አዱሊስ | Adulis

ነፃ እንኳን ደህና መጡ

አዱሊስ ዕሁድ ሰኔ 21 2007
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Welcome Free

ልዩ ዕትም Special Edition

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ድንበሩ መላከህይወት

የአማርኛ ቋንቋ ከእንግሊዘኛ ቋንቋ ከፍተኛ የሆነ የባህላዊ እና የስዋስው ልዩነት ካላቸው ቋንቋዎች አንዱ ሆኖ በ effective language learning በሚባል ድረ ገጽ ተመዝግቦ ይገኛል። አንዳንድ ጥናቶች እንደሚያመለክቱት በአሁኑ ሰአት በኢትዮጵያ እና ከኢትዮጵያ ውጭ በአለም ዙሪያ ከሰላሳ ሚሊዮን በላይ የአማርኛ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪዎች እንደሚገኙ ይነገራል።

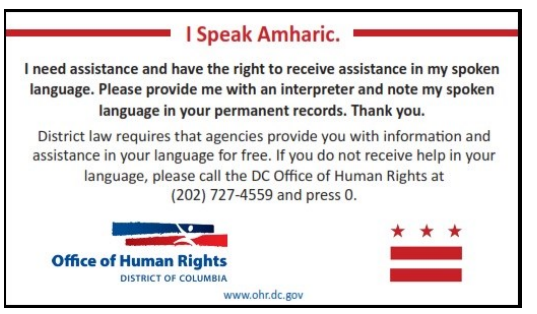
በዚህ በምንኖርበት በሰሜን አሜሪካም የተለያዩ የአካባቢ እና የፌዴራል መንግስታት ተቋማት የአማርኛ ቋንቋ ተጠቃሚዎች ቁጥራቸው እየበረከተ እንደመጣ ከግንዛቤ በማስገባት የተለያዩ መንግስታዊ እና ማህበራዊ አገልግሎቶችን በአማርኛ ቋንቋ መስጠት ከጀመሩ አስርተ አመታት አልፈዋል።

በቅርቡ በወጣው ዘገባ መሰረት አማርኛ ቋንቋ በአሜሪካ ውስጥ ከሚነገሩት የአፍሪካውያን ቋንቋዎች የመጀመሪያውን ስፍራ ይዞ እንደሚገኝ ታውቋል። አማርኛ በአሜሪካ ውስጥ በ43 ስቴቶች ውስጥ በ 170 ካውንቲዎች ከመነገሩም በላይ በ13 ካውንቲዎች ውስት በብዛት ከሚነገሩ ቋንቋዎች አንዱ ሆኖ ተመዝግቧል። በአሜሪካን ወስጥ ከሚነገሩ 322 ቋንቋዎች ውስጥ 43ኛ ደረጃን ይዞ ይገኛል። የአማርኛ ቋንቋ ከሚነገርባቸው 43 የአሜሪካን ግዛቶች (ስቴቶች) ዋሽንግተን ዲሲ አንደኛ ቦታ ሲይዝ ሜሪላንድ እና ቨርጂኒያ ሁለተኛ እና ሶስተኛ ደረጃውን ይዘው ይገኛለሁ። ከሁሉም ደግሞ ጥቂት አማርኛ ተናጋሪዎች ያለባት ግዛት ሀዋዪ ናት። በሀዋዪ 20 የአማርኛ ተናጋሪዎች ብቻ ተመዝግበው ይገኛሉ። በዋሽንግተን ዲሲ በብዛት ከሚነገሩ ቋንቋዎች አንደኛ እንግሊዘኛ ሲሆን ሁለተኛ ስፓኒሽ ነው። በሶስተኛ ደረጃ ፈረንሳይኛ ሲሆን የአራተኛ ደረጃን የያዘው የአማርኛ ቋንቋ ነው። በዚሁ መሰረት በሜሪላንድ አማርኛ አስራ አንደኛ ቋንቋ ሲሆን በቨርጂኒያ ደግሞ አስራ ሶስተኛ ነው።

የአማርኛ ቋንቋ በብዛት የሚነገርባቸው የአሜሪካን ካውንቲዎች እና ከተማዎች በሰነጠረዡ በቅደም ተከተል እንደተመለከተው በዋሽንግተን ዲሲ ሜትሮ አካባቢ የሚገኙ ከተማዎች እና ካውንቲዎች ከፍተኛ የሆነውን የአማርኛ ተናጋሪዎች ቁጥርን ይዘው ይገኛሉ።

ደረጃ	የካውንቲው ስም	ከነዋሪው ቁጥር ሲነጻጸር በመቶ
1	Alexandria city, VA. አሌክሳንስሪያ ከተማ ቨርጂኒያ	2.10%
2	Arlington County, VA. አርሊንግተን ካውንቲ ቨርጂኒያ	1.07%
3	DeKalb County, GA. ደካልብ አውንቲ ጆርጂያ	0.54%
4	Montgomery County, MD. ሞንትጎመሪ ካውንቲ ሜሪላንድ	0.54%
5	District of Columbia, D.C. ዋሽንግተን ዲሲ	0.44%
6	Nobles County, MN. ኖብለስ ካውንቲ ሚኒሶታ	0.36%
7	Fairfax County, VA. ፌርፋክስ ካውንቲ ቨርጂኒያ	0.33%
8	Prince George's County, MD. ፕሪንስ ጆርጅስ ካውንቲ ሜሪላንድ	0.32%
9	King County, WA. ኪንግስት ካውንቲ ዋሽንግተን	0.30%
10	Ramsey County, MN. ራምሲ ካውንቲ ሚኒሶታ	0.30%
11	Minnehaha County, SD ሚንሃሃ ካውንቲ ሶውዝ ዳኮታ	0.23%
12	Dallas County, TX ዳላስ ካውንቲ ቴክሳስ	0.21%
13	Hennepin County, MN. ንፒን ካውንቲ ሚኒሶታ	0.20%
14	Arapahoe County, CO. አራፓሆ ካውንቲ ኮሎራዶ	0.20%
15	Santa Clara County, CA. ሳንታ ክላራ ካውንቲ ካሊፎርኒያ	0.17%
16	Logan County, OK. ሎጋን ካውንቲ አክላሆማ	0.17%
17	Payne County, OK. ፔይን ካውንቲ አክላሆማ	0.17%
18	Franklin County, OH ፍራንክሊን ካውንቲ አሀዮ	0.16%
19	Alameda County, CA. አላሜዳ ካውንቲ ካሊፎርኒያ	0.16%
20	Bulloch County, GA. ቡለች ካውንቲ ጆርጂያ	0.15%

በዋሽንግተን ዲሲ ከተማ እንደ አውሮፓውያን አቆጣጠር በ2004 ባጸደቀችው ህግ (DC Language Access Act of 2004) መሰረት አማርኛ ተናጋሪዎች ህዝባዊ የሆኑ አገልግሎቶችን እንግሊዝኛ ተናጋሪ ከሆኑ ግለሰቦች ባልተናነሰ መልኩ አገልግሎት እንዲያገኙ አድርጓል። በዚህም ምክንያት የአእምሮ ጤናን ፤ የእሳት አደጋ መከላከያ እና የድንገተኛ አደጋ እርዳታ መስሪያ ቤቶችን ጨምሮ ከ26 የከተማው መንግስት መስሪያቤቶች በአማርኛ ለባለ ጉዳዮች አገልግሎት እንዲሰጥ ያዛል። ይህም ማለት አንድ የከተማው ነዋሪ ጉዳይ ለማስፈጸም ወደ ማንኛውም መንግስት መስሪያ ቤት በሚሄድበት ጊዜ


I Speak Amharic.

I need assistance and have the right to receive assistance in my spoken language. Please provide me with an interpreter and note my spoken language in your permanent records. Thank you.

District law requires that agencies provide you with information and assistance in your language for free. If you do not receive help in your language, please call the DC Office of Human Rights at (202) 727-4559 and press 0.

Office of Human Rights
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
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አምናገረው አማርኛ ነው።

እርዳታ ያስፈልገኛል፣ በምናገረው ቋንቋ እርዳታ የማግኘት መብትም አለኝ። አባከዎ አስተርጓሚ ያቅርቡልኝ። ወደፊትም ለማደርጋቸው ግንኙነቶች ሁሉ በአማርኛ እንደምናገር መዝገብዎ ላይ ያስፍሩ።

የመንግስት መስሪያ ቤቶች በቋንቋዎ መረጃና እርዳታ በነፃ እንዲያቀርቡልዎት የ "ዲስትሪክቱ" ህግ ያዛል። በቋንቋዎ እርዳታ ካላገኙ፣ እባክዎ ለ "ዲ. ሲ." የሰብዓዊ መብቶች ጽሕፈት ቤት በስልክ ቁጥር 202-727-4559 ይደውሉና 0 ን ይጫኑ።

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ሁለት ባለሙያዎች በአካል ወይንም በስልክ ይጠቡቃል። አንደኛው በማስተርነም ስራ የሰለጠነ አማርኛ ተናጋሪ ሲሆን ሁለተኛው ደግሞ የተፈለገውን ጉዳይ በእንግሊዝኛ ቋንቋ የሚያከናውን ይሆናል። በአንዳንድ መንግስት መስሪያቤቶች ሙሉ ሰዓት በዚሁ ስራ ተመድበው የሚሰሩ አስተርጓሚዎች ሲኖሩ በሌሎቹ መስሪያ ቤቶች ደግሞ በቀጠሮ ወይንም በስልክ እየቀረቡ የትርጉም እና የአስተርጓሚነት አገልግሎት ይሰጣሉ። ይህንንም ለማስፈጸም ነዋሪዎች አንደኛ ላንጉጅ አክሰስ (Language Access) መጠቀም የእርሶ መብት ነው የሚል ካርድ ፋይላቸው ውስጥ እንዲቀመጥ ማድረግ እና ከመታወቂያቸው ጋር አብረው ይዘውት የሚሄዱት ትንሽ ካርድ አማርኛ እናገራለሁ "I speak Amharic" የምትል ካርድ ይዞ ጉዳዩ ለሚመለከተው ባለስልጣን ማሳየት ነው። በዚህን ጊዜ የመንግስት ባለስልጣናት (ሰራተኞች) አማርኛ አስተርጓሚ ለማቅረብ ይገደዳሉ።

የሞንትጎመሪ ካውንቲ መንግስት የአማርኛ እና ሌሎች ቋንቋዎች አገልግሎት ለመስጠት የሚያስችለውን መመሪያ ያወጣው በ 2010 ነው። በዚህ ጊዜ የአሁኑ የካውንቲው ዋና ስራ አስኪያጅ አይሳቅ ላገት መመሪያ 046-10 (Executive Order 046-10) በሚል ባወጡት መመሪያ መሰረት በካውንቲው ውስጥ ብዙ አገልግሎቶች በአማርኛ ቋንቋ ይሰጣሉ። በአማርኛ ከሚሰጡት አገልግሎቶች በተጨማሪ ሲልቨር ስፕሪንግ በሚገኘው ካውንቲው ቤተ-መጻህፍት ውስጥ ብዙ የአማርኛ መጻህፍቶች ይገኛሉ። እነዚህ በአዲሱ እና ዘመናዊ በሆነው የሲልቨር ስፕሪንግ ቤተመጻህፍት ውስት የሚገኙ መጻህፍት ከ58 ሺህ በላይ ሚሆነውን የካውንቲው አማርኛ ተናጋሪ

አማርኛ .... ወደ ገጽ 3 ዞሯል

Zufan Tadesse
A
Special Guest
Star of
A
Special
Edition of
Adulis

There is nothing special about featuring Starts of all or any sort in Medias, either Print or Electronic. More often than not, the 'Star' is an 'Accomplished' person and already popular. The public has 'Recognized' the accomplishment so want to know more about the 'Hero/ Heroine'. Where is s/he from? What does s/he like? How does s/he do this or that? Etc. Albeit in different modalities and settings, it is the usual suspects in business as usual sort of way.

In Adulis, we wanted to do it in a bit different way. How about, someone not that known so far, and has not been applauded yet, but can be seen to be going somewhere, becoming somebody (of course we know everybody is somebody in their own way and right, but you know what we mean). Someone, even from the outset has been seen, both by the lay man like us and the professionals, with all kind of views possible along the spectrum.

Believe us; when we in Adulis were doing our homework and trying to gather comments, they ranged from 'she is the future of Ethiopian Music" to "She is in fact an embarrassment even to Adulis itself". The controversy, actually became a source of encouragement for us.

James Allen, in his literally essay "As a Man Thinketh" published in 1903 said A Man's destiny is determined by what he thinks about himself. Actually, it is a quote right out of the Bible Proverbs 23; 7 "For as he thinketh in his heart so is he…" With this quote and belief in mind, our esteemed readers, we present you: -

Zufan Tadesse

She is an athlete, a professional one and an aspiring Musician/Singer. Like many others, she is famous for doing amateurish clips of other artists, mostly Aster Aweke and Bizunesh Bekele, and releasing her videos on her face book page. She was able to hit, at times, more than 90 thousand likes. In this era of facebooking and twiterring (if those are even words), that number is pretty huge and promising. Adulis asked Zufan why she wanted to do the clips and why she wanted to share it with the public.

Is it just for fun, or just confidence on yourself, or is it something a bit bigger ambition that prompt you to do posts on Facebook?

All of the above,

Said Zufan,

I have a lot of fun creating my videos and the positive reviews I have received give me great confidence. My first video was not planned. I was just having fun with my friend Miskir and her Husband Zeru, who came to Houston, Texas on that week for an athletic competition. I was surprised and pleased to see the amazing response it received.

Some critics, including Kaleu Weldemedhin, a Pianist and graduate of Yared Music School, say imitating Aster Aweke cannot be taken to show once talent or even potential. We asked Zufan why the focus on Aster and Bizunesh.

Most of your posts are Bizunesh and Aster, if I am not mistaken? Are you their fan? Did you get a chance to chat with Aster? Do you think it is good to imitate others? Have you ever performed songs other than Bizunesh and Aster?

Yes, I am a big-time fan of Aster Aweke and Bizunesh Bekele. Not only did I get a chance to chat with Aster, but I also got the opportunity to jam with her on-stage when she came on tour to Houston and Dallas. I was thrilled. I don't think I can imitate anyone, nor do I try. I just sing the songs I like. I have also sang songs by Gi-Gi, Hamelmal, Kuku etc.

Zufan went on telling us how she met Aster in Houston and drove to

Dallas to do the jamming again. Apparently, Aster was impressed by Zufan's performance. It was not only Aster Aweke that Zufan Jammed and impressed. Adulis talked to a famous musician (who plays instruments), who wanted to remain anonymous, and was on stage when Zufan did a Jamming three years ago. This jamming was one of the first for Zufan. The concert was mainly of Mohamud Ahmed, but another up and coming singer who performs Tilahun Gessesse's song was on stage when Zufan jammed and became a back vocalist.

He said:
She is talented. She has love and passion for music.
According to him,
Her appearance,
which he called
stage physic, her slimness
makes a full circle if she choose to go that way.
She has the gift. She tries hard. If she gets a good producer, she has proven that she can go far. I would love to go on stage with her one day.
Even though he did not want to give his expert opinion, he said
for an artist to be successful the three things that are needed are love, passion and stage dare; Zufan has all three.
He does not agree with some critics who say she is not an artist of her own. He says she has a different voice and talent. He believes she can go far, but that remains to be seen.

Her looks, appearance and stage physic also caught the eyes of Kaleu. He is a young talent himself, who is a graduate from Yared School of Music in Addis Ababa and works as a musical analyst and teaches music. Kaleu shared with Adulis his opinion from an experts eye view:-

To start with the her quality, she has an amazing feeling of rhythm, a good tone and if she finds a good producer she can overcome her problems and stay on the same key while she sings. One of her songs was "anchihoye" and she was out of tune or out of key, but this kind of problem can be overcome with a good help from professionals. Last but not list her looks could help her be somebody in the music industry.

Robel Dagne who is a pianist and producer, and now plays Keyboard with Zemen Band in Addis, seems to agree with Kaleu. Robel ads,

She is good other than working on her breathing techniques and staying on Keys.

Robel is a professional producers that has worked on Yeshi Demelash's album, Michaia's singles and took part on the coming album of Naty Haile.

Efrem Woubishet is a Trombonist who plays for Express Band. He has played in many trucks for Tsegaye Eshetu, Tamirat Desta, Michael Lema, Michael Belayneh to mention just a few. Efrem, Predicts a good future for Zufan.

With a rhythm feeling like hers the other problems will be a point on a white paper. So get her a professional help and let her exploit her talent.

Kaleu, Robel and Efrem are not the only talents Adulis sought while working on Zufan Tadesse. We knocked at doors, called, texted and emailed. Many of the Giants in the industry, the movers and shakers, were not forthcoming. At this point, it is only appropriate for Adulis, to appreciate Kaleu Weldemedhin for getting us to some of the talents whom we might not have otherwise be able to.

Tewodros Tsegaye, on the other hand, was kind enough to come to our office and share his views with us. Teddy, out of humility, insisted that he is not an expert and should not be quoted as one. Adulis, has learnt that Teddy has written lyrics to Michael Belayneh and Aster Aweke (the Giant of Giants and personal favorite of Zufan). It is only fitting that his comments be included and valued. Tedros Tsegaye was a syndicated Radio Talk Show Host while he was in Addis and is working to be the same on TV here in Maryland, USA. His Radio program was called Reeyot, a name which he also carried for his TV program on EBS.

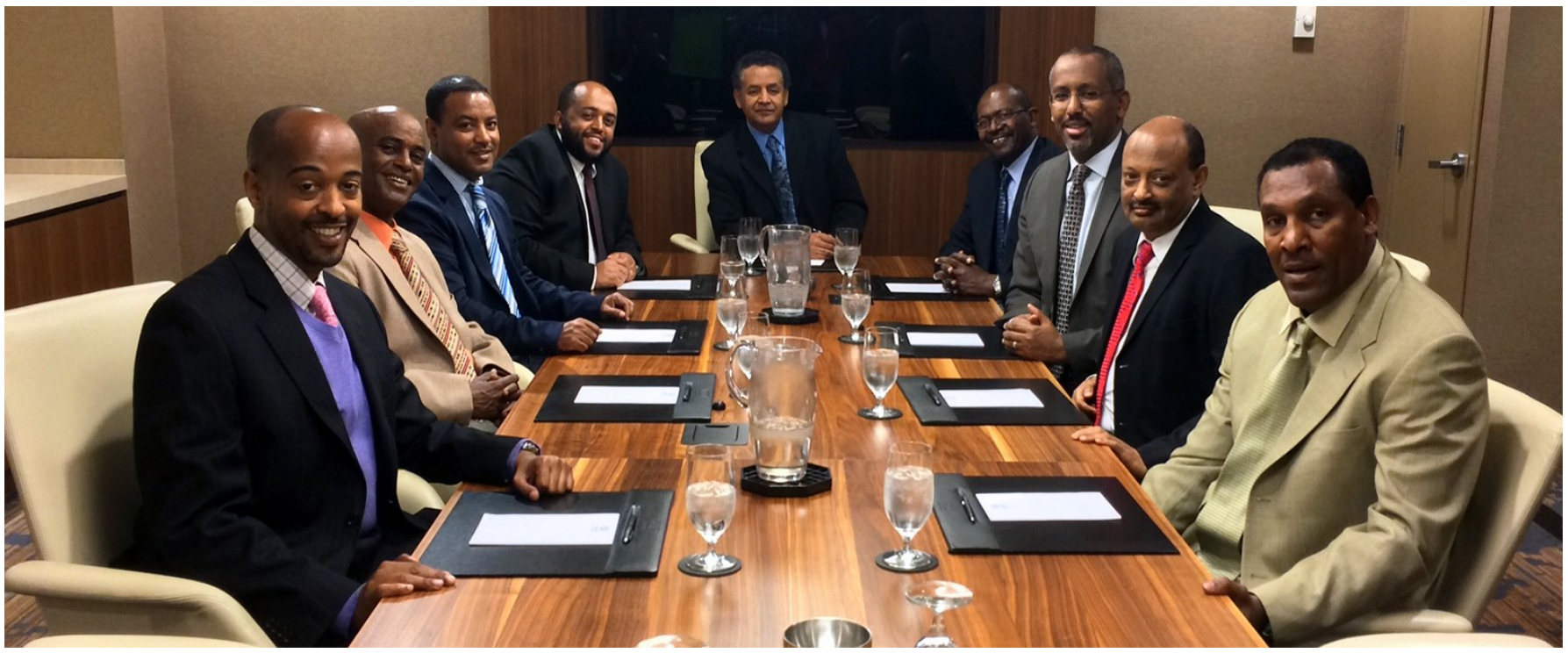
Tedddy looked at Zufan from a different angle. He said:-

She has very good ears. She understood the music very well. She got the notes and curves/ ornaments of the music. She got the color of Aster and Bizunesh music and tried to copy that.

