Hararі, whose overall population does not extend beyond ten thousand and constitutes about 7% of the total population of the Harar city, were allowed their own sub-state, while the Gurages, whose population is more than three million, were given a zonal status within the southern region (Beken, 2002, p. 40). As stated above, ethnicity is the central organizing device of Ethiopian federalism; any group that the constitution recognizes as a "nation, nationality, or people" has the full right to form its own state. In Ethiopia, demands for the creation of more states persist, especially in light of the expectation created by the constitutional recognition of the rights of nations and nationalities as cornerstones of the Federation (Aalen, 2008, p. 42). Consequently, there are numerous petitioners to the HOF seeking recognition of their separate ethnicity (Ibid.). However, the political context is not favorable to the creation of new regional states. For instance, when the Gurage requested the establishment of their own regional state, this was rejected by the Prosperity (Aalen, 2008, p. 64). This instance shows

that prosperity is not willing to accept the full consequences of the constitutional rights of nations and nationalities.

The key informants share the above points of view:

A top-down solution that will further render the Gurage people politically irrelevant and powerless was imposed by the government (the prosperity party) on the Gurage people, and it is evident that the amount of pushback that the people would provide was underestimated. This is what happens when one is accustomed to marginalizing and weakening the political influence of the people (C-3 Welkite, January 24, 2024G.C).

Further, other interviewers said that:

Regarding the Gurage ethnic group, they had their own regional administration prior to the establishment of the SNNPRS. However, the Gurage Region was reduced to the status of an ordinary zone when the EPRDF came to power through the unification of southern peoples. Presently, the federal government intends to administer in an unknown manner, worse than in the past C-6 Adis Ababa (January 22, 2024G.C).

4.4.4. Transforming the constitutional quest into conflict.

The data obtained from key informants and interview participants revealed that the peaceful demonstration of the people of Gurage was turned into conflict following the June 2016'unconstitutional' decision of the HOF, which unanimously rejected Gurage's demand for regional autonomy. According to the participants, the decision of the HOF was 'unconstitutional'. Following the proclamation of the Gurage zone organized under the cluster system, political unrest happened, economic activity closed, the people stayed at home, and there was continued conflict with the government. However, the government has taken measures against the people in the Gurage Zone. In line with this, an interviewee from hawriat town said the following:

Throughout, we followed all legal procedures as per the FDRE's constitution. Thus, our expectation was that our demand would be seen according to the constitution. However, the HOF voted unconstitutionally, rejecting our demand that we stage a peaceful demonstration requesting the FDRE government respect the constitution. But the FDRE government re-

sponded with mass arrests. Fearing this, many people flee to different areas to save their lives (C-1, Hawriat, January 23rd, 2024G.C).

4.4.5. The future indication of the quest

Based on the findings of the research, it becomes necessary to indicate the future implications of Gurage's quest. The quest of the people of Gurage, however silenced for a time, continues, as indicated by the participants. The participant asserted that their quest is stifled by the state of emergency; however, Article 93(4c) of the FDRE Constitution prohibits the limit or suspension of the exercise [quest] of self-determination. Though silenced for now, among the Gurage there exist an interest to extend their demand to secede away from the SNNPRS and organize as a region unless the FDRE Government grants them the claimed regional autonomy. This shows that unless the FDRE government comes to reconsider the demands of the people of Gurage, it will challenge the way to peace and development in the region in the future. Given the constitutional recognition of nations, nationalities, and people's right to self-determination, the existence of a region officially recognized as a region, and the increasing ethnic consciousness and entrepreneurism, granting or denying the Gurage the claimed regional autonomy will not keep the potential demand by other ethnic communities in the region for different levels of autonomy from coming into the political arena of the SNNPRS. Thus, the options remain two, as per the findings of the research: either to keep the promises made by the constitution or to amend it.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION

5.1. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The thesis examined the nature, extent, and application of the right to self-determination as guaranteed by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's 1994G.C. Constitution, the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights, and the International Bill of Rights, with particular reference to Gurage's struggle for political independence. Gurage's pursuit of self-determination under the FDRE has been explored and investigated by the study after a review of the nature, extent, and applications of the aforementioned legal tools. Accordingly, this chapter begins with some closing thoughts before presenting academic suggestions that are grounded in the research results.

5.2. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The American and French revolutions introduced the idea of self-determination. However, after being championed by Woodrow Wilson and Vladimir Lenin in the first half of the 20th century, the idea gained traction in the political sphere. Although Lenin and Wilson supported self-determination, their goals were very different: Wilson supported self-determination with a liberal democratic objective, whereas Lenin supported it with a socialist one. Following its recognition by the UN system as the right of colonized peoples, self-determination gained legal significance. Nonetheless, the scope and application of the right to self-determination have expanded since it was included in the international agreements of 1966. The right to self-determination is being applied in ways that go beyond its historical bounds. Respecting the UN Charter, the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights acknowledges the right to self-determination as "the right of peoples to exist." The post-1991 FDRE Government, which federalized Ethiopia along ethnic lines, granted all recognized ethnic communities designated as nations, nationalities, and peoples the right to self-determination up to secession, which is unaffected even in times of emergency. This is in contrast to the International Bill of Rights and the ACHPRs.

The 1995 FDRE Constitution extends the right to all nations and nationalities, in contrast to the International Bill of Rights and the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights, which limited the application of the right to self-determination to "people" without providing a precise definition. Both internal and external dimensions of self-determination are recognized by the FDRE Constitution. This means that any ethnic group that is acknowledged as a nation, nationality, or people has the right to demand internal rights such as full autonomy, democratic representation, and a certain degree of self-government. They also have the right to demand external rights, such as the establishment of their state, provided they meet the requirements outlined in the constitution. By Federal Constitution Article 39, the FDRE Constitution also recognizes the right to self-determination of nations, nationalities, and people. Permit additional establishment by regional nations, nationalities, and peoples as an expansion of their right to regional self-determination.

The Gurage is one of the eighty ethnic communities entitled to form their regional autonomy as a manifestation of their right to self-determination based on the aforesaid constitutional provision. However, the Gurages enjoyed their right self-determination quest for not less than three decades. The FDRE constitution's article about regional autonomy was adopted by the Gurage Zone Council in November 2018G.C, and a letter was sent to the SNNPR and HOF to prepare for a referendum on the subject. As a result of the governing elite's plan to elevate the status of a cluster, the FDRE has responded by imposing the cluster system on the populace through an unconstitutional process.

Subsequently, a number of zones and special districts had already given their approval to the idea of joining an organization in a newly established region with other parties. The resolution to recognize the newly formed territory was agreed by Wolaita, South Omo, Gofa, Konso, and Gamo zones in addition to Amaro, Ale, Burji, Basketo, and Derashe, special districts in one cluster.The Yem Special District, Silete, Hadia, Halaba, and Kembata Tmbaro Zone councils all endorsed the same resolution to join another new area. The Gurage zone inside the same area has not yet become a region, despite the decision to recognize these zones and special districts as a region having been passed.Despite this, it appears that the numerous objections are causing the suggested plan to collapse, uniting various ethnic administrative zones and districts into a single region. And this is exacerbating the protest. Zones that have

been adamant about not forming a region with other ethnic administrations, whether in a cluster or some other fashion, are particularly persistent in their rejection. The Gurage zone is the most prominent of them, having grown in size as a result of the recent political unrest and demonstrations.

More than 200 youths were arrested, according to local police, for demonstrating that the Gurage Zone should have its own region. There have apparently been politicians and social activists who have been advocating for fury. There are worries that the detention of prominent politicians and social activists who have advocated for Gurage regionalism, such Ato Tareqin Degfe, a member of the Southern Regional Council who represents the Gurage Zone's Eja District, is exacerbating the situation. The command post, which oversees the Gurage Zone, is in charge of putting the zone's structure into practice throughout Central Ethiopia.

5.3. RECOMENDATION

On the basis of the findings, the researcher makes the following major recommendations::

The government should focus on respecting the FDRE constitution.

It is also advisable that all stakeholders or any actors should deeply debate freely and democratically about the challenges of self-rule and determination in ethnic federalism and take lessons from other successful federations like the USA, India, Brazil, Canada, etc.

It is necessary to amend the constitution and simultaneously establish a long-lasting federal system that tries to accommodate the changing scenario of the study area as well as the country at large.

The stakeholders in the study area should work hard and cooperatively with the government to reduce conflict and bring about sustainable peace in the study area.

The local government of Gurage has to exercise good governance in the area so as to deal with the existing problems or challenges.

In cooperation with the concerned bodies, the local government of the study area should give special attention to the problem until the security situation of the study area is improved or changed, because the community of Gurage felt that up until now the local government had not given sufficient emphasis to the problem.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. English version Interview Questions Guideline

School of Post Graduate Studies

Degree of Master of Art in Political Science

Interview Questions Guideline for key informants

Dear informants, the interview guideline are aimed at collecting primary data for the study entitled "*The Quest for Self-Rule and Self-Determination in Ethiopian Ethnic Federalism: The Case of Gurage Statehood Claims in SNNPR Ethiopia."* Generally, this interview is formulated to examine and understand the major challenges and opportunities of self-rule and self-determination in Ethiopian ethnic federalism. Trust that the information you will honorably provide is strictly confidential and serves academic purposes. This study is indispensable in providing information about challenges and opportunities for self-rule and determination in the studya area. To this end, your participation and genuine response to the questions are valuable to the success of the study. Thus, I kindly ask for your cooperation in responding to the responses truthfully. These questions will serve as a guide for directing the interview process.

