

# የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ



"Vicious Circle"



# The Ethiopian Affair

# የብሩክ መንግሥቱ ፖለቲካዊ ምልክቶች



**Political Views of Biruk Mengistu**

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# ክፍል ፩ አማርኛ

## የተልዕኮ መግለጫ

የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ በጀርመን አገር በሚኖሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ከመስከረም 2007 ዓ.ም ጀምሮ በየሦስት ወሩ በአማርኛና በእንግሊዘኛ ቋንቋዎች የምትታተም የግል መጽሔት ናት። መጽሔቷ ከማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ድርጅት የማትወጣን በመሆኗ የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ያገባናል ብለው ለሚያምኑ ወገኖች ሁሉ የነፃነት ልሳን ሆና ታገለግላለች።

የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ በሀገራችን ፖለቲካዊ ፣ ምጣኔ ሀብታዊ ፣ ማህበራዊና አካባቢያዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ባለሙያዎችን በማነጋገር ወቅታዊ መረጃዎችንና የመፍትሔ ሃሳቦችን ለአንባቢዎቿ ታቀርባለች። መጽሔታችን የህወሓት/ኢህአዴግ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ላይ በማድረስ ላይ ያለውን የመረረ አፈናና ግድያ በመዘርዘርና በማውገዝ ብቻ መፍትሔ ይገኛል የሚል ዕምነት የሌላት በመሆኑ፤ የተጠኑና በኢትዮጵያ ለተገባሩ በሚችሉ አማራጭ የትግል ስልቶች ላይ ምክረ-ሃሳቦችን ታቀርባለች።

በመጽሔታችን የገጽ ሽፋን ላይ በሦስት የቁልፍ መክፈቻ ምስሎች ለማሳየት የሞከርነው አገራችን ለዘመናት መፍትሔ ሳያገኙ በቀጠሉ ፈርጅ-ብዙ ፣ ጥልቅና ውስብስብ ችግሮች ውስጥ የምትገኝ መሆኑን ለማመልከት ነው። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ ቁልፍ በአገራችን የፖለቲካ ሂደት ውስጥ በሕዝብና በመንግሥት፣ በመንግሥትና በተቃዋሚዎች እንዲሁም በተቃዋሚዎችና በሕዝብ መካከል አለመተማመን መንገሡን ያመልክታል። የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ይህን ያጠዋል የሚል ዕምነት ባይኖረንም፤ ብሔራዊ መግባባትና መተማመን የችግሮቻችንን ሁሉ መክፈቻ ቁልፍ መሆኑን ለማስታወስን እንወዳለን።

የህወሓት/ኢህአዴግ መንግሥት አማራጭ የመረጃ ምንጮችን ሙሉ በሙሉ ዘግቶ የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብ ስለሀገሩ የወደፊት ዕጣፈንታ ምንም ነገር እንዳይተነፍስ በማድረግ ላይ ይገኛል። የታፈነና አማራጭ ያጣ ሕዝብ በማንኛውም ሰዓት መብቱን ለማስከበር እንደሚነሳ ከደርግና ከአፄ ኃይለ ሥላሴ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዞች ውድቀት ከበቂ በላይ ተምረናል። አልተማርኩም የሚል ካለ በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ስቃይና ሰቆቃ የሚሳለቀው የህወሓት/ኢህአዴግ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ ብቻ ነው።

ተልዕኮችን ወቅታዊ መረጃዎችንና የመፍትሔ ሃሳቦችን ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ማቅረብ በመሆኑ ፤ አንባቢን ላለማስልቸትና የመጽሔታችን ጥራት ለመጠበቅ በሌሎች ማህበራዊ ሚዲያዎች የወጡ መጣጥፎችን ለማስተናገድ እንቸግራለን። ስለሆነም በምንችለው ሁሉ እውነተኛና ሚዛናዊ መረጃዎችን ለአንባቢዎቻችን በማቅረብ ፤ በሀገራችን እንዲሰፍን የምንፈልገውን ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ለማምጣት በሚደረገው ትግል ውስጥ የበኩላችንን አስተዋፅኦ ለማድረግ ቃል እንገባለን። ይህን ተልዕኮችን ከግብ ለማድረስ የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ያገባናል ብለው ከሚያምኑ ወገኖች ሁሉ የሚሰጡንን አስተያየቶችና ጥቆማዎች በደስታ እንቀበላለን።

# ኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ

## ትክክለኛ መጽሔት በትክክለኛው ቦታና ጊዜ!

### መስከረም ፳፻፯ ዓ.ም ተመሠረተ።

# የዋና የአዘጋጁ መልዕክት

## ከአስር ሚሊዮን በላይ ኢትዮጵያውያን በሞት አፋፍ ላይ ቆመዋል!

የዓለም ባንክና ዓለም አቀፉ የገንዘብ ተቋም ሳይቀሩ የሚያጨበጩበት የወያኔ አስራ አንድ በመቶ የምጣኔ ሀብት ዕድገት የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብ ከረሃብ መታደግ አልቻለም። ወያኔ ጠዋትና ማታ ከበሮ የሚደልቅለት “ፈጣኑና ታምረኛው” ዕድገት ከኢትዮጵያ ፊደላዊና ቴሌቪዥን ዲቪዥኖች የማያልፍ የወረቅት ላይ ነበር መሆኑ በተግባር ተረጋግጧል። ጉድኛው ወያኔ በሀገሪቱ ለከተሰተው ርሃብ መፍትሔ ከመስጠት ይልቅ ችግሩን ለመሸፋፈንና በአየር ንብረት መዛባት የተከሰተ ጊዜያዊ የተፈጥሮ አደጋ ለማስመሰል ደፋ ቀና በማለት ላይ ይገኛል። ይሁን እንጂ በርካታ ወገኖች ርሃቡ የተከሰተው በተፈጥሮ ሳይሆን የወያኔ አገዛዝ በሚከተለው ተፈጥሮንና የሀገሪቱን ህዝብ አቅምና ነባራዊ ሁኔታ ያላገናዘበ የተሳሳተ ፖሊሲ ውጤት መሆኑን አፅንኦት ሰጥተው በመግለጽ ላይ ይገኛሉ።

ራሱን “ልማታዊና የዲሞክራሲ ፈርቀዳኛ” እያለ የሚጠራው ዘረኛው የወያኔ አገዛዝ የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብ ከርሃብ ሆነ ከድህነት የማያስጠፍና ሊተገበሩ የማይችሉ የዕድገት ፖሊሲዎችን በመንደፈ በልማት ስም ከዓለም ባንክ፣ ከዓለም አቀፉ የገንዘብ ተቋም፣ ከቻይናና ከሌሎችም አበዳሪዎች ከፍተኛ ገንዘብ ተበድሮ ሀገሪቱን ተከፍሎ የማያልቅ የዕዳ ማጥ ውስጥ ዘፍቋታል። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ ከ23 ሚሊዮን ሄክታር በላይ ሰፋፊና ለም የእርሻ መሬቶችን ለሀንድ፣ ለቻይና፣ ለሳውዲ አረብ፣ ለጀርመን፣ ለሆላንድ፣ ለጅቡቲ፣ ለግብጽና ለሌሎችም አገሮች በነፃ ሊባል በሚችል መልኩ በመቸርቸር ኢትዮጵያውያን ከቤት ንብረታቸው አፈናቅሏል። እነዚህ ሁሉ ችግሮች ተደማምረው የፈጠሩት ከፍተኛ ርሃብ ከአሥር ሚሊዮን በላይ ኢትዮጵያውያንን በሞት አፋፍ ላይ ቆመው ሞታቸውን እንዲጠባበቁ አድርጓቸዋል።

አገሮች በታሪካቸው ትልልቅ ፈተና ያጋጥማቸዋል። ኢትዮጵያም እንደ ሀገር በርካታ ፈተናዎችን አሳልፋ፤ ዛሬ በምትገኝበት የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ መዳፍ ውስጥ ከወደቀች 24 ዓመታት ተቆጥረዋል። በእነዚህ 24 ዓመታት ውስጥ የከፋ እንጂ አንዳችም የተለወጠ ነገር ባለመኖሩ ዛሬም ድረስ የደሆች ድሃ ተብሎ መጠራት የማንነታችን መለያ ሆኖ ቀርቷል። ይህ ደግሞ አሳፋሪ ብቻ ሳይሆን ቅስም የሚሰብርና አንገት የሚያስደፋ ታሪካዊ ክስተት ነው። ወያኔ በሚሊዮን የሚቆጠሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን በርሃብ እንደ ቅጠል እየረገፉ፣ ከበቆሎ፣ ከድንች፣ ከሸንኮራ አገዳ፣ ከስኳር ድንች፣ ከአኩሪ አተርና ከሌሎችም ለምግብነት ሊውሉ ከሚችሉ የሰብል ዝርያዎች ባዮሬታዊ በማምረት ለውጭ ገበያ ማቅረብ ልማት ሳይሆን በኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ የታወጀ ግልጽ የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል ነው። ይህ ደግሞ እያንዳንዱን ኢትዮጵያዊ የሚመለከት የህልውና ጥያቄ በመሆኑ፣ ለፖለቲካ ድርጅቶችና ለሰብዓዊ መብት ተከራካሪ ድርጅቶች የምንተውው አገራዊ ጉዳይ አይደለም። ስለሆነም አስቸኳይ የእርስ በእርስ የመረዳዳት እና ዓለም አቀፍ ዕዳታ የመጠየቁ እንቅስቃሴ እንዳለ ሆኖ፣ ለ24 ዓመታት ኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ እንደ መዥገር ተጣብቆ ለውጥ ማምጣት ያልቻለውን ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በሕዝባዊ ማዕበል ማስወገድ ዋነኛው ቁልፍ ተግባር መሆን አለበት።

ድል ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ!!

ወቅታዊ ጉዳይ

ርሃብ በድንገት የሚከሰት የተፈጥሮ አደጋ አይደለም!!

Mikael Akililu

ርሃብ እንደ ጎርፋና የመሬት መንቀጥቀጥ በድንገት የሚከሰት የተፈጥሮ አደጋ አይደለም። ርሃብ ከጊዜ ወደ ጊዜ ቀስቀስ እየከፋ የሚሄድና የሰውን ልጅ ቅስም የሚሰብር ከአንድ አገር ፖለቲካዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ሁኔታ ጋር የተያያዘ የልማትና የመልካም አስተዳደር እጦት ውጤት ነው። በቅርቡ የተባበሩት መንግሥታትና ለጋሽ አገሮች ይፋ ያደረጉት የመስክ ጥናት ከ15 ሚሊዮን በላይ ኢትዮጵያውያን ለከፋ ርሃብ በመጋለጣቸው አስቸኳይ የምግብ ዕርዳታ የሚያስፈልጋቸው መሆኑን አረጋግጧል።

ርሃቡ የወያኔ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ በታሪክ ታይቶና ተሰምቶ በማይታወቅ መልኩ የኢትዮጵያን ኢኮኖሚ ስለመቆጣጠር በመቶ በማሳደግ የምግብ ዋስትናን አረጋግጫለሁ፤ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ በቀን ሦስት ጊዜ መመገብ እንዲችል አድርጌያለሁ፤ ድህነት ተረት ሆኗል...ወዘተ በማለት ላለፉት 24 ዓመታት የደከመበትን ሀሰተኛ ፕሮፓጋንዳ ዕርቃኑን አስቀርቶታል። ብዙዎች ወያኔ ጧትና ማታ ከበሮ የሚደልቅለት “ፈጣኑና ተዳጊው ኢኮኖሚ” ኢትዮጵያውያንን ከርሃብ አደጋ መታደግ አለመቻሉ፤ ድሮም የማይጨበጥ ባዶ ተስፋ እንጂ የተባለው ልማትና ዕድገት ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ አለመሮሩን በተግባር አረጋግጠዋል። ሀቁ ባለፉት 24 ዓመታት ውስጥ አምባገነናዊው የወያኔ አገዛዝ የኢትዮጵያውያን የኑሮ መሠረት የሆነውን የመሬትና የውሃ ሀብት በልማት ስም ለህንድ፣ ለቻይና፣ ለሚሊዮን፣ ለሳውዲ አረቢያ፣ ለጀርመን ለኔዘርላንድስ ባለሀብቶች በመቸብቸብ አርሶ አደሩን ርሃብተኛና የበይ ተመልካች አድርጎታል።

በመሆኑም በያዝነው ዓመት ብቻ ከኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ 21 ከመቶ የሚሆነው (ከ15 ሚሊዮን በላይ ሕዝብ) አስቸኳይ የምግብ ዕርዳታ ካላገኘ ከፍተኛ አደጋ ይጠብቀዋል። ሁኔታው በዚህ ከቀጠለ ርሃቡ ከ1977ቱ የከፋ ሰብዓዊ ጉዳት ማስከተሉ የማይቀር መሆኑን በተለያዩ አካባቢዎች ለዕርዳታ የተሰማሩ ወገኖች አበክረው በማስጠንቀቅ ላይ ይገኛል። ይህ የረሃብ አደጋ እንደሚከሰት ከሰኔ 2015 በፊት ተጠቁሞ የነበረ ሲሆን በተለይ በአፋር በትግራይ እና አሮሚያ ክልል የምግብ እጥረት በመኖሩ ተብለው በውጭ እርዳታ ድርጅቶች በኩል የተመዘገቡ ዜጎች አስቸኳይ እርዳታ እንዳያገኙ የወያኔ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ ከፍተኛ ጋሬጣ ሆኖ እንደነበር ተጠቁሟል።

በአጠቃላይ በአሁኑ ወቅት ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የሚታየው ርሃብና ሥር የሰደድ ድህነት የወያኔ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ ላለፉት 24 ዓመታት የተከተለው የተሳሳተ የልማት ፖሊሲና የመልካም አስተዳደር እጦት ውጤት ነው። ይሁን እንጂ አገዛዙ ዛሬም ዓይኑን በጨው

ታጥቦ “ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ድርቅ እንጂ ርሃብ የለም” በማለት ርሃቡን የአጭር ጊዜ ክስተት ለማስመሰል አበክሮ በመታተር ላይ ይገኛል። ይህ ደግሞ ተጨፈኑ ላምኛቸው ከማለት የዘለለ ትርጉም የማይሰጥ የህጻናት ጨዋታ እንጂ ሌላ ምንም ሊባል አይችልም። ስለዚህ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ለአሳፋሪ ለርሃብና ለድህነት የዳረገውን አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ ከሥሩ ነቅሎ ለመጣል፤ በአንድነት ሆ ብሎ ከመነሳት ውጭ ሌላ አማራጭ የለውም።

የወያኔ የዘር ክትባት

Daniel Shitie

የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በ1983 ዓ.ም አዲስ አበባን የተቆጣጠረው ንፁሃን ዜጎችን ከየትም በቃረመው ታንክና መትረየስ እያጨደ በፊሳቸውና በደማቸው ላይ እየተረማመደ መሆኑ ታሪክ የማይረሳ መራር ትዝታ ነው። አገዛዙ ገና ከጅምሩ ለሕዝብ መብትና ለፍትህ ያለውን የወረደና የተዛባ አመለካከት ባደባባይ ማሳየት የጀመረው በጠራራ ፀሐይ በየጎዳናው በገደላቸውና ላለፉት 24 ዓመታት ከቤትና ንብረታቸው እንዲሁን ከሥራቸው አፈናቅሎ በየእስር ቤቱ ባጎራቸውና አገራቸውን ጥለው እንዲሰደዱ ባደረጋቸው በሚሊዮኖች በሚቆጠሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ ባደረሰው ፈርጅብዙ ግፍና ሰቆቃ ነው።

የወያኔ ሥራዓትን ብልሹነት የሚያሳየው ግድያዎች መፈፀማቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን ገዳዮች በህግ አግባብ ሊጠየቁና ለፈፀሙትም ወንጀል ተጠያቂ አለመሆናቸው ፣ እንዲሁም ተበዳዮችንና የሚች ወገኖችን እያስፈራራሩና እያሻማቀቁ በያደባባይ ሲንግላሉ፣ ሲሾሙና ሲሞገሱ መታየቱ የተለመደ መሆኑ ነው። በአብዛኛው የኢትዮጵያ ክፍለ ሀገራት ገና ከጅምሩ ሲገቡ ሕዝቡን እናንተ የኢሰፓ እርዝራዦች፣ እናንተ የደርግ ምሽጎች እያሉ ንፅሃን ዜጎችን በአደባባይ ሲገርፉ፣ ሲያሰሩና ሲገሉ እንደነበር እናውቃለን።

አገራችን ኢትዮጵያ ከየአቅጣጫው የገጠማት ችግር ከመቼውም የበለጠ የሚያስደነግጥ፣ ሊታመን የማይችል፣ ለመስማት የሚቀፍና የሚዘገንን ሆኗል። በቅድመ አያቶቻችን ፣ በአያቶቻችንና በአባቶቻችን ደም ፍሳሽና አጥንት ከሰካሽ ተፈርቶና ተከብሮ የነበረው ዳርድንበራች ዛሬ የምትፈልግ ገብተህ ፈንጭበት የተባለ ይመስል ግዙፍ የሆነውን ለም የኢትዮጵያ መሬት ከጎንደር እስከ ጋምቤል ለሱዳን መንግሥት በገፀበረከትነት ከመሰጠቱም በላይ እንደገና በዚህ አካባቢ የሚገኝ መሬት ከነዋሪው አርሶ አደርና አርብቶ አደር ህዝብ ለዘመናት ከአያት ከቅድመ አያት የወረሰው

መሬት ቀርቶ ያለፈቃዱ ለተነጠቀው ንብረቱና ሀብቱ ያለምንም የዋጋ ክፍያ በአንድ ጀምበር ለተፈለፈሉ የወያኔ ቱጃሮች እንዲሁም ሆዳም ካድሬዎች እየተለገሰ ነው።

