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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND**  
**COMMUNICATION**



**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE**  
**INAUGURAL SPEECHES OF PRIME MINISTER DR. ABIY**  
**AHMED AND THE LATE PRIME MINISTER MELES ZENAWI**

**BY**

**HABTAMU TEKLESILLASIE**

**DECEMBER, 2019**

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**BY**

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**A Thesis Presented to the School of Journalism and Communication  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master  
of Arts in Journalism and Communication**

**DECEMBER 2019**

**AAU**

## **DECLARATION**

This project is my own original work and has not been submitted for an award of any degree in any other university. I have carried it out independently with the guidance and suggestions of the research advisor.

**Habtamu T/Sillasie**

**(The Researcher)**

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**Signature**

# LETTER OF CERTIFICATION

**Addis Ababa University**

**Graduate School of Journalism and Communication**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Habtamu T/Sillasie, A Critical Discourse Analysis Of The Inaugural Speeches Of The New Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed And The Former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi with specific reference to Addis Ababa City submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University. The work is original in its nature and is eligible to earn master's degree in journalism and communication.

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Advisor \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

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Chair of the Graduate School

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## **ACRONYMS and ABBREVIATIONS**

CDA -	Critical Discourse Analysis
DA -	Discourse Analysis
EPRDF -	Ethiopian People Revolutionary and Democratic Front
EPLF –	Eritrean People Liberation Front
OPDO -	Oromo People Democratic Organization
OLF -	Oromo Liberation Front
ONLF-	Ogaden National Liberation Front
ODP -	Oromo Democratic Party
PD -	Political Discourse
TPLF –	Tigray People Liberation Front

## Abstract

*The main purpose of this thesis was to critically analyze the inaugural speeches of the two Prime Ministers, Meles Zenawi (on 9<sup>th</sup> May of 1995) and Dr. Abiy Ahmed (2<sup>nd</sup> April of 2018). Norman Fairclough's model known as the tri-dimensional approach to critically discourse analysis was employed for the purpose. The analysis involved identifying linguistic features used in the two speeches typical discursive characteristics underlying the inaugural speeches and exploring their relationship with socio-cultural practice. The data analysis of text demonstrates the two politicians' lexical choice was made in line with the political ideologies they endorsed. Meles's representation of the EPRDF and the government projects his view as positive while Abiy employed lexical elements to criticize the 27 years of EPRDF and the government. Ethiopian Nationalism was given less (even no) importance in the speech of Meles while Abiy boldly set to magnify the discourse along with the use 'God' and 'Mother' to win the interest of the 'mass'. The revelation of plans in the speech indicated the political thought they are accustomed with, developmental state for Meles and purely liberal for Abiy. Abiy gave priority to youths than Meles who strategically brought nations and nationalities instead. Political parties and ideologically different views were identified which demonstrated Meles's authoritative and Abiy's strategic approach. Metaphor, metonymy and paradox were the rhetoric devices used in the speeches. The result of the transitive analysis showed that Abiy had created an own chance to express his feelings, which was inclusive as government, Meles used the mental process expressing construction in its passive form to leave actions open to the unknown doer, perhaps himself. Unlike Meles, Abiy's positive sentences and remark had negative connotation and stronger effect. In using pronouns, that showed power struggle, Abiy's 'I' used to ask for forgiveness and take responsibility while Meles's was mostly to urge. And, Abiy 'We' found to be inclusive than Meles's. Presuppositions were utilized for some indirect ideological statements. Sensationalization was the discursive strategy used. Social political tendencies of the 'mass' and peoples' excessive but explicit need, social realities in general, had been manipulated and functioned as a base for the two Politian's ideological endorsement. The analysis of the political speeches and its meaning gleamed a moral line of communication between a politician and his people. The analysis is analysis of political language which is a form of communication and everything starts from language.*

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY: SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF ETHIOPIA

##### 1.1.1) Pre-Meles Zenawi Political Context of Ethiopia

Born in Adwa, Tigray, in northern Ethiopia, Meles was the Prime Minister of Ethiopia from 1995 to his death in 2012. Since 1989, he was the chairman of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), and the head of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) starting from its formation in 1991. Before becoming Prime Minister in 1995, he served as President of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia from 1991 to 1995.

Meles, who left Haile Selassie I University to join the TPLF and oppose the Derg, stated that EPRDF's victory was a triumph for the thousands of TPLF-fighters who were killed, for the millions of Ethiopians who were victims of the country's biggest famine during the Derg regime, when some are convinced that many Ethiopians had died from famine and the Red Terror.

Then, after the overthrow of the Derg's military government, he was elected as President of the transitional government and later as Prime Minister. It is argued that he has lifted his country from the ruins of civil war and transformed it into one of Africa's fastest-growing economies.

Right before Meles comes to his premiership the country faced a lot of political instability due to the growing tension and refusal to the military power, Derg. Many agree that the revolution came to expansion against the feudal system in 1960s (EC) is high jacked by the military Derg leaving the country with communist political administration.

The Derg regime was characterized with high violence of human rights, freedom of expression, and more adequately the right to property. All those rights were unlikely to be respected by the government of that time which ultimately brought people together to establish ethnic based freedom movements for their rights.

The Meles led EPRDF, the coalition of four ethnic based political movements, had diverse foreign support; the Arab League, as well as Western nations, supported the EPRDF rebels

against the communist Moscow-supported government (although the TPLF was at the time Marxist) at the height of the Cold War.

Increased need to avoid unitary system of government having the discourse of diversity, and the need to be recognized for the assertion of their benefit, many were ambitions of their rights and privileges respected. The riot EPRDF hold at from the beginning tends to be more capitalist than socialist, which many thought a solution to get their political questions answered.

Recurring famine throughout the country more specifically in the northern Ethiopia left many starved and forced to flee. Life in a hand to mouth frequency grows the anger of the people towards the government in the course of time. Even for some opportunists of having the capacity to get grown and make money, they were hardly allowed to accommodate and had a limited expansion in any developmental aspects. Of course the nature of socialist government doesn't allow so in principle. However, the government does a lot in creating sense of nationalism and decreasing illiteracy along with some useful efforts to expand mechanized farming.

Paradoxically, the government undermines ownership of properties and the right to property irrespective of its decision to let the land for the ones who cultivate it.

Above all there is nothing violated than the right of individuals democratic and human rights assumed to be respected according to the global trends of that time. The suppression on democratic rights of individuals became the cause for the raised quest of political participation. Ethnic based groups strongly aggravated the issue and became freedom fighter for this sake.

From the beginning the people were suspicious of the military Derg as it wasn't the one given public acceptance, and undemocratically sworn. The long time question of the entire people to have a democratically elected government with fair representation and political participation remained unanswered and the military Junta, Derg, stayed in power for along.

Inequality in gender had also been the question of many and was the center of debate holding the argument that women should have affirmative chances to equally participate with their counterparts. Indeed, practicing religion in a more freeway was also the one which assures the equality's the unitary system systematically undermines diverse nations and nationalities, disappointment

were there among the ones who thought their culture and language is unrecognized and suppressed.

In the times right before the victory of EPRDF, the growing tension and civil war, the government's aggressive response to the protests badly dismantle the peace and stability of the country while the peripherals areas marked fragile Ethiopia than united. Ethnic freedom fighters like OLF (Oromo Liberation Front) and ONLF (Ogaden National Liberation Front) were on the way to depart Ethiopia. Therefore, EPRDF was supposed to bring a new narrative to change and win the discourse of socialist but dictatorship, and a new riot to give strategic and fair answer to the economic and political questions.

Then, TPLF led EPRDF was successful in mobilizing the people just for a goal of at least over throw the dictator even though the struggle left the country in many aspects. The need for a democratic country, fairness and equity, equal political participation, the issue of recession, provision of democratic and human rights came into front as the struggle goes to victory. Finally, as EPRDF succeeded, the transitional government was formed to facilitate in the formation of federal republic government and constitution, unlike the system before.

The above political themes were in the debates of the political parties on the draft of the constitution. Former Rebel groups and freedom fighters had a righteous participation and representation. Of course, the struggle ended reactions of the dictatorship paved a way to a democratic transition. Any ways, in the transitional period, after some democratic and constructive debates reportedly liberal constitution ratified. Thus, extended rights to the peoples up to recession, provision of democratic and human rights, and recognition of nation's nationalities, formation of a federal democratic republic country, fair representation and share of political power, were the assignments of the transitional government. EPRDF, on the other hand, had mandates to draft a development plan to at least get the country back to track to development and prosperity. It was both a move to democratization having constitutional politics and development to answer the needs of the majority.

What the transitional government, led by President Meles of that time, had done to bridge; and what the new government is expected to accomplish in line with the questions, all marked the time at which Meles sworn in to power as a prime minister of the country.

### **1.1.2) Pre-Abiy political Context of Ethiopia**

A former army intelligence officer, who became Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed (PHD) was born in the town of Beshasha, Oromia. He is now chairman of both the ruling EPRDF (Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front) and the ODP (Oromo Democratic Party), which is one of the four coalition parties of the EPRDF. Abiy, who is an elected member of the Ethiopian parliament, and a member of the ODP and EPRDF executive committees, started his political career as a member of the ODP (Oromo Democratic Party). A quick succession marked his membership of the central committee of ODP and congress member of the Executive Committee of the EPRDF.

Following violent fight against illegal land-grabbing activities in Oromia Region and especially around the capital Addis Ababa, because of 'Addis Ababa Master Plan', an ethnic conflicts along with tense oppositions to EPRDF that ruled the country for 27 years, the former prime minister Hailemariam Desalegn announced his resignation, the politics finally boosted Abiy's political career, brought him into the spotlight and allowed him to climb the political ladder.

Even though some changes in many aspects were recorded, the political question of the people than development with increased intensity put the country in uncertainty of continuing as a country. One was the need to freedom, as the EPRDF thought to have strategies to weaken the political space and react aggressively for any opposing or protest against its interest. Many were in prison including famous elites. Thus, freedom in many aspects along with real democracy and fair representation asked and struggled for. Many thought in twenty seven years, even the elections, which EPRDF assert announced its victory, are believed to be fake and unfair. This was due to the narrowed political space, demotivated and manipulated media, and weakened civil society, as many agreed.

Irrespective of the government's announcement that the country had achieved double digit growth, inflation, food insufficiency, increased unemployment rate, imbalance wealth

distribution and benefit etc. had been in the hurts of many Ethiopians as a critical issues to be addressed by the ruling party EPRDF.

Again, the aftermath of the ethnic federalism( as of my understanding) catalyzed the growing tension and repeated conflicts among nations and nationalities which caused displacement and social crisis because of border conflicts across regions. Monopolized economy by the party endowments of The EPRDF was also the disappointed those in competition with. Grand corruption allegations assumed to accountable long serving party and government officials was also both a pulling and pushing factor to stand opposite to.

Above all, violation of human rights in covered torture centers and massive arrest had a direct touch of significant impact to seek change. The question of institutional in dependence like the court and media was at the core. Many agreed that the thought to be independent institutions as police, defense force, the court, and attorney were serving the party not the people. Equity was being asked as the politicians had an influence on professionalism.

Because of the oppressive declarations passed by the EPRDF controlled parliament and label , political elites, human right strugglers, journalists, affiliated party leaders forced to exile, and rebel groups stayed abroad to continue their struggle with gun.

Due to the spreading internal conflicts and unrest, the growing interest and the strategic actions being taken by the major rivals in neighboring countries, many feared Ethiopia would become like Syria and Yemen.

In the course of time, the political field became narrowed which left the people without any political opt. Other than accepting what the ruling party did, the people had no choice where way out is locked by the government itself. Even democratization in coalition EPRDF weakened, domination of leaders from the same area changed to visible that lead to fragmentation of the party.

Unfinished mega projects including ten sugar factories and the Ethiopian Renaissance Dam grow the suspicion of the people together with the rotating disclosed conspiracy and power dominance a certain group of politicians. The people's tendency to ethnicity than nationality because of the discourse preached for more than 20 years developed the sense of 'my' than 'ours'.

Any ways, questions of politics than development (opposite to what the government had been saying), question of real change than plated one predictably merely gave an impression of national cohesion while unaddressed grievances festered. They erupted into protest in 2016.

They called it land grabbing strategy, 'Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan', was the core for the ongoing protests in Oromia. The same protests were in the country that with increased intensity coming towards the center of the country. Following such movements the Economic revolution in Oromia initiated by 'Team Lemma' was also there as additional force to struggle differently. Different state of emergencies declared in different times but it was difficult to control.

With aggressive involvement of activists, the protests continued to destruct big investments and endangered life making feel unsecured. The former Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn resigned saying 'to be part of the solution for the political crises'. Everybody was curious who was going to be replacing him as the fate of the country would be on his hand. More specifically, would the one who comes to power give a solution to the crisis and instability with peace, or use the hard power as usual to hold protests. Of course, peace was given much emphasis as the country was in the state of emergency.

The revolution like protests and grievances against the government of that time had a tense power to the party itself even to decide the assignment of Abiy Ahmed (PHD) as chairman of the coalition, who is thought to have recognition even by non-Oromo people.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Language has unquestionably functional uses. Use of language for social purposes is the ultimate benefit that a man kind gets from. Aristotle argued idea that we are all political animals, able to use language to pursue our own ends. Quite clearly, leaders negotiate with the people they rule with their strategic and forceful language to let the people engage in different activities. Ideology, of politics, is framed through speeches such as in election campaigns or inaugural speeches. They attempt to awaken the unconscious of those people who contribute to the establishment and legitimization of ideology through their ignorance. Fairclough, 2003)

It is a speech that is often presented shortly after swearing in or taking oath of office by newly elected president or prime minister.

Those political speeches are powerful: that power is gained as the discourse itself is interpretable and utilize tactical ways to convey message. Politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it (Paul Chilton, 2004).

Thus, it is worth studying and analyzing the speeches which are believed to introduce new cultures of communication delivery of some meaning full packages of well-crafted messages. In addition, it is more convincing to compare the speeches made by different speakers leading the same country.

Ethiopia is a federal democratic state that follows a parliamentary system of government. Beyond its average, the system gives the executive power to the Prime minister. Therefore, like the president in many other countries, the prime minister is the one to deliver a speech carrying a political meaning and strong implication on the citizens' life.

It is after 17 years of struggle with the Military government, Derg that the coalition came to power at when the former Prime Minister Meles led the country as a president in period of transition to form constitutional government. At the time Meles were a President of the transitional government; ethnic based political groups had participated in the process of forming a legitimate constitutional rule throughout the country.

The transitional time paved the way to a democratic transition, and it is believed the nation was saved from fragmentation quitting years lasted civil war. After the constitution is ratified the nation continued to be led by the coalition and Meles became the prime minister of the country sworn by the parliament. The moment was critical for the country as a move to democracy and liberation.

Both The former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and the newly appointed Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed are from the ruling party coalition EPRDF, Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front. The party entirely follows capitalist political ideology manifested in revolutionary democracy.

On the other hand, Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed came to power after years of grievances and anger resulted because of mal- administration and corruption along with later revealed violence of human rights and segregation.

Not only they are bold having their own way of expressing and arguing strongly, they are also known for putting a remark on some debatable political issues of the country, which raised the interest of the researcher. Many compare the two leaders putting some of their quotes. Including the time his presidency, the former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi spoke of different things which had strong political implications that many call him ‘hard speaker’. Many praised him due to his way of tackling controversial issues. Likewise, Prime Minister Dr. Abiy has got a lot appreciation because of his attractive speeches which are said to be close to human nature.

The inaugural speech of both leaders was so much critical for the country when seen in their contexts. The speech delivered to the parliament by Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed extremely grabbed the attention of almost all Ethiopians because it has its own qualities. Many used some quotes extracted and magnify the concern in the way the Premier raised. Equally, the speech by the former Prime Minister Meles was seen very important and grabbing in its times.

Many agreed that irrespective of their origin from the same party, the coalition, both have different political stands and dominating ideologies even though the stream looks the same. Political thematic areas like poverty, nationalism, citizenship, government power, foreign policy, internal issues, and conflicts are seen differently.

The discourse in those political speeches discursive in its nature, and one can deeply understand differences after a critical discourse analysis to be made on both speeches.

Thus to the knowledge of the researcher, there are no academic researches done in Ethiopia which critically analyzed the discourses presented in such political speeches in comparison, and their implications in this particular to the wider political context. Therefore, this study attempted to make a comparative critical discourse analysis.

### **1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The general objective of this study is to critically analyze the inaugural speeches of the two Prime Ministers, Ato Meles Zenawi and Abiy Ahmed (PHD).

Specifically, the study aims to:

- ❖ identify the linguistic features used in the two speeches
- ❖ investigate the typical discursive characteristics underlying the inaugural speeches of the two prime ministers.
- ❖ explore the relationship between discursive practice, texts and events, wider social and cultural structures, relations and process.
- ❖ illuminate (clear ambiguity) ways in which the dominant forces in the society construct versions of reality that favors their interests.
- ❖ examine the realization of power in Ato Meles and Dr. Abiy's language use and its ideological component through linguistic analysis
- ❖ compare and contrast their styles, techniques used to persuade.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This study would address and supposed to answer the following overarching research questions.

- What are the linguistic features used in the two speeches?
- What typical discursive characteristics underlying the inaugural speeches of the two prime ministers can be investigated?
- What the relationship between discursive practice, texts and events, wider social and cultural structures, relations and process?
- How the dominant forces in the society construct versions of reality that favors their interests?
- How power in Ato Mele's and Dr. Abiy's language use and its ideological component through linguistic analysis can be realized?
- What are the similarities and differences of their styles, techniques used to persuade?

#### **1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Nowadays, it has become a common practice and an emerging trend critically analyzes some political speeches even the ones delivered to a specific forum or summit. The political discourses communicated in such speeches and their underlined implication is worth studying along with its scholastic significance. The study is believed to have its own contribution on the emerging

application of CDA models in Ethiopia, employing both theory and methodology to investigate critically discourses of political leaders.

Critical discourse analysis can raise language user's consciousness, help people understand the deep meaning of political speech and improve their sensitiveness to the language ( Wen Chen,2018).Therefore, the researcher strongly believes that the study will significantly provide politicians , researchers ,communication practitioners deeper insight into political speeches and understanding of politicians.

### **1.6 SCOPE (DELIMITATION) OF THE STUDY**

This study is limited to critically analyzing only the inaugural speeches they made when they are sworn. Meles was sworn on 9<sup>th</sup> May of 1995 while Abiy took his turn on 2<sup>nd</sup> April of 2018.Both took office when the country in wave of many political interests and when to continue or not to continue as a country was the question; succession before the time of Meles and civil war before Abiy. In an attempt to understand how language and power relations are linked along with the ideologies communicated both explicit and implicit in the speeches, the study looks in to the description of the text. Thus it closely examines language features subject to some ideological power relation implications. Further, it observes aspects of discursive practice and social practice of the two speeches. Therefore, language in relation to power is addressed as per the theoretical framework of Norman Fairclough's three dimensional model.

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.1 Introduction

This section of the research is dedicated to review related literatures in area. Relevant topics are included for understanding of what the concepts are and how they are explained. Specifically, what discourse is, what Critical discourse Analysis mean, what approaches are developed by scholars in the field to undertake critical discourse analysis are covered. Further, as the research analyses two political speeches, the section has also include what political discourse is and its features.

#### 2.2 What Is Discourse?

According to Tistcher (2000, p. 42), "discourse is a broad term with different definitions, which 'integrate a whole palette of meanings". Of course, the word discourse is of the words ambitiously used in the stream of social sciences exposed to be used replacing even irrelevant concepts in disciplines. The highest unit of linguistic description (Encarnacion Hidalgo Tenorio, 2015), discourse, is assumed to be an expression oneself using words (Wen Chen,2018) which can be used for asserting power and knowledge ,and for resistance and critique. Again, according to Teun A. van Dijk (2010), we acquire most of our knowledge by discourse, and without knowledge we can neither produce nor understand discourse.

Apparently, the term encompasses an abstract representation of the idea it holds. Discourse can also be defined as a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world) in relation to our experience and stand point (Kosen, 2016). And, the speaker expresses his/her ideological content in texts as does the linguistic form of the text.(Wen Chen, 2018). That is, selection or choice of a linguistic form may not be a live process for the individual speaker, but the discourse will be a reproduction of that previously learned discourse. In accordance with the definition of van Dijk's (1977: 3), discourse can be defined from his general concept of discourse as text in context, seen as "data that is liable for empiric analysis" (Titscher et.al. 1998: 44. In other words, discourse as a linguistic term literally refers to a formal talk, a piece of writing or discussion, in the spoken or written form ((Wen Chen, 2018).

Texts, according to Halliday (1978), should encode both personal and social processes. In other words, texts should be generated, comprehended and put into a social context. Here the definition Norman Fairclough put underlines the connection of the text and social interaction. It generally represents the link between language and society. He said, "I shall use the term discourse to refer to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part" (Fairclough 1989: 24).

Therefore, social interaction and socially constructed realities and ideologies are given due attention as far as discourse is concerned. This is because of the fact that discourses are interpreted as communicative events because discourses between people convey messages beyond that of what is said at directly (Massoud Sharififar and Elahe Rahimi). That means allusively transferred social information is importantly considered.

### **2.3) WHAT IS DISCOURSE ANALYSIS?**

Discourse analysis, developed in the 1970s as an academic field. (Richard Nordquist, 2019), originates from the discipline of sociology and is about: "Examining the way knowledge is produced within different discourses and the performances, linguistic styles and rhetorical devices used in particular accounts." (Snape and Spencer, 2003).

*According to Richard Nordquist (2019), discourse analysis is a broad term for the study of the ways in which language is used between people, both in written texts and spoken contexts. Whereas other areas of language study might look at individual parts of language, such as words and phrases (grammar) or the pieces that make up words (linguistics), discourse analysis looks at a running conversation involving a speaker and listener (or a writer's text and its reader). Richard in his definition gave much emphasis to both the form and function of language used in any mode, be of spoken or written. Therefore the examination is likely to include all the features of the language depending on to the focus of the analysis. In his book, "Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Vol. 4.", Teun A. van Dijk defined it as the study of real language use, by real speakers in real situations and tried to point out the basic elements of the discourse to analyzed i.e. language , speaker and situation that all should be real.*

On the other hand, discourse analysis is sometimes defined as the analysis of language 'beyond the sentence'(Deborah Tannen). In this description Deborah clearly showed that the contrasts

with types of analysis more typical of modern linguistics, which are chiefly concerned with the study of grammar: the study of smaller bits of language, such as sounds (phonetics and phonology), parts of words (morphology), meaning (semantics), and the order of words in sentences (syntax). Discourse analysts study larger chunks of language as they flow together (Deborah Tannen).

Quite clearly the above definition contains an idea which is indispensable of the discourse when putting it to analysis that is context. The analysis without an examination of the context, in general, seems less important, even impossible.

Some discourse analysts consider the larger discourse context in order to understand how it affects the meaning of the sentence (Deborah Tannen). Taking into account the context is systematically useful as Charles Fillmore points out that two sentences taken together as a single discourse can have meanings different from each one taken separately.

Discourse analysis focuses on the way in which the respondents draw on differing interpretive repertoires depending on their interpretation of the context in which one's interview takes place (Jankowicz, 2005). The technique focuses on the way in which language is used in given settings, and in a discourse analysis, the task is to identify the context; the various interpretive repertoires; and attempt a matching of one to the other, to arrive at an understanding of the function, from the point of view of the respondent, of the different stories being told (Jankowicz, 2005). Jankowicz again underlined the value of context to discourse. Discourse is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking context into consideration (Jankowicz, 2005). He stated that discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier, as well as those which are produced synchronically and subsequently.

Therefore, situational factors that can affect the interpretation must be considered. Jankowicz included the author's belief system, the surrounding political, economic and social context, and any professional community to which the person belongs in his list. He also mentioned the presence of jargons (as in medical or legal) – as well as the immediate situation in which the words were uttered. In addition to social and cultural framework ( Richard Nordquist 2019) included nonverbal cues, such as body language, and, in the case of textual communication, images and symbols.

Hence, discourse analysis takes into account different theoretical and methodological approaches such as linguistic, anthropology, philosophy, psychology and sociology, and can be used by businesses, academic researchers, or the government—any person or organization that wants to better understand an aspect of communication.

## **2.4 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

Critical discourse analysis holds a clearer proposition of an idea than discourse analysis to define, to work with and engage in the underlying bases of the analysis. Norman Fairclough in his book gave a comprehensive definition

Fairclough (1993: 135) in his definition perceives CDA as:

*Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practice, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.*

The above definition of the pioneer researcher of the field Norman Fairclough, encompasses three indispensable aspects of the CDA. However, the points the definition made are of simple ones to understand what its focus is and what kind of discourse analysis it is.

Van Dijk (2001), explicitly from sociopolitical stance —views Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

Van Dijk (1998) perceives Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. Of course, the study is and its analysis is devoted to examine how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts (Emmanuel C. Sharndama, 2015).

Critical discourse analysis became a newly developing branch in the study of modern linguistics at the end of the 1970s (Wen Chen, 2018). As of Wen Chen (2018), it is an interdisciplinary language study that explains social problems, which involves many fields, such as sociology, politics, communication and pedagogy.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is obviously not a homogenous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis (Van Dijk 1993b: 131). However, some attributes are given to it after a close look at its nature and the goal it seeks to achieve. According to Van Dijk (1998), CDA is characterized by its problem or issue based approach than paradigm oriented, and multidisciplinary in its nature. In addition, Van Dijk mentioned that CDA pays attention to all dimension of discourse, with those of grammar (phonology, syntax, and semantics), style, rhetoric, speech acts, pragmatic strategies, and others.

What kind discourse is CDA, and what differentiates CDA from other forms of discourses? Apparently the answer is very much attached with the word ‘Critical’. Critical implies going beyond analysis of the formal discourse features to show connections and causes underlying a discourse and showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change” Fairclough (1992: 9). The dimensions Norman Fairclough suggested go beyond analyzing the formal features of the text to make the study critical.

It is important to expose the hidden things, since they are not evident for the individuals involved, and, because of this, they cannot be fought against (Juraj Horváth, 2017). Therefore, the goal of CDA centers on revealing what is behind the remarks made (Juraj Horváth, 2017). Batstone (1995) summarized what CDA tries to achieve.

#### **2.4.1 Principles and Tenets of CDA**

For such a strategic way of analyzing discourse in terms of both its hidden meaning and reaction to it, some underlined principles are expected. As quoted in Pasha (2011:23), Fairclough and Wodak (1997) offer five basic principles of CDA.

The first is keeping in mind that Social and cultural structures are partly linguistic-discursive. Social practices are importantly shaped by discursive practices. Of course this is an indication to the fact that not all social practices are formed by language, which includes other social practices such as the exercise of power, domination, prejudice, resistance.

The other principle lies on the argument that says discourse is both constitutive and constituted. Many scholars explained discourse both constitutes social relations between individuals and groups in society and, at the same time, is constituted by these social relations. Some labeling is socially constructed than give a chance to be conscious of using it. All speakers and writers operate from specific discursive practices originating in special interests and aims, which involve inclusions and exclusions. So, discourse both reflected and reproduces social relations (kosen Birhanu, 2016).

Language use should be analyzed within its social context. This is the main of all the principles that can determine the details of the entire analysis. CDA constitute an empirical linguistic textual analysis of language use in social interactions. Texts acquire their meanings by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation (kosen , 2016).

The ideologies demonstrated in the discourse are perceived through the principle that states discourse functions ideologically. It means that CDA is based on the fact that discursive practices create unbalanced social powers and unequal relations between groups based on religious, political, racial, or gender issues. The stand points politically and ideologically attributed mark the power relations produced exercised, and reproduced through discourse.

At the same time, the discourse's text is subject to some specific social, cultural, and ideological contexts. Thus discourse is historical. CDA commits itself to an agenda, social change and uncovering of the manipulative power in society (kosen Birhanu, 2016). In doing so it CDA sides with the oppressed and unfairly treated ones.

These principles are supposed to help the analyst to specifically understand how discursively social actors are represented, how ideology is constructed and reflected through discourse, how is power linguistically expressed and more importantly what implication does this kind of discourse have on the society.

The principles not only shed a light to comprehend the the guidance for the analysis but also are important mention tents of it on which the theory is based .CDA practitioners (Fairclough, 1995a; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 2001) offer the main tenets of CDA.

### **2.4.2 Cornerstone of CDA**

The three central notions of CDA are language, ideology, and power. These three concepts figure indispensably in all CDA: the concept of power, the concept of language, and the concept of ideology. The concepts are strongly.

#### **A) Language**

Of all the cornerstones of CDA the one which forces to think CDA without it is Language. Language has a key role in the exchange of values in social life and transforming power into right and obedience into duty. It may both create power and become an area where power can be applied. Social values and beliefs are the products of the institutions and organizations around us, and are created and shared through language (Fatih Bayram, 2010).Here it looks better to look into what Farr described the relationship between language and politics. He said:

*“Politics, as we know it, would not only be indescribable without language, it would be impossible. Emerging nations could not declare independence, leaders instruct partisans, citizens protest war, or courts sentence criminals. Neither could we criticize, plead, promise, argue, exhort, demand, negotiate, bargain, compromise, counsel, brief, debrief, advice nor consent. To imagine politics without these actions would be to imagine no recognizable politics at all” (Farr 1989: 48).*

Undeniably, one should consider the linguistic aspect of the discourse as it the carrier of the message. For this lexical choices not only determine the meaning they represent but also shed alight to make us understand that language has an indispensable links with other elements od discourse, ideology and power. Political appealing speeches can be taken as an example here as the intelligibly show how language relates with power and ideology.

Thus, CDA researchers are interested in exploring the language usage and linguistic elements engaged in such political speeches as language is a vehicle to pass the discourse itself.

## **B) Power**

Power is an important notion, assumed to be central in any discourse work. As CDA focuses on social interactions and constructions, social power of groups or institutions, it is seen as important as the discourse itself. Van Dijk (2001:354) defines social power in terms of control. Thus, groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups. This ability presupposes a power base of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, "culture," or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication (kosen birhanu,2016). Then, power abuse is likely to be created while control over the public discourse serves as fertile ground, which is the main interest of CDA.

Thus, CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse reproduces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse. Not only the notion of struggles for power and control, but also the intertextuality and recontextualization of competing discourses in various public spaces and genres (Iedema 1997, 1999; Muntigl et al., 2000).Power is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures (kosen birhanu,2016). Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power in hierarchical social structures.

## **C) Ideology**

An ideology derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups (kosen birhanu, 2016). And, an ideology is dominant provided that it is the ideology of the powerful group which are mediated through the powerful institutions. The institution may include the government, the law and the media itself. The heart of CDA, language, is responsible to the reproduction of the ideologies, then. In addition the socio-political context marks the reproduction as context less vacuum is nothing to it.

The social dimension explains what kind of groups, relations between groups and institutions are involved in the development and reproduction of ideologies (kosen birhanu, 2016). Apparently, the discourse dimension of ideologies explains how ideologies influence our daily texts and talk, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of

ideology in society. That means, the influence of language use on social practices goes to ideologies.

## **2.5. Political discourse**

Political discourse is a classic discourse, including speech, slogan, declaration and reply in press conference (Wen Chen, 2018). Unlike normal discourse, political speech is a kind of discourse that takes the speaker's stand, clarify his view and declare his proposal (Wen Chen, 2018).

According to Chilton and Schaffner (1997), it is surely the case that politics cannot be conducted without language, and it is probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call 'politics' in a broad sense. This obviously provides a general clue to understand the cases if we closely look what the Greeks are known for. This recognition of the fundamental relationship between language and politics can be traced to classical Greek and Roman treatises on rhetoric (Patricia Dunmire, 2012).

The concept related to political discourse apparently tells any discourse, if it has interpretational relation with politics and the political world at large is a political discourse. Some political in terms of general issues such as power, conflict, control, or domination ( Fairclough 1992a, 1995; Giddens 1991; Bourdieu 1991; van Dijk 1993; Chilton and Schaffer 1997), are attached with politics and its political meaning. Here, domination is given prior consideration when talking about politics. The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus, and thus take the form of what Gramsci called hegemony (Gramsci,1971).

### **2.5.1 Types of Political Discourse**

Political discourse is a collection of all speech acts, as well as public law, tradition and experience, which is determined and expressed in the form of verbal formations, content, subject and the addressee of which belongs to the sphere of politics (Kuralay Kenzhekankyzy Kenzhekanova, 2015).

Even though the form, the audience, the medium and the consumers are different political speeches (may be texts) and the political meaning they hold might be different. The basis of classification of discourse offered by V.I. Karasik, is the criterion of orientation. He identifies

two main types of discourse: 1) personal (personal-oriented) in which the speaker acts as the individual in all richness of his inner world; 2) institutional (status-oriented) in which the speaker acts as the representative of a certain social status (Karasik, 2000). Givi in his article (*types of political discourses and their classification*) classified the political discourses as follows.

His article starts with the general definition of the term(s) and links the concept of discourse to other concepts like narrative, frame, ideology, discursive strategy.

Of course, based on ideological background, discourses may be divided into left/right wing discourse types which themselves are extensions of particular narratives. Narratives can be distinguished based on ideological basis: socialist/communist, conservative, liberal/democratic, etc (Givi Amaglobeli, 2018).

Givi Amaglobeli (2018) has also pointed out that the particular narratives produce corresponding discourses: liberal/democratic narrative produces environmentalist/green, LGBT, Feminist discourses (which can be labeled as “emancipatory“) discourses. From the Conservative narrative originate religious and nationalistic discourses.

His classification is assumed to be useful to create more concrete mental pictures (expressed in the forms of schemata) as definitions/typologies that have been made until now are more of a theoretical character. Emerging theme in the political world served as a stream to classify the discourses. As to Givi Amaglobeli, that was the practical goal of schematic classification of political discourses.

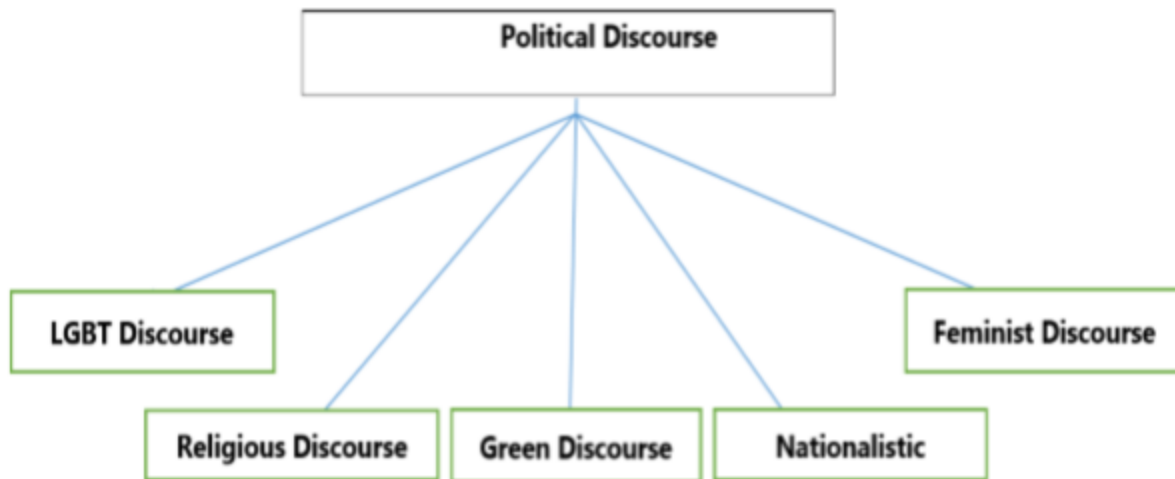


Figure 1: Givi Amaglobeli’s classification of political discourse

The spoken political discourse has some distinctive features. According to Ingrida Staugaitė (2014), dress, gesture and voice quality are important in face-to-face communication. Non verbal language, e.g. facial expressions, body movement, gestures, eye contact are also important in maintaining the flow of speech and for estimating the audience’s response.

Politicians all over the world vivify their speeches in a unique way, by using stylistic devices and giving extra effect to their ideas (Ingrida Staugaitė, 2014). In fact, the art of speaking in an elegant and forceful but hidden way to influence, impress and persuade the audience.

Political speeches do use rhetorical and persuasive devices. Thus, they may persuade even with misrepresentation of realities. Although the use of language is unquestionably an important element of politics, Fairclough (2006) notes that it can “misrepresent as well as represent realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries which can be implemented to change realities and in some cases improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construct them ideologically to serve unjust power relations” (Fairclough, 2006).

The ultimate goal of political discourse is obviously to influence and persuade others. However this end appears not an easy task except for those who are given and born to it, perhaps politicians. To be successful in this regard, politicians use different ways.

Rhetoric and persuasion go together. Rhetoric may fail if it is not persuasive. Actually, the measure of a successful rhetoric is its ability to persuade. In relation to persuasion what has to be dealt is argumentation as the way to persuade is arguing people so that you can win their interest.