Teddy was not all praises when he gave us his comments.

She should have had her own songs than trying to be somebody else. Even though it is not a good advice, she could have copied the Music and not necessarily their voices. For example Teshome Aseged did Tilahun Gessese's song but with his own voice. She has to know herself, and learn what kind of music is good for her. What kind of musician does she want to be, what new thing can she bring.

Cont. on page 5



በሰሜን አሜሪካ የኢትዮጵያ ስፖርት ፌዴሬሽን የቦርድ አባላት

አማርኛ .... ከገጽ ነ የዞረ

ኢትዮጵያውያንና የኢትዮጵያ ወዳጆች በሙሉ፤ ከመጪው ዕሁድ ሰኔ 21 ቀን, 2007 ዓ.ም. ጀምሮ ለአንድ ሳምንት በሜሪላንድ ዩኒቨርስቲ ካፒታል ዋን ፊልድ ቢርድ ስታድየም፣ (Mary Land University, Capital One Field Byrd Stadium) በሚካሄደው፤ የስፖርት ውድድርና በዓል ላይ እንዲገኙ በሰሜን አሜሪካ የኢትዮጵያ ስፖርት ፌዴሬሽን ፕሬዝዳንት አቶ ጌታቸው ተስፋዬ ጥሪ አቀረቡ።

"የኢትዮጵያ ኪነ-ጥበብና ባህል ማወደስ" በሚል መርህ፣ ለ32ኛ ጊዜ በሚካሄደው በዚሁ ዓመታዊ በዓል ላይ፣ ጥሩ ፉክክር ይታይበታል ተብሎ ከሚገመተው የእግር ኳስ ውድድር በተጨማሪ፤ ልዩ ልዩ አዝናኝ ዝግጅቶችም እንደሚቀርቡ፤ አስታውቀዋል።
አያይዘውም፣ በዓሉን ልዩ የሚያደርገው፤ ፌዴሬሽኑ፣ አንጋፋው የኢትዮጵያ ብሔራዊ ትያትርን ስልሳኛ ዓመት ክብረ-በዓል ማስተናገዱ ነው ብለዋል።

በበዓሉ መክፈቻ ዕለት፤ ፌዴሬሽኑ፤ በሊብያ በግፍ ህይወታቸውን ያጡ ኢትዮጵያውያንን በማከበር፣ የበዓሉ ታዳሚዎች፣ ኢትዮጵያና ኢትዮጵያዊነት ይበልጥ ጎልተው እንዲወጡና አንድነታቸውን እንዲያጠናክሩ ያደርጋል።

በዚሁ በዓል ላይ ከ17 የተለያዩ፣ የአሜሪካና 2 የካናዳ ግዛቶች የተውጣጡ የእግር ኳስ ቡድኖች ተሳታፊ ሲሆኑ በነዚህም ቡድኖች ውስጥ 800 ተጫዋቾችና አሰልጣኞች እንደተካተቱም፣ ፕሬዝዳንቱ ተናግረዋል።

ፌዴሬሽኑ፣ 31ኛውን በዓል በካሊፎርኒያ ግዛት፣ ሳን ሆዜ ከተማ በደማቅ ሁኔታ ማክበሩ ይታወሳል።

ማህበረሰብ ለማገልገል ታስቦ የተሰራ በካውንቲው ዋና ስራአስኪያጅ እና በተወሰኑ ኢትዮጵያውያን ማህበረሰብ መሪዎች አሳሳቢነት ነው ከሀሳብ ወደ ተግባር የተዞረው። ይህ ቤተመጻህፍት በፈረንጆቹ ቀን አቆጣጥር በሰኔ 20፣ 2015 ተከፍቶ ለህዝብ

አገልግሎት መስጠት ጀምሯል። ከዚህ በተጨማሪ በካውንቲው ውስጥ የሚገኙ ፖሊሶች እና ሌላ አገልግሎት ሰጪ ወኪሎች ችግር በሚገጥማቸው ጊዜ የአማርኛ የስልክ አስተርጉዋሚዎች በአፋጣኝ ለማቅረብ የሚያስችላቸው ካርዶች በኪሳቸው ይዘው እንዲዞሩ መመሪያው ያሳስባል፡፡ በትምህርት ቤቶች ዙርያም እንዲሁ አመታዊ የትምህርት ቤት ቀን መቁጠርያ ጨምሮ

የተለያዩ የትርጉም እና ያስተርጉዋሚነት አገልግሎት ይሰጣሉ።

አሌክሳንድሪያ ከተማ ቨርጂኒያ እንደዚሁ የአማርኛ ተናጋሪ ቤተሰቦች ቁጥር መበርከቱን በመገንዘብ በርከት ያሉ አገልግሎቶቹን በአማርኛ ቋንቋ ይሰጣል። ከሁሉም ለየት ያለው የካውንቲው የትርጉም አገልግሎት የሚሰጠው ተማሪዎች በትምህርት ቤታቸው ውስት ከአማካሪዎቻቸው እና ከወላጆቻቸው ጋር በሚሰበሱበት ጊዜ የሚሰጠው አስተርጓሚነት አገልግሎት ነው። ይህ አገልግሎት ተማሪዎች እና እንግሊዘኛ በጥራት የማይናገሩ ወላጆቻቸው ያለምንም ችግር እንዲግባቡ ይረዳል። በጤና ረገድ ለእናቶች እና ለልጆች ጤንነት ጥበቃ ጋር በተያያዘ የተለያዩ መረጃዎች ያዘሉ በራሪ ወረቀቶች እና መጽሄቶች የከተማይቱ መንግስት ያዘጋጃል ያሰራጫል።

Ethiopian Diaspora in the United States
By Bette Abraham

Introduction

"Yes, humanity surges with uncontrolled passion, is tumultuous with ungoverned grief, is blown about by anxiety and doubt only the wise man, only he whose thoughts are controlled and purified, makes the winds and the storms of the soul obey him".

The Ethiopian diaspora community in USA celebrates the 32nd Soccer Tournament in Metropolitan Washington, sponsored by one of its earliest sustainable institutions, the *Ethiopian Sport Federation in North America.* It is fitting to look back and highlight at the Ethiopian diaspora, its socioeconomic characteristics, how it compares with similar size immigrant groups in the USA, what its challenges are and what are the ways forward for it to play its role to its size and its creativity in the greater society.
Table 1 below summarizes the main metropolitan population areas of the Ethiopian Diaspora

Cont. to page 4

Diaspora . . . Cont. from page 3

in the USA. By far the largest Ethiopian diaspora community in the US has settled in Washington-Arlington-Alexandria Metropolitan area followed by Minneapolis areas .

Table 1: Immigrant population by Metropolitan Statistical Area

	Metropolitan Statistical area	Population
1	Washington-Arlington - Alexandria, DC-VA-MD –WV	36,000
2	Minneapolis –St. Paul-Bloomington –MN- WI	13,000
3	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue WA	11,000
4	Atlantic-Sandy spring-Marietta, GA	10,000
5	Dallas-Fort worth-Arlington TX	8,000
6	Los Angeles – Long Beach- Santa Ana, CA	7,000
7	Denver –Aurora-Broomfield, CD	6,000
8	Las Vegas-Paradise NV	6,000
9	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY, NJ, PA	5,000
10	Huston-Sugar Land-Baytown	4,000
	Sub total	106,000
12	Other areas	145,000
	Total	251,000

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Ethiopian Diaspora in USA

Table 2: Characteristics of Ethiopian, Ghana, Nigerian Diasporas in the United States

Table 2 presents comparative socioeconomic data for three diaspora communities - Ethiopia, Ghana and Nigeria in the USA. The *Migration Policy Institute* provides Ethiopian Diaspora Profile in USA of July 2014. The size of the Ethiopian Diaspora population is estimated at 251,000 people or 0.5% of the migrant population in the US. About 40 percent is concentrated in ten metropolitan statically areas noted above. The first generation constitutes about 60% while the second generation is about 40%. The majority of Ethiopian immigrants who recently gained legal residence did so through family unification, or diversity visa program although many in this population group were admitted as refuge. About 47% of Ethiopian immigrant have acquired US citizenship. Of the 15th diaspora groups in the RAD analysis, the Ethiopian 1st and 2nd generation immigrants are among the youngest population.

Source: Migration Policy Institute.

		Ethiopia	Ghana	Nigeria	USA
	Household Income				
1	Median house hold income	$36,000	$60,000	$52,000	$50,000
A	Average household size	2.8	3.6	3.0	2.5
B	Share of households with high income ($90,000+)	11%	33%	+25%	25%
C	Share of households with high income ($140,000+	3%	18%	10%	10%
2	Employment age 16 or older	171,000	306,000	262,000	239,386,000
A	Share in the labor force	74%	63%	73%	64%
B	That was employed	90%	90%	88%	91%
C	That was in professional	20%	32%	46%	31%
3	Educational Attainment				
	Total population 25 and older	149,000	252,000	207,000	201,925,000
A	with less than high school education	9%	10%	3%	13%
B	With high school or some college	58%	34%	31%	57%
C	With a Bachelor's degree	20%	33%	37%	20%
D	With an advance degree	11%	23%	29%	11%
4	Population Characteristics by Generation				
A	1st and 2nd generation immigrant population	251,000	453,000	376,000	73,140,000
A	1st generation immigration population	178,000	273,000	213,000	38,468,000
B	That was working age (18-64)	86%	91%	83%	81%
	That entered the USA before 2000	40.6%	64%	51%	64%
	Naturalized as US Citizens	47%	63%	52%	44%
	2nd Generation Population	73,000	180,000	163,000	36,672,000
	That was under age 18	87%	77%	63%	46.6%
	That was using age 18-64	13%	23%	37%	43%
	That only on parent from Ethiopia	38%	39%	38%	

Table 2 shows that compared to USA household income of US$ 50,000 the Ethiopia Diaspora income per household is about US$36,000, or about 72% of the national average, even though Ethiopian diaspora has about the same level of educational achievements. For example the percentage of Bachelor and higher qualifications is the same - for Ethiopia diaspora is 31% and US population as a whole 31%. That means if the Ethiopian diaspora community fill the gap in household income, the average diaspora household income will increase by US$14000 per household or an increase of nearly 40%.

This is a significant gap in income for comparable level of educational attainment. This large gap in household income may mean that the members' of the community has not yet mastered the arts of selling their potential at the right price or there is some lacuna in their training that need correcting pretty fast if they are to convince employers that they are to be paid according to their qualification. Discovering the reasons why and narrowing the income gap between potential earning power and actual earning should be probably the number one agenda of individuals and community members including houses of worships who are concerned with the welfare of their congregations.

Cont. to page 10

Zufan . . . Cont. from page 2

He goes on to say:-

Technically she needs help. For example expressionists have different sounds for sickness for love, heroes etc. She can also get trained on how to hold her breath and use color.

Teddy believes that Zufan can be a success with an appropriate lyrics and production.

Although not to the extent Tewodros Tsegaye did, Tigist Asfaw and Tewelde Beyene were gracious enough to share their thoughts with Adulis.

Tigist Asfaw is well known for her TV show, Enichewawet (lets chat – translation by Adulis) on EBS. TG loved her:-

She is naturally gifted and have a beautiful voice.

Tewelde (AKA Teborne), who runs a weekly radio Music Program on ESAT, found it a bit difficult to give analysis based on her performance of other artists, and the one original clip she shared with this writer (but not for public)

I can see she is good as a beginner. It can be seen that she can be a professional but she needs to work really hard.

The consensus about Zufan's singing ability is, she got it in her but she need to work on it. What does Zufan herself have to say? Adulis extended the question.

Coming back to your clips, you have a lot of fan and huge followers on Facebook. Do you consider yourself to be a vocalist? Has anybody seriously advised you on it?

It is my dream to be considered a vocalist. However, I feel that I still have a long way to go. I strive for perfection and am my greatest critic. I am fortunate enough to have received a lot of positive feedback from my well-wishers and I am extremely grateful for it. I hope that I can one day make them proud.

Are you considering a shift of profession? Or is just a hobby thing?

I am taking it one day at a time and I am open to opportunities.

Do you also write songs, compose songs? Do you play any instruments? You said you are taking Piano lessons, how good are you? Can you post a little bit of yourself playing?

I do write lyrics sometimes. Yes, I am taking piano lessons just to understand more about music. I am not very good yet. You will have to wait a while to see me playing the piano.

Adulis browsed her face book a lot (it was part of the job) and asked people around. It is fair to say that people took issues with her 'style'. A very famous artist, who did not want to be mentioned here, just because she did not want her name be associated, said to Adulis that she is an embarrassment to herself and even to the Brand Name of Adulis (Ouch!!!!). Adulis, expectedly, put the question, straight forward to Zufan.

Some critics say, you are a bit out there than our culture defines us to be? Is it just a different style? Do you think it is possible to have a unique style, and still retain our Ethiopian culture? Are you a shy person?

I think I am a part-time shy person. But I am never shy about singing. Yes, it is true that I don't have a traditional Ethiopian style. I don't make my videos with the aim of pleasing anyone. I only create what is fun for me and I am pleased to find that people like my videos. This gives me hope that there is room to create something new and different, while still remaining true to the Ethiopian culture.

Talking about Style, there is this other little matter of 'Mic'. Some critics say, it is her choice of odd mics that makes her look out of bound, out of culture.

What's up with your mics? Banana? Broom? Dumbbells? Is it part of your new Style thing? If you ever go on stage, would we see you with these kind of odd mics? Do you have an idea of what your pretend mic will be on your next post?

Hahaha! Yes, I do have an idea of what my pretend mic will be for my next post, but I'm not going to reveal it. You'll just have to wait and see.

Do you plan and practice before you post, or do you just wake up one morning and sing when you feel like it? Do you have a cameraman?

Yes, I do plan my posts. I first decide what my pretend mic should be and then create the rest of the video around it. But my biggest challenge is to decide which song I should sing because there are so many good songs to choose from. I have a cameraman. He is one of my closest friends but he is very professional. He captures every moment perfectly.

It is not a common thing to have two talents at the same time. The lucky ones usually discover their one talent and run with it. You are an athlete, a Champion I might add, and also are a gifted singer, where did that come from?

My father, used to be an athlete. My mother's passion, on the other hand, was music. She was a huge fan of Aster Aweke. She used to say to us, her children, "I wish I got a chance to grow up in a big city like you. I'm sure I could have been an athlete or an artist." However, she was also a staunch believer in the importance of education. Even though she herself didn't have the opportunity to go to school, she made sure that her children grew up in a big city and had the best schooling possible. She even taught herself to be able to help us with our homework. I owe her everything. Today, I feel that I have been able to live both her passions becoming an athlete and an artist.

So do you think it's a nature or nurture?

I think it is a combination of both. My passion and discipline for singing certainly comes from my mother. At the same time though, it would be nothing without my voice, which is a God-given gift.

We did not even have to ask if athletics runs in the family. Her father and mother, we learnt, are also accomplished athletes. Zufan explained, though, she was also nurtured by her parents, coaches and friends. Adulis talked to some of them. Her coach, currently, is Daniel Zegeye. He took courses in coaching and now he is fifteen years in to it. In Ethiopia he was a champion of 800m and 1500m distances. He stood 6th on the Sydney Olympics and was a Semi-Finalist on the Edmonton world cup. He also was a Semifinalist at the World Cup Indoor Games in Portugal. Daniel has been coaching Zufan in Houston for about a year and does that on friendship basis. She is injured so she does not train for competition, but still takes the training very seriously. She trains three days a week on track and open

Zufan . . . Cont. to page 7

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Zufan . . . Cont. from page 5

field at nearby parks. He appreciated her devotion and
passion for athletics. Back home, Zufan told Adulis, she would usually train in Entoto, Sendafa, Sululta etc. She chose those areas because of their high altitudes.

So what's your athletics carrier like?

I started running when I was eleven years old. Within a year, when I was just 12, I competed in a 5000 meters event. After that, I joined an athletics club called Yabibal. In 1998, I represented Ethiopia in the World Youth Games in Moscow. There I competed in the 3000 meters Walking event. I finished eighth among forty nations and I was recognized for having perfect walking technique. I maintained my challenging training routine and came in 2nd in 2001 and was the Ethiopian champion for the 10,000 meter walking event in 2002. When I was in Germany, I stood first in the 2002 15 k run, the 2003 10k run and the 2004 5k and 10k runs. In 2013, I came in third in the Houston 5k run.

Her athletics friends remember the time they spent in Addis at Banks Club. Banks is a sport club where many athletes par excellence started their carrier.

Hirut, remembers that Zufan transferred to Banks Sport Club from EELPA. Nostalgically, Hirut recalls a day when the duo were lost while training at Sendafa. The investigative team of Adulis learnt from Hirut that Zufan sneaked in to a farmer's field and took 'Shimbra –Chickpea". The farmer has since been informed.

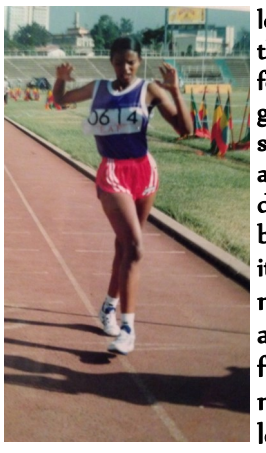
Hirut, Woinishet, Hareg, Misikir and Zeru all athletes and close friends of Zufan, who are in the US, agree that she is humorous and fun loving, at the same time a very good friend who you can call up on, when it matters. She sings for them in the bus, at their dormitories and even poke funs on them. She even went on stage and sang for athletes while Million Wolde and Bizunesh Daba were in attendance. In Addis, at the Banks club, Zufan used to encourage young athletes by providing them with Sport and Workout wears.

When push comes to shove, when it matters, Zufan is always there for the rescue. A few years back, their fellow athlete and friend Meskerem Legesse, who resided in New York, passed away. Zufan, then, saved the day by decorating the corpse, making hair, polishing nail etc. It takes, a quality, a character, to step up and do that, said her friends Hirut and Hareg Sidelil.

What led you to be an athlete?

Athletics runs in my family. My dad represented Tigiray and came to Addis twice to compete in long distance running, high jump, triple jump, polo (feres gugs) and wrestling. He was even awarded a prize by Yidnekachaw Tesema. My mom also participated in the 2004 Women First 5k run. I started running in elementary school. Every weekend, I would get up early in the morning to run with my brother. But what truly inspired me to seriously pursue running as a profession was Derartu Tulu winning the Olympic Gold in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics. She became my role model and I started to emulate her. People nicknamed me "Derartu" and "birabiro" (butterfly).