ከርዕሴ ወጥቼ በትንሹ ከድሮው ከደምና ከአጥንት የተገኘውን የወያኔ ግፍና በደል የዘረዘርኩት ወያኔዎች እንደገቡ ያደረጉትና ከገቡ በኋላ ያደረሱትን ግፍና ስቃይ፣ ኢትዮጵያንና አትዮጵያዊነትን እያጠፉ እንዳሉ በጥቂቱ ለማስታወስ ነው። አምባገነኑ የወያኔ መንግሥት የኢጣሊያን ፋሽስት ያወጣውን በተለይ በዋነነት በአማራና በአሮሞ ሕዝብ ላይ ያነጣጠረውን የከፋፍለህ ግዛ ፖሊሲ ኮርጅ በመከተል ሥልጣን በያዘ ማግስት፣ የዘረኝነት መርዛማ ክትባቱን መከተብ መጀመሩን እናስታውሳለን። በሀረርጌ፣ በአርባጉጉ፣ በበደኖ፣ በአርሲና በጎዴ ምንም የማያውቁ ንፁህ ኢትዮጵያውያንን አማርኛ ተናጋሪ ስለሆኑ ብቻ እና የአማራ ዘር ናችሁ በሚል ከነፍሳቸው ወደ ገደል ተጥለው በግፍ ተገለጻል። ይህ ሁሉ ሲሆን የወያኔ መንግሥት ራሱ ተባባሪ በመሆኑ እልቂቱ ከተፈጸመ በኋላ ለረጅም ጊዜ ድርጊቱን ሳይገልፅ ቆይቷል፤ ተጠያቂ የሆኑ ግለሰቦችም ሆኑ ቡድኖች ላደረሱት አስቃቂ ግድያ ለፍርድ አልቀረቡም። በኋላፊነትም የተጠየቀ አንድም የወያኔ ባለሥልጣን የለም።

ወያኔ ይህንን የዘር ክትባቱን በከፍተኛ ትምህርት ተቋማት ሳይቀር ከፍተኛ በጀት መድብ በተማሪው መሀል አስርጎ ባስገባቸው ካድሬዎቹ አማካኝነት በመተግበር ላይ ይገኛል። ባለፈው 10 ዓመት ውስጥ የወያኔ መንግሥት ይህን የዘረኝነት ክትባት ለመከተብ ወደ ደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ ዘልቆ ያደረሰውን ግፍና ስቃይ እናያለን። በ1997 ዓ.ም ብዙ ብሔሮች ተቻችለውና ተዋደው ወደ ሚኖሩባት ወደ ለምለሚቱ ደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ ለሥራ ጉዳይ ጎራ ብዬ በነበረበት ወቅቱ የተመለከትኩት የመቻቻልና መከባበርን ባሕል ነበር። በደቡብ ክልል በጌዲአ ዞን ውስጥ ጉራጌ፣ አሮሞ፣ አማራ፣ ሲዳሞ ፣ ወላይታ ወዘተ በአንድ ላይ ተዋደውና ተከባብረው በሰላም ይኖሩ ነበር። ይህ የመቻቻልና አብሮ የመኖር ባሕል ከ1998 ዓ.ም ማለፍ አልቻለም። ምክንያቱም በምርጫ 1997 የደረሰበትን አሳፋሪ ሽንፈት ተከትሎ ወያኔ በጤና ኤክስቴንሽኖችና በሆዳም የካቢኔ አባላቶቹ አማካኝነት የዘር ክትባቱን ወደ ሕዝቡ መላክ ጀመረ። የጤና ኤክስቴንሽኖች ሥራቸው ለሕዝቡ የጤና ትምህርት ማስተማር፣ ማዋለድና ጤና ነክ የሆኑ ሥራዎችን ለህበረሰቡ ማድረስና ማገልገል ነበር። እነዚህ ባለሙያዎች ግን ተምረውና ተመርቀው የወጡት እንዲሁም የሙያ ማሻሻያ ስልጠና የወሰዱት የወያኔን ሥልጣን ማራዘሚያ የዘር ክትባት የኢትዮጵያን አንድነት የሚያጠፋበት የውሸት ፕሮፓጋንዳ ነው። ዋንኛ ሥራቸው ሀብረተሰቡን የወያኔ አባል ማደረግና ለብዙ ዓመታት ተቻችሎና ተዋዶ የኖረውን ሀብረተሰብ በወያኔ የዘረኝነት ክትባት በማለያየት አንድነቱንና ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ማጥፋት ሆነ።

የጌዲአ ህዝብ ውሃ ስጦት ብለህ ስትጠይቅ ወተት፣ ለሰላሳ ካልጠጣህ እያለ የሚያጠጣህ፤ ደክሞህ አረፍ ስትል እጅህን ይዞ የሚያበረታታ፤ በአጠቃላይ ከጎኑ ተሰልፎ ለሚያገለግለውና ለሚሠራለት ክብርና ምስጋናው ልዩ ነበር። ዛሬ ግን ውሃ ብለህ ስትጠይቅ አበል አላችሁ ገዝታችሁ ጠጡ፤ ደክሞህ አረፍ ስትል የሚያበረታታህ ቀርቶ መንገድ ላይ ብትወድቅ የሚያነሳህ አታገኝም። የአካባቢው መቀየር በዚህ ብቻ አላቆመም። ለብዙ ዓመታት ሀገሬ ነው ማንነቴ ነው ብሎ የኖረውን አማራው፣ አሮሞው፣ ጉራጌው፣ ወላይታው... ወዘተ ሀገሩ እንዳልሆነና መጤ እንደሆነ እየተነገረው ውጣልን ተባለ። የመንግሥት ስራተኛው፣ ነጋዴው ፣ ገበሬው እንዲሁም በተለያዩ ሥራ ውስጥ የተሰማራ የሌላ ብሔር ተወላጅ ያለው ሀብትና ንብረት ወደመ። ቤቶች ተቃጠሉ ፈራረሱ፤ መኪና ተሰባብረ ታቃጠለ ፤ ሰቆችና ሆቴሎች ወደሙ እንዲሁን በርካታ ሰዎች ተገደሉ።

ይህ የሆነው የዙኑ ከተማ ዲላን ጨምሮ በዙኑ በሚገኙ ብዙ ወረዳዎች ላይ ነው። ከነዚህ ውስጥ በቡሌ ወረዳ በከፋ ሁኔታ ሰዎች የተገደሉበትና ሀብት ንብረት የወደመበት በመሆኑ ወረዳ እንዳለ የጠፋበት ሁኔታ ተከስቷል። በቡሌ ወረዳ የሌላ ብሔር ተወላጆችን ሀብት ንብረት ለማውደምና ለመግደል የሚሔደው ህዝብ አራት መቶ (400) እና ከዛ በላይ ይገመታል። ከተለያዩ አካባቢ የመጣው ሰው ሁሉ ቢለዋ፣ ቆንጨራና መጥረቢያ ይዘው በመውጣት ነበር ይህን ጥፋት የፈፀሙት። ይህ የጥፋት ሃይል ቤቶችን በሚያፈራስበትና ንብረት በሚያወድምበት ጊዜ የጌዲአ ብሔር ንብረት ናቸው ያሏቸውን ቤቶችና ሀብት ንብረቶች ሳያወድሙ የሚያልፉት፤ ከቤቱ ወይም ከድርጅቱ በር ላይ የኮባ ቅጠል ተንጠልጥሎ ካዩ ብቻ ነበር። እንደጋጣሚ ሆኖ ግን በዚህች ከተማ ባብዛኛው የሚኖሩት የሌላ ብሔር ተወላጆች ስለነበሩ ወረዳው እንዳለ ወድሟ፤ ብዙ ሰዎችም ተገድለዋል። ለዚህም ማረጋገጫው አንዳንድ ከአደጋው በሕይወት የተረፉ ሰዎችና ለዚህ ወረዳ ሲሰሩ የነበሩ የጤና ባለሙያዎች ከተደበቁበት የጤና ጣቢያው መድሃኒት መጋዘን ውስጥ ሁነው ድርጊቱን ሲከታተሉ የነበሩ ግለሰቦች ናቸው። እነሱም ሕይወታቸውን ያተረፉት ለሦስት ቀን በመደሃኒት መጋዘን ውስጥ አርባ ፐርሰንት ጉሉኮስ (40% glucose) እየጠጡ መሆኑን ገልጸዋል። ከሦስት ቀን በኋላ ወረዳዋ ከወደመችና ብዙ ሰዎች ከተጎዱና ከተገደሉ በኋላ የፌደራል ፖሊስ ሲይዩ ከተደበቁበት ወጥተው ወደ ዲላ ከተማ መግባት ችለዋል።

በወቅቱ የወያኔ መንግሥት ስለሁኔታ ማንንም አልጠየቀም፤ ሀላፊነቱንም አልወሰደም። ምክንያቱን ሥራውን ያውቀዋል። ስርዓት አስከባሪ የተባሉት የፌደራል ፖሊስ አባላትም ሁሉ ነገር ካለቀና ወረዳዋ ከወደመች በኋላ የመጡት ለይስሙላ እንጂ ሃላፊነት ተሰምቷቸው አልነበረም። ለዚህ ሁሉ ጥፋት በዋናነት ተጠያቂው የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ ቢሆንም፤ በአካባቢው የሚገኙ ባለሥልጣናትና የጤና ባለሙያዎችም ተጠያቂዎች ናቸው። ወያኔ በተደጋጋሚ በሚሰጣቸው

የዘር ክትባት ስልጠናዎችና ድጋግዎች ያንን ደግና ርህራሄ ሕዝብ ቀይረው ለሌላ ብሔር ተወላጅ ከፍተኛ ጥላቻ እንዲኖረው አድርገውታል። ወያኔ ሥልጣኑን ሊያቆይበት የሚጠቀምበትን የከፋፍለህ ግዛው ፖሊሲ አስተግብረውለታል። ይህ የሚያሳየን ወያኔ ለሥልጣኑን ለማራዘም ኢትዮጵያንና የኢትዮጵያን አንድነት እያጣፈ መሆኑን ብቻ ነው። ኢትዮጵያና ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ለማጥፋት የተነሳውን የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ መታገል የያንዳንዳችን ግዴታ በመሆኑ፤ በዘር፣ በቋንቋና በሐይማኖት ሳንከፋፈል በአንድነት በመነሳት ትግሉ የሚጠይቀውን ማንኛውንም መስዋዕትነት ከፍለን ሀገራችንን ከሀገር በቀል ፋሽስቶች መንጋጋ ነፃ ማውጣት ይኖርብናል። ድል ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ!

**የዘር ፖለቲካ በኢትዮጵያ**

**Zenebech Mamo (Fulda)**

ሥልጣንን በጠመንጃ አፈሙዝ ተቆጣጥሮ ፤ ኢትዮጵያውያንን በዘርና በሐይማኖት ከፋፍሎ፤ በልማት ስም አገራችንን ለባዕዳን የሸጠው ዘረኛው የወያኔ አገዛዝ ወጣቱን ለስደት ፣ ለርሃብ ፣ ለአሳፋሪ ድህነትና ለሞት አጋልጦታል። ወያኔ በጠመንጃ አፈሙዝ በሚቆጣጠራት ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የነገሰው ንቅዘትና ዘረኝነት ብቻ በመሆኑ ፤ ከህግ የበላይነት ይልቅ የአንድ ብሔር የበላይነት፤ ከመልካም አስተዳደር ይልቅ፤ በዜጎች ላይ የሚፈጸም ግፍና ሰቆቃ፤ ከአንድነት ይልቅ መለያየትና መናናቅ ጎልተው የሚታዩ የዘመናችን ክስተቶች ሆነዋል።

በአጠቃላይ ላለፉት 24 ዓመታት ራሳቸውን ህዝባዊ ወያኔ ሓርነት ትግራይ (ህወሓት) ብለው በዘር ያደራጁ የትግራይ ጎጠኞች ኢትዮጵያና ኢትዮጵያዊነትን አዘቅት ውስጥ ከተውታል። ህወሓት አገሪቱን ዘርን ብቻ መሠረት ባደረጉ ዘጠኝ ክልሎች ከፋፍሎ የዜጎችን ከቦታ ቦታ በነጻነት የመዘዋወርና ሠርቶ የመኖርም ሆነ ተምሮ ሀብት የማፍራት መብትን በክልል ገደቦ ኢትዮጵያውያንን በድህነትና በርሃብ በማስቃየት ላይ ይገኛል። ወያኔ ግና ከጅምሩ የአንድ ብሔር የበላይነት ለማስጠበቅ አስቦና አቅዶ የተነሳ ዘረኝነት የተጠናወታቸው ግለሰቦች ስብስብ ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ የሚጠቅም አንዳችም መልካም ነገር መሥራት አልቻለም፤ ወደፊትም ይሠራል ተብሎ አይታስበም።

በመሠረቱ የዘር ፖለቲካና የካንሰር በሽታ ታክሞ የመዳን ዕድሉ የመገመ በመሆኑ፤ ወያኔ የቱንም ያህል በሥልጣን ላይ ቢቆይ መልካም አስተዳደርንና የሕግ የበላይነትን በኢትዮጵያ ያሰፍናል ማለት ዘበት ነው። ይህ ሀቅ በግልጽ የሚታይ በመሆኑ፤ ተጨማሪ ማብራሪያም ሆነ ምሳሌ መስጠት አስፈላጊ አልነበረም። ነገር ግን የገባንበት የፖለቲካ አዙሪት በቀላሉ የማይፈታና ዛሬም በተመሳሳይ አዘቅት ውስጥ የምንገኝ በመሆናችን በዘር ላይ የተመሠረተ ፖለቲካዊ አደረጃጀት

በኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ እያደረሰውን ጉዳት በአግባቡ ማጤን ይጠበቅብናል።

ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የሕግ የበላይነትና ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ሊሰፍን የሚችለው የአንድ ብሔር የበላይነት ተወግዶ እውነተኛ የሆነ ፌዴራላዊ አወቃቀ ሲመሠረት ብቻ ነው። ይህ ደግሞ የመጫወቻ ሜዳውና ኳሲን ለወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ አስረክበው እግራቸውን አጣጥፈው የተቀመጡትንም ተቀዋሚዎች ይመለከታል። በተለይ ከአገር ውጭ ያሉት ተቀዋሚዎች ኃላቸውን አስተባብረው የወያኔን ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በሁለገብ ትግል ማስወገድ የሚያስችል ሰፊ ዕድል ያላቸው መሆኑን መገንዘብ ይኖርባቸዋል። ነገር ግን ይህን ማድረግ አቅቷቸው ኢትዮጵያ ላይ እያንገጠበ ያለው የጥፋት ደመና በሀገሪቱን ከሚያደርሰው ጉዳት በሕግም ሆነ በታሪክ ተጠያቂ ከመሆን አያመልጡም።

**የወያኔን የዘር ፖለቲካ ለመበጣጠስ ጊዜው አሁን ነው!!**

**Endale Bikila Henok (Heppenheim)**

ዘወትር ውሸት እና ማታለል የማይሰለቸው ህወሀት መራሹ የወያኔ መንግሥት በኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ጫንቃ ላይ ተደላድሎ ከተቀመጠበት እለት ጀምሮ በህዝብ ላይ የሚያደርሰው ዘርፈ ብዙ በደል ከእለት ወደ እለት እየጨመረ ቢሄድም ይህንን ማሥቆም የምንችልበት የተባበረ ክንድ አጥተን በወያኔ የማታለያ ዲሥኩር በእግር ብረት ታሥረን እንገኛለን። ኢህአዴግ ምንም ይበል ምን የፈለገውን ያህል ሰማይና ምድርን ቢቧጥጥም እኛ ግን ህዝብን አንድ ጊዜ ብቻ ነው ማታለል የሚቻለው ሁልጊዜ እየዋሹ፣ ሁልጊዜ እያሰመሰሉ ዘወትር ምላው ተገዝተው በሃሰት ተሰፋ በማይጨበጥ የነገ ቃል መግዛት የማይታሰብ ነው። መሪዎቻችን ደግሞ እኮ ምሩን እንጂ ንዱን አላልናችሁም ልንላቸው ይገባል። በመልካም አሥተዳደር እጦት በግምባር ቀደምትነት የምትታወቁት የሙሥና ንጉሦቹ ኢህአዴጋውያን መሪዎቻችን ህዝቡን ሳታውቁት ያወቃችሁት፣ ሳትቀርቡት የደረሳችሁለት፣ ሳታዳምጡት የሰማችሁት፣ ሳትረዱት የቆማችሁለት እየመሰላችሁ ህዝብ ምንም ባላደረገ ትጫወቱበታላችሁ በማሰር፣ በማንገላታት፣ ከስራ በማፈናቀል፣ ንብረት በማጥፋት፣ ቤት በማቃጠል፣ ማዳበሪያ በመንሳት... ሽረስንቱ ይዘረዘራል፤ በበደልላይ በደል ትጨምሩበታላችሁ። ይህን ሁሉ ግፍ ደግሞ የምታደርሱበትን ለካድሬዎቻችሁ እንደ ልብ በህዝብ ላይ በግፍ ለመፈንጨት ነው። ታዲያ የሀገርና የህዝብ ህልውና፣ የህዝብ መብት፣ የዲሞክራሲ መብት፣ የሰብአዊ መብት መከበር ሁሉም ገደል ይግቡ? እስከመቼ ችለን እንድንታገስ ነው ፍላጎታችሁ? ለመሆኑ ምንድን ናችሁ? አረም ሆናችሁ የበቀላችሁ እናንተ ወገን ነጣቂ ተኩላዎች አንድነት በማጣታችን የምንፈልገውን የነፃነት ጥማት እንዳናሳካ እንቅፋቶች ሆነውብናል። እርግጥ ነው

ለእናንተ የዝቸ ሀገር ጡት ነካሽ አራጋቢ ካድሬዎች ባርነት ነፃነት ነው ግን እስከመቼ? ይህን ሁሉ በደል የምንቋቋምበት ትከሻ ስለሌለን በመላው ኢትዮጵያ የምንገኝ ሀገር ወዳድ ዜጎች በሙሉ ከንዳችንን አበርትተን እና ሀይላችንን አጠንክረን ይህንን በዘር ፖለቲካ የተጨማሪ የማፍያ ቡድን ለአንዴ እና ለመጨረሻ ጊዜ ከሀገራችን እና ከህዝቦቿ ትከሻ ላይ ለማውረድ እንረባረብ። ኢትዮጵያ ለዘላለም ትኑር!!

