



SURVEY OF CORRUPTION AND ANTI-CORRUPTION IN ETHIOPIA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES TO 2005

2005'e Kadarki Tarihsel Süreçte Etiyopya'da Yolsuzluk ve Yolsuzlukla Mücadele Araştırmaları

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ABSTRACT

Corruption is a 'cancer' of development. The term is commonly applied to self-benefiting conduct by public officials and servants. Although the nature, type and activities of corruption vary from place to place and time to time in Ethiopian history, it remained one of the bottlenecks of development. This paper explores the historical perspectives of corruption and anti-corruption phenomena from 1930 to 2005. In this research both primary and secondary sources were employed. Primary sources were collected from some government offices that are assumed to have links with both corruption and anti-corruption activities. The primary source was cross checked with existing secondary data through triangulation and interpretation approach. It is obvious that the impacts of corruption to all people are worse particularly to the marginalized and poor ones. Literatures revealed that corruption remained a serious problem to social, economic and political development of the country. The results of the research show that corruption exists since the period under investigation at different offices, with different system posing a great challenge to the country's overall development. The paper also revealed that government's attempt to curb corruption during three regimes also varies considerably.

Keywords: Ethiopia, Corruption, Anti-corruption, Political development

ÖZET

Yolsuzluk, gelişimin bir 'kanseridir'. Bu terim, kamu görevlileri ve memurlar tarafından kendi kendini idare eden davranışlara uygulanır. Etiyopya tarihinde yolsuzluğun doğası, türü ve faaliyetleri zaman zaman değişse de, kalkınmanın darboğazlarından biri olmaya devam etti. Bu makale, 1930'dan 2005'e kadar yolsuzluk ve yolsuzlukla mücadele konusundaki tarihsel perspektifleri araştırmaktadır. Bu araştırmada hem birincil (kararnameler ve yasalar) hem de ikincil kaynaklar kullanılmıştır. Birincil kaynaklar, hem yolsuzluk hem de yolsuzlukla mücadele faaliyetleriyle bağlantılı olduğu varsayılan bazı devlet kurumlarından toplanmıştır. Birincil kaynaklar nirengi ve yorumlama yaklaşımıyla mevcut ikincil verilerle çapraz kontrol edilmiştir. Yolsuzluğun tüm insanlar üzerindeki etkilerinin özellikle marjinal ve yoksul insanlar için daha kötü olduğu açıktır. Kaynaklar, yolsuzluğun ülkenin sosyal, ekonomik ve politik kalkınması için ciddi bir sorun olmaya devam ettiğini ortaya koydu. Araştırmanın sonuçları, farklı ofislerde araştırılan dönemden bu yana yolsuzluğun var olduğunu ve farklı sistemin ülkenin genel kalkınması için büyük bir zorluk oluşturduğunu göstermektedir. Çalışma ayrıca hükümetin üç rejim sırasında yolsuzluğu azaltma girişiminin de önemli ölçüde değiştiğini ortaya koydu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etiyopya, Yolsuzluk, Yolsuzlukla Mücadele, Siyasi gelişme

1. INTRODUCTION

Corruption exists in every society in different forms. Since corruption is a term which has many meanings yet the exact and generally accepted definition of the term does not exist. Hence, having a good background of history, culture, and socio-economic setting of a country is of paramount importance to understand the context of the term. Corruption in Ethiopia, as in many nations in the world, is rooted in the country's policies, bureaucratic traditions, political developments and social history. It is with this in mind that this chapter highlights the history of corruption and anti-corruption in Ethiopia.

For the purpose of this research, I employed a definition given by legal proclamation and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia criminal code (2005:2). A typical example of such legal definition of corruption in Ethiopia was defined in Ethiopia in the Anti-Corruption Special Procedure and Rules of Evidence Proclamation, Proclamation No. 236, 2001 which read as follows:

...any offence committed in relation to a government or public service or public interest in violation of the duties proper to a government or a public service by seeking, exacting promise, or receiving any gratification or advantage for himself or for other person or group of persons, or inflicting harm on another person; and includes corrupt practices, acceptance of undue advantage, traffic in official influence, abuse of power, maladministration, appropriation and misappropriation in discharge of duties, extortion and disclosure of secret, and shall include such other similar cases.