Thank you for your cooperation!

By: **Solomon Haile**

Phone number: **0913168935**

- The indepth interview for the House of Federation.

1. How do you see the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage from the perspective of the constitution?

2. How is the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage seen in the framework of the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia?

3. How did the federal government respond to the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage in terms of the constitution?

4. What kind of response has been given to the House of Federation on the issue of Gurage self-administration in the frame work of the constitution?

5. What are the challenges faced by the Federation in fulfilling the responsibilities given by the constitution in the case of Gurage region?

6. .Do you think the FDRE Constitution's promise to nations, nations and peoples to exercise their unconditional right to individual and self-determination is being fulfilled

- . Indepth interview Guideline Question on the Establishment of the Gurage Regional State for Zonal Council Members

    1. Can you tell me when the people of Gurage zone began to organize and manage themselves at the regional level?
    2. How was the way (procedure) in which the question was presented as a region?
    3. What were the basic reasons that motivated the people of Gurage to raise or ask for self adminstration at that time?
    4. What was the response of FDRE government to the question?
    5. What are the basic reasons that made it possible for the people of Gurage to raise the question of self-governance as a region after the current reform?

6. Can you please explain to me the way/procedure of the people of Gurage who submitted their request for statehood?
7. What are the challenges faced by the people of Gurage for their request for self-administration as statehood level?
8. What concrete opportunities do you think the people of Gurage can bring if the question of self adminstraion as statehood level is answered?
9. What is the response of FDRE government given to the question of self adminstration asked by the people of Gurage?
10. Is there any political influence in process of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?
11. How do you see the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage from the perspective of the constitution?
12. How is the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage seen in the framework of the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia?
13. How did the federal government respond to the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage in terms of the constitution?
14. If the request of Gurage self-administration gets a response from the government and it is organized, what are the possible conditions for managing the new region?
15. What is the political impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?
16. What is the economic impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?
17. In terms of social issues, what is the impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?
18. What was the role of the Gurage Zone Council in the matter of self-administration?

19. What was the role of the Council of Southern Nations nationalities government in the issue of self-administration? And did it fulfill its responsibilities?

20. What kind of response has been given to the House of Federation on the issue of Gurage self-administration in terms of the constitution?

21. What are the challenges faced by the Federation in fulfilling the responsibilities given by the constitution in the case of Gurage region?

22. .Do you think the FDRE Constitution's promise to nations, nations and peoples to exercise their unconditional right to individual and self-determination is being fulfilled?

23. If the people of Gurage zone make a request to organize and manage themselves at the regional level, love peace settled in the area?

24. Are there any security crises when during the ongoing of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

- .In-depth interviews guides for zonal government officials at zonal level.

1. Can you tell me when the people of Gurage zone began to organize and manage themselves at the regional level?

2, How was the way (procedure) in which the question was presented as a region?

3, what were the basic reasons that motivated the people of Gurage to raise or ask for self adminstration at that time?

4. What was the response of FDRE government to the question?

5. What are the basic reasons that made it possible for the people of Gurage to raise the question of self-governance as a region after the current reform?

6. Could you please explain to me the way/procedure of the people of Gurage who submitted their request for statehood?

7. What are the challenges faced by the people of Gurage for their request for self-administration as statehood level?

8. What concrete opportunities do you think the people of Gurage can bring if the question of self adminstraion as statehood level is answered?

9. What is the response of FDRE government given to the question of selfadminstration asked by the people of Gurage?

10. Is there any political influence in process of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

11. How do you see the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage from the perspective of the constitution?

12. How is the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage seen in the framework of the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia?

13. How did the federal government respond to the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage in terms of the constitution?

14. If the request of Gurage self-administration gets a response from the government and it is organized, what are the possible conditions for managing the new region?

15. What is the political impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?

16. What is the economic impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?

17. In terms of social issues, what is the impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?

18. What was the role of the Gurage Zone Council in the matter of self-administration?

19. What was the role of the Council of Southern Nations nationalities government in the issue of self-administration? And did it fulfill its responsibilities?

20. What kind of response has been given to the House of Federation on the issue of Gurage self-administration in terms of the constitution?

21. What are the challenges faced by the Federation in fulfilling the responsibilities given by the constitution in the case of Gurage region?

22. .Do you think the FDRE Constitution's promise to nations, nations and peoples to exercise their unconditional right to individual and self-determination is being fulfilled?

23. If the people of Gurage zone make a request to organize and manage themselves at the regional level, love peace settled in the area?

24. Are there any security crises when during the ongoing of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

- E.Interview Guide Questions of the Gurage People (for elders)

1. Can you tell me when the people of Gurage zone began to organize and manage themselves at the regional level?
2. How was the way (procedure) in which the question was presented as a region?
3. What were the basic reasons that motivated the people of Gurage to raise or ask for self adminstration at that time?
4. What was the response of FDRE government to the question?
5. What are the basic reasons that made it possible for the people of Gurage to raise the question of self-governance as a region after the current reform?
6. Could you please explain to me the way/procedure of the people of Gurage who submitted their request for statehood?
7. What are the challenges faced by the people of Gurage for their request for self-administration as statehood level?
8. What concrete opportunities do you think the people of Gurage can bring if the question of self adminstraion as statehood level is answered?
9. What is the response of FDRE government given to the question of selfadminstration asked by the people of Gurage?
10. .Is there any political influence in process of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?
11. How do you see the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage from the perspective of the constitution?
12. How is the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage seen in the framework of the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia?
13. How did the federal government respond to the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage in terms of the constitution?

14. If the request of Gurage self-administration gets a response from the government and it is organized, what are the possible conditions for managing the new region?

15. What is the political impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?

16. What is the economic impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?

17. In terms of social issues, what is the impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?

18. What was the role of the Gurage Zone Council in the matter of self-administration?

19. What was the role of the Council of Southern Nations nationalities government in the issue of self-administration? And did it fulfill its responsibilities?

20. What kind of response has been given to the House of Federation on the issue of Gurage self-administration in terms of the constitution?

21. What are the challenges faced by the Federation in fulfilling the responsibilities given by the constitution in the case of Gurage region?

22. .Do you think the FDRE Constitution's promise to nations, nations and peoples to exercise their unconditional right to individual and self-determination is being fulfilled?

23. If the people of Gurage zone make a request to organize and manage themselves at the regional level, love peace settled in the area?

24. Are there any security crises when during the ongoing of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

- F.Interviews for Gurage zone peace ambassador

1. What are the basic reasons that made it possible for the people of Gurage to raise the question of self-governance as a region after the current reform?

2. Could you please explain to me the way/procedure of the people of Gurage who submitted their request for statehood?

3. What are the challenges faced by the people of Gurage for their request for self-administration as statehood level?

4. What concrete opportunities do you think the people of Gurage can bring if the question of self adminstraion as statehood level is answered?

5. What is the response of FDRE government given to the question of selfadminstration asked by the people of Gurage?

6. .Is there any political influence in process of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

7. 7. How do you see the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage from the perspective of the constitution?

8. . How is the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage seen in the framework of the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia?

9. .How did the federal government respond to the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage in terms of the constitution?

10. If the request of Gurage self-administration gets a response from the government and it is organized, what are the possible conditions for managing the new region?

11. Do you think the FDRE Constitution's promise to nations, nations and peoples to exercise their unconditional right to individual and self-determination is being fulfilled?

12. .If the people of Gurage zone make a request to organize and manage them at the regional level, love peace settled in the area?

13. Is there any security crisis when during the ongoing of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

- G. Interview for scholar of political science.

1. Can you tell me when the people of Gurage zone began to organize and manage themselves at the regional level?

2. How was the way (procedure) in which the question was presented as a region?

3. , what were the basic reasons that motivated the people of Gurage to raise or ask for self adminstration at that time?

4. What was the response of FDRE government to the question?

5. What are the basic reasons that made it possible for the people of Gurage to raise the question of self-governance as a region after the current reform?

6. Could you please explain to me the way/procedure of the people of Gurage who submitted their request for statehood?

7. What are the challenges faced by the people of Gurage for their request for self-administration as statehood level?

8. What concrete opportunities do you think the people of Gurage can bring if the question of self adminstraion as statehood level is answered?

9. What is the response of FDRE government given to the question of self adminstration asked by the people of Gurage?

10. Is there any political influence in process of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

11. How do you see the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage from the perspective of the constitution?

12. How is the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage seen in the framework of the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia?

13. How did the federal government respond to the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage in terms of the constitution?

14. If the request of Gurage self-administration gets a response from the government and it is organized, what are the possible conditions for managing the new region?
15. What is the political impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?
16. What is the economic impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?
17. In terms of social issues, what is the impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?
18. What was the role of the Gurage Zone Council in the matter of self-administration?
19. What was the role of the Council of Southern Nations nationalities government in the issue of self-administration? And did it fulfill its responsibilities?
20. What kind of response has been given to the House of Federation on the issue of Gurage self-administration in terms of the constitution?
21. What are the challenges faced by the Federation in fulfilling the responsibilities given by the constitution in the case of Gurage region?
22. .Do you think the FDRE Constitution's promise to nations, nations and peoples to exercise their unconditional right to individual and self-determination is being fulfilled?
23. If the people of Gurage zone make a request to organize and manage themselves at the regional level, love peace settled in the area?
24. .Is there any security crises when during the ongoing of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

- H. Interview for scholars of law.