What is walking anyway? Please walk us through walking. How did you get in to the field of walking?



Walking or race walking is a long distance athletic event that requires one to keep one foot in contact with the ground at all times. It has several rules and regulations, and requires a lot of discipline. I got into this field by accident and realized that it was my calling. Once, in my club, I saw one of the athletes walking. My friends, who were also members of the club, challenged me to walk like him and I tried to copy him. My coach saw my attempt, and noticed that I had real talent in this field. He convinced me to change my focus from running to walking.

Zufan . . . Cont. to page 8

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የአስተርጓሚነት አገልግሎት	Interpretation
ኖተሪ ፐብሊክ	Notary Public
ፓስፖርት ፎቶ	Passport Photo
መረጃ ማደራጀት	Document Organization

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Ethiopia: Elections Formalize Authoritarian Rule
By Yoseph Mulugeta

The ruling party's thorough manipulation of state institutions and suppression of dissent have ensured that Ethiopia's May 24 elections were an uncompetitive formality. With 100% of the votes counted, the NEBE announced that EPRDF and its regional affiliates have won 546 of the 547 seats in the federal parliament. The one seat standing is of Southern Region and even that EPRDF has won, though not yet official.

Ethiopia held its general elections on May 24. These elections were the first to be held since the 2012 death of longtime Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, who presided over a highly repressive political system that decimated the country's independent media and civil society. Initially, there was a guarded hope that the ruling party—the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)—might ease restrictions and allow some level of competition, in order to appease growing discontent with its authoritarian rule and maintain stability within its own ranks.

However, this hope has been dashed over the past year, as EPRDF has cracked down on dissent and used its thorough control over state institutions to cripple the opposition and block any threat to its 24 years of entrenched political dominance.

Control of the media and public discussion

The space for public dissent has long been constrained by a host of draconian laws, media censorship, and aggressive prosecutions. But the government signaled its intent to silence any remaining criticism ahead of the 2015 elections in April 2014, when it arrested six members of the Zone 9 blogging collective along with three journalists and charged them with terrorism-related offenses. (Later that year, security forces detained and raided the homes and offices of four prominent young opposition leaders who had just begun holding leadership positions in their parties and gaining popularity on the national stage. They too are facing terrorism charges. The attack on independent media continued throughout 2014, leading more than 30 journalists to flee the country as several of the publications they worked for were shut down amid criminal prosecutions.

Meanwhile, EPRDF exercises absolute control over state media and numerous party-affiliated outlets, allowing it to dominate public discussion. As voters headed to the polls on May 24, they were not informed by any national debate on competing policy platforms. Instead, the extent and scope of the political discourse has been framed months in advance, presenting EPRDF's "developmental democracy" model as a panacea for the economic and social woes facing the country.

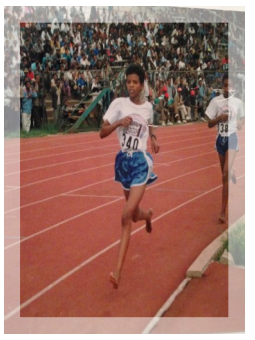
Marginalization of opposition parties

EPRDF blatantly uses institutions of the state to block and undermine the activities of opposition parties. Its near-total control of the federal and regional legislatures has for years denied opposition parties a prominent role in lawmaking and government oversight that would allow them to build public support. Even local councils have been rendered effectively out of reach for the opposition since 2008, when EPRDF changed electoral rules to increase the size of each *kebele* (the lowest-level administrative unit) council from 100 to 300 seats. As a result, during the latest local and municipal elections in

Cont. to page 9

Zufan . . . Cont. from page 5

Which athletes do you look up to the most? Why? Haile Gebresillasie called it quits recently. Do you think it is about time for him? What is your thought about Haile?



I look up to Meseret Defar. I have known her since we were very young, and I am truly inspired by her ambition and tenacity. She is like a mentor to me. Other great athletes that inspire me are De-rartu Tulu and Fatuma Roba. Of course Haile Gebresillasie is a huge inspiration to all of us. Hisrecord speaks for itself. I think this was the right time for him to call it quits.

Do you like soccer? Have you ever played football/ soccer? What do you think of the Walyas? Were you a fan? What do you think of Sewnet Bishaw? How about the other two coaches that came after him Mariano Barento and now Yohanes Sahile? Do you have any advice for the new coach?

Yes, I love soccer. I used to play soccer every day after school and in my club /Banks/ as well. I think the Walyas are great and I am a huge fan. I believe Sewnet Bishaw is an excellent coach. He made it possible for the Walyas to make it to the African championship after 31 years. I don't know much about the other coaches but I wish them the very best.

Other than sport and music, what other things are you good at? What are your hobbies? Do you like movies? Do you read? What kind of movies? Books? Of the Ethiopian actors and actresses who do you appreciate the most?

Other than sports and music, I am good at being a friend. I like to meet new people. I also like to go on long drives and I love watching movies, especially biographical movies. Mekonen Laeke is one of my favorite actors. I am also a good book-buyer. I like the books Fikir Eskemekabir by Haddis Alemayehu and Tikusat by Sebhat G/Egziabher.

When did you come to the US? Why?

I came to the US in 2007 or, according to the Ethiopian calendar, in 2000. I came here for competition and training. But then I got a hamstring injury and had to stay for treatment. I am not getting any medication, the doctor said I have to take it easy for some time. I'm ok now, but athletics have taken a backseat for me for the time being.

What are you doing now?

Now, I am a personal assistant and super nanny. However, I think the word "nanny" does not do justice to what I do. I am proud to call myself a big sister to two very special boys. They came to America from Ethiopia when they were very young. I have been employed by their American parents to introduce them to the unique culture of Ethiopia. I feel proud to be able to introduce them to our language, our music, and our passion for sports. It gives me great joy to see them grow to love our country. Also, I am studying computer science.

Wonderful, let us come back to your own Mom. On Mother's Day, you posted a picture of your Mom. Please introduce her to us.

My mother's name is Abrehet G/Egzabiher. Her positivity and simplicity are a constant inspiration to me. A woman of strength and integrity, she overcame all odds to provide her children with the best opportunities available. Even when the occasional flood decided to take a trip through our little home, she didn't despair or complain. I remember how her magnetic personality would draw the whole community to our home. People longed to listen to her words of wisdom. I could talk about her for days on end, and still be unable to convey how amazing and unique she was. She was my hero.

If you had the capability, would you make Mother's Day an official holiday in Ethiopia? What other holidays would you like us to have?

Yes, of course, I would love for Mother's Day to be celebrated in Ethiopia. Another American holiday that I really like is Thanksgiving. I think it is important to have a day to recognize and celebrate our near and dear ones.

One of your clips posted was about the Ethiopian and Eritrean Martyrs in Libya, South Africa, and Yemen. What is your message?

I believe that to be a strong nation, we should be positive and united. This is the message that I was trying to convey in my post.

You mentioned Ethiopia and Eritrea in one sentence. What are your thoughts of the 'two' people?

I used the two nations in one sentence because we are sister nations and we are facing the same kinds of tragedies.

Final Thoughts?

A final thought that I wanted to share with you: Ever since leaving Ethiopia, I have realized that every single day, no matter what I do, I am always representing my country, even if I don't mean to. I think it is important for all of us to realize that we are carrying the flag of our country everywhere we go, so we should always be conscious of our actions.

TEFF: A supper Food
By
A. Ayele

Teff, *Eragrostis tef (Zucc.)* Trotter, is a warm season annual grass native to Ethiopia (Figure 2). It is adapted to environments ranging from drought-stressed to waterlogged soil conditions. The seeds are extremely tiny, containing about 1.25 million seeds per pound. Despite its small seed size, teff is an aggressive competitor once established. In its native habitat maximum production occurs with a growing season rainfall of 17 to 22 inches and a temperature range of 50 to 85°F. In Ethiopia, Teff is predominantly grown as a cereal crop and not as a forage crop. Teff flour is primarily used to make a fermented, sourdough type, flat bread called Injera. Teff is also eaten as porridge or used as an ingredient of home-brewed alcoholic drinks. It is high in iron content and gluten free crop.

Figure 1 Different types of teff seeds

BBC published in the month of April 2015, under its business website ask a question; 'will Ethiopian's teff be the 'super grain'? The Answer will be yes. As it has already been noticed by James Jeffrey, Ethiopians have been growing and obsessing about teff for millennia, and it may become the new "super grain" of choice in Europe and North America, overtaking the likes of quinoa and spelt. High in protein and calcium, and gluten-free, teff is already growing in popularity on the international stage. Yet as teff is a staple foodstuff in Ethiopia, particularly when turned into a grey flatbread called injera, the country currently has a long-standing ban on exporting the grain, either in its raw form, or after it has been ground into flour. However, Enjera is being exported to different parts of the world. Six days every week Mama Fresh uses Ethiopian Airlines to fly 3,000 injera flatbreads from Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, to Washington DC in the US. Injera is also flown to Sweden three times a week, Norway twice a week, and Germany three times a month says James Jeffrey a BBC reporter from Addis Ababa.

Figure 2. Injera is made by heating it like a pancake

Al Jazeera's report under the title 'Global craving for ancient Ethiopian grain offers opportunities, pitfalls' indicated that outside Ethiopian diaspora communities — and Ethiopian restaurants — teff remained largely anonymous for decades. But growing appetites for traditional crops and nutritious foods mean customers ranging from families to hipsters in New York and London are now seeking their fix too. The crop is now grown in about 25 U.S. states, but Ethiopians claim you can't beat teff grown in its homeland for flavor and quality. Though teff is tiny — about 100 grains match a kernel of wheat — it is a nutritional heavyweight. It has a mild, nutty flavor, and it's high in calcium, iron and protein, with an excellent balance of amino acids. Plus it's naturally gluten-free. In flour form, it can be used to make foods ranging from bread and pasta to tortillas, piecrusts and cookies, with a far larger potential market than just diaspora Ethiopians needing a taste of home.

HUFFPOST LIVING, CANADA published on its website on May 19, 2015 indicated that 8 healthy reasons why we need to add teff to our diet. "Teff packs a nutritional punch to your diet if you are looking for a super food that gives you excellent combination benefits," says Rosanna Lee, a nutrition educator based in Toronto. Along with being gluten-free, high in iron and super tasty, teff has also recently been called out as being Hollywood's new superfood and the new quinoa. Gwyneth Palrow and Victoria Beckham are both fans of teff and the grain's multiple uses, according to the Daily Mail. According to the Dr. Oz Show, teff is also known to reduce PMS symptoms and help you lose weight, and Lee says it's ideal for vegetarians looking for sources of protein.

But the one thing this super grain doesn't have is a cheap price tag. Teff can cost up to $8 per pound and one site that ships teff across North America starts at $25 for four pounds. On Amazon online trans-action, Bob's Red Mill Whole Grain Teff Flour, 24-Ounce Packages (Pack of 4) sales for $26.13

Better Manage Blood Sugars

According to The Huffington Post Canada, **High Nutritional** Value Teff is high in protein with a great combination of eight essential amino acids needed for the body's growth and repair. It has high amounts of calcium (1 cup of cooked teff offers about 1/2 cup of calcium found in cooked spinach), manganese, phosphorous, iron, copper, aluminum, barium, thiamin, and vitamin C (which is not normally found in grains). The iron from teff is easily absorbed and is also recommended for people with low blood iron levels.

Gluten-Free

Teff is a gluten-free grain so it can be a great alternative for those living with celiac disease, having gluten intolerance or choosing a gluten-free lifestyle.

If you're diabetic, you might want to consider adding teff to your diet to control blood sugar levels. Teff contains approximately 20 to 40 per cent resistant starches and has a relatively low glycemic index (GI) that can help diabetics better regulate their sugar levels.

It Will Make You Go

Teff is also great for helping you go. The fiber content in this tiny little grain can help you regulate your bowel movements and keep you feeling fuller longer.

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Election. . . Cont. from page 8

April 2013, the well-resourced EPRDF fielded more than 3.5 million candidates, winning a similar number of seats throughout the country, while some beleaguered opposition parties managed to field only one candidate.

It is worth emphasizing that such local administrative structures are the primary tools for maintaining EPRDF's dominance, as they are linked to a network of operatives that reaches down to the household level in both urban and rural settings. Moreover, municipal officials across the country routinely deny permission for opposition rallies, and police forcibly disband and arrest peaceful protesters, playing a crucial part in suppressing dissent.

Given this virtually uniform control of federal, regional, and local government bodies, the stage was set for a repeat of the 2010 elections, in which EPRDF claimed to have won 99.6 percent of legislative seats nationwide.

Manipulation of the electoral system

As part of its preparations for the May 24 elections, EPRDF coordinated a massive voter registration effort with local government operatives, essentially ruling party officials, who went house to house urging citizens to register to vote during the 50-day registration period. Local officials employed a mix of threats and promises to woo largely apathetic voters, particularly in urban centers. Less than three weeks into the registration period, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) reported a 127 percent rate of voter registration in the Somali region, where an active counterinsurgency operation is being conducted and past elections have been delayed due to security concerns, casting further doubt on the credibility of the entire process.

EPRDF also mobilized its extensive network of state and party operatives to make sure that opposition efforts to reach constituencies are met with a multitude of administrative barriers and politically motivated red tape. In February, the NEBE went out of its way to delegitimize popular leaders of the opposition Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ) party by exploiting its internal disputes. As a result, prominent UDJ leaders, including a sitting member of parliament, lost

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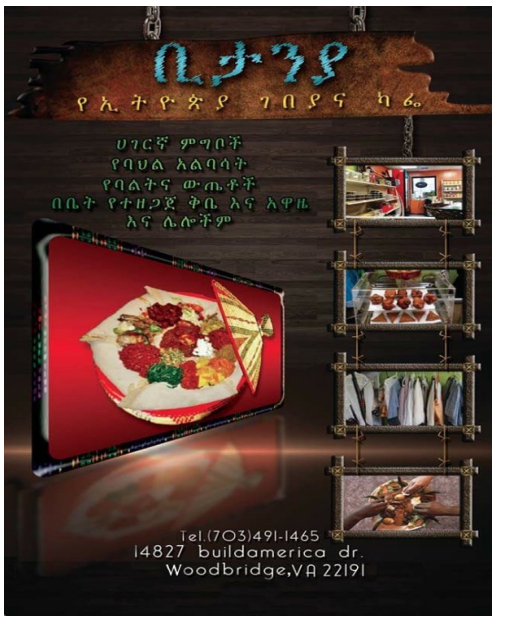

Diaspora . . . Cont. from page 4

The Diaspora in USA contributed about US$108.9 million remittance to Ethiopia followed by diaspora in Israel at US$ 82.5 million. The Diaspora from Sudan come third with US$58.5 million followed by Canada at US$26.6 million. Exchange rates play important role in the movement of immigrants. For example during the South Sudan and Sudan had their crisis of the share of oil revenue, the Sudan exchange rate plummeted and many diaspora Ethiopians found it unprofitable and began departing the country to better opportunities.

According to Migration Policy Institute 2012 data, Ethiopian diaspora community as a whole contributes about US0.524 billion or 1.2% of the GDP of the Ethiopian Economy. The Ethiopian Diaspora in USA remittance was about 3.4% of the US$3.227 billion the diaspora community earned income in the USA. While the total Ethiopian Diaspora remittance is estimated at US$0.524 Billion, the Nigeria diaspora remittance was estimated at US$20.6 Billion which is nearly 40 times that of the Ethiopian. On the other hand Ethiopian diaspora remittance is about 3.5 times of that of Ghanaian Diaspora.

Despite such challenges as relative low household income with significant gap to the larger society, the first generation of Ethiopian Diaspora appears to have taken seriously its responsibilities to succeeding generations in USA. It has established some institutions that are sustainable with high standard of excellence. It is hoped that the second generation can build on them creatively.

Among such sustainable institutions is the *Ethiopian Sport Federation in North America*. Through trials and tribulations over its 32 years of its existence, the Ethiopian Sport Federation has sustained and schooled a generation of youth in sportsmanship, cooperation, competition and managing sport tournaments. In setting standard of excellence *Society of Ethiopians Established in Diaspora (SEED)* is one of the first and sustainable Ethiopian diaspora institutions. Since 1993, SEED gives recognition and highlighted achievements

Table 3: Diaspora contribution from Remittance (2012)

Ethiopian Diaspora		Ghanaian Diaspora		Nigeria Diaspora	
Country	Remittance (millions)	Country	Remittance (millions)	Country	Remittance (millions)
USA	108.9	USA	33.10	USA	6100.0
Israel	82.5	UK	24.97	UK	3800.0
Sudan	58.5	Niger	21.22	Chad	1400.0
Canada	26.6	Italy	12.28	Italy	1300.0
Saudi Arabia	25.7	Cote d'Ivoire	11.99	Cameroon	961.9
Germany	24.5	Germany	9.28	Spain	933.5
Italy	17.8	Canada	5.92	Germany	613.4
Sweden	15.0	Burkina Faso	5.42	Ireland	607.5
Djibouti	13.8	Togo	4.24	Benin	580.2
Kenya	11.3	Spain	3.56	Cote d'Ivoire	474.2
UK	11.3	Netherland	3.41	Canada	474.2
Netherland	9.8	Liberia	1.70	Sudan	418.2
Australia	8.3	France	1.28	Niger	366.7
Norway	7.7			Saudi Arabia	328.9
France	4.3			Gabon	277.8
Sub-total in 2012	**US$ 524.0 million or 1.2% of Eth. GDP of US$43.1 billion**		**US$151.0 million or 0.4% of Ghanaian GDP of US$40.7 billion**		**US$ 20,600.0 million or 7.9% of Nigerian GDP of US$263 billion**

Source: The Migration Policy Institute.

to Ethiopians and friends of Ethiopians who "stand out as role models from among the educators, scientists, artists, religious leaders, high school and university students and community leaders without any preference for education and career category."

In the area of entrepreneurship, *the Ethiopian Yellow Pages* has become an enduring institution. For the last 20-years in Washington Metropolitan Area, *the Ethiopian Yellow Pages* every year, beside making records of achievements of the entrepreneur class in the community, it has contributed to the community visibility and in portraying the image of the community as "viable community that deserve the respect of local governments in the metropolitan areas'.

The religious institutions have remained the pillar of the community. They help the community in meeting the spiritual needs and rituals needed by the individual members and their congregations. Some of these religious institutions have played significant role in developing the next generation not only in religious affairs but also in helping school age students to excel academically. In terms sustainable dedication *Re'ese Adbarat Debre Selam Kidist Mariam Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church* can be consider exemplary. Its graduates have not only succeeded in their high school, they have gone on to shine in their university achievements. More important, the Church has succeeded to mobilize volunteers without any remuneration to dedicate their Saturday afternoons to make the next generation a success. The graduates of the "Saturday" school from nearby colleges return on Saturdays to tutor their younger brothers and sisters. They are saying: "I am my brother keeper" in action.

In culture and entertainment, *Tayitu Cultural Center*, since holding its first book launch and reading session in Washington D.C. in August 2000 has served the Washington metropolitan area as one of the primary stages for Ethiopian theatrical expression. It is one of the sustainable institutions that is dedicated "to conserve, renew and re-invent the rich Ethiopian cultural heritage". *YeWerru Gitm Mishit*, showcases emerging and veteran talents not only in literary traditions, but also painters, filmmakers and musicians.

In electronic media we have many among which *Ethiopian Review, Ethiomedia* etc, that have continued to keep the community abreast of developments within the diaspora and of events in the homeland for more than two decades. ESAT, a pioneer in Satellite communication, has brought innovative ideas in communication technology challenging the homeland what can be done with community spirit. In Radio broadcasting in Washington Metro area, Netsanet leEthiopia has been at it for over 20 years.