Before the promulgation of this proclamation, corruption was not understood in its current concept. Previously it was bribery that was alternatively considered as corruption and its practices. The close look at the Proclamation No. 236/2001 also shows that it has not criminalized corruption in a clear and succinct manner. Rather it did just lists and defines the activities and offenses that come under the definition of corruption. Corrupt practices, acceptance of undue advantage, traffic in official influence, abuse of power, maladministration, appropriation and misappropriation in discharge of duties, extortion and disclosure of secret are what are included in the definition. However such practices are also what already classified as criminal offenses in the Penal Code (2005:20). As a result, it is possible to tentatively argue that the Proclamation No. 236/2001 have added nothing new in the case of criminalizing corrupt practices. Moreover, it did not solve the problem of definition and scope of corruption. In turn, this resulted in the problem of interpretation, as what constitutes corruption since there is no agreement on the definition. This finally calls for another proclamation, that is, the Revised Anti-Corruption Special Procedure and Rules of Evidence Proclamation (Proclamation No 434/2005) has referred the definition of corruption offences to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Penal Code (2005:15) which is read as “Any public servant who, directly or indirectly, seeks, receives or exacts a promise of an advantage for himself or another, in consideration for the performance or omission of an act, in violation of the duties proper to his office...” Still no universal definition of corruption was drawn and hence left a space for further argument.

Although legal definition is better and used for the research purpose, it does not list down all corruption offenses that may come under the definition of the term fully. Hence, there is no clear boundary between as such between what constitutes corruption and what does not.

2. CORRUPTION BEFORE 1930

For centuries, Ethiopia was under traditional rule in which small governing elites exercised control over the nation's resources. One cause for failure of different Ethiopian monarchies to build any kind of administrative framework through which they could exercise their absolute power is the absence of centralized political leadership (Paulos 2000: 22). In the absence of centralized political system, it is unlikely to mobilize resources for balanced development of the country. During those times, in various parts of the country, tax was collected from the people but utilized in the interest of regional lords. This hindered fair and equitable distribution of wealth causing serious poverty (Bahru 1991:100).

Historically, it is not only corruption and its practices that are deep-rooted in Ethiopian culture but also there are some indicators for the existence of anti-corruption attempt. Emperor Tewodros II (r.1855-1868) was very eager to fight corruption of the time, but socio-political system of the time was against him. In fighting corruption, he even came into conflict with the church by reducing people who serve church to only five and he ordered others to leave it (Bahru 1991:102). As pointed out by (Barihun 2000: 22). Emperor Tewodros II was the first ruler who understood the nature of the evil

and established an organ of control known as office of complaints.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the system of control, which he tried to institutionalize, did not last long since he faced opposition from the very beginning in his reformation acts. The formation of public administration in modern Ethiopia history began in 1907 when emperor Menelik II (r.1889-1913) established the first cabinet, which consisted of 12 ministries with the old title (Bahru 1991:105) .

It is said that Emperor Menelik II, was highly interested in the new world especially European countries with which he signed boundary treaties in his post Adwa expansion (Bahru 1991:110).

Another factor for emperor's formation of the ministers was to introduce European modernization, create modern public administration and to provide modern education. Nevertheless, the ministers were not paid and their appointment was based on their loyalty with the old title hence not functional in real sense of the term.

Side by side with growing public power, corruption began to flourish and a well-known saying of Lord Acton's read as, 'power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. During their stay for 10 years in public office, the ministers could not manage either themselves or the people. As a result, they had been denied the chance of staying in their offices longer. In the end, in 1928, in the demonstration the people of Ethiopia crowded on the streets and avoid the ministers from their offices for they abused the public trust. Accordingly, Empress Zewoditu removed all the ministers from their offices except Fitawerari Habte Giorgis Dinagde (the then time war minister) (Paulos 2000:22)

3. CORRUPTION DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR HAILE SILASIE I

In the history of Ethiopia, modern public administration in Ethiopia was instituted during the regime of Emperor Haile Silasie I (r.1930-1974). In 1930, the Penal Code (1930) was promulgated that reflects the norms and values of the old absolutist monarchy of the generation of Emperor Menelik II. The 1930 proclamation was also drawn up in a less systematic way and did not follow the rules of a modern codification process (Berihun 2000:28).

