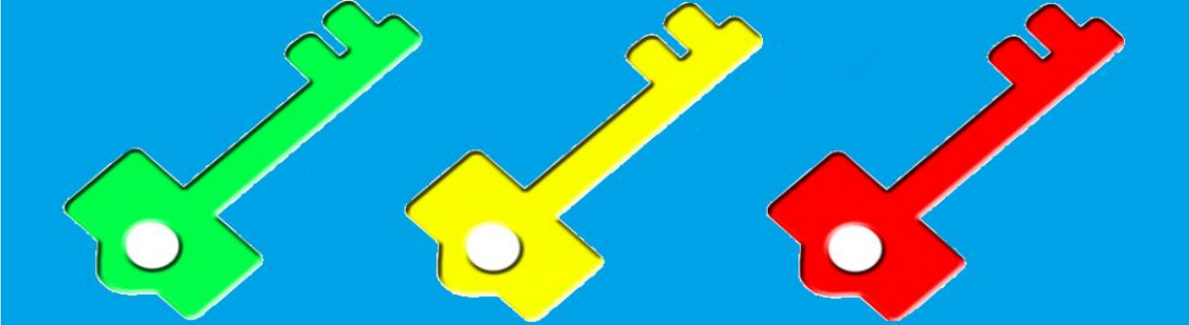




# የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ



“ስቃይና መከራ የምቀበልላት  
ብቻ ሳሆን የምሞትላት  
አገር አለችኝ”

ሀብታሙ አያሌው



Abebe Abidie



Zelalem Debebe

## The Ethiopian Affair

የወጣት ሀብታሙ አያሌው የጤንነት ሁኔታ ከአስር ከተፈታና ከመታሰሩ በፊት



The Situation of Habtamu Ayalew after & before his detention

**ዋና አዘጋጅ**

አስናቀ ደመና

**ም/ዋና አዘጋጆች**

ዳንኤል ሞገስ

ዳንኤል ሸቴ

ሊያ ንጉሤ

**ረዳት አዘጋጅ**

ተዋቸው ደረብ

**አምደኞች**

ኤዱዋርዶ ባይሮኖ

ገሊላ ከበደ

**ፀሐፊ**

ምንትዋብ ኢትዮጵያ

**ሕትመት አስተባባሪ**

አሚን ረጃው

**የገጽ ሽፋን ሥራ**

አስናቀ ደመና

**ካርቶኒስት**

አሌክስ ተፈራ

ብሩክ መንግስቱ

**Editor in Chief**

Asnake Demena

**Deputy Editors**

Daniel Moges

Daniel Shitie

Liya Nigussie

**Assistant Editor**

Tewachew Derebe

**Columnists**

Eduardo Byrono

Gelila Kebede

**Secretary**

Mentewab Ethiopia

**Publication Coordinator**

Amin Rejawu

**Cover Design**

Asnake Demena

**Cartoonist**

Alex Tefera

Biruk Mengistu

የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ያገባናል!

The Ethiopian Affair

Waldstraße 42A, 63589 Lisengericht

Mobile: 004915218187672

Email: [ethiopianaffair@gmail.com](mailto:ethiopianaffair@gmail.com)

Germany

## ማውጫ/ Contents

|                                                                      |   |                                                                                    |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| ክፍል ፩ አማርኛ                                                           | 3 | <b>Part II English</b>                                                             | 12 |
| የተልዕኮ መግለጫ                                                           | 3 | Mission statement                                                                  | 12 |
| የአዘጋጁ መልዕክት                                                          | 4 | Editors Note                                                                       | 13 |
| ማህበረዊ ሚዲያን በመዝጋት የነፃነትን ትግል ማስቆም አይቻልም                               | 5 | Torture and Humiliation in Ethiopia                                                | 14 |
| በማሰርና በመግደል በሥልጣን ላይ መቆየት አይቻልም                                      | 5 | The Death of Freedom of Speech and Expression in Ethiopia                          | 14 |
| ትግል እስከ ምን ድረስ?                                                      | 5 | The Current Human Rights Situation in Ethiopia                                     | 16 |
| ለማይቀረው የትጥቅ ትግል እንነሳ                                                 | 6 | Freedom of Expression in Ethiopia                                                  | 16 |
| የሞላ የበደል ፅዋ                                                          | 7 | What a dark time for Ethiopian                                                     | 17 |
| የነፃነትና ሰብዓዊ መብት ገፈፋ በኢትዮጵያ                                           | 7 | Dr. Tedros Adhanom Shame on you                                                    | 17 |
| ሕዝብን በለውጥ ሀዲድ ማሳፈር ለነገ የማይባል የቤት ሥራ ነው                               | 8 | The failed nation, Ethiopia                                                        | 18 |
| ኑሮ ከተባለ                                                              | 8 | The Drama of Woyane on Ethiopian People                                            | 20 |
| “ሀብታሙ ጤንነቱን አግኝቶ፤ጠንካራው መንፈሱም ተጠግኖ እስከምናገኘው ከጎኑ እንቆማለን” ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ | 9 | State Repression in Ethiopia                                                       | 20 |
|                                                                      |   | Free Press and Freedom of Speech VS Pressure of the Ethiopian Government           | 21 |
|                                                                      |   | Landlocked Ethiopia and its major economic and political problems                  | 22 |
|                                                                      |   | Political Repression in Ethiopia                                                   | 23 |
|                                                                      |   | Detentions and torture in Ethiopia by Election time                                | 24 |
|                                                                      |   | Dhugadhaban                                                                        | 24 |
|                                                                      |   | “Foreign Aid is the source of corruption and Repression in Ethiopia.” Abebe Abidie | 25 |
|                                                                      |   | The need for revolution in Ethiopia                                                | 29 |
|                                                                      |   | Pillars of Dictatorship in Ethiopia                                                | 29 |
|                                                                      |   | Political Views of Biruk Mengistu                                                  | 32 |

## የተልዕኮ መግለጫ

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

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

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

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

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

## ኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ

ትክክለኛ መጽሔት በትክክለኛው ቦታና ጊዜ!

መስከረም ፳፻፯ ዓ.ም ተመሠረተ።

# የአዘጋጅቼ መልዕክት

## በሰላማዊ ሕዝብ ላይ የሚፈጸመው አፈናና ጭፍጨፋ በአስቸኳይ ይቁም!

በሰላማዊ መንገድ መብቱን በጠየቀው የጎንደር ከተማና የአካባቢው ሕዝብ ላይ የወያኔ/ኢህአዴግ መንግሥት ልዩ የአፋኝ ጦር አሰማርቶ በሰው ሕይወትና በንብረት ላይ ከፍተኛ የሆነ ጎዳት ማድረሱን ከተለያዩ የዜና አውታሮች እና የከተማው ኗሪ ከሆኑ የጎንደር ተወላጆች ለማረጋገጥ ችለናል። ጭፍጨፋው አሁንም እንደቀጠለ መሆኑን እነዚህ የዓይን እማኞች አረጋግጠዋል። በኢትዮጵያውያን ደም መታጠብ የለመደው የወያኔ አገዛዝ ያለደም መዋል ማደረ የተሳነው ይመስላል።

ይህ አፋኝ ጦር ሰላማዊ የከተማይቱ ኗሪ የሆኑ የወልቃይት ጠገዴን የማንነት ጥያቄ ያቀረቡ የኮሚቴ አባላትን አፍኖ ለመውሰድ በመንግሥት ተልኮ ተሰጥቶት የመጣ መሆኑ ይነገራል። ይሁን እንጂ እነዚህ የኮሚቴ አባላት የራሱን የወያኔ ሕገ-መንግሥት የሚፈቅደውን አንቀጽ 48 ንዑስ አንቀጽ 1 መሰረት አድረገው የመብትና የማንነት ጥያቄ አቀረቡ እንጂ በሰውም ሆነ በንብረት ላይ ምንም ጎዳት ያላደረሱ ሰላማዊ ሰዎች ናቸው። ነገር ግን በሰላም ለተጠየቀ ጥያቄ ሰላማዊ መልስ መስጠት ሲገባው ከሸፍትነትና ከጫካ ባሕሪው ያልተላቀቀው የወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ የሰላማዊ ሰዎችን ሕይወት ለማጥፋትና ስላም ለማደፍረስ ጦሩን ሰብቆ መምጣቱ እጅግ የሚያስቆጣ ድርጊት ነው።

እነዚህን ሰላማዊ የኮሚቴ አባላት በሕግ ከተፈለጉ ያለምንም ማንነት እጃቸውን ለመንግሥት በሰላማዊ መንገድ ሊሰጡ እንደሚችሉ የተረጋገጠ ነው። ኮሚቴዎቹ በሕዝብ ተመርጠው ጉዳያቸውን ለሚመለከተው አካል በሕጋዊ መንገድ ከማቅረብ ውጭ ምንም ዓይነት የፈጸሙት የሕግ ጥሰትም ሆነ ወንጀል የለም። ምክንያቱም ወንጀለኛ ቢሆኑ ኑሮ እስከ ዛሬ በኮሚቴነት ሊሰሩ ቀርቶ በከተማ ውስጥ በሰላም መኖር አይችሉም ነበር።

የወያኔ ዋና ዓላማ የጎንደርን ሕዝብ ስብብ ፈልጎ አንገቱን ለማስደፋት ወይም ለጎንደር ይቆረቆራል የሚባሉ ሰዎችን ለቅም ለማጥፋት ለረጅም ጊዜ ያቀደው ዕቅድ ነው ብለን እናምናለን። ምክንያቱም የወልቃይት ጠገዴን ፣ የጠለምትን መሬት በርግጠኝነት ያለምንም ጠያቂ የራሱ መሆኑን ለማረጋገጥ አባይ ወልዱ የተባለው የክልል አንድ ገዥ በአደባባይ ከፍተኛ እርምጃ ሊወስድ እንደሚችል ሲዝት መክረሙ የቅርብ ጊዜ ትዝታ ነው። አሁን በቅርቡ ደግሞ ምዕራብ አርማጭሆን እና ከደባርቅ በላይ ስሜን በየዳን ወደ ትግራይ ክልል ለማጠቃለል እየተጣደፈ በመሆኑ ጦርነቱን ታች አርማጭሆና ስሜን በየዳ ከማድረግ ይልቅ ጎንደር ከተማ ውስጥ ማድረጉ ህዝቡን ለማደናገጥ የተዘየደ ሴራ ነው። የአርማጭሆን እና የስሜን ጎንደር ሕዝብ ሞቶ ካላለቀ በቀር መሬቱን አሳልፎ እንደማይሰጠው ወያኔ በትክክል ያውቃልና።

ጎንደር ውስጥ በአማራ ህዝብ ላይ እየፈጸመ ያለው ጭፍጨፋ የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል ነው።

ህወሀት መራሹ የወያኔ አገዛዝ ባለፉት 25 ዓመታት በአማራው ህዝብ ላይ ከፍተኛ የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀሎችን ሲፈፅም ቆይቷል። አሁንም እየፈጸመ ይገኛል። ወያኔ እየወሰደው ያለው እርምጃ ሕዝብን የበለጠ የሚያስቆጣና የአገዛዝ ዘመኑን የሚያሳጥር እንጂ ዕድሜውን የተራዘመና የተደላደለ ሊያደርገው አይችልም። ችግሩም የጎንደር አማሮች ብቻ ሳይሆን የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ችግር ጭምር በመሆኑ ነገና ከነገ ወዲያ የእያንዳንዱን ደጃፍ እስከሚያንኳኳ መጠበቅ የለበትም። ሁሉም ከየአቅጣጫ የወያኔ አገዛዝ በቃን ብሎ መነሳት ይኖርበታል።

ስለሆነም በአማራው ህዝብ ላይ እየተፈጸመ ያለው የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል ነገ የሁሉንም ቤት የሚያንኳኳ በመሆኑ ሁሉም ኢትዮጵያዊ ሊያወግዘውና ከጎንደር አማሮች ጎን በመቆም በክፉም ሆነ በደጉ ለረዥም ዘመን አብሮህ ከኖረውና ነጻነት እየተፋለመ ከሚገኘው የጎንደር ከተማና አካባቢው ሕዝብ ጋር በአንድነት መቆም ይኖርበታል። ዓለም አቀፉ ማህበረሰብም በወያኔ የዘር ፖለቲካ እየተመሩ በንጹህን ወገኖቻችን ላይ ወንጀል የፈጸሙ ሁሉ በአስቸኳይ ለፍርድ እንዲቀርቡ ግፊት እንዲያደርግ እናሳስባለን። በመላው ዓለም የሚኖሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ወገኖቻችን፣ ዘረኛው የወያኔ አገዛዝ በአጠቃላይ በሀገራችን በኢትዮጵያ በተለይ በጎንደር ህዝብ ላይ የሚፈጽመውን አፈናና አሰቃቂ ግድያ በአስቸኳይ እንዲቆም በማውገዝ የተለያዩ እንቅስቃሴዎች እንዲያደርጉና እንዲያስባቡ ጥሪያችንን እናቀርባለን።

**ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን በመዝጋት የነፃነትን ትግል ማስቆም አይቻልም!!**  
**Kidist Wondaferahu (Dieburg)**

ህወሀት መራሹ የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት በአስቸኳይ አዋጅ መልክ ሁሉንም የማህበራዊ ድህረ ገጾች ሙሉ በሙሉ ዘግቶ ፌስቡክ፣ ትዊተር ፣ ኢንስተግራም እና ቫይቨር የመሳሰሉትን መጠቀም እንዳይቻል እና ይህም የተደረገበት ምክንያት ተማሪዎች ከፈተናቸው እንዳይዘናጉ ነው። በማለት የስርዓቱ አፈ ቀላጤ የሆኑት እና የኢትዮጵያን ህዝብ አጋንንት ብለው በመሳደብ የሚታወቁት አቶ ጌታቸው ረዳ መንግስት ድርጊቱን መፈፀሙን አምነው የማወኩን እርምጃ የወሰዱት ተሰርቆ የወጣው የ12ኛ ክፍል ሃገር አቀፍ ፈተና በማህበራዊ ድህረ ገጾች በፍጥነት እንዳይዘመት ነው። በማለት አዋጅ ሲለፍፉ ብሰማ ትንሽ ነገር ለማለት ወደድኩ። ኢትዮጵያ በዓለም የድሃ ድሃ ከሚባሉ ሃገራት ውስጥ አንዷ ስትሆን ነጻነት የሌለባትና እጅግ በጣም አናሳ የኢንተርኔት ተጠቃሚዎች ካሉባቸው ሃገራት ተርታ በግንባር ቀደምትነት ተመድባ ትገኛለች።

ከዚህም በተጨማሪ አሁን በስልጣን ላይ ያለው መንግስት ነጃ ባዩ የማፍያ ስብስብ ወይም ገዥ መደብ ጋዜጠኞችን፣ የፖለቲካ አቀንቃኞችንና ለስልጣኔ ያሰጉኛል ያላቸውን ሁሉ ከዓመታት በፊት የወጣውን የፀረ ሽብር ህግ በመጠቀም በማሰር ፣ በመግደልና በማዋከብ ብሎም በማሳደድ ላይ መሆኑ አለም የሚያውቀው ሀቅ ነው። የተለያዩ የሰበዓዊ መብት ተማሪዎችም የህወያኑን መንግስት እኩይ ድርጊት በማውገዝ በየጊዜው ይከሳሉ። ገዥው መደብ ህወሓት በበኩሉ ሃገሪቱን በ11% እድገት እያንበሸበሻት እንደሆነና የኢትዮጵያ ዲሞክራሲ ሁኔታም ከአራባቸው ከምዕራባዊያን ዲሞክራሲ እንደሚበልጥ ብሎም የፀረ ሽብር ህጉ ከእነ አሜሪካና ከእነ እንግሊዝ እንደተኮረጁ በመጥቀስ ሲከራከር ይስተዋላል። ከድሃው ግብር ከፋይ ህብረተሰብ በተሰበሰበ ገንዘብ በጣሊያን ሃገር ለሚገኝ አንድ የሳይበር ካንፓኒ በሚሊዮን የሚቆጠር ዶላር እየከፈለ ግለሰቦችን ሳይቀር የሚሰልለው መንግስት ከቅርብ ጊዜ ወዲህ ከሃገር ውጭና ከሃገር ውስጥ በሚነሳበት ተቃውሞ በጥላው ሲደነብር ይታያል። ለዚህም ማሳያው የተለያዩ ህዝባዊ እምቢተኝነቶች እየተነሱ እና እየተቀጣጠሉ የመጡት በማህበራዊ ሚዲያዎች በመሆኑ አሁን የተወሰደው እርምጃም ወያኔ ለስልጣኑ ስላሰጋው እንጂ ለተማሪው አዝኖ እንዳልሆነ ፀሀይ የሞቀው ሀቅ ነው። እናም የታፈነው ሲፈነዳ የሚያስከትለውን ውጤት መቆጣጠር የምትችሉበት ትክክል ስለሌላችሁ አሁኑኑ ከህዝብ ታረቁ።

ኢትዮጵያ ለዘላለም ትኑር።

**በማሰርና በመግደል በሥልጣን ላይ መቆየት አይቻልም**  
**Million Getachew**

የአንድ መንግሥት ቀዳሚ ሥራ እወክለዋለሁ የሚለውን ሕዝብ በነፃነትና በሰላም የመኖር ዋስትና ማረጋገጥ ነው። በነፃነትና በሰላም የሚኖር ሕዝብ ደግሞ ዘላቂ የምግብ ዋስትናን በቤተሰብ ደረጃ ከማረጋገጥ አልፎ ለቀጣዩ ትውልድ የሚተላለፍ ሀብት በመፍጠር ድህነትን ማስወገድ ይችላል። ባለፉት ሃያ አምስት ዓመታት በገጠርም ሆነ በከተማ የሚኖረው የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ነፃነቱን በትግራይ ፋሽስቶች በመገፈፉ፤ መታሰር፤ መገደል፤ መሰደድና መዋረድ የዘወትር ዕጣፈንታው ሆኗል።

አገዛዙ ራሱ ያፀደቀው ህገ መንግስት አንቀፅ 15 ማንኛውም ሰው በህግ በተደነገገው ከባድ የወንጀል ቅጣት ካልሆነ በስተቀር ህይወቱን አያጣም በማለት ቢደነግግም ለአንድ ቀንም እንኳን ህግን አክብሮ የማያወቀው ህወሃት/ኢህአዴግ በተለያዩ የሀገሪቱ አካባቢዎች ዜጎችን በጠራራ ፀሀይ መግደሉን ዋና ስራው አድርጎታል። በተመሳሳይ በህገ መንግስቱ አንቀፅ 21 በጥበቃ ላይ ያሉና በፍርድ የታሰሩ ሰዎች ሰብዓዊ ክብራቸውን በሚጠብቅ መልኩ የመያዝ መብት እንዳላቸውና ከትዳር ጓደኛቸው፣ ከቅርብ ዘመዶቻቸው፣ ከሃይማኖት አባቶቻቸው፣ ሃኪሞቻቸውና ከጠበቆቻቸው ጋር የመገናኘት መብት እንዳላቸው ቢደነግግም፤ አገዛዙ በህገ መንግስቱ የተሰጣቸውን የመፃፍ፣ የመናገርና የመደራጀት መብታቸውን ተግባራዊ በማድረጋቸው ብቻ በየእስር ቤቱ ያገራቸው ዜጎች በአስከፊ ሁኔታ ላይ ይገኛሉ።

በመሆኑም የሕግ የበላይነትና የግለሰብ ነፃነት በሌለበት አገር ውስጥ በዘርና በጥላቻ ላይ የተመሠረተ ፖለቲካ አገርን ለውድቀት ህዝብን ለባርነት ይዳርጋል። በአጠቃላይ አገዛዙ የራሱን ዜጎች በመግደልና በማሰር በስልጣን ለመቆየት መወሰኑን ባለፉት ስድስት ወራት ብቻ የፈፀመው ወንጀል ያረጋግጣል። ስለሆነም ከዚህ አስከፊ አገዛዝ ተላቀን ህዝባዊ አስተዳደር መገንባት የምንችለው ሁላችንም ለመታሰርና ለመሞት ቆርጠን ስንነሳ ብቻ መሆኑን ተገንዝበን ትግላችንን አጠናክረን መቀጠል የሁላችንም ግዴታ ነው።

**ትግል እስከምን ድረስ ?**  
**Daniel Moges**

በአስከፊና አንባገነን መንግሥታት ዕጅ የወደቁ አገራት ከተጫናቸው ኢ-ፍትሃዊ ሥርዓት ለመላቀቅ ሁሉንም ትግል በማድረግ ነፃ ስለመውጣታቸው የተለያዩ የታሪክ ድርሳናት ይመሰክራሉ። ሰዎች በተፈጥሮ የተቸሩትን የማሰብ እና የመናገር ነፃነት ለደቂቃም ቢሆን ተነፍገው መኖር እንደሌለባቸው ቢታወቅም ገዥዎች

የራሳቸውን መብት እና ሃብት ሲያካብቱ የምስኪን ዜጎችን ትንሽ ነፃነት ነፍገው ሲገዙ ለመኖር መንግሥታቸው ሳያንስ ፍትህ አልባ በሆነ የሕግ ሥርዓት በማሰር በማዋከብና በመግደል የተለያዩ በደሎችን ሲፈፅሙ ይኖራሉ። እነዚህ አንባገን መንግሥታቸው ለእነሱ ከርስ ብቻ ያደሩ ምስኪኑን ዜጋ ከቁብ የማይቆጥሩ በዲሞክራሲ ስም ላያቸውን አሳምረው ውስጣቸው የተለወሰ መቃብር እንደሆነ እርግጥ ነው። አገር በዚህ ዓይነት አስከፊ ሥርዓት ስር ስትወድቅ በዜጎች ላይ የተለያዩ በደሎች በግል እና በማኅበር ይደርስባቸዋል። ያንን በደል "እምቢኝ" ያሉት ለእስራትና ለሞት ሲዳረጉ ይታያል።

አንባገን የወያኔ መንግሥት ባለፉት ሃያ አምስት አመታት በኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ ያደረሰውን በደል መዘርዘር ያታከታል። ሰዎች ከደረሰባቸው በደል ይልቅ አገሪታቸው በአገርነት የመቀጠል ተስፋዋን እንካን እስከ ማጨለም የሚደርሱ የማኅበረሰቡን ቁጥ መገለጫዎች አገርን አገር የሚያሰኙትን ባህል ፣ወግ ፣ሃይማኖት ፣ ማንነት ፣ሰንደቅ አላማ፣ ዳር ድንበር እንዳልነበሩ በማድረግ በዘር በመከፋፈል ኢትዮጵያን ወደማትወጣው ምስቅልቅሎሽ ውስጥ ለመከተት ሌላ ተጨማሪ ዓመታትን የሚናፍቅ ጉጂሌ መንግሥት ተብሎ መሆኑ የአደባባይ ምስጢር ነው። በዚህ ሥርዓት እጅግ የተበደሉ የተገፉ ዜጎች አገር ጥለው እንደ ጨው ቅንጣት በየቦታው ተበትነዋል። ኢትዮጵያዊነት ስደት እስኪመስል ድረስ መገለጫዋ አድርገውታል። የዚህ በደል ገፈት ቀማሽ "እናውቅልሃለን" የሚሉት ዜጋ የመናገር የመፃፍ የመጠየቅ መብቱ ተገፎ በመሰረታዊነት የተሰጠው እና የሚያስፈልገው ነፃነት የሚባለውን ነገር ካጣ ሰነባብታል።

ኢትዮጵያ ለውጥ የግድ የሚያስፈልግባት ነፃነት ሁሉም በዕኩልነት ሊያገኝባት የሚገባ አገር መሆን ይኖርባታል። ይህን ደግሞ ሲፈቅድ የሚሰጥ ሲተው የሚነሳ መንግሥት መሆን የለበትም። የትኛውም አገር ያለ ትግል ነፃነቱን አልተገኘባቸውም። ያለ ትግል ድል የለም። ያለፉት ሃያ አምስት የግዛት ዓመታት እንዲቀጥሉ የሚፈልግ ማንም የለም። ስለሆነም ይህንን ጉጂሌ የወያኔ መንግሥት ለማስወገድና አዲስ የነፃነት ምድር የሆነች ኢትዮጵያን ለመገንባት ትግል ወሳኝ ነው።

ትግል እስከምን ድረስ ? ሞቅ ሲል የሚያነሳሳ ሲበርድ ተቀምጦ የሚታዘብ ዜጋ ታጋይ ሊባል አይቻለውም። ከምንም እና ከማንም በላይ አገር ለምትባለው ኢትዮጵያ ሲል ትግሉን አጠናክሮ የሚፈለገው ነፃነት እስኪመጣ በፅናት የሚሠራ ማለት ነው። በአገር የመኖር መብትን ያሳጣ ሥርዓት ዕድሜውን እንዲቀጥል ከሚያደርጉት ዋነኛው ሥርዓቱ እንዲወገድ አለመታገል ነው "አያባባኝም" የሚሉት ፈሊጥ ነው። ዛሬ ከገዢው ዘረኛ የወያኔ አቀንቃኞችና የሱ ፍርፋሪ ተጠቃሚዎች ካልሆኑ በስተቀር የግፉ ዱላ ያላረፈበት ኢትዮጵያዊ አለ ለማለት አይቻልም። የዕኩልነት የነፃነት የዲሞክራሲን ምንነት በሰው አገር እያዩ መኖር ሳይሆን ይህንን ዲሞክራሲ ነፃነትና ዕኩልነት ለማምጣት መታገል