At individual level over the years, where the rugged

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Diaspora . . . Cont. from page 10

Ethiopian personality is at its best, a large number of diaspora individuals have made their marks in the sciences, academics, engineering, and entrepreneurship and earned positive image of the diaspora community as productive. This too is one of the legacies that the second generation can be proud off. Despite these exemplary achievements, the Ethiopian diaspora in the USA faces serious challenges in undertaking cooperative endeavors. Still, these are important achievements. One wonders what the community could have accomplished if it masters the arts of conflict resolution and expanded its consciousness (awareness). The examples above are largely drawn from Washington Metropolitan area, the site pf the 32nd Soccer Tournament. There is no doubt that there are many other such diaspora community supported institutions in the USA that are sustainable and meets a high standard of excellence in their respective field of endeavors in other metropolitan areas.

How is the Ethiopian diaspora in the USA performing relative to other Diasporas?

Besides those types of enduring legacies, the Ethiopian diaspora faces many gaps between the achievements of the Ethiopian Diaspora and the larger US Society as well as comparable diaspora communities from other lands. In the area of household income, it remains a priority challenge to the first generation. Ethiopian Diaspora has the same level of educational attainment as the USA population at large. If Ethiopian Diaspora bridges the income gap, the community income will increase by 40% from US$3.227 billion/year to US$5.51 billion/y Bridging the gap in income to the larger society wich would have generated an additional US$1.291 billion. If Ethiopia diaspora community leaders in USA give priority to narrow the wide household income gap the economic power they may want to learn from other successful recent immigrant communities in the USA such as the Indians, Koreans, Ghanaians Nigerians, etc.

For example, the Indian diaspora community like Ethiopian Diaspora in USA is also recent migrant. However, the Indian immigrant in USA is the most highly educated immigrants. They dominant in professions such as management, businesses, finance; information technology, other science and technology education and media etc. They are reportedly the highest income earners per household in the US and nearly 75% of them have Bachelor degrees or more qualification indicating that both gender have high qualifications. Another dynamic group of immigrants from whom Ethiopian Diaspora can learn from are the Korean immigrant communities. Analyst consider the Korean Diaspora community as very successful. In fact they found the Korean Diaspora so productive that analysts have suggested that if the USA doubles the Korean immigrant population, its economy will change by significant percentage point.

"These immigrant (the 1960s) appears to be distinct both from most other national immigrant groups and previous Korean immigrants. They have high levels of educational attainment, with rates of college education nearly twice the national average. Their children have achieved even higher rate of educational attainments and earn per Capita incomes well above the national average ". In terms of cost benefit……. doubling of the Korean immigrants' population would increase the national per capita income growth of USA economy by 0.1 to 0.2 percentage point."

A third group from whom Ethiopian diaspora community can learn from is the Ghanaian Diaspora. The Ghanaian immigrants in USA are about 453,000 relatively more qualified than both Ethiopian and Nigerian as well as USA population. The percentage of Ghanaian immigrant population with Bachelor and higher degrees is 56% compared to Ethiopian 31%. Correspondingly, their household income is US$60,000 which is 67% higher than the Ethiopian Diaspora and 20% higher than the USA household. The Nigeria diaspora in USA is about 376,000 or about 50% more than the Ethiopian Diaspora in USA. Nigeria is also the largest group in Metropolitan Washington Area followed by Ethiopian. As a group Nigerians have also better qualifications than the USA average. Their income per household at US$52,000 is also higher than the national average of US$ 50,000 per household.

What all these community has in common besides being better educated than the national average is that they have learned to cooperate, have reached a state of expanded awareness and able to communicate and manage conflicts constructively. They share information about sources of opportunities and about mechanisms how to seize those opportunities openly. On the other hand, based on the preponderance of conflicts in churches, mosques, edirs, sport associations, etc, etc, Ethiopian diaspora's awareness or consciousness appears to be at a state of contracted level (more heat than light) instead of expanded awareness (more light than heat). As a result Ethiopian diaspora institutions are rifled with conflicts. The social capital is consumed by conflicts. Even leaders of houses of worships are known to require the service of a judge to help them resolve their conflicts. This may be one of the reasons for the low community wide household earning power relative to potential or similar diaspora groups.

Another possible factor for the dominance of contracted awareness and inability to seize opportunities may be the social conflicts in the home land. Disagreement on socioeconomic development block the communications channel between compatriots who should be working to address the elephants in the room, that is, the wide gap between the real and potential in earning power as measured in household income and the potential to have expanding awareness compared the existing contracted awareness within the community and at individual level however academically education the individual attainments may be. These two issues, bridging the household income gap and attaining expanded awareness are the keys both to the challenges Ethiopians in the homeland and here in the adopted land. It is hoped community leaders of the Ethiopian diaspora in USA would give priority and address them.

5.0 The Way forward- Leave lasting legacy through both material and spiritual solutions

5.1 General-Understanding lasting legacy

Since the days God revealed himself to Abraham the importance of heritage to succeeding generation has been a central spiritual theme in raising succeeding generation in all the monolithic faiths-Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Although the Marxist world view which dominated the Ethiopian elite' outlook for much of the 1960 to 1980 overshadowed this biblical truth, a recent research study, *The Son Also Rises, by Professor* Gregory Clark, renowned economic historian has reestablished that truth. By using a novel technique—tracking family names over generations to measure social mobility across countries and periods—examining and comparing surnames in such diverse cases as modern Sweden and Qing Dynasty China, USA, Russia, France UK, etc., demonstrated that much of our fate is tied to the status of our parents and grandparents despite revolutions and social upheaval. Moreover our heritage does influence our children more than we wish to believe. While it has been argued that rigid class structures have eroded in favor of greater social equality, *The Son Also Rises* proves that movement on the social ladder has changed little over eight centuries. Thus, fate is determined by ancestry and that almost all societies have similarly low social mobility rates.

It might interest to you to know that one of the findings of Professor Gregory Clark in *The Son Also Rises. C*ontrary to all alleged views that the Ethiopian Coptic church has adversely impacted on social progress and creating wealth (Max Weber, the Protestant Ethics and Marxist critics of Ethiopian Orthodox church), the most successful intergenerational achievers in the medical field in the USA are the diaspora Egyptian Coptic's, better than the Jews, Indians, etc. Given that a significant number of Ethiopian Protestants and Muslims have historic Orthodox Christian heritages the legacy is shared by all Ethiopians. Learning from Egyptian Coptic church the secret of their success could contribute to help the Ethiopian USA diaspora learn from their experiences. to build an enduring legacy of high household income and expanded consciousness to both handle community and individual relationships productively.

5.2 Material legacy-Addressing the household income gap

With respect to household income gap, the Ethiopian diaspora community need to seriously deliberate on this issue. It is not only an economic issue but also a political one. In particular, in the USA where campaign financing is considered a form of speech, the community that does not address the income issue is not likely to have the resources to lobby its cause. For this, the diaspora must expand its awareness or consciousness that the old operating system which works through demonstration in front of White House, Congress, State Department, etc., etc. is not functioning well. The new operating systems is lobbying and that requires campaign financing. That requires a community with higher household income to raise funds for campaign financing and for lobbying to be heard. Whether one is lobbying for the democratic rights for the homeland or negotiating for access to power in the Metropolitan areas all over where the Ethiopian Communities have settled, a key strategic issue for these communities will be discovering their potentials and using optimally their capabilities to contribute and receive commensurate rewards for efforts and creative endeavors. Awareness of the laws governing wealth creation be it social, economic, political or legal and sharing them could speed household income. On such law is summed up in Albert Einstein's quotable quotes, that ""Compound interest is the eighth wonder of the world. He who understands it, earns it … he who doesn't … pays it."

5.3 Addressing Spiritual legacy: Transforming the mindset from contracted awareness to expanded awareness/consciousness

Besides handling the wealth and income challenge, there is need to find spiritual solutions to handling conflicts that tears the community apart to the point

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Diaspora . . . Cont. from Page 11

of being dysfunctional. Deepak Chopra, an India diaspora Medical Doctor and community guru suggests ways in his recent work, The Spiritual Solution. Chopra sees the way forward is to deepen one's understanding of the three level of awareness:

State of Contracted Awareness, State of Expanded Awareness and State of Pure Awareness. Based on the evidences of the accumulated and emerging large number conflicts arising among diaspora elites including religious leaders, religious leaders and their congregations, community leaders, among political party leaders, it is fair to say that most religious, community, political and business leaders are at what Chopra identified as contracted awareness level. A community in such state of mind often fail to avert conflicts and reach creative satisfactory solution. All religions also advise for such cases prayers as spiritual solution. Perhaps augmenting prayer with such analytical framework may speed up the diaspora transformations, both at an individual and at community levels, from contracted awareness to expanded awareness so that as individual and community manage creatively the challenges we face and leave enduring legacies for the next generation.

Conclusion

From the forgoing the primary task of the first generation Ethiopian diaspora is to leave a sustainable legacy. The immediate focus is to address the twin material and spiritual gaps observed in the diaspora society. To bridge the household income gaps between the Ethiopian diaspora and the larger US society as well as with other diaspora group in the USA we should be open to learn from the other diaspora groups that are successful; to address the spiritual gap, there is urgent need to transform our mind set from contract states of awareness to expanded awareness or consciousness. In this the role of community leaders to organize such learning platforms where transformation from the current contracted state to expanded stateis important. It is only if we solve these twin challenges that the first generation can leave enduring legacy for succeeding generations.

In particular, in a dynamic world that the community has found itself, a community in a state of contracted awareness cannot flourish nor will it have impact in the homeland of the diaspora. The diaspora need to transform its mind sets from one of contracted awareness or consciousness to one of expanded awareness. The faster the better if it is to leave an enduring legacy to succeeding generations.

Election. . . Cont. from page 9

their platforms to run as candidates. Instead, the EPRDF-controlled election board promoted a hitherto unknown faction within UDJ and installed them as the new leadership of the party.

With independent civil society has been crippled as a result of restrictions imposed by the Charities and Societies Proclamation (CSP), voter-education and election-observation activities have also become the exclusive domain of the NEBE and EPRDF-affiliated "mass associations." Ethiopian "civil society" election observers deployed under the auspices of the NEBE in 2010 quickly declared those elections "free, fair, and democratic," even as an EU Election Observation Mission concluded that they were "marred by a narrowing of political space and an uneven playing field" and fell short of international commitments for a free and fair election. In what appeared to be an attempt to forestall similar criticism in this election cycle, EPRDF downplayed the role of international observers very early, repeating the mantra that the elections need to be credible only to the Ethiopian people.

The May elections were held against the backdrop of multiple terrorism trials of dissidents who were thrown in jail for expressing their views, a divided and persecuted opposition that must simultaneously campaign and struggle for its very survival, a muted international response to EPRDF's growing repressive measures, and the absence of credible international election observers.

While opposition parties reported widespread harassment and intimidation of their supporters and poll watchers prior to and on election day, technical aspects of the elections, from voter registration through casting ballots, proceeded without any major flaws. But the election environment was nowhere near conducive to a free and democratic expression of the will of the Ethiopian people. Instead of providing Ethiopians with the opportunity to freely engage in political discourse and nurture a genuine multiparty democracy, the elections as expected, were a mere formality for extending EPRDF's iron grip on power for another five years.

Teff. . . Cont. from Page 9

Low In Sodium

Teff is also great for those seeking to lower their blood pressure and maintain a heart healthy diet. Unprocessed teff is a better alternative compared with pre-processed, cooked teff which often comes with preservatives or additives that are high in sodium. If you're worried, always double check nutritional labels.

Low In Fat

Naturally, this grain is very low in saturated fat.

You Can Do A Lot With It

Part of eating a nutritionally adequate diet is being able to incorporate superfoods like teff into all of your meals. Teff is a versatile grain and can be eaten whole, steamed, boiled or baked. Today, teff is found in a variety of products like pancakes, breads, cereals, snack bars and many other foods. Traditionally, it is used to make Ethiopian injera (sourdough bread).

It Tastes Great

Looking very much like poppy seeds, teff has a nutty, grainy taste and texture that can add dimension to your recipes and cooking. Most Ethiopian platters are served on injera bread.

Ethiopian Grain Thrives in North America

Teff Company founder Wayne Carlson first became involved with Ethiopia during the early 1970s. He lived as a guest of the local farming community, and found the farmers eager to show their crops. Wayne became devoted to the local food, and soon discovered that while the farmers had a wide variety of crops, they preferred to grow and eat teff.

Later, back in Idaho, Wayne was fascinated by the similarities of the Snake River region and the East African Rift's climates and geology. Both are borne from major dynamics in the earth's crust, resulting in massive basaltic lava flows and tectonic movements. Both are subjected to hot summers with intense sunlight. An idea formed that the Snake River Valley may be perfect for growing teff. And why not import some wisdom from an ancient culture to the West for a change? Once we started growing, word spread to Ethiopians living in American metropolitan areas as they reconnected with their favorite grain. The Teff Company has been supplying the Ethiopian and Eritrean communities for nearly thirty years with American-grown Maskal Teff. With fertile fields and ecologically-sensitive farming methods, some of the best quality teff in the world is produced in Idaho. Today Maskal Teff is available nationally in health food stores and directly from this web site.

Idaho Teff growers

In addition, the teff plant is used as a livestock forage or pasture crop. It is primarily grown in Africa, India, Australia and South America. In the United States, teff is grown on limited acres in the Pacific Northwest and Midwest. Recent research from the Oregon State University Klamath Experiment Station and the Cornell Cooperative Extension Associations of Jefferson, St. Lawrence and Rensselae Counties indicate great promise for teff as a forage crop.

Figure 2: Teff is a warm season annual grass with great promise as an emergency forage crop in New York.

Brief Overview of Financial Inclusion in Ethiopia :

By Azanaw Mengistu

Motivation

Financial inclusion plays an important role in achieving inclusive growth. Expanding access to financial services will encourage households to save in bank accounts, provide more money for investment purposes, and expand the pool of entrepreneurs to start and run their businesses. Financial inclusion can also play an important role in reducing poverty. For example, in a country like Ethiopia where the majority of the people live under or near the poverty line, access to affordable financing can be an important tool to smooth consumption. If poor farmers have access to financial services, they can insure themselves against external shocks such as droughts. Access to finance can also enable households to invest in themselves and their children's health and education today, so they can gain long-term economic benefits in the future. More generally, greater access to financial services will also help reduce income inequality and increase economic growth.

Data Overview

This short piece looks at Financial Access Survey data and Global Findex Database to show Ethiopia's level of financial inclusion in recent years and compare it to similar-income countries and the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) region's average. Data on financial access in Ethiopia is scarce, but Figure 1 below shows some key indicators. In general, financial access, measured in terms of the number of financial service providers, has improved slightly since 2004. But, it has remained at very low levels. For example, the number of commercial bank branches per 100 thousand adults was less than one in 2004 and reached close to two in 2011. On the other hand, the percentage of people using formal financial accounts has grown steadily since 2006, but remains at low levels. In 2006, 65 out of 1,000 adults had deposits in commercial banks. In 2011, the percent of adults with deposits nearly doubled to 120 per 1,000 adults.

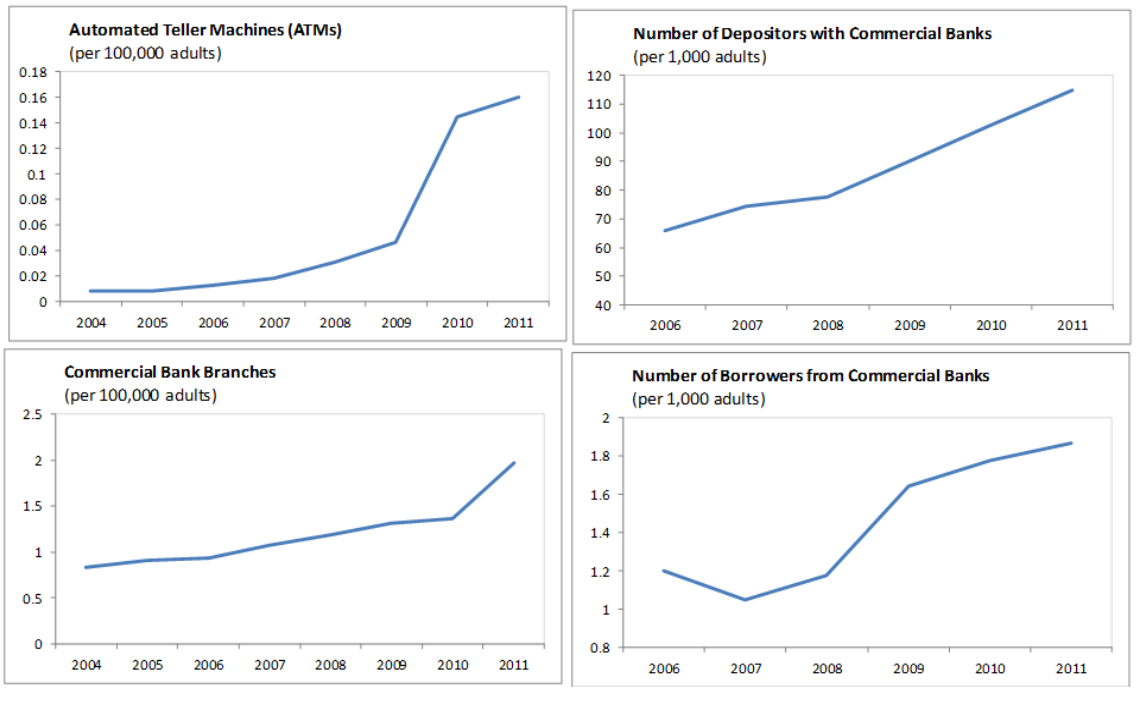
In 2011, Ethiopia's level of financial access is very low compared to SSA and neighboring Kenya. Commercial bank branches in Kenya was more than double that of Ethiopia's at five per 100 thousand people, compared to two in Ethiopia. Less than ten per 1000 adults in Ethiopia borrow from commercial banks, but eight times more people do so in Kenya. The literature indicates that there is strong relationship between standard of living (measured in GDP per capita) and access to financial services. The comparison with Kenya is a good benchmark that Ethiopia can raise its standard of living by increasing financial access to the population.

Table 1 gives a detailed overview of use of financial services in Ethiopia, SSA, and low-income countries. In 2014, 22 percent of adults have an account in Ethiopia, compared to 34 percent in SSA and 28 percent in low-income countries. Mobile account is a significant percentage of all accounts in other African counties, whereas it currently plays no role at all in Ethiopia. Less than one percent of persons in Ethiopia have credit cards, compared to 18 percent in SSA and 7 percent in low-income countries. Use of digital payments, i.e. credit cards, internet, remains close to non-existence levels, although other low-income countries do not fare well in this measure either. The percentage of persons saving at a financial institution in Ethiopia is comparable with SSA and low-income countries. Notably, Ethiopians are more likely to save at a club or outside family members (*ekub*) as 30 percent of adults did in 2014. The greater use of these informal means of saving methods may indicate the existence of obstacles to save in formal institutions.

Recent Policy Developments

Ethiopia is trying to slowly opening its doors to foreign banks. Recently, a Turkish state lender Ziraat is aiming to open a branch in the country by the end of 2015. There are benefits and costs associated with allowing foreign bank entry into the domestic market. Foreign banks could increase the quality and efficiency of the domestic banking system by increasing competition, introducing new technology, and transferring knowledge such as better risk management practices. However, foreign bank entry into the domestic market can have costs especially in low income countries. An IMF study found that foreign banks operating in poor counties are not likely to lend to many borrowers that lack usable collateral and only lend to safer and more transparent customers, such as multinational corporations, large domestic firms, or the government. In the post 2007 financial crisis era, the presence of foreign banks in times of banking or financial crisis can have a negative impact on the domestic economy because of its linkages with its parent company overseas.

