

BETWEEN FAILURE AND REDEMPTION
THE FUTURE OF THE ETHIOPIAN
SOCIAL CONTRACT

**Proceedings of a convening of scholars
on Ethiopia's constitutional future**

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AESM	All-Ethiopia Socialist Movement, better known by its native Amharic acronym መኳሶን (<i>Me'ison</i>)
ADP	Amhara Democratic Party
ANDM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
Art.	Article (of laws)
BBI	Building Bridges Initiative, a 2019 initiative proposing amendments to the Constitution of Kenya.
CUD	Coalition for Unity and Democracy (a political party once in existence in Ethiopia, 2004-2007, established as a coalition of four existing political parties and which emerged as the main competitor to the then ruling part, EPRDF, in the May 15, 2005 Ethiopian General Elections).
Const.	Constitution (the 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia)
' <i>Ecāte</i> — አጭላጅ	Amharic acronym for “Ethiopian Oppressed People's Revolutionary Struggle,” a communist organization in Ethiopia in the 1970s
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Movement
Eth. Const.	Ethiopian Constitution (the 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia)
EDU	Ethiopian Democratic Union
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
ESM	Ethiopian Student Movement
EU	European Union
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FDA	Foucauldian discourse analysis
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam

ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
MoFA	Ministry of Federal Affairs
NNPs	nation, nationality and people
NHRIs	National Human Rights Institutions
<i>OLA-Shene</i>	Oromo Liberation Army, a splinter group of OLF
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
OFC	Oromo Federalist Congress
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OPDO	Oromo People Democratic Organization
PDRE	People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Pmbl.	Preamble
PP	Prosperity Party (Ethiopia)
SRS	Somali Regional State
SEPDM	Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Movement
SNNPRS	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
HoF	House of Federations
TPC	The Transitional Period Charter of 1991 (Ethiopia)
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
WPE	Workers' Party of Ethiopia

NOTE ON LANGUAGE

For the sake of consistency and simplicity in pronouncing Amharic terms in Latin alphabet the American Library Association – Library of Congress (ALA-LC) transliteration system for the Amharic language has been used. However, common standard spellings for names of persons, places and things are maintained in preference to the ALA-LC transliteration system.

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

<i>Abba Gadaa</i>	Traditional leader (head, president) in the Oromo community according to the Gadaa system (the age and generation set governance system of the Oromo).
<i>'Ahādāwi</i> (አሃዳዊ)	Centrist/unitarist mindset (in the context of state structuring/governance)
<i>'Aḥemadē gerāñe</i> (አሕመድ ገራኝ)	'Ahmad the left-handed or southpaw', refers to Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, imam and general of the Adal Sultanate (c. 1506 –1543) which invaded Christian Ethiopian Empire.
<i>Arat Kilo</i>	(In Addis Ababa) the locale where the Government of Ethiopia is hosted.
<i>'Awurājā ā gezāte</i> (አዉራጃ ግዛት)	Sub-province governorate (under the Imperial Ethiopia administration, provincial governorate (under the <i>Derg</i> administration)
<i>'Azemāče</i> (አዝማች)	During the Imperial Ethiopia, vanguard leader or military commander acting as the Monarch's representative in different parts of the country during the imperial Ethiopia.
<i>Bāhere-zāfe</i> (ባሕር ሃፍ)	Eucalyptus tree
<i>Bālābāte</i> (ባለባት)	Local noble man (nobility) who acts as an intermediary of the central Imperial government.
<i>Ĉesañā</i> (ጭሰኛ)	Tenant farmer, sharecropper

<i>Derg</i>	The military committee formed in 1974 in Ethiopia which ended imperial rule; by extension the socialist government in power from 1974 to 1991.
' <i>Edere</i> (እድር)	Mutual aid association of a neighborhood for burial and mourning.
' <i>Emā</i> (እማ)	Mam!; Mammy!
' <i>Eqube</i> (ዕቁቤ)	Mutual aid/credit association in which the members meet at stated intervals and contribute a fixed sum, after which a member selected by drawing lots will receive the total of the contributions (less the chairs fee)
' <i>Eresete</i> (እርስት)	Inherited land; Land to which title is acquired by hereditary right through descent from the original owner through any combination of male and female ancestors.
<i>Fano</i>	(In Amhara community), an individual or group of individuals who volunteer to give time and exert effort for a community cause, specially in the form of fighting off a threat to the community.
<i>Fāqere</i> (ፍቅር)	Love, affection, fraternity
<i>Gabāre</i> — ገባር; <i>plr. Gabāroče</i> — ገባሮች	Tribute-paying local farmer who provide to the <i>Bālābāte</i> (በላላት) and the ነፍጠኛ/ <i>nafetañā</i> -turned-privileged hereditary class with determined amounts of services and produce.
<i>Hamle</i>	Month of July
' <i>Iteyopeyā teqedame</i> (ኢትዮጵያ ትቅደም)	Ethiopia First
' <i>Iteyopeyāwinate</i> (ኢትዮጵያዊነት)	Ethiopian-ness