It was during this era that tax collected from different parts of the country began to be centrally administered and monthly payment for administrators and civil servants began to be disbursed in the form of salary. Added to this, the 1931 constitution was promulgated and become a governing document between the emperor and the nobilities. The constitution also served as an apparatus of centralization process by the emperor. Hence, it is possible to say that regional autonomy of the provincial governors came to an end by this time.

In the 1960s, to lay down foundation of the modern administration, particularly the civil service formation as the main means available for promoting economic and social development (Berihun 2000:38). But such plan was not successful since the interference of politics in administrative affairs become very common and thereby weakening the system. Added to this political interference in the civil service, the emperor power based on the idea of 'divine' right of the ruler to manage state affairs extremely weakened the civil service program. Misadministration, illegal taxation and corruption became common (Garbes 2003:8). Finally, the government denounced corruption and call for laws to control it. In response to such calls, the Penal code of 1957 promulgated which was the main anti-corruption legal instrument of the day in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, promulgation of laws does not suffice and the law should be implemented and serve the purpose for which it is enacted. In the penal code of 1957 one does not find the generally accepted definition of corruption as it is currently understood, but it contains legal provisions for combating corruption in its different articles (George 1999:10)

For instance, in Penal Code (1957:20) it was listed that the breach of official duties (Art. 412), abuse of power (Art. 414), appropriation and misappropriation of public property (Art. 422), corrupt practices (Art. 425 and 437), maladministration (Art.420), political corruption (Art. 462-468), and

other corrupt practices (Art. 641 and 642), are listed. This indicates that the 1957 penal code was a corner stone in coming up with the idea of corruption and corrupt practices although it has short comings with regard to the punishment that should follow the offences.

4. CORRUPTION DURING THE MILITARY REGIME

The February, 1974 Revolution saw the demise of the oldest Christian monarchy and replaced by a committee of military dictatorship (also known as Derg) led by Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam. A popular revolution involving peoples from all sections of the society succeeded in overthrowing the ancient imperial regime. The derg immediately undertook many reforms including nationalization of land and distributed among peasants. The derg government was basically controlled by socialist and communist philosophy.

The principle of socialism in turn extremely weakened the already existing norms and customs of the people thereby eliminating the ethics and morality among the civil servants. During this time, the Ethiopian bureaucracy became very corrupt and different organizations and companies like the Agricultural Corporations, big agricultural manufacturing companies totally dominated and their mismanagement products caused total economic failure and led to starvation of population (Garbes 2003:13).

In addition to under taking different social and political reforms in November 1974 the derg government promulgated the Special Penal Code (SPC) a means of measures against corruption and corrupt practices. According to the derg, the SPC was promulgated because of the fact that the administrative and political orientation reflected in the Penal Code (1957:15) permitted mercy to perpetrators of some grave offences with simple punishment. Hence, it was assumed that SPC will come up with some articles that paves the way to the implementation of changed situations required by the 'revolution', which included imposition of highest penalties for serious criminal offences caused by corrupt officials and sanctioned confiscation of any property or wealth obtained by corrupt practices. (Proclamation No. 8/74). Again, the SPC of 1974 was replaced by the Revised Special Penal Code Proclamation No. 214/81, with the objective of curbing corruption, corrupt practices and other unethical acts like mishandling of public property, abuse of power, favoritism, bribery and other unlawful acts.²⁸ The new special penal code (1981:16-18) in chapter two provided different offences. To mention some the breach of trust and receipt of ill-gotten gain (Art. 13), misuse of public property (Art. 14), refusal to pay public tax (Art. 15), offences against the economy such as hoarding of goods (Art. 18), smuggling (Art. 19), soliciting corrupt practices (Art. 20/21). In the same penal code (1981:20) chapter three dealt with various forms of abuse of authority and official duties such as failure to supervise subordinates, procurement of undue advantage, unlawful arrest and detention. The two penal codes do not have basic difference on the definition of corruption rather there was a considerable differences on administering and level of punishments, that is less and more serious punishments are provided respectively in the former and latter respectively. Despite these serious measures by the government it is hardly possible to expect the decline of corruption.