Based on the literature, foreign banks are not likely to increase financial access to the poor in Ethiopia. First they foreign banks will not find it profitable to lend to the poor as usually the poor can only quality for small loans. The interest required on small loans to recuperate the high transaction costs will not be sustainable to the foreign banks nor the borrowers. Therefore, the new policy should ensure that the presence of foreign banks will not inadvertently impact domestic banks or microfinance institutions that currently provide financial access to the poor. However, if foreign banks could provide more financing to small and medium enterprises at a lower cost than currently exists in Ethiopia, it would bring economic benefits to the country.



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ፓንቶ ማይም የምልክት ቋንቋና ኮሜዲ ያላቸው ተዛማጅነት

እቴነሽ አበበ

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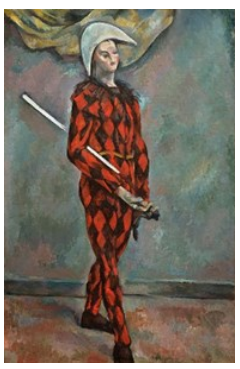

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የታወቀው የጌር ማልዲ ክላውን ጆይ በፓንቶ ማይም ከፍተኛ ችሎታ የነበረው ፈረንሳይ ጂን ጋርፖር ዲቦራ በኮሜዲያ ዴላርቴ የተቀረፀውን በፍቅረኛው ባለመፈቀሩ ሃዘንና ብቸኝነት ጠቃውን አፍቃሪ የወከለውን ገፀ ባህሪ በአልባሳት በገፅ ቅብና በአክሮባት እንዲያሸበርቅ በማድረግ ወደ ተወሳሳበ ባህሪ ማሻጋገር የቻለ ዘዴኛ ነው፡፡ /ethiene decrown marecel marceau/ ፓንቶ ማይም ከፍተና ችሎታን ክህሎትንና ስልጠናን የሚጠይቅ አይነት ድራማ መሆኑን ፈረንሳይ ውስጥ ያሳዩና ያስገነዘቡ ናቸው ::በተሌ ማርሴ ማርከ // በነጭ የፊት የገፅ ቅብ የተቀባና የተለየ ጫማና ባርኔጣ ወጣትነት ጎልማሳነት እርጅናን ሞትን ሙሉ ታሪከና ሴራ ኖሮት በአንድ ሰው ብቻ በተከታታ በማይም ቴአትር አማካይነት የሚቀርብበትን መንገድ ቀየሰ 20ኛው ክፍለ ዘመን ጥበብ ነው፡፡

የፓንቶ ማም አቀራረብን በመጠቀም የቻርሊ ቻፕሊን ድምፅአልባ የፊልም ጥበብም እንዲፈጠር ያስቻለ ሰው ነው፡፤

የእንግሊዙ ቻርሊ ቻፕሊን ቀደም ሲል በጣልያን በፊረንሳይ በእንግሊዝ እያደገ የመጣውን የፓንቶ ማይም ድራማ ገፀ ባህሪ በመውረስ ከራሱ አካላዊ ሁኔታ ጋር በማዛመድ ለራሱ በሚስማማና ይበልጥ ገላጭነት ባላቸው አልባሳት ጫማ ቁሳቁስ የገፅ ቅብ በማሸብረቅ ከሁሉም የጥበብ ዘርፎች በተውጣጣ የአተዋወን ክህሎት ፤ብቃትና ዘዴ በማጠናከር በከፍተኛ ደረጃ በማሳደግ ለራሱ በሚመቸውና በበለተ ገላጭ በሆነ ዘዴ በማጠናከር ፓንቶ ማይምን በታሪኩ የዳበረ መልክ እንዲጎናጸፍ በማድረግ ወደ ላቀ ደረጃ አሸጋግሮታል :: ጊዜው የፊል ም ጥበብ ያቆጠቆጠበት ስለነበረ ፊልሞችን በንግግርና ዲያሎግ መስራት እስከ ተቻለበት ወቅት ድረስ የድምፅ አልባው ፊልም ሥራ የቻርሊ ቻፕሊ ፓንቶ ማም አተዋወን ዘዴ ውጤት የሆነውን የፊልም ጥበብ ባለሃብት እንድንሆን አስችሎናል :: በሌላ በኩል በፓንቶ ማይም የታሪክ ጉዞ የጃፓኑ /no/ እና /mad words/ የጀርመኑ /faust/ የ ሕንዱ /Sanskrit , kathakali/ እና ሌሎችም እዚህ ያልተጠቀሱ ድራማዎች በየአገሮቹ ባሕል መነሻነት የተሰሩት በዘመናችን የቴአትር ጥበብ ለደረሰበት ደረጃ ከፍተኛ አስተዋፅኦ በማበርከት የሚጠቀሱ ናቸው ::

ፓንቶ ማይምና የምልክት ቋንቋ

ሁለቱም መሠረት የሚያደርጉት ባሕል ፤ ተረት ፤ ሥነቃል ፤ ትውፊት ፤ ስርዓተ ኣምልኮ እንደ ፈተታቸው ይጠቀምቡታል፤

የፊት ገፅታንና የሰውነት አካላዊ እንቅስቃሴ በከፍተኛ ደረጃ ይጠቀማሉ፤

ፓንቶ ማይም ለመዝናናት ለማስተማር የሚጠቅም የትርኢት ዘርፍ ነው፤

የምልክት ቋንቋ መሥማት የተሳናቸው ሰዎች የንግግር ቋንቋን ተክተው የምግባቡት ዘዴ ነው፡፡

የምልክት ቋንቋ መስማት የተሳናቸው ወገኖች በልዩ ልዩ አካላዊ እንቅስቃሴ ሃሳባቸውን በመግለጽ ከሌሎች ጋር ,የሚግባቡት ዘዴ ነው :: የመግባቢያ ዘዴው ሁሌም የሚነሳውና መሠረት የሚያደርገው የመነጨበትን ማሕበረሰብ ባሕል በመሆኑ መግባቢያው የሚገለፅበት ምልክት ከዚያው ስለሚወጣ አባላቱን እርስ በርስ ለመግባበት ያስችላቸዋል እንደገናም የየአካባቢቸውን ቀበልኛ እንዲፈጥሩ ይረዳቸዋል :: ከዚህም በላይ የምልክት ቋንቋ የፊት ገፅታን ፤ እጅንና የሰውነት አካለትን በማንቀሳቀስ የሚገለፅ ፤ የመገንዘብና የመረዳት ስነልቦናዊ ፍላጎት የመቀስቀስ ሃይል ስለሚታይበት የተዋንያንን ክህሎት ለማሳደግ ከፍተኛ እገዛ ያደርጋል፡፡

ፓንቶ ማይምና የምልክት ቋንቋ በኮሜዲ ዘውግ ውስጥ ስላላቸው ተወራራሽነት በጥቅሉ ሲታይ በዘውግ አፈታቱ አስቂኝ አጨራረስ ያለው ድራማ በታሪኩና በሴራው ከኮሜዲ ቢለይም የፓንቶማይም እንቅስቃሴ በተዋናዩ ከፍተኛ አስተዋፅኦ አለው ::

የቴአትር ስራ ወደ አገራችን የገባው ከዘመናዊ ትምሕርት ጋር ተያይዞ በመሆኑ ለኢትዮጵያ አዲስ ባህል ነው :: ይህም አዲስ ባሕል በመጀመር የተቀበሉት ዮፍታሔ ንጉሴና መላኩ በንሰው ናቸው :: እነዮፍታሄ በ"አፋጀሽኝ" አማካኝነት የጀመሩት ኢትዮጵያዊኛ ቴአትር ? መነሻ መሠረቱ ተረታችን ቢሆንም እንደ አጀማማሩ አላደገም :: በመሆኑም እንደ ሌሎቹ አገሮች የራሳችን የሆነ መጠርያ አልፈጠርንም ይኸ በጥቅሉ የምናየው እውነት ነው::

በፓንቶ ማይም ድራማ በኩል ስንመለከት የአውሮፓውያን የገፅ ቅብና አልባሳት የተጠቀሙ አርቲስቶች ፎቶግራፍ / ተስፋዬ ሳህሉና በላይ መረሳ / ማግኘት ቢቻልም ለመድረክ አስተዋዋቂነት እንደለበሱት ነው የሚታወቀው ታዋቂው ተዋና ወጋየሁ ንጋቱ በ1970 ዎቹ በኢቲዮጵያ ብሔራዊ ቴአትረ በሚዘጋጀው ልዩ ትእይንት ጥበባት ፕሮግራም ላይ የተለያዩ ፓንቶማይሞችን ያቀርብ ነበር ከነዚህመ ውስጥ "ባሉኑ ፤ ቁንጫው " የተሰኙ ፓንቶ ማይሞች ይቀር ቡ ነበር ትርኢቶቹ በራሳቸው ምሉዕ የነበሩና በከፍተኛ የመዋነይ ክህሎት የቀረቡና የማርሴይን ገጽ ቅብና አልባሳት አቀራረብ የተከተሉ እንደነበሩ ታውቋል፡፡

እስታንደ አፕ ኮሜዲ /standup comedy/

እነዚህ ከአስተዋዋቂነት ትንሽ ከፍ የሚሉና በፓንቶማይምነት ደረጃ ሲታዩ ባዶ ሆነው የሚገኙ የተመለደ አይነት የመዋነይ ዘዴ ሆኗል :: የዚህ አይነቱ እስታንዳፕ ኮሜዲ በአውሮፓና አሜሪካ ... ለሌላውም አለም እየተሰራበት ያለ ድራማ ነው :: ድራማው በአብዛኛው የተናጋሪ ፤ የዲስኩረኛ ፤፤የማስመሰልና ፤ የማሸሚጠጥ ባሕሪያትንና በጣም ባልተንዛዛ ሁኔታ መዋነይን የሚጠይቅ ድራማ አይነት ነው ::

ስሙ እንደሚያመለክተው አንድ ቦታ ተቁሞ የሚሰራ መሆኑን ተገንዘቡልኝ ፤ባብዛኛው እስታንዳፕ አፕ ኮሜዲ ለሴቶች መብት ተሟጋቾች /feminist movement, green movement / በከፍተኛ ደረጃም ለቅስቀሳና ለማስተማርያ የሚጠቀሙበት ፤በሕብረተሰቡ ውስጥ የሚታዩ የፖለቲካ ውዝግቦችም የሚሄስበት ነው:: ተዋናዩ ለሚመርጠውና ለሚያቀርበው ትርኢት አመቺ ይሆናል የሚለውን አልባሳት ይጠቀማል ፤ገፅቅበና ሌሎች ተዛማጅ ነገሮችን የመጠቀም ግዴታ የለበትም ፤ተዋናዩ ድምፅን በመቀያየር ላይ የተመሰረተ የአተዋወን ብቃት ነው ባብዛኛው የሚጠበቅበት ::

ማጠቃላያ

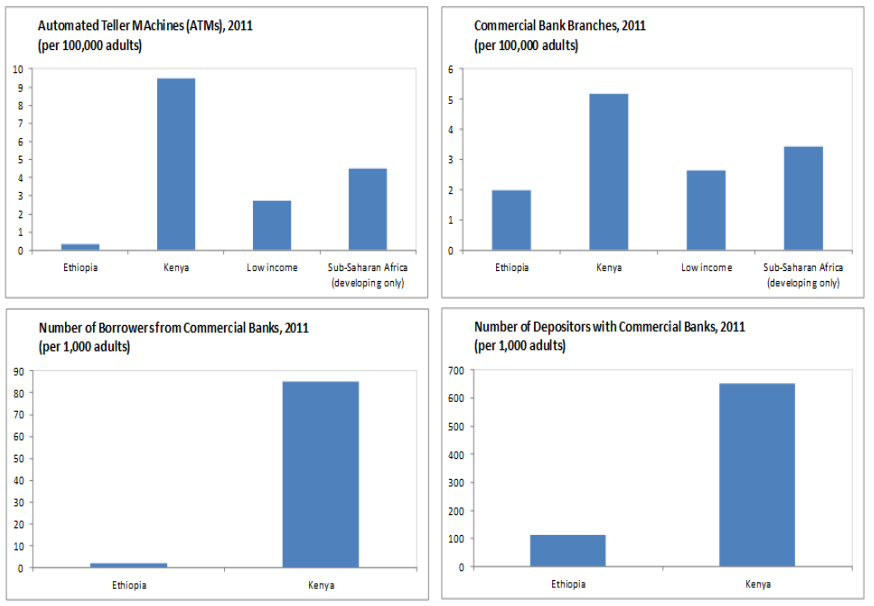
ፓንቶ ማይምና የምልክት ቋንቋ ኮሜዲ በኢትዮጵ ቴአትር ታሪክ ምን ቦታ አላቸው ? ፓንቶማይም ሆነ የምልክት ቋንቋ አሁን "ኮሜዲ" እያልን ለምናቀርባቸው ትርኢቶች ያላቸው አስተዋፅአ ምንድነው? በርግጠኝነትስ "ኮሜዲ" ወይም "ፓንቶ ማይም" የምንለው አይነት ትርኢት አለን ወይ ? የ "ከሜዲ" ፓንቶ ማይሞች ተዋናዮች የመዋነይ ክህሎት ፤ አልባሳትና የገፅ ቅብ አጠቃቀማቸው ፤የእጅና እግር እንቅስቃሴአቸው .... ወዘተ ... ብቃት ምን ያህል የዳበረ ነው ? .... ወዘተ ... የሚሉ ጥያቄዎች መነሳታቸው አይቀሬ ነው .... የዚህ ፅሁፍ አላማ በነዚህ ነገሮች ላይ ግምገማ ማካሄድ ሳይሆን ከሰማንያ አምስት ብሔር ብሔረሰቦች በላይ አገር የሆነችውን ኢትዮጵያ የሚገኙት የዘልማድ የምልክት ቋንቋዎች እየተጠኑ ቢመዘገቡ ፤ለወደፊቱ የፓንቶማይም "ኮሜዲ " ትርኢቶች መሠረቶች ሊሆኑ እንደሚችሉ ለመጠቆም ነው ፤ የምልክት ቋንቋ ተናጋሪ ማሕበረሰብም በባሕሉ ላይ የተመሠረተ የዳበረ ምሉዕ የሆነ አረፍተ ነገር ያገኛልና ፤ የባሕል አጥኝዎችም የየብሔረሰቡ የመግባቢያ ምልክቶች በግሎባላይዜሽን ማዕበል እየሰመጡ ጠፍተው ከመረሳታቸው በፊት ጥናት እንዲካሄድባቸውና የኢትዮጵያዊኛ ቴአትር መሠረት እንዲሆኑ ለማሳሰብ ነው ::

እቴነሽ አበበ heelafam@gmail.com አስተያየት መላክ ትችላላችሁ

በእምነቱ የኖረ

ያደለበዉን ከብት፡
ለእምነቱ ብሎት፡
ትግስቱ በዝቶለት፡
እንደ እዮብ ሆኖለት፡
ያሳደገዉን ላም አኑርዋት በበረት፡
ፍሩሽካና ሳሩን በአግባቡ ሰጥቶ፡
ከብቱ ሲያምርበት ፈተና መጣበት፡
ችግርና ረሀብ ተፈራረቁበት፡
ፀሎትና ጾሙን በርትቶ ገፋበት፡
እምነቱን ከሚሸር በእምነቱ ሞተበት፡
ሚስቱን ልጁን ዘሩን ሁሉ ቢያጣበት፡
እንደ እዮብ ትግስት እምነቱን ካበበት፡፡
ከ ሶስና ገብረስላሴ

Financial. . . Cont. from Page 14



Source: IMF Financial Access Survey Database.

Ethiopia

Sub-Saharan Africa			Low income
Population, age 15+ (millions)	53.9	GNI per capita ($)	470

	Country data	Sub-Saharan Africa	Low income
Account (% age 15+)			
All adults	21.8	34.2	27.5
Women	21.0	29.9	23.9
Adults belonging to the poorest 40%	15.9	24.6	19.4
Young adults (% ages 15–24)	14.3	25.9	20.2
Adults living in rural areas	18.7	29.2	24.8
Financial Institution Account (% age 15+)			
All adults	21.8	28.9	22.3
All adults, 2011	..	23.9	21.1
Mobile Account (% age 15+)			
All adults	0.0	11.5	10.0
Access to Financial Institution Account (% age 15+)			
Has debit card	0.8	17.9	6.6
Has debit card, 2011	..	15.0	6.3
ATM is the main mode of withdrawal (% with an account)	0.9	53.8	20.2
ATM is the main mode of withdrawal (% with an account), 2011	..	51.7	19.7
Use of Account in the Past Year (% age 15+)			
Used an account to receive wages	0.7	7.3	3.2
Used an account to receive government transfers	0.3	3.8	1.0
Used a financial institution account to pay utility bills	0.1	2.8	0.9
Other Digital Payments in the Past Year (% age 15+)			
Used a debit card to make payments	0.0	8.7	2.1
Used a credit card to make payments	0.2	1.9	0.6
Used the Internet to pay bills or make purchases	0.4	2.4	1.2
Domestic Remittances in the Past Year (% age 15+)			
Sent remittances	9.9	28.7	18.3
Sent remittances via a financial institution (% senders)	..	31.0	15.4
Sent remittances via a mobile phone (% senders)	..	30.8	42.8
Sent remittances via a money transfer operator (% senders)	..	21.0	14.1
Received remittances	8.6	37.2	25.6
Received remittances via a financial institution (% recipients)	..	26.6	13.0
Received remittances via a mobile phone (% recipients)	..	27.6	33.8
Received remittances via a money transfer operator (% recipients)	..	22.1	14.8
Savings in the Past Year (% age 15+)			
Saved at a financial institution	13.6	15.9	9.9
Saved at a financial institution, 2011	..	14.3	11.5
Saved using a savings club or person outside the family	29.8	23.9	16.3
Saved any money	48.1	59.6	46.5
Saved for old age	8.0	9.8	8.3
Saved for a farm or business	14.9	22.7	16.7
Saved for education or school fees	8.3	22.9	16.6
Credit in the Past Year (% age 15+)			
Borrowed from a financial institution	7.4	6.3	8.6
Borrowed from a financial institution, 2011	..	4.8	11.7
Borrowed from family or friends	29.5	41.9	34.9
Borrowed from a private informal lender	1.1	4.7	6.5
Borrowed any money	43.5	54.5	52.5
Borrowed for a farm or business	11.5	12.8	12.2
Borrowed for education or school fees	4.2	12.3	10.9
Outstanding mortgage at a financial institution	2.0	5.2	4.1

Source: World Bank, Findex Database.

My Sweet Slavery

I don't know if u like me or not
But whenever u want, I give what I got
U call me per day or two
I answered double than u
U see me whenever u want
I am there by any chance I get
U tell me that u like me tonight
Tomorrow u act like u forgot
U said u r sorry for not calling back
But still u didn't make up for that
For whatever u do I cover for u
Let alone the reality, let alone the truth
Though u hurt me hard
Though u beat me hard
I will be there when u r so sad
Though the people say u r badly for me
Though the people say we r not mean to be
All I know that u r my burden, my job
My sweet slavery.