It is true that an argumentation speech is a form of persuasive public speaking. Argumentation can play an important role in presenting ideas and influencing others. What is more, a good orator's speech depends not only on a collection of statements worthy of belief, but also on appropriate arguments, logical and progressive arrangement and an effective style.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter is devoted to the discussion and review of theoretical framework which informs the analysis of the two texts. The study is designed to undertake critical discourse analysis of the inaugural speeches of the two Ethiopian Prime Ministers Norman Fairclough's (1989) three dimensional analytic model will be used to analyze the speeches. Fairclough (1989) gives attention to how power relations are communicated through the strategic use of language best achieved with struggle. If one is very much concerned with the link between ideology, power and language, the three dimensional model of Norman Fairclough can best draw the map. The rationale behind selecting Fairclough's model is nothing beyond this.

#### **3.2 Fairclough's approach to CDA**

Other than other critical discourse analysts, Norman Fairclough's model, used for investigating social changes, bases on the social aspect of the discourse that's called relational –dialectic approach. According to his development of this approach he needed to develop a method for multidimensional analysis which he thought it enables relationships between discursive and social change to be assessed, and detailed properties of texts to be related systematically to social properties of discursive events as instances of social practice.

##### **3.2.1 Norman Fairclough's Three Dimensional Models**

The major framework of the study is discussed in this section. Under the consideration of the argument that puts language as a primary of ideology holding the stake in the struggles of power, the researcher noted the importance of Norman Fairclough's three dimensional models. Therefore, the model, along with its real qualities to analysis on such political speeches, is selected as main framework and methodological model for the analysis. The model by Norman Fairclough, considers three dimensions namely, “language text, spoken or written, discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), and the socio-cultural practice” (CDA: 97). The analytical method clarifies “linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the

relationship between the discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes” (Fairclough 1989: 97).

Essentially, the analysis of three-dimensional discourse is a method of analysis that involves three levels of analysis: (1) textual or textual analysis, which is the description of texts; (2) the practical analysis of discourse or discourse practice (meso level), that interpretation (interpretation) the relationship between the discourse and text; And (3) the sociocultural practice (sociocultural practice), the explanation of the relationship between the discourse process and the social process (Fairclough, 1992).

Language and society are nothing without each other. Even, some see language as an irreplaceable part of society. The process of production, the process of interpretation and the way in which both are socially determined are given much emphasis. That means text, interaction and context are the bases in the analysis. Developed by the Frankfurt school and known for its attachment with British sociolinguist Norman Fairclough, this approach emerged from Critical Theory (Chouliariki and Fairclough, 1999). It is perceived to be the methodology basically interested in structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Rodgers et al. (2005) cited in Mirzaee & Hamidi (2012)). Each of these discursive events has three proportions: (i) It is a spoken or written text, (ii) it is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of texts, and (iii) it is a part of social practice. In general, critical discourse analysis is description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context. The following diagram represents the three dimensional levels of discourse analysis.

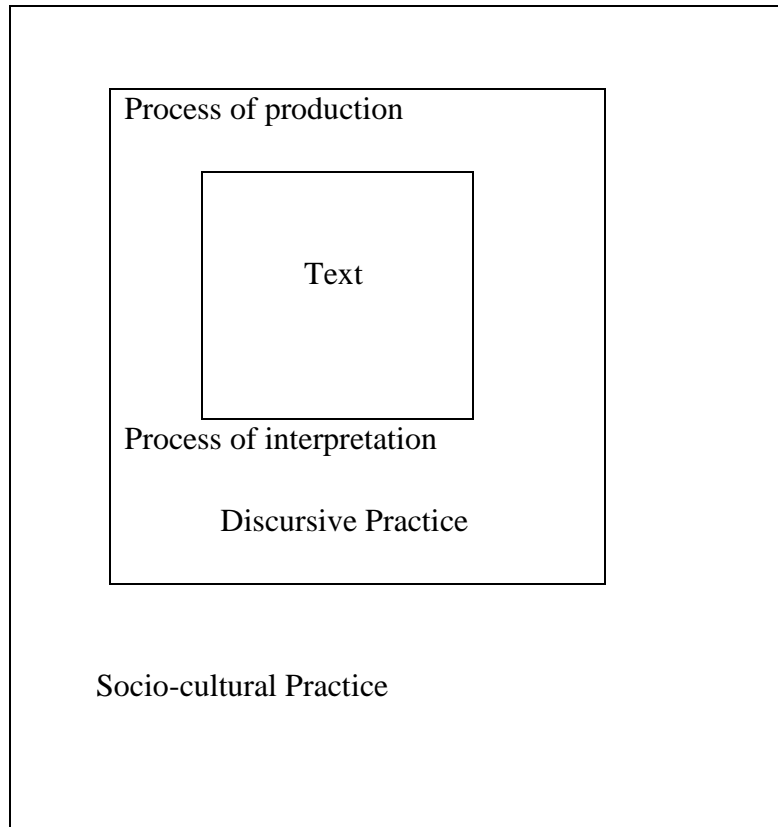


Figure 2: Fairclough's CDA model 1995:98

### 3.2.1.1 Discourse as Text

The level that comes first is the text itself as a discourse. Text is perceived in this level of analysis in a broader sense that texts are written or spoken languages but also transcripts of (spoken) conversations and interviews and may include visual images and sound effects (Fairclough, 2003). What is in the text (of course what is absent, too) is the most important aspect of analyzing the discourse. This is a stage one can understand how a close analysis of texts in terms of some language features can contribute to our understanding of power relations and ideological processes in discourse.

Four main headings are arranged to categorize the text analysis; 'vocabulary', 'grammar', 'cohesion', and 'text structure' each of hold its value, experiential, relational and expressive values. (Norman Fairclough, 1992). In order to interpret the features which are actually present in a text, it is -generally necessary to take account of what other choices might have been made.

Vocabulary deals mainly with individual words (e.g., wording, lexicalizing, signifying), grammar deals with words combined into clauses and sentences (e.g., transitivity, modality), cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together (e.g., conjunctive words, schemata), and text structure deals with large scale organizational properties of texts (e.g., monologue, dialogue, turn taking-system, conventions).

In relation to text description, types of speech act and the directness or indirectness of their expression, and features to do with the overall structure of interactions - as well as nonlinguistic textual features ('visuals'), are so important aspects to look to.

The analysis of the text consists of the study of the language structures produced in a discursive event-an analysis of the discursive reproduction of the texts. Finally, the analysis of socio-cultural practice consists of an investigation of what is happening in a particular socio-cultural framework (Emmanuel C. Sharndama, 2015).

Therefore, the researcher of this study closely looks into linguistic features of the text: 'vocabulary', 'grammar', 'cohesion', and 'text structure'. For this sake the researcher would identify what lexical items to refer to whom, points out whether there are agent-less sentences are used, pronouns and the way they have been used. Further, the researcher would identify what rhetorical devices have been used.

In dealing with the description of text under different headings, it is very important to realize the bigger image about values of these basic textual features and discuss in advance as Fairclough does.

### **Values of formal features of text**

One of the founders of Critical discourse analysis as applied to socio-linguistics, Norman Fairclough, distinguishes between three types of the values formal features of text supposed to have. As to him these values, experiential, relational, and expressive, better create connection between the actual text features and the discourse communicated in it. A feature with experiential value is a trace of and a cue to the in which the text producers experience of the natural or world is represented (Fairclough, 2015; 110). **Experiential value** is to do with contents knowledge and beliefs, what we commonly call background knowledge. With this value

anyone can easily understand how this world, things or items (covering wide range of abstract things) are represented in the discourse. On the other hand, a feature with relational value is a trace of and a cue to the relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse; **relational value** is to do with relations and social relationships (Fairclough, 2015; 110). Clearly, this value is helpful as it sheds the light about relationship, which the center of discourse as seen by scholars like Fairclough; discourse deals with social relations. The third, **expressive value** links the reality and the discourse as evaluated by the producer of the text, the speaker in our case. Expressive, value is to do with subjects and social identities, though only one dimension of the latter concepts is to do with subjective values (Fairclough, 2015; 110).

### **3.2.1.2. Discourse as Discursive Practices**

The second level of dimension in the three dimensional model of Norman Fairclough views discourse as a discursive practice. As Fairclough explained in his book, this level is concerned with the analysis of text production for deconstruction purpose. Factors assumed to be contributing to the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption is involved in this level; discourse-as-discursive-practice. In other words, factors which relate to how people produce and interpret the discourse should be taken into consideration.

Fairclough (1989) puts "interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as recourse in the process of interpretation". Discursive practice involves process of text production, distribution and consumption (Norman Fairclough 1992). The process of production, distribution, and consumption are subject to the analysis because set position of the text producer and consumers on the other can best be understood to create a link between the text itself and the social context. Differed production, distribution and consumption of the text importantly played a vital role in shaping the existed relationship between the text and the social even. For instance , texts produced by political leaders, or texts within international arms negotiation, are distributed across a range of different institution domains, each of which has its own patterns of consumption, and its own routines for reproducing and transforming texts ( Norman Fairclough 1992;79). This apparently shows that the three processes; production, distribution and consumption do have differences because of the immediate social context they are in. Production and consumption may be of individual or collective which can add to the context given.

As Fairclough claims, texts are also consumed differently in different social contexts which he considers as a sort of interpretative work. In terms of distribution, some texts may be distributed simply- a casual conversation belongs only to the immediate context of situation in which it occurs- whereas as others have a complex distribution.

This is an interpretation level. In this level it would be tried to reconstruct the production process of the two speeches delivered by the two prime Ministers and to show how problems arise and how they tried to resolve them ideally supplementing the information the researcher has available for interpreting the producer's production process with his/her own rationalizations of the textual choices they made (Fairclough, 2015:147). The addressee's (interpreters in general) interpretation would also be reconstructed, too, for the same purpose so that, one can, finally, realize the discourse type and how it is recreated. Therefore, in this section the researcher would interpret and put the analysis in a to the point writing.

Therefore what Norman Fairclough designs is deconstructing all the processes so as to find out ways to create the intended link between text and the context. In other words, in this level the researcher attempts to make explanatory connections between the nature of the discourse processes in particular instances, and the nature of the social practices they are a part of.

Mentioning that there are some ways in which the concept of text producer is complicated, Fairclough states the usefulness to deconstruct the producer into a set of positions. To do so, both the social identities with relations and the interactions play a very important role in the reproduction, interpretation and consumption of the text as Fairclough asserts.

Fairclough argues that the processes of production and interpretation are socially constrained. In one hand, they are constrained by the available members' resources, which are effectively internalized social structures, norms and conventions, including orders of discourse, and conventions for the production, distribution and consumption of texts of the sort just referred to, and which have been constituted through past social practice and struggle.

On the other hand, they are constrained by the specific nature of the social practice of which they are parts, which determines what elements of members' resources are drawn upon, and how (in normative or creative, acquiescent or oppositional ways) they are drawn upon (Norman Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, these constraints are explored in researches of this kind.

Here, one should note that two processes mark this dimension. One is institutional process and the other is discourse process. The institutional process is editorial procedure, while the discourse process is alteration that the text goes through in production and consumption. Analysis of speech acts and intertextuality do have greater value in interpretation process of this level.

In this level of analysis of the research, therefore, the researcher would interpret the discourse and its production and its consumption. That would mean apart from analyzing linguistic features and text structure, other factors such as speech act and intertextuality would be given attention.

The researcher would make some interpretations that are generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is 'in' the interpreter.

### **3.2.1.3. Discourse as Social Practice**

In the process of analysis of a discourse, according to Fairclough's model, is undertaking analysis based on the assumption that discourse is to do with socio cultural practice of the society at large. Indeed, Critical discourse analysis sees discourse – the use of language in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'.

Discourse-as-social-practice is worried of the social, ideological and hegemonic practice forms in the society. Further, it attempts to draw pictures how these practices shape and is shaped by discursive practices. In other words, this level is dedicated to the analysis of discourse in relation to ideology power. As pointed out by different scholars. It places discourse within the view of the evolution of power as hegemony. Being an issue of seeing a discourse as part of processes of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power, explanation reveals the actual presence of ideologies, power struggle, and Hegemony.

Fairclough spoke of the idea where an ideology resides. He entertained the claim that one can find ideologies in texts, irrespective of the detailed analysis of texts might not mean in general. Again according to Fairclough, most discourse bears upon hegemonic struggle particular to institutions like the family, schools, courts of law, etc. Equally important, the analysis in explanative part is in reference to the historical, social, and cultural contexts.

According to him, Fairclough, the objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining

them or changing them. Fairclough assumes that social determinations and effects are 'mediated' by MR: that is, social structures shape MR (so called background knowledge), which in turn shape discourses; and discourses sustain or change MR, which in turn sustain or change structures.

Therefore, explanation is a matter of seeing a discourse as part of processes of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power, having two dimensions, depending on whether the emphasis is upon process or structure - upon processes of struggle or upon relations of power (Fairclough, 2015:162).

Once the event is considered social practice; leaders delivering a speech, the researcher would be of his third priority to scrutinize the link between social identities relationships, and power struggle. To do so, the analysis, the researcher inquires the two dimensions depending on whether the emphasis is upon process or structure - upon processes of struggle or upon relations of power.

In other words, the researcher examines the institutional matrix of this discourse across a number of institutions like political parties, political institutions, and societal processes, perhaps the struggle between class or hegemonic power. In anyway, such description provides a reference on the dialectical relation between a discursive outcome and the context either social or political; the event is affected by these surroundings but it also affects them. Therefore, the research would look into the societal and institutional process in Socio-cultural practice.

In general, using the three dimensional model of Norman Fairclough, the paper dealt the inaugural speeches of the prime ministers translated in English. The tone of the Amharic version was taken for the analysis, while the excerpts are all in English, translated by the researcher. To avoid inconsistency of meaning while working on the English translation, validity of the research was tried to be kept in using the tone of the Amharic one.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **TEXTUAL ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents analysis of the inaugural speeches delivered by the two Prime ministers, the late Meles Zenawi ( sworn on 9<sup>th</sup> May of 1995) and the current Dr. Abiy ahmed (sworn on 2<sup>nd</sup> April of 2018), to the parliament in their inauguration. The analysis is based on Norman Fairclough's three dimensional model to analyze a political discourse of this kind. Following this model, the chapter will discuss the lexical choice of the speakers and their representation, euphemistic expressions, use of rhetorical devices, use of pronoun, and presupposed meanings.

This chapter, as the developer of the model asserts, covers description of text. It includes, as identified by Norman Fairclough, vocabulary of the text, the grammar of the text (in some way), and higher level textual features in terms of the value the hold, experiential, relational or expressive values.

#### **4.2-Lexical choice /Vocabulary**

Here under the researcher discusses the lexical choices of the two prime ministers regarding the subjects. The implications the lexical choices they had in framing their ideologies, as ideology resides in text, would be assessed.

##### **4.2.1- The EPRDF**

Irrespective of their roles and status in the party, both the former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and Dr. Abiy Ahmed are from EPRDF, the coalition. They are the ones to be the head of the executive organ of the government led by the coalition. Of course, the party' status in the time of Abiy and Meles is different. It goes through different context; after years of liberation struggle with the Derg regime in 1990s and after years of rule accompanied by protests and anger of the people in 2010s. Now, in the two speeches looking closely at some lexical that they used to represent the ruling party EPRDF would be help full to draw a scheme to understand how they struggled with the existing ideologies. Speaking of the transitional period led by the coalition Meles has put some positive words as he was going to reveal the party's plan of the coming five years. The following can be taken as examples.

*As the transitional period has been successfully completed and as we are able to transit to a fully democratic government that **enables to meet the need of a longstanding interest of our people**..... (Meles-line 5-10)*

*Since the eve of the fall down of the Derg regime, in accordance with a plan **set by EPRDF for peacefull and democractic** transition program... (Meles-Line 10-20)*

The above two examples can be simple informants to reach to a conclusion that Meles wants EPRDF seen as the one which tries to meet the interest of the people in many aspects, again as the big contributor for a democratic and peacefully transition period. Perhaps, what has explicitly communicated in the speech is true. However, one can simply infer that Meles is undermining the past government with powerfull words. **Problem solver, best contributor ever** for the emerging democracy and peace resemble Meles's EPRDF. Unlike the representation of Meles about EPRDF, the evaluation of Abiy about the 27 years EPRDF appears both negative and mixed one, but inclined to negative. Abiy at the beginning of his speech appreciated the federal system established by the EPRDF, where we can see positive representation.

*Our leading organization, EPRDF, by **holding firmly on to its developmental path, has produced**, during the years that it led our country for over two decades, **fundamental changes in all sectors and has built a constitutional and federal system**.(Abiy-line 25-30)*

Phrases **holding firmly on to its developmental path, has produced, fundamental changes in all sectors, built a constitutional and federal system** carry the representation.

On the other hand, the following excerpts show the flip side of his evaluation of the 27 year EPRDF.

***Corruption** is one of the main reasons that have galvanized the **grievances of our people in recent years**. We have come to learn that it is impossible to combat corruption by merely establishing anti-corruption institutions. I politely ask all of us to do all we can to ensure that Ethiopia won't become a country where one works hard and the other **simply snatches it away**. (Abiy-Line 105-110)*

*It is impossible for a people and a country that is busy **taking away a wealth** that was created yesterday from another and settling scores to move forward. (Abiy-Line 175-180)*

*Our problems are many and don't allow us any respite.(Abiy Line 175-180)*

*Lack of a developed democratic culture, deep-rooted poverty, organized corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency, and lack of good governance have been compounding. It has created a complex and trying challenge for us. It is regrettable that over the last few years many members of our society have been uprooted from their places of residence. They were exposed to displacement and grave loss of life and property.(Abiy Line 175-185)*

Expressions like *Corruption ,Lack of a developed democratic culture, deep-rooted poverty, organized corruption, bureaucratic inefficiency, and lack of good governance* are expressions overwhelmingly used to describe the EPRDF of the last 27 seven years. Not only is blamed for its failure to function as a government avoiding mal administration, but also blamed (even accused) to be involved in organized corruption, which Abiy later use the word theft instead for it appears soft.

Some more excerpts from Meles's speech, which demonstrate how the speech negatively coloured.

Our country Ethiopia freeing self from **totalitarian** system of government where **there were no gleam for democracy**, for reaching to build democratic political system.....(Meles Line 5-10)

Therefore, making themselves free from **illegal corrupt ways of business doing learnt in the time of the Derg** regime,..... (Meles Line 245-250)

However, for our country to lift itself from the **miry of poverty**.....( Meles Line 210-215)

In general, Meles's positive representation and Abiy's mixed one can be seen from the lexical elements used in their inaugural speeches. Perhaps, Abiy's became mixed because the subject position of the party members and officials. An entire blame might expose his direct inclination to give strong critics. Therefore, the researcher believes that Abiy tried to not loose support both from the party individuals and the people accusing of the Party for the problems marked that time.

#### 4.2.2 Linguistic projection of Ethiopia and Ethiopianism

Another aspect to look into is their representation of Ethiopia and the lexical items used. Numerically, the under table shows how often they hit the word Ethiopia, and description of the occurrences of the word (Ethiopia) follows.

Speaker	Lexical Item /word (Ethiopia)	Frequency
Meles Zenawi	Ethiopia	11
Abiy Ahmed	Ethiopia	29

Table 4.1: Frequency of the word ‘Ethiopia’

Apparently, the frequency of words in the given inaugural speech identifies the discourse’s inclination and what the speakers are trying to set. Of course the concept Ethiopianism and Ethiopia is debatable among the elites of different corner. Clearly, the number shows Abiy has used more times than Meles but the question resides in the ideology they intend to impart. As mentioned in the context, in an answer to questions raised at the time, they followed of course, a contradicting ways which indeed never make them appear two persons of a party. Meles came to power when there were many freedom fighters organized based on their ethnicity. Consensus amongst those groups is taken as a guarantee to form a new Ethiopia with a federal system. Whereas, Abiy sworn at time when many call up on the government to re-back Ethiopianism mentality among the people, not the peoples. That means Nationalism at a national level. Both tried to address the interests quite clearly in their projection of Ethiopia and Ethiopianism. Here are some from Abiy’s speeh.

***Ethiopia** is a country of all of us and its our common house.(Abiy Line 45-50)*

*We **Ethiopians** need and also deserve democracy. (Abiy Line 55-60)*

*Dear youth of our country, **Ethiopia** is yours. (Abiy Line 140-145)*

*I politely ask all of us to do all we can to ensure that **Ethiopia** won’t become a country where one works hard and the other simply snatches it away. (Abiy Line105-110)*

*I promise that we will do all we can to ensure that **Ethiopia** becomes a country that gives its youth hope rather than one that sucks up their hope. (Abiy Line150-155)*

*Dear women of **Ethiopia** ... (Abiy Line 155-160)*

***My Ethiopian compatriots living abroad....( Abiy Line 195-200)***

*Every **Ethiopian** who goes abroad be it for work or studies, travels around carrying **Ethiopia** with them. That is why it is said, “you can take an Ethiopian out of **Ethiopia** but you cannot take **Ethiopia** out of the heart of an **Ethiopian**.” (Abiy Line 195-200)*

*May **Ethiopia** gain greatness from her children’s efforts, be respected in the world, become prosperous, and live forever. May God bless **Ethiopia** and its peoples! (Abiy Line 270 275)*

Abiy in his speech call the word Ethiopia many times. In each of the above excerpts, Abiy created an image of Ethiopia that it was and supposed to. This means the present Ethiopia is supposed to take some best qualities of the former one. Again, abiy has used the word to call up on a certain action or behavior. Having the narrative of this kind at the time when everybody asks about, appears effective, which can be taken as a grantee for the speech to be accepted and admired widely.

On the other hand, Meles seldom used the word alone, but along with some accompanying words, as put in the constitution. *Federal Democratic Republic* never omitted. This clearly shows Meles gives emphasis to the newly born Ethiopia and its federal system that carries its own ideology. Here are some.

*I would like to express my happiness on behalf of the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of **Ethiopia**.(Meles line 5-10)*

*The government of the Federal Democratic Republic of **Ethiopia**, fulfilling its higher responsibility confided by the people to care....( Meles Line 20-25)*

*I Request the entire people on behalf of the federal government of **Ethiopia** to initiate and motivate for development activities.... (Meles Line 80-85)*

*Our country **Ethiopia**, after it started the transition period..... (Meles Line 165-170)*

*In the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of **Ethiopia**..... (Meles Line 270-275)*

*The democracy Of **Ethiopia** expects much greater constructive and important role from those groups. (Meles Line 310-315)*

*Our country **Ethiopia**, with its efforts much greater that it made to get peace internally, it has shown its interest both orally and in practice..... (Meles Line 360-365)*

*The Federal Democratic Republic Of **Ethiopia**, to put in effect of the five year peace and development plan ....( Meles Line 375-380)*

#### **4.2.3 The people**

In the two speeches, of ideologically contested words is the word ‘people’. How they are represented is the concern of this section. Of course, many politicians do appear to be part of the people whom they call we are working for. The fact is that in some speeches different portrayals may be given. Therefore Meles’s people and Abiy’s people, in terms of representation and attribute, are different which we can infer from the lexical they used.

*Ethiopia is a country of fertile wombs. It has produced many children that **strive relentlessly out of a great spirit of love** for the country. Its children **strongly aspire** and **strive tirelessly** to return the country to its past glory; and to ensure that the peace and security of its people is protected and that prosperity is extended to all of its citizens without any discrimination. (Abiy Line 10-15)*

In the above excerpt, Abiy has given positive but individual attribution that does signify his view of individual’s emotion and intensions to a country. **Strive relentlessly out of a great spirit of love, strongly aspire, strive tirelessly** are some lexical that Abiy has used to represent the people born from the Fertile Wombs of Ethiopia. This in one way asserts Abiy’s position regarding citizens and individual views, and undermines collective treatments of the past government, on the other way. Still Abiy’s view to the people remains heterogeneity. He said, *‘We need to however underline that **national unity doesn’t mean oneness**. Our unity needs to be one that embraces our diversity and highlights our multinational identity.(Abiy Line 55-60)’*.

Abiy’s people are presented as scarifiers and patriots, and strivers for the meeting of the goal to see prosperous Ethiopia and its people. This exactly means Abiy’s people do like and fond of the past Ethiopia, fore fathers are role-modeled and their legacy transferred. An excerpt from his speech witnesses so.

*May Ethiopia gain greatness from her children’s efforts, be respected in the world, become prosperous, and live forever. May God bless Ethiopia and its peoples!(Abiy Line 270-275)*

On the other hand Oneness was the core in his reference to the People, that he calls People of my country. Rarely, he used what Meles has used often; Peoples. He said, ” Esteemed peoples of our country..... (Line.0-5)”

Meles , on the other hand, calls *peoples* considering them not as one but many who come to for the new Ethiopia of that time. The following two excerpts briefly identify what has been said.

*...transitional period, the entire peoples of our country, more than achieving peace and democracy.....they all ratified the constitution we are being ruled by **participating fully** from its drafting to its ratification..... (Meles line-10-20)*

*.....they **formed** the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia electing their representatives whom they thought they can lead the country for the coming five years.....(Meles line-10-20)*

Meles’s people are freedom fighters than strivers to the prosperous Ethiopia. They represent their ethnic group in their ratification and drafting of the constitution. Some lexical items like participating **fully**, and **formed** show that they are treated in group than in individual. They all fought to their freedom once and don’t need it come back again. Have a look at the following excerpt.

*This generation has gone through the ravagers of war and it’s tired of it. It’s a generation doesn’t like to face ravagers of war again in any way.(Meles Line 305-310)*

*All the peoples of our country.....(Line 335). history and the peoples of Ethiopia..... (Line 330-335), are amongst on which Meles calls peoples than people.*

Therefore, for their ideological framing the two Prime Ministers treat the word *People* differently and represent the people differently, too.

<p>Abiy’s representation of the ‘people’</p>	<p><i>strive relentlessly out of a great spirit of love, strongly aspire, strive tirelessly,</i>            Found from Fertile Wombs of Ethiopia.  <i>Seen under Unity-diversity and highlights our multinational identity</i>            (scarifiers and patriots)            (strivers for the meeting of the goal to see prosperous Ethiopia and its people.)  <i>Able to make Ethiopia gain greatness from their effort</i>            Still pluralized (Esteemed peoples of our</p>
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	country...) (number)
Meles's representation of the 'people'	<i><b>Fully</b>, and <b>form...</b> (treated as group) <b>participating fully</b> from its drafting to its ratification, electing their representatives (democratically active ) <b>formed</b> the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia(come together to form Ethiopia) has gone through the ravagers of war, tired of ravagers of war (freedom fighters than strivers)</i>

Table 4.2: Summary of Meles's and Abiy's representation of the word 'people'

Therefore, from the lexical items the two politicians used, one can conclude that Abiy's representation of the people is inclusive than Meles's who treated as 'group'. In any way it is clear that they imparted their ideological view.

#### 4.2.4 Political parties

An aspect that significantly puts a difference between the Prime ministers is their choice of words and expressions to call and ideas rose. Our first look stays at Meles's speech. Meles speaking of the media and political parties of that time, he used terms as *political bias, animosity, hate speech, false information, and fake news* that directly show his negative representation of those parties and the press. Even there has been a direct address to them in the following excerpt.

*Most of the so called free press **opposition** parties, however, are not at this stage able to discharge the responsibility expected of them. Rather than giving objective information, they are **deliberately involved in disseminating fake news and hate speeches** than contributing with constructive ideas and critics. (Meles Line 320-325)*

Meles not only attacked them directly, he exposed what they were doing and thereby gave warning, too.

*.....opposition parties, making slinging applications hosting foreigners or reaching Embassies their number one activity, more than that playing hide and seek in between peace and anti-peace..... (Meles Line 320-325)*

Here, for his own strategic end, Meles hits what he thinks as white. Meaning, as they oppose the government they are given the name derived from. Still one can clearly be sure that Meles is

distrust of them and wanted to appear authoritative. However, opposing for Meles are competitors for Abiy.

***Dear leader’s of opposition parties,***

*From this day forward, we will look at political parties outside of EPRDF as competitors rather than enemies (opponents); their supporters as brothers and sisters who have alternative ideas and who love their country, and as a collection of citizens. Therefore, because there is an absolute desire on the part of the government to allow opposition parties to operate freely and create a conducive and fair and level playing field, we call on those of you who are struggling for peace and justice in various ways, to eschew, out of political foresightedness, out of love for country, and out of the principle of give and take, political thoughts and lines that undermine our unity and put our common good on danger and forfeit our national interests and benefits, and to assist our efforts to create a better political culture. . (Abiy Line 235-250)*

Therefore one can conclude that Abiy needed to be closer in some way with a different strategy, even though the justification behind Meles looks equally important because every strategic decision is subject to its context.

Speaker	Lexical item	Frequency	Representation
Meles	<i>opposition parties</i>	13	Whatever ideas they hold, they always oppose the government ( negative representation)
	<i>political bias</i>	1	Favoring to them elves only
	<i>Animosity</i>	1	Hate than positivity
	<i>hate speech</i>	1	Fabricated information about the government
	<i>false information</i>	1	
	<i>fake news</i>	1	
	<i>slinging applications and hosting foreigners</i>	1	Having improper contact with foreign forces having interest on Ethiopia
<i>playing hide and seek in between peace and anti-peace</i>	1	Neither agree with the government nor they confront	
Abiy	<i>competitors rather than enemies (opponents);</i>	3	Competing (positive representation)
	<i>supporters</i>	1	Participation considered as support to the country
	<i>brothers and sisters</i>	1	Intimacy than distant
	<i>alternative ideas</i>	1	Their opposing idea considered as alternative

	<i>love their country</i>	1	Never move to destruction
	<i>Collection of citizens</i>	1	Meet for some positive end

Table 4.3: Summary of Abiy’s and Meles’s representation of ‘Political parties’

As demonstrated in the table above, lexical items used by Meles to attribute political parties is negative than Abiy. *Animosity, hate speech, false information, fake news* are related to the activities they have while operating. On the flip side, as they are once considered competitors, intimated expressions like *brothers* and *sisters* have been associated with. In conclusion, Abiy and Meles represented the political parties quite opposite; positive and negative respectively.

#### 4.2.5 Youths and Nations Nationalities

Be seen with in context, there seem to be the center of the two Ethiopian prime Ministers attention in their speech. Thus, it has a direct link with the sociopolitical context of the time immediately before them. Meles came to power when ethnic groups need independence and fight for, whereas Abiy took office after years lasted protests and violence and anger of the people, especially of youths. Therefore It wouldn’t be surprising that Meles gives attention to Nations Nationalities (as its formation is made from), and Abiy gives due credit to youths (even realizing their questions; political than economic) having different naming in different languages.

*Ethiopia is yours. The future is above all else yours. Even now, you have to also take the vanguard role in building the country. The questions of the youth are not solely one of economy and equitable benefit; we believe they are also about justice and democracy. (Abiy Line 145-150)*

*We also realize that without benefiting the youth and without their active participation, the country cannot go anywhere. (Abiy Line 145-150)*

*.....a country that gives its youth hope rather than one that sucks up their hope..... job opportunities for the youth..... but also to create numerous youth entrepreneurs. (Abiy Line 140-155)*

All the above wordings do show that Abiy has a comparative tendency to give priority than others. According to the speech, who comes to this level is women of the country. *Change-seeking youth* is a noun verb that Abiy has used to magnify their role in the change that bring him to the front.

The fight TPLF (Tigray People Liberation Front) had is of freedom based on ethnic identity. Alike movements in the country advocated ethnic nationalism. Gaining recognition as an ethnic group the rights respected became the goal of such movements. This dictates Meles's disposition to nations nationalities and peoples than other. What has been read in the speech is also not different from this.

*....the entire **peoples** of our country, more than achieving peace and democracy.....they all ratified the constitution we are being ruled by participating fully from its **drafting** to its **ratification** ..... (Meles Line 10-20)*

*.....they formed the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia electing **their representatives** whom they thought they can lead the country for the coming five years.....(Meles line 10-20)*

Except the struggle of the people for 'freedom' organized themselves in their ethnicity, Meles's and his party's achievement were unthinkable. In the same way, without the movements undertaken by Oromo, Amhara and other nations nationalities youths, Abiy's reformist would never come front. Then, Abiy prioritized the issue of youths and Meles gave much importance to nations nationalities and peoples. Therefore, the speakers deliberately put their focus on some political important and ideologically significant subjects.

#### **4.2.6 'GOD'**

Amongst the words having an ideological importance in the Ethiopian Prime Minister's speech is the word 'God'. As words are hardly neutral, the use this word in such political speeches takes the attention of any listener, that might lead him comment on. Abiy terminated his speech calling the word 'God' unexpectedly.

*May Ethiopia gain greatness from her children's efforts, be respected in the world, become prosperous, and live forever. May **God** bless Ethiopia and its peoples! (Abiy 275-270)*

Unexpected it was because Abiy is a man 'of change' from his party, the coalition EPRDF whose leaning liberal ideology of politics made it act as secularist. The 27 years of Meles's Ethiopia deconstructed the discourse of religion and religiousness in the name of secularism which is even clear in the designed curriculum of schools. Meles has never been using the word

(God) in his inaugural speech. On the other hand the time of Pre- Mengestu (Derg) and Pre-Meles was characterized by the social construction religious values having wider base and overwhelming majority in the community. Abiy's use and Meles's avoidance of the word entail their purposive choice. In one hand, Meles appears put far away from the discourse of sameness (widely endorsed in the time of the Emperor Hailesillie, despite its acceptance), and oneness under the umbrella of Nationalism (in the time of Mengestu). Thus, it might be for two reasons; his party's atheist view due to the background of Carl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, or his interest towards ethnicity than religion which served as the base even for the establishment of the coalition (EPRDF).

On the other hand, Abiy made use of it as a winning strategy of the overwhelming majority, as anyone in Ethiopia is believed to have better faith than any other country. Religion and religiousness are best trusted in Ethiopia. In one or the other way citizens are followers. Wise is he that hits the word when everybody is eager to hear. Despite the freedom of religion granted in the constitution, interests of the people to get a leader who can make them feel closer to has been a strong built social construct that is dictated by the so called 'Holy land' being mentioned in religious books both in Islam and Christianity. Therefore, the use of this word 'God' clearly shows Meles's secularist and atheist stand, Abiy's strategic rhetorical tool for persuasion.

#### 4.2.7 Mother

*Second, I politely ask you to thank one Ethiopian **mother** who, while I was still a 7-year-old boy, knew that I would someday stand before you and who planted this distant and deep and elaborately **sophisticated vision** in me, who raised me, and brought me to fruition. My **mother** is counted among the many kind, **innocent**, and **hardworking Ethiopian mothers**. She did not have a lot of **material wealth** and **worldly knowledge**. In thanking my mother, I consider it equivalent to extending thanks to **all Ethiopian mothers** .....(Abiy Line 255-26)*

Of all the words dominated the sensitivity of the hearers even the parliament members was 'mother'. Abiy in his speech, as seen in the above excerpt, not only thanked his mother for her contribution to plant his ambition to be the 'king' of the country but also touches the hearts of all Ethiopian mothers recognizing their role in building best generations foresightedly. From, one can possibly put his strategy visible to win the hearts of almost all Ethiopians. On the other hand, it shows his representation of the country Ethiopia with 'Mother'. Inspire of fact, everybody has

mother and loves. Ethiopia was a connotation linked to the one nation domination in the time of Derg and before which caused the formation of ethnic based political parties. Therefore, for Abiy, Ethiopia had to be reconstructed through the use of mother. The following excerpt clearly shows the link.

*Ethiopia is a country of **fertile wombs**. It has produced many children that strive relentlessly out of a great spirit of love for the country. Its children strongly aspire and strive tirelessly to return the country to its past glory..... (Abiy Line 15-20)*

The character attributed to mother and its children are directly given to Ethiopia in the above excerpt. A womb that is believed to fertile is likely to produce striving and relentless. Thus, the representation uncovers Abiy's need to bring Ethiopianism front of his ideological strategy and undermining of the ethnic based treatment of civic affairs. However, Meles's speech has never contained such representations.

#### **4.2.8 Africa and the horn**

In most cases than not, inaugural speeches reveal the foreign policy the speaker, subject to his political ideologies, wants to follow. Words used in relation to foreign policy do have strong ideological importance in making analysis of such political speeches. Meles in his speech had boldly spoken of the strategies that the government would follow in dealing with neighboring countries. Especially, he passed almost a deliberate message to Eritrea.

*Our country Ethiopia has repeatedly demonstrated her desire both orally and with action to have a good relationship with neighboring countries in a **peaceful and firm brotherhood**, more than the efforts that Ethiopia has made **to preserve peace in her country**. Further, we have been working cooperatively in economy with our neighboring countries based on **our common interests**. The following year will be a year to do a lot of activity in this field. We strongly believe that the **response would be positive in the other side** to the government and our peoples' willingness to live in peace and cooperation with our neighbor **not interfering in internal matters**. (Meles Line 360-370)*

The above excerpt contains phrases positive self representations in an attempt to put the efforts made by Ethiopia to preserve peace. For instance, phrases *peaceful and firm brotherhood, to preserve peace in her country, our common interests, response would be positive in the other*

*side*, and *not interfering in internal matters* represent positivity of Ethiopia's government. What follows has ideological importance.