የበለጠ ፋይዳ አለው። ካለ ትግል ድል ፈፅሞ የለም። አንባገንኖች ዕድሜያቸው በጨመረ ቁጥር ግፍና በደሉን እየጨመሩ በአንድ የዘር የበላይነት ሥልጣንን ጠቅልለው በመያዝ የባሪያ ሥርዓትን ከማስፈን ወደኋላ እንደማይሉ ማመን ያስፈልጋል። ይህ ትንቢት አይደለም።እየሆነ የምናውቀው ሃቅ ነው። ትግል እስከምን ድረስ ነው ? የሚናፈቀውና የሚፈለገው ድል ውጤት እስከሚመጣ ትውልድ ቢያልፍም በመቀበል ድሉን መጨበጥና ለተገፉ ነፃነት ለሚያስፈልጋቸው ተስፋኞች ነፃነትን እስከማግኘፅ የሚደርስ ነው። እንጂም በልቶ በማደር ውሎ በመግባት ብቻ ከነፃነት ውጭ የሆነን ኑሮ ኑሮ ብሎ መግፋት ዕድሜን መጨረስ እንስሳዊነት ነው። የነፃነትን መሰረታዊ መብትነትን ያወቁ በዲሞክራሲያዊ አገሮች የተሰደዱ ኢትዮጵያውያን ዜጎች አብልጠው ይህንን ነፃነት ለማግኘት መታገል ይገባቸዋል። የወያኔን ከኢትዮጵያ ጫንቃ ላይ ማስወረድ ዋነኛ የትግል ዓላማቸው በማድረግ መታገል አማራጭ የሌለው ጉዳይ ነው። ለቀባሪው ማርዳት ካልሆነ በቀር ተዘርዝሮ የማያልቅ በደል በኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ ወያኔ አድርሶብናል። የሚገርመው ደግሞ ገና ይህንን በደል ለመቀጠል ተጨማሪ ጊዜ መፈለጉ ነው። የንፁሃንን ደም በማፍሰስ በጠመንጃ ዕድሜውን ለማርዘም ሌት ተቀን እየባተለ የሚገኘው ወያኔን ምንም እንካን የሚከፈል መስዋዕትነት ቢኖርም ሕዝብ ከማሸነፍ በዛኛ አያውቅም። ያ ታሪክ ብቻ አይደለም። ኩነትም ይሆናል።ነገር ግን ትግል እስከ ምን ድረስ ቢሉ.....ያ የሚፈለገው የነፃነት አየር በኢትዮጵያ ምድር እስከሚሰፍን።

**ለማይቀረው የትጥቅ ትግል እንነሳ!**

**Rosa Teshome (W ü rzburg)**

ገዢው መንግስት ኢህአዴግ ለኢትዮጵያ ክብርና ህልውና ለመሟገት ኩቶውንም ፍላጎት የለውም። ይልቁንም አገር የሚገነጥል ዜጋውን በአደባባይ የሚገድል፣ የሀይማኖት አባቶች ሲታረዱ ጀርባውን የሚሰጥ፣ ታሪካዊ ሥፍራዎችና አብያተ ክርስቲያኖች ሲመዘበሩና ሲጋዩ በዝምታ የሚያይ ድንታቢ አገዛዝ ነው። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ የሀገራችንን መሬት ቆርሶ ለባዕዳን የሚሰጥ፣ ድንበራችን ሲደፈርና ዜጎቻችን በባዕዳን ኃይል ሲገደሉና ታፍነው ሲወሰዱ፣ሲታሰሩና ከንብረታቸው ሲፈናቀሉ ከጠላት ጋር የሚያበር፣ ያለማፈርም ለእነሱ በአደባባይ ጥብቅና የሚቆም፣ ሴት እህቶቻችንን በተለያዩ አረብ አገራት ሲገደሉና ሲደበደቡ በዝምታ የሚያይ፣ በጎጥ ፖለቲካ የተከፈለ አናሳ የነፍስ ገዳዮች ጥርቅም እንደ መንግስት መቁጠር ያሳፍራል።

ኢትዮጵያ አስራ አንድ በመቶ የኢኮኖሚ ዕድገት አስመዘገበች እየተባለ በሚለፈፍበት በአሁኑ ወቅት እንኳን ከ6 ሚሊዮን በላይ ሕፃናት በርሃብ ሲረግፉ በተለያዩ የውጭ ሀገር ዜና ማሰራጫዎች ተመልክተናል። በሕዝብ ገንዘብ ተሠርቶ የቆመውን የማይበላ ባዶ ፎቃቸውን ትተን ለተለያዩ አካላት አቤት እንበል። ዛሬ ኢትዮጵያ ከይስሙላ የብሔረሰቦች ዕኩልነት ልፈፋና

በወረቀት ላይ ከተለጠፈ የማይተገበር ዲሞክራሲ ይበልጥ ህልውና ያስፈልጋታል። የራሳቸውን ፍላጎት ለማሟላት ከኢትዮጵያ ከመገንጠልና ሌሎችን ለማስገንጠል በጥላቻ የተነሱ የትግራይ ነፃ አውጪ ኅሰኞች የቀረቸውን ኢትዮጵያ ከካርታ ላይ ከማጥፋታቸው በፊት በመካከላችን ያለውን ልዩነት አጥብቦ የትግል ትኩረታችንን በወያኔ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ ላይ ማድረግ ይጠበቅብናል። ድል ለሰፊ ሕዝብ!!

**የሞላ የበደል ፅዋ**

**Daniel Moges**

በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የመከራ በትሩ አንገፍግፋቸው አገር ለቀው የተሰደዱ ዜጎች በያሉበት ሆነው በገዥው የወያኔ መንግሥት ላይ የሚያሰሙት መጠነ ሰፊ ተቃውሞ በተለያዩ የአውሮፓ የአውስትራሊያ እና አሜሪካ ከተሞች ከመቼውም ጊዜ በላይ በርትቶ በተባበረ ግብረ ኃይል በመደራጀት የገዥው ባለሥልጣናት ሊያደርጉት የነበረን ስብሰባና የገንዘብ ማሰባሰብን በማስቆም ከየመጡበት ከተሞች በሃፍረት እንዲመለሱ አድርገዋል። ይህ ተቃውሞ ማንም ጥሪን ሳያሰማ በግል የደረሰ የበደል ጠባሳ ብቻ የሚያነሳው ነው። አገሩን በስደት ለቆ የወጣ ባለበት ሆኖ ከሚያሰማው የተቃውሞ ድምፃች አንደኛው ይህ የገዥውን ጭፍሮች ተግባር ማጋለጥ እና መቃወም ነው። በዚህም ውጤታማ በመሆን ላይ ይገኛል። በተለይ በአሜሪካ የሚኖሩ ለወያኔ መንግሥት በዚህ ተግባር የአግር እሳት እየሆኑበት ይገኛሉ። ግብረ ኃይሉ የሚደርሰውን መረጃ በአጭር ጊዜ በመቀባበል ስብሰባም ሆነ የገቢ ማሰባሰቢያ በሚደረግባቸው ቦታዎች በመገኘት የገዥው ታማኝ ካድሬዎች በሚያርፉበት ሆቴል ተከታትሎ በመግባት መቆሚያ መቀመጫ በማሳጣት ላይ ይገኛል። ይህ ሁኔታ ሰላም የነሳው ወያኔ በምስጢር ሊያደርጋቸው በተዘጋጀባቸው ቦታዎች እና መድረኮች ሳይቀር እንደ ጥላ እየተከተሉ ዓላማውን አሰናክለዋል። ይህ ብሶት የወለደው ትግል እንጂ ተነሳ የሚል ጥሪ ተደርጎ የሚፈፀም አይደለም። በአገር ውስጥ ተቃውሞን በዚህ መልክ ማሰማት ቀርቶ ማሰብ ባለመቻሉ እራሳቸውን በሕዝብ ዘንድ ተቀባይ እንደሆኑ ለሚያስቡ የገዥው ሰዎች ትልቅ ትምህርት የሚሰጥ ነው። ውርደትን መከናከብ የዕለት ዕለት ገጠመኛቸው በመሆን ላይ ይገኛል። ወትሮም ቢሆን ተቃውሞን በመሳሪያ አፍኖ እንጂ ከጥቂት ካድሬዎች በቀር የወያኔ የመከራ በትር ያላረፈበት ዜጋ የለም። "ብሶት የወለደው" ብሎ እራሱን የሰየመው ወያኔ እነሆ በእውነተኛ የሕዝብ ብሶት የሙጥኝ ያለው ወንበሩ እየተነቃነቀበት ይገኛል።

የበደል ፅዋ ሲሞላ እስር እንግልት ቀርቶ ሞትም ቢሆን ትግልን አያክሸፉም። ውድ አገራቸውን ትተው የተሰደዱ ዜጎች ባሉበት በመሆን የወያኔን የግዛት ዕድሜ ለማሳጠር እየተነሳሱ ያሉበት የትግል አካል ነው። ከግርማ ብሩ እስከ ርድዋን ከድርጅት ከአሊ ሱሌይማን እስከ ሙከታር ከድርጅት ከአባይ ወልዱ እስከ ጌታቸው

ረዳ ድረስ በየገቡበት እየገባ ነውራቸውን ከማጋለጥ አልፎ ያሰቡትን እንዳያሳኩ ለማድረግ ችሎአል። እጅግ መጥፎ ተግባራቸውን በአደባባይ እንዲሰሙ አድርገዋል። በዋነኛነት ግን የበደል ፅዋ ሲሞላ ሕዝብ በያለበት በደለኞችን መዋጋቱ እንደማይቀር ያሳያል። በውሸት ፕሮፖጋንዳ የሚታወቀው ወያኔ ዛሬም በዓለም ታላላቅ ሚዲያዎች ሁሉ የተጋለጠበትን እውነት ለመደበቅ ቢጥርም በዓለም የተበተኑ ስደተኞች ምስክር ሆነው ጭቆናውን እያሳወቁለት ይገኛሉ። በዚህም መልካም ገፅታው እየተበላሸበት የውጭ ፖሊሲው ጥያቄ ውስጥ እየገባበት ይገኛል። በታላላቅ ስብሰባዎች ለመሳተፍ ወደውጭ አገራት የሚሄዱ ካድሬዎቹን በድብቅ እና በአጅብ እንዲንቀሳቀሱ ቢያደርግም ከተቃውሞ ለማምለጥ አልቻሉም። ይህንን የተቃውሞ እንቅስቃሴ በይበልጥ ለማከናወን በየአገራቱ ሁሉም ስደተኛ ጉዳዩ እያለው ይገኛል። ከሕዝብ አይን ማምለጥ አይቻልም። በወያኔ አስከፊ አገዛዝ ስር የሚገኙ ዜጎች ማናቸውንም የትግል አማራጮች መጠቀማቸውን ይቀጥላሉ። እየተንገዳገደ ያለው የወያኔ መንግሥት በሁለገብ ትግል መውደቁ አይቀርም። የሞላ የበደል ፅዋ ነው።

**የነፃነትና ሰብዓዊ መብት ገፈፋ በኢትዮጵያ**

**Melat Ashenafi & Rahel Ashenafi**

**(Würzburg)**

ባለፉት 25 ዓመታት ውስጥ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ የወያኔ/ኢህአዴግ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ ግድያ፣ እስራትና ስቃይ ሰለባ ሆኖ ቆይቷል። ይህ ደግሞ በጠባብ የፖለቲካ ምህዳር እና ገለልተኛ ማሕበራዊ ተቋማት በሌሉበት የሚደረግ የፖለቲካ ትግልና የነፃነት ተጋድሎ ዓይነተኛ መገለጫ መሆኑ ለሁላችንም ግልጽ ነው። በቅርብ ወራቶች ውስጥ እንኳን በተለያዩ የሀገሪቱ ክፍሎች የተቀጣጠሉ የነፃነትና የመብት ጥያቄዎችን አንግበው በወጡ ሰላማዊ ሰልፈኞች ላይ ገዢው መንግስት ባደረሰው ጭካኔ የተሞላበት ግድያ ከ400 በላይ ወገኖቻችን በአደባባይ ተጨፍጭፈዋል። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ የታሰሩ፣ የተደበደቡ፣ የቆሰሉና የደረሱበት ያልታወቀ በርካታ ግለሰቦች በዋቢነት ተጠቃሽ ናቸው። ለዚህም ተቀማጭነቱ በኢትዮጵያ የሆነው የሰብዓዊ መብቶች ጉባኤ በቅርቡ ያወጣውን የሰብዓዊ መብቶች አያያዝ ዘገባ መመልከት በቂ ይመስለናል።

ምንም እንኳን የሀገሪቱ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር መንግሥታቸው የወሰደው እርምጃ የተሳሳተ መሆኑን በማመን በግልጽ ይቅርታ ቢጠይቁም፤ አሁንም ድረስ የመንግሥታቸው የመከላከያ ሀይል በየትምህርት ተቋማት ተማሪዎችንም ሆነ ንፁሃን ሰላማዊ ሰልፈኞች ላይ እያደረሰ ያለው ኢሰብዓዊ ስቃይ ከዕለት ወደ ዕለት እየተባባሰ ነው። በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ መንግሥት ለይስሙላ በሀገሪቱ ላይ መረጋጋት እና ነፃነት ያለ ለማስመስል የታሰሩትን በመልቀቅ የአስመሳይነት ቲያትሩን ቢያሳይም፤ አሁንም ድረስ በሀገሪቱ ውስጥ የነፃነትና

የሰብዓዊ መብት ገፈፋው በቀጥታም ሆነ በተዘዋዋሪ ተጠናክሮ እንደቀጠለ ነው።

በሀገሪቱ ውስጥ የተገደሉት ንፁህን ሰላማዊ ሰልፈኞች ቁጥር የላጋሽ ሀገሮችን ቀልብ መሳቡ ይታወቃል። ይህን ጭካኔ የተሞላውን የመንግሥት ድርጊት በቸልታ አይተው እንደማያልፉትና በገለልተኛ ወገን የተገደሉትና የታሰሩትን ማጣራት ሂደት ማካሄድ እንዳለበት አሳስበዋል። በአጠቃላይ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ በሚደረገው የሰብዓዊ መብት ረገጣ፣ የነፃነት እጦት፣ የሕይወት መጥፋትና የዜጎች በእስር ቤት እንግልት በአስቸኳይ እንዲቆም ጨካኝን የወያኔ አገዛዝ በአንድነት ታግለን ማስወገድ ይኖርብናል። ድል ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ!