From this is possible to say that the increment of the punishment on perpetrators is not a guarantee to fight corruption. There would have been no corruption in China where punishment is the most severe mostly death sentence. So, where the problem of fighting corruption lies since there is no such visible defects in the penal codes? According to Action Professional Association for the People (2001:15) the main problem lays in absence of strong, competent institutions and lack of evidence against corruptors. Besides lack of coherent institutions, the problem goes beyond this in the sense that political commitment is the basic prerequisite for the anti-corruption campaign.

In (1981:22) again, derg established the Working People's Control Committee (WPCC) in its attempt to create a new ethical foundation built on socialist ideology to institute measures to check corruption (Proclamation No. 213/81).

In 1987, later on institution was re-established declaring that the establishment of such control system is one of the systems of socialist democracy in which the broad masses participate in governmental administration, which includes fighting corruption (Proclamation No. 12/87). Nevertheless, the top political cadres went on intervening in making decisions in the civil service

with no space for professionals. This in turn resulted in aggravated corruption, serious organizational operational challenges. All politicians run for personal undue advantage in all levels and the WPCC, with all powers and responsibilities entrusted fail to operate as per the provision. The WPCC had extensive powers to investigate, prosecute and punish alleged offenders. This earlier attempt, however, largely failed to address the problem of corruption and is believed to have rather worsened the situation because of politicization and abuse of power by the politicians.

Later on the WPCC the body that was entrusted with the power of tackling corruption, was itself indulged in abuse of power and corruption. With the deteriorating political situation, the WPCC became a political weapon against enemies of the revolution, even as some of the members were themselves highly corrupted. Court and the judiciary were perceived to be politicized and this seriously undermined their independence. The populist rally measures of the government did not solved the basic problems of in the country which include over-centralized and cumbersome procedures, over-politicization, archaic personnel management practices, poor pay and service conditions, etc., (ECA 1996:28). In addition to the above point, there was over-emphasis on investigation and prosecution under the SPC. Despite the populist approach in its initial years the regime it did not obtained public support.

The WPCC was established at three levels, namely, national, regional, and institutional. With increase in size, no doubt, costs rise, and most probably, efficiency and commitment will be reduced, while risk to be engaged in anti-corruption activities increases.

The WPCC was partly failed because members of the committee were elected based on political loyalty not merit based although such institution requires highly skilled expertise, educated personnel (see Proclamation No. 12/87). In sum, from the above discussion, proclamation of a series of new laws and new government agencies and commissions to control and reduce corruption and brought about less change than expected by the public.

5. CORRUPTION AT CURRENT REGIME (EPRDF)

After its protracted seventeen years armed insurgency, which really depend on mobilizing the peasantry, a coalition of ethnic based fighting groups later established the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) which is a coalition of regional/ethnic based political parties that prepared themselves for the national leadership and state architecture. The international conference which was convened at Africa Hall from 01 to 05 /07/ 1991 as per the agreement reached in London among 27 Ethiopian political parties resulted a Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia (Fasil 1997:35 and Sarah 2003:13).

In 1994, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia constitution was drafted (put in to force in August 1995) known for its commitment to a fully fledged federalism with liberal democracy and respect of fundamental rights and freedoms. It defined Ethiopia as a multicultural federation that operates on the basis of ethno-national representation.

From different reports of the Office of Federal Auditor General (OFAG), Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (FEACC), press release and media we clearly see the extent of the problem that involved in corruption ranging from top officials of the regime including the Prime Minister during the Transitional Government. This indicates that in the post-1991 Ethiopia, corruption remained one of the ills that undermined efforts of government in its attempt towards democracy, good governance, and towards societal transformation.

According to corruption Survey the type and scope and degree of prevalence of corruption in the country have been uncovered. According to (Amundsen 1999:9) the list of culprits, includes bureau heads, general managers, treasurers, tax collectors, employees and officials of public enterprises and decision makers in certain institutions susceptible to corruption. These institutions like Ethiopia and Custom and Revenue Authority (ECRA), Privatization Agency, Office of Land Management (OLM) (PA), the Investment Office (IO) and the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (CBE). The report states that corruption under the current regime is both highly prevalent and severe. It remained one of the most serious problems of the country hindering fast economic transformation, and promotion of democratic system (1999:16).