<i>Kebele/qabalé</i>	Lowest level of local administration/state administrative level
<i>Kebele</i> (ክልል)	Region, the federating units of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.
<i>Leyu qabalé</i> (ልዩ ቀበሌ)	(Under the current state structure) Special <i>Kebele</i> , a <i>Kebele</i> given autonomous status as part of the exercise of self-determination right of territorially concentrated minorities within a district (<i>waradā</i> — ወረዳ).
<i>Leyu waradā</i> (ልዩ ወረዳ)	(Under the current state structure) Special District, a district given autonomous status as part of the exercise of self-determination right of territorially concentrated minorities within a Zonal administration (<i>Zone</i> — ዞን).
<i>Leyu zone</i> (ልዩ ዞን)	(Under the current state structure) Special Zone, a Zonal administration given autonomous status for territorially concentrated minorities within a Regional State (<i>Region</i> — ክልል).
<i>Madamare</i> (መደመር)	Literally translates as ‘addition,’ or ‘coming together”; it represents the political philosophy crafted and touted by the incumbent prime minister of Ethiopia and emphasizes synergy, unity, collaboration, pulling resources together, love, forgiveness, reconciliation and teamwork as the way forward for collective wellbeing.
<i>Māhebarāte</i> (ማከበራት)	Associations
<i>Maketafiyā</i> (መክተፊያ)	Wooden chopping board, a utensil used in Ethiopian households for chopping veg and meat.
<i>Nafetañā</i> (ናፍጠኛ)	Literally meaning ‘gunslinger’, denotes settler-soldiers during the imperial government of Ethiopia.
<i>Nage-bane</i> (ነግ በኔ)	‘Tomorrow it will be my turn,’ i.e., I might be the next one to suffer the same misfortune.

<i>OroMara/Oro-Mara</i>	A recently coined term to denote the alliance between political elites in ANDM and OPDO that brought Abiy Ahmed of the then Oromo Democratic People's Organization (OPDO) to the premiership in April 2018, ending decades of TPLF's hegemonic place.
<i>Tewahedo</i> (ተዋክሶ)	In 'Orthodox Tewahedo Christianity', Miaphysitism, dogma asserting that Jesus Christ is fully divine and fully human, in one 'nature'.
<i>Qeerroo</i>	(In Afan Oromo) literally it means a young or unmarried person but in the post-2014 political movement it symbolizes the Oromo youth movement for increased political freedom and greater ethnic representation in the federal government.
<i>reherāhé</i> (ርኩራኅ)	Compassion, kindheartedness
<i>Sheger</i>	Pop name for the city of Addis Ababa
<i>Tādāgi keleloče</i> (ታዳጊ ክላሎች)	Emerging/developing regions (in FDRE)
<i>Taqelāye gezāte</i> (ጠቅላይ ግዛት)	Governate-general
<i>Tur</i> (ጡር)	Wrong done to someone which also may befall the wrongdoer; a revolting action [which God will punish]; unrighteous action toward another person(s).
<i>Waradā gezāte</i> (ወረዳ ግዛት)	District-governorate
<i>Wereda</i>	District, lower level of administration

<i>Ya'asetadādare wasane</i> (የአስተዳደር ወሰን)	Administrative boundary
<i>Yeluñetā</i> (ይሉኝታ)	Concern for public opinion as regards own action; regard for proprieties of one's behavior.
<i>Yeqeretā</i> (ይቅርታ)	Forgiveness
<i>Zamana masāfenete</i> (ዘመን መሳፍንት)	The Era of Princes, a period in Ethiopian history between the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries when the country was divided within itself into several de facto autonomous regions with no effective central authority.
<i>Zamanāwinate</i> (ዘመናዊነት)	Modernity
<i>Zone-9 Movement</i>	A social Media activism by a group of bloggers from Ethiopia advocating human rights and the rule of law.
<i>Zone</i> (ዞን)	Administrative division of a regional state under the current Ethiopian state structure.