**ህዝብን በለውጥ ሀዲድ ላይ ማሳፈር ለነን**

**የማይባል የቤት ስራ ነው**

**Seble Zerfu (Frankfurt)**

የሚይዝ እና የሚጨብጠውን በማጣት እየተቅበዘበዘ ያለውን የወያኔ ስርአት ልብ ብለን ስንመለከተው በአንድነት መንቀሳቀስ እና በለውጡ ባቡር ላይ ማሳፈር ከቻልን ለለውጥ ዝግጁ እንደሆንን ማሳያ ነው። ምክንያቱ ደግሞ ዛሬ በዚህ ዘረኛ የሆነ ሰው በላ መንግሥት ያልተማረረ ያላለቀሰ ግለ ሰብም ሆነ ህዝብ ያለ አይመስለኝም ሆኖቸው አምላካቸው ከሆነባቸው የስርአቱ አገልጋዮች በስተቀር ማለት ነው። የሚደንቀው ነገር ደግሞ እንድትማረርና ለተቃውሞ እንድትነሳ የሚያረጋግጥ የኢኮኖሚ ችግር ብቻ አይደለም እስሩ ፣ ግድያው (ከህውሃቶች ካልሆነ በስተቀር ከአንድ ቤተሰብ ውስጥ መንግሥት ያላሰረበት ወይም ያልገደለበት አይገኝም) የዘር ልዩነት ፣ ዘረፋው (አይናችን እያየ ትላንት ምንም ያልነበረው ደሃ የህውሓት ባለስልጣን ቤተ ሰቦች በአንዴ ሚሊዮኖች ሲሆኑ ተመልክተናል) እንዲሁም በርካታ ምሁራን እና ሀገር ወዳድ ዜጎች ሀገር ጥለው እንዲሰዱ ተደርገዋል ብቻ ምን አላፋችሁ በዚህ ስርአት በሁሉም ላይ ጥቃቱ ደርሶአል በፊት በዘር በሃይማኖት ከፋፍሎ ሲያፋጅ የነበረውን የወያኔ ስልት ዛሬ ህዝቡ ስለነቃበት ሊሰራ አለመቻሉ እንደውም ህዝቡን ወደ አንድነትና ወደ ህብረት እንዲመጣ አርጎት ለወያኔ መንግሥት ከቁጥጥር ውጪ የሆነ ተቃውሞ ሲፈጥርበትም እያየን ነው። ሌላው ደግሞ በፊት በአገር ውስጥም ሆነ በውጪ አገራት የነበረው የበላይነት አሁን ተቀይሮ በአገር ውስጥም ከፍተኛ የሆነ ተቃውሞ እያየን ነው ሌላው ደግሞ በፊት ወያኔን መንግሥት ደግፈው ይዘውት የነበሩት የደህንነትና የወታደራዊ ተቋሞች ቀስ በቀስ መሸርሸርና አቅም ማጣት በዛ ስር የነበሩት ግለሰቦች በአንድም ይሁን በሌላ በቤተሰቦቻቸው ላይ በደሉ በመድረሱ በእነሱም በዘር ምክንያት በሚደረገው ውርደትና ንቀት መንሸራተት መጀመራቸው እንዲሁም የታቃውሞው ጎራ ልዩነታቸውን እያጠበቡ መምጣትና አንዳንዱ መዋሃድ ሌሎቹ የህውሓትን መንግሥት የጋራ ጠላት አርጎ በመውሰድ በትብብር መስራት መጀመር እንዲሁ ከዘር ፖለቲካ ይልቅ ብሄራዊው ፖለቲካ እየጎላ

መምጣት በራሳቸው በኢህአዴግ ውስጥ እየጨመረ የመጣው የሃሳብ ልዩነትና መደፋፈር እና ሌሎችንም ሁኔታ ስናይ በቅርብ ጥሩ ተስፋ ይታያል ስለሆነም ሁሉንም የለውጥ ሀይሎች በሀዲዱ ላይ በማሳፈር ትግሉን እናቀጣጥል እላለሁ። ድል ለኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ!!!

## ኑሮ ከተባለ

አንዳንዶች በአልልታ በአስረሽ ምቹው ዜማ

እስከስታ ሲወርዱ ሳቃቸው ሲሰማ

እነሱ ሲጠግቡ ጠጥተው ሲሰክሩ

በድል አልባ ወኔ እንዲያው ሲፎክሩ

ነገሩ ወዲህ ነው.....

የሆዳቸው መጠን እንጂ መለኪያቸው

አይደለም ወገኔ መዛኝ ሕሊናቸው

ለሌላ የማይል ይትረፍ ለሌሎቹ

ማግበስበስ ብቻ ነው ሃብት ሲያከማቹ

ሺ ካሬ በዕጃቸው ሺ በዘመዳቸው

ስለ ቤትህ መፍረስ ምን አሳስባቸው

ከሰኞ እስከ እሑድ እየበሉ ከትፎ

ቅቤ ሲንጠፈጠፍ ከጣታቸው ተርፎ

ያንተ ለዘይቱ ሳምንት መሰለፍህ

እንካን ከትፎውና ሽሮም ሲያርብህ

ማንም ምንም አይል ሰሚ የለም ጋዴ

በሆድ ማስብ የለ አላወቅህም እንዴ

እዚያ እልልታ ነው ጣር ሰሚም አያገኝ

መሮጥ ነው ዝም ብሎ የሚበላ ሲገኝ

ሥራዬ የሚለው ስልሎ ሚያደባ

በፈረሰው ቤትህ የሱን ሊገነባ

ከዚያም በምረቃ በልማት አሳቦ

ጠግቦ ይጨፍራል ያንተ ሆድ ተርቦ

በቃ ከዚህ በላይ ማስብ የተሳነው

እንዴት ያንተ ችግር መከራህ ይታየው

በሱ ሺ ደስታ አንተ እንድትጨፍር

ስማኝ ደሞ ይላል የልማቱን ዲስኩር

የሚሊዮኖች ሆድ ጠሙን እያደረ

በጥቂቶች መጥገብ ልማት ተዘከረ

ኑሮ ከተባለ ይኼው ነው ነገሩ

ግራ አጋቢ ልማት ሞተው እየኖሩ።

\*\*\*\*\*x x x x x\*\*\*\*\*

ዳንኤል ሞገስ



የዚህ ዕትም የቃለ-መጠይቅ እንግዳችን ጋዜጠኛና ፖለቲከኛ ዘላለም ደበበ፤ የቀድሞው የትግል አጋሩ አቶ ሐብታሙ አያሌው በጠና ታሞ ሆስፒታል መግባቱና ከኢትዮጵያ ውጭ ሄዶ ሕክምና እንዳያደርግ በአገዛዙ የተጣለበትን ዕግድ በተመለከተ ላቀረብንለት ጥያቄዎች የሰጠን ማብራሪያ ከዚህ እንደሚከተለው አቅርባለን።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** ጋዜጠኛና ፖለቲከኛ ዘላለም ደበበ በድጋሚ ለቃለ-መጠይቅ ስለተባበረከን በጣም እያመሰገንን፤ ከወጣቱ ፖለቲከኛ ሀብታሙ አያሌው ጋር ያላችሁ ትውውቅ የትና መቼ ጀመረ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ፡-** እኔም መረጃዎችን እንዳካፍል ስለጋበዛችሁኝ ከልብ አመሰግናለሁ። እንግዲህ ከአንደበተ ርቱው ፖለቲከኛ ሀብታሙ አያሌው ጋር ያለን ትውውቅ የተጀመረው በአንድነት ፓርቲ ምክትል የፋይናንስ ኃላፊ እና በኋላም የብሄራዊ ምክር ቤቱ ሰብሳቢ በነበሩት አቶ ፀጋዬ አላምረው መልማይነት በአንድነት ፓርቲ ውስጥ መድረክ ተዘጋጅቶላቸው በወቅቱ በነበረው የፖለቲካ ትኩሳት ላይ ሰፊ ጥናታዊ ፅሁፍ ካቀረቡ እና የአባልነት ፎርም ሞልተው ሙሉ በሙሉ የፓርቲው አባል ከሆኑ ጊዜ ጀምሮ በደምብ ተቀራርበን የፖለቲካ ስራዎችን አብረን ሰርተናል። ህዝባዊ ስብሰባዎችንና ሰላማዊ ሰልፎችን በመላው የኢትዮጵያ ከተሞች በሚባል መልኩ በሀብታሙ አመራር ሰጭነት በብቃት መርተናል። በአንድነት ፓርቲ የህዝብ ግንኙነት ቋሚ ኮሚቴ ውስጥም ዘርፈ ብዙ ስራዎችን አብረን የሰራን የፖለቲካ መሪዬ፣ ዳደኛዬ፣ የትግል አጋሬና በምፅፋቸው ፅሁፎችም ሀያሲዬ ሆኖ ወደ ሰደት እስከወጣሁበት ጊዜ ድረስ አብሮነት የነበረን በጣም ጥሩ ወዳጄ ነው።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** አንተና ዳደኞችህ ወጣቱ ፖለቲከኛ ሐብታሙ አያሌው በጠና ታሞ ሆስፒታል መግባቱና መንግሥት በውጭ አገር ሄዶ ህክምና እዳያደርግ የጣለበትን ዕግድ ጠቅሳችሁ በማሕበራዊ ሚዲያ የሁለት ቀናት ዘመቻ ማድረጋችሁ ይታወቃል። ሕክምና ለመከልከል ዋና ምክንያቱ ምንድነው ? ዘመቻውስ ምን ውጤት አስገኛላችሁ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ፡-** እንደሚታውቀው የቀድሞ አንድነት ለዲሞክራሲና ለፍትህ ፓርቲ የህዝብ ግንኙነት ሃላፊ የነበረው ወጣቱ ፖለቲከኛ ሀብታሙ አያሌው ከሐምሌ 1ቀን 2006 ጀምሮ ለአስራ ሰምንት ወራት

በአሸባሪነት ድርጊት ተሳትፏል በሚል ከስ ተመስርቶበት በእስር ቤት ቆይቶ በአሁኑ ወቅት በሃሰት ከቀረበበት ውንጀላ በፍርድ ቤት በነፃ መሰናበቱ ይታወሳል። ነገር ግን ዓቃቢ ህግ ይግባኝ በመጠየቁ ከእስር ውጭ ሆኖ እንዲከታተል በሰበር ውሳኔ በተሰጠው ትዕዛዝ መሰረት በውጭ ሆኖ ጉዳዩን በመከታተል ላይ ይገኛል። በይግባኝ ምክንያትም ወደ ውጭ እንዳይወጣ በፍርድ ቤት እግድ ተደርጎበታል። ነገር ግን በአሁኑ ወቅት በእስር ቤት በነበረበት ወቅት በደረሰበት ኢ-ሰብዓዊ አያያዝ የተነሳ በከፍተኛ ህመም እየተሰቃየ ሲሆን ለህይወቱ አሰጊ በሆነ ደረጃ ላይም ይገኛል። በመሆኑም የጤናውን ሁኔታ ለማሻሻል ወደ ውጭ ሄዶ ተገቢውን ህክምና ለማግኘት ቢሞክርም በህወሀቱ የካንጋሮው ፍርድ ቤት ፍቃድ ሳያገኝ ቀርቷል ። በማእከላዊ የግፍ እስር ቤት በደረሰበት ኢሰብአዊ አያያዝ ምክንያት ህይወቱ ለአደጋ የተጋለጠው ሀብታሙ አያሌው ያለበትን ወቅታዊ የጤና ሁኔታ ከግምት በማስገባት የከፍተኛው ፍርድ ቤት የተጣለበትን የጉዞ እግድ እንዲያነሳለት እና የተሻለ ህክምና ወደሚያገኝበት ሀገር በመጓዝ ህይወቱን ለማትረፍ ያቀረበውን የተማፅኖ ጥያቄ ፍርድ ቤቱ ግዜ ያስፈልገዋል በማለት ለማክሰኞ ሰኔ 28 ቀን 2008 ዓ.ም ተለዋጭ ቀጠሮ ይሰጣል። ይህንን ጊዜ ነው እንግዲህ የወጣቱ ፖለቲከኛ የጤና ጉዳይ የሚያስስበን ወገኖቹ ተሰባስበን በመምከር እንደተመለከታችሁት ሁሉን አቀፍ ተቃውሞዎችን በተለያዩ የማህበራዊ ሚዲያዎች ላይ ማድረግ የቻልነው። በዚህም ምክንያት አምነስቲ ኢንተርናሽናልን ጨምሮ የተለያዩ የሰብአዊ መብት ተሟጋቾች እና የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ለጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ኃይለ ማርያም ደሳለኝ እና ለሚመለከታቸው አካላት በአስቸኳይ እገዳው ተነስቶለት ወደ ውጭ ሀገር ሄዶ እንዲታከም ደብዳቤ አስገብተዋል። በተለይ አምነስቲ ሃብታሙ አሁን ካለበት ሁኔታ እና ከሰብዓዊ መብት አንጻር እገዳው በአስቸኳይ