**ኢትዮጵያዊነቴን መልሱልኝ!!**

**Maheder Degu (Nurenbeg)**

በተለይ ጥቂት በማይባሉ የአፍሪካ አገሮችና በመካከለኛው ምስራቅ ባጠቃላይ ደግሞ በዓለም ደረጃ የኢትዮጵያዊ ማንነቱ በእንግዳ ተቀባይነቱ እና በጀግንነቱ ሲለካ እንደኖረ አሌ የማይባል ሀቅ ነው። በሃይማኖት መጽሐፍትና ሌሎች ቀደምት ድርሳናት በጥልቀት ሲወሰሰት የኖረው እንግዳ አስተናጋጅነቱ እና ጥሩ ጉርብትናው ዛሬ በዘመን ወያኔ እንዳልነበር ሆኖ ለመስማት በሚዘገብን ርሃብ፣ ስደትና የነጻነት እጦት ሲተካ፣ ኢትዮጵያዊ በየሄደበት ከልክ በላይ ሲናቅና ሲገፋ፣ ከሰው በታች ተደርጎ ተቆጥሮ አንገቱን ቀና ለማድረግ እንኳ የመንፈስ ጥንካሬ አጥቶ ቁልቁል ሲሸቀጠር አይዘህ ብሎ ከጎኑ የሚቆም መሪ አጥቷል ። በተለያዩ የአለም ሀገራት በስደት ተበትኖ። ይሰቃያል ፣ ይታሰራል፣ መብቱ ይረገጣል የሰቀቀን ኑሮን እንዲገፋ ይደረጋል። ከዚህ እጅግ በከፋ መልኩ ደግሞ በሀገር ውስጥ በህዝባችን ላይ የሚደረገውን ግርፋትና ሰቃይት እስርና መጉላላት መፈናቀልና ሞት ስናስታውስ በእርግጥ ለኢትዮጵያዊ ወገኑ ማነው? እንድንል ያደርገናል። በጣም ከትንሿ ኢፍትሃዊ ስራ ብንጀምር አስፋልት ዳር ቁጭ ብሎ በፀሐይ ሃሩር እየተቃጠሉ በነፋስ እየተገረፉ የአካባቢው አየር ያመጣውን ማንኛውንም አይነት ጠረንና አቧራ እየማጉ ጥቂት የድንች፣ የቃሪያ የቲማቲምና የመሳሰሉትን የአትክልት ውጤቶችን ለመቸርቸር ቢፈልጉ ወያኔ መሆን የግድ ይልቃል። ጥራታቸው እየሞተ ካሉት የወያኔ ዩኒቨርሲቲዎች ተመርቀው ስራ ለመቀጠር ቢፈልጉ፣ ይህም ወያኔያዊ መስፈርት አሉት። አንዳንዴ ወያኔ ከመሆንም ባሻገር የቱባ ወያኔ ባለስልጣን ወገን መሆንም ሊያስፈልግ ይችላል። ኩብልስቶን መጥረብ ካልፈለጉ ማለት ነው። ለአንድ ክፍት የስራ ቦታ የሚጠይቀውን አሟልቶ እራስን ለገበያው እንደሚመች አድርጎ ማቅረብና በነፃ ገበያ ተወዳድሮ የገባውን ውሳኔ መቀበል የሚለው ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሂደት፣ በኢትዮጵያ በወረቀት ላይ ብቻ ያለ ለእርዳታ ሰጭ የውጭ ሀገራት ፎጆታ ብቻ የተቀመጠ እንጂ በመንግስታዊም ሆነ መንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ድርጅቶች ውስጥ የሚተገበር ነገር አይደለም እጅግ በጣም ቢያንስ አሁን ባለው የሀገራችን አሰራር። ይህን መሰሉ የወያኔ አሰራር የዱር እንሰሳትን እና አኗኗራቸውን ያስታውሰናል። የዱር እንሰሳት የራሳቸውን ክልል ግዛት አሰረገጠው ለማወቅና ለመቆጣጠር

እንዲሁም ሌሎች የእንሰሳ ዝርያዎች ወደ እነሱ ክልል እንዳይገቡ ለመከላከል የሚኖሩበትን ክልል በጠረፍቸው ያጥራሉ። ስለዚህም በዚያ የተለየ ክልል ከነሱ ዝርያ በቀር እንዲዘዋወር አይፈቀድለትም ማለት ነው፤ ሲዘዋወር ከተገኘም ጥቃት ይሰነዘርበታል። ይህን አይነቱን የዱር አውሬዎች ዘዴ ነው እንግዲህ ወያኔ በእኛ ላይ እየተገበረ ያለው። ስርአቱ ልክ እንደ ዱር እንሰሳት የራሱን ወገኖችና እሱ እንደሚፈልገው የሚሰሩ የሚታዘዙና የሚተገቡትን ብቻ በዙሪያው ያሰባስባል። ከወያኔ የዘር ሀረግ ውጭ የሆኑና የወያኔን የዘረኝነት አካሄድ ያልተቀበሉ የሚፈልጉትን አያገኙም። ያገኙም ካሉ የተለያዩ ምክንያት ተለጥፎባቸው ይባረራሉ፤ እድለኛ ከሆኑ ማለቴ ነው አለዚያ ግን መጨረሻቸው ወህኔም ሊሆን ይችላል። ወያኔ የኔ ከሚለው የዘር ሀረግም ቢሆኑ ወያኔያዊ አሰራርን ማመንገና አጣፋንታ መተግበር ይጠበቅበዋል። የወር ክፍያ ደመወዝ አንሰናልና ይጨመርልንን ለመሳሰሉ እጅግ በጣም ቀላል የመብት ጥያቄዎች ሁኔታውን አጥንቶ ተገቢ መልስ መስጠት ይገባ ነበር ያም ባይሆንና አሉታዊ መልስ መስጠት እንኳ ቢያስፈልግ በቀላሉ ሊመለሱ ሲችሉ ወያኔ ግን የሚወሰደው እጅግ የከፋውን ነው። ይህንና ተመሳሳይ ጥያቄ የጠየቁ የዘር ጀርባቸው ይጠናል ከዚያም የአሸባሪ ቡድን አባላት ተብለው ይፈረጃሉ ከስራም እስከነአካቴው ይባረራሉ ወይም ይታሰራሉ። እድለኛ ሆነው ወደስራ መመለስ ከቻሉ በወያኔ ተቀባባይ በተዘጋጀና ከዚህ በኋላ በቀሪ ዘመናቸው ምንም የመብትም ሆነ የሌላ ጥያቄ እንዳይጠይቁ በሚያደርግ አስገዳጅ የይቅርታ ውል ላይ እንዲፈረሙ ይደረጋሉ። ለእነሱ የተከለከለ የደመወዝ ጭማሪም እነሱ ሲያገኙት ከነበረው በሶስትና አራት እጥፍ አብላጫ ደመወዝ ችሎታቸው ከዜጋው ያነሰም ቢሆን የውጭ ዜጋ ይቀጠርበታል። ሰላማዊ በሆነ መልኩ ተደራጅቼ መንግስትን እንዳደራሰሁ የሚሉ ፓርቲዎችና የአባሎቻቸው በአሰቃቂ ሁኔታ አደጋ ላይ ነው። ለወያኔ ጨቃታ ተመቻችተው ጭፈራውን ሞቅ ደመቅ የሚያደርጉትን ፓርቲዎች አይጨምርም። ስለሆነም ሁላችንም ከንዳችንን አጠንክረን ኢትዮጵያዊነታችንን እናስመልስ። እኔ መንገዱን ጀምራለሁ ኢትዮጵያዊነቴን መልሱልኝ። አንዲት ኢትዮጵያ ለዘላለም ትኑር!!

**አንድ ለአምስት የተሰኘው የወያኔ አፈና መዋቅር Amin Rejawu**

አምባገነኖች ሥልጣናቸውን ዘለዓለማዊ ለማድረግ የማይፈነቅሉት ድንጋይ አይኖርም። በተለይ እንደ ወያኔ በራስ የመተማመን ብቃት የሌላቸው በዘር ላይ የተመሰረቱ ውህዳን ጥላቸውን ሳይቀር ስለሚፈሩ የአፈና መዋቅራቸውን በቤተክርስቲያን፣ በመስኪድና በትምህርት ቤቶች ሳይቀር ይዘረጋሉ። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ አፋኝ ሕጎችን በየጊዜ ያወጣሉ። የሚወጡት ሕጎቹ አሻሚና የተለጠጠ ትርጉም እንዲሰጡ ተደርገው ነው። ምክንያቱም ሕጎቹ የሚወጡት ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ታሰቦ ሳይሆን የወያኔን ዘረኛ አገዛዝ ዕድሜ ለማራዘም ታቅዶ ብቻ በመሆኑ ከሕጋዊነት ይልቅ ፖለቲካዊ ይዘትን

ይላበሳሉ፤ ሕብረተሰቡም የወያኔ እንጂ የኢትዮጵያ ሕጎች ብሎ አይቀበላቸውም።

የዚህ ጽሁፍ ዋና ዓላማ የወያኔን የማፈኛ ስልቶች ማጋለጥ በመሆኑ፤ ለዛሬ አንድ ለአምስት ስለተሰኘው የስለላ መዋቅር መጠነኛ ግንዛቤ ለማስጨበጥ እሞክራለሁ። አንድ ለአምስት የተሰኘው የስለላ መዋቅር የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በምርጫ 1997 ከደረሰበት አሳፋሪ ሽንፈት ተነስቶ “በልማት” ሥም የፈጠረው የአደረጃጀት ስልት ነው። ይህ አደረጃጀት ከመዋዕለ ሕፃናት እስከ የቴክኖሎጂ፣ ከቤተክርስቲያንና መስኪድ እስከ መንግሥት መስሪያ ቤቶች በአጠቃላይ በገጠርና በከተማ በሁሉም የሕብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ላይ ተግባራዊ ተደርጓል። ዓላማውም ሕዝቡ እርስ በርስ እንዳይተማመን በጥርጣሬ ዐይን እንዲተያይ፣ በሃገር ጉዳይ ላይ በጋራ እንዳይመክር፣ በስርዓቱ ላይ ታቃውሞ እንዳያነሳ፣ የስርዓቱ አራማጅ ፣ ደጋፊና አገልጋይ ሆኖ እንዲቀጥል ማድረግ ነው።

በአንድ ለአምስት አደረጃጀት ውስጥ አንድ የወያኔ አባል አምስት የወያኔ አባል ያልሆኑ ግለሰቦችን ይሰልላል። ከላይ እንደተገለጸው ስለላው በሁሉም የሕብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ላይ ተግባራዊ የሚደረግ ሲሆን፤ በዋናነት የወያኔ አባል ባልሆኑ መምህራንና ሰራተኞች እንዲሁም ተማሪዎች ላይ ይካሄዳል። በተለይ ተቃዋሚ ናቸው ተብለው በሚጠረጠሩ መምህራንና ሰራተኞች ላይ የጠነከረ ከመሆኑም ባሻገር በየዕለቱ በክፍል ውስጥ የሚናገሯቸው የትምህርት ይዘት ያላቸው ቃላትን እንደ ጸጉር እየተሰነጠቁ በየትምህርት ቤቶቹ ከተቋቋሙት የወያኔ ህዋሳት የሃይል መድረክ እስከ ከፍተኛው የወያኔ የፖለቲካ አመራር ድረስ ሪፖርት እየተደረገ በአያንዳንዱ መምህር ስም ባዘጋጁት የግል ማህደር መዝግብው በመያዝ የትምህርት፣ የሥራ፣ የሥልጠና የዕድገት ፣ ... ወዘተ ዕድል ሲገኝ የዕድሉ ተጠቃሚ እንዳይሆን ነጥሎ ለመምታት ይጠቀሙበታል። በገጠርም አርሶ አደሩን አንድ ለአምስት በሚል በልማት ሥም በማደራጀት የተለየ የፖለቲካ አመለካከት ያላቸውን አርሶ አደሮች ማዳበሪያ፣ምርጥ ዘርና ሌሎች የግብርና ግባቶችን በመከልከልና የይዘታ ማረጋገጫ ደብተራችሁ ትነጠቃላችሁ ብሎ በማስፈራራት የወያኔ ደጋፊና አገልጋይ ሆነ እንዲኖሩ ያስገድዳል። በአጠቃላይ የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ የአፈና መዋቅሩን በማጥበቅና የኢትዮጵያን በማሸማቀቅ ፍጹም አምባገነናዊነት በምርጫ 2007 በተግባር አረጋግጧል ። ስለዚህ ይህን አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ በተባበረ ክንዳችን ማስወገድ የዜግነት ግዴታችን በመሆኑ፤ በዘርና በሐይማኖት ሳንከፋፈል በጋራ ጠላታችን ላይ መረባረብ ይጠበቅብናል።

**ወዴት አቤት ይባላል?**

**Aschalew Mengistu**

በርካታ ኢትዮጵያውያን የቤት አንበሳ የውጭ እሬሳ የሆነው የወያኔ አገዛዝ የሚፈጽመው ኢሰብዓዊ በደል፣ ግፍና በደል አንገሽግሷቸው ነፃነትና የተሻለ

ሕይወት ፍለጋ ወደ ባዕዳን አገር ይሰዳዳሉ። ብዙዎቹም በሄዱባቸው ሃገራት የሚደርስባቸው ስቃይና እንግልት በተጨማሪ ለጆሮም የሚቀፍና የሚሰቀጥጥ ዜና በየጊዜው እየተከተለ ነው። በተለይ በኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ መሬትና ሰማይ ተማክረው የተደፉባቸውና መሬቱም የከዳቸው የመከራ አዙሪት የተጫነባቸው ይመስላል።

ትናንትና ተቀምጠን የሰቀልናቸው ችግሮቻችን ዛሬ ቆመን ማውረድ አቅቶናል። እነዚህ በጣት የሚቆጠሩ የትግራይ ወንበዴዎች ሰፊውን የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ እንደ ከብት መንጋ ሊነዱን የበቁት በኛ ግድየለሽነት ምናልባትም በተደረገብን “የፖለቲካ አዙሪት” በመሆኑ ይህንን ለማክሸፍ ሁላችንም በጋራ ተነሳስተን ጥረት አለማድረጋችን እንጂ እነዚህ ስንኩሎች በኃይልና በጥበብ በልጠው እንዳልሆነ የማንኛውም ዜጋ የድግግሞሽ አባባል ነው።

ወገኖቹ እየድረብን ያለው ችግር ሲያጤኑት በእጅጉ የሚያሳዝን ነው። እነዚህ ካለፈጣሪያቸው በቀር አንድም አዳኝና አለኝታ የሌላቸው ስደተኛ ኢትዮጵያዊያን በየበረሃው አንገታቸው እየተቀላ ንፁሃን ክርስቲያን ወንድሞቻችን በፅናት ተሰውተዋል። በወገን ላይ እየድረሰ ያለው መሪ ሐዘን የሰው ልጅ እንዴት አድርጎ እንደሚገልፀው ለወገን ልተው። ወገኖቹ የምንገኝበት ወቅት በቀላል አማርኛ ልንገልፀው ስለማይቻል መጭው ዘመን እጅግ በጣም አሳሳቢ ነው። እንዲህ በዝምታ የሚታለፍም አይሆንም።

በወገኖቻችን ላይ እየደረሰ ያለውን መከራ ፣ ስቃይና ሰቆቃ ከምንጊዜውም በላይ የከፋ ከቤትና ንብረት መፈናቀል፣ ከቅዬ ተባቦ ለሰደት መዳረግ፣ ለሕይወትም ሕልፈት ምክንያት ጨካኙ ሕዝባዊ ወያኔ ሐርነት ትግራይ ነው። ምክንያቱም ወጣቱ የኢትዮጵያ አለኝታ ትኩስ ኃይል በሀገሩ ተምሮ እራሱን አሻሽሎ በኩራት ሀገሩንና ወገኑን ለመርዳት የሚያበቃው ሥራዓትና መንግሥት አልባ በመሆኑ፤ ስደትን እንደ ምርጫ በመጠቀም ሞት ከፊቱ እንዳለ ቢረዳም ወንድሞቹ እንደከብት በየበረሃው እየታረዱ ቢወድቁም፤ ሴት እህቶቻችን እንደ ሸቀጥ ሲመሸጡና ሲደፈሩ ለማየት በቅተናል።

ወገኖቹ ከእንግዲህ አንድና አንድ ዋናው አማራጭ አውራ ጎዳናው በውስጥም በውጭም ያሉ ኢትዮጵያዊያን በዘር ፣ በጎሣና በሐይማኖት ሳንከፋፈል አንድነታችንን አጠናክረን ነፃና ዲሞክራሲያዊት ኢትዮጵያን ለመገንባት በጋራ ትግላችንን እንቀጥል። የተባበረ የሕዝብ ክንድ ያሸንፋል!!