Haimanot Aserat

Keep on Keeping

I keep of falling
Falling for my mistakes.
Causing me a lot of heart breaks
I keep on denying
Denying about my habits
Causing me a lot of damages.
Keeping on falling, keep on denying
I lost my faith, I also lost my trying
Sharing the burden is like a must
But sharing the good is very difficult.
I keep on loosing
Loosing all the games
Causing a lot of head downs.
I keep on hiding
Hiding from the truths
Causing me loose all my virtues.
Keeping on loosing, keeping on hiding
I lost my spirit, I also lost my beating
But keeping my value is very difficult
To be a looser doesn't seem very hard.
Though I keep on falling
Though I keep on loosing
I will keep on keeping my promise for surviving!!

Haimanot Aserat

Community Page

Ethiopian Community Center in Maryland (ECCM)

Montgomery College Open house for the Ethiopian Community in partnership with ECCM

Incorporation

It has been established and incorporated in the State of Maryland in January, 2013.

Objectives

To provide reliable, quality, and accessible community services to all in Maryland, regardless of age, sex, or other social, economic or ideological differences; with the goal of promoting self-sufficiency, cultural enrichment, and understanding and appreciation of Ethiopian culture and history. ECCM will also serve as a center for safety and emergency response during accidents or during urgent need of community members.

Organization

Board of Directors, executive directors (President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, finance officer & Public relations) two staffs one as a senior project coordinator and one as a project coordinator. ECCM has tentatively formed seven committees to facilitate achieving its short term and long term objectives. These committees have been formed based on needs assessment and ECCM expects strong support from the community to make these programs successful. Currently, Board of Directors have 14 members whom are founding members of ECCM. There is a plan to start membership accordingly, future board of directors will be elected by the general assembly.

ECCM Funding

Community Development Block & Council grants from Montgomery County and fundraisings.

ECCM Services

Because of limited resources ECCM has identified programs that can start immediately and programs that will start in the short term and programs that will start in the long term. ECCM will leverage its resources by forming close partnership with schools, government agencies, employment agencies and healthcare providers. Program focus areas includes; Health, Education, Job, Immigration, Legal issues and others. ECCM currently making efforts in positive youth development and health programs. ECCM has been organizing and mobilizing health service providers to volunteer for community health screening, testing and counseling services and provide several information of service givers in Maryland particularly in Montgomery County. To mention some of the exemplary projects; The soccer clinic program summer 2014 for 42 kids in collaboration with Washington Adventist University.

December, 2014 – February, 2015 Affordable care Act Insurance enrollment out reach for thousands of Ethiopians in Maryland in collaboration with Montgomery county Department of Health and Human Services. A number of health fairs and workshops at Dc Mariam Church, 3 selected apartments at Takoma park MD. May, 2015

Education open house for the Ethiopian Community in collaboration with Montgomery College more than 300 people attended the event

ECCM health workshop for Seniors at Victory towers apartment (presenter form The Peson's Center, Mrs. Amilia Missieledies)

Membership

Membership have not started yet, all who live in Maryland particularly Ethiopians will get the service whether they are a member or not.

Customers

All who live in Maryland get the service through health care projects and the Affordable Care Act various events, health fares, workshops, Open houses, Apartments, flyers, walk in services at ECCM office Also collaborating with similar organizations, networks, schools, churches& Mosques.

Advertisement

Through the services we provide, free Health fares, different community related events, Open houses, Flyers &Media.

Assessing the Service

We conducted an assessment on the pressing issues among the community before we launched our projects. The assessments were conducted through focus group discussions with college students, women, young professionals, and senior professionals.

We prioritized from the mentioned gaps as the most pressing in the community health and education. We are trying to be transparent and engage the community throughout the activities in order to meet their expectations.

Other Community Centers

There is no established working relationship with other Ethiopian Community centers as of now however, it is in plan for the future.

Majority of the centers have been around here for more than 30 years and have an enormous experience in the area. ECCM is relatively new and still learning from the process and making efforts to design sustainable community based programs.

We are trying to introduce ECCM to other community members there are ongoing efforts to collaborate with other community centers.

ECCM soccer clinic program in collaboration with Washington Adventist University (volunteer coach , Mr. Samuel Estifanos)

For all Your Comments
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የትግል ስትራቴጂ ምንነት እና የትግል ስትራቴጂ መረጣ
ታደሰ ብሩ

በዚህ ጽሁፍ ስለትግል ስትራቴጂ ምንነት እና ስለስትራቴጂ መረጣ አንዳንድ ሀሳቦችን ለማቅረብ እሞክራለሁ። የኔ ትኩረት የፓለቲካ ስትራቴጂዎች ላይ ሆነ እንጂ እዚህ ላይ የሰፈሩ ሀሳቦች ቢዝነስን ጨምሮ ማናቸውም ዓይነት ሁነኛ ዓላማ ለማሳካት በሚደረግ የስትራቴጂያዊ ፕላን ጥናት ውስጥ አገልግሎት ውስጥ ሊውሉ የሚችሉ ናቸው።

ይህ ፅሁፍ ሶስት ክፍሎች አሉት። ክፍል አንድ የትግል ስትራቴጂ ምንነት ላይ ሲያተኩር ክፍል ሁለት ደግሞ ስለስትራቴጂ ማኔጅመንት አጭር ገለፃ ይሰጣል። እነዚህ ሁለቱ ክፍሎች ከእኔ የግል የፓለቲካ እምነት ነፃ ናቸው። ይህም ማለት እንደ ማኔጅመንት ትምህርት አካል ሊወሰዱ ይችላሉ። ክፍል ሶስት ለአገራችን ይበጃታል ብዬ የማምነውን የትግል ስትራቴጂ ለኔ በገባኝ መጠን ለማብራራት እሞክራለሁ። ይህ ክፍል በኔ የፓለቲካ እምነት የተቃኘ በመሆኑ ሀሳቤን የሚደግፉም ሆነ የሚቃወሙ ሊኖሩ ይችላሉ። የዚህ ሀሳብ ደጋፊዎችም ሆነ ተቃዋሚዎች የሚያቀርቡትን ሥርዓት የተከተለ ክርክር በጥሞና ለማዳመጥ ዝግጁ ነኝ።

የትግል ስትራቴጂ ምን ማለት ነው?

"ስትራቴጂ"፣ አንድ ድርጅት ተልዕኮውን ለማሳካት የሚወስዳቸው ተከታታይ ተግባራትን የሚያመላክት ጥቅል መመሪያ ነው። ተልዕኮ ማለት ደግሞ አንድ ድርጅት የተቋቋመበት ዋነኛ ዓላማ ማለት ነው። ስለሆነም ስትራቴጂ አንድ ድርጅት የተቋቋመበትን ዓላማ እንዴት እንደሚያሳካ የሚገልጽበት መንገድ ነው። የፓለቲካ ስትራቴጂ የፓለቲካ ግብ እንዴት ለማሳካት እንደታቀደ በጥቅሉ የሚገለጽበት አቅጣጫ ጠቋሚ ነው። የፓለቲካ ስትራቴጂ በመሠረቱ የትግል ስትራቴጂ ነው።

የትግል ስትራቴጂ ለመንደፍ፣ በቅድሚያ ስትራቴጂው እንዲያሳካቸው የሚፈለጉ የፓለቲካ ግቦች በግልጽ ሊታወቁ ይገባል። አምባገነን ሥርዓትን መጣል አንድ የፓለቲካ ግብ ሊሆን ይችላል። በወደቀው ሥርዓት ምትክ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት መገንባት ደግሞ ተከትሎ የሚመጣ ሌላ ግብ ሊሆን ይችላል። በዚህ አይነት ግቦችን ዋና እና መለስተኛ እያልን ደረጃ ልናወጣላቸው፤ ቀዳሚ እና ተከታይ እያልን ቅደም ተከተል ልናበጅላቸው እንችላለን። ከዚያም እያንዳንዱን ግብ ለማሳካት ምን እርምጃ መወሰድ እንዳለበት ማጤን ሲጀመር የትግል ስትራቴጂ ጥናት ተጀመረ ማለት ነው። የስትራቴጂ ጥናት የአንድ ወቅት ሥራ አይደለም፤ ስትራቴጂያዊ እቅድም አንዴ ተሰርቶ ለማጣቀሻነት የሚቀመጥ ጥራዝ አይደለም፤ ሁለቱም እታለመው ግብ እስኪደረስ ድረስ የሚቀጥሉ የዘወትር ተግባራት ናቸው።

የትግል ስትራቴጂ አሁን ያሉትን ብቻ ሳይሆን ወደፊት ሊኖሩ ይችሉ ይሆናል የሚባሉ ምቹ ሁኔታዎችና ተግዳሮቶችን (ችግሮችን) ታሳቢ ያደረገ እና አቅምን ያገናዘበ መሆን ይኖርበታል። ስትራቴጂ ግብን ለማሳካት በተግባር ላይ መዋል ያለባቸው ስልቶች፤ እነዚህ ስልቶች የሚጠይቁት ግብዓት፣ ድካምና የመስዋዕትነት መጠን ያመላክታል።

የሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች ለፓለቲካ ስትራቴጂ ጥናት ወሳኝ ናቸው።

1. ምንድነው የምንፈልገው? የምንታገለው ምን ለማግኘት ነው? ወይም በተለመደ አነጋገር "የት መድረስ እንፈልጋለን?"
2. የምንፈልገውን ለማግኘት ምንድነው ማድረግ ያለብን? በተለመደው አገላለጽ "ምን ዓይነት አማራጭ መንገዶች አሉን?"
3. እያንዳንዱ አማራጭ ምን ዓይነት ግብዓቶች ይጠይቃል? ምን ዓይነት ሰው? ምን ያህል ሰው? ምን ዓይነት ችሎታዎች? እንደምን ያለ አደረጃጀት? ምን ዓይነት አመራር? እንደምን ያለ ቴክኖሎጂ? ምን ዓይነት ቁሳቁስ? ምን ያህል ገንዘብ? ፣
4. ውጫዊ ሁኔታዎች ምን ያህል የተመቻቹ ናቸው? ውጫዊ ሁኔታ ሲባል ከድርጅቱ ውጭ ያለው ፓለቲካዊ፣ ማኅበራዊ፣ ኢኮኖሚያዊ፣ የተፈጥሮ፣ የህግና የቴክኖሎጂ ሁኔታዎችን ሁሉ ያጠቃልላል።
5. ውስጣዊ ሁኔታዎች ምን ያህል የተመቻቹ ናቸው ? ውስጣዊ ሁኔታ ሲባል የአባላትና ደጋፊዎች ብዛትና ለተግባራዊ እንቅስቃሴ ያላቸው ዝግጁነት፣ ድርጅታዊ ዲሲፕሊን፣ ድርጅታዊ መዋቅር፣ እውቀትና ክህሎት፣ መረጃና እና ቁሳቁስ ያጠቃልላል።
6. የትግሉ ባለቤቶች (ግንባር ቀደም መሪዎች) እነማን ናቸው? የትግሉ ደጋፊዎች እነማን ናቸው? ባለድርሻ አባላት እነማን ናቸው? ድርሻቸው ምን ያህል ነው? አዎንታዊ ወይስ አሉታዊ?
7. ጠላት ወይም ተቀናቃኝ ማነው? የተቀናቃኞቸን ጥንካሬዎቹ ምንድናቸው? ድክመቶቹስ ?

የስትራቴጂ ጉዳዮች (strategic issues)

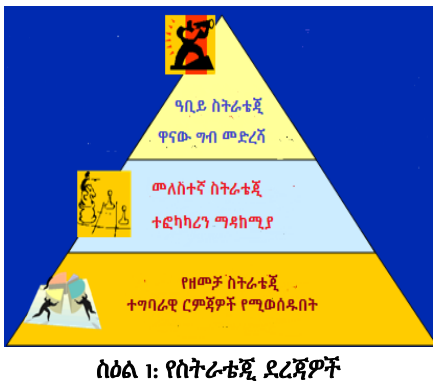
የድርጅት ስትራቴጂ ከድርጅት ተልዕኮ ጋር በቀጥታ የተገናኘ መሆኑ ከላይ ተጠቅሷል። የድርጅቱን ተልዕኮ ስኬትና ውድቀት የሚወስኑ ጉዳዮች "ስትራቴጂያዊ ጉዳዮች" ናቸው። በስትራቴጂያዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ትክክለኛ ውሳኔ ተሰጥቶ ተግባራዊ ከተደረገ ድርጅቱን ወደ ስኬት ያቀርቡታል። በስትራቴጂያዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ስህተት ከተፈፀመ ደግሞ ድርጅቱን ከፍተኛ ዋጋ ያስከፍላሉ። የሚከተሉት ስትራቴጂያዊ ጉዳዮች ናቸው።

1. የትግል ስትራቴጂዎችና ስልቶች ምርጫ
2. አመራርና ውስጣዊ አደረጃጀት
3. የአጋር መረጣ - ከሌሎች ድርጅቶች ጋር የሚደረግ ውህደት፣ ጥምረት፣ እና ትብብር

የግብዓቶች ዓይነቶች እና ስምሪት - አባላት፣ የአባላት አስተዳደር፣ ንብረት፣ የንብረት አስተዳደር

የስትራቴጂ ደረጃዎች

ግቦች የተለያየ ደረጃ እንዳላቸው ሁሉ ስትራተጂዎችም ደረጃቸው ይለያያል።



ስዕል 1: የስትራቴጂ ደረጃዎች

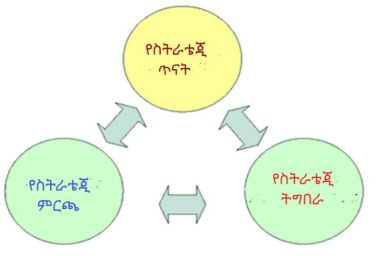
ከላይ በስዕል ፡ እንደተመለከተው የድርጅቱን ተልዕኮ እና ዋና ዋና ግቦችን ለማሳካት የሚወጣው ስትራቴጂ የድርጅቱ አቢይ ስትራቴጂ ነው። አቢይ ስትራቴጂ በአንፃራዊ መልኩ ቋሚና የረዥም ጊዜ እይታን ይዞ የሚነሳ ነው።

በየጊዜው የሚፈጠሩ መልካም አጋጣሚዎችን በመጠቀም እና/ወይም በየጊዜው የሚፈጠሩ ችግሮች የሚያመጡትን ጉዳት በመቀነስ ጠላትን ማዳከም፤ ከሌሎች ተመሳሳይ ድርጅቶች በልጦ በመገኘት ወይም ይዞታ በማስፋት ላይ ያለሙ ስትራቴጂዎች መለስተኛ ስትራቴጂዎች ወይም የታክቲክ ስትራቴጂዎች ይሰኛሉ። ዋናው ዓላማቸውም ምቹ ሁኔታዎችን መጠቀም (ወይም ምቹ ያልሆኑ ሁኔታዎችን በጥበብ ማለፍ) በመሆኑ መለስተኛ ስትራቴጂዎች ከሁኔታዎች መቀየር ጋር መቀየር አለባቸው።

በመጨረሻም በትግበራ ላይ ያሉ ሥራዎች የሚመሩበት መርህ የዘመቻ ወይም የትግበራ ስትራቴጂ(Operational strategy) እንለዋለን። የትግበራ ስትራቴጂ የሰው፣ የንብረት፣ የመረጃ ማኔጅመንትን ይመለከታል።

የስትራቴጂ ማኔጅመንት ሶስት ዋና ዋና ክፍሎች

የስትራቴጂ ማኔጅመንት ከዚህ በታች በስዕል 2 የተመለከቱ ሶስቱ ዋና ዋና ክፍሎች አሉት። እነዚህም የስትራቴጂ ጥናት፣ የስትራቴጂ ምርጫ እና የስትራቴጂ ትግበራ የሚባሉት ናቸው።



ስዕል 2: የስትራቴጂ ማኔጅመንት ሶስት ዋና ዋና ክፍሎች

የስትራቴጂ ጥናት

የስትራቴጂ ጥናት የጠላትንና የራስን አቅም በመፈተሽ ያሉትን አማራጭ ስትራቴጂዎችን የመፈለግ ሥራ ነው። ለስትራቴጂ ጥናት የሚረዱ በርካታ የምርምር ሞዴሎች አሉ። ጥቂቶቹ ከዚህ በታች ለአብነት ያህል ቀርበዋል።

የአካባቢ ጥናት (Environmental Analysis) – ይህ

የአገሪቱን የፓለቲካ፣ የኢኮኖሚ፣ የማኅበራዊ፣ የቴክኖሎጂ፣ የህግና የታሪክ ጉዳዮችን በመተንተን ዓላማችንን ሊያሳኩ የሚችሉ ምን ዓይነት የስትራቴጂ አማራጮች ይኖራሉ ብሎ የሚጠይቅ ጥናት ነው።

⇒ ጥንካሬና ድክመት ፍተሻ (SWOT Analysis) - ይህ የራስን ጥንካሬና ድክመት ከአካባቢው መመቸትና አለመመቸት ጋር በማዛመድ የሚደረግ ጥናት ነው።

⇒ "የቢሆንስ" ጥናት (Scenario Analysis) - እንዲህ ቢደረግ ምን ይከተላል፤ እንዲህ ቢሆንስ? ከዚያስ? እያለ ምክንያቶችንና ውጤቶችን እያቀጣጠለ የወደፊቱን ለመተንበይ የሚጥር ጥናት ነው።

⇒ የተወዳዳሪነት ጥናት (Competition Analysis) - ራስን ተመሳሳይ ዓላማ ካላቸው ሌሎች ድርጅቶች ጋር በማወዳደር በልጦ ለመገኘትና ለብቻ ለማሸነፍ የሚረዱ ስትራቴጂዎችን ለመፈለግ የሚውል ዘዴ 10.5

የስትራቴጂ ምርጫ

ከላይ በተመለከተው መንገድ ጥናት ተደርጎ የስትራቴጂ አማራጮች ከመጡ በኋላ የድርጅት መሪዎችን ወይም ፓለቲከኞችን የሚጠቅቸው ትልቁ ሥራ ከቀረቡት አማራጭ ስትራቴጂዎች መካከል የተሻለውን መምረጥ ነው። በአገራችን ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ ድርጅቶች ብቻ ሳይሆኑ ግለሰቦችም አጣብቂኝ ውስጥ የሚገቡት እዚህ ደረጃ ላይ ነው። አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የፓለቲካ ስትራቴጂ አማራጮች ውስን

የትግል ስትራተጂ .....ወደ ገጽ 18 ዞሯል

በመሆናቸው የስትራቴጂ ጥናት ይደረግ አይደረግ ለብዙ ሰው ግድ አይሰጠውም። የስትራቴጂ ምርጫ ግን እንዲህ በዋዛ የሚታለፍ ነገር አይደለም።

ለምሳሌ፣ በኢትዮጵያ ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ ህወሓትን ከስልጣን ለማስወገድ እና በምትኩ ፍትህ፣ ነፃነት፣ እኩልነትና ዲሞክራሲ የሰፈነበት ሥርዓት ለመገንባት ከሚከተሉት ስትራቴጂዎች የትኛው ተመራጭ ነው?

ሀ) ሰላማዊና ህጋዊ ትግል

ለ) ሰላማዊ ሆኖም ግን ህገወጥ ትግል

ሐ) ትጥቅ ትግል፣

መ) ትጥቅ ትግል እና ሰላማዊና ህጋዊ ትግል ተቀላቅሎ፣ ወይስ

ሠ) ትጥቅ ትግል እና ሰላማዊና ሆኖም ግን ህገወጥ ትግል ተቀላቅሎ

የሚል ጥያቄ ቢቀርብ የሚሰጠው ምላሽ የሚያስከትለው ውጤት አንድምታ ከፍተኛ እንደሆነ ለብዙዎች የሚያጠራጥር አይደለም። ለዚህ ጥያቄ በቀጥታ መልስ ይስጡም አይስጡም በኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲካ ውስጥ የገቡ የፓለቲካ ድርጅቶች እና ፓለቲከኞች ብቻ ሳይሆኑ ፓለቲካ በቀጥታ አያገባንም የሚሉ የሲቪክ ማኅበራትና ግለሰቦችም ጭምር ከዚህ ጥያቄ ጋር መፋጠጣቸው አይቀርም።

የትኛው የትግል ስትራቴጂ ይበጀናል? ለምን?