ሊነሳሉት ይገባል በማዕከላዊ የምርመራ እና የቂሊንጦ እስር ቤቶች የነበረው ቆይታው ለጤናው መታወክ ምክንያት መሆኑንም ጨምሮ ገልጾ ነው ደብዳቤውን የጻፈው። ሆኖም ግን አንድንድ መረጃዎች እንደሚጠቁሙት በእስር ቤት ቆይታው በሰውነት ክፍሉ ላይ ከፍተኛ አደጋን ሊያስከትል የሚችል አርሰኒክ የተባለ ነገር ሳይወጋ እንዳልቀረ እና ወደ ውጭ ሄዶ የሚታከም ከሆነ ደግሞ በምርመራ ስለሚረጋገጥ ስጋት ሆኖባቸው ህክምና እንዳያገኝ እያደረጉት ነው የሚል ግምት ነው ያለው። ለዚህም ምስክር የሚሆንን ማክሰኞ ፍርድ ቤት ሲቀርብ ዳኛ የለም በማለት ለሀሙስ ሰኔ 30 ቀን 2008 ዓ.ም ሌላ ቀጠሮ ተሰጠ፤ ይሁን እንጂ በዚህኛውም ቀጠሮ ፍ/ቤቱ ዕግዱን ከማንሳት ይልቅ ሀብታሙ ከተኛበት ሆስፒታል በዶክተሮች ቦርድ የተፈረመ የህክምና ማስረጃ ይቅረብልኝ የሚል ተዛዝ በመስጠቱ ዛሬም ድረስ የቦርዱን የህክምና ማስረጃ በመጠባበቅ ላይ እንገኛለን።

ለሁለት ቀናት ሐብታሙ አያሌውን አጀንዳ በማድረግ በማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ያደረገውን ንቅናቄ በብዙ መልኩ ሀብረታችን፣ ለሰብዓዊነት ያለንን ተቆርቋሪነትና የበቀል ፖለቲካን የምንጠየቁ መሆናችንን አሳይተናል።

ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ለህዝቡ ጥያቄና ህይወት ግድ እንደማይለውም «ብሶት» ወለደኝ ያለን ኢህአዴግ ለአንድ ሺ አንደኛ ጊዜ አሳይተናል። ሐብታሙንም ሆነ ሌሎች ወገኖቻችንን ጨለማን ተገን በማድረግ ጤንነታቸውን የሚያቃውሱ የስርዓቱ አገልጋዮች መቼም ከአምላክ፣ ከህሊና እና ከህዝብ እንደማይመልጡም በንቅናቄያችን ተመልክተናል። ሐብታሙ ጤንነቱን አግኝቶ ጠንካራው መንፈሱም ተጠግኖ እንስከምናገኘውም ከጎኑ እንቆማለን። በዚህ አጋጣሚ በማህበራዊ ንቅናቄው አጋርነታችሁን ለገለጸችሁ ሁሉ ከልብ የመነጨ ምስጋና ለማቅረብ እወዳለሁ።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** በሀብታሙ ሕመም እና ሕክምና መከላከል ዙሪያ ኅብረተሰቡ በማህበራዊ ሚዲያዎች ላይ የሚያደርገውን አጠቃላይ እንቅስቃሴን እንዴት ትመለከተዋለህ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ፡-** በሀብታሙ ህመም ዙሪያ በተጀመረው በዚህ እንቅስቃሴ ትልቅ ሞቢላይዜሽን እያየን ነው። ሀብታሙ ስለሆነ ብቻም ሳይሆን በእርሱ ላይ የደረሰው በሌሎች ላይም ከዚህ ቀደም የደረሰውን የወያኔ መንግስት በስልጣን ላይ እስካለ ድረስ ደግሞ ወደፊትም በነፃነት ታጋዮች እና መብታቸውን በሚጠይቁ ዜጎች ላይ የሚደርሰውን የሚደርሰውን ዘርፈ ብዙ ችግር አመላካች ስለሆነ ነው። በአጠቃላይ የሀብታሙ ህመም

እና ስቃይ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ስቃይ ምልክት ነው። ህዝቡም በሀብታሙ ስቃይ ውስጥ የኢትዮጵያን ስቃይ ስለሚመልከት የሚያስተባብረው ካገኘ የወያኔን እጅ ከመጠምዘዝ እንደማይመልስ ያሳየበት በአንፃሩ ህወሀታውያን የተደናገጡበት በወጭ ሄዶ እንዲታከም ከፈቀዱለት ደግሞ ለእነሱ የሽንፈት ምልክት እንደሆነ ያሳየበት ነው።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** የአገዛዙ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር የሆኑት ዶ/ር ቴድሮስ አድሃኖም ለዓለም ጤና ድርጅት ዋና ዳይሬክተርነት ለመወዳደር የመረጡኝ ዘመቻ በማድረግ ላይ ይገኛሉ። በአንፃሩ እርሳቸው በውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትርነት የሚመሩት አገዛዝ አንድን ታስሮ የተፈታና በጠና የታመመ ፖለቲከኛ ውጭ አገር ሄዶ እንዳይታከም መከላከልን ስምተናል። በዚህ ላይ ያለህ አሰያየት ምንድነው?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ፡-** ይህ እንግዲህ የሚያሳየው የወያኔ ባለስልጣናት ምን ያህል ህሊና ቢስ እንደሆኑ እና የስልጣን ጥም ምን ያህል እንደሚያቅንዘንዛቸው ነው። በእርግጥ የስርአቱ አድር ባይ አባላትና ደጋፊዎች ብቻ ሳይሆኑ በተቃወሞ ጎራው ያሉ አንዳንድ አካላት እንዲሁም የነጻ ሃሳብ አራማጅ ነን የሚሉ አንዳንድ ዜጎችም ዶ/ር ቴዎድሮስ አድሃኖም የአለም ጤና ድርጅትን ቢመሩ ለግለሰቡ ብቻ ሳይሆን ለሃገርም ጥቅም አለው ሲሉ ይደመጣሉ። በኔ አመለካከት ይህ አስተሳሰብ የወያኔ የዕለት ከዕለት በደል ያልገባቸው አልያም ገብቷቸው ግን ግራ የገባቸው ሰዎች ጉንጭ አልፋ መከራከሪያ ነው። የዜጎቹ ህመም የማያሳስበው መንግስት ከዜጎቹ ጤና ይልቅ የፖለቲካ አጀንዳውን የሚያስቀድም ቂመኛ ሥርአት መሪ ሆኖ ለዓለም ህዝብ የጤና ድርጅት መሪነት ራስን ማቅረብ ከህሊና ቢስነት ውጪ ምንም ሊባል አይችልም። ሀብታሙ በጠና ታሟል። አልጋ ላይ ከዋለም ሰነባብቷል። ያለፈው አለፏል ተብሎ ህክምና እንዲያገኝ ሁኔታዎች ሊያመቻቹለት ይገባል። የቂም መርዝ መበተኑ ይበቃል። አሁን ስልጣን ላይ ያሉ የወያኔ መሪዎች የወቅትና የሁኔታዎች መመቻቸት እንጂ ከማንም አይበልጡም። በኔ ዕምነት ሀገር መምራት የሚችል በዘመናዊ የፖለቲካ አስተሳሰብ እና አመራርነቱ ኢትዮጵያ በዚህ ዘመን ካፈራቻቸው ወጣት መሪዎች መካከል የሚጠቅስ ወጣትን በቂም በቀል አስሮ እና አስቃይቶ ሲያበቃ ህክምና እንዳያገኝ የሚከለክል ቡድንን የሚስራ እና የሚመራ፣ ለወገኑና ላገሩ ዜጋ በሕይወት ለመቆየት የሚያስችል ፍትህን ከነፈጉት ሰዎች ጋር የወገኑ እንዴት አድርጎ ነዉ ያን የሚያክል ዓለም አቀፍ የጤና ተቋም ለመምራት ሲያስብና ለሀገር ጥቅም አለው ሲባል

ብሰማ ለዶክተሩ አፍሬያለው እነዚህንና ሌሎች መረጃዎችንም ይዘን ሰውየው ለቦታው ብቁ እንዳልሆነ እንቀሰቅሳለን።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** የዜጎችን ሕክምና የማግኘት መብት ከሕገ መንግሥቱ እና ከፍትህ ሥርዓቱ አንፃር እንዴት ትገመግመዋለህ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ፡-** ይህንን ጥያቄ የህግ ባለሙያዎች ቢመልሱት ነበር የተሻለ የሚሆነው ነገር ግን የግል አመለካከቴን ሳስቀምጥ፤ በቅድምያ የኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ. ህገ-መንግስት በሰብአዊ መብት ጉዳይ የሚያነሳውን ስንመልከት በአንቀጽ 21 ስር የሚዘረዝራቸው ነገሮች አሉ ለምሳሌ፡-

\* በጥበቃ ስር ያሉና በፍርድ ቤት የታሰሩ ሰዎች ሰብአዊ ክብራቸውን በሚጠብቁ ሁኔታዎች የመያዝ መብት እንዳላቸው እና ሰብአዊ ክብር የተሞላ እንክብካቤ እና አያያዝ ሊደረግላቸው እንደሚገባ፤

\* ከትዳር ጓደኞቻቸው፣ ከቅርብ ዘመዶቻቸው፣ ከጓደኞቻቸው፣ ከሀይማኖት አማካሪዎቻቸው ከሃኪሞቻቸው እና ከህግ አማካሪዎቻቸው ጋር የመገናኘትና እንዲጎበኟቸው እድል የማግኘት መብት እንዳላቸው ተደንግጓል።

ሌላው በጥበቃ ስር ያሉ ሰዎችን አያያዝ በተመለከተ በተባበሩት መንግስታት የአስረኞች አያያዝ አነስተኛ ደንቦች ማናቸውም በጥበቃ ስር ያሉ ሰዎች፡-

- ሰብአዊ መብታቸው ተከብሮ ለግርፋት፣ ለስቃይ፣ ለህገወጥ አያያዝ ወይም ቅጣት መጋለጥ እንደሌለባቸው -ጤንነታቸውን በሚጠብቁ በቂ ምግብ፣ ውሃ፣ መጠለያ፣ ልብስ፣ ህክምና እና ግላዊ ንጽህና ለመጠበቅ የሚያስችሉ ሁኔታዎች መያዝ እንዳለባቸው አስቀምጧል። እንግዲህ እንደዚህ አይነት ነገሮች ሲኖሩ ነው ህወሀት እራሱ ላወጣው ህግ ተገዢ አይደለም የምንለው። ህክምና የማግኘት መብትንም የፍርሀት ቆፈን የጨመደዳቸው የፍትህ አካላት ጨምድደው ይዘውታል ዜጎችን በሀሰት የክስ ድራቆች ጠቅልሎ ወህኒ እንዲወረወሩ አድርጎ በአስር ቤት በሚደርስባቸው ኢ ሰብአዊ አያያዝ ደግሞ በርካቶች አካል ጉዳተኛ ሲሆኑ፤ በርካቶች በድብደባ የዘር ፍሬያቸው ተቀጥቅጦ መውለድ እንዳይችሉ ሆነው የዘር ማጥፋት ሲፈፀምባቸው እንደ ሀብታሙ ህክምና ሳያገኙ ለሳምንት በማድንዘዣ ሆነው በህይወት እና በሞት መካከል ላይ ሆነው በራሴ ወጪ ውጭ ሀገር ሄጄ ልታከም ሲሉ መወሰን ያልቻለ በዘረኝነት የተተበተበው የፍትህ ስርአት ሞቶ ስለተቀበረ ከካንጋሮው ፍርድ ቤት ፍትህ ከመጠበቅ ድንጋይ ቀቅሎ መረቁን መጠጣት ይቀላል። ስለዚህ በህወሀት የሰልጣን ዘመን ከነሱ