ኢትዮጵያ ለዘላ ዓለም ትኑር!!  
ቸር ይግጠመን።

አርማችን አንድነት

የህዝባዊ ንቅናቄ... ያገር ፍቅር ፅኑ ጥምረት  
 የአንድነት ስንቅ አላማው... ቃል ኪዳኑ ያረፈበት  
 ከፍ ብሎ ዘልቆ ዕማማው... ስለ ሰላም ስለ አንድነት  
 የብርሀንን... ፍኖች አድማሳት  
 በሰላ አዕምሮ በልብ ጥልቀት የአንድነትን መንፈስ ዕብባት  
 ያስተሳሰረ ያቆራኘበት።  
 የእልፍ አዕላፍን ጭቁኖች ልሳን ያስተጋባበት  
 ኪዳን በህዝብ ቃል- ቃልም በሀገር ልብ የተሸመነበት  
 ይኸው መለያችን ከፍ ብሏል በኩራት  
 -አርማችን ላንድነት-  
 የጥምረታችን ህብር በልብ ያለ ፅናት  
 የደም የላብ የሲጋ አጥንት ቋንቋ ታትሞበት  
 ይኸው መለያችን ከፍ አለ በኩራት  
 ታሪክ ገድልን በማንነት ገፀ ተውበት  
 በራስ ቀለም የሀገር ፍቅርን ልብ ጥምረት  
 የሚከትብ የዕውነትን ፋና አመልካች ለወገኑ የሚባሉት  
 የሚፋለም ፀንቶ ላላማው  
 በሰላ ብዕሩ የስተዳደሩን ግድፈት የሚያርም  
 ፈር ፋና ወጊ አለ ከኛ ዘንድ ታሪክ ሚደግም  
 በዘመን ሸራ ላይ ያዲሲቱ ኢትዮጵያን  
 ውበትና ራዕይ ዕድገትና ምጥቀት የሚከትብ... ምስሏን  
 አለ ባለ ራዕይ ባለ ብርሀን ልብ ለቁርጥ ቀን ሚሆን  
 የፍትህ ነፃነት ጥም የዲሞክራሲ አብይ ዕጦት  
 ላቆራመደው ጭቁን ህዝባችን ቀን ዘመን ጠባ-  
 ነገደ የኋሊት  
 ሸሽ ያ ከረምት  
 የተሰፋችን ፍሬ አፍርቶ ከጎመራው የድል ስኬት  
 በእጩታነት ነፃ ምድር በህዝቦች ልብ በፍቅር ጥምረት  
 ስለ ሀገር ፍቅር ይዘመራል ይሰበካል ስላንድነት  
 ይወደሳል ታጋሽ ታጋይ ይበርቃል ባገሩ ልጅ ደስታ ፍካት  
 ኑ...! ባንድነት ተሰብስበን ያስተሳሰብ ከልን ገልጠን  
 ፍሬውን ከግርዱ ገለባውን ከዘሩ እየለየን  
 በማስተዋል በጥበብ መንሽ እያበጠርን  
 ምርታችንን ወደ ጎታው እናስገባ እንተራ እየከመርን  
 ላገር ለህዝብ ለወገናችን ዘብ እንደቆምን  
 ይህ ነውና የልባችን ውስጠት አምባ የሚያሰማን  
 ይትባ በእውቀት ዛሬ ይሰላ አዕምሮችን  
 የፅልመቱን ጎህ ወጋገን ቀዶ በብርሀኑ እንዲያሳልፈን  
 ሀገር ስትታወድ ስትታጠን ከዳር ዳር  
 በነፃነት ከርቤ ጥንጁት በዲሞክራሲ ዕጣን ባህር  
 ምድሩ በልምላሜ አጊጦ ጋራ ሸንተረሩ ባደይ ሲንቆጠቆጥ  
 ወንዞቿ ሲገማሸሩ ሞልተው ሲፈሱ  
 አዕቀፋት አየር ሲቀዘፉ  
 በነፃነት ሲንሳፈፉ  
 ባናብስቶች የጥቁር ዘር  
 በቀዳማዊቱ የኢትዮጵያ ምድር  
 በገናናይቱ ባለ ገድል የታሪክ ሙዳይ የቅርስ ማህደር  
 ዳግም ታሪክ ራሱን ሊደግም ቀድመን ልንኖር

ይኸው ጠባ ወጋገኑ እየገፈፈ እየሸሸ ደመናው  
 የማማ ጦቢያ ገፀ ሊፈካ ፀዕዳ ውበቷን በልጆቿ ልናየው ነው  
 በህብረት ክንድ ለአንድነት መንፈስ ጥምረት  
 እንተጋለን በቀን ቢሆን በድቅድቁ ጭለማ ሌት  
 ታላቅ ነበርን ገድላችን ስር መሠረት ፅናት ያለው  
 ታሪክ መድገም በሚችለው ያባቱ ልጅ ይህ አርበኛው  
 አያስነፃም ክቡር ገድሉን  
 የውስጥ የውጭ ጥላት ክርኑን  
 ይደቁሳል ዘብ ይቆማል አይሸቅጥም ነፃነቱን (2x)  
 ስለ ፍቅር በአንድነት እንቆማለን አምዳችንን አጠንክረን  
 ድል የኛ ነው!! ከህዝባችን ጋር መጪው ጊዜ መጪው  
 ዘመን።

Zelalem Debebe (Niedernhausen)

መፍትሄው በእጃችን ነው!!

Soliyana Kinde

ገዢው የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ  
 ግንባር(ኢሕአዴግ) በግንቦት ወር 2007 ዓ.ም የተደረገውን  
 የፓርላማ ምርጫ መቶ በመቶ በሆነ አስደናቂ ውጤት  
 በማሸነፍ የፖለቲካ ቁጥጥሩን አጠናክሯል። በዚህም ለሰላማዊ  
 ትግልና የመድብለ ፓርቲ ሥርዓትን ለማስፈን የነበረው ጠባብ  
 የፖለቲካ ምህዳር ሙሉ በሙሉ መዘጋቱ ተረጋግጧል። ይህ  
 ደግሞ ኢትዮጵያ ወዴት እየሄደች ነው ብሎ ለሚጠይቅ  
 ማንኛውም ኢትዮጵያዊም ሆነ ለተቃዋሚ የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች  
 ግልጽና ተግባርዊ ምላሽ የሰጠ ይመስለኛል። በመሠረቱ  
 የኢሕአዴግ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ በምርጫና በሰላማዊ መንገድ  
 ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ሥልጣኑን ያስረከባል ብሎ ማሰብ ከአባብ  
 እንቁላል ርግብ መጠበቅና የዋህነት መሆኑ፤ አማራጭ የትግል  
 ሥልቶችን በመጠቀም የስቃይና የመከራ ዘመናችንን ማሳጠር  
 ይኖርብናል።

አገርን ከአስከፊ አደጋ ለመከላከል ከተፈለገ፤ መላውን  
 የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ለሰው ልጅ ርህራሄ ከሌለውና ዘርፎ  
 ለዘራፊ ከሰጠን ነውረኛና ዘረኛ አገዛዝ አላቆ ዴሞክራሲያዊ  
 ሥርዓት መገንባት የሚቻለው ወያኔን በትጥቅ ትግል አስወግዶ  
 ነፃና ገለልተኛ አገር አቀፍ ተቋሞችን በመገንባትና ሁሉን አቀፍ  
 ፍትሃዊ ምርጫ በማካሄድ ብቻ ነው። አለበለዚያ አገራችን  
 ከድጡ ወደ ማጡ ፣ ህዝቧም በድህነትና በርሃብ አለንጋ  
 ሲገረፍ፣ ወጣቱም በየአቅጣጫው እንደተሰደና እንደባዘነ  
 ይኖራል። መፍትሄው በእጃችን ነው። ምርጫውም ነፃነት  
 ወይም ባርነት የሚል ብቻ በመሆኑ፤ አንዱን መመረጥ ግድ  
 ይለናል።

# ቃለ-መጠይቅ

የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ሁለተኛ ዓመት ቁጥር አንድ ዕትም የቃለ-መጠይቅ እንግዳችን ዘላለም ደበበ ይባላል። አቶ ዘላለም ጋዜጠኛና ፖለቲከኛ ሲሆን፤ በኢትዮጵያ ወቅታዊ ሁኔታና የመፍትሔ ሀሳቦች ዙሪ የሰጠንን ቃለ-ምልልስ እንደሚከተለው አቅርቦንዋል።



**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** ጋዜጠኛና ፖለቲከኛ ዘላለም ደበበ በቅድሚያ የቃለ ምልልስ እንግዳችን ለመሆን ፈቃደኛ በመሆንህ ከልብ እናመሰግናል። በመቀጠል እንደ መግቢያ ይረዳን ዘንድ ራስን ለመጽሔታችን አንባቢዎች በማስተዋወቅ ለስደት የዳረጉህን ምክንያቶች ባጭሩ ብትገልጽልን?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም:-** ዘላለም ደበበ እባላለሁ። በኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካ ውስጥ ከመላው ኢትዮጵያ አንድነት ድርጅት (መኢአድ) እስከ ቅንጅት፤ እንዲሁም ከ1997ቱ ህዝባዊ ማዕበል ወዲህ የቅንጅት የሞራል ህጋዊ ወራሽ የሆነውን አንድነት ፓርቲን ከነብርቱካን ሚደቅሳ፣ ዶ/ር ሀይሉ አርአያ፣ ዶ/ር ሸመልስ ተክለገዳድቅ (ነብሳቸውን ይማር)፣ኢ/ር ግዛቸው ሸፈራው፣ታምራት ታረቀኝ...ወዘተ ጋር በመሆን መሥርተን ከተራ አባልነት እስከ ከፍተኛ አመራርነት አገልግያለሁ። በጋዜጠኝነቴም በተለያዩ የህትመት ውጤቶች ላይ በአምደኝነት በብዕር ስም እንዲሁም በዋና ስሜ የተለያዩ ሀገራዊ አጀንዳዎችን አንስቼ ፅፌያለሁ፤ አሁንም በመጻፍ ላይ እገኛለሁ። የዜጎች ሰብአዊ እና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች እንዲከበሩ በተለያዩ ድረገጾች ላይ ታትመው የወጡ ጥናታዊ ፅሁፎችን አቅርቤያለሁ።

እንግዲህ በኢትዮጵያ ነባራዊ ሁኔታ መብቱን የጠየቀ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ አመራር ወይም አባል እንዲሁም እውነትን ለህብረተሰቡ ለማድረስ እና የመረጃ ክፍተቶችን ለመሙላት በቆራጥነት የተነሳ ጋዜጠኛ መኖሪያው የወያኔ ማህሪያ ቤት አልያም ስደት ነው። እኔም የኢህአዴግን የዘር ፖለቲካ ፣ ሙስና፣ ስርዓት አልበኝነት፣ የመልካም አስተዳደር እጦት ወዘተ በመቃወሜ እና እውነታውን ህዝብ እንዲያውቅ

በማድረግ ለስደት የተዳረግኩ ሀገር ወዳድ ኢትዮጵያዊ ነኝ።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** በአሁኑ ወቅት ኢትዮጵያ አገራችን መስቀለኛ መንገድ ላይ እንደምትገኝና ህልውናዋም አደጋ ላይ እንደሆነ በስፋት ይነገራል። በአንተ ዕይታ ኢትዮጵያ ያለችበት ወቅታዊ ሁኔታ ምን ይመስላል? በሕዝቡ ላይ የሚታየው ዝምታ ነው ወይንስ ፍራቻ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም:-** እውነት ነው! ኢትዮጵያ አሁን ያለችበትን ሁኔታ በአንክሮ ለተከታተለው በብዙ አጣብቂኝ ውስጥ እንዳለች መገመት ይቻላል። በስልጣን ላይ ያለው የሕዝብ ብሶት ወለደኝ ባዩ የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ ሀገሪቷን በሀይል ከተቆጣጠረበት ዕለት ጀምሮ ለኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ያሳየው አንዳችም የመንግስትነት ባህሪ የለውም። በምትኩ አሁን ሀገሪቷን እየመራት የሚገኘው የብሄር ብሄረሰቦችን መብት አክብራያለሁ፤ ዘላቂ ሰላምና ዕድገት አስመዝግቤያለሁ...ወዘተ የሚል የሀሰት ድራቅ የተከናወነው ህወሀት የተሰኘ የማፍያ ቡድን ነው። ይህ ለዜጎቹ ደንታ የሌለው የማፍያዎች ስብስብ ሀገሪቱን በርካታ ፖለቲካዊ ፣ማህበራዊና ምጣኔ ሀብታዊ ቀውስ ውስጥ በመከተት ዛሬ ከምትገኝበት መስቀለኛ መንገድ ላይ አድርጎታል። በሰሜኑ የሀገራችን ክፍል በህብረተሰቡ ላይ የሚደርሱት ዘርፈ ብዙ ግፍች እና በደሎች፣ በየቀኑ የሚሰሙ የተኩስ ልውውጦች፣ በረሀብ ከቀዬ መፈናቀሉ ከእለት ወደ እለት እየባሰ ነው። በሀረር እና ድሬዳዋ ከሱማሌ የተጫኑ ቁስለኛ የኢትዮጵያ የመከላከያ ሰራዊት አባላት ሆስፒታሎችን አጣበቀዋል። በአፋር ድርቅ እና ረሀብ በከፍተኛ ሁኔታ እየጨመረ ነው። በጋዜጠኞች እና ፖለቲከኞች ላይ የሚወሰደው እርምጃ የከፋ ነው፤ በአጠቃላይ ከውስጥም ሆነ ከውጭ የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በየጊዜው በሚነሳበት ተቃውሞ ምክንያት ያለመረጋጋቶች ይታያሉ። ህዝቡንም ካየሽው ዝምታው ለወያኔ ባለስልጣኖች የፍርሀት ቢመስልም ህዝባዊ ማዕበል አስነስቶ በአንድነት አስተባብሮ ሊመራው የሚችል ሀይል ቢኖር የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ምንም ዓይነት ፍርሀት የለበትም። ሆኖም ይህንን ማድረግ የሚችል ሀይል ባለመኖሩ ዝም ብሎ አንገቱን ደፍቶ የአምባገነኖችን እርግጫ ለመቀበል ተገዷል። ከዛ ውጪ ህዝቡ በአንድ ለአምስት የወያኔ የሰለላ መዋቅር ተጠርንጏል ምንም ማምጣት አይችልም የሚለው ወያኔን አግዝፎ የማየት አባዜ እኔን ኢየሰማማኝም የለውጡን ሀዲድ ዘርግቶ ሊያሳፍር የሚችል ሀይል ካለ ለአንዴ እና ለመጨረሻ ጊዜ ወያኔን ማስወገድ የሚችል፤ ነገር ግን ዝም ያለ ህዝብ እንዳለ ይሰማኛል።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** ላለፉት ተከታታይ አሥር ዓመታት ኢትዮጵያ አሥራ አንድ በመቶ የምጣኔ ሀብት ዕድገት በማስመዘገብ ላይ መሆኗን ገዥው ፓርቲ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ግንባር-አህአዴግ ደጋግሞ ነግሮናል። ነገር ግን በያዝነው ዓመት ከአሥር ሚሊዮን በላይ የሚሆኑ ኢትዮጵያውያን ለከፋ የርሃብ አደጋ ተጋልጠዋል። መንግሥት የሪሀቡን መንስዔ የአየር ንብረት መዛባት ያስከተው ጊዜያዊ የተፈጥሮ ክስተት ነው ብሎ ያምናል። ሌሎች የሀብት ስብሰባ ክፍሎች ደግሞ ርሃቡ የተከሰተው በዝናብ እጥረት ሳይሆን የኢህአዴግ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ የአምስት ዓመት የዕድገትና ትራንፎርሜሽን ዕቅድ ውድቅና አጠቃላይ የሥርዓቱ ብልሹ አስተዳደር ውጤት ነው ብለው ይከራከራሉ። በዚህ ላይ ያለህን ሃሳብ ብታብራራልን?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም:-** እንግዲህ እዚህ ላይ ልብ ልንለው የሚገባን አንድ ነገር አለ። ይኸውም በአለም ላይ እስከዛሬ ድረስ ታይቶም ተሰምቶም የማይታወቅ ነገር ነው ገዢዎቻችን 11 በመቶ አድገናል ይሉናል። በርካታ ቁጥር ያለው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ግን አስቸኳይ የምግብ ዕርዳታ እያስፈለገው፤ በሪሀብ እያለቀና ቀዬውን ጥሎ እየተሰደደ ነው። እንስሳት በድርቁ ምክንያት እየሞቱ ነው። በተለያዩ አካባቢዎች ለእርዳታ ስራ የተሰማሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን የሰበሰቡት መረጃ እንደሚጠቁመው የረሃብተኛው ቁጥር ባለፈው ጊዜ የወያኔ ባለስልጣንት እንደተናገሩት 8.2 ሚሊዮን ብቻ ሳይሆን የተሰበሰቡ ዳታዎች እንደሚያሳዩው ከ15 ሚሊዮን በላይ መሆናቸውን እየተናገሩ ነው። እንግዲህ ሀገሪቷ 11 በመቶ እያደገች በምግብ ግን እራሷን ያልቻለች በአለም ላይ ብቸኛዋ ሀገር ኢትዮጵያ ብቻ ናት ማለት ነው። ገዢዎቻችን ዓይናቸውን በጨው አጥበው የሪሀቡን ጉዳይ ወደጎን በመተው የፖለቲካ ፍጆታቸውን ብቻ ለማሟላት ድርቁ የዕድገታችን ውጤት እንደሆነ ለማሳየት ካሊፎርኒያ እና አውስትራሊያም ድርቅ ገብቷል አያስደንቅም ሲሉ ተደምጠዋል። በጣም የሚገርመው ጉዳይ ደግሞ ይህ የድርቅ እና ረሃብ አደጋ እንደሚከሰት ከሰኔ 2007 ዓ.ም በፊት ተጠቁሞ የነበረ ሲሆን በተለይ በአፋር በትግራይ እና ኦሮሚያ ክልል የምግብ እጥረት በመኖሩ በውጭ ዕርዳታ ሰጪ ድርጅቶች በኩል የተመዘገቡ ዜጎች አስቸኳይ ዕርዳታ እንዳይሰጣቸው ህወሀት መራሹ የማፍያ ቡድን ምንም እርዳታ አያስፈልገንም ሲል ከፍተኛ እንቅፋት ሆኖ ነበር። በዚህ ዙሪያ አንዳንድ የምስራቸው ዘገባዎች ነበሩና የተለያዩ ድርጅቶች በኢትዮጵያ የተከሰተውን ሪሀብ አስመልክቶ የሚያወጧቸውን ሪፖርቶች የማየት አጋጣሚው ነበረኝ። ቻይናድ ፈንድ አውስትራሊያ የተባለው የዕርዳታ ድርጅት ያወጣውን ሪፖርት ብትመለከት ከህዳር እስከ ግንቦት 2007 ዓ.ም ባለው ጊዜ ውስጥ ብቻ 140,000 የሚጠጉ የምግብ እጥረት ያለባቸውን ሕፃናት በአስቸኳይ ለመመገብ ፕሮግራም መመዘገባቸው ይገልጻል። ሕጻናቱም በአብዛኛው ከትግራይ፣ ከኦሮሚያ፣ ከአፋር፣ ከደቡብ፣ ከሶማሊና ከአማራ ክልል እንደነበሩ ድርጅቱ