1. What are the basic reasons that made it possible for the people of Gurage to raise the question of self-governance as a region after the current reform (2018)?
2. Could you please explain to me the way/procedure of the people of Gurage who submitted their request for statehood?
3. What are the challenges faced by the people of Gurage for their request for self-administration as statehood level?
4. What concrete opportunities do you think the people of Gurage can bring if the question of self adminstraion as statehood level is answered?
5. What is the response of FDRE government given to the question of self adminstration asked by the people of Gurage?
6. .Is there any political influence in process of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?
7. How do you see the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage from the perspective of the constitution?
8. How is the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage seen in the framework of the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia?
9. How did the federal government respond to the question of self-administration asked by the people of Gurage in terms of the constitution?
10. .If the request of Gurage self-administration gets a response from the government and it is organized, what are the possible conditions for managing the new region?
11. What is the political impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?

12. What is the economic impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?
13. In terms of social issues, what is the impact of the Gurage people's question of self-administration not being answered according to the constitution?
14. What was the role of the Gurage Zone Council in the matter of self-administration?
15. What was the role of the Council of Southern Nations nationalities government in the issue of self-administration? And did it fulfill its responsibilities?
16. What kind of response has been given to the House of Federation on the issue of Gurage self-administration in terms of the constitution?
17. What are the challenges faced by the Federation in fulfilling the responsibilities given by the constitution in the case of Gurage region?
18. Do you think the FDRE Constitution's promise to nations, nations and peoples to exercise their unconditional right to individual and self-determination is being fulfilled?
19. .If the people of Gurage zone make a request to organize and manage them at the regional level, love peace settled in the area?
20. Are there any security crises when during the ongoing of the quest of self administration in Gurage zone?

Appendix B. List of Key Informants and FGD

Government Official Interviewees

NO	Interview code	Sex	Age	Ethnic group	Education level	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	GO-1	M	47	Gurage	Firstdegree	Welkte	20th of January 2024	
2	GO-2	M	43	Gurage	First degree	Welkte	23rd of January 2024	
3	GO-3	M	39	Gurage	First degree	Agena	7th of january 2024	
4	GO-4	F	55	Gurage	Master	Agena	26th of January 2024	
5	GO-5	M	38	Gurage	First degree	Emdebir	4th of January 2024	

Key: GO: Government Official Interviewee

2. Resident Key Informants

NO	Interview code	Sex	Age	Ethnic group	Education level	Placr of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	R-1	M	63	Gurage	First degree	Moher akilel	3rd of january 2024	
2	R-2	M	47	Gurage	Diploma	Edja Werda	4th of January 2024	
3	R-3	F	35	Gurage	First degree	Cheha werda	5th of January 2024	
4	R-4	F	52	Gurage	Diploma	Abesge werda	6th January 2024	
5	R-5	M	41	Gurage	First degree	We;kte	6thJanuary	

							2024	
6	R=6	M	30	Gurage	First degree	Enmor Werda	7th January 2024	
7	R-7	M	39	Gurage	First degree	Gumer Werda	8th January 2024	
8	R-8	F	45	Gurage	First degree	WElkte	6th January 2024	

3. Council member

NO	Interview code	Sex	Age	Ethnic	Education	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	C-1	M	65	Gurage	First degree	Hawriat city	23rd of January	
2	C-2	M	53	Gurage	First degree	Welkite	24th of January 2024	
3	C-3	F	40	Gurage	First degree	Welkite	24th of January 2024	
4	C-4	M	39	Gurage	First degree	Edja	25th of January 2024	
5	C-5	M	38	Gurage	Master	Welkite	14th of January 2024	
6	C-6	M	54	Gurage	Master	Adis ababa	22th of January 2024	
7	C-7	M	46	Gurage	First degree	Welkite	13th of January 2024	

4. Political parties

NO	Interview	Sex	Age	Ethnic	Education	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	P-1	M	45	Gurage	First degree	Welkite	6th of January	
2	P-2	M	40	Gurage	Master	Adis Ababa	7th of January 2024	

5. Scholar of law and political science

NO	Interview	Sex	Age	Ethnic	Education	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	S-1	M	39	Gurage	Master	Welkite universit	9th of January 2024	
2	S-2	M	36	Amhara	Master	Welkite university	9th of January 2024	

6. House of Federation

NO	Interview code	M	Age	Ethnic	Education	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	H-1	M	43	Gurage	First degre	Adis Ababa	7th of January 2024	

7. Peace ambassadors

NO	Inerview code	Sex	Age	Ethnic	Education	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	P-1	M	60	Gurage	First degre	Welkite	21st of January 2024	

8. Elders

NO	Interview	Sex	Age	Ethnic	Education	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	E-1	M	70	Gurage	Certifacte	Agena	15thofJanuary 2024	
2	E-2	M	65	Gurag	Diploma	Welkte	6th of Janua 2024	





በደቡብ/ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ/መንግስት የጉራጌ ዞን ም/ቤት ጽ/ቤት

welkite
SNNP Regional State Gurage Zone Council

ቁጥር ገዞም 4573.1/ኅ-1
ቀን 16/04/2012

ለደቡብ ብሄር ብሄረሰቦችና ሕዝቦች ክልል ምክር ቤት

ሐሞሳ

ጉዳዩ፡- የጉራጌ ዞን ህዝብ በክልል የመደራጀት ህገ መንግስታዊ የመብት ጥያቄ ምላሽ በመዘግየቱ ምክንያት የቀረበ የህዝብ ቅሬታና አቤቱታ ስለማቅረብ ይሆናል።

ክላይ በርዕሱ ለመግለጽ እንደተሞከረው የጉራጌ ዞን ህዝብ በክልል የመደራጀት ህገ መንግስታዊ የመብት ጥያቄ ህገ መንግስቱና ህገ መንግስታዊ ስሰራር ተከትሱ በቀን 17/03/2011 ዓ.ም በተከበረው የዞኑ ም/ቤት ጉባኤ በሙሉ ድምጽ ጸድቅ የሲትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ፈፐብሊክ ህገ መንግስት አንቀጽ 47 ንውስ ስንቀጽ 3/ሀ/ በሚያዘው መሰረት ጥያቄው ለክልሱ ም/ቤት በቀን 22/4/2011 ዓ.ም በክልል የመደራጀት በህገ መንግስቱ የተቀመጠው ፍትሃዊ የመብት ጥያቄ መነሻ የሆኑ ምክንያቶች 5ቱ ገጽ የያዘ መረጃ ስባሪ በማድረግ መቅረቡ ይታወቃል።

ይሁን እንጂ የህዝቦች ህገ መንግስታዊ ጥያቄ የህገ መንግስቱ ስሰራር ተከትሱ በመቅቱ ምላሽ ባለማገኘቱ ምክንያት የብሄረሰቡ የስኩልነትና የፍትሃዊነት መብት እንደሞዛ ስየተደፈጠጠ የዞኑ ህብረተሰብ የልማት፣ የሰላም፣ የሞራል ሁኔታው ስየተዳከመ ይገኛል።

በህገ መንግስቱ የተቀመጠው የስኩልነት፣ የፍትሃዊነት የማንነት ወዘተ መብቶቹ በተገቢ እንዲከበርስት በሰላማዊ መንገድ ብቻ ባስፈት በርካታ ስመታት ስሚመለከተው ስካል ስያቀረበ ቢሆንም መብቱ ተነፍጉ መቆየቱ ይታወቃል። ስሁንም ክላይ በተገለፀው ጊዜ በክልሰ የመደራጀት ህገ መንግስታዊ የመብት ጥያቄው በመቅቱ ምላሽ ባለማገኘቱ ምክንያት፡-

1. የተለያዩ የህብረተሰብ ክፍሱች በተደራጁና ባልተደራጀ መልኩ የጠየቁትና ህገ መንግስታዊ ጥያቄያችን ህጋዊ ምላሽ ስሳገኝም በሚል ስዞኑ ም/ቤት በየጊዜው ስቤቱታ ስያቀረቡ ከመሆኑም በላይ ከተለያዩ የህብረተሰብ

ክፍሎች የተመለከቱ ስላሳት ህገ መንግስታዊ የመብት ስና የስኮብንት ጥያቄያችን በስፋጣኝ ተገባራዊ ምላሽ ይስጠን በሚል ቅሬታ ስቅርበዋል፤

2. ማህበረሰቡ የተስያዩ ስደራጀጀችች በመፍጠር ከሆን ሠዋቅር ስልፎ ክልልና ፌደራል በመንቀሳቀስ ቅሬታውን በማቀረብ ክልማት ስራው እየተስተጓጉሰ ይገኛል፤

3. የህዝቡ ቅሬታ እየስፋና እየተካረረ በመሂዱ ስሜቱ በስጸባባይ ጠጥቶ ስማስማትና ክዚህም ስልፎ በህገ ሠጥ መንገድ ለመንቀሳቀስ የሚደረገው እንቀስቃሴ ክፍተኛ ቢሆንም ሂደቱ ወደ መጥፎ ደረጃ እንዳያመራ በመስጋት የማህበረሰቡ መልካም ስሴትና የተስያዩ ስልችች በመጠቀም ለማርገብ ጥረት እየተደረገ ቢሆንም ስሁን ስሁን ክቁጥጥር ውጪ ሲሆን ወደማይችልበት ደረጃ ደርሷል፤