*As we strive to live With all countries with peace and amity, if there will be some who take our good will as foolishness and conspire and act to go against our security and national interest, we will not be reluctant to take proper actions to get our national security and interest respected.(Meles Line 360-370).*

TPLF (Tigray Liberation Front) and EPLF (Eritrean People Liberation Front) political leaders had the seemingly and hotheaded dream of establishing peaceful and friendly countries by the time they demolish the Derg regime in 1990s, through a coalition of ethnic or nationalist movements. Incompatibility to their interest, led them enemize one another. Finally, Eritrea was taken as threat not only to Ethiopia but also to the horn. The dread comes as interference in *internal matters*. Phrases like *as foolishness, conspire and act to go against and proper actions* do with characterization of Eritrea and negative representation. As stated in the speech '*national security and national interest*' are brought to be bigger than friendly and oneness without precondition.

On the opposite, Abiy's dealt with the horn of Africa as it grabs the attention of interest groups. He project the role Ethiopia had in founding Pan-Africanism, and the African Union, and the country's role in different regional, continental and international arena.

*At the same time, it is a region where there are many peoples interconnected with culture, language and long history. Regarding our foreign relations: Our country is the foundation of Pan-Africanism, the founder and seat of the African Union, the founder of many leading international organizations, and a country that plays a notable role in regional, continental, and global matters. This policy of ours built on common interest and common benefit, we will strengthen and continue with it. With our African brothers in generally and with our neighbors in particular, we will stand together in times of hardship as well as in times of happiness. (Abiy Line 90-100)*

As indicated in the above excerpt, Abiy tends to mark what the people of the region share than recognizing each others as enemies. The phrase *many peoples interconnected with culture, language and long history* clearly shows what his relation would be with the neighboring governments. Even he welcomed Eritrea to end the twenty years of dispute.

*With the government of Eritrea, we want from the bottom of our hearts that the disagreement that has reigned for years to comes to an end. We would also discharge our*

*responsibility. While expressing our readiness resolves our differences through dialogue, I take this opportunity to call on the Eritrean government to take a similar stand not only for the sake of our **common interest** but also for the common **blood relations** between the peoples of the two countries. (Abiy Line 150-170)*

Abiy's positive wording ; ***from the bottom of our hearts , blood relations and common interest,*** do refer his keenness to look for solutions unlike Meles ,used terms like ***conspire and act to go against.***

From the above excerpts we can infer that the issue of Eritea and the horn at large are treated differently. However, what matters was the interest they had. Abiy wants regional integration than treating them as enemies which Meles portrayed. When government changes positive and an ongoing approach is preferred for one's interest in one way, or to be part of the plan of super powers as USA. Meles's government looked having challenges from such countries in te time of transition.

#### **4.2.9. Plans Revealed**

Much the speech of Meles has been dedicated to reveal what the government would in the coming time than Abiy. Of course, such inaugural speeches can also be used to set some ideologies regarding some topics which the speaker comments on. Sentences were exceedingly used to reveal what their plan is and what would they exactly. The revelation of their plan in some way is the result of their political decision subject to their political ideologies and philosophies. The following are excerpts that are thought to have ideological importance.

*.....To fulfill the responsibility consigned by the people, the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia will make its focus of the **implementation of the EPRDF's development, peace and democracy plan** with mobilization. (Meles Line 20-25)*

*The government will design **detailed plans and enforce** for the implementation of the five year Plan. (Meles Line 25-30)*

*The main focus of direction of the government in the coming year will be **building the capacity of regional states** for the implementation of their plan. (Meles Line 35-40)*

*The central government will make special efforts to **strengthen the regions in finance.**( Meles Line 65-70)*

***Building and expanding rural roads** will be made continue in strengthened manner in this fiscal year. (Meles Line 85-90)*

*A plan has been proposed that is capable of enabling cities in regions **and avoiding the problems noticed in telephone service** of capital cities of the regions. (Meles Line 105-110)*

*Important works of research and design for **hydro power dams** that can be finished earlier in different parts of the country will be started. (Meles Line 120-125)*

*Therefore, the central government, giving special attention **development works in the agricultural sector**, is ready to implement detailed programs. (Meles Line 140-145)*

*Over the next year, a widespread offers will be exerted to eliminate, having discussion with the investors the hindrances for the **expansion of investment** and replace systems with the ones that can assure fast delivery of service. (Meles Line 200-205)*

There is an indication from the above excerpts that Meles has focused on developmental issues as from the assumption that the country needs sustainable development and peace as the chapter of politics full of questions has been shut with democratic and federal system. Phrases cleverly represent the discourse of development include ***detailed plans and enforce, hydro power dam, development works in the agricultural sector, expansion of investment, and Building and expanding rural roads*** from the above excerpts. Even to the verb level, we can find words like, ***build enforce, implement, develop, strengthen, plan and enable***. Meles's use of these words implies the ideology he was following, that is developmental democracy.

What we saw in the above excerpt are related to development. Here are some excerpts to illustrate the democratic and peace aspect which have its own share as a goal of the revolutionary democracy.

*Starting next year, the **army will be made professional enough**, free from any political organization, subject only to the constitution and the elected government of the people (Meles Line. 340-345)*

*To eliminate issues that hinder citizens from **exercising their democratic rights**, different actions will be taken to strengthen the police and to make it the keeper of the democratic system. (Meles Line 265-270)*

*The government recognizes that people from every corner of the country have a keen desire to continue the maintained peace after wartime conflicts. As a result, different activities will be carried out next year to make our **peace and security more sustainable**. (Meles Line 335-345)*

The above excerpts magnify what Meles has intended to do with respect to democracy. Making the army professional, eliminating hindrances of democratic rights and making the peace and

security sustainable are some among the actions proposed. Even though, they look common among governments, they tend to dictate the bigger ideology.

On the other hand, words phrases, and sentences used by Abiy don't show any revelation of a new plan in terms of development. This in one way exhibit Abiy's disregard to the development strategies that have been implemented for the last 27 years, or he targeted getting destructed things right. Let's look at the following excerpts.

*By realizing that Ethiopia belongs to us all, that it is our common property, we will strongly and steadfastly continue with our efforts to build a democratic system in which **the voices of all Ethiopians is heard and everyone is allowed equal participation.**(Abiy Line 65-70)*

*Therefore, the government will work with great resolve so that **the free and peaceful movement of citizens is respected** (not obstructed). (Abiy Line 70-75)*

*In the new path that we just charted, we shall work tirelessly day in and day out **to combat robbery, wastage of wealth, and fight organized corruption** in a manner that will enable all our people to participate. (Abiy Line 110-115)*

*I would like to take this opportunity to promise our people that we will **devise solutions for the problems that led to these crises** and make up to our people.( Abiy Line 230-235)*

Utilization of such verbs; **heard, allowed, respected, and combat** does demonstrate how Abiy targeted on collecting the dusts of the past government. This in other words mean there had been things unheard, disallowed, disrespected, and aggressively affecting both the government and the people.

On the other side, Abiy's speech contained some remarks on developmental issues which are assumed to have a link with the growth plan of the last government. Still, gap filling solution to the existed law performances in some sectors is communicated. Example is the following excerpt.

*...Maximum effort will be made to ensure that especially graduates from our higher education institutions and technical and vocational colleges harvest **knowledge that is comparable to their endowment of abilities.** (Abiy Line 145-150)*

Education in terms its quality was one of the 'burning issues' to be assured. However, the government was blamed for not giving it the due attention. Therefore, Abiy expressed his stand

that his government would not compromise quality at the cost of quantity. Equally significant, promises to re-look the performances of the development plans and revisions to them were heard from Abiy.

*To deal with these problems and many others, after an **evaluation of the two-year performance of our Growth and Transformation Plan**, we shall take the necessary policy decisions and produce fast economic growth.( Abiy Line 140-145)*

Policy issues, including foreign policy, were presented as if they would be strengthened and continue to serve.

*This policy (foreign policy) of ours built on common interest and common benefit; we will **strengthen and continue** with it.*

In general, the revelation of their plans has put them in different positions. Meles as an endorser of the new development model to the country while Abiy finds himself in a position recollect what was good in the past, and make himself busy of reconstructing the destructed ones.

#### **4.2.10 Ideology Differences**

One of the political qualities leaders of politics should acquire is the tolerating differences and recognizing views of others. In this respect, many these leaders appear as they can notice and accept the differences in their earlier time of rule. The challenge is assumed to come later after they started entertain differences in political views, if the one of them (‘the ruling’ or ‘the opposing’) abuse and need privilege. Despite the fact that they pretend to host any ideological deviation, it is very important to consider what they have been spoken about in their inaugural speeches. Thus, in some way gives clue to the approaches they preferred to follow and the strategies they designed to tackle what they call ‘challenge’.

Abiy has treated ideological difference as not a curse assuming that people were in conflict in many ways based on their ideologies (may be dictated by their ethnic background or any pure riot based political view. Look at the following excerpt.

*Ethiopia is a country of all of us and it is our common house. In one country, there will inevitably be differences in opinion. **Differences in opinion are not curses.** When we are able to **listen to each other** despite our differences and **engage** in principled discourse, our differences return dividends in the form of blessings. **In a fight over ideas, are solutions.** There is strength in cooperation. When we team up, we become stronger. There is no problem that unity cannot **resolve**: because it **builds** nation. The sentiment that **“I rather die than see my idea not win”** destroys families, let alone nations. What we have is one Ethiopia. Above any political thought, national unity is supreme. We need to however underline that national **unity doesn’t mean oneness.** Our unity needs to be one that embraces our diversity and highlights our multinational identity. (Abiy line 45-55)*

In the above excerpt Abiy has presented ideological differences as positive if they are properly managed. Even he pointed out the solutions can be found in a **fight over ideas**. Abiy has said, *“I rather die than see my idea not win”* This is a direct and new construct of Abiy to have entertained the differences better as leaders haven’t been heard of entertaining opposing views. The consequence of having such stands is presented with the verb ‘*destroys*’ (both Family and nation). Abiy used some verbs like *builds, resolve, engage, cooperation, and team up*, for his intention of positive representation towards different political views. Again the same signification of difference in ideology can be seen from the following excerpt. Words used for the positive representation include, *blessings, love, and justice*.

*We have to cleanse our thoughts from hatred; different political views and religion are our **blessings**, we have to conduct them with **love**. Even if there are disagreements arising from our differences, we should side with **justice** rather than injustice and correct our moral lenses. Justice should be our main principle; love and respect for all human beings ought to be our moral compass. This is our eternal job that cannot be completed and a work that needs to be always performed. It is our lifelong assignment.*

Ethiopia is repeatedly said to have diverse identities and heterogeneity in many aspects. Rather than only focusing on the recognition of their ethnic base (as Meles did), Abiy has tried to include some representative of the wider social clusters in the following excerpt.

*To our **farmers**, those living off animal husbandry, those engaged in various occupations, to our country’s **security forces, intellectuals, business people, residents** of urban areas as well as those residing in the countryside, people of all trades, **elders** of the country, **Muslims, Christians, Waaqefattas** and all other **compatriots**, to **nations, nationalities, and peoples** living from north to south and from east to west, Let us all strive to develop a mature democracy. Let us diligently work to lift our country from the depth of poverty.*

*Let us eliminate racism and discord from our country. Let us create an educated citizen that debates ideas based on reason. (Abiy Line 245-250)*

Nouns and noun phrases, **farmers, security forces, intellectuals, business people, residents, elders, Muslims, Christians, Waaqefattas, compatriots**, and **nations, nationalities** draw his inclusiveness as an attempt to take some section of the society into consideration.

On the opposite, Meles appeared to be not a man of compromise and entertainer of opposing ideas in his speech. According to him, diversity is accepted within the framework of the role they are supposed to have in constructively criticizing the government. In the following excerpt differences are presented as ‘once entertained’ as long as people elected their representatives.

*Based on the peaceful and democratic transition program, in the successfully completed transitional time, the entire people of our country, more than entertaining peace and democracy, they have started to have a direct and significance role in many aspect of the country. As a result, they have ratified the democratic constitution that the country is led by after they **participated fully in its process of drafting to ratification**. (Meles Line 10-20)*

In another excerpt, Meles has put the people in apposition very much affected by the views of elites and opinion leaders. For the role to be positive, Meles directly messaged the political leaders and opposing groups to exercise their constitutionally granted right of democracy.

*It is known that the culture of democracy has a significant role for the bloom and strength of democracy. In terms of developing the democratic culture political parties and the press play a significant role. Political parties can **impart different ideologies they hold in constructive and peaceful manner so that it broadens their political thoughts and widen the democratic culture**. Therefore, in this regard, the private press and political parties are expected to play a significant role. (Meles Line 280-285)*

In the above excerpt, Meles has presupposed that differing and different ideologies reside in the hand of not the people but in the parties. This directly gives the full responsibility to the parties to make the questioned legally if conflict arises due to that views imparted by the parties.

Their political ideology dictated their realization of different view and how they accepted. Abiy’s leaning Liberal view allowed him, at least to pretend, to accept any of the opposite views. However, Meles’s evaluated them to the importance they have building the developed and democratic state with some restrictions in advance. Generally, the two prime ministers dealt with

ideological differences differently. The lexical items the used suggested that Abiy looked more open than Meles in terms of entertaining them, irrespective of their intention.

#### 4.2.11 Democracy

Democracy is a wider concept having different manifestations that determines its practicality. It is at the same time, a word that is used by the political speakers, perhaps quite mostly. Of course, democracy is important if it effectively keeps the fair benefit of the ‘majority’. As peoples’ view to democracy is different, so does the politicians’, even stronger. Their view is emanates from their ideological stance. As said earlier, words are not neutral. Therefore, our close look at some representing words might help us to point out how democracy and important institutions for democracy are viewed by the two Prime Ministers.

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, when he speaks of democracy amplified the characteristics of the result of democracy other than exercising civic, human and political rights. According to him where democracy is built, there is a government servant to its people, to be elected and interrogated if found guilty. Here is the excerpt.

*What we all need to understand is that building democratic system demands listening to each other. The people have the **full right to criticize its servants, to elect them, and to interrogate them.** Government is a **servant of the people.** (Abiy Line 60-65)*

In another excerpt, Abiy has linked the issue of democracy, support, leadership, and open heartedness of the government. Here we should notice that the role the government has is enlarged

*In a democratic system, the government allows citizens to express their ideas freely without any fear. The right of citizens for free movement cannot be built without the **leadership, support, and open-heartedness of government.** Therefore, the government will work with great resolve so that the free and peaceful movement of citizens is respected (not obstructed) (Abiy Line 70-75)*

In sum, Abiy’s resemblance of democracy finely links what democracy was supposed to be and its benefits that the people get from like, moving **freely, expressing ideas, interrogating the government, having loyal servant.**

On the contrary, Meles's democracy is like fetched water from the so called 'democratic constitution'. Again, it was drawn to be exposed to violation not by the government but by 'anti-democracies'. Here is the excerpt.

*We have a democratic **constitution** and **democratic laws** enable the constitution to be enforced. **Violating these laws** can't build democratic system than dismantling democracy creating social crisis. (Meles Line 300-320)*

From the assumption, in the above excerpt, that democracy is open to violation of 'anti-democrats', Meles introduced what would be done in protection. In fact, democracy is kept when the field is open and fair. However, what Meles mentioned was the following.

*To eliminate issues that **hinder citizens** from exercising their democratic rights, different actions will be taken to strengthen the police and to make it the keeper of the democratic system. (Meles Line 265-270)*

In the above excerpt, violence/hindrances, police force, and citizens exercise of their power, are there to show Meles's ideological tendency to keep democracy with utilization of power that can be noticed as negative.

Over again, Meles has defined the role of the opposing parties in terms of influencing the thoughts and views of the public. The role the government would have remained unmentioned. The democratic culture can only progress with responsible move of the parties.

*It is known that the culture of democracy has a significant role for the bloom and strength of democracy. In terms of developing the democratic culture **political parties and the press play a significant role**. Political parties can impart **different ideologies they hold in constructive and peaceful manner** so that it broadens their political thoughts and widen the democratic culture. Therefore, in this regard, the private press and political parties are expected to play a significant role. (Meles Line 280-285)*

In general, Abiy's and Meles's democracy are attributed differently that Abiy's democracy is an extended one even able to host quite opposite views while Meles's is with some restrictions and preconditions. This can clearly show their ideological inclination and preference, even their personal trait.

#### 4.2.12 The government

The other ideologically important representation is of the government. Government is described to be a system subject to its ideological foundations and practices driven by. Descriptions and representations of political leaders are ordinarily put in the speeches of politics and embedded in the meaning of words. The descriptions they made are conceived to have been related to their choice of political orientation. Therefore, it becomes scholarly to see the lexicalizations of the two Ethiopian Prime Ministers to signify the government and its attributes attached to. Here under are some excerpts with which typified and traced the attributes.

*Based on the constitution, **electing their representatives**, on May 29<sup>th</sup> election, that they thought can lead the country for the coming five years, here they have formed the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. (Meles Line 10-15)*

*Next year, our major focus of the government will be **fostering the capacity of the regional states** to implement the development programs. (Meles Line 35-40)*

*Thus, the central government is prepared to implement various programs by paying particular attention to **development activities** in the agricultural sector. (Meles Line 145-140 )*

*As a result, efforts will be made to keep the **inflation** occurred last year **under control** this year. (Meles Line 180-185)*

*The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, to implement **the five year development, peace and democracy program** .....( Meles Line 375-380)*

The above excerpts contained expressions directly associated with the view of Meles on what the government is and its deeds. Surely, Meles represented the government as representative, **plan implementer, capacity builder, attention giver to developmental activities, and inflation controller** that may lead assume that all are elements of developmental discourse. All are the results of the dictation of the political ideology of Meles that is developmental state.

Otherwise, Abiy's resembled the government in different way. He appears to change the discourse of the last 27 years that he views the government as servant than representative and controller. Here are some excerpts.

*It is indicative of the fact that we are building a system that walks at part with the country's political, economic, and social conditions and which is **governed by the will of***

*the people, that which makes the people its master and serves them accordingly.*(Abiy Line 20-25)

*Government is a servant of the people. This is because our governing principle is popular sovereignty. In a democratic system, the first and last principle ought to be that of **entertaining differences** of opinion by listening to each other. (Meles Line 60-65)*

*The government duly **realizes** that a nation that neglects and **marginalizes half of its population absolutely cannot have a full and complete body and cannot move forward.** Accordingly, our government shall endeavor with resolute dedication to speed up its efforts to improve women's all-rounded participation and their benefit. (Meles Line 165-170)*

The diction of Abiy in above extracts understandably exhibit how wise he was appeared to be just for the sake of meeting an implicit need of the society. Phrases like ***governed by the will of the people, makes the people its master, serves them accordingly, servant of the people, entertaining differences*** designate nothing but the servant and never marginalizing government. This in fact can be taken as strategic approach to get closer to the hearts and minds on citizens.

In general, Meles's representation of the government reveals his motive to impart the developmental version of model where the government's role seems to be high, where as Abiy for strategic purpose portrays the government as servant.

#### **4.3 Euphemistic expressions**

The other value of words or lexical, as of Fairclough , is relational value. This value in general focuses how a text's choice of wordings depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants (Fairclough, 2015:116). That means words are likely to have indicative power to show how power struggle occurs in using some words and failing avoid them even. As mentioned, words or expressions have relational value to determine the relations of participants. Thus, expressions could be regarded as ideologically different formulations of precisely the same actions (Fairclough, 2015:117) According to him, text producers often adopt strategies of avoidance with respect to the expressive values of words for relational reasons. Euphemism is a word which is substituted for a more conventional or familiar one as a way of avoiding negative values. Amongst the wordings the two prime ministers used here is boldly seen example which exactly shows how Dr. Abiy wants to preserve and maintain the relationship with the political parties as new narrative.

*From this day forward, we will look at political parties outside of EPRDF as competitors rather than enemies (opponents); their supporters as brothers and sisters who have alternative ideas and who love their country, and as a collection of citizens. (Abiy Line 235-240)*

In the speech (line 235-240) political parties are resembled and presented as competitors than opposing ones. This clearly shows how they tackled the issue of political parties differently. *Opposition* appears to have a negative sense than competitors. Even Abiy equivalently put *enemies* for comparison. Unlike Meles, who used the term *Opposition parties*, Abiy has used euphemism for relational purpose than expressive.

#### **4.4 -Expressive values of words**

As we said earlier on, expressive values of words have to do with social identities constructed through reality. It links the reality and the discourse as evaluated by the producer of the text. In this case, as Norman Fairclough says, the writer's negative evaluation of the practices described is implicit in the vocabulary. Differences between discourse types in the expressive values of words are again ideologically significant. A speaker expresses evaluations through drawing on classification schemes which are in part systems of evaluation, and there are ideologically contrastive schemes embodying different values in different discourse types (Fairclough, 2015: 118).

Now lets see the expressive values of the inaugural speeches of the two prime ministers. Prime Minister Meles in his speech (line 5-10) says;

*Our country Ethiopia freeing self from anarchic system of government where there were no light for democracy, for reaching to build democratic political system.....(Meles Line 5-10)*

In this speech, the words directly concerned with the preceding government (anarchic system of government where there were no light for democracy) show the evaluation of Meles what we call reality but ideologically important. Expressive values of words carry negativity eventhough the evaluation result shows different. Thus, Meles, through language, put his evaluation and a different discourse at the same time.

The same example can be found from Abiy's speech.

*Corruption is one of the main reasons that have galvanized the grievances of our people in recent years. We have come to learn that it is impossible to combat corruption by merely establishing anti-corruption institutions. I politely ask all of us to do all we can to ensure that Ethiopia won't become a country where one works hard and the other simply snatch it away.*(Abiy Line 100-110)

Abiy in the above speech (100-110) pointed out his evaluation which is ideologically contrastive schemes embodying different values in different discourse types.

## **4.5 Use of Rhetorical devices**

### **4.5.1 Use of Metaphor**

Metaphor is widely used in persuasive speeches for convincing purpose. It is a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another, and is by no means restricted to the sort of discourse it tends to be stereotypically associated with - poetry and literary discourse (Fairclough, 2015:119). We have heard different world leaders using metaphor as the need the people react positively to their administration. It is defined as a type of implied comparison that compares two things by stating one is the other. Indeed, different metaphors have different ideological attachments when closely examined. Fairclough elaborated that the ideological significance of disease metaphors is that they tend to take dominant interests to be the interests of society as a whole, and construe expressions of non-dominant interests

Having a close look at the two speeches one can simply pick out some metaphors used by the two Prime ministers including the following. The content of the speech made by Meles tends to focus on what the government would do for the coming years of that time as a plan of five years of EPRDF the coalition. Of course, one of the main things addressed in inaugural speeches is revealing the governments plan, though it is different from the electoral campaign. Meles metaphorically mentioned (line 25-30) the plan is as good as it should be but its implementation is important.

*Unless there is a ground to interpret plans into action, the plan is of no value than an its **aesthetical importance on paper**.....*(Meles line 25-30)

The value of things is measured accordingly. The value of an art is evaluated based on how artistic it is. The value of the plan is seen from its results after its implementation. Here Meles related the implementation of the plan with its aesthetic value which is incompatible.

In another section of the speech (250-225), Meles promises to give care of its kind to be given for an eye retina to elites (scholars) of that time if they are determined for work.

*As the government has no patience of carrying elites who waste their time out of work, I want to assure you that the government is keen to give care for them as an eye pupil for the determined ones.(Meles Line 250-225),*

Further, Meles represents the stand of some political parties with a game kind that children used to play, hide and seek. This can also be taken as the metaphor Meles used in his speech.

*.....Playing **hide and seek** in between peace and anti-peace .....(Meles Line 320-325 )*

On the other hand, Abiy Ahmed, on his part, used different metaphors that helped him for some aspect of persuasion end. The following (45-50) was one.

*As one Ethiopian father said, “While alive, we are humans; upon passing, we become soil and hence become country.” You will find the precious bodies of every Ethiopian from every corner of the country become soil in another part of the country. We Ethiopians, while alive, we are Ethiopians; when we die, we become Ethiopia. (Abiy Line 45-50)*

In the above text Ethiopian nationalism is represented metaphorically linked with the countries soil. Obviously, the speech powerfully endorses oneness and togetherness which in other way sets an ideological construct in the minds of the addressee.

Again, Abiy metaphorically symbolized females as half body of a man.

*The government duly realizes that a nation that neglects and marginalizes half of its population absolutely cannot have a full and complete body and cannot move forward. Accordingly, our government shall endeavor with resolute dedication to speed up its efforts to improve women’s all-rounded participation and their benefit. (Abiy Line 165-170)*

In this text, representation of females as half a body of a man is just, but metaphorically explained the feminist view of an ideological construct (not new but stronger) which in other way is a power struggle to gain acceptance among. Abiy had also resembled (in the following text 254-250) the day and metaphorically connected his day of inauguration and the seventh year of The Great Renaissance Dam of Ethiopia, a national pride.

*This day marks the 7th year of the inauguration of our Grand Renaissance Dam, our national pride.(Abiy Line 254-250)*

In general, the two leaders had a significant use of metaphors for their ideological end and political persuasion. They used metaphors to manipulate meaning attach all the interpretations to the referred thing so that it powerfully conveys message.

#### 4.5.2 Paradox

Paradox is a statement proposal which, despite sound or true reasoning from acceptable premise, leads to a conclusion that appears logically unacceptable, contradicting or opposite. In other words, it refers to a statement containing two opposite ideas that make it seem impossible or unlikely, although it is probably true. In most cases speakers, especially of politics, use to set some ideologies in the speeches. At the same time, emphasis would be given to, that is considered rhetorical device. Back to our case, Abiy used some paradoxical expression than Meles. Here are they.

*We need to however underline that national unity doesn't mean oneness. Our unity needs to be one that embraces our diversity and highlights our multinational identity.(Abiy line 50-55)*

*.....which is governed by the will of the people, **that which makes the people its master** and serves them accordingly. (Abiy Line 20-25)*

In the first case, Abiy wanted to stress that being one doesn't mean the same, even though he appears to be an endorser of oneness. Here, the take away point would exactly show us Abiy's carefulness. Clearly he wanted to give a space of compromise for people who are supposed to think that oneness mean hegemony of a certain ethnic group or nation, which is historically set. He already has understood that diversity is widely welcomed for the last 27 years. In other words, he doesn't need to underestimate the diversity ground in dealing with his hybrid nature of ideology. In the second, Abiy puts the people above its leaders, making the **masters**. Of course, in genuine politics people are the Master. Here Abiy wants to emphasize as he is out the build system, he would continue to consider the people's status in politics. Thus, where political leaders are real bosses (once democratically elected), people ideally take over in the paradoxical expression.

### 4.5.3 Metonymy

The other figure of speech used as rhetorical device by the two Prime Ministers is metonymy. Metonymy is when a thing or concept is referred to by the name of something closely associated with that thing or concept. For example, *crown* has no direct link with power; however, it is associated with it. Then people sometimes refer to power with the word *crown*. Likewise, both of the Prime Ministers make the use of metonymy to refer to ideas. Abiy calls ***dry law*** to refer the presence of legal framework which at the same time is far way from real justice. On the other hand Meles directly attacked political parties having contact abroad saying ***slinging applications***. Here the application represents the parties assumed conspiracy to work against the government of Meles.

*...What our people are striving for isn't a **dry law** but rather a system of laws conceived within..... (Meles Line 80-85)*

*.....opposition parties, **slinging applications** hosting foreigners or reaching Embassies their number one activity, more than that playing hide and seek in between peace and anti-peace..... (Meles Line 80-85)*

In the above metonymies, Abiy criticizes the preceding government for not ensuring justice, while Meles expresses his negative approach to the political parties which he assumes they are in contact with for being against.

### 4.6 Transitivity/ Passivization

Other than lexical choice of the discourse maker, a grammatical aspect of the text is also equally important to examine in the level of description. In the same way as vocabulary, grammatical features do have different values, experiential, relational expressive values. The text we have, inaugural speech of the two Prime ministers is delivered in Amharic. As English has bulky of grammatical rules every of which has its own purpose, some incompatibilities may happen while translating. In this level the researcher tries to analyze the text from the perspective of the source language or language as used by the two speakers.

Transitivity system is the grammatical elements used to capture experience (Simpson, 20004). It is a very important aspect of language in discourse analysis and it is significant to answer how experiential meaning is realized through the process types and participation roles within different

themes. Grammar of transitivity enables realization of different models used in the presentation of events and the identification of roles of individuals in their interaction with others (Kress and Flower 1970 and Sahragad and Davatgarzadeh, 2010)

One of the grammatical features importantly marks the hidden intention of the discourse is the absence and presence of agency, what's called commonly doer or performer of the action. Fairclough(2015) explains that agents are animate, and this is generally so. But agents can be realized as inanimate nouns, abstract nouns, or nominalizations. Therefore, in some cases, the agent may be animated or left unmentioned for a certain purpose and intention of the discourse maker. One should be sensitive to possible ideologically motivated obfuscation of agency, causality and responsibility: Fairclough advises. So, in one or another way if the agent is left unknown or unclear or not mentioned, it is followed that the discourse maker has the intention of hiding it, which is taken as an ideology struggle.

As we said earlier, transitivity is a system for explaining the whole clause instead of describing the verb and its object (Thompson, 1996, p. 78). Halliday explained a clause consists of three components: process, participant and circumstances. The division he put of these processes is six: material process, mental process, relational process, behavioral process, verbal process, and existential process. Material process includes the activities and events that occur in the human's external world (Saragih, 2010).

In the material process what is important is “doing” or "happening" that includes two participants: Actor: The one who does the action. Goal: The one who is affected by the action. The process is described by action words that might be abstract or concrete.

Back to our case, when we look at the two speeches delivered by the two Ethiopian Prime Ministers, they contained sentences that can be analyzed in terms of material, relational and mental process of clause formation.

In terms of material process, Abiy's speech included active sentence with which he demonstrated the governments will to take the responsibility both before the parliament and the entire people. Here under are the excerpts.

*(1) This policy of ours (goal) built on common interest and common benefit; we (actor) will strengthen and continue with it (process). (Abiy Line 70-75)*

*(2) The right of citizens for free movement cannot be built without the leadership, support and open-heartedness of government. Therefore, the government (actor) will work with great resolve (process) so that the free and peaceful movement of citizens (goal) is respected (not obstructed). (Abiy Line 70-75)*

*(3) By realizing that Ethiopia belongs to us all, that it is our common property, we (actor) will strongly and steadfastly continue with our efforts (process) to build a democratic system(goal) in which the voices of all Ethiopians is heard and everyone is allowed equal participation. (Abiy Line 65-70)*

*(4) In the new path that we just charted, we shall work tirelessly day in and day out to combat robbery, wastage of wealth, and fight organized corruption in a manner that will enable all our people to participate. (Abiy Line 110-115)*

*(5) I would like to take this opportunity to promise our people that we (actor) will devise solutions (process) for the problems (goal) that led to these crises and make up to our people. (Abiy Line 230-235)*

*(6) To deal with these problems and many others, after an evaluation of the two-year performance of our Growth and Transformation Plan, we (actor) shall take the necessary policy decisions (process) and produce fast economic growth. (Abiy Line 140-145)*

In all of the above sentences, the agent, the doer of the action, is clear along with the process (what Abiy's government will do in our case) and the goal, the one who is affected by the action. The themes in each excerpt is dedicated to the government's willingness to correct the past mistakes for better future :strengthening the foreign policy, governments commitment to freedom of citizens, combating robbery and wastage of wealth , finding solution to the crisis policy decisions for economic growth.

But then, Meles's active sentences with material process are found to be few when they are compared with Abiy. In fact, all the excerpts under explicitly put what the action is and the responsible agent for the action to be seen.

*(1) ... ..to fulfill the responsibility consigned by the people, the government ( actor) of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia will make its focus (process) of the implementation of the EPRDF's development, peace and democracy plan with mobilization(goal) . (Meles Line 20-25)*

***(2)The government (actor) will design detailed plans and enforce (process) for the implementation of the five year Plan (goal). (Meles Line 25-30)***

***(3) The central government (actor) will make special efforts (process) to strengthen the regions in finance (goal). (Meles Line 65-70)***

The central messages passed through the above excerpts are more likely to have been linked to development and the government's plan: implementation of the five year growth plan, designing detailed plans, strengthening the finance of the regional states, which prescribe obviousness of the agents.

On the other hand, Abiy had used the passive voiced sentence to speak of the quality of education which had been the very source of blame to the past government. Here it may be considered intentional the agent (responsible) is hidden.

***Maximum effort will be made) to ensure that especially graduates from our higher education institutions and technical and vocational colleges harvest knowledge that is comparable to their endowment of abilities. (Abiy Line 145-150)***

On the contrary, Meles's speech had been extremely characterized by passivisation which has ideological importance. Even though, much of the sentences had a direct link with the plan his party (EPRDF) proposed, the sentences left agent less to hide the responsible person or body. Here are the excerpts.

***In the next year, profession improving trainings for administrators and professionals of different level will be prepared. ( Meles Line 55-60)***

***The main focus of direction of the government in the coming year will be building the capacity of regional states for the implementation of their plan. (Meles Line 35-40)***

***Works will be done to make our peace durable and more secure next year.(Meles Line 335-340)***

***Building and expanding rural roads will be made continue in strengthened manner in this fiscal year. (Meles Line 85-90)***

***A plan has been proposed that is capable of enabling cities in regions and avoiding the problems noticed in telephone service of capital cities of the regions. (Meles Line 105-110)***

***Important works of research and design for hidro power dams that can be finished earlier in different parts of the country will be started. (Meles Line 120-125)***

*Over the next year, a **widespread offers will be exerted to eliminate**, having discussion with the investors **the hindrances** for the expansion of investment and replace systems with the ones that can assure fast delivery of service. (Meles Line 200-205)*

*To eliminate issues that hinder citizens from exercising their democratic rights, different **actions will be taken to strengthen the police** and to make it the keeper of the democratic system. ( Meles Line 265-270)*

*The government recognizes that people from every corner of the country have a keen desire to continue the maintained peace after wartime conflicts. As a result, different **activities will be carried out next year to make our peace and security more sustainable**. (Meles Line 335-345)*

*Starting next year, **the army will be made professional enough, free from any political organization**, subject only to the constitution and the elected government of the people. (Meles Line 340-345)*

Actually, Meles passivized sentences despite the fact that the agent, as we understand from the process, is known to be the government. For instance themes taken from each excerpt: *preparing profession improving trainings, making the army free and professional, making peace and security stable, strengthening police, eliminating hindrances for expansion of investment, researching and designing hydro power dams, building and expanding rural roads, building the capacity of regional states*, can only be done by the government. However, Meles's passive sentences speak louder than his intention that he wanted to not be responsible to while Abiy did.

Abiy's speech was in some way characterized by sentences and clauses having relational process; that is identifying relational process. Relational process is a process of being that through identification, attribution, and possession shows the link among entities (Saragih, 2010). As Halliday (1994) states, identifying relational process means that one entity is being used to identify another. The verbs that are used in such process are (am, is, are, was, were...) become, etc. In the excerpts under, the verb to be 'is' is used to create identifying relational process.

*Dear youth of our country, Ethiopia is yours. (Abiy Line 140-145)*

*Ethiopia is a country of fertile wombs. (Abiy Line 15-20)*

*Government is a servant of the people. (Abiy Line 60-65)*

Such construction of processes can also be found in Meles's speech that in the manner used 'is'.

*Therefore, the central government, giving special attention development works in the agricultural sector, is ready to implement detailed programs. 140-145)*

The sentences and clauses used had indicated presence of the preference to use passivization in the speech as found out in the process identification, which is widely material process, but also show the presence of mental process. The following excerpt is from Abiy.

*As a big country and people, to reach the peak of the successes that we **desire** and also solve the problems that we have, we **believe** that the key solution is to be found in education and only in education. Even though the government is paying attention to the educational sector and working hard, particularly with regard to ensuring the quality of education, we **notice** that we have much homework to do and many activities will be carried out. (Abiy Line 130-135)*

*We Ethiopians (actor) need and also deserve (process) democracy and freedom. (Abiy Line 55-60)*

Mental Process includes perception, cognition, affection and desire verbs such as know, think, feel, hear, see, like, hate, please, and etc. Verbs believe, need, desire, and notice show the mental process. As argued by scholars, the sense involves in this process expressed by human being or a conscious entity with which inner feeling of human is expressed. Therefore Abiy had created an own chance to express his feelings, which in fact was inclusive as government, Still hidden Meles used the mental process expressing construction in its passive form in the excerpt under.

***It is not believed** the capacity we need cannot be built with this training only.....*  
(Line 50-55)

#### **4.7 - Positive and Negative sentences**

The other grammatical feature concerned with the experiential value is use of positive and negative sentences. Negation obviously has experiential value in that it is the basic way we have of distinguishing what is not the case in reality from what is the case. But its main interest lies in a different direction - intertextuality and the intertextual context of a text. The speech of the two Prime Ministers fairly includes both negative and positive sentences, though the messages they hold tend to be opposite. As indicated in the following speech of Meles.

*Therefore, we, who voluntarily organized ourselves in parties, have to work together for the sake of our people and our democracy. History and the people of Ethiopia **never deserve lesser than this** from us, organized parties. (Meles Line: 330-335).*

The remark of the sentence above looks negative but the meaning it imparts is positive while the speech acts it to request for collaboration and cooperation. Here are some more examples.