በሪፖርቱ አስቀምጧል። እንግዲህ እዚህ ጋር ምን እንመለከታለን አሁን አድማሱን በማስፋት በተለያዩ ክልሎች እየተስፋፋ የሚገኘው ሪሀብ በሀገሪቱ ውስጥ እንደሚከሰት የታወቀው ቀደም ብሎ መሆኑ እየታወቀ እና መንግስትም በቂ መረጃ እያለው ለርካሽ የፖለቲካ ጥቅም እንጂ ለዜጎቹ ደንታ ቢሰ የሆነ መንግስት ስለሆነ ያለው ነገሮቹን ለመደባበቅ መሞከሩ ዜጎችን ዋጋ እያስከፈላቸው ነው። የተለያዩ አለም አቀፍ የዕርዳታ ድርጅቶችም መንግስት ሪሀቡን መደባበቁን ትቶ አፋጣኝ መፍትሄ እና ዕርዳታ ለዜጎች መደረግ ካልተቻለ ሪሀቡ እየተባባሰ ከ25 ሚሊዮን ህዝብ በላይ በሪሀብ ሊያልቅ እንደሚችል ግምታቸውን እያስቀመጡ ይገኛሉ። ስለሆነም ለገዢዎቻችን የማስተላለፊው መልእክት ግማሹን በሞት፣ ገሚሱን በእስራት፣ ግማሹን በስደት አሁን ደግሞ በሪሀብ ህዝቡን ከጨረሳችሁት የምትገዙት ህዝብ ታጣላችሁና የሀሰት የዕድገት እና ትራንስፎርሜሽን ካላችሁን አውልቃችሁ ለወገን ቅድሚያ ስጡ እላለሁ።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** የኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ብድር ዕዳ (external debt) ሰላሳ ቢሊዮን የአሜሪካ ዶላር ወይም አንድ ነጥብ ሁለት ትሪሊዮን ብር መድረሱን የተለያዩ ምንጮች አረጋግጠዋል። ኢትዮጵያ እንደ ሀገር ይህን ያህል ከፍተኛ ዕዳ ውስጥ መዘፈቋ ምን ያስከትልባታል?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም:-** የዚህ የብድርን ጉዳይ በተመለከተ የዘርፉ ባለሙያዎች ቢጠየቁ የተሻለ ግንዛቤ እንዲኖር ያደርጋሉ። እንደ አንድ የኢትዮጵያን ጉዳይ በፅዋና እንደሚከታተል ፖለቲከኛ እና ጋዜጠኛ ግን ትንሽ ነገር ማለት ይቻላል። መጀመሪያ እንግዲህ መሰረታዊ ጥያቄ የሚሆነው ብድሩ ለምን ዓላማ ነው የሞለው? የብርስ መጠን ምን ያህል ነው? መቼስ ነው ከፍለን የምንጨርሰው? ዕዳ ውስጥስ ዝም ብለው እየሄዱ መዘፈቁ የሚያስከትለው ጉዳት አለ ወይ?...ወዘተ የሚሉት ጥያቄዎች ወደ አእምሮችን መመላለሳቸው አይቀረጹ ነው። አሁን ባለው ነገራዊ እውነታ ኢትዮጵያ በዓለም ብዙ ዕዳ ካለባቸው ሀገራት በፊተኛው ረድፍ ላይ የምትገኝ ሀገር ናት። ሲጀመር ምዕራባውያን አበዳሪዎች አንድን ሀገር በቁጥጥራቸው ስር ማድረጊያ ትልቁ መሳሪያቸው ለመንግስታት የሚያበድሩት ገንዘብ ነው። እንደ ኢትዮጵያ ያሉ አምባገነን መንግስታትም በድህው ህዝብ እና በመሠረተ ልማት ግምባታ ስም በብድር የሚያገኙትን ዳጎስ ያለ ገንዘብ ፓለቲካዊ እንዲሁም የግለሰቦችን አቅም ማጎልበቻ ማድረጋቸው የተለመደ ነው። ለዚህም እንደ ማሳያ ብዙ ዕዳ ውስጥ የተዘፈቅንበት እና በመጨረሻም እንዳልተሳካ በራሳቸው በመሪዎቹ አንደበት የሰማነው የከሰረው የዕድገት እና ትራንስፎርሜሽን እቅዱ ትልቅ ማሳያ ነው። ለማጠቃለል ያህል ሀገሪቷ በየጊዜው የምትዘፈቅበት ምንም ዓይነት ጥናት ያልተደረገበት ብድር እንደ አውሮፓዊቷ ሀገር ግሪክ ከባድ የሆነ የኢኮኖሚ ክስረት ያስከትላል። ይህ ደግሞ እንደ ኢትዮጵያ ላሉ የደህ ደህ ሀገራት ህልውና ላይ ከባድ አደጋ አለው። ሀገሪቷንም ወደ ማታንሰራራብት

ትልቅ አዝቅት ውስጥ ሊከታት ይችላል። ስለዚህ መንግስት አብዳሪ ወይም ተብዳሪ ይሞታል የሚለውን የቁል አስተሳሰቡን ካላቆመ አብዳሪዎቻችንም ሳይሞቱ ተብዳሪዎቹ ገዢዎቻችንም ምንም ሳይሆኑ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ድፍት እንዳይል ስጋት አለኝ።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** በዓለም ላይ ከፍተኛ የመሬት ቅርምት(land grabbing) ከሚታይባቸው አገሮች አንዷ ኢትዮጵያ ናት። ከተለያዩ ምንጮች ያገኘው መረጃ እንደሚያሳየው ከሀገሪቱ አጠቃላይ የቆዳ ስፋት ሃያ ከመቶ የሚሆነው (23 ሚሊዮን ሄክታር መሬት) በልማት ስም ለህንድ ፣ ለቻይና ፣ ለሚሊዥያ፣ ለሳውዲ አረቢያ፣ ለጅቡቲ ፣ ለጀርመን ፣ ለኔዘርላንድና ለሎችም አገሮች በሊዝ ተሸጧል። እንደ አንድ ኢትዮጵያዊ ዜጋ ይህን በምን ትገልገልጸዋለህ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም፡-** በአሁኑ በመላው ሀገሪቱ ከጫፍ እስከጫፍ ጎልቶ የሚታይ የመሬት ወረራ እየተካሄደ ይገኛል። የመሬት ጉዳይ ለኢትዮጵያውያን የህልውና ጥያቄ ነው። ቀደም ሲል በገዢዎች ጭቆና ስር የነበሩ ዜጎች ዋነኛ ጥያቄያቸው የነበረው መሬት ላራሹ ከፍተኛ የሆነ የንብረት እና የህይወት ዋጋ እንደተከፈለበት ለሚያስታውስ ከመሬት ውጭ ሀብትና ንብረት ለሌለው አብዛኛው ኢትዮጵያዊ መሬት ማለት ምን ማለት እንደሆነ ይገባዋል። ዛሬ ላይ እራሳቸውን የዘመናት የሕዝብ ብሶት የወለደን ባዮቹ ሀገሪቷን ማስተዳደር ከጀመሩ በኋላ በዚህ በ21ኛው ክ/ዘመን ህዝቦች ዘመናዊ ጭሰኝነታቸው ጎልቶ እየወጣ፤ መሬትም ለስግብግብ ባለስልጣኖችና ሆዳም ካድሬዎች ዋነኛ የሀብት ማፍሪያና የሙስና ማዕከል ሆኗል። ይህ የመሬት ቅርምት (ወረራ) በፈጣን ሁኔታ በመላ ሀገሪቱ እየተስፋፋ መሬት የመንግስት ነው በሚል ሰብብ ዜጎች ለረጅም ጊዜ ይኖሩበት ከነበረው አካባቢ ያለምንም ካሳ እና ድጋፍ ሜዳ እንዲወድቁ እየተደረገ ነው። በአጠቃላይ ትላንት የአፍሪካ የነፃነት ተምሳሌት የነበረችው ኢትዮጵያ ዛሬ ላይ በዘመነ ኢህአዴጋውያን የመሬት ወረራ ተፈፅሞባት በበርካታ ሀገራት ቅኝ ግዛት ስር ትገኛለች። ይህ ደግሞ በዝምታ መታለፍ የሌለበት ጉዳይ ነው። ይህ የመሬት ወረራ ለጥቂት ባለሀብቶች መበልፀጊያ፣ ለባለስልጣናቱ የዜጎችን መብት ማፈኛ እና ለመዕራባውያን ወራሪዎች እጅ መንሻ፤ እንዲሁም ለገበሬው እና ለከተማው ነዋሪ የመፈናቀል ምክንያት ከመሆን ውጪ ለሀብረተሰቡ አንዳችም የጨመረለት ነገር የለም። ይልቁን ሀገሪቱ ላይ ለተፈጠሩት ፖለቲካዊ፣ ማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ችግሮች ዋነኛ ምክንያት ስለሆነ እንዲሁም በአሁኑ ሰአት ለተፈጠረው ድርቅ እና ረሀብ ዋነኛው መነሻ ይህ ህገወጥ የመሬት ቅርምት ይመስለኛል። ስለሆነም መንግስት ዜጎችን ማፈናቀል የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል መሆኑን አውቆ መሬቱን ለባለቤቱ ለህዝብ እንዲሰጥ እጠይቃለሁ።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** ላለፉት ሃያ አምስት ዓመታት ተቀምጧል የፖለቲካ ኃይል የጋራ የፖለቲካ አጀንዳ ለመቅረፅና የኢህአዴግን አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ ማስወገድ አለመቻሉን በተደጋጋሚ ተመልክተናል።

አብዛኞቹ የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች ለአንድ ዓላማ በተለያዩ አቅጣጫ መሮጥን በመምረጣቸው፤ የትጥቅም ሆነ ሰላማዊ ትግል እናደርጋለን የሚሉት የፖለቲካ ኃይሎች ይህ ነው የሚባል ለውጥ ማምጣት አልቻሉም። እንዲያውም "ተቃዋሚዎች የሕዝቡን ስቆቃ ለሙታን የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶቻቸው እንደ ማንሰራሪያ እየተጠቀሙት ነው ፤ ለሕዝቡም ምንም ደንታ የላቸውም " የሚሉ ወገኖች በርካታ ናቸው። በዚህ ላይ ያለህን አስተያየት ወይም ልምድ ብታካፍለን ምን ይመስልሃል?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም፡-** ይህ እንግዲህ በግልፅ የምናየው ነገር ነው። ወታደራዊ አምባገነኑን የደርግ ስርአት በሀይል የቀየሩት ዲሞክራሲያዊ አምባገነኖቹ ኢህአዴጋውያን በነሱ ሳንባ የማይተነፍሰውን ሁሉ ከጨዋታ ሜዳው ውጭ እያደረጉ ላለፉት 25 ዓመታት ሀገሪቱን እንደ ግል ንብረታቸው ይዘው ያሻቸውን እያደረጉ ተቀምጠዋል። በነዚህ በ25 ዓመታት ውስጥ በኢትዮጵያ የተቃውሞ ፖለቲካ ውስጥ ትልቅ ድርሻ የሚሰጠው በ1997 ዓ.ም የነበረው የአራት ጠንካራ ፓርቲዎች ስብስብ የነበረው ቅንጅት ነው። መንግሥት በዛን ወቅት የፖለቲካ ምህዳሩን በመጠኑንም ቢሆን አስፍቶ የመጫወቻ ሜዳውን ክፍት ለማድረግ ሞክሮ ነበር። ቅንጅትም በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ ህዝባዊ መነሳሳትን ፈጥሮ በመላ ሀገሪቱ ተቀባይነትን አግኝቶ ነበር። ምንም እንኳን ብዙ የህይወት እና የንብረት መጥፋት ደርሶበት የነበረው እና ተቀጣጥሎ የነበረው እሳት በአጭሩ ቢከሰምም። እንግዲህ የዛኔ ማየት እንደተቻለው ህዝብ ሊያሰባስበው የሚችል ቁርጠኛ አቋም ያለው ንቅናቄ ከተፈጠረ ኢህአዴግን በአጭር ጊዜ ማስወገድ እንደሚቻል እምነት አለኝ። በመሰረቱ አሁን በፖለቲካው ውስጥ ያለውን የስልጣን ጥመኝነት ስትመለከት ለትግሉ ትልቅ እንቅፋት እንደሆነ መገመት ትችላለህ። በትጥቅ ትግል ውስጥ ያሉትም ሆነ በሀገር ቤት በሰላማዊ ትግል ለውጥ እናመጣለን ብለው እየተንቀሳቀሱ የሚገኙ ድርጅቶች አንድ በሚያደርጋቸው ሀገራዊ አጀንዳዎች ላይ ሲተባበሩ አታይም። ህዝቡም ከቅንጅት በኋላ ከገዢው መንግስት የሚደርስበትን ዘርፈ ብዙ ጫና መሸከም የሚችልበት ትኩሻ የለውም። ስለዚህ ይህ በተናጠል የምናደርገው እንቅስቃሴ የሚጠቅመው ኢህአዴግን ብቻ መሆኑን አውቀን ወይ ለመተባበር አልያም ለመሰባበር ዝግጁ መሆን አለብን። እዚህ ጋር ሳላነሳልህ ማለፍ የማልፈልገው ነገር ቢኖር ህዝቡ የሚፈልገውን ለውጥ እንዳያመጣ እንቅፋት የሆነበትም ይመስለኛል። ምክንያቱም በትጥቅ ትግሉም ሆነ በሰላማዊ ትግሉ ህዝብ እንዲያምነን የሚያደርግ የተጨበጠ ነገር ማድረግ ባለመቻላችንና የውስጥ ዲሞክራሲ ባህል ስላላሰረፀን ህዝቡ የራሱን አማራጭ እንዳይጠቀም ማነቆ የሆነበት ይመስለኛል። ስለሆነም ድር ቢያብር አንበሳ ያስር ነውና እርስ በእርስ የምናደርገውን መገፋፋት ወደጎን ትተን ለዘላቂ ፍትህ መንገዱን መጀመር እንዳለብን ይሰማኛል።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ በሥልጣን ላይ የነበሩት መንግሥታትና አሁን በሥልጣን

ላይ የሚገኘው የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብ ለመጨቆን መሳሪያ አድርገው የሚጠቀሙት ከሕዝብና ከአገር ጥቅም ራሳቸውን የሚያስቀድሙ ግለሰቦችንና የውሸት መረጃዎችን ለሕዝብ በማስተላለፍ ነው። ከዚህ አንጻር የኢትዮጵያንና የዚህን ትውልድ ፈተና እንዴት ገመገመዋለሁ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም፡-** ይህን ጥያቄ ቅድም ለመነካካት ሞክራለሁ ወያኔ ሀገሪቷን በሀይል ከተቆጣጠረበት 1983 ዓ.ም ጀምሮ በርካታ የሆኑ የውሸት ፕሮፓጋንዳ የሚያመርቱ ወፍጮዎችን አፍርቷል። በዚህ ውሸታቸው ብዙዎች ተታለዋል፤ አሁንም እየተታለሉ ይገኛሉ ። ህዝብ በረሀብ እያለቀ መንግስት ለገበሬው ባደረገው ከፍተኛ ድጋፍ የግብርና ምርታችን አደገ፣ በምግብ ራሳችንን ቻልን ፣ የእኩል ክልል ገበሬዎች በሚሊዮኖች የሚቆጠሩ ምርቶችን አፈሱ...ወዘተ የሚሉ ዜናዎችን ያሰማሁል። የትምህርት ጥራቱን ተደራሽ በማድረግ በሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ ተማሪዎችን አስመረቅን የሚል ፕሮፓጋንዳ ጆሮህን ሲያደነቁርህ ውለህ፤ የማስትሬት ዲግሪያቸውን ይዘው ድንጋይ ይጠርባሉ ሲል ያላግጥብህል። ኢትዮጵያ ያላት የ100 አመት ታሪክ እንጂ ሌላው ውሸት ነው፤ እያለ ስለሀገሩ ያለው ዕውቀት የተንሸዋረረ ወጣትን ሲያሰለጥን ታያለህ። ይህም ግቡን መቶላቸው የኑሮ ውድነት፣ መሬት ላራሹ...ዓይነት የነፃነት ጥያቄዎችን ሲያነሳ የነበረው ትውልድ አልፎ ዛሬ ላይ ወደ “ከሬዚ ዴይ፣ ኤፕሪል ዘፋል” በኢትዮጵያ ይከበርልን ወደሚል ትውልድ ተሸጋግረና። የአድዋ ድልና የአርበኞች ቀን ምንድነው የሚል በሀገሩ ጉዳይ ባይተዋር የሆነና ወሳኝነቱን የተቀማ ትውልድ እያየን ነው። ስለዚህ ይህ ትውልድ ከፊቱ የተደቀኑበትን ማንነቱን እንዳያቅ የሚደረጉ የወያኔ አፍራሽ ተልዕኮዎችን አፍርሶ የነገ ሀገር ተረካቢነቱን ብሎም የዛሬ ባለድርሻነቱን ለማስከበር ቆርጦ በመነሳት የተቀማውን ኢትዮጵያ እና ኢትዮጵያዊነት በትግል ማስመለስ መቻል አለበት።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** ኢትዮጵያን ከመገንጣጠልና ከእልቂት አደጋ ለመታደግና ሕዝቧን ዘላቂና ፍትሃዊነት ወደ ሰፊነበት አስተዳደር ለማሸጋገር የተሻለ የምትለው አማራጭ የትግል ስልት የትኛው ነው? በጠቅላላ ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ይበጃል ምትለው የመፍትሔ ሃሳብ ካለ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም፡-** እንግዲህ በአጭሩ ለማስቀመጥ ያህል ወያኔ የሰራው የዘር ፖለቲካ እንዲሁም ከላይ በጭውውታችን ያነሳናቸው አደገኛ ነገሮች ሀገሪቷን ወደማትፈልገው የመበታተን አደጋ ውስጥ ሊከታት ይችላል። ይህንን ለማስቀረት ደግሞ የተባበረ ሀገር የማዳን ጥሪ ያገባ ትልቅ እንቅስቃሴ ያስፈልጋል። ለዚህ ደግሞ ኳሲ ያለችው በመንግስት እጅ ስር መሆኗን አውቆ ይህችን ኳስ ወደ ህዝቡ ለማቀበል የዚህኛው ትውልድ የዛኛው ትውልድ፣ የዚህኛው ጎሳ ፣ የዛኛው ጎሳ ፣ የዚህ ድርጅት የዛ ድርጅት የሚሉ ከመበታተን ውጭ ወደ መቀራረብ እና አንድነት