4. ጥያቄው በወቅቱና ህጋዊ በሆነ መልኩ ምላሽ ባስማግኘቱ ምክንያት በዞኑ ስለመረጋጋትና የሰላም ስጦት ስጋት ዋነኛ ምክንያት ወደ መሆን ደረጃ ደርሷል።

በመሆኑም የተከበረው የደቡብ ብሄር ብሄረሰቦችና ህዝቦች ምክር ቤት የጉራጌ ዞን ህዝብ በክልል የመደራጀት ጥያቄ ህገ መንግስታዊ ስሰራር ተከትሱ ምላሽ ባስማግኘቱ ምክንያት ስየተፈጠረ ያሱ ችግሮች ከግምት ውስጥ በማስገባትና ከምንም በሳደ የዜጉች ህጋዊና ህገ መንግስታዊ ጥያቄ ህገና ስርዓት በሚፈቅደው ስገባብ ምላሽ መስጠት ተገቢ በመሆኑ የተከበረው የክልሱ ም/ቤት በሲፈድሬ ህገ መንግስት ስንቀጽ 47 ንውስ ስንቀጽ 3/ሰ/ እና በክልሱ ህገ መንግስት ስንቀጽ 51 ንውስ ስንቀጽ 3/ሰ/ ሳደ በተሰጠው ስልጣን መሰረት የጉራጌ ዞን ህዝቦች ህገ መንግስታዊ ጥያቄ ሰላማዊና ህገ መንግስታዊ ስሰራር ተከትሱ ስፋጣኝ ምላሽ እንዲሰጠውና ህጋዊ ስሰራሩን ተከትሱ እንዲፈጸም የህዝቦች ጥያቄ በህዝቡ ስም እያቀረብን የጸ/ብ/ብ/ህ/ክ/ም/ቤት በክልል የመደራጀት ህገ መንግስታዊ መብታችን በትክክለኛ ጠቀት ምላሽ የማይሰጠን ከሆነ የህዝባችን መብት ስማስከበር ጥያቄያችንን ስፌጸፈሸን ም/ቤት በማቅረብ ትግሱ የሚቀጥል መሆኑን እንገልጻለን።

"ከሰላምታ ጋር"

ጌታሁን ነጋሽ ብዛ
Getahun Negash B

ዋና ኦፊቱባጁ
Head of Zonal Cour

ግልባጭ

- ስም/ቢቱ ዋ/ስፈ-ጉባኤ
- ስም/ቢቱ ም/ስፈ-ጉባኤ
- ስም/ቢቱ ጽ/ቢት ኃላፊ

ጠቅሚጤ

ም/ክር ቤቶች የህዝብ ሉዓላዊነት መገለጫ ናቸው!!

የደቡብ ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ/መንግስት የጉራጌ ዞን ም/ቤት ጽ/ቤት
ይፅደጢ
SNNP Regional State Gurage Zone Council
welkite

ቁጥር ጉዞም ጋዐ/ ያ1ሉ/ኩ-1
Ref.No
ቀን 6/12/20/4

ለኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ የፌዴሬሽን ምክር ቤት- ሸ/ሳሪሳ
አዲስ አበባ
9/12/14
0111540 64 የሽሬ-ጉለጌ ፎ/ሰፌ ታሳፈ

ጉዳዩ፦ በአደረጃጀት ጉዳይ ከመንግስት የቀረበ ምክረ ሀሳብ አስመልክቶ የተሰጠ ውሳኔ ስለማሳወቅ ይሆናል።

መንግስት ዘደቡብ ብሄሮች፣ ብሄረሰቦችና ህዝቦች ክልል የተነሱ በርካታ የአደረጃጀት ጥያቄዎች ሰልባት ለመስጠት ክልሉን በሁለት ዞኖችና በሁለት ልዩ ወረዳዎች ለማዋቀር ምክረ ሃሳብ ማቅረቡ ይታወቃል። መንግስት ያቀረበው ይህ የአደረጃጀት ምክረ ሀሳብ ቦሚመለከታቸው የዞን እና ልዩ ወረዳ ምክር ቤቶች ቀርቦ ውሳኔ ተሰጥቶበታል። የጉራጌ ዞን ምክር ቤትም መንግስት ያስተመጠውን አቅጣጫ በማክበር ሁኔችን ከስልጤ፣ ከምባታ ጠምባሮ፣ ሀዲያ፣ ሀላባ እና የም ልዩ ወረዳ ጋር በአንድ ሳይ በመሆን አንድ ክልል ለመመስረት የቀረበውን ምክረ ሀሳብ በአጀንዳነት በመያዝ ነሃሴ 05 ቀን 2014 ዓ/ም አስችኳይ ጉባዔ አካሂዷል። የህኖችን ምክር ቤት በአስችኳይ ጉባዔው አጀንዳ ሳይ በሰፊው የመከረ ሲሆን የቀረበውን በክላስተር የመደራጀት ምክረ ሀሳብ በደ/ብ/ብ/ህ/ክ/መ/ የጉራጌ ዞን ምክር ቤት የአሰራርና ስነ-ምግባር ደንብ ቁጥር 8/2008 ዓ.ም አንቀፅ 44(4/ሀ) መሰረት ማንኛውም የምክር ቤት ውሳኔ ሲፀድት የሚችለው በሁለት ሶስተኛ(2/3ኛ) አብላጫ ድምፅ ተቀባይነት ሲያገኝ በመሆኑ በአለቱ በምክር ቤቱ በአጀንዳነት ተይዞ ጉባኤተኛው የመከረበት አጀንዳ በአብላጫ ድምፅ ውድቅ መደረጉን አየገለፅን የአስችኳይ ጉባኤው አጀንዳ 1 ንዑ የተሳታፊዎች አቴንዳንስ 4 ገፅ እና ቃለ ጉባኤ ግልባጭ 16 ገፅ አባሪ አድርገን የሳክን መሆኑን አንገልፃለን።

"ከሠላምታ ጋር"

ክብርት ወ/ሮ አሸቢያ አህመድ
Kibre W/ro Arshia .....

ቀና ኦፊሰርና .....

ግልባጭ፣
- ለደ/ብ/ብ/ህ/ክ/ምክር ቤት
- ለደ/ብ/ብ/ህ/ክ/ርዕሰ መስተዳድር

ሃዋሳ
- ለጉራጌ ዞን አስተዳደር

ወልቂጤ

ምክር ቤቶች የህዝብ ሰዓሳዊነት መገለጫ ናቸው !!

የጉራጌ የምርምርና ማማከር ድርጅት

Guraghe Research and Advisory Organization

ሰኔ 2012 ዓ.ም

ለተከበሩ ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድ

የኢፌዲሪ ጠ/ሚኒስትር

አዲስ አበባ

ከጉራጌ የምርምርና የማማከር ድርጅት በጉራጌ ብሄራዊ ክልላዊ አስተዳደር አማራጭ ሃሳብ ላይ የተሰጠ የአቋም መግለጫ

የጉራጌ የምርምርና የማማከር ድርጅት የአካባቢው ተወላጅ ምሁራን፣ ሽማግሌዎችና ባለሀብቶች የአርሶ አደሩንና የአካባቢው ነዋሪ ህዝብ ኑሮ ለማሻሻል በእዉቀታቸዉ በገንዘባቸዉና በሙያቸዉ ማበርከት የሚችሉትን አስተዋጾ እንዲያበረክቱ ለማስቻል የጉራጌን ህዝብ፣ ባህል፣ ታሪክ፣ ቋንቋ፣ ስነ ጥበብ እና መልካም እሴቶች እንዲታወቁ፣ እንዲጎለብቱና ለተተኪዉ ትዉልድ እንዲተላለፉ ለማድረግ እና የጉራጌ ህዝብ በሆኑ ዉስጥ እና በመላ አገሪቱ ካሉ ህዝቦች ጋር ያለውን መልካም መስተጋብር ለማጠናከር አስፈላጊ ሁሉ ድጋፍ በማድረግ ለሀገራችን ተደማሪ ብልፅግና ማምጣት አላማ አድርጎ የተቋቋመ ድርጅት ነው::

የጉራጌ ህዝብ በከተማ አካባቢ የማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ትብብር እሴቶችን በመፍጠር ሊጋራ ጥቅም እንዲውሉ በማስቻልና በማጸበር በአገራችን የከተማ ዕድገትና ስልጣኔ ሂደት ላይ ጉልህ ሚና መጫወቱ እንዲሁም በገጠር አካባቢ በተደራጀ የመንደር ምስረታ ባህሉ ረጅም አመታት (ከ30-100 አመት) የሚቆይ የመኖሪያ ቤት ዲዛይን ከጥንት ጀምሮ በማጸበር እና ባህላዊ መተዳደሪያ ስርዓት በማያራጅት በአገሪቱ በምሳሌነት የሚጠቀስ አስተዋጽያ ማድረጉ ይታወቃል::

የጉራጌ ህዝብ በራስ አገዝ ልማት የአካባቢውን ወረዳዎች አርስ በርስና እንዲሁም ከአዲስ አበባ ከተማ በመኪና መንገድ በማስተሳሰር በአፍሪካ ደረጃ በአርአያነቱ ይታወቅ የነበረ ቢሆንም ባለፉት 30 ዓመታት የዚህን ማህበረሰብ መጠናከር በሚያስፈራቸው አካላት/መንግስት በሚባል ተቋም የመንገድ ስራ ድርጅቱ በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ የሚያስቆጭ ስልታዊ ጥፋት ተፈፅሞበት እንዲከስም ተደርጓል::