*After we started implementing reforms, even though we acquired experiences that can show us we can achieve better, as inflation is increased last year, it shouldn't be underestimated. (Meles Line, 170-175)*

*These kind of bureaucratic bottlenecks should be dealt seriously because it would limit our countries development opportunity in addition to the tendency to generate the welfare of the few at the cost of the majority and further exacerbate the state of poverty in our country (Meles Line, 200-205).*

Abiy's positive sentences and remarks do have negative connotation and stronger effect, as it seen under.

*What we have is one Ethiopia. Above any political thought, national unity is supreme. We need to however underline that national unity doesn't mean oneness. Our unity needs to be one that embraces our diversity and highlights our multinational identity (Abiy Line 50-55)*

*To bring our country to the current stage, several past generations have paid sacrifices.(Abiy Line ..220-225)*

*We Ethiopians need and also deserve democracy (Abiy Line 55-60)*

*Our national identity is meaningless without you, Ethiopian women. (Abiy Line 165-170)*

*All our problems cannot be solved in a single day (Abiy Line 175-180)*

#### **4.8 Use of Pronoun**

Grammatical features not only do have experiential value as mentioned earlier, but also relational value. Relational value of these grammatical features has the power to determine relation related aspects for deeper understanding. These include modes and use of pronoun. Use of pronoun to its important level is discussed under along with data from the texts. The way pronouns, we, I, and you, are used has a determinant factor in creating social context of relationship as Fairclough

underlies pronouns, and the way in which the choice between them is tied in with relationships of power and solidarity. This is because there always has been positive self and negative others representation. Not only that, but also inclusive and exclusiveness : inclusive that is of the reader as well as the writer, as opposed to 'exclusive' we, which refers to the writer (or speaker) plus one or more others, but does not include the addressee(s)(Fairclough,2015:127).

#### 4.8.1 The Pronoun ‘I’

In using the pronoun ‘I’ at its initial position in the sentence the speakers either emphasize the message they want to deliver or assert their intention manifested by their speech act. The pronoun ‘I’ has been used differently by the speakers .The table below shows the frequency of the pronoun ‘I’ as used by the two Prime Ministers.

Pronoun ‘I’	Meles	Abiy
Frequency	5	17

Table 4.8.1: Frequency of the pronoun ‘I’ in the two speeches

As shown in the above table, Abiy has used the pronoun ‘I’ more than Meles who used only in five sentences of the speech. Irrespective of the numbers here looking at how and for what purpose they used in relation to its speech act appears important. In most cases both of the Prime Ministers used ‘I’ to call up on or to express their pleasure. Differently, Meles used ‘I’ to urge and warn.

*....I would like to **express my limitless pleasure** on behalf of the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.....(Meles Line 5-10)*

*..... **I call on** all the people on behalf of the Government of the Federal Government of Ethiopia to be determined to the mobilization of all communities for the promotion and development of the community.( Meles Line 80-85)*

*As the government has no patience of carrying elites who waste their time out of work, **I want to assure** you that the government is keen to give care for them as Pupil of its eye for the determined ones.( Meles Line 255-260)*

..... So **I strongly urge** that the government will take strong legal action against those who violate the law, and those who preach to the people for distraction ....( Meles Line 300-305)

... **I call on** the entire people on behalf of the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia to be determined for the fullfilment of our plan of next year .....( Meles Line 380-end)

On the other hand, Abiy put himself first in the sentences where he thought special emphasis and important, for example, to ask for an apology, to promise, to assure and in some cases to call upon. Here are some.

*Even though my beloved mother is not with us today, may my thanks and love reaches her place of eternal rest. **I want to honor** her with many thanks. (Abiy Line 260-265)*

***I ask a forgiveness** from the bottom of my heart for the many advocates of freedom and justice and politicians.(Abiy Line 225-235)*

***I call upon** all with great responsibility to help make up for the adverse economic and social impact caused due to the political instability of the last few years.( Abiy Line 190-195)*

***I promise** that we will do all we can to ensure that Ethiopia becomes a country that gives its youth hope rather than one that sucks up their hope.( Abiy Line 150-155)*

***I politely ask** all of us to do all we can to ensure that Ethiopia won't become a country where one works hard and the other simply snatches it away. (Abiy Line 105-110)*

*While expressing our readiness resolve our differences through dialogue, **I take this opportunity to call on** the Eritrean government to take a similar stand not only for the sake of our common interest but also for the common blood relations between the peoples of the two countries.(Abiy Line 100-105)*

*.....to all my dear comrades and friends, **I extend my heartfelt thanks**.(Abiy Line 270-275)*

On the other hand, the Pronoun *I* has been used for different purposes, one to show power (power struggle) ,second to for relational purpose. Look at the following speech of Meles. (line

*Therefore I want to underline that the government is determined to take strong legal action on those who promote conflict and violence.(Meles Line 300-305)*

In the above sentence Meles used to warn conflict promoters than Abiy who used *I* to ask for forgiveness in the following extract:

*I ask a forgiveness from the bottom of **my** heart for the many advocates of freedom and justice and politicians and the many change-seeking youth whose lives were cut short before they were able to enjoy and have fun during the primes of their lives and for the many individuals and families who were exposed to both psychological and bodily trauma during the past many years.(Abiy Line 225-235)*

Inclusive you serve to corporate ideologies which stress the unity of a people at the expense of recognition of divisions of interest. Thus, Abiy had used for the same purpose in the following speech.

*Dear youth of our country Ethiopia is yours.(Abiy Line 140-145)*

In general, the use of pronoun in the two speeches clearly showed the struggle to ideology and power. In comparison, Abiy’s ‘I’ looks way paver to get closer to the entire people and Meles’s ‘I’ appears authoritative. Thus, in both cases ideological struggle is implicit.

#### **4.8 .1 The Pronoun ‘we’**

The other pronoun subject to the analysis is obviously ‘we’. In using ‘we’ political speakers are very likely to present themselves in favor of the people, when at the same time they can include or exclude some based on the ideologies behind. The table under show how frequent the pronoun ‘we’ was in the two speeches of the two prime ministers.

Pronoun ‘we’	Meles	Abiy
Frequency	5	17

Table 4.8.2: Frequency of the pronoun ‘we’ in the two speeches

In terms of using pronouns, Abiy has used more pronouns which most of them tend to be inclusive. As the whole speeches calls to unity and oneness, inclusive pronouns including ‘we’ were used in a great deal. In some cases, Abiy speaks of the government led by him, even as a party leader, and use an inclusive ‘we’ to refer to all the peoples of Ethiopia, in most cases. Some are listed here under.

*“While alive, **we** are humans; upon passing, **we** become soil and hence become Ethiopia.” (Abiy Line 45-50)*

*We Ethiopians need and also deserve democracy. (Abiy Line 55-60)*

*Democracy is not for us an alien idea. When it was foreign to many peoples and countries, we lived under and governed by our democratic Gadaa system becoming an example on to the world. (Abiy Line 55-60)*

*.....we will strongly and steadfastly continue with our efforts to build a democratic system in which the voices of all Ethiopians are heard and everyone is allowed equal participation. (Abiy Line 65-70)*

*In the new path that we just charted, we shall work tirelessly day in and day out to combat robbery, wastage of wealth, and fight organized corruption in a manner that will enable all our people to participate.(Abiy Line 110-115)*

*We also realize that without benefiting the youth and without their active participation, the country cannot go anywhere.(Abiy Line 150-155)*

Then again, Meles seldom spoke of people but on behalf of his party chaired by him. This implies that Meles's intention wasn't to call to oneness than showing interest to collaborate with the government for the attainment of the goals that his party endorsed. Examples are listed under.

*For the past four years, we have traveled smoothly and democratically.... (Meles Line 10-15)*

*We shouldn't underestimate the problem happened because of the inflation experienced last year..... (Melese Line 175-180)*

*We ask the so called free presses who follow the illegal and destructive way to understand the truth just..... (Meles Line 310-315)*

*We wouldn't be reluctant to the proper and necessary actions to safeguard our well-being.... (Meles Line 370-375)*

Therefore, we can conclude that Abiy's 'we' signifies his extreme need to engage people which is inclusive in its nature, and Meles's 'we' represents his direct approach as an authoritative leader. Here, implicit intention of Abiy in following this approach cannot be ignored.

In general, the pronoun use of the two Prime Ministers in their speeches suggest that 'I' of Meles is authoritative which has been utilized to urge, warn, call upon, and rarely to assure than Abiy whose 'I' in his speech was used to call on , promise , ask for forgiveness and assure that makes

him approaching. Again, Meles's 'we' found to inclusive but hidden leaning to party representation than the entire people. However, Abiy's 'we' strongly inclusive that signifies his outgoing approach to all. In any case pronouns had ideological importance.

#### **4.9 Presupposition**

Presuppositions are propositions which are taken by the producer of the text as already established or 'given' (Fairclough, 2015). Discourses and the texts which occur within them have histories, they belong to historical series, and the interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of deciding which series a text belongs to, and therefore what can be taken as common ground for participants, or presupposed (Fairclough, 2015). The relation between the form and content in relation with the link of the meaning and the way it is can be analyzed looking at the basic text features. Presupposed meaning or implicit meanings are also part of the analysis. Presuppositions are not properties of texts; they are an aspect of text producers' interpretations of intertextual context and are cued in texts, by quite a considerable range of formal features (Fairclough, 2015).

In the two speeches we can identify a great deal of presuppositions contribute to understand the speakers' interpretation of situational context which has been the cause to the existence of the immediate meanings in.

Prime minister Abiy ahmed in his inaugural speech presupposed when he speaks of the government in line (20-25). He said:

*On the other hand, it is indicative of the fact that we are building a **system that walks at part with the country's political, economic, and social conditions and which is governed by the will of the people, that which makes the people its master and serves them accordingly.**(Abiy Line 20-25)*

In this speech Abiy wants finely reconstruct the assumption that the people had about the government, in one way or, he wants to entertain his opposition to the previous government implicitly accusing of being not governed by the will of the people.

Irrespective of their purposes strategies behind, other presuppositions can also be found in Dr Abiy's speech (175-180), too.

*Our problems are many and don't allow us any respite. **Lack of a developed democratic culture, deep-rooted poverty, organized corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency, and lack of good governance have been compounding. It has created a complex and trying challenge for us. It is regrettable that over the last few years many members of our society have been uprooted from their places of residence. They were exposed to displacement and grave loss of life and property. The rights of citizens to freely move throughout the country and make living needs to be respected.**(Abiy Line 175-180)*

As clearly be understood, Abiy described the time with respect to security and national crisis. However, the lexical elements include and their collocation (**Lack of a developed democratic culture, deep-rooted poverty, organized corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency**), even classification, shouldn't be underestimated. All the words point at the previous government so that power struggle is exercised for political and strategic end, which at the same time creates, or enhance if laid, some populist linkage with the people. Over again, Abiy's interpretation of the context and his presupposed meaning creation can also be clearly seen in the following excerpt.

*We are in a national transformation which is viewed around the world, on one hand, **with great attention, admiration, and expectation; and on the other hand, with great concern.** (Abiy Line 20-25)*

*Democracy is unthinkable without freedom. **Freedom is not a gift doled out to people by a government.** Rather a gift of nature to everyone that emanates from our human dignity.(Abiy Line 60-65)*

*.....What the people are looking for are **neutral and non-partisan law enforcement officers that are loyal to the law and those that jealously guard the rights of citizens. The law must rule us all equitably.** (Abiy Line 80-85)*

*.....I take this opportunity to call on the Eritrean government to take a similar stand **not only for the sake of our common interest but also for the common blood relations between the peoples of the two countries.** (Abiy Line 95-100)*

In the above excerpts, Abiy presupposed of the past government asserting of his willingness to change or in his terms *reform*. In the first, he wanted to remark how the change is being sought in the international community having interests in Ethiopia; at the same time links with the former government might have consequences in the present situation. Explicitly, he wants to underline their admiration and acceptance within the framework of *change*.

In the second and third excerpts freedom was presupposed to be the will of the government, and the enforcement of law wasn't neutral. In both cases, the presuppositions show how not only how Abiy interpreted the situation but also how he evaluated the 27 years of EPRDF. Likewise in the last, Abiy, presupposing that the conflict with Eritrea happened without the need of the people, expressed his need to resolve it peacefully for the sake of the people. In general, presupposition has served Abiy to impart his message there by communication the implicit ideas linked to his ideology.

In the speech of the late Prime Minister Meles's there are also presupposed meanings.

*However, for our country to lift itself from the miry of poverty..... (Meles Line 210-215)*

In the above excerpt, the people's poverty is presupposed whose meaning is attached with the failures of the Derg regime. What all Meles spoke of was about the plan of the government. The presupposition of the general text dictates the presupposition in this excerpt. As the move to democracy accelerates, governments focus is in the reduction of poverty in one hand, and the higher extent to which the people experiencing poverty on the other hand are the presupposed meanings. The excerpt under also has the same intent.

*Our country Ethiopia freeing self from anarchic system of government where there **was no gleam for democracy**, for reaching to build democratic political system..... (Meles Line 5-10)*

Again, speaking of elites of that time, Meles presupposed the presence of scholars who waste their time of taking part in unnecessary activities than serving the people and the government.

*As the government has no patience of carrying elites who waste their time out of work, I want to assure you that the government is keen to give care for them as Pupil of its eye for the determined ones.( Meles Line 250-255)*

Many of the presuppositions of Meles are related to the political parties and the press. They are presupposed, if they are engaged in distractive activities then fulfilling their responsibilities, in fact, it is the struggle for power.

*Most of the so called free press opposition parties, however, are **not at this stage able to discharge the responsibility expected of them**. Rather than giving objective information, they are deliberately involved in disseminating fake news and hate speeches than contributing with constructive ideas and critics.(Meles Line 285-295)*

*As many of this private political parties have selected **this worst way**, the emerging **democracy of our country will highly hurt** because it has lost its support it was supposed to get from the insightful debates and constructive critics and objective information of those parties... (Meles Line 285-290)*

If freedom of press is once granted, they might have the right to operate in any way they like. Despite the fact that the government could have genuine information about them, they are presupposed in the speech, mentioned they weren't in the stage to serve the public rather than the interest of others. In whatever way they are operating, they are gagged to be in a wrong way, which is presupposition.

But then, we can face other presupposed meanings in Abiy's speech that he potentially used to support the new narrative he came up with, in the following excerpts.

*Ethiopia is a country of fertile wombs. It has produced **many children that strive relentlessly out of a great spirit of love for the country. Its children strongly aspire and strive tirelessly to return the country to its past glory**; and to ensure that the peace and security of its people is protected and that prosperity is extended to all of its citizens without any discrimination. (Abiy Line 15-20)*

*Our identity is built in such a way that it is **inseparable; it is threaded in a manner that cannot be untangled**. (Abiy Line 35-40)*

Children of Ethiopia gained from the fertile womb of it are described with collective attributes having the spirit of strive for their country 'Ethiopia'. Under the umbrella of the Ethiopian nationalism, some may not accept this remark, of course for the country not for Ethiopia. This is because of the fact that the long lasting endorsement of ethnicity believed to map the emergence of some groups who don't consider themselves as Ethiopian. Whatever the case might take to some detail, Abiy presupposed the attribute of Ethiopians and used it to create consensus as stated in the second excerpt that boldly speaks of Ethiopian nationalism and oneness.

Again, Abiy in another excerpt has communicated a presupposed meaning when he talks about the country's experience of democracy.

*Democracy is not for us an alien idea. When it was foreign to many peoples and countries, we lived under and governed by our democratic Gadaa system becoming an example on to the world. Today, for us building democracy is an existential matter—than it is to any other country. (Abiy Line 55-60)*

Even though Ethiopia was presented as the beginner of the democratic system (Gedda), the presupposed meaning goes to his background. As mentioned in the context, Abiy is from the larger ethnic group Oromo, who had a long waiting desire to lead the country. By the time, there were questions from different corners regarding the capacity and competence of the new leadership to make the country move to democracy. That was the question addressed by this excerpt from the speech of Abiy. As children of Geda, we are trained to live and lead in democracy; therefore don't worry is the message.

The presuppositions of Meles had intentional relatedness with the past government. When he was talking about the five year plan of democracy, development and peace, he pointed out that the government would take the responsibility to build the capacity of regional states that are given self regulation rights under the constitution.

*The issue of building capacity to implement in each level..... (Meles Line 30-35)*

'Building the capacity of regional states' appears to have presupposed meaning that all the public servant would be trained to function in accordance with the new policy and political aims that the activities would hold.

In general, both of the Prime Ministers used presupposition for some indirect ideological statements they communicated so that the listener can grasp from what has been explicitly mentioned.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ANALYSIS – DISCURSIVE AND SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICE

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter will concentrate on analysis of the level of discourse practice which involves various aspects of the process of text production, distribution and consumption- methods by which texts become connections in intertextual chains in acts of distribution; and methods by which they are received by their listeners. The Chapter is in two main sections. Following the textual analysis in Chapter Four, the first section of this chapter focuses on the analysis of discourse practice (interpretation). The second section of the chapter looks at the socio-cultural practice (explanation) with in which texts emerge and are made to emerge.

#### 5.2 Discourse Practice

In this section, it would be tried to reconstruct the production process of the two speeches delivered by the two prime Ministers and to show the how problems arise and how they tried to resolve them ideally supplementing the information the researcher have available for interpreting the producers production process with his/her own rationalizations of the textual choices they made (Fairclough, 2015:147). The addressee's (interpreters in general) interpretation would also be reconstructed, too, for the same purpose so that, one can, finally, realize the discourse type and how recreated.

##### 5.2.1 Intertextuality

Intertextuality is all about understanding texts in relation to the other as they cannot be seen separately. Intertextuality maintains that a text “cannot exist as a hermetic or self-sufficient whole, and so does not function as a closed system” (Worton and Still). Julia Kristeva (1986) stressed the importance of the potential dynamics that lay within the text. Text is not a unilinear entity but a heterogeneous combination of texts. The consumption and production of texts is together; that their relationship is quite important as discursive element. The two speeches had some intertextual elements to deal with. Each clearly shows the link they have each other. For instance Abiy said, ‘The occasion is one in that we learn from our mistakes and make up to our country. ‘ (Line 25-30). This sentence contains the demonstrative adjective *that* that sets the

intertextual connection with the past. Of course, Ethiopia had such chances before obliged to select one of the two ways. Whatever the result might be, history reads loader but the situation is linked to this time with intertextual value of the text. In addition, manifest intertextuality can be seen in the following excerpt.

*As one Ethiopian father said, “While alive, we are humans; upon passing, we become soil and hence become country.” You will find the precious bodies of every Ethiopian from every corner of the country become soil in another part of the country. We Ethiopians, while alive, we are Ethiopians; when we die, we become Ethiopia.(Abiy Line 40-45)*

It is when another text is drawn up on that Manifest intertextuality is present. What Abiy treis to remark is drawn upon what one Ethiopian father said. While Meles used intertextual connection when speaks of the fulfillment of the needs of the society. When the new government comes to power, it common to make a remarks on some plans with realization of the peoples need. In the excerpt under *in away* creates connection and be seen in relation to the other texts.

*....in a way it fulfills the longstanding needs of our peope.... (Meles Line 5-10)*

### **5.2.2 Sensationalization**

Sensationlization is to present some message in a manner intended to arouse curiosity or broadened interest with an inclusion of exaggeration or vivid and shocking representation of facts than they really are. Another very important aspect of the discursive elements is presenting one’s message with in sensationalized way. This is done with different discursive strategies like making the text have aesthetic value. In this regard, Abiy’s text contains elements of a speech which it is characterized by. Even though we can’t say it is exaggerated, sensationalized contents found in both texts.

*Sometimes, while living in a country that is less endowed with natural and historical resources than Ethiopia but which is very developed, it is inevitable that you feel regret about your country. That regret is in all of us. It is inevitable for you to be regretful seeing our efforts to utilize the country’s resources to the maximum coming up too short. And you should be regretful. To change this condition... (Abiy Line 200-205)*

Sensationalizing is one characteristic of spoken political discourses along with other elements. Touching the heart of the audience, and the addressee diasporas in our case, is not as simple as telling some fact. Thus, Abiy tries to win their intention and call up on.

But then, Meles tries to sensationalize when he warned of what he called ‘the anti-peace sects’ that grabs not only the addressee but also the casual hearer.

*This generation has gone through the ravagers of war and it's tired of it. It's a generation doesn't like to face ravagers of war again in any way. So, no not let the ravagers of war occur again and protection sake, the government never negotiates to effect the law righteously. (Meles Line 305-320)*

### **5.2.3. Interpretation of situational Context**

At the level of interpretation, the important and determining aspect is the situation that comprises many to see the problems arise for the two Prime Ministers in the process of production through mismatches between their resources, and their analysis of the situation along with the novel combinations of discourse types they tried to generate in trying to resolve the problems. The following basic components of the situational analysis are elaborate accordingly.

#### **5.2.3.1- 'What's going on?'**

The question 'What's going on?', closely look into the activity, the topic and the purpose. The first, activity, is the most general; it allows us to identify a situation in terms of one of a set of activity types, or distinctive categories of activity of its type is likely to constrain the set of possible topics that are also associated with particular institutionally recognized purposes.

In terms of what is going on, it was delivering an inaugural speech to the parliament in both cases, which can be considered as activity. Most likely than not, such inaugural speeches delivered deal with national issues ranging from social to political, development to economic issues (topic). Apparently, the purpose of the activity, delivering inaugural speech, is neither receiving some information nor having a dialogue with the parliament members, rather, as it is a clear sign after sworn, it to pass a message to the entire interpreters (all the people in our case). As the inauguration had media coverage (mostly live), the situation gives dual institutional status to the producers, political and broadcast.

### **5.2.3.2. 'Who's involved?'**

In identifying who is involved in the specific activity subject relations are set up; the set of subject positions differs according to the type of situation. As Fairclough noted, it is important to note that subject positions are multi-dimensional. Firstly, one dimension derives from the activity type; in this case, it is inaugural speech, and delivering it has subject positions for the ones who deliver, Abiy Ahmed and Meles Zenawi. On the other hand, the institution ascribes social identities to the subjects who function within it (Fairclough,2015:147), in our case, we have the speaker, members of the parliament and the entire public (comprising of both supports and opposes) who are considered the addressee. However we have no differing positions in the situation. The speaker is the speaker to the end and the addressee too.

### **5.2.3.3. 'In what relations?'**

This question very much attached with the activity types as it boldly represents the power in between and social distance and relations, all about subject position; the position of the subject in that social circumstance (nature of relationship) enacted in the situation (as Fairclough asserted).In our case, a government appointee (expected to head the executive organ) is the speech maker (speaking position), so the relationship type is power (political) relationship (leader of the country). On the other hand, the addressee both the people and members of the parliament do have a listening position (positions associated with the activity type).In this level, it is expected of the researcher to clearly put sets of identities ascribed to participants by institutions. Back to our case, we have two sets: those of broadcasting - media personality, journalist, audience, and those of politics - political leader, journalist, and members of 'the public'. This, in fact, has a direct relationship with the institutional status the participant gained from the situation. In here, it is also important to analyze carefully other relevant aspects of participants.

In our case, after prolonged public grievances, Abiy (from the larger ethnic group Oromo) was appointed as the party chair man of EPRDF. A young and reformer ,who had been in hidden struggle to find solutions within the party, speaking to the parliament, this can be taken as relevant aspect, as speaking to the parliament being democratically elected is for Meles.

Again it is also important to consider that the two leaders, as a one who is before both in the parliament and the public through media, bound as politician to see broadcasting as a vehicle for politics, to see themselves as primarily a political leader. Therefore, the two leaders are likely to be strategic in passing messages to make politically favorable impact on the members of 'the public' in the audience and the members of the parliament. Therefore, considering the impact that would be created in effect, they might tend not to be themselves, but what the audience assumes them to be specially, for Dr. Abiy, which Fairclough calls strategic purpose.

#### **5.2.3.4. Mismatches between elements of this analysis, resources, and attempt to resolve problems**

When we look at the mismatches between elements of this analysis, and the two prime minister's resources, and how they appear to attempt to resolve them, the recipe of Meles's political leadership is 'dealing with them and keep your authority'. In his speech we hear him saying, 'if they operate cooperatively with the government...' this asserts preconditions are always in the table. The pronoun 'them' signifies his tendency to focus on groups than individuals. On the other hand Abiy's leadership is more of 'welcoming all and entertaining the best while keeping authority'.

The mismatches of strategic purpose of Meles arise from his authoritarian relationship he experienced in the time of rebelling and his analysis of participant relations. Whereas, Abiy's appears smoother as his preferable riot allows welcoming all and entertaining the best.

Fairclough pointed out that different politicians have produced various versions of the sort of strategy of problem resolution. Abiy successfully adopts combining relational elements of conversational discourse which express solidarity, which is 'you'. But here, the question is "Is it possible to sustain authority while claiming solidarity?" That is what Fairclough call *problematic mix to achieve*.

At last, the subject position for those members of 'the public', specifically for Meles (unlike Abiy), is linked with the discourse of more traditional forms of authoritative about 'the public', who make up the audience. However, what has been projected was some populism on the basis of the subject position of 'the people' who appreciate leaders articulating their desires, hopes, continue with goods deconstructing the bad ones.

### **5.3 Sociocultural Practice**

Following Fairclough's (1995) tridimensional model of CDA, this section is devoted to the analysis of socio-cultural practice that shows the link between language, power and ideology within the context of socio-culture.

Reproduction, for participants a generally unintended and unconscious side-effect of production and interpretation, reproduction connects the stages of interpretation and explanation. Whereas interpretation is concerned with how MR are drawn upon in processing discourse, the explanation is concerned with the social constitution and change of MR, including of course their reproduction in discourse practice (Fairclough,2015;162).

As mentioned earlier this section of the research deals with the socio-cultural practice. After the close look at to the text and the discursive strategies, we draw the power relations resembled in the two speeches.

For this purpose, the two inaugural speeches, of Meles Zenawi and Abiy Ahmed (Phd.), corresponding two levels of power relations are drawn: social institution, and society. In this section the research tries to reveal the institutional process that the discourse belongs to and how the discourse is ideologically determined.

#### **5.3.1-Institutional Process**

Fairclough (1995) put forward that the institutional matrix of this discourse is actually rather complex, because 'politics' actually cuts across a number of institutions: political parties, political institutions (e.g. Parliament), governmental institutions (e.g. state bureaucracies), and of course the media. The path followed to move through by the two Prime Ministers across institutional boundaries is interestingly the issue here. The immediate institutional matrix for the two prime ministers is the parliament itself. And of course, the struggle for political support and political power (governmental), and struggle political parties in some way are the institutional processes that the two discourses belong to. In particular, keeping authority and starting with a new mobilization of the people (government power) with a new plan is for Meles where as struggling to build a hybrid model of inclusive system acknowledging and acting on the bad deeds of the past government and building of a new political consensus is for Abiy.

All the struggles had the capacity to affect power relations and the outcome of struggles, through shaping and determining effect on ideologies. In this regard, the discourse in both speeches articulates authority in some way and solidarity and oneness in the other. Therefore the two leader's, Meles Zenawi and Abiy Ahmed, discourse is found to be potentially ideologically determinative with respect to social relationships.

Fairclough (1995) remarks that versions of the solidarity/authority mix are now conventional for political leaders. However, their effects in terms especially of solidarity upon the actual social relationship between politicians and the rest of the population cannot be taken for granted. They always call for solidarity and it receives unexpected even worse end, as Fairclough says the solidarity of the politicians is with constructed and fictional 'publics', tend to be populist.

Abiy Ahmed (Phd) has brought to the institutions of politics a new sort of leader who combines qualities of the past and hybrid properties where as Meles tend to mix the authoritativeness tough and aggressive style. Especially, Abiy has established a new way of hybrid style with strong position of Liberal politics in Ethiopia.

### **5.3.2-Societal processes**

The societal process is marked by the struggle between Unitary totalitarian government and Ethnic based federal system (for Meles), and the struggle between Ethnic nationalism and Democratic Nationalism (for Abiy). In general, we a struggle of the system of government and its constituents, it is neither class nor gender. Our close look at the social relationship between the struggling sections let us understand the discourse. Where there was an authoritative and totalitarian communist system, the need of what Meles called “the peoples” identity is undermined through assimilation. When their culture was near to blur, along with questions of politics and economic advantage, peoples organize themselves based on their ethnic background. After 27 years of federal rule based on ethnicity, needs arose to endorse democratic nationalism as a citizen which Abiy centered his discourse on. Therefore, the relation of power holders in public life to the mass of the population is authoritative and segregating. In any ways the aspiring political power political parties are expected to magnify the interest of their ethnic group or undermine the ethnic based coexistence and promote nationalism. The authority element in political leadership is determined by Ethnic relations. As Fairclough underlines the 'solidarity' of

political leaders with 'the public' is particularly closely related to a more general phenomenon of the mass media and other social domains - synthetic personalization (Fairclough, 2015:194).

The general socio-cultural context dictated the inaugural speech of the two Prime ministers, Meles Zenawi and Abiy Ahmed, makes its foundation on the immediate political transitions they came across. After years of struggle with the Derg regime, the coalition EPRDF was supposed to bring a newer discourse along with put on political views and ideologies. The ideologies of Derg, leaning communist, were malfunctioning and supposedly against to the all-round problem and stronger wish of Ethiopia, as to EPRDF. Starvation, drought, famine and instability, especially in the northern part of the country, marked the time of Derg that led some other Marxist groups to struggle with warfare. The struggle had the face of ethnicity and freedom fighting dominantly. Immediately after the EPRDF came to power and pass through the transitional period, it changed its ideologies from Marxist view to the 'newer' model of economy that is 'developmental state and revolutionary democracy' in an attempt to build the 'newer' Ethiopia assumably a country that is made up with the will of the 'peoples' forgetting what they encountered because of 'unitary administration' and hegemony of some, and having the same fate.

On the other hand, it was after years of protests and public pressure on EPRDF that Abiy came to power with his and 'team Lema's' commitment and determination seeking change within the party. In the time, the 27 years inconsistencies and incompatibilities of EPRDF to the widened needs and wishes of Ethiopia and Ethiopians, was subject to either reformed or reviewed by the new administrators who had a side interest of their own linked to the ethnic group they came from. Political interests, need for hegemonic power domination, struggle for power, and emergence of newer discourse pronounced in the speeches they delivered after sworn in. In general, both cases needed the systematic and strategic approach of the speakers to get to their political end when creation or an emergence of a new political narrative or discourse was likely to be communicated. In one hand, Meles had to craft meaningful political discourse in an answer to the question of the 'peoples' (seen as group than individual) taken from his party's political orientation, and Abiy had to bring a discourse of new kind that can possible lineup with the same umbrella there by achieving oneness through appreciation and recognition of the past good deeds, on the other hand. Indeed, those needs were tried to be achieved that their speeches witnessed.

One indication that is consistent with the view that realizes the existence of differing political discourse is the issues raised about EPRDF, the coalition. As seen in textual analysis Meles had positive representation than Abiy who in other way underestimated its performances even (irrespective of the systematic gloss overs and praises about). As Meles was keen to deconstruct the narrative of The Derg and replacing it with the new one, Abiy attempted, too, that can be seen in his language usage throughout his speech. The demand to craft newer discourse has been uncovered from the propositions imparted in their speeches. Representation of Ethiopia in their speech has also signified the ideologies prescribed that the ‘**Newly born Ethiopia**’ of Meles and the ‘**greater Ethiopia**’ of Abiy. It was because Abiy wanted to deconstruct the narrative of the 27 years of Ethiopia, especially of the most hatred manifestation of Ethiopianism with ethnicity. At the same time, Abiy’s compromise on ethnic issues makes us understand the discourse has still bases on such issues as the party, the former OPDO (Oromo People Democratic Organization), is established to struggle to the Oromo people.

On the other hand, Meles was also quite importantly active to deactivate the unitary system and its effects hard. ‘People’ of Meles and Abiy have been given different attributes for they can set the ideological framing of the two Prime Ministers in the speech the delivered to. The treatment they spend to was the result of the view they wanted to it be flourished and be known for. Abiy has in his ideology implicitly bestow , he tried to bring all the ideological edges and fundamentalist views to centered in different strategies that is Ethiopianism while Meles’s purely endorse ethnic nationalism on which the warfare struggle had centered. Ethnic identity questions of the time of Meles and the stronger need of the people need to see newest ways to handle problems had been tried to be given an answer in the two speeches. Meles’s view of the political parties and their activities and Abiy’s view differently characterize how they will manage problems related to.

‘Opposing and Competitors’ are the two opposite remarks made by the two speakers, Ethiopian Prime Ministers. Contextually, Meles’s view tends to label the political parties so that ‘unneeded’ way be blocked. On the other hand, Abiy’s seem to give a credit so they can contribute and make them join the nation building ,or in other way , can be considered as twist. The section of the people that are priorities in the speech of the two Prime Ministers had an important and significant relationship with the immediate socio-political context of the time.

‘Nations and nationalities’ of Meles and ‘youths’ of Abiy equivalently contributed to their power gain that they made the heart of their speech and political handle. ‘God’ was presented as a way to get closer to the feeling of the people who are supposed to have stronger faith than any other people living in the so called ‘Holy’ land, which Meles completely avoided. In the same way, ‘mother’ was a resemblance of Ethiopia that Abiy had made mention of. In doing so, the word had some strategic importance to channel oneness under the umbrella of Ethiopianism. On the other hand, the two Prime Ministers position on foreign affairs.

Closed but continued relationship based on national interest was prior in Meles’s position, while Abiy’s is more open as long as regional integration is endorsed. This, in fact, entails that the more liberal and integrated economy informed the discourse of Abiy and signed the exact and real change as we seen in the case of Eritrea. Again the plan the revealed in their speeches meant Meles introduced the ‘developmental state’ model while Abiy had shown the sign of his partly cancellation there by looking forward to the liberal economic system. The difference in ideology has been entertained differently that bears witness the power they exercised which was again pronounced by their use of pronouns. All the passivized sentences of Meles proved Meles’s demand to hide the agent for the purpose of hiding oneself behind every action. Therefore, it was noticed that social political tendencies of the ‘mass’ and peoples’ excessive but explicit need , social realities in general , had been manipulated and functioned as a base for the two Politian’s ideological endorsement.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND DIRECTION FOR FURTHER STUDY

#### 6.1 SUMMARY

The main purpose of this research was to undertake an analysis (CDA) in the two Prime Ministers' inaugural speech, Meles Zenawi (on 9<sup>th</sup> May of 1995) and Abiy Ahmed (2<sup>nd</sup> April of 2018). To analyze the two speeches the researcher has used only Norman Fairclough's three dimensional model that consists of the three level of analysis; description, interpretation and explanation. This study was limited to critically analyzing only the inaugural speeches they made when they are sworn and closely examined the linguistic features potentially linked to power relations. The study's key findings are the following;

- ❖ the lexical choices made by Abiy and Meles clearly signified their ideological struggle to come up with their own discourse
- ❖ the linguistic features identified and used in the two speeches include , use pronoun euphemistic expressions, presupposition, use of rethoric devices ,such as metaphor, paradox, metonymy, and transitivity, that they impart their ideologies with.
- ❖ Sensationalization and intertextuality drawn up on the underlying discursive characteristics investigated in the speeches strategically
- ❖ the relationship between discursive practice, texts and events, wider social and cultural structures, relations and process explored are drawn with some discursive strategies like sensationalization, and intertextuality
- ❖ In the entire speech through the use of language, it was understood that the dominant forces ('change seekers' and 'freedom fighters') in the society construct versions of reality that favors their interests even influencing the leaders, too.
- ❖ Power (Political) has been realized in the two prime ministers speech that their language resembles their ideological struggle.
- ❖ As persuasion was the center of the two speeches, Meles had an authoritative way to handle while Abiy tries to reach to the hearts and minds of the listeners getting the softer side.

## 6.2 Conclusion

After the close examination the speech of the two Prime Ministers, one can reach to the conclusion that language and power have stronger link than any other. The hegemonic power is gained through language, which carries the ideologies of politicians and their followers. What has been notice from the two speeches is not different from this. Each and every textual features examined closely directly imply that ideologies are in them through which they are linked by the discursive strategies employed by the speaker.

The research has found out that Meles's utilization of language to impose the political ideology considered 'developmental state, in one or the other way suppresses freedom of press and individual liberty. Passivised sentences and the use of pronoun 'I' with authoritative tone had demonstrated the case clearly. On the other hand, group rights appeared to have been neglected in the speech of Abiy at the cost of populist strategies employed. In both cases, dominating social ideological tendencies and explicit need of the people have been manipulated by the two politicians that they utilized it to impose their own. Individuals or groups question the identity of 'Ethiopianism' (widely endorsed in the speech of Abiy) weren't considered while the speeches looked excessively inclusive. On the other way, Meles's presentation of political thoughts from 'group' perspective excluded 'citizens and their innate rights'. All these were maintained through the use of language (based on the social realities manipulated) with which the politicians struggle for power.

Therefore, the research found out that Meles's 'development state' political ideology and Abiy's leaning liberal view has been interacted in the language the used that also served to domination of power and power struggle.