የማያመጡ እንቅስቃሴዎችን በማስወገድ ለብሄራዊ እርቅ እና መግባባት በራችንን ክፍት በማድረግ ለዲሞክራሲያዊ ስራዓት ግምባታ እጅ ለእጅ ተያይዘን ቀደምት የአኩሪ ባህል እና ታሪክ ባለቤት የሆነችውን ኢትዮጵያን እንመስርት እላለሁ።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-**ጋዜጠኛና ፖለቲከኛ ዘላለም ደበበ በኢትዮጵያ ወቅታዊ ሁኔታና የመፍትሔ ሃሳቦች ዙሪያ ለሰጠህን ቃለ ምልልስ በኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ መጽሔት አንባቢዎች ስም ክፍ ያለ ምስጋና እናቀርባለ።

**ይህን ያውቁ ኖሯል?**

- ♣ 50 ሊትር የመኪና ነዳጅ ወይም ባዮሬቶል ለማምረት 200 ኪሎ ግራም በቆሎ ያስፈልጋል። ይህ ደግሞ “አንድን ሰው ለአንድ ድፍን ዓመት ለመመገብ ይበቃል!”
- ♣ ልማታዊው የኢህአዲግ መንግሥት ከ1999-2007 ዓ.ም ባለው ጊዜ ውስጥ ከ23 ሚሊዮን ሄክታር በላይ መሬት (ከሀገሪቱ አጠቃላይ የቆዳ ስፋት 20 ከመቶ የሚሆነውን) ባዮሬቶል ለሚያመርቱ 80 ኩባንያዎች ሸጧል፤ ኩባንያዎቹም 1.8 ቢሊዮን ሊትር ባዮሬቶል አምርተው ወደ ሰሜን አሜሪካና አውሮፓ ልከዋል። በዚህ መሠረት 7.2 ሚሊዮን ኪሎ ግራም በቆሎና ሌሎችም ለምግብነት የሚያገለግሉ የሰብል ዓይነቶች ለነዳጅ ማምረቻ ውለዋል። ይህ ደግሞ 36 ሺህ ሰዎችን ለአንድ ድፍን ዓመት ለመመገብ ይበቃል፤
- ♣ የልማታዊው የኢህአዲግ መንግሥት የውጭ ዕዳ መጠን (External debt) 30 ቢሊዮን የአሜሪካ ዶላር ወይም 1.2 ትሪሊዮን የኢትዮጵያ ብር ደርሷል። የዕዳው መጠን መንግሥት ከአገር ውስጥ ባንኮች የተበደረውን አይጨምርም፤
- ♣ ራሱን “ልማታዊ መንግሥት” እያለ የሚጠራው የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ ከ1995-2004 ዓ.ም ባለው ጊዜ ውስጥ ዕድሜያቸው ከስድስት ወር እስከ 2 ዓመት የሆነ ከ32 ሺህ በላይ ህጻናቶችን 9.8 ሚሊዮን ዶላር ሸጧል፤
- ♣ ኢኮኖሚያዊ በየዓመቱ አሥራ አንድ በመቶ የሚያድግ ነገር ግን በምግብ ራሷን ያልቻለች የዓለማችን ብቸኛ አገር ኢትዮጵያ ብቻ ናት፤

ከአስናቀ ደመና

## Part II English

### Mission Statements

The Ethiopian Affair is a quarterly private Magazine established in September, 2014. It is voice of the voiceless Ethiopians initiated by determined individuals to be published in *Amharic* and *English* in Germany as well as beyond. The Ethiopian Affair is a print and online publication dedicated to publishing latest information together with significant proposals. We used images of three keys on the cover of this Magazine to symbolize mistrusts among Ethiopians, the regime in power and opposition political parties. It is an obvious fact that Keys have been used to lock away secret information and most valuable things of the greatest significances for centuries. Consequently, we used images of the three keys to symbolize the ultimate quest of Ethiopians for freedom, justice and democracy. Thus, our aim in this volume is to unlock the range of political, social, economic and environmental issues that are locked before twenty years but still affect all of us.

Editorials of the Ethiopian Affair strongly believe that information is a key to maintain power in this twenty first century. Thus, we are committed to increase the circulation of information to have a direct and positive effect on political, social, economic and environmental affairs of Ethiopia in order to create a more inclusive democratic political system that involves all stakeholders in it. Therefore, we encourage all Ethiopians regardless of their political, ethnic and/or religion affiliation to actively participate in all affairs of the country without any restriction. However, the opinions expressed in this Magazine are not necessarily those held by Editorials of the Ethiopian Affair. Indeed, contrary views are most welcome to enhance further discussion.

### The Ethiopian Affair

**The right Magazine in the right  
place at the time!**

**Established in September, 2014**

## Editors Notes: Can EPRDF survive both famine and debt crisis?

In September 1974, Ethiopia's Emperor, Haile Selassie, was overthrown, largely because he had ignored the country's famine that killed 200,000 of his subjects in two years. After several years of 'revolutionary' turbulence that ended in what became known as the "Red Terror", Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, leader of the Derg, set out to reshape the Ethiopian society in the image of the communist USSR, an ally he made that year.

The military rulers concentrated all their resources on the growing conflict with Somalia over Ogaden province, Eritrea's war of secession that had lasted more than twenty years and the uprising by groups seeking autonomy in the Tigray region. The fate of the rural population was thus subject to the interests of city residents, the army, and the national government. Land was placed under collective tenure and agricultural production was taxed and even requisitioned.

One again in 1984, Ethiopia was in the grip of dead famine that claimed the lives of around one million people. Mengistu's authoritarian regime ignored it. Instead, they concentrated on the war effort, creating a labor political party, and preparing to celebrate the revolution's tenth anniversary. However, this regime did authorize the RRC (the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, a government agency created in 1974 to coordinate aid to famine victims) to open grain distribution centers in the most affected regions. In March 1984, the RRC launched an aid appeal. International donors responded with suspicion. At that time, the military regime was blaming on drought and crop failure for causing the famine. However, the root cause of the famine was the political game of the Tigray People's Liberation Front and the military regime at large.

In 1991, the Mengistu regime was overthrown by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), a minority ethnic groups seeking autonomy in the Tigray region. In 1994, a new constitution was formulated to reorganize the country as a federal state. Article 40(3) of the constitution absolutely vested rural and urban land ownership rights on the State. As a result, the EPRDF regime started to control each and every aspect life in Ethiopia. More importantly, the regime has gained 100 percent control over the political life of the people through its divide and conquers policy for almost quarter of a century.

In 1999–2000 and again in 2002–2003, Ethiopia suffered wide-scale humanitarian crises, triggered in part by drought but ultimately caused by a variety of factors, both domestic and international. Whether these crises constituted 'famine' or not was hotly debated by practitioners and policymakers at the time. In retrospect there is little doubt that both these crises were famines, although the magnitude of human suffering or loss of life was not as extensive as during the famine of 1984–1985. Though the television images in 1999–2000 were more dramatic, the 2002–2003 crises were more widespread.

More recently, available evidences indicate that Ethiopia is in grave trouble of famine and external debt. In 2015, more than 15 million people are in need of emergency food aid. There is a fear that the number of the hungry people will raise up to 25 million in the near future. We are deeply concerned that the scope and magnitude of the disaster caused by the recent famine may be worst than ever seen before. In this edition, there are more than 20 articles, most of which deals with root causes of the recent famine. Given the scenarios discussed above, we editorials of the Ethiopian Affair want to forward this question for our readers: can EPRDF survive both famine and debt crisis?

Asnake Demena,

Editor-in-chief

## Recent Issues

### Famine in Ethiopia: Caused by bad weather or policy Failure?

**Asnake Demena**

Twenty four years ago Meles Zenawi, the late Prime Minister of EPRDF was asked about his vision for Ethiopia and its people when he assumed power as head of the state after seventeen years of civil war. Meles declared that if his government remains in power, in ten years every Ethiopians will have at least three meals a day. He also anticipated that if his government remains in power from then onwards for twenty years, Ethiopians not only have three meals a day but also will have the luxury of choosing what to eat. More recently in 2011, the same Meles Zenawi said that “We have devised a plan which will enable us to produce surplus and be able to feed ourselves by 2015 without the need for food aid.”

Here we are now, after twenty four years of power monopoly by the EPRDF regime and five years later after the implementation of the so-called Growth and Transformation Plan, more than 11.3 million Ethiopians have nothing to eat let alone to choose what to eat. Arsi, Hararghe, Afar, Borena and Somali are the hardest hit areas of the latest famine in the country. Children are dying in the hands of their parents and suffering from famine related diseases. Nevertheless, the EPRDF regime has been blaming on bad weather particularly the El Niño for the recent brutal famine.

Even if the El Niño is partly attributed for drought in general, the famine we are witnessing today, in Ethiopia is not the result of seasonal crop failure due to bad weather or natural calamity as the EPRDF regime would like us to believe. As a matter of fact, drought, climate variability and other natural calamities occur not only in Ethiopia, but also in any part of the world. However, drought does not necessarily result in famine. This implies that droughts are a normal component of Ethiopian life making famines inevitable unless the proper preventive measures are adopted. Hence, in

examining the current famine in Ethiopia, I will stress the structural links between food shortage and the lack of good governance in general and the failure of policies and strategies in particular.

Fifty years ago, famine was simply understood as the result of food shortage due to seasonal crop failure or natural disasters. At that time, it was not difficult to understand the reasons for famine when poor technology and static economic systems hampered human beings from getting access to food, especially in the face of regional natural disasters. But today, natural forces and other climatic conditions cannot be responsible for famine causation as was the dominant mode of thinking five decades ago. So that it is logical to ask why famine is persist in Ethiopia in the ear of global surplus, high-technology early warning systems and “vibrant economic growth” in the country. Answering this question requires looking beyond technical factors, towards political explanations. This means that the real causes of famine in Ethiopia deeply rooted in the country’s history of civil war and repression. Therefore, analysis of the past and present famines in Ethiopia should focus on root causes of the problem, instead of seasonal symptoms.

Currently, Ethiopia has faced the world’s gravest hunger problems and these problems are getting worse in the coming few months. As it was mentioned above, more than 11.3 million people are in need of urgent food aid. There is no doubt the failure of policies and strategies are causes of the recent famine. For instance, the Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI) strategy of the EPRDF regime was formulated to keep 84 percent of the population in Ethiopia to live in rural areas and heavily depend on the natural environment for food production, animal husbandry, forestry, water and fuel. Keeping people in rural

areas in which land belongs to the state and can't be sold is one of the mechanisms of the regime to marginalize the majority of the population from political involvement and to prevent urban unrest. Consequently, the sizes of agricultural lands are diminishing from 0.5 hectare to 0.2 hectare per house hold due to high population pressure. This means that too small farmlands are passed down to the generations, which can't provide enough food for the families that work on it even with normal rainfall conditions.

In addition to the population pressure put on farmlands, there is a large-scale land acquisition for floriculture and biofuel production. According to the Ministry of Water and Energy (MoWE, 2014), the Ethiopian government has allocated 23.3 million hectares of land (equivalent to 20 percent of the whole country), for biofuel production alone. These ambitions were intended to position Ethiopia as a leader in Africa, in the emerging push for biofuels to provide energy security for the rest of the world. However, the growing demand and support for biofuels in the United States and the European Union, has increased the competition for land that impacted food security in the country. A study conducted by Lester R. Brown in 2013 reported that between 1980 and 2005, the amount of grain used to produce fuel ethanol in the United States gradually expanded from 1 million to 41 million tons. This is an alarming call not only for Ethiopia but also for the rest of the world to stop the crime against humanity.

To add further insult to injury, all agricultural inputs and outputs in Ethiopia are highly regulated and manipulated by the party-associated enterprises called EFFORT. EFFORT stands for the Endowment Found for the Rehabilitation of Tigray and established in 1995 by the TPLF. Their activities ranged from agriculture to trade, textile, livestock, mining, transport and to the financial sector. Members of the party manage the fund. This dominance in the private sector especially party-owned enterprise has made the emergency of new private entrepreneur close to impossible.

Furthermore, the Midroc business empire owned by Sheik Mohammed Alamoudi accounted for 70 percent of the so-called foreign investment and displaced millions of small farmers from their livelihood to leave them hungry.

Therefore, attributing the current famine directly to climate change is impossible. Because, extreme climate events such as El Nino may be an immediate trigger of famine but cannot be a root cause for it. In the Ethiopian context, famine is a prolonged and preventable geographical phenomenon caused by the lack of good governance in general and failure of policies and strategies in particular. Among the many coping mechanisms, mobility from region to region or from one sector to another sector is crucial to prevent persistent famine in Ethiopia. A number of scholars agreed that genuine democracy and political institutions are the critical factors in the struggle against famine. A free and independent media on which freedom of expression might depend on also plays another crucial informative role by providing information on the symptoms of the crisis both to individuals and to political parties. Furthermore, news media can put direct pressure on the government and other actors in charge of taking action. But sadly enough, the regime in Ethiopia don't have the political willingness for such kind of genuine democracy. So that, we must stand together to struggle for total regime change from top to bottom. We must eliminate officials of the dictatorial and corrupted regime of EPRDF and make them accountable for the crime they have committed against humanity in the name of development. Down with dictators! Ethiopia shall be free!

## Food Crisis in Ethiopia

### Abaynesh Asmare (Frankfurt)

Having enough food is always a problem in Ethiopia. Almost every year millions of Ethiopians going hungry and thousands are dying. Currently, the Ethiopian government has

asked the international community for emergency food aid for 8.5 million people. The UN's World Food Programme estimated that from \$432 to \$596 million will be needed in the next six months. Some aid officials said that the numbers of hungry people could rise to 15 million. Reports also indicated that more than 300,000 children are in need of specialized nutritious food aid and a projected 48,000 more children under five were suffering from severe malnutrition. There is no doubt poor and erratic rains have hit the Ethiopian harvest. But this year large parts of the country have not been hit by drought. So, why the current food crisis happened in Ethiopia? And where is the eleven percent economic growth to feed the starved people? These are two of the questions that can be raised at this critical time.

More than 80 percent of Ethiopia's population works in rainfed agriculture, which makes up about 50 percent of the nation's economic output. In the last ten years, the government of EPRDF has claimed double digit economic growth with fast social and economic development. But practically, it is unable to feed its people. The EPRDF regime has a poor record on civil liberties and multiparty democracy. An election held in May 2015, handed all 547 Parliamentary seats to the EPRDF and its allies. This indicates that the EPRDF regime is an absolute monarchy that controls each and everything in the country. This makes the country especially vulnerable to drought and the effects of climate change. Lack of good governance and corruption is the root cause of the current food crisis of the country. Therefore, let's us unit and fight against the dictatorial regime of EPRDF to eradicate famine and poverty from Ethiopia.

## **Impacts of Ethiopia's External Debt on future generations**

**Asnake Demena**

Ethiopia is in grave trouble of external debt and famine. Available evidences in the public domain indicate that, the external debt

of the country reached 30 billion USD (1.2 Trillion Ethiopian Birr). A new analysis by the Jubilee Debt Campaign (JDC, 2015), reveals that Ethiopia's external debt already exceeded 50 percent of the GDP. Jubilee's analysis defines countries as at high risk of a government debt crisis if they have net debt higher than 30 percent of GDP. This implies that Ethiopia has been mudding through external debt crisis for several years. As a result, it is the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that calls upon the EPRDF regime to revise its development policies, strategies, and even to pursue additional political reforms, instead of the people of Ethiopia. In a related vein, Ethiopia is member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which is promoting increased exports of primary commodity such as flowers, tea, coffee, cotton, oil seeds and textiles. All these indicate that the sovereignty of the country is eroded by the major international financial institutions and the EPRDF regime has become the main actor of neoliberalism.

Government debt can either increase or decrease the wealth of future generations. Some governments had invested the money they borrowed wisely, to diversify their economies and improving infrastructure, others have not. In the case of Ethiopia, the money borrowed by the EPRDF regime for the past 24 years either wasted on ambitious policies and strategies to maintain the regime in power or absorbed by the Western economy through illicit financial outflows. There is no doubt at all external debt is a burden to the country, and if so, what should be done about it? This article argues that external debt is a serious problem, and solving this problem requires not only significant fiscal adjustment measures, most notably with the various bilateral and multilateral debtors such as: China, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, but also total regime change in Ethiopia.

Naidu and Herman (2009) explained that the rise of China has created a new set of impulses in the international system. China, not only emerged as a market force in the way that

international finance, trade and investments are being shaped but also in the way that the rules which govern the global governance regime are being influenced. China's expansive engagement in the Ethiopian politics in the name of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is a typical example for this. Since, Ethiopia's debt to China has reached its maximum; China is able to spread its influence in Ethiopia's internal affairs than ever before. It seems that Ethiopia is under the colony of China in the 21st century. More recently, the Ethiopian Airlines recruited about 30 young Chinese to serve the growing interest of China in Ethiopians. China has been funding the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) since its inception in Ethiopia. Indeed, for more than two decades, the Chinese systematically cultivated solidarity with the TPLF minority group to exploit the natural resources of Ethiopia beyond the limits of suitability.