የጉራጌ ህዝብ ከሚታወቅባቸው ልዩ ልዩ መገለጫዎችና ባህሪዎች መካከል በጠንካራ የስራ ባህሉና ታታሪነቱ፣ በስራ ፈጠራ ክህሎቱ፣ በህዝቦች አንድነትና አኩልነት ያለው ጽኑ አቋሙ ከብዙ በጥቂቱ ይጠቀሳሉ:: የጉራጌ ሕዝብ የራሱ የፖለቲካ፣ የኢኮኖሚ፣

1ኛ. ምክረ-ሃሳቡን ለማግኘት ተካሂዶ የተባለው "ጥናት" የጉራጌን ማህበረሰብ ባለፉት 30 ዓመታት የደረሰበትን በደልና ጉዳት ያላገናዘበና አሁንም አውቅልሀለሁ በማለት የቀረበ ሃሳብ መሆኑ፤

2ኛ. የጉራጌን ህዝብ ታሪካዊና ነባራዊ ጸጋ እና ስነልቦና ባለመገንዘብ የቀረበ ሃሳብ መሆኑ፤

3ኛ. የጉራጌ ህዝብ ከ1984 ዓ.ም ጀምሮ እስከዛሬው ምእራፍ ድረስ ሲጠይቅ የነበረውንና በሰላማዊና ኃላፊነት በተሞላበት አግባብና በትዕግስት ሲጠብቅ የነበረውን ፍትሃዊ ምላሽ መስጠት ያልቻለ መሆኑ፤

4ኛ. በአካባቢው ዘላቂ ሰላም ማህበራዊ እና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ልማት ጉዞ ላይ ከፍተኛ ስጋት የሚፈጥር እና እንደ አገርም ካለንበት የድህነት አረንቋ እንዳንወጣ በማድረግ የትንሳዔያችን ጊዜ የሚያራዝም መሆኑ፤

5ኛ. የጉራጌ ህዝብ የደቡብ ብ/ብ/ህዝቦች ክልል አካል ሆኖ በቆየባቸው አመታት ሁሉ ለአጠቃላይ የክልሉ ሕዝብ የጋራ ጥቅም ዕድገትና አንድነት የነበረውን አዎንታዊ አስተዋፅኦ ተገቢውን ክብርና ዕውቅና ከመስጠት በተቃራኒ ማህበረሰቡ ለገጠሙት ችግሮች መፍትሄ መስጠት ባለመፈለግ ለ27 አመታት ማቆየቱና በተለያዩ ጊዜያት እጅጉዳዎች እየተሰጡት እርስ በርሱ እንዲጋጭና ለዘመናት ያቆያቸው እሴቶች እንዲሸረሸሩ በማድረግ ራሱን በራሱ እንኳን እንዳያስማ የተደረገውን ሴራ ግምት ውስጥ ያላስገባ መሆኑ፤

6ኛ. ባለፉት ሁለትና ሶስት አስርት አመታት በክፍተኛ የህዝብ ግፊት መነሻነት ህብረተሰቡ የእርሻ መሬቱን ያለካሣ ለቆ ከተቋቋመው የዩኒቨርሲቲው ግንባታ ውጪ ጉልህ የልማት እጪታሮች አለመኖራቸዉ እና ቀደም ሲል በማህበረሰቡ ሲከናወኑ የነበሩ የልማት መሰረቶች መውደማቸው፤ በተጨማሪም እንደመንግስት ማህበረሰቡን ካለማገዝ አልፎ እራሱን በራሱ እንዳያግዝ በማድረግ ሊያበረክት ይችል የነበረውን አካባቢያዊና አገራዊ ልማት በማስመለጥ ማህበረሰቡንና ቀጣዩን ትውልድ ለተጨማሪ ድህነትና ለክፍተኛ የውጭ ሀገር ስደት የዳረገውን ሁኔታ ግምት ውስጥ ያላስገባ መሆኑና፤

7ኛ. በዚህም የተነሳ ማህበረሰቡ ላለፉት ሁለት ሶስት አስርት አመታት ከመንግስት ጋር የነበረው ግንኙነት ሆድ እና ጀርባ ሆኖ መቆየቱና በየወቅቱ ሲደረግበት የነበረውን ተፅእኖና እሜን ብሎ ባለመቀበል የተለያዩ ትግሎች ሲያደርግ መቆየቱ ግምት ውስጥ ማስገባት ካለመቻሉም በላይ ህዝባችን አሁን የተገኘው ለውጥ ሳንክ እንዳይገጥመው በክፍተኛ ትዕግስት ሀገራችን የምትረጋጋበት ሁኔታ በማሰብ እንደሌሎች አንዳንድ የክልላችን ቡድኖች ለለውጥ ሀይሉ ፈተና ከመሆን መቆጠቡ ከግንዛቤ ያልወሰደ ምክረ ሀሳብ ነው።

ከዚህ ቀደም የህዝቡ ምሬት ጫፍ ደርሶ በተሰይ ምርጫ 97 ላይ የወሰደውን አቋምና ይህንኑ ተከትሎ የደረሰበትን ፖለቲካዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ጫና በመላው የአገራችን ሕዝብ ዘንድ የታወቀና የአደባባይ ሚስጥር ነው።

ስለሆነም የጉራጌ ህዝብ አላይ የተጠቀሱት የተጋረጡበት ማነቆዎች ከመፍታት አንጻር በአገራችን የተያዘው የክልል አስተዳደር መዋቅር መርህ አስከቀጠለ ድረስ የጉራጌ ሕዝብም እንደ ሌሎች የአገሪቱ ክልል ሕዝቦች የራሱን ክልላዊ መንግሥት ለማደራጀት የሱ ምክር ቤት በሙሉ ድምፅ የወሰነውን ውሣኔ ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ በወጣት /ዘርማ/አርያ/፣ በምሁራን፣ በታዋቂ ግለሰቦች፣ በአካባቢው ሽማግሌዎችና በባለንብቶች የተደራጀ እንቅስቃሴ መካሄድ ከጀመረ ውሉ አድሯል።

በዚሁ መሰረት አሁን በመንግስት የቀረበው የጉራጌ ህዝብ አስተዳደራዊ ክልል አማራጭ ሃሳብ አካባቢያዊም ሆነ አገራዊ ጥቅም የሌለውና የጉራጌን ህዝብ ዘለቂታዊ ጥቅም የሚጎዳና በአገር ደረጃም ኢኮኖሚያዊ፣ ማህበራዊና ፖለቲካዊ ጉዳትና ተጽዕኖው ከፍተኛ እንደሚሆን መረዳት አያጻግትም። በመሆኑም የጉራጌ ህዝብ የራሱ ክልል አስተዳደራዊ ነጻነት መረጋገጡ ዘርፈ ብዙ ፋይዳ ይኖረዋል ብለን እናምናለን። በተወሰነ መልኩ ለመግለጽ፦

1ኛ. ማህበረሰቡ በራሱ እንዲተዳደር ማድረጉ ሊኖረው የሚችለውን አካባቢያዊ እና አገራዊ ጥቅምና ፋይዳ ሳይንሳዊና ከስሜት ውጪ በሆነ መልኩ ሲታይ እጅግ በጣም ከፍተኛ በመሆኑ፣

2ኛ. ከላይ በተገለጹት መነሻዎች ተወላጅ በያለበት (በአገር ውስጥ እና በውጪ አገር) ሆኖ በቁጭት ላይ ያለ መሆኑና የዚህ ማህበረሰብ አካባቢ የልማት ነጻነት መረጋገጡ አካባቢውን እንደ አንድ አገራዊ የልማት ዘዋሪ ማዕከል በማድረግ አካባቢውና ማህበረሰቡ የመንግስት ቀኝ እጅ ሆኖ ድህነትን ከአገሪቱ ስርንቶል በሆነ መልኩ ለመቀነስና በማስወገድ ጉዞ ውስጥ ጉልህ አስተዋጽዖ ሊያደርግ እንደሚችል የሚታመን መሆኑና፣ ይህም በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ትልቅ ታሪክ የሚሰራበት አጋጣሚ እንደሚሆን በዕኑ የምናምን በመሆኑና፣

3ኛ.የሕዝብ አደረጃጀት በጎሳ /በብሄረ-ሰብ/ ማድረጉ የራሱ አሉታዊ ተጽዕኖ ያለው መሆኑ እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ፣ በዚሁ መልክ እንዲደራጅ በተያዘው ጉዞ የጉራጌም ማህበረሰብ በዚሁ መሰረት ራሱን በራሱ እንዲያስተዳድር ማድረጉ አስካሁን ድረስ የደረሰበትን በደል ከማክም ባሻገር ማህበረሰቡ የሚያደርገውን ሁለንተናዊ ልማት በበለጠ ማጠናከር የሚያስችለው ሲሆን ካልሆነ ግን ከነበረው ጉዳት ላይ ተጨማሪ ጫና እንደሚሆንበት የሚታመን ነው።

የጉራጌ የምርምርና ማማከር ድርጅት

Guraghe Research and Advisory Organization

ሰኔ 2012 ዓ.ም

ለተከበሩ ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድ
የኢፌዲሪ ጠ/ሚኒስትር
አዲስ አበባ