Again, the study has demonstrated that through the use of British sociolinguist Norman Fairclough's three dimensional model it was possible to locate exactly or pinpoint linguistic features having the influence in determining power struggle and power relations. The two inaugural speeches of the two prime ministers had even more specific features that can help to reach a conclusion of any kind while looking closely to discourse type.

### **6.3 Direction for Further study**

i) This study has analyzed critically the inaugural speeches of the two Prime Ministers with some comparisons. However due to its scope, the analysis was only limited to some lexical and grammatical feature in terms of power relations and struggle and little focus was given for some features of a connective value.

ii) Similar study can be undertaken on the inaugural speeches of the two Prime ministers for any other scholastic comparison purpose, specific to the features which this study hasn't reach

iii) Thirdly, since discourse analysis is a wide ranged stream of study, one can closely look into the two speeches in terms of populism, a global trend of this time.

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ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ በመንግስት አስተዳደር ስርዓቷ ሰላማዊ የስልጣን ሽግግር በምታከናውንበት በዚህ ታሪካዊ ቀን በተከበረው ምክር ቤት ፊት ቀርቤ ይህንን ንግግር ለማድረግ ስለበቃሁ የተሰማኝን ልዩ ክብር ለመግለጽ እውዳለሁ።@

ከሁሉ አስቀድሜ፣ ከቅርብ አመታት ወዲህ በአገራችን ለተከሰተው ፖለቲካዊ አለመረጋጋት የመፍትሄ አካል ለመሆን፣ የሀገር ክብርና ብሔራዊ ጥቅም በተሻለ ሁኔታ በአዲስ አመራር ሊጠበቅ ይችላል ብለው በማሰብ፣ ለአህጉራችን ምሳሌ በሆነ መልኩ ሥልጣናቸውን በፈቃዳቸው ላሽጋገሩት ለክቡር አቶ ሀይለማርያም ደሳለኝ ከፍተኛ ደስታ አክብሮቱን እገልጻለሁ። በተመሳሳይ የመንግስታዊ ስልጣን ሽግግር ያለ እንከን እንዲከናወን ልዩ ሚና ሲጫወቱ ለቆዩት ሁሉ በመላው ህዝባችን ስም ከልብ አመሰግናለሁ።@

ዕለቱ ለሀገራችን ታሪካዊ ቀን ነው፤ በታሪካችን በተለያዩ አጋጣሚዎች አዲስ የፖለቲካ ምዕራፍ የመጀመር እድሎችን አግኝተን ብዙዎቹን በወጉ ሳንጠቀምባቸው አምልጠውናል። አሁንም፣ ይህ የስልጣን ሽግግር አዲስ ምዕራፍ የምንጀምርበት ሌላ ታሪካዊ እድል ነው፤ በመሆኑም በከፍተኛ የኃላፊነት ስሜት ልንጠቀምበት ይገባል።

ኢትዮጵያ ማህጸን ለምለም ናት። ከፍተኛ የአገር ፍቅር መንፈስ ስርክ የሚተጉ ልጆቻን አፍርታለች። ልጆቿም ወደቀድሞ ክብሯ እንድትመለስ፣ የሕዝቧ ሰላምና ፍትህ እንዲጠበቅ፣ ብልጽግና ያለ እድል ለመላው ዜጎች ይደረስ ዘንድ አጥብቀው ይመኛሉ... ይደክማሉ። በሀገር ውስጥና በውጪ ሆነው ስለ ሀገር አድነትና ሰላም... ስለፍትህና እኩልነት... እንዲሁም ስለብልጽግና ይጮሃሉ... ይሞግታሉ... ይሟገታሉ።

ይህ የሥልጣን ሽግግር ሁለት አበይት እውነታዎችን የሚመለከት ነው። ክስተቱ፣ በአንድ በኩል በሀገራችን ዘላቂ፣ የተረጋጋና ሁሉን አቀፍ የህገ-መንግሥት ተቋማት ስርዓት መሰረት ስለመጣላችን ማሳያ ሲሆን፣ በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ ከጊዜው የፖለቲካ፣ የኢኮኖሚ እና የማህበራዊ ሁኔታዎች ጋር እኩል የሚጓዝና በህዝብ ፍላጎት፣ ህዝብን አለቃው አድርጎ የሚያገለግል ሥርዓት እየገነባን መሆኑን ያመለክታል።

**ወቅቱ ከስህተታችን ተምረን አገራችንን የምንክስበት ወቅት ነው!**

መሪ ድርጅታችን ኢህአዴግ ልማታዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መስመሩን አጥብቆ በመያዝ ሀገራችንን ከሁለት አስርተ አመታት በላይ ባስተዳደረበት ወቅት በሁሉም መስክ መሰረታዊ ለውጥ ያመጣ ህገ-መንግሥታዊና ፌዴራላዊ ሥርዓት ገንብቷል። ዓለም በአንድ በኩል በጥምና፣ በአግራሞትና በጉጉት በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ በስጋት እየተመለከተው ያለ ሀገራዊ ለውጥ ላይ እንገኛለን። ያላካናቸው በርካታ ድሎች እንዳሉ ሁሉ በፍጥነት መቀረፍ የሚገባቸው በርካታ ጉድለቶች እንዳሉም እናምናለን። ከስህተቶቻችን ተምረን ወደ ደፊት በመራመድ ማተኮር ያለብን ጉዳይ የተሻለች ሀገር ለሁላችንም በመገንባቱ ላይ ነው። ዋናው ቁም ነገር፣ አገራችንን ከፍተኛ ወዳለ ምዕራፍ ማሸጋገሩ እና አንድነቷን ጠብቃ የምትቆይበትን ሁኔታ በቀጣይነት እያረጋገጡ መሄዱ ነው።#

ኢትዮጵያዊነት ያስተማረን እውነታ በጊዜያዊ ችግሮች ተሸንፎ መውደቅን ሳይሆን ፈተናዎችን ወደ ዕድልና መልካም አጋጣሚ ቀይሮ ድል መቀዳጀትን ነው። ትላንት፣ አባቶቻችን በመተማ፣ በማይጨውና በካራ ማራ አጥንታቸውን ከስክሰው የከበረ ደማቸውን አፍስሰው በክብርና በአንድነት ያቆይዋት አገር አለችን። እኛ እድለኞች ነን። ውብ አገር አኩሪ ታሪክ አለን። እኛ መካኝችን እናውቃለን። በርካታ ዘመናትን የሚሻገር ታሪክ ያለው ታላቅ ህዝብ ነን። ህብረታችን ለዓለም ምሳሌ መሆን ይችላል። ጠላቶቻችንን አንበርክኳል። ሉዓላዊነታችንን ጠብቆ ዛሬ

ላይ ከማድረሱም በላይ ለሌሎች ህዝቦችም የነጻነት ትግል አርአያ ሆኗል። ማንነታችንን እንዳይለያይ ሆኖ የተሰናሰለ፣ እንዳትነጣጠል ሆኖ የተገመደ፣ የተዋደደ እና የተዋሀደ ነው!

አማራው በካራማራ ለሀገሩ ሉዓላዊነት ተሰውቶ የካራማራ አፈር ሆኖ ቀርቷል። ትግራዊ በመተማ ከሀገራ በፊት አንገቱን ውሰዱ ብሎ የመተማ አፈር ሆኗል። ኦሮሞው በአድዋ ተራሮች ላይ ስለሀገሩ ደረቱን ሰጥቶ የሀገሩን ሉዓላዊነት ለማስጠበቅ ከአድዋ አፈር ተቀላቅሏል። ሱማሌው፣ ሲዳሞው፣ ቤንሻንጉል፣ ወላይታ፣ ጋምቤላው፣ ጉራጌው፣ አፋሩ፣ ስልጤው፣ ከምባታው፣ ሀዲያው እና ሌሎቹም የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች ሁሉ በባድመ ከሀገራ በፊት እኔን ብለው እንደወደቁ ከባድመ አፈር ጋር ተዋህደዋል።

አንድ ኢትዮጵያዊ አባት እንዳሉት እኛ ስንኖር ሰዎች፣ ስናልፍ አፈር፣ ስናልፍ ሀገር እንሆናለን። የየትኛውንም ኢትዮጵያዊ ክቡር ስጋና ደም በየትኛውም የኢትዮጵያ ክፍል ውስጥ አፈር ሆኖ ታገኙታላችሁ። ኢትዮጵያውያን ስንኖር ኢትዮጵያ ስንሞት ደግሞ ኢትዮጵያ እንሆናለን።##

**ኢትዮጵያ የሁላችን ሀገር፤ የሁላችን ቤት ናት!**

በአንድ ሀገር ውስጥ የሀሳብ ልዩነቶች ይኖራሉ። የሀሳብ ልዩነት እርግጥን አይደለም። ልዩነቱ እንዳለ ሆኖ መደማመጥና በመርህ ላይ ተመስርተን መግባባት ስንችል የሀሳብ ልዩነት በረከት ይዘልን ይመጣል። በሀሳብ ፍጭት ውስጥ መፍትሄ ይገኛል። በመተባበር ውስጥ ኃይል አለ። ስንደመር እንጠነክራለን። አንድነት የማይፈታው ችግር አይኖርም... አገር ይገነባል። የኔ ሀሳብ ካላሸነፈ ሞቼ እገኛለሁ ማለት ግን እንኳ አገርን ሊያቆም ቤተሰብን ያፈርሳል። ያለችን ኢትዮጵያ ነች ከየትኛውም የፖለቲካ አመለካከት በላይ ሀገራዊ አንድነት ይበልጣል። አንድነት ማለት ግን አንድ ዓይነትነት ማለት እንዳልሆነ ሊሰመርበት ይገባል። አንድነታችን ልዩነቶቻችንን ያቀፈ ብዝሃነታችንን በህብረ-ብሔራዊነት ያደመደቀ መሆን አለበት።

**እኛ ኢትዮጵያውያን ዲሞክራሲና ነጻነት ያስፈልገናል፤ ይገባናልም #**

ዲሞክራሲ ለኛ ባዕድ ሃሳብ አይደለም። በዓለም ውስጥ በብዙ ማህበረሰቦችና ሀገራት ዲሞክራሲ በማይታወቅበት ዘመን በገዳ ሥርዓታችን ተዳድረን ለዓለም ተምሳሌት ሆነን፤ ኖረናል። አሁንም ዲሞክራሲን ማስፈን ከየትኛውም ሀገር በላይ ለኛ የሕልውና ጉዳይ እንደሆነ እናምናለን። ዲሞክራሲ ያለነጻነት አይታሰብም። ነጻነት ከመንግስት ለሕዝብ የሚበረከት ስጦታ አይደለም። ከሰብዓዊ ክብር የሚመነጭ የእያንዳንዱ ሰው የተፈጥሮ ጸጋ እንጂ። ነጻነትን በዚህ መልኩ ተረድቶ እውቅና የሰጠውን ህገ-መንግሥታችንን በአግባቡ መተግበር፣ የሰባዓዊ እና ዲሞክራራዊ መብቶች በተለይም ሃሳብን የመግለጽ፣ የመሰባሰብና የመደራጀት መብቶች በሕገ-መንግሥታችን መሰረት ሊከበር ይገባል። የዜጎች በሀገራቸው የአስተዳደር መዋቅር በዲሞክራሲያዊ አግባብ በየደረጃው የመሳተፍ መብትም ሙሉ በሙሉ እውን መሆን አለበት። ሁላችንም መገንዘብ ያለብን የዲሞክራሲ ስርዓት ግንባታ መደማመጥን ይጠይቃል። ሕዝብ አገልጋዩን የመተቸት፣ የመምረጥ፣ የመጠየቅ ሙሉ መብት አለው።##

መንግሥት የሕዝብ አገልጋይ ነው። ምክንያቱም ገዢ መርሃችን የህዝብ ሉዓላዊነት ነውና። በዲሞክራሲያዊ አስተዳደር ውስጥ፣ የመጀመሪያው የመጨረሻውም መርህ፣ በመደማመጥ የሃሳብ ልዩነትን ማስተናገድ መሆን አለበት። ኢትዮጵያ የጋራችን፣ የኛ የሁላችን መሆኗን ተገንዝበን የሁሉም ድምጽ የሚሰማበት፣ ሁላችንንም የሚያሳትፍ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት የመገንባቱን ትግል አጠናክረን እንቀጥላለን።##

ዲሞክራሲ ሲገነባ መንግሥት የዜጎችን ሃሳብን በነጻነት የመግለጽ መብት ማክበር አለበት። ዲሞክራሲን ከዜጎች ሰላማዊ እንቅስቃሴና ከመንግስት መሪነት፣ ደጋፊነትና ሆደ ሰፊነት ውጭ ማዳበር አይቻልም። በመሆኑም መንግሥት የዜጎች ሰላማዊ እንቅስቃሴ እንዳይስተጓጎል በጽናት ይሰራል።

በተመሳሳይ ዜጎች ሀሳባቸውን ሲገልጹ ሰላማዊ በሆነ መንገድ መሆን ይገባዋል። የራስን ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብት እየጠየቁ የሌለውን መብት መጋፋት እርስ በእርሱ ይጣረሳል፤ ዲሞክራሲያንም ያቀጭጫል። መንግስት ህግን ማክበር አለበት፤ ማስከበርም ግዴታ ነው፤ ታጋሽነትም ኃላፊነቱ ነው። የመንግስት ታጋሽነት ሲጓደልም ዲሞክራሲ ይጎዳል። በሁለቱም አካሄድ የምንናፍቀው ዲሞክራሲ ሊመጣ አይችልም።

በዲሞክራሲያዊ አስተዳደር ውስጥ የህግ የበላይነት መስፈን ይገባዋል። የህግ የበላይነትን ለማስፈን በምናደርገው ደትግል መርሳት የሌለብን ቁም ነገር ሕዝባችን የሚፈልገው የሕግ መኖርን ብቻ ሳይሆን የፍትህ መረጋገጥንም ጭምር ነው።

የሕዝብ ፍላጎት ክፍትህ የተፋታ ደረቅ ሕግ ሳይሆን፤ በፍትህ የተቃኘ፤ ለፈትህ የቆመ የሕግ ስርዓትን ነው። የሕዝብ ፍላጎት የሕግ አስከባሪ ተቃማት ገለልተኛና ለፍትህ ታማኝ፤ ለዜጎች መብት ቀናኢ እንዲሆኑ ነው። ሕግ ሁላችንንም እኩል የሚዳኝ መሆን አለበት። እንዲህ ሲሆን ሕግ በተፈሮ ያለንን ሰብዓዊ ክብራችንን ያስጠብቅልናል። ይህን እውነታ በመረዳት በሀገራችን ዲሞክራሲ እንዲያብብ፤ ነጻነትና ፍትህ እንዲሰፍን፤ የሕግ የበላይነት እውን እንዲሆን አስፈላጊውን ማሻሻያ በማድረግ በዘርፉ ያለውን ክፍተት እንሞላለን። ለሰላም መሰረቱ ፍትህ ነው። ሰላም የግጭት አለመኖር ብቻ አይደለም። ሰላም በመግባባት ላይ የተመሰረተ ጽኑ አንድነታችን ነው። ሰላም- መተማመናችን ነው። ሰላም-በሁላችንም ፈቃድ ዛሬም የቀጠለ የአብሮነት ጉዞችን ነው። ሰላም አለመግባባትና ተቀርኖዎችን በሰለጠነ መንገድ መፍታት የሚያስችል መንገድና ግባችን ነው።

የተከበሩ አፈ-ጉባዔ ክቡራትና ክቡራን

ያለንበት ጊዜ የአፍሪካ ቀንድ በቀውስ ውስጥ ያለበት፤ ብዙ የየራሳቸው ፍላጎትና ዓላማ ያላቸው ኃይሎች የሚራኩቱበት፤ ውስብስብ መጠላለፍ በቀጠናው ያለበት ወቅት ነው። በዚያው ልክ ደግሞ በደም፤ በባህል፤ በቋንቋ እና በረጅም ጊዜ የጋራ ታሪክ የተሰጠን ሕዝቦች ያለንበት አካባቢ ነው የውጭ ግንኙነታችንን በተመለከተ ሀገራችን የፓን አፍሪካዊም መሰረት፤ የአፍሪካ ህብረት መስራችና መቀመጫ፤ የቀድሞት ዓለምአቀፍ ተቋማት መስራችና በአለም አቀፍ፤ በአህጉር አቀፍ እንዲሁም ቀጠናዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ጉልህና ገንቢ ሚና የምትጫወት ሀገር ናት። ይህንኑ በጋራ ተጠቃሚነትና እኩልነት ላይ የተመሰረተውን ፖሊሲያችንን አጠናክረን እንቀጥላለን።#

ከአፍሪካዊያን ወንድሞቻችን ወንድሞቻችን ጋር በአጠቃላይ፤ እና ከጎረቤቶቻችን ጋር በተለይ በችግርም በተደላም አብረን እንቆማለን። ከኤርትራ መንግሥት ጋር ለአመታት ሰፍኖ የቆየው አለመግባባት እንዲያበቃም ከልብ እንፈልጋለን። የበኩላችንንም እንወጣለን። በጥቅም ብቻ ሳይሆን በደም ለተሰጠሩት የሁለት ሀገር ሕዝቦች የጋራ ጥቅም ሲባል ልዩነቶቻችንን በውይይት ለመፍታት ያለንን ዝግጁነት እየገለለጽኩ የኤርትራ መንግሥትም ተመሳሳይ አቋም እንዲወስዱ በዚህ አጋጣሚ ጥሪዬን አቀርባለሁ።@

የተከበሩ አፈ-ጉባዔ የተከበራችሁ የም/ቤት አባላት ክቡራትና ክቡራን

ከቅርብ ጊዜ ወዲህ የሕዝባችንን ብሶት ካጋጋሉ ዋና ዋና ምክንያቶች ውስጥ ሙስና አንዱ ነው። ሙስናን ጸረ-ሙስና ተቋም በመመስረት ብቻ መከላከል እንደማይቻል ተረድተን፤ ሁላችንም፤ ኢትዮጵያችን፤ አንዱ ስርቶ ሌላው ቀምቶ የሚኖርባት አገር እንዳትሆን ለመጠበቅ የምንችለውን ሁሉ እንድናደርግ በትህትና እጠይቃችኋለሁ።@

ትናንት የተፈጠረን ሃብት ከሌላው በመቀማት ሂሳብ ለማወራረድ የሚተጋ አገርና ሕዝብ ወደፊት ለመራመድ አይችልም። ገበታው ሰፊ በሆነበት፤ ሁሉም ስርቶ መበልጸግ በሚችልበት ኢትዮጵያችን አንዱ የሌላውን ለመንጠቅ የሚያስገድድ ይቅቅርና የሚያሳስብ ምንም ምክንያት የለም። ይልቁንም ወቅቱ የፈጠረልንን ልዩ አጋጣሚና ሀገራዊ አቅማችንን አቀናጅተን የአጥረትና እጦት አስተሳሰብን በማስቀረት ለጋራ ብልጽግና እንትጋ። ታዋቂው የህንድ የነጻነት ንቅናቄ መሪ ማህተመ ጋንዲ በአንድ ወቅት እንደተነገረው፤ አገር ለሁሉም የሚሆን በቂ ሀብት አላት፤ ሁሉም እንደልቡ የሚዘርፈው ሀብት ግን ሊኖራት አይችልም። አሁን በጀመርነው አዲስ ምዕራፍ፤ ዘረፋን፤ የሀብት ብክነትን እና የተደራጀ ሙስናን፤ መላው ሀዝባችንን በሚያሳትፍ እርምጃ ለመመከት ሌት ተቀን እንተጋለን።#

ክቡራትን ክቡራን

ሀገራችን ባለፉት ዓመታት ባስመዘገባችው ፈጣን እድገት የተነሳ በድህነት ቅነሳ፤ በመሰረተ-ልማት ግንባታ፤ በሰው ሀይል ልማት እና በመሳሰሉት ያገኘናቸው ስኬቶች ለሁሉም የሚሰታዩ ናቸው።

ከዚህ አኳያ መንግሥት የዋጋ ንረት እና የውጪ ምንዛሬ ዋጋን ለማረጋጋት፤ የፋይናንስ ዘርፉን ጤናማነት ለመጠበቅ፤ ለኢኮኖሚ የሚቀርበውን የፋይናንስ አገልግሎት ተደራሽነት እና አካታችነትን ለማስፋት፤ የውጪ ምንዛሬ ግኝትን እንዲሁም ቁጠባን እና ኢንቨስትመንት ለማበረታታት፤ የሥራ እድል ለመፍጠር፤ የሕዝቡን የነፍስ

ወከፍ ገቢ ለማሳደግ እንዲሁም አስከፊ ድህነትን ለመቀነስ የሚያስችሉ የፖሊሲ እና የትግበራ አርምጃዎችን ወስዷል።

በአንጻር፣ ባለፉት ዓመታት በተለያዩ ጊዜያት የኢኮኖሚ እድገቱን እና የማክሮ ኢኮኖሚ መረጋጋቱን የሚፈታተኑ ተግዳሮቶች ተከስተዋል። ከእነዚህም ችግሮች መካከል ዋና ዋናዎቹ የውጪ ንግድ በምንፈልገው መጠን አለማደግ፣ ይህን ተከትሎ የውጪ ምንጫ አቅርቦት እና ፍላጎት አለመመጣጠን፣ የዋጋ ንፈትና የኑሮ ውድነት፣ የውጪ እዳ ጫና እና የሀገር ውስጥ ቁጠባና ኢንቨስትመንት መካከል ያለው ልዩነት እየሰፋ መምጣቱ ናቸው።

በግብርናው ዘርፍ እየተሰሩ ያሉ ሥራዎች አበረዳታች ቢሆኑም ዘርፉን በተገቢው ሁኔታ በቴክኖሎጂ መደገፍ ባለመቻሉ እንደ ሀገር ማግኘት የሚገባንን የኢኮኖሚ ትሩፋት ሳናገኝ ቆይተናል።

እንደ ትልቅ ሀገር እና ሕዝብ ከምናስበው የስኬት ጫፍ ላይ መድረስ የምንችለውና ችግሮቻችንን የምንፈታበትን ዋና ቁልፍ የምናገኘው በትምህርት እና በትምህርት ብቻ እንደሆነ በማመን መንግሥት ለትምህርት ዘርፉ ትኩረት ሰጥቶ እየሰራ ቢሆንም በተለይ የትምህርትን ጥራት ከማስጠበቅ አንጻር እጅግ ብዙ የቤት ሥራዎች ከፊታችን እንዳሉ በውል በመገንዘብ በርካታ ስራዎች ይሰራሉ።

የትምህርት መስፋፋት ይበል የሚያስኝ የመንግስታችን ስኬት ቢሆንም ይህ የትምህርት ሽፋን እድገት በጥራት አስከፊተደገፈ ድረስ ልፋት ጥረታችን ሁሉ የምንተጋለትን ውጤት ሊያመጣልን አይችልም። በመሆኑም ከመጀመርያ ደረጃ እስከ ከፍተኛ ትምህርት ተቋማት ያሉትን የአውደደቀት አለምቻችንን በጥራት ላይ አትኩረው እንዲሰሩ መንግሥት በፍጹም ቁርጠኝነት ይረባረባል። በተለይም ከከፍተኛ ትምህርት ተቋማቸውን እና ከቴክኒክ እና ሙያ ኮሌጆች የሚያወጡት ተማሪዎቻችን ከሚገበዩት እውቀት የሚነጻጸር ከሁሉም እንዲኖራቸው ከፍተኛ ጥራት ይደረጋል።

እነዚህንና ሌሎቹንም ችግሮቻችንን ለመቅረፍ የሁለሰደተኛውን የእድገት እና ትራንስፎርሜሽን እቅዱን የሁሉን ዓመት ተኩል አፈጻጸም በመገምገም አስፈላጊ የሆኑ የፖሊሲ እርምጃዎችን በመውሰድ፣ ፈጣን የኢኮኖሚ እድገትን ለማስቀጠል እንታገለን።#

**ውድ የሀገራችን ወጣቶች**

ኢትዮጵያ የናንተ ነች፣ መጭውም ዘመን ከሁሉ በላይ የእናንተ ነው አሁንም አገሪቷን በመገንባት ግንባር ቀደም ሆናችሁ መሳተፍ ይኖርባችሁል። የወጣቱ ጥያቄ የኢኮኖሚ የእኩል ተጠቃሚነት ብቻ ሳይሆን የዲሞክራሲና የፈትህ ነው ብለን እናምናለን። የሁሉም ዜጎችን ኢኮኖሚያዊ ተጠቃሚነት፣ ማህበራዊ ፍትህ እና ፖሊቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ከማሳደግ አጻር ክፍተቶች ነበሩ።#

አገራችን፣ ጥሩ የሚባል ኢኮኖሚያዊ እድገትን እያስመዘገበች እንደሆነ ቢታወቅም እድገቱ በቅርፅና በይዘት ተለዋዋጭ የሆነውን የወጣቱን ትውልድ ፍላጎት በሚፈለገው ደረጃ የሚያረካ አልነበረም። ይህም፣ ህዝባችንን ለብሶት እንደደረገው እንገነዘባለን። ያለውጣቶች ተሳትፎ እና ተጠቃሚነት አገር የትም ልትደርስ እንደማትችልም እንረዳለን።##

ኢትዮጵያ ለወጣቶቿ ተስፋ የምትሰጥ እንጂ፣ ተስፋ የምታስቆርጥ አገር እንዳትሆን የምንችለውን ሁሉ እንደምናደርግ ቃል እገባለሁ። በሚቀጥሉት ጊዜያት ለወጪጣቱ የሥራ እድል መፍጠር ብቻ ሳይሆን ወጣት ባለሀብቶች በብዛት እንዲፈጠሩ እንሰራለን። ለዚህ እንቅፋትና መስናክል ለሚሆኑ አመላካከቶችና የተንዛዙ አድሻዊ የሆኑ አሰራሮችን አስወግደው ፍትሃዊ የማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ስርዓት እንዲኖረን መንግሥት ምቹ ሁኔታን ይፈጥራል። መርሳት የሌለብንም ህቅ ግን ለራሱም ሆነ ለሀገሩ በሥራውና በጥራቱ ሀብት የሚፈጥረው ወጣቱ አራሱ መሆኑን ነው።@#

**ውድ የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶች**

በብዙ አስቸጋሪና ፈታኝ ሁኔታ ውስጥ ኢትዮጵያን ገንብታችሁ፣ ታሪክ ሰርታችሁ፣ ትውልድ ቀርጸችሁ ዛሬ ላይ ደርሰናል። በትግላችሁም የተሻለች ሃገር እንድትኖረን ብዙ መስዋዕትነት ከፍላችኋል። ትግላችሁ የፍትህ ትግል ነው፣ ትግላችሁ ክቡር ትግል ነው፣ ትግላችሁ ትግላችን ነው። መንግስት የሴቶችን ተጠቃሚነት ለማረጋገጥ እና

በሃገራችን ሁለንተናዊ የእድገት ግስጋሴ ውስጥ የበኩላቸውን ሚና እንዲወጡ ለማስቻል የተለያዩ ስራዎችን በመስራት ላይ የሚገኝ ቢሆንም አሁንም ከሰራተኛው ይልቅ ያልሰራናቸው ስራዎች እጅግ እንደሚበዙ እናምናለን። በመሆኑም በቀጣይ የሃገራችን ሴቶች ተፈጥሮ እና ኑሮ የሰጧችሁን በረከቶች ተጠቅማችሁ ለሃገራችን እድገት እና ብልጽግና እንዲሁም ለፖለቲካችንም ስምረት አዎንታዊ ሚና እንደምትጫወቱ ተስፋይ የላቀ ነው።##

አገራዊ ማንነታችን ያለ እናንተ ያለ ኢትዮጵያውያን ሴቶች ምንም ነው። አገሪቷን የገነቡ፣ ያገለገሉ፣ ያቆሙ ሴቶችን እውቅና በመገኘት ሀገራዊ ትንሳኤን ማረጋገጥ አይቻልም። መንግስታችን ለሴቶች መብትና እኩልነት የሚቆመው፣ ለሴቶቻችን ውለታ ለመዋል ሳይሆን ለሁላችንም ብለን ነው። ግማሽ አካሉን የረሳን ሀገር ሙሉ የሀገር ስዕል ይኖረው ዘንድ ከቶ እንደማይችልና ወደፊትም እንደማይራመድ መንግስት በውል ይገነዘባል። በመሆኑም መንግስታችን ከዚህ ቀደም ከነበረው ፍጥነት እና የትግበራ ስኬት በላቀ መልኩ ለሴቶች ሁሉን አቀፍ ተሳትፎ እና ተጠቃሚነት በቁርጠኝነት ይሰራል

የተከበሩ አፈ-ጉባኤ  
የተከበራችሁ የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት አባላት  
የተከበራችሁ የሀገራችን ህዝቦች  
ጥሪ የተደረገላቸው እንግዶች  
ክቡራትና ክቡራን

**ችግሮቻችን በርካታ እና ፋታ የማይሰጡ ናቸው።**

የዳበረ የዲሞክራሲ ባህል አለመኖር፣ ሥር የሰደደ ድህነት፣ የተደራጀ የሙስና እና ብልሹ አሰራር መስፋፋት፣ የመልካም አስተዳደር እጦት ተደማምረው ሰፊና ውስብስብ ፈተና ይቅንውብናል። ከቅርብ ዓመታት ወዲህ በርካታ ወገኖቻችን ከመኖሪያ ቀዳሾቻቸው ለመፈናቀል፣ ለሀይወት እና ንብረት መጥፋት ተዳርገው እንደነበር ይታወሳል። ዜጎች በሃገራቸው ውስጥ ከቦታ ቦታ የመዘዋወር እና ሃብት የማፍራት መብታቸው መከበር አለበት። በመሆኑም እንደዚህ ዓይነት ተገቢ ያልሆነ ድርጊት እንዲያበቃና ዳግም እንዳይፈጠር መሥራት ይኖርብናል። ችግሮቻችንን፣ ተለያይተን ቀርቶ ተባብረን እና ተዋደንም ለመፍታት ዓመታት ያስፈልጉናል። በመሆኑም የባክነውን ግዜ በማካካስ ወደፊት መንገድ እንችል ዘንድ በአዲስ መንፈስ መረባረብ ይጠበቅብናል።

ሁሉም ችግሮቻችን በአንዲት ጀንበር ሊፈቱ አይችሉም። ነገር ግን የጀመርነውን የተሻለች ሀገር የመገንባት ሂደት ማፋጠን እንችላለን። የተሻለች አገር መገንባት የሚያስችል ጠንካራ ተነሳሽነት አለ። ጠንካራ አገር ለመገንባት ሁላችንም ሀላፊነት አለብን። እንደ ተለያየ አገር ዜጋ በባሕድነት እና ባይታወርነት ሳይሆን፣ ሁላችንም እንደ ባለቤቶች እጅ ለእጅ ተያይዘን መንገድ ይጠበቅብናል። ይህ ሲሆን ስንወድቅም፣ ስንነሳም በጋራ ይሆናል። በቀሪው የሁለተኛው የእድገትና ትራንስፎርሜሽን እቅድ ዓመታት ቀሪ የልማት መርሀ-ግብሮቻችንን በፈጠነ ጊዜ ለማሳካት ጥረት ይደረጋል። ከመደበኛው የሥራ ሰዓታችን በሚሻገር ጊዜ፣ ከፍ ባለ ፍጥነትና ተነሳሽነት በመሥራት በቅርብ ዓመታት ውስጥ በተከሰተው ፖለቲካዊ አለመረጋጋት የደረሰብንን ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ጉዳት ለማካካስ አገራዊ ንቅናቄ እንድናደርግ ከአደራ ጭምር መልዕክቱን አስተላልፋለሁ።@

የተከበሩ አፈ-ጉባኤ  
የተከበራችሁ የምክርቤት አባላት  
ክቡራትና ክቡራን

**በውጭ ሀገራት የምትኖሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ወገኖች**

እያንዳንዱ ኢትዮጵያዊ ለስራም ሆነ ለትምህርት በሄደበት ሁሉ ኢትዮጵያን ተሸክሟት ይዞራል። ኢትዮጵያዊውን ከኢትዮጵያ ታወጡት እንደሆነ ነው እንጂ ኢትዮጵያን ከኢትዮጵያዊው ልብ ውስጥ አታወጧትም የሚባለውም ለዚህ ነው። ሁላችሁም በታታሪነታችሁ፣ በልቀታችሁ እና የትም በሚከተላችሁ የሀገራችሁ የጨዋነት ባህሪ የኢትዮጵያና የዕሴቶቿ እንደራሴዎች ናችሁ።

አንዳንድ ጊዜ ከኢትዮጵያ ያነሰ የተፈጥሮም ሆነ የታሪክ ሀብት ባላቸው ነገር ግን እጅግ በበለጸጉ ሃገራት ውስጥ ራሳችሁን ስታገኙት ስለሃገራችሁ ቁጭት ሳይሰማቹ አይቀርም። ሁላችንም ውስጥ ያ ቁጭት አለ። እንደገሀር ያለንን ሃብት አሟጠን ለመጠቀም የምናደርገው ጥረት በቂ ሳይሆን ሲቀር መቆጨታችሁ አይቀርም። መቆጨትም

አለባችሁ። ይህንንም ሁኔታ ለመለወጥ ለሁላችንም የምትበቃ በዚያው ልክ ግን የሁላችንንም ተሳትፎ የምትፈልግ ሀገር አለችንና እውቀታችሁንና ልምዳችሁን ይዛችሁ ወደ ሀገራችሁ መመለስና ሀገራችሁን አልምታችሁ መልማት ለምትሹ ሁሉ እጃችንን ዘርግተን እንቀበላችኋለን። በውጭ ሀገራት ኑሯችሁን ላደረጋችሁትም ቢሆን በማንኛውም መልኩ በሀገራችሁ ጉዳይ ላይ ንቁ ተሳታፊ እንድትሆኑና ሀገራችንን በሙሉም መልክ ለመቀየር ለምታደርጉት አስተዋጽኦ መንግስት ያልተቆጠበ ድጋፍ ማድረጉን ይቀጥላል።#

**ውድ የልማት አጋሮቻችን**

እስካሁን ያለው የሰላምና የልማት እንቅስቃሴ ከጎናችን የቆማችሁ የልማት አጋሮቻችን የአገራችን ጥብቅ ወዳጆች እንደሆናችሁ እንገነዘባለን። የአገራችንን ልማት እና ሰላም ለማረጋገጥ በምናደርገው ጥረት እንደ ወትሮ ሁሉ ከጎናችን እንደምትቆሙ ባለሙሉ ተስፋ ነኝ። መጨው ጊዜ በኢትዮጵያችን የፍቅርና የይቅርታ ጊዜ ነው!#

ሀገራችን ፍትህ፣ ነጻነትና ሰላም የሰፈኑባት፣ ዜጎችዋ በሰብዓዊነት የሚተሳሰቡት፣ በእህት/ወንድማማችነት የተሳሰሩባት እንድትሆን እንፈልጋለን። ይህ ህልማችን እውን የሚሆነው ከእንቅስቃሴችን ነቅተን ስንሰራ ነው። መመኘታችን መልካም ነው። ነገር ግን ምኞታችን ብቻውን በቂ አይደለም። መሥራት፣ መትጋት፣ መታገል ይጠበቅብናል። በመጀመሪያ ሥራችን ልናደርገው የሚገባና ትግላችን ማተኮር ያለበት ራሳችን ላይ ነው።

አመለካከቶቻችን ከጥላቻ፣ ከቁም በቀል ስሜትና ከዘረኝነት ማጽዳት ይገባናል። በብሔር፣ በጾታ፣ በፖለቲካ አመለካከት፣ በኃይማኖት... ወዘተ ያሉንን ልዩነቶች እንደ በረከትነታቸው በፍቅር በማስተናገድ ከልዩነቶቹ የሚነሳ አለመግባባት ቢኖር እንኳ ከፍትህ እንጂ ከበደል ጋር ባለመተባበር ሞራላዊ እይታዎቻችንን ልናስተካክል ይገባል። ፍትህ ዋናው መርሃችን ለሰው ልጆች ሁሉ ፍቅርና ክብር የሞራል መልህነትን ሊሆን ይገባል። ይህ ሰርተን የማናገባድደው፣ ሁሌም ልፋት፣ ትግል የሚጠይቅ የእድሜ ዘመን ሁሉ የቤት ሥራ ነው። ሀገራችን በአሁኑ ወቅት ለደረሰችበት ምእራፍ በርካታ ትውልዶች መስዋእት ሆነዋል።

**አዲሱ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓታችን እውን እንዲሆንም አእላፎች ተሰውተዋል።**

ታዳጊውን ዲሞክራሲያችንን ለማዳበር ግን ተጨማሪ የህይወትም ሆነ የአካል መስዋእትነት አያስፈልገንም። ባለፉት ዓመታት እንደመንግሥትም እንደ ዜጎችም ከዲሞክራሲ ባህላችን አለመዳበር ጋር ተያይዞ በታዩብን እጥረቶች በዜጎቻችን ህይወት እና በግልም በጋራም ንብረቶቻችን ላይ ቀላል የማይባል ጉዳት ደርሷል። ይህንን ሁላችንም ማስቀረት እንችልና ይገባንም ነበር። በተለያዩ ጊዜ፣ መስዋእትነት ለከፈሉ የመብት ተከራካሪዎችና ፖለቲከኞች፣ በቅጡ ሳይባርቁ ህይወታቸውን ለተቀጠፈ ለውጥ ፈላጊ ወጣቶች፣ ለስነልቦናዊና አካላዊ ቀውስ ለተዳረጉ ቤተሰቦችና ግለሰቦች ከልብ የመነጨ ይቅርታ እጠይቃለሁ። እንዲሁም ሰላም ለማስከበርና ሀገራችንን ማዳደር ማድረግ ለመወጣት ሲንቀሳቀሱ ህይወታቸውን ላጡ የፀጥታ ኃይሎች አባላት ለከፈሉት መስዋእትነት ያለኝን አድናቆትና አክብሮት ለመግለጽ እፈልጋለሁ። ለተፈጠሩ ችግሮች እልባት በማበጀት ህዝባችንን እንደምንክስም ጭምር በዚህ አጋጣሚ ቃል እገባለሁ።@@@

በአገር ውስጥም ሆነ በስደት ከአገር ውጭ የምትኖሩ ኢትዮጵያውያንና ትውልደ ኢትዮጵያውያን በሙሉ ከልባችን ይቅር ተባብለን፣ የትናንትናውን ምእራፍ ዘግተን፣ በብሔራዊ መግባባት ወደ ቀጣይ ብሩህ ሀገራዊ ምእራፍ እንሻገር ዘንድ ጥሪዬን አቀርባለሁ።@

**ክቡራን የተፎካካሪ ፖለቲካ ፓርቲ አመራሮች፡**

ከኢህአዴግ ውጪ ያሉ ፓርቲዎችን የምናይበት መነጽር እንደተቃዋሚ ሳይሆን እንደተፎካካሪ፣ እንደጠላት ሳይሆን እንደ ወንድም፣ አማራጭ ሀሳብ አለኝ ብሎ እንደመጣ አገሩን እንደሚወድ የዜጋ ስብስብ ነው። ስለዚህ ተፎካካሪ ፓርቲዎች በነጻነት እንዲንቀሳቀሱ የተመቻቸና ፍትሃዊ የመወዳደሪያ ሜዳ እንዲኖር በመንግስት በኩል ጽኑ ፍላጎት ያለ በመሆኑ ስለሰላምና ፍትህ በልዩ ልዩ መንገድ የምትታገሉ የተፎካካሪ ፓርቲ መሪዎች፣ አብሮነታችንንና ሰላማችንን አደጋ ላይ የሚጥሉ፣ ብሔራዊ ጥቅሞቻችንንም አሳልፈው የሚሰጡ የአስተሳሰብ መስመሮችን በአርቆ አስተዋይነትና ሀገራዊ ፍቅር፣ በሰጥቶ መቀበል መርህ የተሻለ የፖለቲካ ባህል ለመፍጠር የምናደርገው ጥረት እንድታግዙ ጥሪዬን አስተላልፋለሁ።@

የሀገራችን አርሶ አደሮችና አርብቶ አደሮች፣ በሁሉም ደረጃ የምትገኙ የሀገራችን የፀጥታ ኃይሎች፣ ምሁራን፣ ባለሀብቶች፣ በገጠርም ሆነም በከተማ የምትገኙ የተለያዩ ሞያ ባለቤቶች፣ የአገር ሽማግሌዎች፣ ሙስሊሞች፣

ክርስቲያኖች፣ ዋቁፊታዎች እንዲሁም ሌሎች ኃይማኖቶችን የምትከተሉ ወገኖች፣ ከሰሜን እስከ ደቡብ፣ ከምስራቅ እስከ ምእራብ የምትገኙ ብሔር፣ ብሔረሰቦችና ህዝቦች፣ ሁላችንም የዳቦረ ዴሞክራሲ ለመገንባት እንረባረብ! አገራችንን ከድህነት አዘቅት ውስጥ ለማውጣት እንትጋ! ዘረኝነትና መከፋፈልን ከአገራችን እናጥፋ! የተማረና በምክንያት የሚከራከር ዜጋ እንፍጠር!