መልካም ፈቃደኝነት ውጭ ያሉ ሰብአዊ እና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች ሁሉ ቅንጦት ይሆናሉ ማለት ነው።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ፡-** ባለፉት ሃያ አምስት ዓመታት ውስጥ እንደ አጥቢያ ኮከብ ታይተው የጠፉ በርካታ ኢትዮጵያውያንን አጥተናል፤ ዛሬም በማጣት ላይ እንገኛለን። በአንተ ዕይታ የተከፈለውን መስዋዕትና የተገኘውን ውጤት እንዴት ትመለከተዋለህ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ፡-** እንግዲህ ከላይ እንደገለፅኩት በ25 አመቱ የወያኔ የዘር ፖለቲካ ምክንያት በርካታ መስዋዕትነቶች ተከፍለዋል። በዚህም ምክንያት ጥ/ር አስራት ወልደየስን የሚያክል ትልቅ ምሁር አጥተንበታል። በአጠቃላይ የወያኔ መንግስት ህዝቡንና ሀገሪቱን ከሚበድልባቸው ዋና ዋና መንገዶች ውስጥ የመጀመርያው የነገ ተስፋ የሆኑትን ከአብራኩ የወጡ ወጣቶችን በማሰር፣ በማሰቃየት፣ በማስፈራራት/ከአገር በማስወጣት፣ እንዲሁም በጥቅም በመደለል ለአገርና ለማህበረሰቡ አንዳይጠቅሙ ያኮላሻል። ከስር ያለውን ደግሞ የት/ት ፖሊሲውን በማበላሸት ከጨዋታ ውጭ ያደርጋል። ነገር ግን ወጣቱ አገር ተረካቢ ነው እያለ ይኸው 25 አመት ሙሉ በጫካ ሰው እስካሁን እየተመራ እያየን ነው። በአንድ አገር የተሻለ የሚባል ሰው የሚገኘው በት/ት ተቅዋማት ወስጥ ሲሆን በኛ አገር ግን እንደ አሸን በፈሉት የግፍ ማጎርያ ካምፖች ነው።

ለምሳሌ ያህል እነሆብታሙ፡ ዳንኦል፡ ተመስገን፡ በቀለ፡ አብርሃ፡ የሸዋስ... ለቁጥር የሚታከት ከሁሉ አከባቢ የታጎረ የነቃና ጠያቅ ወጣት አራሱን፡ ማህበረሰቡን ብሎም ኢትዮጵያን በትክክል ይመራል ተብሎ ተስፋ የሚጣልባቸው ወጣቶች ከፍተኛ መስዋዕትነት በመክፈል ላይ ይገኛሉ። የተቀረው በአብዛኛው በመላው አለም ተሰዶ ይገኛል። እንግዲህ ከእጅግ ብዙው መስዋዕትነቶች መካከል ለመጥቀስ ያህል እንጂ የወያኔ መንግስት ሀገሪቷን ከተቆጣጠረ ጀምሮ በትግሉ የተከፈሉ መስዋዕትነቶችን እና የተገኘውን ውጤት ስናነፃጽረው ከተደረጉ እንቅስቃሴዎች እና ከተገኘው ጥቅም አንፃር ይሄ ነው የሚባል ተጨባጭ ነገር የለውም ስለዚህ ሁሉም የሀገራችን ጉዳይ ይመለከተኛል የሚል በሙሉ በአንድነት ተነስቶ ለህዝቡ የሚጠቅም ስራ ከልሰራ ይህ ስርአት ከከፋቱ አይመለስም ። ስለሆነም እከዛሬ ያደረኩት ትግልና ያገኘሁት ውጤት ስለማይመጣጠን ምን ማድረግ አለብኝ በማለት ራሱን ሊጠይቅ ይገባል ለመብት መታገልን ደግሞ ከሰሞኑ ከአመርካ ጥቁሮች መማር ይቻላል።

## Mission Statements

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

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

## The Ethiopian Affair

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

**Established in September, 2014**

## Editors Notes

### Stop the massacre against civilians in Gonder!

Our local source from Gonder town confirmed that about 20 people have been killed by special force of the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front, in the ongoing border conflict between Tigray and Amhara regional states of Ethiopia. Gondar has been one of the areas where TPLF repression focused. In fact, in recent months the repression was even getting worse with the number of people dying from TPLF attack rising.

The current violence that claimed the life of 20 people including the attackers begins when special repressive force of Tigray tried to arrest Amhara elders and committee members of the Welkait-Tsegda border dispute. However, there was no reason for the Welkait-Tsegda border committee members or Amhara elders to be arrested by the special force of Tigray. They are legal representatives the Welkait-Tsegda people of Amhara, on whom the Tigrayan identity was imposed by the regime 25 years ago.

Historically, the Welkait-Tsegday area used to be under the Gonder province before it was given and annexed to the Tigray region in 1991 when the current brutal regime came to power. Both Amharas and Tigrayans lived peacefully in Gonder province, but after the 1991 regime change, analysts say that the ethnic federalism system imposed on ethnic ownership of land and other natural resources that were settled by the diverse people for millennia triggered the current dispute in that particular area other parts of the country. This indicates that the failure the TPLF ethnic federalism after 25 years of experiments.

We editorials of the Ethiopian Affair, strongly condemn the recent massacre of civilians in Gonder and other parts of the country. We are urging all Ethiopians to stand together against this brutal regime of EPRDF. We are also urging political activists and commentators to raise awareness and expose the brutality of the regime for international human rights organizations. For this edition, we have two prominent guests and we asked them about the current situation of Ethiopia. We are hoping that our readers will enjoy discussions of our guests with us to the most.

Asnake Demena/ Editor-in-chife

## **Torture and Humiliation in Ethiopia** **Saba Afework**

The past 25 years have been the most painful periods in Ethiopia. Nothing is more revealing about the situation of human rights in the country than the existence of political prisoners. They embody the denial of the most basic freedoms essential to humankind, such as freedom of expression, assembly and association. Thousands of these prisoners are suffering from torture and humiliation everywhere in the country. Some of the torture and humiliation inflicted on political prisoners include: castration of male prisoners, eclectic shocks, submersion in water, hanging upside down and beating the soles of the feet with wires, ethnic insults, deliberate denial of medical treatment and the use of invasive searches against female prisoners.

The practice of torture and humiliation by police and security forces in Ethiopia is not only pervasive; it is a systematic and intrinsic part of the investigation and interrogation phase of detention. It is used by law enforcement officials to force the detainee to sign a confession or provide information, to punish or to intimidate the detainee and others from engaging in future acts of peaceful dissent or independent religious activity. This means there is no justice and human dignity in Ethiopia to distinguish officials of the dictatorial regime from other creatures, notably animals.

In a disturbing number of cases the torture and abuse is so severe that victims die in detention or shortly after their early release from custody. In this article I will discuss the situation of Habtamu Ayalew, the former spokesperson of Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ) party. Habtamu was released from jail in February 2016 after 18 months of detention. Just in few months after he was released his health condition was deteriorated and now admitted to a local hospital in Addis Ababa for serious illness.

Doctors confirmed that Habtamu must travel abroad for urgent surgery and medical care for hemorrhoid and acute kidney injury, which is impossible to treat in Ethiopia. However, he is not allowed to leave the country due to travel ban imposed on him as retribution for his political activities. Thousands of Ethiopians and International human rights organizations are calling on authorities of the EPRDF to lift the arbitrary travel ban on Habtamu Ayalew in order that he is able to travel abroad for urgent surgery and medical care.

The current situation of Habtamu Ayalew is typical indicator of torture and humiliation which have been happening in Ethiopia to tens of thousands of political prisoners including professor Asrat Weldeyes for the past 25 years. Therefore, in order to stop the cycle of torture and humiliation let's stand together to bring down the brutal regime of EPRDF once for all.

## **The Death of Freedom of Speech and Expression in Ethiopia**

**Abraham Gebreselassie (Giessen)**

Media remained under government control in Ethiopia, with many journalists having to choose between self-censorship, harassment and arrest, or exile. The Ethiopian government continued to use the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation Law (enacted in 2009) to suppress freedom of expression through the continued detention of journalists and extended trials. Many fled the country due to intimidation, harassment and politically motivated criminal charges. According to the Human Right Watch Report (2016), at least 60 journalists have fled into exile since 2010. Tactics used to restrict independent media involved targeting publishers, printing presses and distributors. Many other journalists, protesters and other political opponents continued to be prosecuted under the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, and many journalists including

Eskinder Nega and Woubshet Taye remain in prison.

The Ethiopia we have today is encircled with protest and uprising against the minority rule in all directions of the country. Suffice to mention the ongoing Oromo uprising against deliberate political and economic marginalization by the minority regime; the relentless struggle by the people of Wokait and Telemt against a false identity forcefully imposed on them by the Tigrean regime in an apparent move to incorporate vast fertile land into the Tigray region; the demand by the people of Konso in the south for self-administration that led to protest and confrontation with regime's forces and the arrest of hundreds of people believed to have dissented against the regime, etc. The narrowing political space and absence of independent press and civil society create instability and potential violence.

The Ethiopian government take the issue of freedom of expression into another level and the parliament, which is 100% controlled by the current ruling party members, in June 2016 approved a dangerous cybercrime law, i.e., "Computer Crime Proclamation" that imprison people who distribute defamatory speech, spam, and pornography online among others offenses. The real objective of the law is to silence, punish, intimidate, harass and jail journalists, bloggers, political activists and others by cracking down on their use of computers and the internet to express dissent, criticizing the government and speaks/writes for change. The government is well-known in restricting freedom of expression and using spyware against protesters living abroad. It regularly monitors and records telephone calls of family members and friends of suspected opposition members and intercepts digital communications with highly intrusive spyware. Recently, an Ethiopian court charged a prominent opposition politician and activist facing a possible death sentence

on fabricated terrorism charges over comments he posted on Facebook.

The ruling party considers access to internet an exclusive right of a chosen few—the people who are running the government and their friends. The new computer crime law is the latest legal mechanism set to be used to limit access to internet services for the majority. The government is attempting to make blogging, content sharing, and even liking critical comments on social media all crimes. Take, for example, the particularly illustrious article 13, related to Crimes against Liberty and Reputation of Persons. Those convicted of disseminating defamatory content, as defined by the law, face up to 10 years in prison. The law also targets service providers like internet cafes, hotels and other internet access providers by holding them criminally liable for any illegal computer content data disseminated through their computer systems by anyone who uses their services.

While the draft Ethiopian government "computer crimes law" aims to facilitate and accelerate the way in which the country penalizes computer crimes, it criminalizes legitimate forms of online speech and the expression of dissent by shutting down both the political space and cyberspace. This shows the ruling party efforts to use the internet as a weapon of dissent suppression; to terrorize those who use social media to express themselves; and to criminalize human rights, human rights advocacy and human rights defense. Based on the law's exhaustive list of offenses and penalties that are grossly disproportionate to the outlined crimes, it will certainly have a frightening effect and could serve as a tool for silencing political opposition, which relies heavily on online publishing since the government has cracked down on independent media and presses.

To conclude, the current dictator government is getting ready to jail bloggers, journalists, activists, opposition political figures and other Ethiopians for applying

their constitutionally guaranteed rights to freedom of the press and freedom of expression using their computer keyboards. By criminalizing everyday actions it ensures that anyone who speaks online, or supports online free expression, might one day be targeted by the law. This regulation does not bring Ethiopian law up-to-date with the latest technology. Instead, it will intimidate ordinary Ethiopian citizens into staying offline and further isolate Ethiopia's technological progress from its African neighbors and the rest of the world.

## **The Current Human Rights Situation in Ethiopia**

**Selam Hailu (Hultsfred ,Sweden)**

The human rights situation in Ethiopia continues to deteriorate from time-to-time. Different sources indicate that torture, ill-treatment, displacement and deliberate killings of civilians have become the daily routines of government forces in the country. A recent house demolition by the dictatorial regime has left more than 30,000 homeless residents in Addis Ababa alone.

There are several ongoing protests against the regime in every corner of the country. Nationwide crackdown in Oromia, Amhara, Ogaden and other regions of the country go unnoticed by the rest of the world. In Oromia, since the escalation of the protest against the master plan of Addis Ababa in November 2015, at least 400 protestors have been killed by government forces. Thousands of protestors are also arrested and tortured or otherwise ill-treated in detention, often accused of belonging to the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). The OLF is an armed insurgent group labeled as a terrorist organization by Ethiopia's parliament in 2011.

There is continuous protest in Gonder against the integration of Welkait and Tsegeda to the Tigray Regional State. According evidences available in the public domain, more than 35 civilians were by killed security forces, since the beginning of 2016.

But still, the west is putting a blind eye and deaf ear to shocking human rights violation in Ethiopia. Therefore, it is the most critical time for all of us to unite and act together to bring down the dictatorial regime of EPRDF once for all.

## **Freedom of Expression in Ethiopia**

**Saron Abate**

Freedom of expression is constitutionally guaranteed in Ethiopia, but the law provides the government with considerable unrestricted authority in controlling the press. Today bloggers, writers and journalists are under regular attack in Ethiopia for speaking out against the government or about human rights abuses in the country. Even thought, the growth of the electronic media has allowed global communication, the regime in Ethiopia uses a recent technology to target internet writers and imprison them. There are long-term detainees like Eskinder Nega, Woubshet taye, Temesgen Desalegn, Solomon Kebede, Yesuf Getachew, and many others serving long term prison sentence.