ከጉራጌ የምርምርና የማማከር ድርጅት በጉራጌ ብሄራዊ ክልላዊ አስተዳደር አማራጭ ሃሳብ ላይ የተሰጠ የአቋም መግለጫ

የጉራጌ የምርምርና የማማከር ድርጅት የአካባቢው ተወላጅ ምሁራን፣ ሽማግሌዎችና ባለሀብቶች የአርሶ አደሩንና የአካባቢው ነዋሪ ህዝብ ኑሮ ለማሻሻል በእጁቀታቸዉ በገንዘባቸዉና በሙያቸዉ ማበርከት የሚችሉትን አስተዋጾ እንዲያበረክቱ ለማስቻል የጉራጌን ህዝብ፣ ባህል፣ ታሪክ፣ ቋንቋ፣ ስነ ጥበብ እና መልካም እሴቶች እንዲታወቁ፣ እንዲጎለብቱና ለተተኪዉ ትዉልድ እንዲተላለፉ ለማድረግ እና የጉራጌ ህዝብ በሀኑ ዉስጥ እና በመላ አገሪቱ ካሉ ህዝቦች ጋር ያለውን መልካም መስተጋብር ለማጠናከር አስፈላጊ ሁሉ ድጋፍ በማድረግ ለሀገራችን ተደማሪ ብልፅግና ማምጣት አላማ አድርጎ የተቋቋመ ድርጅት ነው::

የጉራጌ ህዝብ በከተማ አካባቢ የማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ትብብር አሴቶችን በመፍጠር ለጋራ ጥቅም እንዲውሉ በማስቻልና በማዳበር በአገራችን የከተማ ዕድገትና ስልጣኔ ሂደት ላይ ጉልህ ሚና መጫዉቱ እንዲሁም በገጠር አካባቢ በተደራጀ የመንደር ምስረታ ባህሉ ረጅም አመታት (ከ30-100 አመት) የሚቆይ የመኖሪያ ቤት ዲዛይን ከጥንት ጀምሮ በማዳበር እና ባህላዊ መተዳደሪያ ስርዓት በማደራጀት በአገሪቱ በምሳሌነት የሚጠቀስ አስተዋጽዖ ማድረጉ ይታወቃል::

የጉራጌ ህዝብ በራስ አገዝ ልማት የአካባቢውን ወረዳዎች እርስ በርስና እንዲሁም ከአዲስ አበባ ከተማ በመኪና መንገድ በማስተሳሰር በአፍሪካ ደረጃ በአርአያነቱ ይታወቅ የነበረ ቢሆንም ባለፉት 30 ዓመታት የዚህን ማህበረሰብ መጠናከር በሚያስፈራቸው አካላት/መንግስት በሚባል ተቋም የመንገድ ስራ ድርጅቱ በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ የሚያስቆጭ ሰልታዊ ጥፋት ተፈፅሞበት እንዲከስም ተደርጓል::

የጉራጌ ህዝብ ከሚታወቅባቸው ልዩ ልዩ መገለጫዎችና ባህሪዎች መካከል በጠንካራ የስራ ባህሉና ታታሪነቱ፣ በስራ ፈጠራ ክህሎቱ፣ በህዝቦች አንድነትና እኩልነት ያለው ጽኑ አቋሙ ከብዙ በጥቂቱ ይጠቀሳሉ:: የጉራጌ ሕዝብ የራሱ የፖለቲካ፣ የኢኮኖሚ፣

በመሆኑም ይህንን ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ በመገንዘብ ከዚህ በኋላ የሚፈጠረው አደረጃጀት ከሌላ አስርት አመታት በኋላ የሚፈርስ ሳይሆን የህዝቡን ፍላጎት ያማከለና ዘላቂነት ያለው ልማት ለማምጣት የሚያግዝ መሆን እንዳለበት እናምናለን። በዚሁ መሰረት የራሱ የሆነ ልዩ ባህሪ ያለውን የጉራጌ ህዝብ ራሱን በራሱ የሚያስተዳድርበት ህገ-መንግስታዊ መብቱ እንዲከበርለትና የጉራጌ ብሄራዊ ክልላዊ መንግስት በህዝቡ ድምጽ ብቻ እንዲዋቀር ብሎም ህዝበ ውሳኔ እንዲካሄድ አበክረን እንጠይቃለን።

ጉራጌ የምርምርና ማማከር ድርጅት
ሰኔ 2012 ዓ/ም
ወልቂጤ

ግልባጭ

- ለኢፌዲሪ ፌደሬሽን ም/ቤት
- ለሀገር አቀፍ የብልጽግና ፓርቲ ዋና ጽ/ቤት
  አዲስ አበባ
- ለደ/ብ/ብ/ህ/ክልል ር/መስተዳድር ጽ/ቤት
- ለደ/ብ/ብ/ህ/ክልል ፌደሬሽን ም/ቤት
- ለደቡብ ክልል ብልጽግና ፓርቲ ቅ/ጽ/ቤት
  ሀዋሳ
- ለጉራጌ ዞን ምክር ቤት ጽ/ቤት
- ለጉራጌ ዞን አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
- ለጉራጌ ዞን መንግስት ኮሚኒኬሽን
- ለጉራጌ ዞን ብልጽግና ፓርቲ ቅ/ጽ/ቤት
  ወልቂጤ
- ለ _____ ሚዲያ/ብሮድካስት
  ባሉበት
- የኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች መማክርት ጽ/ቤት
  አዲስ አበባ

የኢትዮጵያ
ሰብዓዊ መብቶች ጉባዔ (ኢሰመጉ)
ETHIOPIAN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL (EHRCO)

አስቸኳይ በቂ ትኩረት የሚያስፈልጋቸው የሰብዓዊ መብቶች ጉዳዮች

ሀዳር 25/2015 ዓ.ም

መግቢያ:

የኢትዮጵያ ሰብዓዊ መብቶች ጉባኤ (ኢሰመጉ) በኦሮሚያ ክልል ውስጥ በሚገኙ የተለያዩ አካባቢዎች በተደጋጋሚ ጊዜ በታጠቁ ቡድኖች በዋናነት በሸኔ ታጣቂ ቡድን ጥቃቶች እየተፈጸሙ መሆናቸውን በመግለጽ የፌደራል መንግስት እንዲሁም ጉዳዩ የሚመለከተው የኦሮሚያ ክልላዊ መንግስት ይህንን ድርጊት እንዲያስቆም እና የሰዎችን ሰብዓዊ መብቶች እንዲያከብር እና እንዲያስከብር በተደጋጋሚ ጊዜ ባወጣቸው መግለጫዎች ሲወተውት ቆይቷል። ሆኖም ግን የፌደራል መንግስትም ሆነ የኦሮሚያ ክልላዊ መንግስት ለጉዳዩ ተገቢውን በቂ ትኩረት በመስጠት ዘላቂ መፍትሔ ባለማምጣታቸው ጥቃቶች በታጣቂ ቡድኖች በዋናነት በክልሉ ላይ እየተንቀሳቀሰ በሚገኘው በሸኔ ታጣቂ ቡድን በተደጋጋሚ ጊዜ እየተጸመ ይገኛል። እየተፈጸሙ ያሉ ጥቃቶች በእንዳንድ ቦታዎች ላይ ማንነትን መሰረት ያደረጉ ሲሆን የተወሰኑ ቦታዎች ላይ በዋናነት በምዕራብ እና ምስራቅ ወሊጋ ዞኖች ውስጥ በሚገኙ አካባቢዎች ላይ በተደጋጋሚ እየተፈጸሙ ይገኛሉ።

በኦሮሚያ ክልል ምዕራብ ሸዋ ዞን ውስጥ በሚገኘው የዳንንቱ ሲሚንቶ ፋብሪካ ውስጥ የሚሰሩ ሰራተኞች ህዳር 20 ቀን 2015 ዓ.ም የታጠቁ ቡድኖች ወደ ስራ የሚሄዱበትን መኪና በማስቆም ሴቶቹን እንዲሄዱ ከለቀቁ በኋላ በርካታ ቁጥር ያላቸው ወንድ ሰራተኞችን አግተው መውሰዳቸውን እና እነዚህ ሰራተኞች ይህ ሪፖርት እስከወጣበት ጊዜ ድረስ አለመለቀቃቸውን ኢሰመጉ ከአካባቢው ካሰባሰባቸው መረጃዎች ለመረዳት ችሏል።

በኦሮሚያ ክልል በተደጋጋሚ በሸኔ ታጣቂ ቡድን ጥቃት የሚፈጸምባቸው ምዕራብ ወሊጋ ዞን ኪረሙ ወረዳ ሀሩ ቀበሌ እና ሌሎችም፣ ምስራቅ ሸዋ ዞን ጆጁ ወረዳዎች ውስጥ የሚገኙ አካባቢዎች እና ምዕራብ ወሊጋ ዞን ጉትን ወረዳ እንዲሁም ቱሉጋራ፣ ጃርዲጋ፣ አሞሮ እና ሌሎች አካባቢዎች ላይ አሁንም ይህ ታጣቂ ቡድን በተደጋጋሚ ጥቃቶች እየፈጸመ መሆኑን እና ይህንን ጥቃት ለማስቆም ከፌደራል መንግስትም ሆነ ከኦሮሚያ ክልላዊ መንግስት የተሰጠ ዘላቂ መፍትሔ ባለመኖሩ ምክንያት የሚፈጸሙ ጥቃቶች መቀጠላቸውን እና በአካባቢው ላይ የሚኖሩ ሰዎች ስጋት ውስጥ መሆናቸውን ኢሰመጉ ከአካባቢዎቹ ካሰባሰባቸው መረጃዎች ለመረዳት ችሏል። ለእዚህም ማሳያነት በኦሮሚያ ክልል ምሥራቅ ወሊጋ ዞን ጊዳ ያና ወረዳ አንገር ጉትን ከተማ ህዳር 24 ቀን 2015 ዓ.ም ከንጋቱ ዘ፡30 ስዓት ጀምሮ ታጣቂ ቡድኖች ወደ ከተማዋ በመግባት በፈጸሙት ጥቃት በርካታ ሰዎች ህይወታቸውን እንዳጡ፣ ይህንን ድርጊት የፈጸሙት ታጣቂ ቡድኖች በከፍተኛ ሁኔታ የታጠቁ መሆናቸውን፣ ይህንን ጥቃት ተከትሎ በርካታ ቁጥር ያላቸው እና መሸሸ የሚችሉ ሰዎች ወደ ጫካ እንደገቡና አቅመ ደካሞች እና ህጻናት በከተማዋ ውስጥ መሆናቸውን ቤተሰቦቻቸው በጉትን ወረዳ የሚኖሩ ሰዎች በአካል ኢሰመጉ ቢሮ ድረስ በመምጣት ከተገኘ መረጃ እና ከአካባቢው ከተሰበሰበ መረጃ ለመረዳት ተችሏል።