የዛሬው እለት በእኩል ኢትዮጵያዊ ወኔ የተጀመረው ታላቁ የህዳሴ ግድባችን ሰባተኛ ዓመት ነው። በዚህ ግድብ ግንባታ የታየው አንድነት እና መሰባሰብ የሀገራችንን ችግሮች በሙሉ መቅረፍ እና መሻገር እንደምንችል ያረጋገጠልን በመሆኑ ይህንኑ መንፈስ ይዘን ከግድቡ መጠናቀቅ ባሻገር የሀገራችንን ብልጽግና እስከምናረጋግጥበት ከፍታ ድረስ እንድንዘልቅ ጥሪዬን አቀርባለሁ።@

በመጨረሻም በዚህ ወቅት ሀገራን እና ህዝቤን ለማገልገል ይህንን ከባድ ኃላፊነት ስቀበል አመሰግናቸው ዘንድ የሚገቡኝን አካሎች እንዳመሰግን ትፈቅዱልኝ ዘንድ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ። በመጀመሪያ ለዚህ ኃላፊነት የመረጡኝና እምነት የጣሉብኝ ድርጅቱ ኢህአዴግን እና የአገራን ህዝብ በተለየ አክብሮት እና ፍቅር አመሰግናለሁ።@

ሁለተኛ የሰባት ዓመት ልጅ እያለሁ እንዲህ ከፊታችሁ እንደምቆም የምታውቅ እና ይህንን ሩቅ ጥልቅ እና ረቂቅ ራእይ በውስጤ የተከለከለ፣ ያሳደገች እና ለፍሬ ያበቃች አንዲት ኢትዮጵያዊት እናት እንዳመሰግን በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ..... ይህች ሴት እምዬ ናት፤ እናቴ ከሌሎቹ ቅን የዋህ እና ጎበዝ ኢትዮጵያውያን እንደ አንዶቹ የምትቆጠር ናትና ቁሳዊ ሀብት ብቻ ሳይሆን አለማዊ እውቀትም የላትም። በእናቴ ውስጥ ሁሉንም የኢትዮጵያ እናቶች ዋጋ እና ምስጋና እንደመስጠት በመቁጠር ዛሬ በህይወት ካጠገቤ ባትኖርም ውዲ እናቴ ምስጋናዬ ከዐፀደ ነፍስ ይደርሳት ዘንድ በብዙ ክብር ላመሰግናት እወዳለሁ።@@

ሌሎች ኢትዮጵያውያን እናቶቹ በልጆቻቸው የነገ ራእይ ላይ ትልቅ ድርሻ እንዳላቸው በመገንዘብ ነገ ለሚያጥዱት መልካም ፍሬ ዛሬ ላይ የሚዘሩት ዘር ዋና ጉዳይ መሆኑን በመገንዘብ ለሚከፍሉት መስዋእትነት ያለኝን በምንም የማይተካ አድናቆት ምስጋና እና ክብር በብዙ ልባዊ ፍቅር ሳቀርብ በቀጣይም ልጆቻችን የዚህች ሀገር ህዳሴ እንዲረጋገጥ ዋና ተዋንያን መሆን እንዲችሉ እናታዊ አይተኬ ሚናችሁን እንድትወጡ አደራ በማለትም ጭምር ነው።

ሦስተኛ የሚስቶች ስኬት ሁለት-ሦስት ነው። ሁለት ሲሆን፣ አንዱ የራሳቸው ሌላው የባላቸው። ሦስት ሲሆን ደግሞ የልጆቻቸውም ይጨመርበታል። አንዳንዴ ድል ስኬታቸው ከዚህም ይሻገራል። የእናቴን ራእይ ተረክባ በብዙው የደገፈችኝና የእናቴ ምትክ የሆነችልኝ ውዲ ባለቤቴ ወ/ሮ ዝናሽ ታያቸው ከነዚህ ሚስቶች ተርታ ትመደባለችና እጅግ አድርጌ ላመሰግናት እወዳለሁ። በመጨረሻም ከትግል ጓዶቹ እና በዝለት ብርታት፣ በድካም ጊዜ ኃይል ከሆኑኝ የቅርብ-የሩቅ ወዳጆቹ ውጪ ዛሬ እኔ ከፊታችሁ መቆም ባልቻልኩ ነበር፤ ለሁላችሁም ክልብ የመነጨ ምስጋና አቀርባለሁ።@@

**“ኢትዮጵያ በልጆቿ ጥረት ታፍራ፣ ተከብራና በልጽጋ ለዘላለም ትኑር!”**  
**ፈጣሪ ኢትዮጵያንና ህዝቦቿን ይባርክ!**  
**አመሰግናለሁ!!**

የተከበራችሁ የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አባላት

ጥሪ የተደረገላችሁ እንግዶች እና

መላው የሀገራችን ህዝቦች፤

ከሁሉ አስቀድሜ መላው ሀገራችን ህዝቦች ባካሄዱት ከፍተኛ ትግል እና ጥረት የሽግግሩ ወቅት በተሳካ ሁኔታ ሊጠናቀቅ በመቻሉና የህዝባችንን የዘመናት ፍላጎት ሊረከው በሚችለው የተሟላ ዲሞክራሲ መንግስት ለመሸጋገር በመብታችን የተሰማኝን ወሰን የሌለው ደስታ በራሴን በኢትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግስት ስም ለመግለጥ እወዳለሁ።@

ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ የዲሞክራሲ ጭላንጭል ከጠፋበት አምባገነናዊ ስርአት ተላቃ ዲሞክራሲያዊ የፖለቲካ ስርአት ለመገንባት እንድትበቃ፣ በቅድሚያ የሁሉም የህብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ድሞክራሲያዊ መብት የተከበረበት፣ የሽግግር መድረክ እንደሚያስፈልገው ታምኖበት፣ ላለፉት አራት አመታት በሰላማዊና ድሞክራሲያዊ የሽግግር መድረክ ተገዝናል።#

ኢህአዴግ ከደርግ ዉድቀት ዋዝማ ጀምሮ በነደፈው የሰላማዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሽግግር ፕሮግራም መሰረት በተሳካ ሁኔታ በተጠናቀቀው የሽግግር መድረክ መላው የሀገራችን ህዝቦች ሰላምና ዲሞክራሲን ከመጎናጠፋቸውም በላይ በሀገራችን ዙሪ መለስ ህይወት ወሥጥ ቀጥተኛ እና ሰፊ ሚና መጫወት ጀምረዋል።በዚህም መሰረት ሀገራችን የምትመራበትን ድሞክራሲያዊ ህገ መንግስት ከማርቀቁ እስከ ማጽደቁ ድረስ ባለው ሂደት በተማላ አካሁዋን ተሳትፈውበት የማታ ማታ በተወካዮቻቸው አማካኝነት አጥድቀውታል።

ህገመንግስቱን መሰረት በማድረግ ግንቦት 29 ቀን በተካሄደው ሀገር አቀፍ ምርጫ በሚቀተጠሉት አምስት አመታት ሀገራችንን ሊመሩ ይገባቸዋል ብለው ያመኑባቸውን ወኪሎቻቸውን መርጠው እነሆ የኢትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግስትን መስርተዋል። የኢትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግስት መላው የሀገራችን ህዝቦች የሰጡትን ከፍተኛ አደራ በመወጣት በሚቀጠሉት አምስት አመታት ዋነኛ ተግባሩ የሚያደርገው የኢህአዴግን የልማት የሰላምና የዲሞክራሲ መርሃ ግብር በከፍተኛ ርብርብ ተግባራዊ ማድረግ ይሆናል።በተለያዩ አጋጣሚዎች ለመግለጥ እንደተሞከረው በአምስት አመቱ መርሃ ግብር ላይ የሰፈሩት አበይት ግቦችና ስትቴጅዎች በስራ ላይ ሊዉሉ ከቻሉ የህዝባችንን ችግር ትርጉም ባለው ደረጃ መቅረፍ እንጀምራለን በመሆኑም የአምስት አመቱ መርሃ ግብር ተፈጣሚ እንዲሆን መንግስት በየአመቱ ተስማሚ እቅዶችን እያወጣ በስራ ላይ እንዲዉሉ ያደርጋል።

የሀገራችንን የኢኮኖሚ ችግር ለመቀረፍ የሚያስችሉ ፋይዳ ያለቸው የኢኮኖሚ ፕሮግራሞች ለመንደፍ መቻሉ ከፍተኛ ጠቀምታ እንዳለው ባያጠያይቅም የተነደፉትን ፕሮግራሞች በስራ ላይ ለመዋል የሚያስችል አቅም እስከሌለ ድረስ ፕሮግራሞቹ የወረቀት ላይ ግጥ መሆናቸው አይቀርም። በመሆኑም ከማእከል ጀምሮ በተለይም ደግሞ በክልሎች እና በወረዳዎች የልማት ፕሮግራሞችን ለማስፈጠም የሚያስችል አቅም መገንባት ያስፈልጋል።ኢትዮጵያን በመሰለች የትምህርትና የሥልጣኔ እድል በበቂ ሁኔታ ባልተሰፋፋባት ሀገር የልማት ፕሮግራሞችን ለምስፈጠም የሚችል አቅም የመገንባት ጉዳይ የተራዘመ ሂደትና ጥረት መጠየቁ አየቀርም።ይሁን እንጅ በኛ ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ የልማት መርሃ ግብራችን በየደረጃው ተፈጣሚ እንዲሆን ለማድረግ የሚያስችል አቅም የመገንባትን ጉዳይ ከወዲሁ ልንጀምረውና የማስፈጠም አቅማችንን ለማጎልበት ጠንክር ያለ እንቅስቃሴ ልናካሂድ ይገባናል።

ከዚህ መሰረታዊ ጉዳይ በመነሳት በሚቀጥለው አመት የመንግስት ዋነኛው የትኩረት አቅጣጫችን የክልሎችን የልማት ፕሮግራም የማስፈጠም አቅም ለማጎልበት መረባረብ ይሆናል።የክልሎችን የማስፈጠም አቅም የማጎልበት ጥያቄ ስናነሳ በቅድሚያ ትኩረት የሚሰጠው በአምስት አመቱ መርሃ ግብር የተጠቀሱትን እቅዶች ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ የሚስፈልጉ ከፍተኛ ባለሙያዎችን በተለይም መምህራንን የጤና ባለሙያዎችን እና

የወሃ ሃብት ልማት ባለሙያዎችን በበቂ ደረጃ ለማፍራት ይሆናል። መንግስት እነዚህን ባለሙያዎች በተፈላጊው ቁጥርና በጥራት ለማፍራት የሚቻልበትን ዝርዝር እቅድ ነድፎ ደረጃ በደረጃ ተግባራዊ የሚሆንበትን ሁኔታ ያመቻቻል።

ከዚህ አኳያ ቀደም ሲል ተቋቋመው የሰለጠነ የሰው ሃይል በማፍራት ተግባር ላይ የሚገኙት የከፍተኛ ትምህርት ተቁዋሚት ይህንን የማስፈጠም አቅም የመገንባት ሚና እንዲጫወቱ በተጠናከረ አኩራቅ ስራቸውን እንዲጥሉ ይደረጋል። ከፍተኛ የትምህርት ተቁዋሚት የተግባራዊነት ሁኔታ ባላቸው መስኮች የሰለጠነ የሰው ሃይል ለማፍራት የሚችሉበት የተሻለ የአደረጃጀት እና የትምህርት ስርአቱ እንዲኖራቸው ትኩረት ሰጥቶ ይንቀሳቀሳል።

የክልሎችን የልማት ፕሮግራም የማስፈጠም አቅም ከማዳበር አኩራቅ እጅግ ከተፋኛ ፋይዳ ያለው፣ በቅርቡ ስራውን የጀመረው የሲቪል ሰርቪስ ኮልጅ የተመሰረተበት ዋነኛው አላማ ክልሎች በተለያዩ ሙያዎች ያለባቸውን የሰው ሃይል እጥረት ለመፍታት እንደመሆኑ መጠን ኮሌጁ ከዚህ አኩራቅ የጀመረውን የሰለጠነ የሰው ሃይል የማፍራት እንቅስቃሴ በሚቀጥለው አመትም በተጠናከረ ሁኔታ እንዲቀጥልበት ይደረጋል። ከዚህ አኳያ በኮሌጁ የሚሰጠው ትምህርት ጥራቱ እንዲጠበቅና ትምህርት ቤቱ በሀገር ውስጥና ውጭ መምህራን በከፍተኛ ደረጃ እንዲጠናከር ይደረጋል። ለኢኮኖሚያዊ ፕሮግራሞችን ተፈጣሚነት የሚገዙ ብቃት ያላቸው ባለሙያዎችን በከፍተኛ ትምህርት ተቁዋሚት ማሰልጠን ተፈላጊነቱ ከፍተኛ ቢሆንም በዚህ ስልጠና ብቻ የምንፈልገው አቅም ይገነባል ተብሎ አይታሰብም።

በመሆኑም በከፍተኛ የትምህርት ተቁዋሚት ከሚሰጠው ስልጠና ጎን ለጎን የፈጣሚ አካላትን የስራ ብቃት የሚያሻሽሉ አጫጭር ስልጠናዎችም ያስፈልጋሉ። ከዚህ አኳያ በሚቀጥለው አመት በተለያዩ ደረጃዎች የሚገኙ የአመራር አካላትን እና የባለሙያዎችን አቅም የሚሳድጉ አጫጭር የሙያ ማሻሻያ ኮርሶች ይዘጋጃሉ። በነዚህ የስራ ብቃት ማሻሻያ ፕሮግራሞችም በተለይ በዝቅተኛ የአስተዳደር እርከኖች ላይ የሚገኙ አስተዳዳሪዎችና ባለሙያዎች ሰፊ ባለ ሁኔታ እንዲሳተፉ ይደረጋል። (MISSED)..... በልዩ ልዩ ደረጃዎች ስልጠና ያገኙ አስፈጣሚ አካላት ከፍተኛና የተሳካ ወጤት ሊያመጡ በሚችሉበት መንገድ ተደራጅተው ካልተንቀሳቀሱ የልማት ፕሮግራሞችን የሚፈለገውን ያህል ይሳካል ተብሎ አይታሰብም። በመሆኑም ክልሎች የሚያገኙትን የሰለጠነ የሰው ሃይል ፍሬያማ በሆነ መንገድ ለማሰማራት የሚችሉበት ጥራት ያለው አደረጃጀት ሊኖራቸው ይገባል። ከዚህ አኳያ ባሁኑ ሰአት በማእከላዊ መንግስት በመካሄድ ባሉት ጥናቶች ለይ በመመርኮዝ ክልሎች ተፈላጊው የአደረጃጀት እና የአስራ ጥራት እንዲኖራቸው ለማድረግ ማእከላዊ መንግስት በሚቀጥለው አመት ያልተቆጠበ ጥረትና ድጋፍ ያድርጋል። በሚቀጥለው አመት ክልላዊ መንግስታት እና ዝቅተኛ የአስተዳደር እርከኖችን በሰለጠነ እና ባደረጃጀት ለማጠናከር ከሚወሰዱት ከነዚህ እርምጃዎች በተጨማሪ ማእከላዊ መንግስት የክልሎችን የገንዘብ አቅም ለማጠናከር ልዩ ጥረቶች ያካሂዳል።

በዚህም መሰረት መንግስት ለክልሎች የሰጠው የባጀት ድጎማ በተሟላ አኳኋን ተግባራዊ እንዲሆን የሽግግሩን ዘመን የባጀት አመዳደብና አፈጣጠም ልምዶችና በሀገር መንግስቱ የተደነገጉ መርሆችን መሰረት በማድረግ የባጀት ድጎማ ቀመር እንዲዘጋጅ ያደርጋል። ክልሎች ከማእከላዊ መንግስት ከሚያገኙት የባጀት ድጎማ በተጨማሪ ገቢያቸውን የማሰባሰብ አቅማቸው እንዲዳብር ለማድረግም ያልተቆጠበ ጥረት ይደረጋል። ከላይ ከፍ ሲል የተዘረዘሩትን እርምጃዎች በተቀናጀ አኳኋን መወሰድ የክልሎችን የማስፈጠም አቅም በከፍተኛ ደረጃ እንደሚያጠናክረው ለመገንዘብ ቢቻልም ይህ ብቻ ግን የሚፈለገውን ወጤት ያስገኛል ተብሎ አይታሰብም። ዞሮ ዞሮ የክልሎችን የማስፈጠም አቅም በተፈላጊው ደረጃ የመገንባት ችሎታ የሚወሰንው በራሳቸው በክልሎቹ ጥረትና በሀዘቡ ተሳትፎ መሆኑ አይቀርም። ስለሆነም የክልል መስተዳድሮች የማስፈጠም አቅማቸውን በየደረጃው ለማጠናከር ሌት ተቀን ተግተው ሊሰሩ ይገባቸዋል።

የልማት ፕሮግራሞችን ከማስፈጠም አኳያ የህዝቦቻችንን ተሳትፎ ለማዳበር መላ አቅማቸውን ሊያረባርቡ ይገባል። በዚህ አጋጣሚ ሁሉም ክልላዊ መስተዳድሮች የህዝቡ ጥረትና ተሳትፎ ያልተጨመረበት ማንኛውም

የልማት እንቅስቃሴ ሊሳካ እንደማይችል ተገንዝበው መላውን ህብረተሰብ ለልማት ተግባር ለማነሳሳትና ለማንቀሳቀስ ባጭር ታጥቀው እንዲረባረቡ በኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ መንግስት ስም ጥሪዬን አቀርባለሁ። የአምስት አመታት የልማት የሰላምና የዴሞክራሲ መርሃ ግብር በግልጽ እንደሚመለከተው የኢኮኖሚ ልማታችን እንዲስፋፋ ከመንግስት በኩል የሚጠበቀው ዋነኛው ተግባር ባንድ በኩል ለልማት የተመቻቹ ፖሊሲዎችና ማወጣትና ተግባራዊ ማድረግ በልላ በኩል ደግሞ የመሰረተ ልማት አወታሮችን ማስፋፋት ነው። ከዚህ አኳያ በተያያዘነው የበጀት አመት የገጠር መንገዶችን የመስራት እና የማስፋፋት ስራ በተጠናከረ አኳኋን እንዲቀጥል ይደረጋል። @

የገጠር መንገዶችን የመገንባት ስራ የሚፈጠመው በክልል መስተዳድሮች በመሆኑ በሚቀጥለው አመት የማእከላዊ መንግስት ዋነኛ ትኩረት የክልሎችን የገጠር መንገድ የመገንባት አቅም በከፍተኛ ደረጃ ማጠናከር ይሆናል። በመሆኑም ክልላዊ መንግስታት የገጠር መንገዶችን የመቀየስና የመገንባት አቅም እንዲኖራቸው በሰለጠነ የሰው ሃይልና በማሸነፍ እንዲጎለብቱ ይደረጋል። ክልሎች ነባር የገጠር መንገዶችን የመጠገን ችሎታ እንዲኖራቸውና ተጨማሪ አዳዲስ የገጠር መንገዶችን በኮንትራት ለማሰራት የሚችሉበት ብቃት እንዲይዙ ሰፊ ድጋፍ የሚሰጣቸው ከመሆኑም በላይ እቅዶቻቸውን ለማስፈጠም የሚያስፈልገው ተገቢው የባጀት ድጎማም ይደረግላቸዋል።

የገጠሩን ህብረተሰብ የመሰረተ ልማት አገልግሎት ተጠቃሚ ለማድረግ መስፋፋት ካለባቸው የገጠር መንገዶች ጎን ለጎን አወራ ጎዳናዎቻችንን መጠገን ማሻሻልና ማስፋፋት ልማታችንን በከፍተኛ ደረጃ እንደሚያፋጠነው አጠያያቂ አይደለም። ይህንን መሰረታዊ ሃቅ በመገንዘብ ማእከላዊ መንግስት ከአንድ ነጥብ ሶስት ቢሊዮን ዶላር በላይ ወጭ የሚጠይቅ የአምስት አመታት የመንገድ ግንባታ ፕሮግራም አዘጋጅቶታል። ይህንን ፕሮግራም ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ የወጭ እርዳታና ብድር በከፍተኛ ደረጃ የሚያስፈልገው በመሆኑ ይሄው ፕሮግራም ለእርዳታ ሰጭና አበዳሪ ድርጅቶች ተሰራጭቶ በቅርቡ ለዚህ ፕሮግራም ማስፈጠሚያ እርዳታና ብድር ማሰባሰብ የሚያስችል ስብሰባ ይካሄዳል። የስብሰባውን ወጥት መሰረት በማድረግም ፕሮግራሙን ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ እንቅስቃሴ ይጀመራል።

የሀገራችንን የኢንቨስትመንት እንቅስቃሴ ከማስፋፋት አኳያ ሌላው ተፈላጊ መሰረተ ልማት የቴሌኮን አገልግሎት ነው። በተለያዩ የሀገራችን አካባቢዎች የመዋለ ነዋይ ስምሪት ሊደረግበት የሚችል ያልተነካ ሃብት በስፋት እያለን የመገናኛ አወታሮች ባለመስፋፋታቸው ምክንያት ኢንቨስትመንትን የሚያበረታታ ሁኔታ ሳይፈጠር ቆይቶታል። ከዚህ አኳያ በየክልሉ መለስተኛና መካከለኛ ከተሞች የስልክ አገልግሎት እንዲያገኙ ለማድረግና በዋና ዋና ከተሞች የሚታየውን የቴሌኮን አገልግሎት ችግር በከፍተኛ ደረጃ ለመቅረፍ የሚያስችል የሶስት አመት እቅድ ተዘጋጅቶታል። ይህም እቅድ በሚቀጥለው አመት ሙሉ በሙሉ በተግባር መተርጎም ይጀምራል።

በተነደፉ ትክክለኛ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲዎችና ባገራችን በተፈጠረው ምቹ ሁኔታ በመገፋፋት በየአመቱ በከፍተኛ ደረጃ የሚጨምር የካፒታል ኢንቨስትመንት ጥያቄ በማስተናድ ላይ መሆናችን ተደጋግሞ የተገለጠ ጉዳይ ነው። የቀረቡት የኢንቨስትመንት ጥያቄዎች በስፋት ፈቃድ በተሰጣቸውና ወደስራ በገቡ ቁጥር አገራችን ከፍተኛ የኢነርጂ እጥረት እንደሚያጋጥማት ይገመታል።

ሃገራችን ኢትዮጵያ ይህን ችግር ባስተማማኝ ደረጃ ለማስወገድ የሚያስችል፣ በቂ የሃይድሮ ፓወር እምቅ ሃብት እንዳላት ቢታወቅም ይህንኑ አልምቶ የኢነርጂ እጥረታችንን ለማቃለል ከፍተኛ ገንዘብና ሰፊ ጊዜ ይጠይቃል። ይህን አጠቃላይ ሁኔታ በመገንዘብ ማእከላዊ መንግስት የኢነርጂ ፍላጎታችንን በተራዘመ ሂደት ባስተማማኝ ሁኔታ ለማሙዋላት ከሚያደርገው ጥረት ጎን ለጎን በመካከለኛና በአጭር ጊዜ ችግሩን ለማቃለል የሚያስችሉ እርምጃዎችን ለመወሰድ ተዘጋጅቶታል። ከዚህ አኳያ በሚቀጥለው አመት የግልገል ግቤን የሃይድሮ ፓወር ግንባታ በአዲስና በተፋጠነ አኳኋን ለማስኬድ ቅድመ ዝግጅቱ ተጠናቆ ኮንትራክቶችን የመቅጠር ስራ ይጀመራል ተብሎ ይታመናል።

ከዚህ ጎን ለጎን በተለያዩ የሀገራችን ክፍሎች በቶሎ ሊደርሱ የሚችሉ መካከለኛ የሃይድሮ ፓወር ግድቦችን ለመስራት አስፈላጊው የጥናትና የዲዛይን ስራ ይጀመራል። መንግስት የመለስተኛ ግድቦች ስራ ተጠናቆ የኢነርጂ አቅርቦታችንን እስክናሻሽል ድረስ ሳይጠብቅ ባሁኑ ወቅት በመከሰት ላይ ያለውን እጥረት ለማቃለል ከ27 ሚጋ ዋት ያላነሰ ሃይል የሚያመነጩ የዲዛይን ጄኔራተሮችን ግዥ በያዝነው አመት ያካሂዳል። ከዚህ በተጨማሪም በስምጥ ሸለቆ አካባቢ መለስተኛ የጂኦ ተርማል ሃይል ጭማሪ የሚሰጥ ፕሮጀክቶች ተዘጋጅተው የማልማቱ ስራ ይጀመራል። በነዚህ የተቀናጁ አግባቦች የሚገኘውን ኢነርጂ በቁጠባ የምንጠቀምበት ስርአት እንዲመቻች ይደረጋል። የሃይል ምንጭን ለማጎልበትና በቁጠባ ለመጠቀም ከሚደረገው እንቅስቃሴ ጋር ተመጋጋቢ በሆነ መንገድ ስርጭቱን ለማስፋትና የተያያዙ መስመሮችን ወደ ሁሉም የሀገሪቱ ማእዘኖች ለማዳረስ የተጀመረው የባህር ዳር ሰሜን ኢትዮጵያ የግዶ ነቀምት ጊምቤ ከፍተኛ የሀይል ተሸካሚ መስመሮች የመገንባት ስራ በያዝነው አመትም በተጠናከረ ሁኔታ ይቀጥላል።

የልማት የሰላምና የድሞክራሲ መርሃ ግብሩ ትምህርትን እና ጤናን በተመለከተ ያስቀመጠውን የአምስት አመት እቅድ ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ ከሚቀጥለው አመት ጀምሮ ሰፊ ያለ እንቅስቃሴ ማካሄድ እንደሚያስፈልግ ይታመናል። በዚህ ረገድ መካሄድ ያለባቸው ስራዎች በተለይም ትምህርትን እና የመሰረተ ጤና አገልግሎትን ለአብዛሃኞቹና በገጠር ለሚኖሩ ህዝቦች የማዳረስ ተግባር በዋናነት በክልል መስተዳደሮች የሚፈጠሩ ናቸው። በመሆኑም ክልሎች አዳዲስ ትምህርት ቤቶችንና ሃኪም ቤቶችን የመገንባትና ነባሮችን የመጠገን ብቃት ያላቸው መምህራን እና የጤና ባለሙያዎች በብዛት የማፍራትና ለባለሙያዎቹ አመች የስራ ሁኔታዎችን የመፍጠር እንቅስቃሴዎች በሰፊ እንዲያካሂዱ ይደረጋል። ማእከላዊ መንግስት በበኩሉ ደግሞ የከፍተኛ ትምህርት እቅድን በጥራት የማዘጋጀትና ተግባራዊ የማድረግ እንዲሁም የጤና እና የትምህርት ፕሮግራሞችን በዘርዘር አዘጋጅቶ እነዚህን በቀጣይ አመታት ለመፈጠም የሚያስችል የውጭ ብድርና እርዳታ ለማሰባሰብ በሚቀጥለው አመት ሰፊ ያለ እንቅስቃሴ ያካሂዳል።

እነዚህ ፕሮግራሞች ለልማት እንቅስቃሴዎችን ያላቸው አስተዋጥኦ እጅግ በጣም ከፍተኛ ቢሆንም ፣ ዞሮ ዞሮ የሀገራችንን የኢኮኖሚ ዕድል የሚወስነው በሚቀጥሉት አምስት አመታት በግብርናው ዘርፍ የሚካሄደው የልማት እንቅስቃሴ ነው። በመሆኑም ማእከላዊ መንግስት በግብርናው ዘርፍ ለሚካሄደው የልማት እንቅስቃሴ ከፍተኛ ትኩረት በመስጠት ልዩ ልዩ ፕሮግራሞችን ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ ተዘጋጅቶል። የገጠር መንገዶችን ትምህርት ቤቶችን እና የጤና ተቋማትን ባጠቃላይም የገጠርን መሰረተ ልማት ለማስፋት የተያዙት እቅዶች እዚያው ሳሉም የግብርና ልማታችንን በከፍተኛ ደረጃ የማገዝ ሚና እንደሚጫወቱ ይታወቃል። ከነዚህ ተግባራት በተጨማሪ የግብርና ልማታችንን ለማፋጠን ከፍተኛ ሚና ይኖረዋል ተብሎ የሚገመተው በቂ ዝናብ በሚያገኙ የሀገራችን አካባቢዎች በዘንድሮው ክረምት በመሞከር ላይ ያለው የግብርና ኤክስቴንሽን መርሃ ግብር ነው። ይህ የግብርና ኤክስቴንሽን መርሃ ግብር ምርጥ ዘርን ማዳበሪያን የተሻሻሉ የግብርና ዘዴዎችን እና የብድር አገልግሎትን በማጣመር ምርትን በከፍተኛ ደረጃ ለመጨመር ታስቦ የተዘጋጀ ፕሮግራም ነው። ፕሮግራሙ በ1987 አም የምርት ዘመን ከ225 በማያንሱ ወረዳዎች በ40 ሺህ ያህል ገበሬዎች እየተሞከረ ያለ ሲሆን የዘንድሮውን አፈጣጠም በጥልቀት በመገምገም አስፈላጊ ትምህርቶችን በመቅሰም በ1988 አም የፕሮግራሙን አድማስ እስከአስር እጥፍ ለመጨመር ታስቦታል። በቂ ዝናብ በማያገኙ የሀገራችን አካባቢዎች ባጭርና በመካከለኛ ጊዜ የግብርና ምርታችንን ለማሳደግ ድርቅን ለመቁዋቁዋም የሚችሉ የተሻሻሉ ዘሮችን የመጠቀም፣ ከግብርና ውጭ አማራጭ የስራ ዘርፍ የሚከፍቱ ፕሮጀክቶችን የማዘጋጀትና ፣ ያነስተኛ ግድብና መስኖ ስራዎችን ለማስፋት የሚያስችል የጥናት እና የአቅም ግንባታ ስራ እንዲካሄድ አስፈላጊው ዝግጅት ይካሄዳል። የማእከላዊ መንግስት ከዚህ አኳያ የክልሎችን አቅም ለማጠናከር የሚያስችሉ ድጋፎችን ይሰጣል። የሀገራችንን የምግብ ዕህል ምርት ለመጨመር በሚቀጥለው አመት የሚከናወኑት ዋናዎቹ ተግባሮች እነኚህ ሲሆኑ ከዋናዎቹ ፕሮግራሞች በተጨማሪና ጎን ለጎን የእንስሳት ሃብታችንን ይዞታና የምርት አስተዋጥኦ ለማሳደግ የሚያስችሉ ስልቶች ተነድፈው ተግባራዊ መሆን ይጀምራሉ። በተባይ መከላከልና በመሳሰሉት መስኮችም ሰፊ ያለ ፕሮግራሞች ተነድፈው በተግባር ይተረጎማሉ። የግል ባለሀብቶችም ላጠቃላይ ኢኮኖሚያችን እድገት የሚጠበቅባቸውን ሚና እንዲጫወቱ ሊሰማሩባቸው ከሚገቡባቸው ልዩ ልዩ ዘርፎች አንዱ በሆነው በግብርናው መስክ እንዲሰማሩ ለማበረታታት የሚሰችሉ ሌሎች ፕሮግራሞች ተዘጋጅተው በስራ ላይ እንዲወሉ ይደረጋል።

ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ የሽግግርን መድረክ ከጀመረች በሁዋላ ለኢኮኖሚያችን መረጋጋት ቁልፍ ሚና ይጫወታሉ ተብለው የታመነባቸውን የኢኮኖሚ መዋቅራዊ ለውጦች በህብረተሰቡ ውስጥ ከፍተኛ መናጋት በማይፈጥር ሁኔታ አካሄደን አጥጋቢ ውጤቶችን እንዳገኘን የሚታወቅ ነው። በዚህም መሰረት የውጭ ምንዛሬ ተመናችን ደረጃ በደረጃ እና ማህበራዊ መናጋትን በማያስከትል ሁኔታ በገበያ ዋጋ እንዲወሰን ለማድረግ ተችሎታል። የዋጋ ግሽበትን በተቻለ ደረጃ ለመቆጣጠር እና የባንክ ወለድን ከዋጋ ግሽበት በላይ ለማድረግ ተችሎታል። የተወሰዱት እርምጃዎች ኢኮኖሚያችን የእድገት አቅጣጫ ይዞ እንዲራመድ ያስቻሉን በመሆናቸው እስካሁን ያገኘናቸውን አጥጋቢ ውጤቶች በመንተራስ በሚቀጥለው አመትም የኢኮኖሚ መዋቅራዊ ለውጥ እንቅስቃሴያችን የበለጠ ስፋትና ጥልቀት ኖሮት እንዲቀጥል ይደረጋል። የኢኮኖሚ መዋቅራዊ ለውጥ ማድረግ ከጀመርን በኋላ የተሸሉ ውጤቶችን ማግኘት እንደምንችል የሚያረጋግጡ ልምዶች ያገኘን ቢሆንም ባላለፍነው አመት የዋጋ ግሽበት ከፍ እያለ ከመሄዱ ጋር ተያይዞ የተፈጠረውን ችግር አሳንሰን ልንመለከተው አይገባንም።።