From this it is possible to argue that absence of transparency and accountability, good governance, due process of law among the public affairs holders, absence of effective anti-corruption agency that coordinates anti-corruption activities were among factors that exacerbated the problem of fighting corruption. What makes the problem, today, more serious is, therefore, that it is increasing at an alarming rate. The Ethiopian government aware of the ever-growing problem of corruption has developed various measures assumed to fight against the corruption and corrupt practices. Now let us discuss these measures taken by the EPRDF government turn by turn.

5.1. Towards Market Economy

Because of the paradigm shift in the contemporary world from command economy to market led economy in which various development approaches are giving way for medium-sized state corruption also become thematic constituent of this renewed in which development calls for economic reform (Amundsen 1999:19). Since 1991, Ethiopia has been taking different reforms in political, economic, and social spheres to curb corruption. In October, 1992 to this end, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia replaced command economy by market-oriented economic system and began its attempt to stabilize large scale economic system by launching Structural Adjustment Program. This was followed by economic liberalization policies in which state owned assets were liberated and the expansion of competition in the market was allowed. The rationalization of government expenditure was initiated and specific measures such as privatization were taken as a result of which a number of public enterprises were sold out (Robert 1998:40).

What is the link between privatization and corruption? How they are related?

Privatization by its very nature can bring additional opportunities for corruption if the process lacks accountability and transparency.

In 2002 a study on corruption risk of privatization was conducted by FEACC and the it revealed that lack of transparency in privatization modalities and pricing methods, lack of adequate information about the enterprises to be sold, and lack of trained and experienced manpower was some of the challenges it face. Perpetrators of corruption were found difficult to be identified in clear and open manner and government look for further mechanism to tackle corruption, that is, the establishment of Civil Service Reform Program, CSRP.

5.2. The Civil Service Reform Program (CSRP)

Civil Service Reform Program (CSRP) began by the end of 1994 with the establishment of a especial special Task Force whose number were 23 including top government officials and civil servants after about a year and a half period task force submitted a summary of report conducted at district and federal areas to be capacitated.

The committee identified five areas subjected to reform, that is, (a) Human Resources Management, (b) Expenditure Management and Control, (c) Top Management Systems, (d) Service Delivery, and (e) Ethics. The Government endorsed the report and officially launched the Ethiopian CSRP in March

1996 with an overall objective of providing fair, transparent, efficient, effective and ethical civil service (George 1999:22).

As stated by George (1999:23) the problem with the legal framework, is not the lack of laws, rules and regulations against corruption and other unethical behavior. The main problems are the weaknesses of the enforcement mechanisms - the police, prosecution, and the judiciary and prison administration. Opponents say that reform initiatives of a comprehensive nature had to be well diagnosed and refined. While the Council of Ministers had to discuss and review the reform, it failed to do so. Moreover, the influence of expatriate coordinators in the process of design of the projects was immense. The reform measure lacks necessary conditions for the reform, which include well-developed bureaucratic structure with competent personnel, proper governance environment, participation of those who are to be affected, favorable attitude, and strong institutional framework. At the end of the design stage of the reform program, the Office of the CSRP is placed under the Ministry of Commerce and Business, which is not listed among the executive organs of government as outlined in Proclamation No. 256/2001. On the other hand, one of the outputs of the reform program relates to the establishment of FEACC as an independent watchdog agency.

5.3. State of the National Integrity System

It is clear that strong national integrity system high importance for sustainable development of a country. Fighting corruption can be possible and put under control only where the national integrity system is strong. In Ethiopia, it is said that the national integrity system is not strong to put corruption under control because since almost all pillars that are supposed to hold the system are not strong enough. The following are the major pillars of the national integrity system in Ethiopia which need to operate in close cooperation to fight corruption.

These are:

5.3.1. The Supervisory Bodies in Ethiopia

The importance of watchdog institutions for the success of anti-corruption drives is indisputable. Watchdog institutions are constituents of accountability mechanisms. Less accountability implies high prevalence of corruption. Similarly, weak watchdog agencies mean low accountability and hence high corruption. In Ethiopia, most of these agencies are weak and ineffective. Is the Auditor General making a difference? Does the Ombudsman exist? Is FEACC live up to its expectation? During the conduction of this study, a number of problems and weaknesses of the watchdog agencies were identified. Major reasons for their weaknesses are shortage of qualified manpower both in quality and quantity. FEACC requires dedicated professionals and institutional independence. Now let us see some of the watchdog agencies in Ethiopia.