This article explores the recent "Computer Crime Proclamation" of the brutal regime in Ethiopia. Human rights groups said that the new proclamation would widen the door for the regime to punish individuals voicing their opinions on social media such as Facebook and Twitter. According to this law people who distribute defamatory speech, pornography, mass emails and spam will face up to 10 years in prison. The law also targets service providers; if they fail to remove or disable access to illegal content data that has been disseminated through their computer systems by third parties they will be held criminally liable. Furthermore, the Proclamation requires service providers to report any knowledge of the commission of any of the crimes stipulated in the law.

Ethiopia is already the least internet user country in Africa. And now by criminalizing everyday actions it ensures that anyone who speaks online, or supports online

free expression, might one day be targeted by the law. This regulation doesn't bring Ethiopian law up-to-date with the latest technology: instead, it will intimidate ordinary Ethiopian citizens into staying offline. This is how freedom of expression is buried in Ethiopia in the era of information and technology.

### **What a dark time for Ethiopian Teketel Beyene (Ljusne, Sweden)**

We have constitution although the TPLF has changed the concepts of our constitution through its fake proclamations. Ethiopian peoples are kept in a "wave of fear". All medium especially electronic medium, are owned by the government itself. Imagine the government of TPLF is secretary opening commercial media in the name of private business. Professionalism is dead in Ethiopia. Except pump line journalists, all of them are dismissed or fired, jailed, exiled, demoralized, etc. Even, the government has infiltrated churches, mosques, and traditional institutions. The Ethiopian government is accuser and judge, you know of all the pressure which has been applied to the people of non TPLF of Ethiopians.

We need democracy and want to live freely in our country. However, TPLF kisses all Ethiopians in front of westerners, but it kills them at home. Now, bloggers and political activists worry freedom of expression could be limited even further by a proposed new law.

Critics of the new legislation, called the Computer Crime Proclamation, say it would be good method for government to punish individuals voicing their opinions on the Internet like Facebook. Government to punish individuals voicing their opinions on internet „what a bad time for us,,

Daniel Berhane, a prominent blogger who also runs his own website, believes the provisions against cybercrime in the bill could be used against anyone expressing an opinion online.

"This computer crime proclamation denies me the defenses, the safeguards

already provided in the criminal code and the mass media law," he said. "So it's simply more prohibitive than the existing laws and it does that with just one sentence."

The new bill mostly focuses on cybercrime and security; but, the proclamation also allows the imprisonment for those who distribute mass emails and it gives the national intelligence service the power to conduct virtual investigations without approval from a judge.

Ethiopia is often criticized for detaining, arresting and imprisoning individuals who voice their opinions online. Journalist and blogger Eskinder Nega is currently serving an 18-year sentence. A group of young bloggers known as Zone 9 was detained for over a year. And Yonathan Tesfaye, the spokesperson of Semayawi party has been in detention for nearly six months over comments he made on Facebook. Haben Fecadu of human rights group Amnesty International says the Ethiopian government is currently using the 2009 Anti-Terrorism Proclamation to crack down on criticism.

"The precedent set by Yonathan's charges are disturbing because it allows for the government to go after someone for expressing their views over social media," he said. "Yonathan was also charged under the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, and evidence against him was allowed to be presented and heard by the court without him knowing what that evidence was."

### **Dr Tedros Adhanom shame on you please care first for your own people Zelalem Debebe (Niedernhausen)**

Tedros Adanom is a medical doctor by profession. Formerly, he was the Health Minister of the EPRDF regime. Currently, he is serving as the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia and one of the top leaders of the TPLF, the dominant party with the governing EPRDF. He is running to be the general director of the World Health Organization (WHO).

In normal circumstances, it would have been an honor to see an Ethiopian running for such office. However, we are not talking about an ordinary Ethiopian; we are talking about a person who is part of a criminal gang that has been terrorizing the Ethiopian people for the past 25 years in every corner of the country.

A prominent opposition leader Habtamu Ayalew was jailed by Dr. Tedros Adhanom and his friends, for loving his country and its people. They detained and tortured him for 18 months. Mr. Ayalew was a healthy person when they took him into prison, but they released him with chronic torture induced health problem. As a result of this, he is currently in a critical condition.

Dr. Tedros who claimed to caring for the health of human beings and his friends refused Habtamu to travel abroad so that he can get life-saving medical treatment abroad.

Therefore, is it right to have this man, as a WHO director, a man who caused great suffering and pain on his own people? How can a man help the whole humanity in our entire globe when he is heartless and cruel towards his own people like Habtamu Ayalew? What good would Dr. Tedros be to the world if he threw away health professional ethics for the sole reason to keep power with an iron fist? Shame on you.

God bless Ethiopia.

## **The failed nation, Ethiopia**

### **Liya Nigusse**

There are some important questions that often play in most people's mind when there is a discussion regarding the current state of Ethiopia. One can rightfully list and discuss in depth the number of ways the country and its people have been abused and pushed into a degrading hate by the EPRDF regime. However, there is one major issue that have often been understated and implicitly demoralized the majority of the public in taking active role to topple the ruling authoritarian regime for a democratic one.

To put this issue into a context it would be a question of 'what if?'. What if somehow we were able to remove this authoritarian regime from power, and then who do we want to replace them? At this point any opposition party may help itself to say 'us', however it is important to appreciate the complexity of the matter and look a little deeper. Even if the overwhelming majority of the Ethiopian people long for the day the rule of the current authoritarian regime come to an end, it have been highly discouraged and holdback to put his flesh and bone in line due to the apparent high degree of uncertainty as to who should, as much as who will, take power and lead the country. So, it all boils down to absence of a viable option that have the confidence of the people to trust it with their country and lives. This is not to suggest there is a lack of opposition parties for the people to choose from, those working in or out of the country, the main issue, however, is not about the number of choices rather the lack of qualified choices. The level of confidence the public attach with opposition parties depends on how well the public know about the opposition parties, not just about those individuals who are playing a key role in the parties, and how they stand as an organization in themselves. This underlines an important distinction as the individual party leaders do not necessarily reflect the organizations treat and weakness as an independent entity. For the Ethiopian public to consider among the parties to lead their country, the only way they compare them, as none of them have assumed power before, is through reviewing their organizational history: how they handled problems they faced and dealt with internal division that might have happened within the parties during the lifetime of the organization. The other factor being the maturity of the parties, which could be defined by their to maintain flexiblebility but stable organizational structure and vision through a significantly long period of time proving the organization possess a self-preserving

mechanism to continue as an independent entity in itself.

The ability of the parties to attain this character of reliability and consistency will gain them the public's trust. Unfortunately, for the people of Ethiopia, the opposition parties that are currently around lack these mentioned attributes. Various factors led to this situation, which could be looked into two interrelated categories. The first one could be attributed to the obvious and well discussed role of the ruling authoritarian rule in aggressively eliminating any form of political environment that would allow oppositions to operate in the country, which is backed by numerous legislations and political structure placed in the country. The second category which is not as well discussed as the first one, is attributed to the opposition parties themselves.

This Could be fairly assessed by specifically looking those parties whose main operation take place outside of the country, as those parties which operates inside the country are more likely to face much of the heavy-handedness of the Weyane regime. When we look at the nature of these opposition parties they are characterized as relatively large in number with different attribute but smaller in sizes. These parties can be put in two major categories based on their ethnic affiliation: those which are ethnic based-in a country where there exist high variety of ethnic groups, it is unclear what those ethnic based parties stand to achieve-and the nationalistic ones which reject ethnic based politics. In turn, these cross ethnic parties are fragmented, with a number of distinct parties but smaller in size and with almost similar view and objective with the exception of a few. For the majority of the public this scenario is often puzzling, as to how these parties have almost similar view and objective but still have not been able to put their resources together and come as one. This might be attributed to a number of factors one of the main one being, the

parties' lack of experience on strategic compromise and sustaining a coalition. Furthermore, it is also due to the mistrust the parties have amongst each other as to who is really standing up for the country. This apparent mistrust is even manifested inside parties when it often leads to division of a party in to two or more sects.

These opposition parties are also characterized by continuous and unstable unification and dissolution, making it harder for the people to keep track of one from the other and their respective progress. This also hinders the parties opportunity to grow as a household name, that are integrated in to fabric of the society. The combination of these factors with the parties inability to establish an effective communication channel with the Ethiopian public have been holding back the people from engaging in the country's political affair as much as they are supposed to. For the people of Ethiopia to transform the country to a fair and democratic one, and for the oppositions to get the momentum to do so; there ought to be some changes to be made within these parties, as the last two decades have not brought any success. First, despite their reasons not to, the opposition has to formulate a system to make compromise in their stand and form a coalition that would last. To go along with this coalition there is a need for a radical work to lay out a new organizational structure that would prioritize the sustainability and flexibility of the coalition.

Second, these parties have to give organizational maturity the level of significance it deserves. This is for the simple reason that for the people to have the confidence on how that party can handle the country is through examining the parties history and performance through a stretch of long time line. The third and important point is for these parties to establish Communication Bridge between the people and their organization. It is clear, it is impossible for the parties to use the

conventional media outlets in Ethiopia to promote their view point however, the current state of technology lays the ground to come up with alternative means of communication. Being able to convey the message to public and listen to the need in return helps to gain the peoples backing and establish the foundation of the parties as one that reflect the general public's interest.

### **The Drama of Woyane on Ethiopian People** **Addis Genene (Ljusne, Sweden)**

The TPLF/EPRDF government addressed most of the issues and results are very clear for all to see in the country. The Ethiopia we remember from 1990 is completely transformed in the past 25 years. The economy is growing fastest than most countries in the world. Power is shared by all Ethiopian ethnic groups and every nation and nationalities is governing itself. There is a little hint of democracy considering Ethiopia has never had any elected government before EPRDF. Many more amazing and exciting developments are taking place in Ethiopia.

But TPLF is continuing killing of people due to the negligence of the corruption, world against undemocratic tendencies and genocide acts of TPLF. As an evidence Genocide Watch has already identified Ethiopia under the TPLF as one of the few countries in the world facing serious risk conflicts. genocidal Hence, a threat that Ethiopia facing is growing more than ever. TPLF poses a great threat to greater Ethiopia as long as the current conditions get worse by the puppet leaders, the people should say enough is enough. Otherwise, domination and hegemony by a single minority group within the government and other aspects of national life ultimately will poses a serious problem country. in the TPLF are also attacking the people who are strategic to the future of the country because they are a present threat to your rule. These

are people with intellectuals, power and influence, political, religious, civic or economic leaders, or anyone who challenges the lies, deceptions and false world created by the TPLF.

The ruling TPLF, woyane regime, in Ethiopia commits gross human rights violations in broad daylight on daily basis and this is a case well documented enough fear has overtaken the regime itself as they very well know that this disgruntled nation will someday turn around stand against them. Tens of thousands of women, men young and old flee the country every year seeking protection of the demolition of dictators by mass uprisings. Ethiopians have been voicing against the agony inflicted upon them by the TPLF regime. There has never been even a brief moment of relative stability and safety since the unfortunate fall of Ethiopia under the brutality and savagery of the TPLF dictatorship. Ethiopia has literally become a nation of fear, hell on planet Earth for Ethiopians. Generally dictators have a natural trend of clinching to power for life. Apparently most dictators assume power through war or as monarchical descendants. History tell us that people who ascend to power militarily or by some other illegal mode are seldom willing to transfer power to others or share with others. Leaders of the TPLF regime have no the slightest grain of shame when they publicly declare that they never have the intention of sharing or transferring power to a different party.

### **State Repression in Ethiopia** **Daniel Kassa (Maintal)**

It is generally agreed that the most important single function of government is to secure the rights and freedoms of individual citizens. Unfortunately, the government that we have in Ethiopia is quite the opposite of this. According to the 2016 report of Freedom House, Ethiopia is classified as a not free country ruled by mono party political system. Another recent report by Human

Rights Watch revealed that the ruling party used the so-called anti-terrorism law to justify deadly crackdown on protests against forced displacement in the Amhara and Oromia regional states of the country, as well as ongoing repression of political opponents, journalists, bloggers, and human rights activists. The report also indicated that torture, dehumanization and brutal killings are some of the crimes against humanity committed by home grown Tigrean fascists. The same report confirmed that more than 400 peaceful protestors have been killed by government security forces in Oromia region alone.

The above mentioned scenarios represent the reality of state violence and repression in Ethiopia. Therefore, this article will focus on the recent tactics of the EPRDF regime that purposely designed to divert our attention away from the real issue to the less important one. For example, Ethiopia always seems to be at war with Eritrea. This never-ending battle with our “enemies” is partly a diversion to distract people’s attention from Ethiopia’s real enemy – the dictatorial regime of EPRDF. By diverting people’s attention towards external enemies, state controlled media are able to divert our attention from our internal enemies, who are like a cancer and are more dangerous than our external enemies. It is the EPRDF regime that killed Ethiopians for the past twenty five years. So that, let’s struggle against our real enemies at home instead of our external enemies. This is my final message for all those Ethiopian men and women, young and old, prominent leaders and anonymous citizens in Ethiopia and in the Diaspora.