በኢትዮጵያ ፓለቲካ ውስጥ የፓለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ከታወቁበት 1960ዎቹ መጨረሻ ጀምሮ እስከዛሬ ድረስ የፓለቲካ ፓርቲዎችን ካወዛገቡ ትላልቅ ርዕሶች አንዱ የትግል ስትራቴጂና ስልት ምርጫ ነው። ለምሳሌ ትጥቅ ትግልን እንደ ስትራቴጂ በመውሰድ ላይ ተስማምተው እያለ "የከተማ ትጥቅ ትግል" ወይስ "የገጠር ትጥቅ ትግል" በሚል የስልት ልዩነት የተፋለሱ፣ ከዚያም አልፎ የተገዳደሉ ድርጅቶችና ስብስቦች መኖራቸው የቅርብ ጊዜ ታሪክ ነው። ዛሬም ፓለቲካችን ውስብስብ ችግር ውስጥ ካስገቡት ጉዳዮች አንዱ ወያኔን በማስወገድ አስፈላጊነት ላይ የሚስማሙ ድርጅቶች በስትራቴጂና በስልቶች ላይ ስምምነት የሌላቸው መሆኑ ነው።

የስትራቴጂ ምርጫ በንድፈ ሀሳብም በተግባርም ውስብስብ ሂደት ይጠይቃል። ከሁሉ አስቀድሞ በአማራጮቹ ዝርዝር ላይ መስማማት ያስፈልጋል። ቀጥሎ ደግሞ መመዘኛዎችን ማውጣትና በመመዘኛዎች ላይ መስማማት ያስፈልጋል። ከዚያ ቀጥሎ ደግሞ በመመዘኛዎቹ አለካክ (methodology) ላይ መስማማት ይጠይቃል። በመጨረሻም በውሳኔ ህግ (decision rule) ላይ መስማማት ይጠይቃል።

ነገሩን ለማሳጠር በአማራጭ ስትራቴጂዎች ዝርዝር ተስማማን እንበልና ከቀረቡት አማራጭ ስትራቴጂዎች የተሻለውን በምን መመዘኛ ነው የምንመርጠው ብለን እንጠይቅ። ለስትራቴጂ መረጣ ብዙ መመዘኛዎችን መዘርዘር ብንችልም በሶስት ዋና ዋና መመዘኛዎች ማጠቃለል ይቻላል። እነዚህም

1ኛ) ተስማሚነት (Suitability)፣ 2ኛ) ተፈፃሚነት (Feasibility)፣ እና 3ኛ) ተቀባይነት (Acceptability) ናቸው።

ተስማሚነትን በተመለከተ ቁልፍ ጥያቄ መሆን ያለበት "በአማራጭነት የቀረበው ስትራቴጂ እተፈለገው ግብ ያደርሳል ወይስ አያደርስም?" የሚለው ጥያቄ ነው። የዚህ ጥያቄ መልስ አሉታዊ ከሆነ አማራጭ ተብሎ የቀረበው ስትራቴጂ እውነተኛ አማራጭ አይደለም ማለት ስለሚሆን በዝርዝሩ መውጣት አለበት። ለአሉታዊ ውሳኔ አለመቸኮል ግን ብልህነት ነው። ትንሽም እንኳን እድል ካለው በምርጫው ውስጥ ቆይቶ የሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች መመለስ ይኖርበታል። ይህ ስትራቴጂ እኛ አገር ውስጥ ይሠራል ወይ? ግልጽ ነው ወይ? ለባህላችን፣ ለአኗኗራችን ተስማሚ ነው ወይ?

ተፈፃሚነትን በተመለከተ መጠየቅ ያለባቸው ጥያቄዎች የሚከተሉትን የመሰሉ ናቸው። ለስትራቴጂው የሚያስፈልገውን ግብዓት ማግኘት ይቻላል ወይ? ለምሳሌ ስትራቴጂው የሰለጠኑ ሰዎችን የሚፈልግ ከሆነ እነሱን ማግኘት ይቻላል ወይ? በርካታ ሰው በአንዴ "ሆ" ብሎ መነሳት የሚኖርበት ከሆነ ይህንን ማምጣት ይቻላል ወይ? ስትራቴጂው የሚፈልገው ድርጅታዊ ብቃት አለ ወይ? ስትራቴጂው የሚፈልገው አመራር አለ ወይ? የተፈፃሚነት መመዘኛ ወሳኝ ነው። የተፈፃሚነትን መመዘኛ በሁለት አንኳር ነጥቦች ማጠቃለል ይቻላል - ሀ) አዋጪነት - ምን ያህል ዋጋ ያስከፍላል? ለ) አስተማማኝነት - ስትራቴጂው የሚፈልገውን ግብዓት (ሰው፣ አመራርና ድርጅት) መፍጠር ይቻላል?

ተቀባይነትን በተመለከተ ደግሞ ስትራቴጂው በዋና ዋና ባለድርሻ አካላት "ፍትህዊ ነው" ተብሎ ይታሰባል ወይ? ማኅበረሰቡ "መልካም" የሚለው ዓላማ "መልካም ባልሆነ" ስትራቴጂ ተግባራዊ ቢደረግ በዓላማውን መልካምነት ላይ ተጽዕኖ አለው? ለምሳሌ፣ አምባገነን አገዛዝን ኃላፊነት በሚሰማው አመራር መቀየር መልካም ነገር ነው። ይህ ሽግግር በሰላማዊ መንገድ ቢፈፀም እጅግ በጣም ጥሩ ነው። ሆኖም ግን ይህ ሳይቻል ቀርቶ አምባገነኑ አገዛዝ በጉልበት ተቀይሮ ኃላፊነት የሚሠማው አመራር ሥልጣን ላይ ቢወጣ ሽግግሩ የተደረገበት መንገድ በአዲሱ አመራር ተቀባይነት ላይ ያለው ተጽዕኖ ምንድነው? "መልካም" የሆነው ዓላማ ከሞራል አንፃር ተመራጭ ባልሆነ ስትራቴጂ አማካይነት ተፈፃሚ ሆኖ መልካምነቱን እንደያዘ ማቆየት ይቻላል ወይ?።

ከላይ የተዘረዘሩት የስትራቴጂ አማራጮች በሙሉ የመጀመሪያውን የማጥሪያ ጥያቄ ማለፍ አለባቸው። የማጥሪያው ጥያቄ "ይህ ስትራቴጂ ወያኔን ማስወገድ ይችላልን" የሚል መሆን ይኖርበታል። ይሄንን ቁልፍ ጥያቄ በአዎንታ ያልመለሰ ስትራቴጂ ይሰረዛል። (ለመሰረዝ መቸኮል እንደሌለብን አስቀድመን ተናግረናል)። ይህንን መመዘኛ ያለፉ ስትራቴጂዎች ሁሉ በእነዚህ ሶስት መመዘኛዎች ሊለኩ ይችላሉ።

የዚህ ዘዴ አንዱ ጥቅምም <u>ሥርዓት ላለው ውይይት</u> የሚያዘጋጅ መሆኑ ነው። ለምሳሌ ለባህላችን፣ ለአኗኗራችን ለታሪካችን ተስማሚ የሆነው ሰላማዊ ትግል ነው? ወይስ የትጥቅ ትግል? የሚለው ጥያቄ ብዙ የሚያወያይ ነው።

ሰላማዊና ህጋዊ ትግል እንደ ስትራቴጂ ተስፋ አለው ማለት <u>ህወሓት የሚቆጣጠረው ፓርላማ</u> ባወጣቸው ህጎች እየተገዙ፣ <u>ህወሓት የሚቆጣጠረው ፍርድ ቤት</u> የሚሰጠውን ውሳኔ እያከበሩ፣ <u>በህወሓት ፓሊስና ጦር ሠራዊት</u> ቁጥጥር ስር ተኩኖም ቢሆን <u>ህወሓት የሚቆጣጠረው የምርጫ ቦርድ</u> በሚያስተዳድረው ምርጫ <u>ራሱ ህወሓትን ማሸነፍ</u> ይቻላል ብሎ ማመን ነው። እኔ በበኩሌ ይኼ ተስፋ የሌለው ስትራቴጂ ነው ብዬ ስለማምን እሰርዘዋለሁ። የዚህኛው ስትራቴጂ መሰረዝ ደግሞ አራተኛውን ስትራቴጂ ማለትም "የትጥቅ ትግል እና ሰላማዊና ህጋዊ ትግል ማቀላቀል" የሚለው ላይም የጥያቄ ምልክት ያስቀምጥበታል፤ ወይም ከአቢይ ስትራቴጂነት "በዚህ ስትራቴጂ ከሚያምኑ ድርጅቶች ጋር እንደምን ያለ የወዳጅነት ግኑኝነት ይኑረኝ? ወደሚል የሕዝብ ግኑኝነት ስትራቴጂነት ያወርደዋል።

የኔ እምነት ለሚጋራኝ የቀሩት ስትራቴጂዎች ሶስት ብቻ ናቸው። እያንዳንዱን ለየብቻ እያነሳን እንነጋገርባቸው።

ሰላማዊ ሆኖም ግን ህገወጥ ትግል እንደ ስትራቴጂ

ሰላማዊ ሆኖም ግን ህገወጥ ትግል እንደ ስትራቴጂ መውሰድ ማለት የአገዛዙን ህጎችንና ደንቦችን እየጣሱ "እምቢ አልገዛም" ብሎ በማመጽ ህወሓትን ከስልጣን ማስወገድ ይቻላል በሚል እሳቤ ላይ የተመረኮረዘ ነው። ይህ ስትራቴጂ ይበልጥ የሚታወቀው ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት (Civic Disobiedence) በሚል መጠሪያ ነው። ከዚህ በኋላ እኔም "ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት" የሚለውን መጠሪያ እጠቀማለሁ። በርካታ አምባገነን መንግሥታት በሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት መንኮታኮታቸው እውነት ነው። የቅርቦቹን ብቻ በምሳሌነት ብናነሳ እንደ አውሮፓውያን አቆጣጠር በ1980ዎቹ መጨረሻ የቀድሞ ሶቭየት ኅብረት ግዛቶች የነበሩ በኢስቶኒያ፣ ላትቪያና ሊቷንያ፤ በምሥራቅ አውሮፓ በፓላንድ፣ በቼክ ሪፑብሊክ፣ በስላቫኪያና በምሥራቅ ጀርመን፤ በእስያ በፊሊፒንስ እና በላቲን አሜሪካ ቮሊቪያ ውስጥ አምባገነን ሥርዓቶች ተንኮታኩተዋል። ከዚያም እአአ በ2003 ጽጌረዳማ አብዮት የሚል ስያሜ በአገኘው የጆርጂያ አብዮት፤ በ2005 "ብርቱካናማ አብዮት" የሚል ስያሜ የተሰጠው የዩክሬይን አብዮት፤ በ2005 "ሲዳር አብዮት" በተባለው የሊባኖስ አብዮት አገዛዞች ተቀይረዋል። ከዚያም በ2011 በቱኒዝያና በግብጽ "ጃዝሚን አብዮት" የተባለው ተካሂዶ የቤን ዓሊንና የሆስኒ ሙባረክ አገዛዞች ተወግደዋል። በመጨረሻም አምና በ2014 በቡርኪና ፋሶ በሁለት ቀናት አብዮት ከሃያ ዓመታት በላይ የተንሰራፋው አገዛዝ ተንኮታኩቷል። ከዚህ አጭር ዳሰሳ መረዳት እንደምንችለው ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ውጤታማ የሆነባቸው የቅርብ ጊዜያት ምሳሌዎችም በሁሉም ከፍለዓለማት የሚገኙ መሆኑን ነው።

በአንፃሩ ደግሞ ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ተሞክሮባቸው የከሸፉ ወይም በሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ተጀምረው ወደ ትጥቅ ትግል የዞሩ ምሳሌዎችም አሉ። በሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት የቅርብ ጊዜ ምሳሌነት ሲወደስ የነበረው የዩክሬኑ ብርቱካናማ አብዮትም በየጊዜው እያመረቀዘ አገሪቷን ወደ መከፋፈል አድርሷት እስካሁንም መቋጫ አላገኘም። በ2011 በሊቢያ የተቀሰቀሰ ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ወደ እርስ በርስ ጦርነት ተሸጋግሮ ኃያላን አገሮች ወደተሳተፉበት አውዳሚ ጦርነት ተሸጋግሯል። በሶሪያ የተቀሰቀሰው ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ዓለምን አደጋ ላይ ወደ ጣለ የእርስ በርስ ጦርነት ዘቅጧል። በየመን የተቀሰቀሰው ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ወደ እርስ በርስ ጦርነት ተሸጋግሮ አገሪቷን እያወደመ ከመሆኑም በላይ የአካባቢው አገሮች ሳይቀር ወደ ጦርነት እየሳበ ይገኛል።

ከላይ ለስትራቴጂዎች መመዘኛነት ያስቀመጥናቸው ሶስት መለኪያዎች፤ ተስማሚነት (Suitability)፣ ተፈፃሚነት (Feasibility) እና ተቀባይነት (Acceptability) አንፃር ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት በምን ሁኔታዎች እንደሚሠራ በምን ሁኔታዎች ደግሞ እንደማይሠራ በማጥናት ከሀገራችን ተጨባጭ እውነታ ጋር ማገናዘብ ይጠበቅብናል። ይህ ሰፊ ምርምር የሚጠይቅ ሥራ በመሆኑ በዚህ ጽሁፍ የማይሞከር ነው። ሆኖም ዝርዝር ትንተና ውስጥ ሳንገባ ጠቅለል ያሉ ሀሳቦችን መስጠት ይቻላል።

የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ተከታታይ በሆኑ አምባገነን ሥርዓቶች ሲበደል ቆይቷል። ቢያንስ በሶስት ተከታታይ ሥርዓቶች በመልካም አስተዳደር እና በልማት ስም ሲሸነገል ቆይቷል። ጥቂት ትላልቅ፤ በርካታ ትናንሽ አብዮቶች የከሸፉበት ሕዝብ ነው። ህወሓት በሰላማዊ ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ቢቀየር ለውጡ የሚኖረው ተቀባይነት እና ከለውጡ በኋላ የሚመጣው መንግሥት የሚኖረው የሕዝብ ድጋፍ ከፍተኛ እንደሚሆን መገመት ቀላል ነው። ምንም እንኳን ማስተማመኛ ባይኖርም በእንዲህ ዓይነት መንገድ የመጣ መንግሥት ወደ ዲሞክራሲያዊ አስተዳደር የሚያደርገው ሽግግር በአንፃራዊ መልኩ ቀና ይሆንለታል ብሎ ተስፋ ማድረግ ይቻላል። ተፈፃሚነትን በተመለከተ ግን ሁኔታው ከዚህ የተለየ ነው። እስካሁን ከታዘብነው ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ውጤታማ በሆነባቸው አገሮች ውስጥ የሚከተሉት ሶስት ነገሮች ተሟልተዋል። (1) በራስ መተማመንን ያጎለበተ ሕዝብ፣ (2) አንፃራዊ ነፃነት ያላቸው ተቋማት እና (3) በብልሃት የተቀመሩ የትግል ስልቶች። እነዚህ ሶስት ነገሮች በአገራችን ተሟልተዋልን (ወይም በአጭር ጊዜ ሊሟሉ ይችላሉን) ብለን ስንጠይቅ የምናገኘው ምላሽ የሚያረካ አይሆንም።

ወደ ገጽ 19 ዞሯል

የትግል ስትራተጂ ... ከገፅ 18 የዞረ

በራስ መተማመንን በተመለከተ አገር ውስጥ የፓለቲካ ሥርዓትን ለመቀየር በመታገል ፋንታ እስከ ብር 100 000 አውጥቶ ሰሀራ በረሀን አቋርጦ በሊቢያ በኩል በላስቲክ ታንኳ ተሻግሮ አውሮፓ ለመድረስ የሚደረገው ጥረት፤ በእግር ሳይቀር ወደ ደቡብ አፍሪቃ የሚደረገው ጉዞ ብዛት እና ወደ መካከለኛ ምሥራቅ አገራት ለመሻገር ወደ የመን የሚደረገው አስፊሪ የሞት ጉዞ ኢትዮጵያዊያን በራሳችን ላይ ያለን የመተማመን መጠን መሸርሸሩን ያመለክታል። በህወሓት ላይ ተቃውሞ ለማሰማት ሳይቀር በውጭ አገር ከሚኖሩ ኢትዮጵያዊያን ድጋፍ መጠበቅ በአገር ውስጥ የነፃነትና መብት የማስከበር ትግል በገዛ ራሱ እግሮች እንዳይቆም አድርጎታል። በኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ የሰፈረው የፍርሀት ድባብ ከመወፈሩ የተነሳ በማኅበረሰባችን ውስጥ የእርስ በርስ መተማመን እየጠፋ ነው። ለወትሮው በጓዳዊ መተሳሰብ ይታወቁ የነበሩ የኢትዮጵያ ተማሪዎች ለፍትህ፣ ለነፃነትና ለዲሞክራሲ በጋራ ከመቆም ይልቅ በዘር ተቧድነው ሲቆራቆሱ ማስተዋል ልብን ይሰብራል። እርግጥ ነው የህወሓት ፋሽስቶችን የጭካሬ እርምጃ እየተጋፈጡ ያሉ ወጣቶች አሉ፤ ሆኖም ባለፉት 25 ዓመታት ወያኔ በልበሙሉነት፣ በአልደፈር ባይነት፣ በነፃነትን ናፋቂነት እሴቶቻችን ባደረሰው ውድመት ሳቢያ አዳክሞናል። በራስ መተማመን ሳይጎለብት አዎንታዊ ለውጥ ማምጣት ከባድ ነው።