5.3.2. Office of the Federal Auditor General (OFAG)

This institution was established in 1940s, however, the Office has started its activities of auditing only before 15 years ago. Previously, it was engaged only in financial audit, which is focused basically on checking whether the allotted government budget is used for the intended purpose or not and whether financial laws, regulations and directives are adhered to (George 1999:1). The focus of performance audit is different. Its focus is on checking whether the program, agency, or institution is working toward the achievement of its goals. Does the agency or program have an appropriate system? Hence, the audit reports cannot include existence of corruption or not.

5.3.3. The Ombudsman Office

At present, the Ombudsman Office is not operational to its capacity. According to the law the major duties of the office include the investigation of cases of maladministration and seek redress for victims of administrative decision by now.

5.3.4. The Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (FEACC)

In 2001 the FEACC was established by Proclamation No. (235/2001:19) with the objectives of creating an aware society where corruption will not be condoned or tolerated by promoting ethics and anti-corruption education, and creating and promoting integrity in public service by detecting investigating and prosecuting alleged or suspected cases of corruption offences. In 2005 the proclamation was revised as Proclamation No. (433/2005:18-19) with almost similar objectives. Accordingly, the revised anti-corruption special procedure and rules of evidence is applicable to federal and regions, thereby making equal application of the law nationwide and expansion of the anti-corruption campaign throughout the country.

6. POLITICAL COMMITMENT

Political commitment is one an important part of fighting corruption. The government of Ethiopia demonstrated its strong commitment in fighting corruption by establishing FEACC by law and issued Special Procedure and Rules of Evidence, which was non-existent before in the country. Moreover, in the Penal Code 2005), new important articles are included. For instance, unlawful self-enrichment is taken as a criminal offence thereby enhancing the fight against corruption (Arts. 407-410). The government has provided FEACC with adequate budget and allowed a higher pay scale to attract qualified professionals from the market. The amended law has given more power to the Commission. For instance, the Commission is now given power to intercept correspondence by telephone, telecommunications and electronic devices as well as mail when reasonably found necessary for the investigation of corruption offences.⁵¹ This may be very helpful to overcome the problems associated with evidence provided it is not abused. According to FEACC, the commitment of government should be more than enacting laws and allocating budget.

7. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

As discussed earlier, privatization paved the way for corruption whenever it does not go in line with its basic principles. It is advisable that the government should not give up everything to the private. Since the privatization neglect the poor the government has the responsibility to provide the social services to them. This is because the ultimate bearer of the cost of corruption is the poor and marginalized society. To curb corruption also requires more administrative reform in the areas of employees and officials should be paid at least to support and cope up with the rising cost of life. It is argued that only, the enactment and enforcement alone cannot curb corruption. Anti-corruption crusade need to focus on the systems not individuals since penalizing few individuals alone cannot yield strategic solution in coping with corruption and subsequently eradicating it. Again the anti-corruption campaign should not exclusively left to FEACC as was apparent in the very recent phenomena of fighting corruption.

8. CONCLUSION

Corruption has long history in the country under focus. Consecutive Ethiopian government has been taking measures to mitigate this evil practice in different forms. The corruption types that exist during the imperial regime were characterized by bribery particularly committed by the nobilities and the royal family. During the derg regime corruption was common among all levels of the government offices. Although the derg designed a system to fight corruption from the outset, it failed largely because of lack of coherent, clear and participatory mechanism of anti-corruption crusade. Finally, it sapped the era of the regime itself.

In the post 1991 this 'evil alliance' remained one of the bottlenecks of country's transformation. Like the derg regime, but more of practical and systematic anti-corruption system was developed by the current regime. The current regime has been taking a serious measure on those of corruption

perpetuators including the former transition period minister and the recent past custom and revenue authority director. Such measure on individual still cannot fight corruption as expected. The government also established different institutions to fight corruption yet those institutions are unsuccessful in achieving the objectives to which they were established. Therefore, it is advisable that the government should develop a more coherent, participatory system of fighting corruption at least to reduce it.

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