World Bank and International Monetary Fund are two of the most powerful creditors responsible for financing repression and land grabbing in Ethiopia that displaced thousands of indigenous people, particularly in Gambella and Omo Valley from their ancestral land in the name of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The money that the WB has lent Ethiopia has left the country at the mercy of donor pup-petering. Decisions are made largely without consultation, and are based on what they believe is best for Ethiopia's GDP. The WB, private banks, and corporations of the rich countries pushed the privatization of land that resulted in the beginning of corporate 'land grabs. Furthermore, having sowed the seeds of famine in the country through structural adjustment, the IMF and the World Bank are enabling US multinationals to exploit the disaster by providing genetically modified seed as aid. These two institutes have also gone to great lengths to present Ethiopia as a democratic nation whose economy is growing by "double digits" to insist on providing Ethiopia with even more loans to squander at the expense of future generations. At the end of the game, the EPRDF regime, which welcomed

foreign investment to exploit huge natural resources of the country, including leasing land and water resources of the poor people for biofuel and floriculture production became unable to feed its own citizens.

All in all, the current debt crisis is the result of poor economic policies of the minority regime in Ethiopia for almost quarter of a century. The regime had borrowed a huge amount of money to achieve its ambitious development plans in order to maintain its power at the expense of the Ethiopian people. For instance, the five-year Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP 2010-2015) had failed without achieving its goals and objectives. The plan was supposed to be driven mainly by growth and productivity improvements in the agricultural sector, industrialization and infrastructure development. Such kind of policy and strategy failures imposes a debt burden on future generations by intensifying poverty, repression, corruption and famine in the country. In general, owing to its huge debt burden and willingness of the EPRDF regime to carry out the World Bank and International Monetary Fund prescribed reforms; Ethiopia has become a dependent country that can't deal with its own internal affairs.

Indeed, as long as the EPRDF regime remains in power Ethiopia's external debt will continue to grow day by day and creditors will also continue to impose their interest not only on us but also on future generations. In other words, we are under a different kind of war, in which children die instead of soldiers. Instead of war wounded filling the hospitals, it is the sick and starved that overcrowd the wards, while the landless and the jobless wander the streets in search of work. Indeed, the situation inevitable for nonviolent revolution to liberate Ethiopia and the next generation from the third phase of colonization.

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Development Partners: China and India-  
Challenging the status quo?

## Biofuel crops and Food Security in Ethiopia

**Saron Abate**

Biofuels have been promoted as part of the global energy mix to meet the climate change challenge of the 21st century. They are produced from biological material or biomass, including sugar cane, corn, cellulose or vegetable oils. The most common types of biofuel these days are ethanol and biodiesel. They are among the options considered as renewable and relatively cleaner substitutes for conventional energy sources. As a result, an increasing number of developing countries initiated biofuel production to meet domestic market and international demand. In Ethiopia, over 80 investors have registered for biofuels development and the government has allocated 23 million ha of land to produce 1.8 billion liters of biofuels by 2015. To guide biofuels developments, the Ministry of Energy and Water has developed the Biofuels Development and Utilization Strategy, in 2007. And a Biofuels Development Coordination Directorate was also formed to oversee biofuels developments.

Ethiopia, as a country overwhelmed by recurrent famine, it is extremely odd to see that the government would be in favour of anything associated with food security risk. But the case for biofuels in Ethiopia is strong and it's growing stronger. Crops which are especially suited as fuel crops are drought-resistant crops, which might also have the potential to improve the properties of the soil on degraded lands. Castor bean, maize, wheat, sorghum, potato, cassava, soybean, palm oil, sugar-cane, sugar-beet, Switch-grass, Jatropha carcass ... etc. are some of the main crops used by biofuel companies for the production of Ethanol and biodiesel. As a result, millions of Ethiopian are suffers endemic poverty, famine and food insecurity.

A study conducted by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations confirms that it is possible for a car owner in a developed country to fill a 50-litre

tank with biofuel produced from 200 kg of maize, enough to feed one person for one year (UN, 2007). As it was mentioned above, extensive biofuel production in Ethiopia has caused millions of people to suffer from hunger. Since, biofuel production requires a tremendous amount land there is marginalization and eviction of small scale farmers.

In conclusion, biofuel has a number of potential negative impacts on Ethiopia in general and food security in particular. Due to massive land requirements for biofuels production in Ethiopia has contributed to deforestation and ecosystem destruction, as forests, grasslands and other ecosystems are razed for the production of biofuel crops. Such destruction also reduces habitat available for thousands of species and drastically threatened the biodiversity of the country. Therefore, opposition political parties, human rights organizations and concerned citizens must fight the crime against humanity than ever before. I am calling on citizens of German, Italy, United Kingdoms, India, China and USA to consider their use of biofuels produced in Ethiopia at the cost of the poor. There is no reason for Ethiopians to suffer from recurrent famine to increase the energy security of rich countries.

## Ethiopia and the "At-Risk" of Journalism

**Hailu Kassa (Niedernhausen)**

It is a fact that the term Journalism is an art with its own rules and ethical principles standing by itself as neutral to serve the mass. It serves as a channel from People to People, from the People to the government and from the government to the People. It is all targeting one thing just to fill the Information gap so that to bring the common good among the mass and the nations. Europeans and America have been using this discipline to build their Democracy without any pressure from whatsoever.

In the case of Ethiopia, it is unthinkable if a Journalist to exercise his/her professional right as long as it does not favor for the government. The government does not like to

manage any criticism from any local media organizations. If a Journalist write and publish an article of criticism against the government, the response will be worse. The Journalist will either be thrown in jail or face severe persecution. The Ethiopian government uses the term "terrorism" as a channel to take action in order to silence journalists and print media organizations that is why this Anti-terrorism law created some years ago. Because of this law a lot of private print media organizations have been shut down and many of journalists thrown in Prison and others were forced to leave their motherland. It is not uncommon now days to see the number of journalists leave their Country increasing year to year. Ethiopia is one of the first lists among the world in detaining journalists and putting pressure on the Profession of journalism.

When it comes to Electronic media, it has been monopolized by the government since came to power in 1991. No private electronic media has ever been allowed in the Country since then. Therefore, it is really hard to expect Democracy to flourish in Ethiopia unless this critical problem can be solved.

## **Election in Ethiopia** **Medhin Teklu**

Free and fair election is essential for a country in order to call democratic. It means every citizen choose who will stay in power in a free and fair electoral process. To implement this election board and all the parties should be abide in the countries law.

When we see the Ethiopian election it is controlled by the governing body and is not free at all. Many members of opposition parties had been arrested and been forced to leave the election. The media coverage given to these parties is unfair compared to the ruling party. Many of the opposition parties were made unexisted by the government. So many injustices have been seen in the past elections.

Specially in this year 2007 Ethiopian election, it is easily recognised how the rulling party won 100% votes, which is impractical having such diverse society with many

difference and represented by different political parties, it is almost impossible to have this figure as a result.

So we all Ethiopians should work together to have acceptable free and fair election in our country.

## **The Failure of Democracy in Ethiopia** **Theodros Admasu (Maintal)**

In May 1991, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) had taken power in Ethiopia, after having seventeen years of civil war. Since then, the front has been promising a democratic political system in the country based on good governance and respect of basic human rights. However, practically democracy remained a slogan nearly for quarter of a century and the political system has returned back into authoritarianism. In this article, I will explain the failure of democracy in Ethiopia based on the final result of the May 2015 national election.

As a matter of fact, the final result of the May 2015 national election confirmed that the EPRDF regime has become an absolute dictator by controlling 100 percent of the parliamentary seats. The result also confirmed that the narrow political space for peaceful struggle had closed by the domination of single-party. This is a clear indicator of the failure democracy in Ethiopia. As a result of this failure repression, corruption, famine and poverty that we see today in the country became a national shame for all of us. In general, as long as the EPRDF regime remains in power, democracy will never flourish in Ethiopian. Therefore, it time for all of us to join the arm struggle to liberate our country from the autocratic regime of EPRDF.

## **Ethiopia: From Ballots to Bullets**

### **Saba Afework**

After the failure of five successive elections, there is an increasingly depressing political environment in Ethiopia. Every election

since 1995 witnessed that widespread violence. That violence is linked to long-standing grievances and failures of governance that run deeper than electoral politics. Presently, Ethiopia stands at the crossroads of history. At this crossroad, Ethiopians can choose to take the right way or the wrong way. The right way is the way of national reconciliation, compromise, mutual understanding and tolerance. The wrong way is the way of force, violence, brutality, threats, intimidation and persecution. Ethiopians can choose the easy way or the hard one. The easy way is to follow and live by the rule of law and ensure everyone's human rights are respected and all are held to account for their actions and omissions. The hard way is the way of dictatorship, civil war and destruction.

Currently, it seems that most Ethiopians had lost confidence in peaceful struggle and forced to choose the hardest way to remove the tyrannical regime of EPRDF. As a result, arm struggle became inevitable and decisive. This means that the country has returned back from the ballots to the bullets due to the brutal nature of the EPRDF. There are a number of insurgent groups in every part of the country. Some of them have formed coalition to fight against the EPRDF to bring justice, freedom and democracy for the country and its people. I am calling up Ethiopians from all walks of life to join and support opposition forces in the arm struggle to bring down EPRDF once for all.

## Mass Surveillance in Ethiopia

### Abdi Zeki Kerim

The 2015 report of Freedom House revealed that the government of EPRDF has continued its extensive surveillance of Internet users both inside and outside Ethiopia. This article explores the role played by Trovicor and the UK-based Gamma Group International in providing the dictatorial regime in Ethiopia with massive surveillance technologies such as FinFisher to target opposition groups, bloggers, journalists and the whole population at large.

New leaked documents show that Ethiopia has been working with several

European technology companies to expand its surveillance powers in the past few years, potentially with the goal of improving its capabilities to monitor its own citizens. According to a joint investigation by Privacy International and netzpolitik, German based Surveillance Technology Company Trovicor played a central role in expanding the Ethiopian government's communication surveillance capacities. Trovicor, formerly part of Nokia Siemens Networks (NSN), provided equipment to Ethiopia's National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) in 2011 and offered to massively expand the government's ability to intercept and store internet protocol (IP) traffic across the national telecommunications backbone. Trovicor's proposal was to double the government's internet surveillance and storage capacity through the state-owned Ethio-Telecom.

Trovicor's predecessor in intelligence solutions, Siemens Pte worked closely with its British partner Gamma Group International via an offshore company in Lebanon to expand lawful interception in Ethiopia. Gamma Group's was used to target Forensic traces of FinFisher malware have also been traced back to one of Gamma's Lebanese operations.

Together, the two companies and their Lebanese offshore subsidiaries helped one of the most repressive regimes in Africa to spies on its largest populations. Websites of opposition parties, independent media sites, blogs, and several international media outlets are routinely blocked by government censors. Radio and television stations are routinely jammed. Bloggers and Facebook users face harassment and the threat of arrest should they refuse to tone down their online writings. The message is simple: self-censor to limit criticism of the government or you will be censored and subject to arrest and labeled as a terrorist.

Information gathered from telecom and Internet sources is regularly used against Ethiopians arrested for alleged anti-government activities. During interrogations, police show suspects lists of phone calls and are questioned about the identity of callers, particularly foreign

callers. They play recorded phone conversations with friends and family members. The information is routinely obtained without judicial warrants. While this electronic “evidence” appears to be used mostly to compel suspects to confess or to provide information, some recorded emails and phone calls have been submitted as evidence in trials under the repressive Anti-Terrorism Proclamation.

Most of the evidences confirmed that Ethiopia is one of the 10 countries in the world that own the commercial spyware known FinFisher. The use of this intrusive surveillance technologies and network monitoring systems sold by European companies for the EPRDF dictatorial regime has worsened the human rights situation of the country. As a result, most of the torture and imprisonment of journalists, bloggers and dissidents occurs on a regular basis are helped by Western technology. This is the naked and toxic truth of doing business with dictators. Therefore, I am writing this article on behalf of 94 million voiceless Ethiopians who are suffering under the mass repression of EPRDF. Down with dictators!

## **Farmers without Farmland: the return of Feudalism in Ethiopia**

**Daniel Kassa (Maintal)**

Land has always been central to Ethiopians livelihood. It has triggered arm struggle and coup d'état. Apart from being one of the key components of production, land in Ethiopia has sentimental and social values that distinguish Ethiopians as a people. Until 1974, land in Ethiopia was under the control of handful feudal landlords. The Derg military regime that had overthrown the monarchical regime of Emperor Haile Selassie profoundly changed the agrarian structure and the mechanisms of access to land in Ethiopia under the famous slogan of land to the tiller. In 1975, the Public Ownership of Rural Land Proclamation nationalized all rural land and

redistributed it to the tiller. Subsequently, the proclamation abolished the exploitative landlord-tenant relations that were so relevant under the imperial regime of Haile Selassie.

In 1991, after seventeen years of the proclamation of land to the tiller, the Derg military regime was overthrown by the EPRDF regime and a new land ownership system was emerged. In this article, I will discuss impacts of the current land policy on the rural population in general and farmers in particular. To begin with, according to Article 40(3) of the 1994 constitution of the EPRDF regime, the right to ownership of rural and urban land, as well as of all natural resources, is absolutely vested on the State. This implies that all lands in Ethiopia belong to “the new landlord” or the EPRDF regime. This simply allowed the regime to use land as a political instrument that can be allocated or expropriated based on political willingness and affiliation of farmers. As a result, 84 percent of the rural population in Ethiopia has become tenants of the dictatorial regime of EPRDF. This confirms that the return of feudalism in Ethiopia under a new slogan of “land for investors.”

Over the past 24 years, the EPRDF regime has displaced millions of smallholder farmers and pastoralists from their lands in the name of development and leased their lands mainly for Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Djibouti, Germany, Netherlands, UK, India and China. Many rural families, especially pastoral families or smallholders who have not been part of the recent land certification process, lack secure rights to the land they till. In addition, the land certification by itself is the political tool of the EPRDF regime to withdraw tenure security when smallholder farmers are unable to pay land rent or the cost of agricultural inputs largely monopolized by business empires of the regime. Consequently, landlessness is emerging among the youth who are unable to stay on their parents' land, which in turn exposed them for land-oriented poverty and persistent famine. Many people know that the current famine in Ethiopia had resulted from these exploitative landlord-tenant relations of the

EPRDF regime and the rural population of Ethiopia.

Small-scale farmers are the key, in the fight against hunger and poverty in Ethiopia. Based on the above three paragraphs, it is possible to conclude that the rural population of the country is a victim of the current land policy of the EPRDF regime. The policy has systematically weakened small landholder's access to food and livelihood. Such policy measures have particularly become more visible after the financial and food crisis of 2008 of the world. As a result, there has been a recurrent famine and food insecurity in Ethiopia. It is not enough to discuss about the failure of government policies in Ethiopia. It is time to raise arms to remove the regime in power together with its failed policies.

### **Land grabbing in Ethiopia Tewachew Derebe**

Foreign investors rather I call them invaders are snatching up Ethiopia as much as they can. The situation resembles that of thousands of scavengers scrambling for meat. Over the past few years, large-scale acquisitions of farmland in Ethiopia have made headlines in a flurry of media reports across the world. Highlights have included the handover of more than 300,000 hectares of virgin land to a single Indian company known as Karuturi almost for free. The main form of investment lies in long term leasing of agricultural land rather than its purchase. The duration of the lease ranges from 50 years or even up to 99 years. Moreover, land is very cheap in Ethiopia and land fees are not an important component of negotiations and thus, the rent of one hectare ranges from US\$ 3 to US\$ 10 per year.

The government of TPLF has made 24 million hectares (59 million acres) of land available for biofuel production alone, which is 20 percent of the total area of the country. The larger share of land grabbing is taking place in five administrative regions in Ethiopia – Afar, Amara, Oromia, Gambella, Benshangul-Gumuz and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regions (SNNPR). Surprisingly enough,

there is no land grabbing in Tigray region for the reason that the land dealers are officials of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), who were fighting for independence of the region. Some of the invaders of land in Ethiopia include: China, India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Egypt, Italy, Germany, Denmark, the United Kingdom, USA and France.

Despite the fact that the official information is limited as well as the number of the deals made public, media and reports of civil society organizations have brought evidence of large-scale land deals. Here are some numbers: the German companies: Petro-Palm and Flora Eco-power have secured 50,000 and 56,000 hectares of land for biofuel production in Ethiopia, respectively. Petro-Palm and Flora Eco-power are not alone at all. In addition to the above mentioned, Indian company with 300,000 hectares of land, the British Sun Biofuels has signed a lease agreement with Ethiopia for 80,000 hectares of land and it has also purchased 80 percent of the National Biodiesel Corporation of Ethiopia as part of its program to strengthen its presence in Ethiopia prior to investing in the whole of East Africa.

Since land grabbing is married with corruption and lack of good governance, the ruling elite is allied with big business, and together they are making a quick buck. Land dealers in Ethiopia deceive the majority of rural people with mere talks, everything will turn out alright. Correction: everything is going to get better. There will be new roads, a new school, a pharmacy, even a proper water supply. Most of all, there will be job and food security. However, the main issue raised in relation to land investment is how large-scale commercial farming will impact on food security. At the end of the game, 15 million Ethiopians are in need of emergency food aid. Therefore, unless we Ethiopians stand together to fight against the dictatorial regime of TPLF we will not have our country as a nation in the near future. This is an alarming situation for all of us!!

## Ethnic Federalism and Individual Rights in Ethiopia

**Fasica Abayneh**

The TPLF regime, in Ethiopia, came into power in 1991 in the wake of a protracted and destructive civil war. The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) was originally waged a war to separate Tigray from the rest of Ethiopia as indicated in its 1976 manifesto. The new regime under the TPLF/EPRDF introduced a new constitution, which became the basis to divide the country into nine ethnic based regions and to name it as the "Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia."

Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is based on the Federal Constitution that came into existence in 1995. It has promoted "ethnic" states and regions and ethnicity has become one of the most crucial aspects of political life. Twenty years of rule by Meles Zenawi, who died in August 2012, have brought several internal tensions and external challenges with which Ethiopia has to and will have to deal. Ethnic and religious tensions together with socioeconomic frustration are already contributing to a tense social atmosphere in Ethiopia. Various studies show that the ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is an obstacle to equitable growth and development. This is because it restricts the movement of labor, capital and knowledge. A practical example would be a person from the capital Addis Ababa who wants to work and start up business in Oromia region is expected to speak Oromiffa, otherwise the regional government may not allow him to run his business in the region even though Amharic is the national language of the country.

This clearly has adverse effects on the country's economy as a whole since citizens are unable to share their knowledge or invest their capital without any restriction. Here comes, the problem of the Ethiopian Federal Constitution lies in the fact that ethnicity is taken as a primary identity of an individual and group alike without taking into account other variables.

Likewise, if a person wants to have a government position in a region that he/she does not speak the local language, then they are barred from holding that position. This means that citizens are not evaluated based on their merits but on their ethnic identities which is not only wrong and detrimental but embarrassingly backward as well. Furthermore, ethnic federalism creates inconvenience for citizens regarding some administrative or legal issues. For instance, a person living in Debre Birhan has to travel all the way to Bahir Dar to attend a hearing at the Supreme Court because regional Supreme Courts sit at the capitals of the respective regions.

Even though, the country is named as a federal state, regional governments don't have real power in administering their regions contrary to the constitution. It is clear that members of the TPLF are the ones behind the throne of these puppet governments making major political decisions. Ethnic federalism had also many shortcomings, such as the idea that there exist territorially defined ethnic areas that are inhabited by members of a dominant ethnic group. It actually suggested the existence of ethnically homogeneous federal states, which is a false notion.

Ethnic cleansing is another product of this system. Over the past several years, Amaras living in various parts of the country have been the victim of ethnic cleansing. Thousands of people were forced to leave from some regions such as Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambela although most of these people were born and raised in these regions. Similarly, residents of the Wolkait-Tegede region have also been a victim of ethnic cleansing as the TPLF dominated government has gradually evicted them out of their land to expand the region of Tigray. All this indicates that ethnic federalism has miserably failed in Ethiopia.

In general, ethnic federalism is a dangerous system that threatens the unity of the country that has been built over the past three millennia. Moreover, the country's very existence is in question the longer this disastrous system stays in place. Therefore, we

Ethiopians should stand together to abolish the divided and conquer policy the TPLF minority regime once for all.

## Equality of Nations and Nationalities of Ethiopia

**Samson yohannes & Bernadit zewdie**

The term "equality of nations and nationalities" has been repeatedly spoken from the Ethiopian government. The government tries to explain the Ethiopian people have been guaranteed an equal and better opportunity in the EPRDF constitution. The Ethiopian government tries to relate this concept from the former Derg and other monarchical regimes of Ethiopia. EPRDF states the rights of nations and nationalities of Ethiopia had been suppressed by the former autocratic powers. But the reality goes far beyond this idea. Though there were some injustice and political problems in the past eras, it has nothing to do with discriminating specific ethnic groups. The current government claims that one ethnic group "Amhara" suppress all other groups. But for the one who deeply study the past history of the country, it is easy to understand there was no such target of ethnicity. Many of the persons who were in power were from different ethnic background and diversified.

When trying to see the current structure of the Ethiopian government, one can easily understand most of the powers have been controlled by one ethnic group especially from "TPLF" which is the founder of EPRDF. The military, financial institutions, social and business areas are dominated by certain ethnic groups, which left the rest of the society under poverty and political insecure. Unless this problem is solved timely, it would have an adverse consequence in the future of the country. The neglected groups have chosen to overthrow the regime by force in different part of the country. The probability of People revolution is inevitable. We all hope such authoritarian governance would change and all the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia enjoy the true equality.

## Stop supporting TPLF Terrorist Regime

**Wakuma Tilahun (Linsengricht)**

One of the scary world that I don't even went to see in dictionary let alone in reality world is the word terrorist. The irony is that since there is no universally acceptable definition of this word, every body uses it as it suits to its interest. Example in Ethiopian context the government by himself act as a terrorist because many civilians are killed, torture and taken to prisons without any unreasonable evidence.

In Ethiopia especially around Oromia region a person who exercises for his right taken as terrorist. ABO or OLF are the freedom fighter, but the TPLF government says or calls them, this freedom fighter is a terrorist because of to encourage its own advantages alone. Many innocents have been labelled under this one common categorization through their background. Path and goal is completely different from one another. When one is regarded as an iconic freedom fighter by the nation it stands for, it is simultaneously regarded as terrorist by other especially in the front side of the TPLF government.

An iconic anti-apartheid freedom fighter, Nelson Mandela, was under an American terrorist list as recent as 2008. This is just one example. Many more innocents have became the victim of this labeling specially in country which is lack of democracy like Ethiopia from freedom fighters like OLF or ABO to free Oromia.

It was a bad and very dangerous life time for Oromo boys and girls or for Oromo farmers and for Oromo students at all. Dealing on our land and at home because of just we be an Oromo and because of land grabbing. Totally killing Oromo society by Ethiopian (TPLF)terrorist government is the means of genocide which any blind can see it and which the deaf can hear it, so both are simply understand what's going on by terrorist TPLF government.

In May 01-2014 in Ambo University, high school and elementary school more than 47 students are killed at ones and most of others were jailed.

In May 13-2014 another Madawalabu University more than 10 students are killed and most of other was jailed by TPLF government. Generally hundreds of Oromo students from Elementary, high school and from different Universities such as wellega University, Jimma University, Addis Ababa University, Adama University, Haramaya University and Dire Dawa University and also many different college Oromo student were disappeared including most of our farmers this time there were more than half million Oromo political prisoners in that country which under the leader of TPLF dictator government. To inform you recently in Ada'a Berga harassments and Intimidation through arbitrary arrests, beatings, torture and rapes were committed in Ada'a berga district West Showa Zone of Oromia Regional State against young Oromo nationals on September 24 and 25-2015. More than 30 young Oromos were picked up from their homes at night by a Dictator paramilitary force.

According to HRLHA informants in Ada'a Berga, the major targets of this most recent District Administration Officials-Sponsored violence were mostly young Omoros working in Dangote Cement Factory and University students who were there to visit their families in the summer break. HRLHA informants from the area confirmed that the particular operation against young Oromo nationals in Ada'a Berga was led by the local government official Obbo Tolera Anbasse.

In this incident more than 30 young Oromos (16-25) ages arrested more than 20 were severely beaten by the Federal paramilitary and confined in Ada'a Berga district police station for three days in violation of the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Article 19(3) persons who arrested have the right to be brought before a court within 48 hours of their arrest. Such time shall not include the time reasonably required for the journey from the place of arrest to the

court. On appearing before a court, they have the right to be given prompt and specific explanation of the reasons for their arrest due to the alleged crime committed.

Although it has been difficult to identify everyone by their names, HRLHA informants have confirmed that the following were among the arrestees,

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Rabbirraa Gaarradoo | 9. Daniel Taarraqany   |
| 2 Fiqaaduu Amaaraa    | 10. Fiqaaduu Tolasaa   |
| 3 Tasfaayee Dalasaa   | 11. Biraanuu Dabalaa   |
| 4 Biraanuu Siyyumee   | 12. Katangaa Baayyuu   |
| 5 Tolasaa Guutamaa    | 13. Fayyisaa Raggaanee |
| 6 Muluu Balaachoo     | 14. Kaasahun Baqqalaa  |
| 7 Alamuu G mariyaam   | 15. Alamuu Ajjabii     |
| 8 Abbush Masfiin      | 16. Nuwaay Tasfaayee   |
|                       | 17. Lataa Taadasaa     |

All arrestees were accused of what the police referred to as instigating the public against the government. When the arrestee were brought to court ,one man explained to the court that he had been beaten severely in front of his family members and his wife and his sister age 16 were raped by one of the paramilitary members.

The arrestee showed their scarred backs to the court to indicate the torture inflicted on them by the paramilitary. Even though the court released all the arrestees on bail the police refused the court order and took them to jail.

The Human Right League of the Horn of Africa (HRLHA) expresses its deep concern over the safety and well- being of these arrested Oromo nationals and urges the Oromia Regional State Government to make sure that the bail conditions granted by the court are respected and release the arrestees unconditionally.

Finally we need you world people try to open your eyes to see how we feels pain and don't spend your money for the killer of TPLF government to buy weapon by the name of food security and others.

## State violence against women in Ethiopia

**Elsa Diriba (Fulda)**

Women are victims of state violence in Ethiopia. For over two decades, rape, torture and humiliation are used regularly as an interrogation tactic against women political prisoners. A number of local and International Human Rights advocacy groups have documented tragic cases of apparent and unambiguous torture and killings of women by Ethiopia's Police and Security Forces. The increase of domestic violence and sexual abuse of young women has also become a serious public concern in the country. Available evidences indicate that the low social status of Ethiopian women lies at the root of violence against their political and human rights. This article examines the scope and magnitude of state violence against women in Ethiopia by considering the most recent tragic cases of five young girls as atypical example.

In September 2015, Selome Gulilat, 20-years old University student, was gunned down by a Federal Police officer because she did not respond to his advances. Selome and her friend were relaxing in a nearby sport bar. Around the end of their stay, they went to the bathroom. Her friend, who is the eye witness, when Selome was killed, said that "when we enter to the bathroom, the police officer was there, we said sorry and backed away... eventually he let us go in and we did, when we were about to come out he was still there and waiting for Selome to greet and talk him, but she refused a handshake for him then the police officer slapped her in his fist. Selome falls down on the ground. I run away back to one of the bathrooms and locked it from the inside. Then I heard a gunshot and when I came out, I saw that both Selome and the Police officer were lying on the floor. Selome was still breathing and someone else rushed to help and she was taken to nearby health clinic where she was pronounced died of 3 bullets." In reality, Selome is one of a long list of names of women

who continue to die or suffer from gender based violence because they are women.

In the mid of 2015, Edom Kassaye and Mahlet Fantahu, two of the female members of Zone 9 bloggers reported that they were forced to stand naked and "do sports" in front of giggling male investigators for several times during the course of their detention. After such kind of humiliation and torture the terrorism charges against Edom and Mahlet were dropped and the bloggers were subsequently released from prison.

Tejnesh Lewegneh, 15-years old from the northern Shewa region of Ethiopia, was abducted by three men on her way to market in October, 2014. They tried to force her to agree to marry one of them. She refused, and a day later, they pushed her off a cliff. Now Tejnesh is paralyzed from the waist down. In the same month, 16-year-old Hanna Lalango, from Ethiopia's cosmopolitan capital, Addis Ababa, was abducted by a group of men from a minibus on the outskirts of the city. She was raped over several days and died in hospital about a month later from her injuries. Five men have been convicted and are awaiting sentence for the attack. Hanna reportedly identified her assailants before she was died.

These are some of the toxic truth of violence gains women in Ethiopia in which thousands of women are killed, raped, tortured otherwise humiliated on daily basis. The stories are endless. Since most of the crimes are committed by member of the EPRDF regime, there are more stories out there that are unreported. No legal action was taken on government security forces and officials who have committed state violence against women. Therefore, I urge all Ethiopians and human rights organization to fight state violence against women in Ethiopia.

## **The Functions of Courts in Ethiopia**

**Ribka Wondwosen (Bensheim)**

The rule of law is a cornerstone of contemporary constitutional democracy. Courts are important for the working and consolidation of democratic regimes. They facilitate civil government by contributing to the rule of law and by creating an environment conducive to economic growth. They also have a key role to play with regard to making power-holders accountable to the democratic rules of the game, and ensuring the protection of human rights as established in constitutions, conventions and laws. Do courts in Ethiopia play such a role?

The answer for the above question is not at all. This is simply because courts in Ethiopia are political weapons used by the EPRDF regime to eliminate dissident voices and throw them to jail under terrorism charges. In the name of the ‘developmental state’, the system has transformed its courts into another security apparatus whose job is not to second-guess the government, but simply to rubberstamp decisions made somewhere else. Ethiopian courts are not guarantors of the reign of equality and justice. They are the very instruments used to secure inequality and injustice. They are legal technologies of repression whose strategic function is to rationalize, justify and legitimize the repressive logic behind these perspective law proceedings by situating them within the framework of law and justice.

Furthermore, the courtroom has been used to intimidate, harass, silence, exile, and eliminate political foes perceived to be a threat to the authorities of the day. Let’s see what was happening to Zone9 bloggers almost over the past two years. It is a well-known fact that in 2014–15, the Ethiopian authorities increased their crackdown on bloggers and online journalists, using the country’s harsh laws to prosecute individuals for their online activities

and quash critical voices. The Zone 9 bloggers arrested in April 2014 were charged with terrorism in July 2014 and subsequently subjected to a series of fake trials through mid-2015.

In July 2015, two of the imprisoned Zone 9 bloggers were unexpectedly released and cleared of all charges, which observers attributed to U.S. President Barack Obama’s official visit to the country later that month. The four remaining Zone 9 bloggers were acquitted in October. Nevertheless, five other critical voices and bloggers who were arrested in July 2014 and charged with terrorism remain in prison. During the numerous Zone 9 trials throughout 2014– 2015, several supporters were temporarily arrested for posting updates and pictures of their trials on social media via mobile devices. This is just the tip of the iceberg to show the complete failure of the justice system in Ethiopia. But, it is not enough to mention the failure of justice in the country. It is also necessary to bring down those individuals who are manipulating courts for political purpose.

## **Justice shall be served in Ethiopia!**

**Nigussie Liya (Wächtersbach)**

Since 1991, the EPRDF regime has controlled the power in Ethiopia and committed uncountable abuses and torturer to Ethiopians people. Demolishing the country started by dismantling the countries defense force, to weaken the national interest and assigning those its Guerilla fighters as the national force of the country and immediately followed by separating Eretria from its motherland, which makes Ethiopia a landlocked country with 90 million people. Consequently, they started dividing the country into nine regional states based on ethnic line to implement their divide and conquer policy.

Woyane (EPRDF) controls all sectors of the economy such as: construction, mining, Bank and insurances, import and exports, transportation, huge agricultural fields, hotels and buildings and many more other sectors.

More amazingly, even those small businesses are also controlled by those supporters of Woyane (EPRDF). And the rest of the citizens are living under absolute poverty and famine.

This anti-Ethiopians narrow minded dictatorial regime extends its structure throughout the country by its 1 to 5 network, which is an agenda spying the people. This so called network brings unprecedented fear, fear of freedom of expression, writing, free movements of community, demonstrations and so on. Due to these reasons especially the youth forced to flee the country through borders illegally and most of them end up to the supper of the sharks and the Sahara desert. The youth who flee trough borders take the rout of Sudan followed by crossing the Sahara Desert (Chad). Those country men and women exiles faces inhuman mishandles, which cannot be expressed and is much more than humanity can bear it. Those exiles are not only facing the hunger and trust of the desert but also the ISIS and Gangawid Militias which they took the women as their sex slaves and the men as labor slaves. Those lucky survivors, again faces another inhuman treatment in Libya, rape and beatings are the common ones. Then the trip stretches to travel through a rubber boat which has no captain and no one know where to end up. The lucky ones can also survive the waves and the sharks to reach to Europe. The other rout is through Somalia or Djibouti to reach to Saudi Arabia over red sea and Yemen. In the same manner those survivors are few to make it to their destination. Here what the reader must consider is that, the level of repression is beyond the control of citizens which force them to take such risk for a better life.

Other than those expressed above, there are also exiles which took the rout of Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and Zimbabwe to reach to South Africa. Those travelers suffer also inhuman abuses. The brokers, each country polices and some citizens of the countries giving them a hard time and inhuman abuses. Organizing legal travel agents, which are officially operating in the country sending citizens to different Arab speaking countries

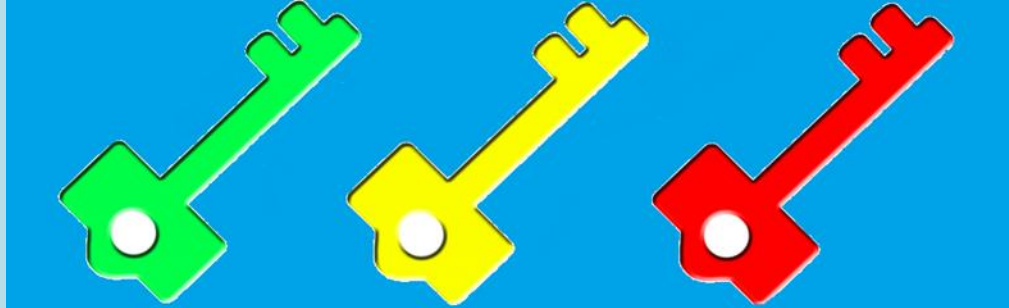
such as Kuwait, Qatar, Lebanon, UAE and so on. Though they operate legally in the country, when problems are occur in those above mentioned countries against our citizen, the Ethiopians embassy representatives stand for the locals than for our citizens. We can here mention the incident of Saudi Arabia in November 2013. Most amazingly most of those who went to the Arab speaking countries are teenagers, even under the age of thirteen. One must consider here, most of those under age children face rape and therefore most end up losing their body parts and psychological problems. Moreover, those who have the courage to face the government in public end up in prisons and torture.

The government controlled Radio and Television focusing only on their propaganda that the country is achieving a double figured economy growth, which they want to mislead the western world. One can simply conclude from the facts on the ground which I tried to expressed above, a country which grows in double figures, the citizens would not take such risks to get out of the country by all means to leave the country. The real facts are Ethiopia is a country in which the annual budget is covered by those European, the USA and other donor countries and still holds citizens who are facing every year hunger in most of part of the country. It is a country in which citizens are thrown to jails for expressing their opinions, writing. Simply it is a man-made hell on Earth. It is time to stand for us, the people, and throw this cruel dictatorial regime once and for all from our beloved country.

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Regular meeting of EPPFG members in Aschaffenburg





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**JUSTICE**

**FOR SELOME**