አንፃራዊ ነፃነት ያላቸው ተቋማት ጉዳይ። በሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት አምባገነን አገዛዞች በተገረሰሱባቸው አገሮች ሁሉ የተወሰኑ ተቋማት አንፃራዊ ነፃነት ነበራቸው። ለምሳሌ በፓላንድና በቼክ ሪፑብሊክ የለውጡ ዋነኛ አራማጆች የሙያ ማኅበራት ነበሩ። እነዚህ የሙያ ማኅበራት አንፃራዊ ነፃነት ነበራቸው። በፓላንድ ከሠራተኛ ማኅበር በተጨማሪ የካቶሊክ ቤተክርስቲያን ለነፃነት ትግል ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽዖ አበርክታለች። በዩክሬንና በጆርጂያ ፓርላማዎች አንፃራዊ ነፃነት የነበራቸው በመሆኑ የሕዝቡን ትግል የሚደግፉ የፓርላማ አባላት ነበሩ። ዩክሬን ውስጥ የሕዝቡን ትግል በመደገፍ የተወሰኑ የፓርላማ አባላት ፓርላማው ውስጥ የረዘበ አድማ አድርገዋል። ጥቂት ቆይቶም አብላጫው የፓርላማ አባላት የትግሉ ደጋፊዎች ሆኑ። በቱኒዝያ፣ ግብፅና ቡርኪና ፋሶ ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ሊሳካ የቻለው በኃላፊነት ስሜት የሚንቀሳቀስ አንፃራዊ ነፃነት ያለው የጦር ሠራዊት ስለነበራቸው ነው። በሶስቱም አገራት ጦር ሠራዊቱ የሕዝቡን ጥያቄ በሚያስታግስ መልኩ ተንቀሳቅሷል። በብዙዎቹ አገራት የፍትህ፣ የሚዲያ እና የአካዳሚያ ተቋማት አንፃራዊ ነፃነት ነበራቸው። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያለው ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ ግን ከዚህ በጣም የተለየ ነው። አገራችን ኢትዮጵያ ትንሽ እንኳን የነፃነት ሽውታ ያለበት አንድም ተቋም የላትም። የኢትዮጵያ መከላከያ ሠራዊት፣ የፍትህ አካላቱ፣ ሚዲያው፣ አካዴሚያው በአገዛዙ ከመታፈናቸው በተጨማሪ ዘረኛ በሆነ መንገድ በመደራጀታቸው አገራዊ እይታ እንዳይኖራቸው ተደርጓል። ሲቪል ማኅበራት ፈጽሞ እንዳይኖሩ ተደርጓል፤ ። የሃይማኖት ተቋማት ሳይቀሩ የሥርዓቱ ተቀጥላ ተደርገዋል። ወያኔ በሲቪል ማኅበራት ላይ የዘመተው እንደማኅበረሰብ የመዝለቃችን ዋስትና የሆነው ማኅበራዊ ካፒታላችንን ለማጥፋት ነው። እናም ጉዳቱ የማኅበራቱ ተግባር መሰናከሉ ብቻ ሳይሆን በአባላቱ መካከል ሊዳብር ይችል የነበረዉ የመተማመን መጠን መጥፋቱም ጭምር ነው።። ማኅበራዊ ካፒታልን ማውደም ግዑዝ ካፒታል (ለምሳሌ ድልድይን) ከማፍረስ እጅግ የባሰ ጉዳት ያስከትላል።።

በብልሃት የተቀመሩ ስትራቴጂዎችና ስልቶችን እጥረት በሚመለከት ለጊዜው የማነሳው ጉዳይ የለም።

ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነትን ውጤታማ ያደርጋሉ ከሚባሉ ሶስት መሠረታዊ ነገሮች (በራስ መተማመንን ያጎለበተ ሕዝብ፣ አንፃራዊ ነፃነት ያላቸው ተቋማት እና በብልሃት የተቀመሩ የትግል ስልቶች) ሁለቱ አለመሟላታቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን በአነስተኛ ደረጃ ላይ እንኳን አሉ ማለት አይቻልም። ይህ ግምገማ ትክክል ከሆነ አሁን ባለው ሁኔታ ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ብቻውን እንደ ስትራቴጂ በዛሬይቷ ኢትዮጵያ ተግባራዊ መሆን የሚችል (feasible) ስትራተጂ አይደለም። ስትራቴጂው ተስማሚ ቢሆንም ግብዓቶች ይጎሉታል።

ተቀባይነትን በተመለከተም ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት እንደስትራቴጂ ተቀባይነት እንዲያገኝ ብዙ መሠራት አለበት። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ "መንግሥት ለመሆን የሚፈልግ በመንግሥት ላይ ሸፍቶ ተዋግቶ አሸንፎ ይንገስ፤ አለበለዚያ ለነገሠው በታማኝነት ይገብር" የሚል ያልተፃፈ ህግ ያለ ይመስላል። በዚህም ምክንያት ሳይሸፈት መንግሥት ላይ ማመጽ ለኢትዮጵያዊያን የሚገባ ነገር አይደለም። ወይ መሸፈት፤ አለያም መገዛት ነው። በዚህም ምክንያት ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት እንደ ስትራቴጂ እምብዛም ተቀባይነት የለውም። ይህ ስሜት ግን በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ ሊቀየር የሚችል ይመስለኛል፤ ሆኖም ግን ብርቱ የትምህርትና ቅስቀሳ ሥራ ይፈልጋል።

ትጥቅ ትግል እንደ ስትራቴጂ

በአገራችን ታሪክ ውስጥ ጠመንጃና ስልጣን ከፍተኛ ቁርኝት አላቸው። አብዛኛዎቹ የስልጣን ሽግግሮች የተደረጉት በጠመንጃ ታግዘው ነው። ጦረኝነት ኢትዮጵያዊ ባህል ነው፤ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ጠመንጃንና ባለጠመንጃን ያወድሳል። ስለዚህም ትጥቅ ትግል እንደ ስትራቴጂ ምናልባት በልሂቃኑ ዘንድ ካልሆነ በስተቀር በአብዛኛው የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ዓይን የተቀባይነት ችግር የለበትም። ተፈፃሚነትን በሚመለከት ደግሞ ወያኔ በትጥቅ ትግል የማይሸነፍበት ምክንያት የለም። ወያኔ የኃላያን አገሮች ድጋፍ ያለው መሆኑ፤ ጦሩን በዘረኛ መንገድ ማዋቀሩ እና በአለም ፓለቲካ የሽብርተኝነት ስጋት መኖሩ በትጥቅ የሚታገዙ የነፃነት ትግሎች የሚጠብቃቸው ተግዳሮት ቀድሞ ከሚታወቀው በላይ እንዲሆን አድርገዋል። ይህ ትግሉን ያከብደዋል እንጂ ወያኔ በጉልበት የማይሸነፍ ኃይል እንዲሆን አያደርገውም። ተስማሚነትን በሚመለከት ግን ሁኔታው ለየት ይላል። "በጠመንጃ ወደ ስልጣን የመጣ ኃይል አገሪቱን ወደ ዲሞክራሲ ሊመራ ይቻላል ወይ?" የሚለው ጥያቄ በቀላሉ የሚመለስ አይደለም። በዓለም ታሪክ ውስጥ በጠመንጃ ወደ ስልጣን መጥተው ወደ ሲቪል አስተዳደር (በአንዳንድ ሁኔታዎችም ወደ ዲሞክራሲያዊ አስተዳደር) የተሸጋገሩ ሥርዓቶች አሉ። ኮሎምቢያ በ1957፣ ቬንዙዌላ 1958፣ ቦሊቪያ 1997ን፤ ስፔን 1931፣ ቱርክ 1960፣ ፓርቹጋል 1974፣ ጋና 1979፣ በቅርቡ በ2014 ግብጽን (ከመሀመድ ሙርሲ በኃላ የአብዱል ፈታ ኤል ሲሲ በመንፈንቅለ መንግሥት መምጣት) እና ሌሎች በርካታ ምሳሌዎችን በመዘርዘር መከራከር ይቻላል። ታሪክ፣ ዜጎችን ፈጅተው የመጡ አምባገነኖች ወደ ሲቪል አስተዳደር ሲቀየሩ አይታለች፤ በአንፃሩ ደግሞ በሰላማዊ መንገድ በሕዝብ ይሁንታ ወደ ስልጣን መንበር ወጥተው አስከፊ አምባገነን የወጣቸውን ታውቃለች። በክፋቱ የሚታወቀው የሂትለር ናዚ መንግሥት ወደ ስልጣን የመጣው በምርጫ ነው፤ ስታሊንም ሌኒንን ተክቶ እንጂ ገልብጦ የመጣ አይደለም። በሰላማዊ መንገድ የመጣ መንግሥት ዲሞክራሲያዊ መሆኑን ማረጋገጥ እንደማይቻል ሁሉ በጠመንጃ የመጣ ሁሉ አምባገነን ይሆናል ብሎ ማጠቃለል አይቻልም። ይልቅ ወሳኙ ነገር ለውጡ በመጣበት ወቅት ያለው የኃይል ሚዛንና የጠንካራ ተቋማት መኖር ወይም አለመኖር ነው። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የዲሞክራሲ ተቋማት ይቅሩና አገራዊ ተቋማት እንኳን የሉም። አገራችንን እንደ አገር ሰብስበው የያዟት ተቋማት እየተዳከሙ ናቸው። ከአገራዊ ስሜት ጋር የሚፎካከር አካባቢያዊ ስሜት ፋፍቷል። ህወሓት በስልጣኑ ለመቆየት ሲል አጎራባች ማኅበረሰቦችን በብሔር ስም፤ የተለያዩ ሃይማኖት አማኞችን በአከራሪነት ስም ሲያጋጭ የቆየ በመሆኑ የትጥቅ ትግል ከቁጥጥር ካፈተለከ የት ሊያደርስ እንደሚችል መገመት ያስፈራል። በዚህም ምክንያት የትጥቅ ትግል እንደ ስትራቴጂ ተፈፃሚ እና ተቀባይነት ያለው ቢሆንም ተስማሚነቱ አጠራጣሪ ነው።

ትጥቅ ትግል እና ሰላማዊ ሆኖም ግን ህገወጥ ትግል ተቀላቅሎ እንደ ስትራቴጂ

ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነትም ሆነ የትጥቅ ትግል ለየብቻቸው በስትራቴጂነት ሲቀርቡ የሚጎላቸው ነገር አለ። ግባችን ወያኔን ማስወገድ ብቻ አይደለም፤ ከወያኔ በኋላ የምትኖረን ኢትዮጵያ ፍትህ፣ ነፃነት፣ እኩልነትና ዲሞክራሲ የሰፈነባት እና አገራዊ አንድነቷ የተረጋገጠ እንዲሆን እሻለሁ። የምንፈልገው የትግል ስትራቴጂ ወደዚህ የሚያደርሰን መሆን ይኖርበታል። አሁን ባለው ሁኔታ ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነትም ሆነ የትጥቅ ትግል ለየብቻቸው ወደዚህ ግብ ሊያደርሱን ይችላሉ የሚል እምነት የለኝም።

ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት ወደምንፈልገው ግብ ሊያደርሰን አይችልም ያልኩባቸው ሁለት ዋነኛ ምክንያቶች ከላይ ተዘርዝረዋል። ወያኔ በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ላይ የዘራው ሽብር እና የዘረጋው የስለላ መረብ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ተቃውሞውን በአደባባይ እንዳይገልጽ አድርጎታል። ፍርሀትን አሸንፎ የስለላን መረብ በጣጥሶ የሚወጣ ሕዝብ ያስፈልጋል። በሁለተኛ ደረጃ ደግሞ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ በነፃነት የሚደራጅበት ሁኔታ ባለመኖሩ የተደራጀ ሰላማዊ ትግል ማድረግ አልተቻለም። በዚህ ረገድ የተሻለ ሥራ እየተሠራ ያለው በሙስሊም ኢትዮጵያዊያን ሲሆን ክርስቲያን ኢትዮጵያዊያንን ወደዚያ ደረጃ ማድረስ መቻሉ አጠራጣሪ ነው። ከዚህ በተጨማሪ የመብት ጥያቄዎች ሀይማኖታዊ ወይም ክልላዊ ብቻ ሆነው እንዳይቀሩ፤ የመብት ጥያቄዎች በቂ ምላሽ የሚያገኙት የፓለቲካ ሥርዓቱ ሲለወጥ እና ዲሞክራሲያዊ አመራር ሲሰፍን እንደሆነ ሰፊ ግንዛቤ ሊያገኝ ይገባል። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ የኢትዮጵያ የጦር ሠራዊት በኢትዮጵያዊያን የተገነባ ነገር ግን በህወሓት የሚመራ ነው። ሠራዊቱ አመራሩን አስወግዶ ከኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ጎን እንዲቆም የሚረዳው አካል ያስፈልጋል። እነዚህን ወሳኝ ተግባራት ለመከወን ነው የታጠቀ ሕዝባዊ ኃይል የመኖሩ አስፈላጊነት ጎልቶ የሚወጣው።

"ትጥቅ ትግል እና ሰላማዊ ሆኖም ግን ህገወጥ ትግል ተቀላቅሎ እንደ ስትራቴጂ" ተብሎ የተገለፀው በአጭሩ "ሁለገብ የትግል ስትራቴጂ" የሚባለው ነው። ሁለገብ የትግል ስትራቴጂ ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነትና የትጥቅ ትግል (ሕዝባዊ አመጽ) ተደጋግፈው እንዲሄዱ የሚያደርግ ስትራቴጂ ነው። ነፃና አገራዊ ተቋማት ባለመኖራቸው ምክንያት የተፈጠረውን ክፍተት በመሙላት ረገድ እና ወያኔ በሕዝብ ላይ ያሰፈነውን ፍርሀት ለመግፈፍ የታጠቀ ሕዝባዊ ኃይል ከፍተኛ ወሳኝ ሚና ይኖረዋል። የሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት መኖር ሕዝብ የትግሉ ባለቤት እንዲሆን ያደርገዋል። "ሁለገብ ትግልን" ስትራቴጂ አድርገን ከወሰድን "ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት" እና "ሕዝባዊ አመጽ" ወደ ስልትነት ይወርዳሉ። ይህ ማለት ወደተፈለገው ግብ የሚደረሰው ስትራቴጂው በሙሉ በተግባር ላይ ሲውል ነው እንጂ አንዱ ብቻውን ተግባራዊ ሲሆን አይደለም ማለት ነው። በሁለገብ የትግል ስትራቴጂ ላይ የሚቀርቡ ሁለት ዓይነተኛ ትችቶች አሉ። አንዱ የአመጽ ትግልን እና ሰላማዊ ትግልን ማደባለቅ አይቻልም፤ "ውሀና ዘይት" ናቸው የሚል ነው። እርግጥ ሁለቱ በሚፈልጉት የሰው ዓይነትም ሆነ አደረጃጀት የተለያዩ ናቸው። ይህ ማለት ግን እያንዳንዳቸው በየሚፈልጉት አደረጃጀት ተደራጅተው ሊደጋገፉ አይችሉም ማለት አይደለም። በመሠረቱ እስካሁን የሚታወቁ የነፃነት ትግሎች እና አብዮቶች ሁሉ ምጣኔዎቸው ይለያይ እንጂ የሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነትና የሕዝባዊ አመጽ ድብልቆች ናቸው። ደቡብ አፍሪቃን ከአፓርታይድ ነፃ ያወጣው ትግል ሁለቱ ስልቶች ተደጋግፈውበታል። በምሥራቅ አውሮፓና በሰሜን አፍሪቃ የተካሄዱ የለውጥ እንቅስቃሴዎችም ቢሆኑ አመጽና እምቢተኝነት የተደባለቀባቸው አሊያም የተፈራረቁባቸው ነበሩ። እንዲያዉም ዛሬ ያለውን የሰሜን አፍሪቃና መካከለኛ ምሥራቅ ሁኔታ ስናጤን ለማስተዋል ከምንገደዳቸው መራር ሀቆች አንዱ በሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት አምባገነን አገዛዞች ተገርስሰው በምትካቸው ደካማ መንግሥታት ወደስልጣን ከመጡ

ወደ ገጽ 20 ዞሯል

ከገፅ 19 የዞረ

የተራዘመ ቀውስ ሊከተል የሚችል መሆኑ ነው። ይህ እውነታ ከመጀመሪያው የተደራጀ ሕዝባዊ ኃይል መኖር አስፈላጊነትን ያጎላዋል።

ሁለተኛው ትችት ደግሞ የትጥቅ ትግል መኖር አምባገነኖች ወታደራዊ ኃይላቸውን እንዲጠቀሙ መንገድ ይከፍትላቸዋል በውጤቱም የበርካታ ሕዝብ ሕይወት አደጋ ላይ ይወድቃል የሚል ነው። ሁለገብ ትግል እንደትግል ስትራቴጂ በአማራጭነት የሚወሰድባቸው አገሮች ውስጥ ያሉ መንግሥታት ሠራዊታቸውን በሰላማዊ ሕዝብ ላይ ከማዝመት የማይመለሱ እንደ ህወሓት ዓይነት ያሉ አገዛዞች ናቸው። እነዚህ አገዛዞች የበዛ ጥፋት የሚያደርሱት ራሱን መከላከል የማይችል ሆኖም ግን ጠንከሮ የሚታገል ተቃዋሚ ሲገጥማቸው ነው። እንደዚህ ዓይነት አገዛዞች በሰላማዊ ሰልፈኞች ላይ ከመተኮስ የማይመለሱ በመሆናቸው በመለሳለስ ኪሳራ ማስቀነስ አይቻልም። በመሠረቱ እኛም አገር ቢሆን ሰላማዊ ትግልና የአመጽ ትግል የሚያስከፍሉት ዋጋ መሳ ለመሳ ሆኗል።

እዚህ ላይ "ሁለገብ ትግል" ራሱ የብዙ ስትራቴጂዎች ጥቅል ስያሜ መሆኑ ማስታወስ ይበጃል። ለምሳሌ አንዳንድ ሰዎች "ክብሪቱን አንዴ ለኩሉልን እንጂ ከዛ ቀጥሎ ያለውን ለኛ ተውልን ይላሉ" ይህ አነገጋር ወደ ስትራቴጂ ሲመነዘር የሚከተውን ይመስላል። ህወሓት ከስልጣን የሚወገደው ሕዝባዊ አመጽና ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት በፈረቃ በተግባር ላይ በሚወሉበት ሁለገብ ትግል ነው። የፈረቃው ቅደም ተከተልም በመጀመሪያ ሕዝባዊ ኃይል ወታደራዊ እርምጃ ይወስዳል፤ በዚህ የተደፋፈረው ሕዝብ በሥርዓቱ ላይ በማመጽ ወያኔን ያስወግዳል፤ ጊዜዓዊ የሽግግር መንግሥትም ይቋቋማል። ሌሎች ሰዎች ደግሞ "እናንተ ከዳር እኛ ከውስጥ እናጣድፈዋለን" ይላሉ። ይህ አባባል ወደ ስትራቴጂ ሲመነዘር የሚከተለውን ይመስላል። ህወሓት ከስልጣን የሚወገደው ሕዝባዊ አመጽና ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት በአንድነት በተግባር ላይ በሚወሉበት ሁለገብ ትግል ነው፤ ዳር አገር ትጥቅ ትግል መሀል አገር ደግሞ ሕዝባዊ እምቢተኝነት፤ ሁለቱን ተደጋግፈው ወያኔን ያስወግዳሉ፤ ጊዜዓዊ የሽግግር መንግሥትም ይቋቋማል። እንዲህ እያልን ከሁለገብ ትግል ብዙ አማራጭ ስትራቴጂዎችን ማሰብ እንችላለን። ከዚህም ሌላ ምን ያህል አመጽ ምን ያህሉስ እንቢተኝነት መደባለቅ ይኖርበታል የሚለው ራሱ ቁጥር ስፍር የሌላቸው አማራጮችን ይዞ የሚመጣ ነው።

ከላይ እንደተገለፀው የትግል ስትራቴጂ መረጣ የአንድ ወቅት ሥራ የማይሆነው አዕምሮዓችን በአሠራን መጠን አማራጮችን እያሰፋን የምንመጣ በመሆኑም ጭምር ነው።

ማጠቃለያ

በዚህ ጽሁፍ ውስጥ "የትግል ስትራቴጂ" እና "የትግል ስትራቴጂ መረጣ" ሲባል እኔ የምረዳውን ለማካፈል ሞክሬዓለሁ። "ሁለገብ ትግል" እንደ ትግል ስትራቴጂ ምን ማለት እንደሆነ እና ለምንስ ለኢትዮጵያ ተመራጭ ነው ብዬ እንደማምን የግሌን አስተያየት አቅርቤዓለሁ። ይህ ጽሁፍ ሁለገብ ትግል ለኢትዮጵያ ይበጃል የምንል ሰዎች ቢያንስ ሳናስብበትና ሳንጨነቅበት በግልብ የወሰነው ጉዳይ አለመሆኑ ያስረዳል ብዬ አደርጋለሁ።

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