ባንድ በኩል በ1986 87 አመት በተሰከሰተው የዝናብ እጥረት ምክንያት የግብርና ምርታችን በተፈላጊ መጠን ባለማድገፍ ለገበያ ባለመቅረቡ በልላ በኩል የገንዘብ አቅርቦታችን ከመጠን በላይ በማድገፍ

ቀላል የማይባል የዋጋ ግሽበት ተከስቷል። የዋጋ ግሽበት መኖር ሊያስከትላቸው ኢኮኖሚያዊ ችግሮች በተጨማሪ የህብረተሰቡን የመግዛት አቅም ሊያዳክምና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ፕሮግራሞችንን በጠቅላላ ሊያናጋ የሚችል ነው። በመሆኑም በያዝነው አመት መንግስት ባለፈው አመት የተከሰተውን የዋጋ ግሽበት ለመቆጣጠር ከፍተኛ ጥረት ያደርጋል። የዋጋ ግሽበትን ለመቆጣጠር የሚያስችለን ጥብቅ የገንዘብና የፊሲካል ፖሊሲ አፈጣጠም እንዲኖር ለማድረግ የገንዘብ አቅርቦታችንን በትክክለኛው መጠን ብቻ እንዲያድግ ይደረጋል። ከዚህ ጋር በተያያዘ መልኩ የብር የውጭ ምንዛሬ መጠን ባንድ በኩል ያገራችንን ኤክስፖርተሮች በሚያደፍሩበት በልላ በኩል ደግሞ መንግስት የዋጋ ቁጥጥር የሚያደርግባቸው የማዳበሪያና የነዳጅ ዋጋ ከፍተኛ ጭማሪ በማያመጡበት አሁን ባለበት ደረጃ ጥረት ይደረጋል።

ለሀገራችን የኢኮኖሚ እንቅስቃሴ መዳበር ትኩረት ተሰጥቶቸው ከሚቀጥለው አመት ጀምሮ ከሚከናወኑ ተግባራት ልላው ከልዩ ልዩ የኢኮኖሚ እንቅስቃሴዎች በሚሰበሰቡ ሁኔታ ላይ የሚሰራው ስራ ነው። በሽግግር ወቅት የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ የተጀመረውን የታክስ መዋቅር (tax structure) ማሻሻል በመቀጠል በአንድ በኩል የታክስ መሰረቱን በማስፋት የመንግስትን የገቢ አቅም ማሳደግ ሲሆን በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ በትርፍ ላይ የሚጣለውን የታክስ መጠን አሁን ካለበት (-----) በመቶ ወደ (-----) በመቶ ዝቅ በማድረግ ኢንቨስትመንትን ማበረታታት ይሆናል። መንግስት የሚከፍለውን የታክስ መጠን ዝቅ ለማድረግ ከሚቀሰደው ርምጃ ጎን ለጎን ግብር ከፋዮች የሚጠበቅባቸውን ግብር በሙሉና በወቅቱ እንዲከፍሉ ለማድረግ እንዲቻል የግብር አሰባሰብ ስርአቱን ለማሻሻልና ለማጠናከር ከፍተኛ ርብርብ ይደረጋል።

መንግስት የነደፋቸው የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲዎችና በሀገራችን የሰፊነው ሰላምና ዲሞክራሲ ለኢንቨስትመንት መስፋፋት በእጅጉ የተመቻቸ ሁኔታ እንደሚፈጥሩ ይታወቃል። ይሁንና ኢንቨስተሮች ለኢንቨስትመንት ስራ በሚንቀሳቀሱበት ጊዜ በየደረጃው የሚያጋጥሙባቸው ቢወርክራሲያዊ እንቅፋቶች ደግሞ በቀላሉ የሚገመቱ አይደሉም። ባለሀብቶች የኢንቨስትመንት ፈቃድ ከማወጣት ጀምሮ ከመንግስት አካላት ሊገኙት የሚገባው አግባብ ያለው አገልግሎት ባንድ በኩል በቢሮክራሲው የተንገዛ አሰራር በልላ በኩል ደግሞ በየደረጃው እንዲቀርቡ የሚጠየቁት ጉቦና ህገወጥ ክፍያ ምክንያት በሚፈለገው ደረጃ የተማላ አይደለም። ይህ አይነቱ በቢሮክራሲያዊ ማነቆ የአገራችንን የልማት እድል የሚያጠብ ከመሆኑም በላይ በብዙሃኑ ብስቁልና የጥቂቶችን ምቹት የሚገነባና ድህነታችንን የሚባብስ በመሆኑ በምንም መንገድ በቸልታ መታየት የለበትም። ከዚህ አኳያ በሚቀጥለው አመት መንግስት ለኢንቨስትመንት መስፋፋት ማነቆ የሆኑትን እነዚህን ችግሮች ከኢንቨስተሮች ጋር በመመካከር ለማስወገድ እና የሰራ ቅልጥፍን በሚያረጋግጡ አሰራሮች

ለመተካት ሰፊ ጥረት ይደረጋል። ኢንቨስተሮች ለመሰማራት በሚዘጋጁበት ጊዜ የሚያጋጠማቸውን አላስፈላጊ ወጣ ወረድ ለመቀነስና አስፈላጊውን አገልግሎት በፍጥነት የሚያገኙበትን ሁኔታ ለመፍጠር የሚያስችሉ ዕርምጃዎች ይወሰዳሉ። ከዚህ ጎን ለጎን ደግሞ የጉቦኝነትና በልሹ ስነ ምግባር ለመቅረፍ ከልሎች ሀገሮች

መልካም ልምዶች በመነሳት ልዩ ልዩ አሰራሮችን ተግባራዊ ማድረግ የሚጀመር ሲሆን በተጨማሪም ችግሩን ለማቃቃም የህጎች መሻሻል አስፈላጊ ሆኖ ከተገኘ ይህ ደግሞ ተግባራዊ እንዲሆን ይደረጋል። እነዚህ እርምጃዎች በተቀናጀና በማቃርጥ አኳኝን ስራ ሲወሉ የሀገር ወስጥ ባለሀብቶች የተሻለ ኢኮኖሚያዊ እንቅስቃሴ ሊያደርጉ እንደሚችሉና በዚያ ወሰን ልክም ኢኮኖሚችንን ለማሳደግ የተሻለ ሚና ሊጫወቱ እንደሚችሉ ይታመናል።

ይህም ሆኖ ሀገራችን ከገባችበት የድህነት ማጥ እንድትወጣ ከሀገር ወስጥ ባለሀብቶች በተጨማሪ የወጭ ባለሀብቶችም በኢንቨስትመንት ተግባር እንዲሰማሩ ማድረግ ያለው ተፈላጊነት ይበልጥ እየጨመረ መጥቷል። በመሆኑም መንግስት የሀገር ወጪ ለባለሀብቶችን ለማገዝና ለማጠናከር ከሚያደርገው እንቅስቃሴ ጎን ለጎን በአምስት አመት መርሃ ግብሩ በተጠቀሰው አኳኝ የወጭ ኢንቨስተሮችን ለማደፋፈር ልዩ ልዩ እርምጃዎችን ይወስዳል።

የወጭ ባለሀብቶችን ለማደፋፈር ከሚወሰዱት የተለያዩ ዕርማጃዎች መካከል ዋነኛው ተጨማሪ የኢንቨስትመንት መስኮች ለወጭ ባለሀብቶች የመክፈት ዕርምጃ ይሆናል። በመሆኑም መንግስት የሀገር ወስጥ ባለሀብቶችን አግባብ ከልለው የወጭ ባለሀብቶች ተዕዛዥና ያልተመጣጠነ ወድድር ለመጠበቅ ያወጣቸው መመሪያዎች እንደተጠበቁ ሆነው የወጭ ባለሀብቶች ለሀገራችን እድገት መፋጠን አስተዋዕኮ ሊያደርጉ በሚችሉባቸው ተጨማሪ የስምሪት መስኮች እንዲሳተፉ ይፈቀድላቸዋል። ከዚህ አኩዋያ የወጭ ባለሀብቶች ቢሰማሩባቸው ሊጠቅሙ የሚችሉት ተጨማሪ መስኮች በሚቀጥለው አመት ተዘርዝረው በይፋ እንዲታወቁና እንዲሰራባቸው ይደረጋል። የሀገራችን የኢንቨስትመንት ኮድም እነዚህን ለውጦች ባካተተ መልኩ እንዲሻሻል ይደረጋል።

የተከበራችሁ የምክር ቤት አባላትና

መላው የሀገራችን ህዝቦች

መንግስት በሚቀጥለው አመት ተግባራዊ እንዲሆን የነደፈው የስራ የመላውን የሀገራችን ህዝቦች ጥቅም የሚያስጠብቅ ነው ብዬ አምናለሁ። የእቅዳችን ዋነኛ የትኩረት ማእከል የሆነውን ግብርና ልማት እንዲፋጠን ለማድረግ የምንወስዳቸው ርምጃዎች የአርሶ አደር ህዝቦችን እና የሽማግሌን ህብረተሰብ ኑሮ ትርጉም ባለው ደረጃ ማሻሻል ያስችሉናል። በዚህ እቅድ መሰረት የግብርና ምርቶቻችን ሲጨምሩ አርሶ አደሮች የአመት ቀለባቸውን በተሻለ ሁኔታ ሊያሟሉ ከመቻላቸውም በላይ ለከተማው ሽማግሌ ህብረተሰብ የምግብ እህል በተፈለገው መጠንና በተመጣጣኝ ዋጋ የማቅረብ ችሎታችንም የሰፋ ይሆናል። በመሆኑም መላው የሀገራችን ህዝቦች በተለይ ደግሞ አርሶ አደሮች በሚቀጥል አመት ተግባራዊ ለምናደርጋቸው እቅዶች ተፈታሚነት በከፍተኛ ደረጃ ሊረባረቡ ይገባቸዋል።

በኢኮኖሚው መስክ በሚቀጥለው አመት ተግባራዊ የምናደርጋቸው እቅዶች ለሀገራችን ባለሀብቶች እጅግ ሰፊ የስራ እድል የሚከፍቱ እንደሆኑ የታወቀ ነው። በእቅዳችን መሰረት የግብርና ወክል-ኢኮኖሚ መጠናከር ሲጀምርና የአርሶ አደሮቻችን የመግዛት አቅም ሲጠናከር በምርትና አገልግሎት በመስጠት ላይ የተሰማሩ ባለሀብቶች የተሻለ የስራ እድል ያገኛሉ። በተጨማሪም ራሳቸውን ባለሀብቶቹን ለማጠናከር ተብለው የሚወሰዱ እርምጃዎች የሀገራችንን ባለሀብቶች የካፒታል እና የድርጅት አቅም በከፍተኛ ደረጃ እንደሚያጠናክሩ ይታመናል። ከዚህ አኳያ ከሀገራችን ባለሀብቶች የሚጠበቅ ነገር ቢኖር ከጉባኤነት እና ከህገ ወጥ የንግድ ተግባራት ርቀው የአየር ባየር ንግድና የመሳሰሉት ተግባራት ያበቃላቸው መሆኑን ተገንዝበው ህጉ በሚፈቅድላቸው ህጉ በሚፈቅድላቸው መንገድ ብቻ ገንዘባቸውን ኢንቨስት በማድረግ በቅድሚያ ራሳቸውን ከዚያም ሀገሪቱን እና መላ ህዝቦቹን ለመጥቀም መረባረብ ነው።

መንግስት ህጋዊ አግባብ ባለው የኢንቨስትመንት ስነምግባር እየተመሩ ለመሰማራት ዝግጁ የሆኑ ባለሀብቶች መኖራቸውን ይገነዘባል።

በመሆኑም እነዚህ ባለሀብቶችን የሚጠቅም ሰፊ የስራ እድል ከመፍጠር ባሻገር በህጉ መሰረት የጠዳ የኢንቨስትመንት ተግባር ለሚያካሂዱ ባለሀብቶች ፡በምክር በብድር አገልግሎትና በመሳሰሉት ሁሉ ለመርዳት ከነዚህ ባለሀብቶች ጋር በየደረጃው በመመካከር ለመስራት ቆርጦ መነሳቱን ላረጋግጥ እወዳለሁ።በመሆኑም የሀገራችን ባለሀብቶች በደርግ የአገዛዝ ዘመን የተለመዱ ሐገወጥ እና ብልሹ የንግድ ስራዎች ተላቀው በጠዳ የኢንቨስትመንት አቅጣጫ ለመስራት ዝግጁ መሆን ይጠበቅባቸዋል።

የተያያዘነው የልማት እቅድ የሀገራችን ምሁራን እና ባለሙያዎች በዝንባሌያቸውና በሰለጠኑበት የሙያ መስክ ተሰማርተው ሰርተው ለመክበርና ለመጠቀም ብሎም አገራቸውን እና ወገኖቻቸውን ለማገለገል የሚችሉበትን ሰፊ እድል ይፈጥራላቸዋል።ወቅቱ የሰራ ነው ስለሆነም የምንገኝበት ወቅት ለስራ ቆርጠው የተነሱ ምሁራን ወቅት ነው ማለት ይቻላል። መንግስት ራሳቸውን ከስራ አግልለው ጊዜያቸውን በከንቱ የሚያባክኑትን ምሁራን ለመሸከም ጊዜውና አቅሙ የልለውን ያህል ለስራ ቆርጠው የተነሱ ምሁራንን እንደ አይን ብሌት ለመንከባከብ ዝግጁ መሆኑን በዚህ አጋጣሚ ላረጋግጥ ዕወዳለሁ።@

የተከበራችሁ የምክር ቤት አባላትና

መላው የሀገራችን ህዝቦች

የነደፍነው የአምስት አመት መርገግብር የልማት የሰላም እና የድሞክራሲ መርሃ ግብር እንደመሆኑ መጠን መንግስት በሚቀጥለው አመት በልማቱ መስክ ከሚያደርገው ርብርብ ጎን ለጎን ሰላማችንን ለማጠናከር እና ዲሞክራሲያችንን ለማዳበር ሰፊ ያለ ጥረት ይደረጋል።

ዲሞክራሲን ከማዳበር አኳያ ከፍተኛ ግምት ከሚሰጣቸው ጉዳዮች አንዱ የዲሞክራሲ ጠባቂ ተቁዋሚትን የመገንባት እና የማጠናከር ጉዳይ ነው።በልዩ ልዩ አጋጣሚዎች ተደጋግሞ እንደተነሳው በሀገራችን ህገመንግስታዊ ዋስትና ያገኙት የዲሞክራሲ መብቶች ተፈላጊውን ተቀዳሚ ድጋፍ እስካላገኙ ድረስ ዲሞክራሲ በሀገራችን ስር ሊሰድና ሊዳብር አይችልም።በመሆኑም መንግስት በሚቀጥለው አመት የዲሞክራሲ ጠባቂ አስፈጻሚ የሆኑ መንግስታዊ እና መንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ተቁዋሚት እንዲጠናከሩ ከፍተኛ ትኩረት ሰጥቶ ይንቀሳቀሳል።ከዚህ አኳያ በአንድ በኩል ሰላምን ለማስፈን በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ ዜጎች በዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶቻቸውን እንዳይጠቀሙ እንቅፋት የሚሆኑ ጉዳዮችን ለመከላከል እንዲቻል የፖሊስ ሃይላችን ይበልጥ ተጠናክሮ የዲሞክራሲ ማገር እንዲሆን ልዩ ልዩ እርማጃዎች ይወሰዳሉ።

በተመሳሳይ ሁኔታ ፍርድ ቤቶች በህገመንግስት በተደነገገው መልክ ነጻነታቸው ተጠብቆ እንዲቀረጹና ህገመንግስቱን በትክክል ስራ ላይ ለማዋል የሚያስችል ሚና እንዲጫወቱ ጥረት ይደረጋል።የፖሊስና የፍትህ አካላት በሀገር አቀፍ ደረጃ እስካልተጠናከሩ ድረስ ብቁ የዲሞክራሲ አስጠባቂ ሊሆኑ ስለማይችሉ የክልሎችን የማስፈጠም አቅም ለማጠናከር በሚካሄዱ ስራዎች ሁሉ በየደረጃው የሚገኙ እነዚህን የመንግስት መዋቅሮች ስራቸውን ዲሞክራሲያዊ በሆነ መንገድ ለመፈጠም የሚያስችላቸው ስልጠናም እንዲያገኙ ይደረጋል።

ከዚህ በተጨማሪ በኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ ህገመንግስት ሰብአዊና ድሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች ለሰብአዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች መከበር አስፈላጊ ናቸው ተብለው የታመነባቸው የሰብአዊ መብት ኮሚሽንን የመሳሰሉ ተቁዋሚት እዲቁዋቁዋሙ ይደረጋል።መንግስት ሰብአዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶችን የሚያስከብሩ ተቁዋሞች እንዲቁዋቁዋሙ በማድረግ ሳይወሰን የመንግስት አካላት በተለይም ማእከላዊ መንግስት አካላት የዜጎች ህገ መንግስታዊ መብቶች እንዲያከብሩ ከፍተኛ ክትትልና ቁጥጥር ይደረጋል።

የዲሞክራሲ ባህል ማዳበር ለዲሞክራሲ ማበብና መጠናከር ከፍተኛ አስተዋጥኦ እንዳለው ይታወቃል።የዲሞክራሲ ባህልን ከማዳበር አኳያ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችና ፕሬስ ከፍተኛ ሚና ይጫወታሉ። ፓርቲዎች የያዙዋቸውን የተለያ አቁዋሞች ገንቢና ሰላማዊ በሆነ መንገድ በማራመድ የህብረተሰቡን የአስተሳሰብ አድማስና ዲሞክራሲያዊ ባህል ሊያሰፉ ይችላሉ።በመሆኑም በዚህ ረገድ የግል ፕሬሶችና

ተቃዋሚ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ከፍተኛ ሚና መጫወት ይጠበቅባቸዋል። መላ የሀገራችን ህዝቦች በዲሞክራሲ መብታቸው በስፋት እንዲጠቀሙ የግል ፕሬሴም ሆነ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ግላዊ ስሜትና የፖለቲካ ጥላቻ ያልተጫጫነው መረጃ በማቅረብና ገንቢ ፖለቲካዊ ጫና ለመጫወት አስተዋጥኦ ሊኖራቸው ይገባል።

የጀመርነው የዲሞክራሲ ስርአት ግንባታ ከተቃዋሚ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችና ከግሉ ፕሬስ ይህንን የመሰለ የተቀደሰ ተግባር የሚጠበቅ ቢሆንም በአሁኑ ጊዜ በነጻ ፕሬስና በተቃዋሚ ፓርቲ ስም የሚንቀሳቀሱ አብዛኛዎቹ አካላት ሃላፊነታቸውን ለመወጣት የሚያስችላቸው ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኙ አልሆኑም። በተጨማሪም ሃቅና መረጃ ላይ የተመሰረተ ዜናን ከማቅረብ ይልቅ የፈጠራ ወራዎችን እና አሉባልታ ማስፋፋትን ገንቢ ሂሰና አማራጮችን ከማቅረብ ይልቅ ጭፍን የማጥላላት ዘመቻዎችን ስራዬ ብሎ ማካሄድን መርጠዋል። በህዝቦች መካከል መቀራረብና ወንድማማችነትን ከመገንባት ይልቅ ጥላቻና መቃቃርን ለመፍጠርና አልፎ ተርፎም ህጉን ተጻረረው ወንድማማቾች ህዝቦችን ለማጋጨት ቆርጠው ተሰልፈዋል።

አብዛኛዎቹ የግል ተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎች ይህንን የዘቀጠ ጎዳናን በመምረጣቸው ለጋራ የሀገራችን ድሞክራሲ ከግል ፕሬስና ከተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎች ሊያገኝ የገባ የነበረውን የበሰለ ክርክር ገን ሂሰና በተጨማሪም መረጃ ላይ የተመሰረተ ዜናን መሰረት ያደረገን የዲሞክራሲ ባህል በማጣቱ የሚደርስበት ጉዳት እጅግ ከፍተኛ ነው። በመሆኑም መንግስት በነጻ ፕሬስ ስም ከሚንቀሳቀሱት ዉስጥ በማስተዋልና አርቆ በማሰብ የሃላፊነት መንፈስ የተሞላበት ገንቢና ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሚና ለመጫወት ለሚፈልጉት ልዩ እንክብካቤ ይደረግላቸዋል። በአኳያው ደግሞ ምንም እንኳ ገንቢ ሚና ለመጫወት ዝግጁነት ባይኖራቸውም ህጉን አክብረው ለሚንቀሳቀሱት ሁሉ መብታቸውን በጥብቅ የሚያከብሩላቸውም ቢሆን ህጉን እየጣሰን አፍራሽ ሚናን እየተጫወትን እንቀጥላለን ለሚሉት ግን ህግን እየጣሱ እንዲቀጥሉ ሊፈቀድላቸው አይገባም። በመሆኑም ህጉን በመጣስ ጦርነትና የህዝብ ለህዝብ ፍጅትን በሚሰብኩ ወገኖች ላይ መንግስት ጠንካራ ህጋዊ እርምጃ እንደሚወስድ በጥብቅ ላስገነዝብ እወዳለሁ። @

ዲሞክራሲያዊ ህገመንግስትና እሴትን ለማስፈጠም የሚያስችሉ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ህጎች አሉ። እነዚህን መጣስ ዲሞክራሲን ማፍረስና ማህበራዊ መናጋትን መፈጠር እንጅ ሀገርና ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርአት መገንባት አይችልም። ይህ ትውልድ የጦርነትና የፍጅት ገፊት የቀመሰና የተንገሸገሸ ትውልድ ነው። ጦርነትና ፍጅት በማንኛውም መለኪ እንዲመጣ የሚፈልግ ትውልድ አይደለም። በመሆኑም ጦርነትና እልዎት ዳግም እንዲያገረሹ የመከላከል ፍላጎት ለዚህም ሲባል ህጉን በትክክል ተግባራዊ ማድረግ በምንም አይነት ምክንያት ለማንም ሲባል ለድርድር የማይቀርብ ጉዳይ ነው። ህወጥና አፍራሽ መንገድ የሚመርጡ ነጻ ፕሬሶች ይህንን እውነታ ጠንቅቀው እንዲገነዘቡ እንጠይቃቸዋለን። #

የኢትዮጵያ ዲሞክራሲ ከነዚህ ክፍሎች ብዙ በጣም ብዙ ገንቢና ጠቃሚ አስተዋጥኦን ይጠብቃል። እነዚህ ሃይሎች ለዲሞክራሲ መካከለኛ የሚበጁ መንግስት ለሚያቀርባቸው አማራጭ ሃሳቦች በበሰለ አኳኋን ማዘጋጀትና ማቅረብ ይጠበቅባቸዋል። መንግስት ለሀገር እድገት ይጠቅማሉ ብሎ የሚያወጣቸውን ልዩ ልዩ ፖሊሲዎችን እና የሚያከናውናቸውን ተግባሮች በተጨማሪም መረጃ ላይ ተመስርተው ሂሰ ማድረግና ጉድለቶችም እንዲስተካከሉ መንቀሳቀስ ይጠበቅባቸዋል። ከዚህ ጎን ለጎንም ሁሉንም ሊያስማሙ በሚችሉ ጉዳዮች ላይ ተደጋግፈው መስራትና ለጋራ እድገት ሳይታክቱ መንቀሳቀስም ይጠበቅባቸዋል።

ተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎች ልዩነቶችን በገንቢና በሳል መንገድ በማቅረብ በሚያስማሙ ነጥቦችም በጋራ በመስራት ህዝቡ በርግጥም የተለያዩ አማራጮች እንዲያገኝና የዲሞክራሲ መብቱን በተሙላ አኳኋን ተግባራዊ እንዲያደርግ ሊያገዙት ይገባል። የኢትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግስት ይህን መሰል ገንቢ የተቃዋሚ ፓርቲ ሚና ለመጫወት ዝግጁ የሆኑ ወገኖችን ከግማሽ መንገድ በላይ ተጉዞ ለማስተናገድና አብሮ ለመስራት ዝግጁ ነው። የሚያጋጥሙባቸውን ችግሮች ለመፍታትም ሆነ የፓርቲ ተግባሮቻቸውን ለማቀላጠፍ የሚያስፈልጋቸውን ትብብር ለማድረግም ይፈልጋል።

በሌላ በኩል ግን ባለፉት የሽግግር አመታት እንደተመለከተነው ተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎች የተለያዩ ማመልከቻዎችን እያንጠለጠሉ የወጭ እንግዶችን ማስተናገድን ወይም በየኤምባሲው ማዳረስን ዋናኛ

ሰራቸው ካደረጉ ከዚህም አልፎ በሰላምና በጸረ-ሰላም መንገድ መካከል ድብብቆሽ በመጫወት ከቀጠሉ ጉዳቱ ለሁሉም እንደሚተርፍ ሊታወቅ ይገባል። ተቃዋሚ ፓርቲዎች በዚህ አቅጣጫ እስከተገባዎት ድረስ ዛሬ ብቻ ሳይሆን ከአምስት አመታት በሁዋላም ከቁጥር የሚገባና ፋይዳ ያለው ሚና እንደማይኖራቸው ሳይታለም የተፈታ ነው። ይህ ዉጤት ራሳቸውን ተቃዋሚዎችንም ከመጉዳት አልፎ ሀገሪቱን ገንቢና ጠንካራ ተቃዋሚ በማግኘት ልታዳብር ትችል የነበረው የዲሞክራሲ ባህል እድገት ይገደብባታል። ስለሆነም የኢትዮጵያ የፖለቲካ ጉዳይ ያገባናል የምንል የተደራጀን ወገኖች ሁሉ ለሀገራችን ለህዝባችን እና ለዲሞክራሲያችን ስንል በጋራ መስራት ይኖርብናል። ታሪክና የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች ከተደራጀን የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ከዚህ ያነሰ መልካም ነገር ሊቀበሉ አይችሉም።

የተከበራችሁ የምክር ቤት አባላትና

ጥሪ የተደረገላችሁ እንግዶችና

መላው የሀገራችን ህዝቦች

በየትኛውም ማእዘን የሚኖሩ የሀገራችን ህዝቦች ከአስከፊ ጦርነቶች በኋላ የተጎናጸፉት ሰላም ይበልጥ አስተማማኛ ሆኖ እንዲቀጥል ከፍተኛ ፍላጎት እንዳላቸው መንግስት አበክሮ ይገነዘባል። በመሆኑም ሰላማችንን ዘላቂና ይበልጥ አስተማማኝ ለማድረግ በሚቀጥለው አመት የተለያዩ ተግባራት ይከናወናሉ።

ሰላምን ከማስከበር አኳያ በህገ መንግስቱ በተቀመጠው መመሪያና መርሃ ግብሩ ላይ በሰፊረው እቅድ መሰረት የተመጣጠነ ብሄራዊ ተዋጥኦ የሚረወጥ የአዲሱን የሀገር መከላከያ ሃይል ግንባታችንን በመጭዎቹ አምስት አመታት ለማግባደድ የመጀመሪያዎቹ እርምጃዎች በሚቀጥለው አመት ይወሰዳሉ። ከሚቀጥለው አመት ጀምሮ ሰራዊቱ ለሀገራችን ስሜትና በህዝብ ለተመረጠው መንግስት ብቻ የሚታዘዝ ከማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ድርጅት ተጥኦ ነጻ የሆነ ፕሮፌሽናል ሰራዊት እንዲሆን ይደረጋል። ሰራዊቱ የሀገራችንን ህብረ-ብሄራዊ ገጽታ የሚያንጠባርቅና ሁሉም ህዝቦች አለኝታችን ነው የሚሉት ሊሆን የሚችለው ከላይ እስከታች ብሄራዊ ተዋጥኦ የተመጣጠነ ሰራዊት ሲሆን በመሆኑ የሰራዊቱን ስብጥር ለማስተካከል ከሚቀጥለው አመት ጀምሮ የተጠናከረ እርምጃ ይወሰዳል። የመከላከያ ሰራዊት የሚሰጠውን ማንኛውንም ተልእኮ በሚያስተማምን አኳኝን እንዲፈጽም ለሀገ-መንግስቱ ታማኝ የሆነና የሀገራችንን ሉአላዊነት የማስከበር ብቃት የተጎናጠፈ ሊሆን ይገባል። ከዚህ አኳያ ሰራዊቱን ሀገ-መንግስታዊ ግንዛብና ሉአላዊነታችንን የማስከበር ብቃት ለማሳደግ በሚቀጥለው አመት በሁሉም ደረጃዎች ሰፊ ያለ ስልጠና ይካሄዳል። በተመሳሳይ ሁኔታ ለሰራዊቱ ልዩ ልዩ ድጋፎችን እንዲሰጥና የኢትዮጵያን ሉአላዊነትና ደህንነት ለማስጠበቅ ህዝባዊ ባህሪ ይዞ በመደራጀት ላይ ያለው የአየር ሃይላችን በሚቀጥለው አመት በተሻለ አቋም ላይ እንዲገኝ የሚያደርግ ሲሆን የአየር ሃይላች ቢያንስ -----ንም ወደነበረበት ደረጃ እንዲደርስ ጥረት ያደረጋል። የባህር ሃይል ግና አላስፈላጊ የሆነበት ሁኔታ በመፈጠሩ የሚታጠፍበት እንቅስቃሴ ይካሄዳል።

የመከላከያ ሃይላችን ሰላምን ለማስከበር ከሚጫወተው ሚና በተጨማሪ የፖሊስና የደህናነት አካላትም የራሳቸው ከፍተኛ ተፈላጊነት እንዳለው ይታወቃል። በመሆኑም መንግስት በሚቀጥለው አመት በከተማም በገጠርም የህዝቡን ሰላም ለማስጠበቅ የተደራጁትን የፖሊስና የህዝብ ታጣቂ ሃይሎች አደረጃጀት ለማሻሻልና ብቃታቸውን ለማሳደግ የሚያስችሉ ተጨማሪ ስራዎች ይከናወናሉ። የፖሊስና የደህንነት አካላትም ለሀገ-መንግስቱ ታማኝ ሆነው ሰራቸውን በህዝባዊ መንፈስና በጽኑ ዲስፕሊን እንዲያከናውኑ አስፈላጊው ስልጠና እንዲሰጣቸው አደረጃጀታቸውም ጥራት እንዲኖረው ይደረጋል።

አገራችን ኢትዮጵያ በዉስጡ ሰላም እንዲሰፍን ካደረገችው ጥረት ባልተናነሰ ሁኔታ ከጎረቤት ሀገሮች ጋርም በሰላምና በጽኑ የወንድማማችነት መንፈስ በመልካም ጉርብትና ለመኖር ያላትን ፍላጎት በቃልም በተግባርም ደጋግማ አሳይታለች። በዚህም ላይ ወሰን ከጎረቤት ሀገሮቻችን ጋር በጋራ ጥቅም ላይ ለተመሰረተ ኢኮኖሚያዊ

ትብብር ስንሰራ ቆይተናል። የሚቀጥለውም አመት በዚህ መስክ ሰፊ እንቅስቃሴ የምናካሂድበት ይሆናል። መንግስታችን እና መላው ህዝባችን ከጎረቤታችን ጋር በሰላም እና በወሰጥ ጉዳይ ጣልቃ ባለመግባት ተስማምተው ለመኖር ያላቸው ፍላጎት እና ዝግጁነት በሌላውም አቅጣጫ ምላሽ ያገኛል የሚል እምነታችን የጠና ነው።

ይህም ሆኖ ከሁሉም ሀገሮች ጋር በሰላምና በወዳጅነት ለመኖር ያልጠቆጠበ ጥረት የምናደርገውን ያህል ይህን የመልካም ምኞት እንቅስቃሴያችን ከድክመት በመቁጠር በደህንነታችን እና በብሄራዊ ጥቅማችን ላይ ተንኮል የሚያስቡና የሚፈጥሙ ካሉ ብሄራዊ ጥቅማችን እና ደህንነታችንን ለማስከበር ስንል ተገቢና አስፈላጊ ሆነው የሚገኙ እርምጃዎች ከመወሰድ አንቆጠብም።#

የተከበራችሁ የምክር ቤት አባላትና

ጥሪ የተደረገላችሁ እንግዶችና

መላው የሀገራችን ህዝቦች

የኢትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ መንግስት የአምስት አመታቱን የልማት የሰላምና የዴሞክራሲ መርሃ-ግብር በስራ ላይ ለማዋል በምንይዘው የባጀት አመቱ ሊሰራቸው ያቀዳቸው ተግባራት ከሞላ ጎደል ክፍ ብዬ የዘረዘርክዋቸው ናቸው። የረጅም ርቀት ጉዞ በርምጃ ይጀመራል እንደሚባለው በሚቀጥላው አመት የምንፈጥማቸው ተግባራት የአምስት አመታት ትልማችንን በስራ ላይ ለማዋል የምንጥላቸው የመሰረተ ድንጋጆች ከመሆናቸውም በላይ በተግባር በዋለበት መጠን ለልዩ ልዩ የህብረተሰብ ክፍሎች የተሻለ ጠቀሜታን ያስገኛሉ። በመሆኑም ለቀጣይ አመት እቅዶቻችን መሳካት መላ የሀገራችን ህዝቦች በአጭር ታጥቀው እንዲነሱ በኢትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ መንግስት ስም ጥሪዬን አቀርባለሁ።@

**ለዴሞክራሲያዊት ኢትዮጵያ ግንባታ በጋራ እንነሳ!**

**አመሰግናለሁ!**

Esteemed Speaker

Esteemed members of the House of Representatives

Esteemed peoples of our country, invited guests

Ladies and gentlemen,

On this historical day, as our country, Ethiopia makes a peaceful transfer of power in accordance with its governance system, I would like to express the unique pride I feel to be standing before this august house and make this speech.

Before anything else, I would like to express my highest appreciation to His Excellency Hailemariam Desalegn, for his exemplary step in voluntarily stepping down and transferring his power to be part of the solution for the instability that has gripped the country in recent years; for believing that a new leadership is better suited to tackle these problems; for prioritizing the dignity of the country and the country's national interests in a manner that can set precedence for our continent.

Similarly, in the name of all our people, I would like to thank everyone who have been playing special roles to ensure that the transfer of state power takes place without any glitch.

It is a historical day for our country. In our long history, we have been given so many opportunities at different junctures to chart a new political beginning. Many of them passed without us taking advantage of them. This transfer of power is another historical opportunity to start a new chapter. Therefore, it is important that we make use of it appropriately with the spirit of utmost responsibility.

Ethiopia is a country of fertile wombs. It has produced many children that strive relentlessly out of a great spirit of love for the country. Its children strongly aspire and strive tirelessly to return the country to its past glory; and to ensure that the peace and security of its people is protected and that prosperity is extended to all of its citizens without any discrimination.

Be it in the country or outside of the country, they shout, debate and litigate for the national unity of the country and for its peace, for justice and equality, and also about its prosperity. This transfer of power is indicative of two main truths. On the one hand, it is indicative of the fact that we have laid the foundations for a durable and all-inclusive constitutional order; on the other hand, it is indicative of the fact that we are building a system that walks at part with the country's political, economic, and social conditions and which is governed by the will of the people, that which makes the people its master and serves them accordingly.

The occasion is one in which we learn from our mistakes and make up to our country. Our leading organization, EPRDF, by holding firmly on to its developmental path, has produced, during the years that it led our country for over two decades, fundamental changes in all sectors and has built a constitutional and federal system.

We are in a national transformation which is viewed around the world, on one hand, with great attention, admiration, and expectation; and on the other hand, with great concern.

As much there are many achievements that have been registered, we also believe there are deficiencies that need to be tackled expeditiously. While learning from our mistakes and forging ahead, our primary focus needs to be on building a better country for all of us. The crux of the matter is to catapult our country to a higher level of development and move forward while ensuring that its unity is secured on a sustainable basis.

The wisdom thought us by our Ethiopianess is not to be overcome by temporary obstacles but rather to change the trials we face into opportunities and desirable accidents and achieve victory. Yesterday, our forefathers, broke their bones in Metema, Adwa, Maichew, and Karraa Marra and shed their precious blood to preserve and bequeath to us a country that has been able to keep its independence and pride.

We are lucky; we have a beautiful country and a proud history. We know our beginnings. We are a great people that has a history that has traversed many centuries. Our unity can be an example to the world. It has vanquished our enemies; protected our sovereignty and brought us to this day becoming an example for other people struggling for their independence.

Our identity is built in such a way that it is inseparable; it is threaded in a manner that cannot be untangled. It is integrated out of love. The Amhara have sacrificed in Karra Marra for our country's sovereignty – becoming intermingled with its soil. The Tigrayans have sacrificed in Metema saying, take my neck before my country and becoming intermingled with its soil. The Oromo have given his chest on the mountains of Adwa to protect the country's sovereignty and have intermingled with the soils of Adwa.

The Somali, the Sidama, the Benishangul, the Walaita, the Gambella, the Gurage, the Afar, the Silte, the Kambata, the Hadiya, the Harari, and all other peoples of Ethiopia have fallen saying my death before Badme and intermingled with its soil.

As one Ethiopian father said, “While alive, we are humans; upon passing, we become soil and hence become country.” You will find the precious bodies of every Ethiopian from every corner of the country become soil in another part of the country. We Ethiopians, while alive, we are Ethiopians; when we die, we become Ethiopia.