በኦሮሚያ ክልል ምስራቅ ሸዋ ዞን መተሐራ አካባቢ ወደ ጅቡቲ በሚወስደው መንገድ ላይ በሸኔ ታጣቂ ቡድን በተደጋጋሚ ጊዜ ጥቃቶች እየተፈጸሙ ይገኛሉ። በእዚህ መንገድ ላይ በሚፈጸሙ ጥቃቶች ሾፌሮች እና ሌሎችም ሰዎች እገታ እየተፈጸመባቸው ሲሆን ይህ ድርጊት በተደጋጋሚ ጊዜ በተለያየ መንገድ ለሚመለከተው አካል ቢገለጽም ምንም አይነት መፍትሔ ባለመበጀቱ ምክንያት እንደቀጠለ ይገኛል። ስለሆነም በአካባቢው የሚኖሩ ነዋሪዎች እና መንገዱን የሚጠቀሙ የተሽከርካሪ ሹፌሮች እንዲሁም መንገደኞች ከፍተኛ ስጋት ውስጥ መሆናቸውን ኢሰመጉ ከአካባቢው ካሰባሰባቸው መረጃዎች ለመረዳት ችሏል።

በደቡብ ብሔሮች ብሔረሰቦች እና ሕዝቦች ክልል ምክር ቤት ውስጥ በጉራጌ አስተዳደር ዞን የእዣ ወረዳን ወክለው የክልሉ ምክር ቤት አባል የሆኑት አቶ ታረቀኝ ደገፋ ህዳር 17 ቀን 2015 ዓ.ም. በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ኮልፌ ቀራኒዮ ክፍለ ከተማ ልዩ ቦታው ቤቴል ተብሎ በ ሚጠራው አካባቢ ከሚገኘው መኖሪያ ቤታቸው በመንግስት ፀጥታ ኃይሎች ተይዘው መወሰዳቸውን እና በወቅቱ ወዴት እንደተወሰዱ ሳይታወቅ

በምክር ቤት ያለመከሰስ መብታቸው ሳይነሳ ከተያዙ ከአራት ቀን ቆይታ በኋላ ህዳር 21 ቀን 2015 ዓ.ም ሀዋሳ ፍ/ቤት መቅረባቸውን ኢሰመኮ ካሰባሰባቸው መረጃዎች ለመረዳት ችሏል።

ኢሰመኮ ከላይ በተዘረዘሩት ጉዳዮች ላይ የአካባቢዎቹ የጸጥታ ሁኔታ ሲፈቅድ ሰፋ ያለ የምርመራ ስራን በማከናወን ዝርዝር ዘገባን እንደሚያዘጋጅ ከወዲሁ ይገልጻል።

ተያያዥ የህግ ድንጋጌዎች፡

ዓለም አቀፍ የሰብዓዊ መብቶች መግለጫ (UDHR) አንቀጽ 3፣ የሲቪልና የፖለቲካ መብቶች ዓለም አቀፍ ቃል-ኪዳንም (ICCPR) በአንቀጽ 6(1) እና 9(1) ላይ እያንዳንዱ ሰው በሕይወት የመኖር፣ የአካል ደህንነቱ የመጠበቅ መብት እንዳለው ያረጋግጣል። ይህንኑ መብት በማረጋገጥ፣ መንግሥታት በቃል-ኪዳኑ (ICCPR) የተረጋገጡትን መብቶች በግዛታቸው የማክበር፣ የማስከበርና የማሟላት ግዴታ እንዳለባቸውም በአንቀጽ 2(1) እና 2(2) ይደነግጋል። የአፍሪካ ቻርተር በሰዎች እና ህዝቦች መብቶች (ACHPR) አንቀጽ 4 ማንኛውም ግለሰብ በሕይወት የመኖር መብቱና የአካሉ ደህንነት መብቱ ሊከበርለትና ሊጠበቅለት እንደሚገባና እነዚህን መብቶቹን በዘፈቀደ ሊነፈግ እንደማይችል ተመላክቷል። የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ-መንግሥት አንቀጽ 14 "ማንኛውም ሰው ሰብዓዊ በመሆኑ የማይደፈርና የማይገሰስ በሕይወት የመኖር፣ የአካል ደህንነትና የነጻነት መብት አለው" ሲል ይደነግጋል። በተመሳሳይ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ-መንግስት አንቀፅ 15 ማንኛውም ሰው በሕይወት የመኖር መብት እንዳለውና በሕግ ከተደነገገው ውጪ ሕይወቱን ሊያጣ እንደማይችል በግልፅ ደንግጓል። በተመሳሳይ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ-መንግስት በአንቀጽ 16 ላይ ማ ንም ሰው በአካሉ ላይ ጉዳት እንዳይደርስበት የመጠበቅ መብት አለው ሲል ያስቀምጣል።

ዓለም አቀፍ የሰብዓዊ መብቶች መግለጫ (UDHR) አንቀጽ 13፣ የሲቪልና የፖለቲካ መብቶች ዓለም አቀፍ ቃል-ኪዳንም (ICCPR) አንቀጽ 12 ላይ በአንድ አገር ግዛት ውስጥ በሕጋዊ መንገድ ያለ ማንኛውም ሰው በዚያ አገር ውስጥ በነጻነት የመንቀሳቀስ መብት እንዳለው ይደነግጋሉ። የአፍሪካ ቻርተር በሰዎች እና ህዝቦች መብቶች (ACHPR) አንቀጽ 6 ላይ ማንኛውም ሰው ነጻነቱና አካላዊ ደህንነቱ ተጠብቆለት የመኖር መብት አለው ሲል ይደነግጋል። በተመሳሳይ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ-መንግስት በአንቀጽ 17 እና 32 ላይ ማንኛውም ሰው የአካል ነጻነት መብት እንዳለው እና በነጻነት በፈለገው አካባቢ የመዘዋወር መብት እንዳለው ይደነግጋል።
ምንም እንኳን ኢትዮጵያ አባል ሀገር ባትሆንም ሰዎችን አስገድዶ ከመሰወር ለመጠበቅ የወጣው ዓለም አቀፍ ስምምነት(International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance) በአንቀጽ 1(1) ላይ ማንም ሰው ለአስገድዶ መሰወር ተጋላጭ መሆን እንደሌለበት በመደንገግ ይህንን ወንጀል የፈጸሙ አካላትን መንግስት በወንጀል ተጠያቂ እንዲያደርጋቸው ይደነግጋል።

የደቡብ ብሔሮች ብሔረሰቦች እና ሕዝቦች ክልል ሀገ-መንግስት አንቀጽ 48 ንዑስ አንቀጽ 5 "ማንኛውም የምክር ቤቱ አባል ከባድ ወንጀል ሲፈጽም እጅ ከፍንጅ ካልተያዘ በስተቀር ያለ ምክር ቤቱ ፍቃድ አይያዝም አይከሰስም" ሲል ይደነግጋል።

የኢሰመኮ ጥሪ፡

- የፌደራል መንግስት እና የኦሮሚያ ክልል መንግስት በኦሮሚያ ክልል በተደጋጋሚ እየተፈጸመ ላለው እና መቆሚያ ላጣው በታጣቂዎች በዋናነት በሸኔ ታጣቂ ቡድን የሚፈጸ መትን ጥቃቶች ተገቢውን ትኩረት በመስጠት በአስቸኳይ እንዲያስቆሙ፣
- መንግስት በኦሮሚያ ክልል ምዕራብ ሸዋ ዞን ውስጥ ከሚገኘው የዳንጎቴ ሲሚንቶ ፋብሪካ ህዳር 20 ቀን 2015 ዓ.ም ታግተው የተወሰዱ በድርጅቱ ውስጥ እየሰሩ የነበሩ ሰራተኞች ያሉበትን በማ ጣራት በሰላም እንዲያስመልስ እና የአካባቢውን ጸጥታ በማረጋገጥ መሰል ድርጊቶች እንዳይፈጸሙ እንዲከላከል፣
- በኦሮሚያ ክልል ምስራቅ ሸዋ ዞን መተሐራ አካባቢ በሚገኘው የጅቡቲ መንገድ ላይ በተደጋጋሚ የሚፈጸሙ ጥቃቶችን መንግስት በአስቸኳይ እንዲያስቆም፣

ኢዜማ
የኢትዮጵያ ዜጎች ለማህበራዊ ፍትህ ፓርቲ
Ethiopian Citizens for Social Justice (EZEMA)

ቀን: 19/03/2015
Date
ቁጥር: ኢዜማ/0147/15
Ref.No

ለደቡብ ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ ፍትህ ቢሮ
አዋሳ

ጉዳዩ፡ ሕገወጥ እስርን ይመለከታል፣

የኢትዮጵያ ዜጎች ለማህበራዊ ፍትህ ፓርቲ /ኢዜማ/ በኢትዮጵያ ብሔራዊ ምርጫ ቦርድ ሕጋዊ ዕውቅና አግኝቶ ሕጋዊ እና ሰላማዊ የፖለቲካ እንቅስቃሴ እያካሄደ የሚገኝ ፓርቲ መሆኑ ይታወቃል፡፡

ይሁን እንጂ በደቡብ/ብ/ብ/ህ/ክልል ጉራጌ ዞን እና ወረዳ ኢዜማን ወክለው በ2013 ዓ.ም በተካሄው ሀገር አቀፍ ምርጫ አሸንፈው የክልል ምክር አባል በሆኑት በአቶ ታረቀኝ ደግፌ ላይ ሕገ ወጥ እስር ተፈጽሟል፡፡ ድርጊቱ የደ/ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ ሕገ መንግስት አንቀጽ 49 (2) (ለ) እንደሚጠቅሰው *"ማንኛውም የምክር ቤቱ አባል ከዚድ ወንጀል ሲፈጽም እጅ ከፍንጅ ካልተያዘ በስተቀር ያለ ምክቤቱ ፍቃድ አይያዝም፣ በወንጀል አይከሰስም* በሚል የተቀመጠውን ድንጋጌ በግልጽ በመጣስ የክልሉ ምክቤት የአባላችንን ያለመከሰስ መብት ባላስነሳበት ሁኔታ ሕዳር 17 ቀን 2015 ዓ.ም አዲስ አበባ ከሚገኘው መኖሪያ ቤታቸው በመንግስት የፀጥታ ኃይሎች ተይዘው ወዳልታወቀ ቦታ ተወስደዋል፡፡

እንደዚህ አይነቱን የሕግ ጥሰት አጥብቀን የምናወግዘው መሆኑን እየገለጽን የክልሉ ፍትህ ቢሮ ለጉዳዩ አጽንኦት በመስጠት የሕዝብ ተወካይ የሆኑት የምክር ቤት አባል በአስቸኳይ ከእስር እንዲፈቱ የበኩሉን ኃላፊነት ይወጣ ዘንድ በአክብሮት እንጠይቃለን፡፡

ከሰላምታ ጋር!

ሚሊዮን ጥላሁን (ዶ/ር)
የኢዜማ ሊቀመንበር
Dr. Milion Kylade Mamaye (Dr.)
EZEMA Chairperson

ግልባጭ
- ለደቡብ ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ መንግስት ርዕሰ መስተዳድር ጽ/ቤት
- ለደቡብ ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ መንግስት የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች የጋራ ምክቤት አዋሳ
- ለጉራጌ ዞን ኢዜማ ማስተባበሪያ ምክቤት ጽ/ቤት ወልቂጤ

በምክር ቤት ያለመከሰስ መብታቸው ሳይነሳ ከተያዙ ከአራት ቀን ቆይታ በኋላ ህዳር 21 ቀን 2015 ዓ.ም ሀዋሳ ፍ/ቤት መቅረባቸውን ኢሰመኮ ካሰባሰባቸው መረጃዎች ለመረዳት ችሏል።

ኢሰመኮ ከላይ በተዘረዘሩት ጉዳዮች ላይ የአካባቢዎቹ የጸጥታ ሁኔታ ሲፈቅድ ሰፋ ያለ የምርመራ ስራን በማከናወን ዝርዝር ዘገባን እንደሚያዘጋጅ ከወዲሁ ይገልጻል።

ተያያዥ የህግ ድንጋጌዎች፡

ዓለም አቀፍ የሰብዓዊ መብቶች መግለጫ (UDHR) አንቀጽ 3፣ የሲቪልና የፖለቲካ መብቶች ዓለም አቀፍ ቃል-ኪዳንም (ICCPR) በአንቀጽ 6(1) እና 9(1) ላይ እያንዳንዱ ሰው በሕይወት የመኖር፣ የአካል ደህንነቱ የመጠበቅ መብት እንዳለው ያረጋግጣል። ይህንኑ መብት በማረጋገጥ፣ መንግሥታት በቃል-ኪዳኑ (ICCPR) የተረጋገጡትን መብቶች በግዛታቸው የማክበር፣ የማስከበርና የማሟላት ግዴታ እንዳለባቸውም በአንቀጽ 2(1) እና 2(2) ይደነግጋል። የአፍሪካ ቻርተር በሰዎች እና ህዝቦች መብቶች (ACHPR) አንቀጽ 4 ማንኛውም ግለሰብ በሕይወት የመኖር መብቱና የአካሉ ደህንነት መብቱ ሊከበርለትና ሊጠበቅለት እንደሚገባና እነዚህን መብቶቹን በዘፈቀደ ሊነፈግ እንደማይችል ተመላክቷል። የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ-መንግሥት አንቀጽ 14 "ማንኛውም ሰው ሰብዓዊ በመሆኑ የማይደፈርና የማይገሰስ በሕይወት የመኖር፣ የአካል ደህንነትና የነጻነት መብት አለው" ሲል ይደነግጋል። በተመሳሳይ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ-መንግስት አንቀፅ 15 ማንኛውም ሰው በሕይወት የመኖር መብት እንዳለውና በሕግ ከተደነገገው ውጪ ሕይወቱን ሊያጣ እንደማይችል በግልፅ ደንግጓል። በተመሳሳይ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ-መንግስት በአንቀጽ 16 ላይ ማ ንም ሰው በአካሉ ላይ ጉዳት እንዳይደርስበት የመጠበቅ መብት አለው ሲል ያስቀምጣል።

ዓለም አቀፍ የሰብዓዊ መብቶች መግለጫ (UDHR) አንቀጽ 13፣ የሲቪልና የፖለቲካ መብቶች ዓለም አቀፍ ቃል-ኪዳንም (ICCPR) አንቀጽ 12 ላይ በአንድ አገር ግዛት ውስጥ በሕጋዊ መንገድ ያለ ማንኛውም ሰው በዚያ አገር ውስጥ በነጻነት የመንቀሳቀስ መብት እንዳለው ይደነግጋሉ። የአፍሪካ ቻርተር በሰዎች እና ህዝቦች መብቶች (ACHPR) አንቀጽ 6 ላይ ማንኛውም ሰው ነጻነቱና አካላዊ ደህንነቱ ተጠብቆለት የመኖር መብት አለው ሲል ይደነግጋል። በተመሳሳይ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ-መንግስት በአንቀጽ 17 እና 32 ላይ ማንኛውም ሰው የአካል ነጻነት መብት እንዳለው እና በነጻነት በፈለገው አካባቢ የመዘዋወር መብት እንዳለው ይደነግጋል።
ምንም እንኳን ኢትዮጵያ አባል ሀገር ባትሆንም ሰዎችን አስገድዶ ከመሰወር ለመጠበቅ የወጣው ዓለም አቀፍ ስምምነት(International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance) በአንቀጽ 1(1) ላይ ማንም ሰው ለአስገድዶ መሰወር ተጋላጭ መሆን እንደሌለበት በመደንገግ ይህንን ወንጀል የፈጸሙ አካላትን መንግስት በወንጀል ተጠያቂ እንዲያደርጋቸው ይደነግጋል።

የደቡብ ብሔሮች ብሔረሰቦች እና ሕዝቦች ክልል ሀገ-መንግስት አንቀጽ 48 ንዑስ አንቀጽ 5 "ማንኛውም የምክር ቤቱ አባል ከባድ ወንጀል ሲፈጽም እጅ ከፍንጅ ካልተያዘ በስተቀር ያለ ምክር ቤቱ ፍቃድ አይያዝም አይከሰስም" ሲል ይደነግጋል።

የኢሰመኮ ጥሪ፡

- የፌደራል መንግስት እና የኦሮሚያ ክልል መንግስት በኦሮሚያ ክልል በተደጋጋሚ እየተፈጸመ ላለው እና መቆሚያ ላጣው በታጣቂዎች በዋናነት በሸኔ ታጣቂ ቡድን የሚፈጸ መትን ጥቃቶች ተገቢውን ትኩረት በመስጠት በአስቸኳይ እንዲያስቆሙ፣
- መንግስት በኦሮሚያ ክልል ምዕራብ ሸዋ ዞን ውስጥ ከሚገኘው የዳንጎቴ ሲሚንቶ ፋብሪካ ህዳር 20 ቀን 2015 ዓ.ም ታግተው የተወሰዱ በድርጅቱ ውስጥ እየሰሩ የነበሩ ሰራተኞች ያሉበትን በማ ጣራት በሰላም እንዲያስመልስ እና የአካባቢውን ጸጥታ በማረጋገጥ መሰል ድርጊቶች እንዳይፈጸሙ እንዲከላከል፣
- በኦሮሚያ ክልል ምስራቅ ሸዋ ዞን መተሐራ አካባቢ በሚገኘው የጅቡቲ መንገድ ላይ በተደጋጋሚ የሚፈጸሙ ጥቃቶችን መንግስት በአስቸኳይ እንዲያስቆም፣