Ethiopia is a country of all of us us and its is our common house. In one country, there will inevitably be differences in opinion. Differences in opinion are not curses. When we are able to listen to each other despite our differences and engage in principled discourse, our differences return dividends in the form of blessings. In a fight over ideas, are solutions. There is strength in cooperation. When we team up, we become stronger. There is no problem that unity cannot resolve. Because it builds nation. The sentiment that “I rather die than see my idea not win” destroys families, let alone nations. What we have is one Ethiopia. Above any political thought, national unity is supreme. We need to however underline that national unity doesn't mean oneness. Our unity needs to be one that embraces our diversity and highlights our multinational identity.

## **We Ethiopians need and also deserve democracy.**

Democracy is not for us an alien idea. When it was foreign to many peoples and countries, we lived under and governed by our democratic Gadaa system becoming an example on to the world. Today, for us building democracy is an existential matter—than it is to any other country.

Democracy is unthinkable without freedom. Freedom is not a gift doled out to people by a government. Rather a gift of nature to everyone that emanates from our human dignity. We need to respect all human and democratic rights, especially to free expression, assembly and organization, by upholding the constitution that emerged from this understanding of freedom. The rights of all our citizens to take part in all structures and at all levels in a democratic manner need to be fully realized.

What we all need to understand is that building democratic system demands listening to each other. The people have the full right to criticize its servants, to elect them, and to interrogate them. Government is a servant of the people. This is because our governing principle is popular sovereignty. In a democratic system, the first and last principle ought to be that of entertaining differences of opinion by listening to each other. By realizing that Ethiopia belongs to us all, that it is our common property, we will strongly and steadfastly continue with our efforts to build a democratic system in which the voices of all Ethiopians is heard and everyone is allowed equal participation.

In a democratic system, the government allow citizens to express their ideas freely without any fear. The right of citizens for free movement cannot be built without the leadership, support, and open-heartedness of government. Therefore, the government will work with great resolve so that the free and peaceful movement of citizens is respected (not obstructed).

In the same vein, when citizens express their ideas, it has to be in a peaceful manner. Because asking for one's own democratic rights and violating the rights of another are self-contradictory. It also stunts the growth of democracy. The government needs to respect the law. It is also its obligation to ensure that the law is respected. Being patient and reserved is also its obligation. When the patience of the government is missing, it harms democracy.

In both ways, the democracy that we yearn for cannot become a reality. In democratic governance, the supremacy of the law needs to be established. One wisdom that we need not forget while trying to ensure the supremacy of the law is that our people are not looking simply for the presence laws but also the realization of justice. The enforcement of the law need not be divorced from justice. What our people are striving for isn't a dry law but rather a system of laws conceived within justice, that stands for justice. What the people are looking for are neutral and non-partisan law enforcement officers that are loyal to the law and those that jealously guard the rights of citizens.

The law must rule us all equitably. When it does, the law protects for all of us the dignity that emanates from our humanity. By comprehending this truth, we shall fill the gap in the administration of justice by making the necessary reforms (improvements) so that democracy

will flourish in our country; so that freedom and justice shall reign; so that the supremacy of the law becomes a reality.

For peace, the foundation is justice. Peace is not the absence of conflict. Peace is an inviolable unity built on our common understandings. Peace is our confidence in each other. Peace is our common journey that continued to this day through our coming together in unity. Peace is our path and our goal that allows us to solve disagreements and conflicts in a civilized manner.

Esteemed Speaker

Esteemed members of the House of Representatives

Ladies and gentlemen,

We find ourselves in a time when the Horn of Africa is gripped by lots of crisis and where many forces with different interests and objectives are scrambling and where there are many complex entanglements. At the same time, it is a region where there are many peoples interconnected with culture, language and long history.

Regarding our foreign relations: Our country is the foundation of Pan-Africanism, the founder and seat of the African Union, the founder of many leading international organizations, and a country that plays a notable role in regional, continental, and global matters. This policy of ours built on common interest and common benefit, we will strengthen and continue with it. With our African brothers in generally and with our neighbors in particular, we will stand together in times of hardship as well as in times of happiness.

With the government of Eritrea, we want from the bottom of our hearts that the disagreement that has reigned for years to comes to an end. We would also discharge our responsibility. While expressing our readiness resolve our differences through dialogue, I take this opportunity to call on the Eritrean government to take a similar stand not only for the sake of our common interest but also for the common blood relations between the peoples of the two countries.

Esteemed Speaker

Esteemed members of the House of Representatives

Ladies and gentlemen,

Corruption is one of the main reasons that have galvanized the grievances of our people in recent years. We have come to learn that it is impossible to combat corruption by merely establishing anti-corruption institutions. I politely ask all of us to do all we can to ensure that Ethiopia won't become a country where one works hard and the other simply snatches it away.

It is impossible for a people and a country that is busy taking away a wealth that was created yesterday from another and settling scores to move forward. In situation where there is a bigger pie where everyone can work and become prosperous, Ethiopia will not become one in which

one thinks, let alone be obliged, to steal from another. Rather, let us busy ourselves with utilizing the unique opportunities presented to us by the circumstances, coordinating our national capacity, and overcoming our scarcity and shortage mindset. The famous Indian freedom movement leader, Mahatma Gandhi, once said, “the world has enough resources for everyone’s need, but not enough for everyone’s greed.” In the new path that we just charted, we shall work tirelessly day in and day out to combat robbery, wastage of wealth, and fight organized corruption in a manner that will enable all our people to participate.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Due to the fast growth that our country has achieved over the past years, our successes in poverty alleviation; in building basic infrastructure; in human resource development and the like are visible for everyone. In this regard, the government has taken policy and practical actions to contain price inflation; to stabilize the foreign exchange market; to keep the health of the financial sector; to expand the reach and access of financial services needed for the economy; to generate foreign currency; to encourage savings and investment; to create employment opportunities; to increase the per capita income of the people as well as to reduce abject poverty.

At the same time, during the last few years, there has been events and challenges that try our economic growth and the stability of macro economy. Among these problems, the main ones are the fact that our foreign trade has not grown as much as we would like and following from this the mismatch between the demand and supply of foreign exchange; price inflation; rising living expenses; the weight of foreign debt and the growing the gap domestic saving and investment.

Even though the progress being made in the agricultural sector are encouraging, we have failed to sufficiently support this sector with the necessary technology and as a result failed to collect the dividends that we were supposed to get from it as a country.

As a big country and people, to reach the peak of the successes that we desire and also solve the problems that we have, we believe that the key solution is to be found in education and only in education.

Even though the government is paying attention to the educational sector and working hard, particularly with regard to ensuring the quality of education, we notice that we have many homework to do and many activities will be carried out.

While the expansion of education is among the commendable achievements of our government, as long as that educational coverage and reach is not supported with quality, our relentless efforts won’t bear the fruits that we desire. Accordingly, starting from primary school all the way to the institutions of higher education, the government will redouble its efforts with absolute determination to make all our centers of knowledge to focus on quality. Maximum effort will be made to ensure that especially graduates from our higher education institutions and technical and vocational colleges harvest knowledge that is comparable to their endowment of abilities.

To deal with these problems and many others, after an evaluation of the two-year performance of our Growth and Transformation Plan, we shall take the necessary policy decisions and produce fast economic growth.

Dear youth of our country

Ethiopia is yours. The future is above all else yours. Even now, you have to also take the vanguard role in building the country. The questions of the youth are not solely one of economy and equitable benefit, we believe they are also about justice and democracy. With respect to guaranteeing equitable benefits to all members of society, their social justice, and political involvement, there have been gaps. Even though our country has been producing good economic growth outcomes, it was not sufficient to meet the demands of the youth that shifts both in form and content.

We realize that this led to the grievances felt by our people. We also realize that without benefiting the youth and without their active participation, the country cannot go anywhere. We will do all we can to ensure that Ethiopia becomes a country that gives its youth hope rather than one that sucks up their hope. In the forthcoming periods, we will work not only to create job opportunities for the youth but also to create numerous youth entrepreneurs. The mindsets and the elaborate and discriminatory bureaucratic hurdles which stand as obstacles to this objective will be removed and the government shall create conducive environment for a just social and economic order. A truth that we should never forget though is that it is the youth itself, through its efforts and creativity, that can create a better future for itself and for the country.

Dear women of Ethiopia,

Under numerous difficulty and trying conditions, you have built Ethiopia; you have made history; shaped generations; and brought us to this day. In your struggles, you have huge sacrifices so that we have a better country. Your struggle is a just struggle. Your struggle is a dignified and respectable struggle. Your struggle is our struggle. Even though the government has taken steps to ensure that benefits are accruing to women and recognize their all-rounded contribution to the progress of our country, we believe what we have done falls far short in comparison to that which have not been done.

Accordingly, in the future, I have great hope that the women of our country will utilize the talents nature have blessed you with to continue to play a positive role in our country's growth and its prosperity and for the success of our politics. Our national identity is meaningless without the participation of Ethiopian women. By denying due recognition to women who built our country, served our country, and helped it to stand on its feet, it is impossible to establish national renaissance. Our government's stand on the rights of women and their equality is not out of favor to them but rather for our common good. The government duly realizes that a nation that neglects and marginalizes half of its population absolutely cannot have a full and complete body and cannot move forward. Accordingly, our government shall endeavor with resolute dedication to speed up its efforts to improve women's all-rounded participation and their benefit.

Esteemed Speaker

Esteemed members of the House of Representatives

Esteemed peoples of our country

Esteemed invited guests

Ladies and gentlemen,

Our problems are many and don't allow us any respite. Lack of a developed democratic culture, deep-rooted poverty, organized corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency, and lack of good governance have been compounding. It has created a complex and trying challenge for us. It is regrettable that over the last few years many members of our society have been uprooted from their places of residence. They were exposed to displacement and grave loss of life and property. The rights of citizens to freely move throughout the country and make a living needs to be respected. Accordingly, we will strive to stop these unbecoming practices and ensure that such actions are never repeated again. Let alone facing them divided, our problems demand years of work even working together in love and unison.

Accordingly, to make up for lost times and be able to move forward, we will strive forward with a new spirit. All our problems cannot be solved in a single day. However, we can speed up the work we have begun to build a better country for all. There is a strong initiative on the part of the government to build a better country. But we all have responsibilities. Rather than seeing each other as strangers and seeing each other with indifference as members of different countries, we must hold each other's hands and strive together as actual owners of the country. If we did so, both our failures and triumphs will be shared. In the remaining years of the second Growth and Transformation Plan, we will strive to implement ongoing development programs with expeditious speed. I call upon all with great responsibility to help make up for the adverse economic and social impact caused due to the political instability of the last few years.

Esteemed Speaker

Esteemed members of the House of Representatives

Ladies and gentlemen,

### **My Ethiopian compatriots living abroad**

Every Ethiopian who goes abroad, be it for work or studies, travels around carrying Ethiopia with them. That is why it is said, "you can take an Ethiopian out of Ethiopia but you cannot take Ethiopia out of the heart of an Ethiopian." Because of your hard work, your excellence, and your country's deeply-ingrained sense of decency that would follow you wherever you go, you are ambassadors of Ethiopia and its core values. Sometimes, while living in a country that is less endowed with natural and historical resources than Ethiopia but which is very developed, it is inevitable that you feel regret about your country. That regret is in all of us. It is inevitable for your to be regretful seeing our efforts to utilize the country's resources to the maximum coming up too short. And you should be regretful. To change this condition, because we have a country

that is not only sufficient for all of us but one that demands the contributions of all of us, for those you who want to bring your knowledge and experiences and return to your country and develop your country, we will welcome you with open arms. For those of you who have made your home in other countries, our government will continue with unreserved efforts to facilitate your active participation in your country's affairs and its transformation in any way you can.

### **Dear our development partners**

Those of you who have been assisting our efforts thus far in the areas of peace and development, we realize that you are close friends of our country. I am hopeful that you will continue to stand with us in the renewed efforts we are making to ensure the peace and development of our country.

The coming time in Ethiopia will be a time of love and forgiveness. We desire our country to be one of justice, peace and freedom and where its citizens are interconnected with the unbreakable chord of humanity and brotherhood. This dream of ours will be a reality only if we wake up from our slumber and work diligently. It is good to have great hopes and wishes. However, our hopes and wishes are not enough on their own. It is incumbent upon us to work hard, to be diligent and to wage a relentless struggle.

What we need to make our first and primary task is and where our struggle ought to concentrate on is upon ourselves. We have to cleanse our thoughts from hatred; different political views and religion are our blessings, we have to conduct them with love. Even if there are disagreements arising from our differences, we should side with justice rather than injustice and correct our moral lenses. Justice should be our main principle; love and respect for all human beings ought to be our moral compass. This is our eternal job that cannot be completed and a work that needs to be always performed. It is our lifelong assignment. To bring our country to the current stage, several past generations have paid sacrifices.

Many have also been martyred to give birth to our new democratic order. To develop our fledgling democracy, it is not necessary for us to pay any additional life and bodily sacrifices. In the past years, both as a nation of citizens and as a state, we have suffered great harm due to the shortcomings that are compounded because of the lack of a mature democratic system. The lives of many of our citizens have been cut short and many private and public properties have been destroyed. This, all of us should have averted and must have stopped.

I ask a forgiveness from the bottom of my heart for the many advocates of freedom and justice and politicians and the many change-seeking youth whose lives were cut short before they were able to enjoy and have fun during the primes of their lives and for the many individuals and families who were exposed to both psychological and bodily trauma during the past many years. Likewise, I would like to express my highest admiration and respect for the members of the security forces whose lives were lost to keep peace and in the line of duty in the service of their constitutional responsibility. I would like to take this opportunity to promise our people that we will devise solutions for the problems that led to these crises and make up to our people.

**For all Ethiopians and those of Ethiopian descent living inside and outside of the country living as refugees/exiles,**

I call on us all to forgive each other from our hearts; to close the chapters from yesterday, and to forge ahead to next bright future through national consensus.

**Dear leaders opposition parties,**

From this day forward, we will look at political parties outside of EPRDF as competitors rather than enemies (opponents); their supporters as brothers and sisters who have alternative ideas and who love their country, and as a collection of citizens. Therefore, because there is an absolute desire on the part of the government to allow opposition parties to operate freely and create a conducive and fair and level playing field, we call on those of you who are struggling for peace and justice in various ways, to eschew, out of political foresightedness, out of love for country, and out of the principle of give and take, political thoughts and lines that undermine our unity and put our common good on danger and forfeit our national interests and benefits, and to assist our efforts to create a better political culture.

To our farmers, those living off animal husbandry, those engaged in various occupations, to our country's security forces, intellectuals, business people, residents of urban areas as well as those residing in the countryside, people of all trades, elders of the country, Muslims, Christians, Waaqefattas and all other compatriots, to nations, nationalities, and peoples living from north to south and from east to west,

Let us all strive to develop a mature democracy. Let us diligently work to lift our country from the depth of poverty. Let us eliminate racism and discord from our country. Let us create an educated citizen that debates ideas based on reason.

This day marks the 7th year of the inauguration of our Grand Renaissance Dam, our national pride. The unity and coming together that was observed in the building of this dam has showed us that we can overcome the many problems that are facing our country. Let us hold on to this spirit past the completion of the dam and persevere until we establish a new height for our country's prosperity.

Finally, in a manner that is not accustomed to by this house, I would like to thank a few organs. First of all, I would like to thank with special honor and love my organization and the people of my country that elected me to this high office and entrusted me with this responsibility. Second, I politely ask you to thank one Ethiopian mother who, while I was still a 7-year-old boy, knew that I would someday stand before you and who planted this distant and deep and elaborately sophisticated vision in me, who raised me, and brought me to fruition.

My mother is counted among the many kind, innocent, and hardworking Ethiopian mothers. She did not have a lot of material wealth and worldly knowledge. In thanking my mother, I consider it equivalent to extending thanks to all Ethiopian mothers. Even though my beloved mother is not with us today, may my thanks and love reach her place of eternal rest. I want to honor her with many thanks. By recognizing the role of other Ethiopian mothers in shaping their children's

vision for tomorrow, for the good fruits that they will harvest tomorrow, I want to emphasize that the seed they plant today is the main investment. I extend my heartfelt love, admiration and thanks as well as honor and dignity for their sacrifices. Since our children are the main protagonists to ensure that the renaissance of this country is secured, I ask you to continue to play your motherly role with great responsibility. Third, for a man's success, the spouse's contribution goes for the two-thirds. One is for theirs, the other for their husbands. The third includes their children. Sometimes, their achievements and successes transcend this. My beloved wife, Zenash Tayachew, have supported me mightily by inheriting my mother's vision and becoming a replacement for my mother. I would like to greatly thank her.

Finally, had it been not for my close comrades in the struggle, who became a source of energy during times of weakness and power during good times, without these friends and brothers, I would not have stood before you today. To all my dear comrades and friends, I extend my heartfelt thanks.

**May Ethiopia gain greatness from her children's efforts, be respected in the world, become prosperous, and live forever. May God bless Ethiopia and its peoples!**

**Thank you!**

## **Inaugural speech of the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi**

Esteemed members of the House of Representatives

Esteemed invited guests

And peoples of our country

First of all, as the transitional period has been successfully completed and as we are able to transit to a fully democratic government that enables to meet the need of a longstanding interest of our people, I would like to express my limitless pleasure on behalf of the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Our country Ethiopia freeing self from anarchic system of government where there was no gleam for democracy, for reaching to build democratic political system, for the last four years we have passed through a peaceful, democratic transitional period believing first the importance of having a transition where the rights of all citizens is respected.

Since the eve of the fall down of the Derg regime, in accordance with a plan set by EPRDF for peaceful and democratic transition program, in the successfully completed transitional time, the entire people of our country, more than entertaining peace and democracy, they have started to have a direct and significance role in many aspect of the country. As a result, they have ratified the democratic constitution that the country is led by after they participated fully in its process of drafting to ratification.

Based on the constitution, in an election undertaken on May 29<sup>th</sup>, they have elected their representatives and leaders whom they considered capable of leading this country; here they have formed the Ethiopian Federal democratic government.

To fulfill the responsibility consigned by the people, the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia will make its focus of the implementation of the EPRDF's development, peace and democracy plan with mobilization in the coming five years.

As tried to describe in different occasions, if the main goals and strategies put in the five year plan of the government are implemented fully, we can start solving the problem of our people meaningfully. Therefore, to implement the five year plan, the government will effect some detailed plans.

Even though setting economic reform strategies to solve the economic problem of our country is unquestionable, having no capacity to implement the designed strategies, it becomes inevitable for the programs to have only aesthetic value.

Therefore starting from the center especially in regions and woredas, it is important to build the capacity so as to implement the programs. In countries like Ethiopia where the chance to education and civilization is limited, building the capacity for the implementation of development plans, would take longer process and effort. However, in our case, for our development plans to be implemented, the issue of building the capacity is a thing that should now be started and we should put stronger efforts.

Basing this issue, the main focus of direction of the government in the coming year will be building the capacity of regional states for the implementation of their plan. When we raise the issue fostering the capacity building of the regions, the priority is given to producing skilled man power in an enough way important to the implementation of the plans mentioned in the five years plan like teachers, health workers, water resource development professionals. The government will facilitate conditions and introduce detailed plan implemented in levels that enables to produce those skilled professionals with the intended quality and quantity.

In this regard, formerly established higher institutions providing the skilled man power will be made to continue work in strengthened manner to play their part in building capacity. The government will continue working with focus to make the higher institutions to have better structure and system so as to able to produce skilled man power in practicable areas.

With regard to fostering the capacity of regional states, the one that has a big importance is the civil service college that started recently its work whose major goal is filling the gap of the regional states in aspect of lack of skilled man power. As long as its goal is solving the problem, the institution will be made in the next year to continue producing the skilled man power.

Accordingly, to assure the quality of education given by the college, the college will be strengthened highly with professional teachers both from domestic and abroad. Even though it is important to have produced the skilled man power in higher institutions capable and supportive for the implementation of our economic programs, it is not believed that we can build the intended capacity with this training only. Therefore, aside to the trainings given in the higher institutions, it is necessary to have some efficiency improving short workshops to actors. In this regard, In the next year, profession improving trainings for administrators and professionals of different level will be prepared. With these profession improving programs, especially administrators and professionals in lower administrative level will be made participate widely. (MISSED).....

Unless administrators found in different levels are organized to operate in a way that they can achieve higher, it is not believed that our development programs will be successful as intended.

Hence, regional government states should have the pure formed structure so as to use the skilled man power effectively and efficiently. In this respect, based on the studies being conducted by

the central government at the moment, for regional states to make them have the intended structure and working quality, the central government will make unlimited efforts and support in the next year.

In the next year, in addition to those actions taken to strengthen the regional states and lower level administrative organs in professionalism and best structure, the central government would put special effort to strengthen financial power of regional states.

Therefore, to implement fully the budget subsidy given by the government to the regional states, based on budget allocation experiences of the transitional time and declared principles from the constitution, budget subsidy and allocation program will be designed. Unlimited efforts will be made to foster the revenue collecting capacities in addition to the budget subsidy the regional states they receive from the central government. Though it is realized that the aforementioned actions can strengthen the capacity of regional states in an organized way, it is not believed that only this can bring about the planned result.

In any ways, building the capacity of the regional states to the planned level is determined by the efforts of the regional states themselves and public participation. Therefore, the regional states should strive doing day and night to strengthen their capacity. In relation to the implementation of development plans, they should facilitate all the powers they have to strengthen the participation of the people.

On this occasion, realizing that any development activity is unachievable without the participation of the people, I call up on the regional states to engage, motivate and facilitate all the people to the developmental activities on behalf of the government of the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia.

As clearly stated in our five year development peace and democracy program, to expand our economic development, the main action expected from the government is designing suitable policies and implement them in one way, and expanding infrastructures in another. In this regard, in this fiscal year, building and expanding rural roads will be made continue in strengthened manner. As building rural roads the mandate of regional governments, the main focus of the central government will be building the capacity of regional states to build rural roads next year. Therefore, the regional governments will be made to have the intended capacity to build and survey the rural roads strengthening them with skilled man power and machineries. For the regional states, other than giving them wider support from the government to have the capacity build roads and newer ones giving contracts, necessary budget subsidy will be made to accomplish their development plans.

Besides building rural roads for the benefits of the rural society in terms of infrastructure, it is unquestionable that maintaining and improving the qualities of the main roads fosters our

development. Realizing this basic fact, the federal government has devised a five year road construction program at the cost of 1.3 billion dollars. As foreign aid and loan is needed for the implementation of the program, the program detail will be disseminated to aid organizations and lending agencies and meeting will be made recently that enables to collect aid and loan from. Therefore based on the result of the meeting, implementation of the program will be started. The other important infrastructure for our country's investment expansion activity is the telephone service. Despite the vast potentials of the country, the absence of communication infrastructure has discouraged the promotion of investment in various regions. In this regard, a three year plan is devised to alleviate the problem of telephone service faced by regional capitals and enable small towns get access to telephone services. The full implementation of this plan will start next year.

It is repeatedly stated that we are hosting an increasing capital investment questions each year facilitated by right investment policies and created conducive environment. As the investments engaged, our country would face higher shortage of energy. Even it is own that our country Ethiopia has a potential of sufficient hydro power resource to solve the problem sustainably, much money and time is needed to develop and decrease our shortage. Understanding this general situation, the central government is prepared to take actions that can decrease the problem with medium and short terms beside to fulfilling our energy need in the long term. In this aspect, it is believed that in the next year preparations will be finished and hiring contactors will be started to the newer and faster construction of Gilgel Gibe hydro power.

Along with this, the necessary work of experimenting and designing will be started to build medium hydro power dams in different parts of the country that can be finished shortly. Not waiting till the power shortage is resolved with the completion of the hydro power dams, the government will undertake procurement of diesel generators with less than 27 MW of power to alleviate the current shortage. In addition, development projects will be developed and the development of mild geothermal power in the Rift Valley will be developed. The energy generated by these integrated approaches will be facilitated with cost savings system.

With the development of energy sources in line with the efforts to develop and conserve energy, the work of the center of the Gambit Numero Gimbi will continue to intensify this year.

It is believed that further development will be required from next year to implement the five-year plan on education and health in the Peace and Democracy Program. The work that needs to be done, particularly education and infrastructure, is mainly done by the provincial governments, mainly through the provision of education and infrastructure. As a result, states will be increasingly able to develop new schools and hospitals and develop more effective teachers and health professionals and create more favorable working conditions for professionals.

The central government, on the other hand, will develop and implement a high quality education plan and outline health and education programs and will undertake extensive activities in the coming years to collect foreign loan and assistance. While these programs have significant contribution to our development activities, it is ultimately the development of the agricultural sector in the next five years that will determine our country's economic potential. As a result, the central government is prepared to implement various programs with a particular focus on agricultural development. The plans for expanding rural roads, schools and health institutions, as well as rural infrastructure, are known to play a significant role in supporting our agricultural development.

In addition to these activities, it is an agricultural extension program that is being tried in summer in areas of our country that get lesser rain, is believed to have a significant role to accelerate our agricultural development. This extension program is designed to maximize production through a combination of improved agricultural methods and credit services. The program is being tested by some 40,000 farmers in 225 woredas during the 1987 EC season, with an in-depth look at the system's performance and learning key lessons in 1988 to increase the scope of the program to tenfold. In order to undertake research and capacity building to develop short-term and sustainable irrigation schemes, to develop projects that will open the agriculture sector, and to expand small-scale dams and irrigation, development will be undertaken, in areas of our country where there is not enough rain

The central government provides support to strengthen the capacity of the regions in this regard. These are the major activities to be undertaken next year to increase our country's food production and, in addition to the major programs, strategies will be developed to increase the ownership and production of livestock. In areas such as pest control and the like, a wide variety of programs are designed and implemented.

Other programs will be developed and implemented to encourage private investors to work in the agricultural sector, one of the most important sectors that must be addressed in the development of our economy. After it comes through the transitional period, it is well-known that our country has achieved satisfactory results in a series of economic changes with the implementation of such economic reforms believed to stabilize the economy. As a result, our foreign exchange rates have been able to determine the market price at a level that is not gradual and without causing social stagnation. With it, controlling inflation as much as possible and keeping bank interest above inflation has been achieved.

As the measures taken have allowed our economy to continue to move forward, based on the positive results we have achieved so far, economic reform activities will be made continue having been deepened and widened in the next year.

Eventhough we have realized that we have gained experience that we can achieve better results once we start to make economic reforms, we should not overlook the problems associated with rising inflation over the past year. On the one hand, because of the shortage of rainfall in 1986, 87 years, our agricultural supply hasn't grown to a considerable extent and supplied to the market, as our financial supply has grown higher, on the other hand, considerable inflation has been created. In addition to the economic problems of inflation, it can weaken the purchasing power of the society and disrupt our entire economic program. As a result, the government is working hard to control inflation over the past year. To maintain the flow of rigorous monetary and fiscal policy, we can increase our financial supply to just the right size to enable us to control inflation.

In this regard, the currency exchange supply in away it motivates exporters in one way, on the other hand, the government will put an effort regulate the price of oil and fertilizer. Emphasis is given to the development of our country's economic activity as a function of the tax collected from various economic activities over the coming year. During the transition, economic policy began to improve the tax structure, on the one hand, to increase the tax base on the one hand, and on the other, increase the tax rate from the current (-----) percent to (-). -----) to encourage investment by lowering percent. In addition to the government's action to lower tax rates, greater efforts will be made to improve and strengthen the tax collection system so that taxpayers are expected to pay all the taxes they have been paid on time. The government's economic policies and the country's peace and democracy are known to create a favorable climate for investment promotion. However, the bureaucratic hurdles they encounter at every stage of investing are not easy to predict. Due to the bribery and bribery bureaucracy demanded by the bureaucracy through the bureaucracy, the appropriate service to be obtained from the public sector has not been met by the level required. This kind of bureaucratic blockade will wash away the development potential of our country, and in no way should it be overlooked, as it builds on the masses' misery and aggravates our poverty.

Accordingly, in the coming year, the government will make significant efforts to consult with investors and replace them with procedures that ensure efficiency in investing. When preparing to invest, measures will be taken to minimize the unnecessary hassles and to create the conditions for immediate access. At the same time, various measures will be adopted based on good practices from other countries to tackle bribery and to reduce the risk of misconduct. In addition, if amendment of laws is needed, the government will act on.

It is believed that when these measures are implemented in an integrated and mitigating way, domestic investors can play a better economic role and, at the same time, play a better role in growing our economy. Despite this, the need to persuade foreign investors to engage in investment activities in addition to investing in our country to avoid poverty has increased

higher. As a result, the government will take various measures to encourage foreign investors in line with the program's five-year program, in line with its efforts to support and strengthen our domestic investor. Among the various initiatives that will be undertaken to encourage foreign investors will be the opening of additional investment fields to foreign investors.

As a result, if the government regulates domestic investors and their policies to safeguard the impact of foreign investors, they will be allowed to participate in additional sector fields that could contribute to the country's development. In the future, additional areas that could benefit from foreign investors will be listed and publicly announced next year. Our country's investment code will be updated to incorporate these changes.

Dear Council members

All the people of our country

I believe the government's work to be implemented in the coming year is in the best interests of the people of our country. The steps we take to accelerate agricultural development, which is the focal point of our plan, will help us to improve the lives of farmers and consumers in a meaningful way. Under this plan, as our agricultural products increase, farmers will be able to better meet their annual diets, and our ability to supply food to the urban consumer community at an appropriate and affordable rate will increase.

As a result, the entire population of our country, especially the farmers, needs to be challenged on a scale that we will implement in the coming years. It is well-known that the plans we will implement in the next financial year will open up huge opportunities for our country's investors. According to our plan, investors engaged in production and service will have better job opportunities as the agricultural sector begins to solidify and our farmers' purchasing power is strengthened. In addition, measures aimed at strengthening the private sector are believed to significantly strengthen the country's capital and enterprise capacity.

In this sense, it is expected of our country's investors realizing making themselves away from such activities as bribery and illegal trade and understanding such activities has no more acceptable, they can invest themselves in the country then serve themselves, the country and its people in a way that the law allows. The government recognizes that there are ready investors to be led in the right direction.

As a result, I would like to assure that he is committed to working with these organizations at all levels to advise investors and advocates such as lending services, in addition to creating a lucrative job opportunity for those investors. As a result, the investors of our country need to be ready to work in a fast-moving investment environment during the Derg regime.

The linked development plan provides a great opportunity for our nation's intellectuals and practitioners to engage in the field of pollination and training and to serve their country and its people. It is a busy time, so we are almost a period of dedicated intellectuals. I would like to assure him on this occasion that the government is ready to take on the hard-working scholars who spend as much time and effort as they can to get the scholars who are wasting their time.

Dear Council members

All the people of our country

As the proposed five-year program is a Peace and Democracy Program, efforts will be made to strengthen our peace and develop our democracy alongside the government's efforts in the next year. One of the most important aspects of developing democracy is the establishment and strengthening of democratic institutions. Democracy cannot be rooted and developed in our country without the necessary support of the constitutional rights guaranteed by our constitution, as it has been said on several occasions. As a result, the government will intensify its efforts to strengthen the government and non-governmental organizations that are critical to democracy in the coming year.

On the one hand, various actions will be taken to strengthen our police force so as to prevent issues that prevent citizens from exercising their democratic rights on the one hand. At the same time, efforts are being made to ensure that the independence of the constitution and the proper implementation of the constitution are guaranteed by the courts. The police and the judiciary cannot be a viable democratic observer, unless they are consolidated nationally, and they will be provided with training in all levels of government to ensure that their work is done democratically. In addition, the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall be constituted as a body of human rights, such as the Human Rights Commission, which is believed to be essential for the promotion of human and democratic rights.

Extensive oversight and monitoring of the constitutional rights of citizens, especially central government bodies, can be done by the government, by establishing institutions that respect human and democratic rights. Developing a culture of democracy is known to have a significant contribution to the development and strengthening of democracy. Political parties and the press play an important role in the development of democratic culture. Parties can broaden the ideological and democratic culture of the society through constructive and peaceful ways. Therefore, private press and opposition political parties are expected to play a major role in this regard.

For all our people of the country to take full advantage of their democratic rights, both the private press and the political parties should contribute to play a positive political pressure in

order to take full advantage of the democratic rights of our nation. Even though such a sacred act is expected from opposition political parties and the private press, it has not yet reached the stage where most of the parties working under the name of the free press and opposition parties are able to fulfill their responsibilities. Instead of providing constructive criticism and alternatives for constructive criticism and alternatives, instead of providing news based on factual information, they chose to engage in prejudice campaigns.

Instead of being close to the people and building brotherhood, the brothers are committed to creating hate and carnage and even violating the law. As the majority of private opposition parties have chosen this worst way, our infant democracy hasn't benefited from their democratic culture based on constructive debate and critics, and tangible information. Therefore, the damage it receives would be higher. As a result, the government receives special care for those who wish to play a responsible, constructive and democratic role within the name of the independent press. In a sense, even if they are not ready to play a constructive role, those who break the law instead of respecting will not be tolerated and they wouldn't be allowed to continue breaking the rules. Therefore, I would like to emphasize strongly that the government will take strong legal action against those who are breaking the law and preaching to the public to civil war. We have a democratic constitution and the democratic laws that make it possible. These violations cannot destroy democracy and create social unrest but a nation and a democratic system cannot be built.

This generation has gone through the ravagers of war and it's tired of it. It is not the generation that wants war on any scale. Therefore, because of the desire to prevent war and massacres, full application of the rules can't be compromised. We ask free press who choose illegal and negative ways to be aware of this fact. Ethiopian democracy expects a lot of positive and significant contributions from these sectors. These forces are required to formulate and present to the government the alternative proposals that can be used for the development of democracy. They are expected to criticize, based on tangible information, different policies that the government thought important to the country's development so that corrections can be taken act on its policies and actions to ensure accountability and deficiencies should be rectified. At the same time, they are expected to work on all the issues that can be reconciled and move forward without coping with common development. Opposition parties should work together to agree on differences in a constructive and cohesive manner and help the public to really find a variety of options and to exercise its democratic right.

The Federal Democratic Government of Ethiopia is ready to host and work with more than half the parties who are ready to play such a constructive opposition role. It also wants to collaborate on solving the problems they face and facilitating their party activities. On the other hand, as we have seen over the past years of transition, if the parties continue to play host to foreign affairs, or continue to play at the embassy, and if they continue to play hide and seek, it should be known that the damage is to all. As long as opposition parks move in this direction, it is unthinkable that they will have no significant role, not only today, but five years later.

This result not only hurts the opposition themselves, but it also limits the development of a democratic culture, which could have developed into a constructive and strong opposition to the country. Therefore, we must work together for the sake of our nation, our people and our democracy, for all the parties that are supposed to take Ethiopia's political affairs seriously. History and Ethiopian never expect lesser good thing from the political parties organized.

Dear Council members

Invited guests

All the people of our country

The government recognizes that the people of our country, in every corner, have a strong desire to continue to be more secured after the terrible wars. Thus, various activities will be undertaken in the coming year to make our peace sustainable and more secure. Regarding peace keeping, based on the guideline and plan stated in the constitution, to conclude the establishment of the national defense, which would have balanced national composition, in the coming five years, the first actions would be taken next year.

From next year, the army will become a professional army free of any political organization, subject to the constitution and the elected government. The army is a balanced army of top to bottom national forces, which is a reflection of the national character of our nation, which all people can claim to have. Therefore, intensified measures will be taken from next year to adjust the army's composition. The national defense has to be faithful to the Constitution and capable of upholding the sovereignty of our country that has the intended capability to carry out any mission that the Defense Forces offers in a safe manner. To this end, extensive training will be undertaken at all levels in the coming years to increase the capacity of the army to uphold the constitutional sovereignty and sovereignty.

At the same time, our air force will be in a better position in the coming years, which is being established to give different supports and protect the sovereignty of the country , and efforts will be made to at least get it to its former level in .....year. However, as there is a situation where navy is unimportant, it wouldn't continue. In addition to the role our defense forces play in maintaining peace, the police and security forces also have their own. Therefore, in the coming year, more work will be done to improve and improve the coordination of police and public armed forces organized to maintain the peace of the people in urban and rural areas. The police and security bodies will be made committed to the constitution and be given the necessary training to carry out, and its structure will be made to have qualities. In contrast to Ethiopia's efforts to maintain peace in its territory, our country has also demonstrated its brotherhood desire to live in peace and stability with its neighbors, in words and actions. In extension, we have been working in partnership with our neighboring countries for economic co-operation. Next year will be a great activity in this field. It is our strong belief that our government and our people will have the will and readiness to respond in a different direction without interfering with our

neighbors peacefully and internally. Even so, as much as we do our best to live peacefully with all nations, and if they consider our willingness as weakness and move in some foul means on our national interest and security, we will not fail to take appropriate and necessary measures to protect our national interests and security.

Dear Council members

Invited guests

All the people of our country

Activities that the federal government of Ethiopia has planned to do this year to implement the five year peace democracy program are almost what I outlined above. As the long-distance journey begins, the next five years of action will be the foundation stone for our implementation and will bring greater benefits to different segments of the community. Therefore, for the achievement of our plans next year; I call on all the people on behalf of the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia to stand with determination.

**Let's stand together to build the democratic Ethiopia!**

**Thanks you!**