### **Free Press and Freedom of Speech VS Pressure of the Ethiopian Government**

#### **Hailu Kassa (Niedernhausen)**

It is undeniable fact that there is still a big challenge imposed by the Ethiopian government over free press and freedom of speech. It is certain that it is in danger now

ever before. It can be seen over different angles as an evidence for the above stated point.

Since 2005 Ethiopian election (an election which made many people died, imprisoned and others fled the country) there has been several protest taking place in every corner of the country. But the biggest one is the one which recently attracted national and international attention happened in almost all Oromia Cities which took more than 400 peoples' lives. In this protest there were a high pressure of the government for the information not to be "in" and "out" of the region and the country at all. The government has been using different techniques. For example: by destroying the Satellite Dishes going home to home, by jamming the Ethiopian Diaspora Media Satellite Frequencies. Besides the government intelligences by chasing those who post political content Photos and articles via different social Medias. For example Facebook, Twitter, etc.

The other evidence to show how the Ethiopian free press in danger is, the number of private media Journalists are minimizing from time to time because of the fact that private Journalists and Bloggers have been facing prison and serious warning, threatens for their writings of criticism against the government even if it is already stated in the Constitution regarding right for freedom of speech. And this made others uncomfortable to work. When it is compared the current free press from the past Ten years on the basis of the number of active Journalists, Publishing and the contents of the publishing is absolutely unfair and dark situation. Rather currently the social Medias and Ethiopian Diaspora broadcastings are trying to bridge the information gap.

Ethiopia is currently a country with less number of internet users and when it is compared with other countries and Ethiopia is a country with rare permission for Foreign Journalists especially those who raise points regarding human right issues. In general

Ethiopia is one of the first lists of the countries which makes free press and freedom of speech at risk.

## **Landlocked Ethiopia and its major economic and political problems**

**Yohannes Biru (Frankfurt)**

Despite the numerous attempts to falsely project Ethiopia is actually in a “renaissance and on the rise”, Why is the country still the second poorest country on the planet that also have the second largest poor population in Africa? Why is it that Ethiopia has been unable to rejuvenate herself in her “renaissance” and rise up on the global poverty scale? Why is 82 % of rural population in Ethiopia “in severe poverty” in 2014? Why is it that nearly 60% of Ethiopia’s 90 plus million population struggling with an income below US\$1.25 per day? Why is it that over 60% of the Ethiopian population chronically or at least periodically food insecure?

Ethiopia is blessed with abundance of natural resources such as gold, Potash, unexploited natural gas or Methane, copper and platinum. Meanwhile, Ethiopia has the second largest poor population in Africa and it is the second poorest country in the world according to the New UNDP Human Development Multidimensional Poverty Index.

Ethiopia is also a landlocked state. A landlocked state is a sovereign state entirely enclosed by land, or whose only coastline lies on closed areas. A detailed study of landlocked countries’ human geography by Caitlin Dempsey lists a total of 48 countries currently landlocked, including partially recognized states. 42 of these are landlocked; two are doubly landlocked; and four are partially recognized states. Only two, Bolivia and Paraguay are from South America, the rest are all in the Afro-Eurasia world.

As might be expected, some are affluent states (Switzerland, Luxemburg, and Liechtenstein); but the majority of these

countries are, what economists call, landlocked developing countries (LLDC’s). Unsurprisingly, Nine out of twelve or 75% are currently listed as having the lowest HDI (Human Development Index). Of the 48 countries, none are a major power, and 15 are in the continent of Africa.

Ethiopia is the most populous landlocked country on the list with a population of approximately 90 million people; followed by Uganda, with 40million; Afghanistan, with 33million; and Uzbekistan, with 32million inhabitants. There are bigger countries than Ethiopia on the list in terms of landmass, but with much smaller populations. For instance, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Chad, Niger, and Mali all have bigger land mass than Ethiopia. The combined population of all the LLDC’s is about 475,818,737 or roughly 6.9% of the world’s population (C. Dempsey).

Paul Collier (2007) surmised “if you are coastal, you serve the world; if you are landlocked, you serve your neighbors.” So then, what happens to your economic performance if you are landlocked, your neighbors are poor, small, warring and unstable?

Efforts to avoid being landlocked include acquiring land that stretches to the sea, and making arrangements on getting free transport of goods through neighboring countries. In all cases, however, losing access to the sea has enormous implications to a country, including, militarily, politically, and most importantly, with respect to trade and, hence, economic activity and performance.

It was surprising, therefore, when former Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi declared, that Ethiopia could do away with ports, and that the absence of ports would not and could not harm the economy as long as the country was able to garner income from the resources available to it. To accentuate his assertion, the former Prime Minister even gave Uganda as an example of a country that was landlocked but had performed well!

His statement was surprising because history is replete with nations “large and small across the world who have striven to gain access to open waters, even at great expense in wealth, bloodshed and political capital”. Also surprising because it is generally agreed that, as a rule, being landlocked creates political and economic handicaps that access to the high seas avoids.

According to the New Poverty Index, about 90% of the total Ethiopian population lives below poverty line with about 62% deprived of adequate schooling. Ethiopia has a very rich history and a beautiful blend of several cultures of people of all colors and races. Ethiopia is the only African country never been colonized yet the long years of poor governance, corruption, unequal distribution of funds, etc. have crippled Ethiopia’s economy to the point where people continue to die from extreme poverty and hunger.

Ethiopia like its neighboring countries suffers a great deal from natural challenges such as drought and unpredictable flooding. Just like Niger (the poorest country in the world according to the multidimensional poverty index), the majority of the Ethiopian population are poor subsistence farmers who grow crops and rear animals just to feed themselves and their families.

Since Ethiopia’s economy depends mostly on agriculture (about 45 to 50% of GDP), natural causes such as drought and sometimes unpredictable flooding put the entire economy of Ethiopia in a very bad shape and leave many starving.

Illiteracy is another major reason why Ethiopia wallows in poverty. Ethiopian leaders today do not pay much attention to education. Ethiopia has a literacy rate of 42.7% which implies only about 42.7% of the total population of Ethiopia above age 15 can read and write. This literacy rate is very bad compared to countries like Eritrea (a neighboring country).

Due to extreme poverty and hunger, most children of school going age are out of

school and most are forced into child labor, child trafficking and most recently, child prostitution. Most children in Ethiopia are forced into petty trading especially along the major streets of big cities such as Addis Ababa (the capital of Ethiopia with a population of about 5 million people), Dire Dawa, Adama or Nazret, Gondar, Dese or Dessie, Mek’ele, Jimma and Bahir Dar.

Coffee which is very critical to the Ethiopian economy (with exports around \$400 million dollars a year) sometimes meets low prices on the international market which puts the entire Ethiopian economy in a very bad shape. Poor governance and corruption are major problems in almost all African countries. Most political figures in Ethiopia today are very corrupt with little or no experience at all. Poor governance and political instability in Ethiopia also drives investors away. The war with Eritrea a neighboring country (1998-2000 with the loss of about 80,000 lives) for example, crippled the entire Ethiopian economy and drove many investors away. Beside all this poor governance and corruption continue to tear the great Ethiopia into pieces.

## **Political Repression in Ethiopia**

### **Daniel Shitie**

Ethiopian students from 4 kilo, 5 kilo, 6 kilo Addis Ababa University and other campuses who were arrested for demonstrating in front of USA and other embassy opposing Ethiopian government ongoing killing and human rights abuses on peaceful protesters but the protesters have been killed, Numerous witness told Human right watch that security forces beat and arrested protesters often directly from their homes at night police and military forces have fired on demonstration killing at least 400 protesters and wounded many others since November 12 , 2015.

Ethiopian government continued suppress free speech and associational rights, harassment and arrest of prominent

opposition, media members and journalists who were charged Ethiopia controversial antiterrorism law. In April 2014 six associated with the zone 9 bloggers and other independent journalist, disappearance of civilians physical abuse, tortured and other ill treatment no independent domestic or international organization have access to all Ethiopian detention facilities so it is impossible to determine the number of political prisoners.

Ethiopia is the first place the highest number of jailed independent journalist, political leaders, political members and civilians. At the last I request Habtamu Ayalew is allowed to travel abroad for life saving medical treatment immediately his Doctor and medical boards have recommended that he must travel abroad for medical treatment he is in a critical situation, as a result of months of torture he come out with acute hemorrhoids and serious kidney problem. He was the chairman of the peace full millions voices for land reform movement, peace full protesters and peace full political leader.

## Detentions and torture in Ethiopia by Election time

**Yohannes Tikaher**

Two waves of major urban protest took place in June and November 2005 ,it is now confirmed that at least 200 people died and hundreds of others were injured by most estimates, tens of thousands were detained estimated about 30,000 people arrested ,it is unknown how many are still detained or facing charges they included members of various opposition political parties who refused to take their parliamentary seats in addition ,several journalists, representatives and civil society were arrested and later charged among those not released ,in addition to possibly thousands who have been detained in rural area and a member of civil society ,Human rights ,lawyers and anti poverty campaigners.

In the 2010 election similarly, while opposition campaigners bloggers, political party members and supporters harassed, arrested later charged and killed. Ethiopian ruling soldiers has detained about 1000 opposition activist before national election in May 22,2015 including the eve of election day reporters critical of the government are harassed threatened and detained.

In 2015 alone over 30 journalists fled Ethiopia and at least six publication were closed down the semayawi or Blue party for example is one of the new comers in Ethiopia electoral land and since 2013 has tried to hold regular and peaceful issue based protests but protesters, political leaders and organizers have frequently been arrested and harassed in general it was not an election it was an organized armed robbery.

## Dhugadhaban

### Hayat Fesal Mahamad

Baratooni yunuversiti  
barchudhaf jiran morti  
dhugaa dhabnan mirgafitif  
gafidhakasan,gutumati  
hirirabahan, motumati  
debisasani, rasasa  
godhemotuman,gabromsan  
dhigansani, bilisuman gumabasa  
dhigasani,walabuma guma baasa  
iddoo dhugan, hinjirre kessa,  
jirachudhaf bay'ee rakkisa  
jirattule, esawagesa  
sabontowan, barisisota  
sabontowan baratota  
meqahadha, habuqate  
kandhirafi,dubartota  
senanyomiyu, niyadata  
baraton, qalaman lola  
wayanen, rasasan lola  
hati ilmo ofi ifbiran jalati  
ganama galgala ijan arifateti  
baranotaf gadibahe du'asa galifati  
hadhafi abbansa, boya fudhatani  
motuman wayane, warra hiyyomsani



*Interview with Abebe Abidie. Mr. Abidie is a graduate BA degree in Geography and Environmental Studies and MA degree in Population Studies both from Addis Ababa University. He worked as University community coordinator for the office of the EPRDF. He also worked as a Public Relation and Information Department head for SNNPR Youth and Sports Bureau. Furthermore, Mr. Abidie was participated on foundation of Ethiopia Youth Federation and League; member of both National and Regional Councils. Let's enjoy the interview that we had with this gentleman!*

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**Mr. Abidie, welcome to the interview. To begin with, please tell us about yourself and the main reason that makes you to live in exile?

**Mr. Abidie:** - Pleasure to have me. My name is Abebe Abidie; I was member of the national council and deputy chairman of A.A city council of former UDJ party. The reason which pushes me to exile is the same with majority of the members of former opposition party (Unity for Democracy and Justice). The only choice to those former UDJ members was either go in to the jail or emigrated, so that is the only reason why I'm here.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**Mr. Abidie, your profile is very interesting. But what makes you to join the opposition party UDJ, instead of working with the ruling party in your full capacity?

**Mr. Abidie:** - I was thinking that the problem of the EPRDF might below capacity of the members (the problem is still there) and I hoped (more than 16 friends) to fill the gap that was why we joined them directly from university. When I was there all activities must accomplished without any question, totally undemocratic regime, hatred of elites, one ethnic group dominance, wrong policy direction and bad proclamations/regulations push me to decide resign.

I have been joined UDJ party to struggle these all mentioned above and to define individual & group rights.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**Do you think that the opposition political organizations are successful in their political struggle over the past 25 years?

**Mr. Abidie:** - Not at all, government harassment prevented them from being organized and from competing effectively. The opposition parties failed again and again to design clear policy and program alternatives to present themselves as more competent with EPRDF and to communicate to the people in an effective way. They had also failed to form and sustain real broad-based coalitions countless times since beginning of the transition period.

The other point to note is that the major opposition parties organized based on ethnicity, individual personalities, establish political parties as a short cut to rapid personal wealth and absence of explain their policy alternatives. That is why wasted most of their time in fighting each other and were busy in intra-party power struggle.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**In your opinion, what are the fundamental pillars of support need by the dictatorial regime in Ethiopia to remain in power? And how can we erode them to bring down the regime once for all?

**Mr. Abidie:-** In my opinion, the first and main reason is that political culture of the society that means our people yet not know how exercising it's own right and obligations of citizenship. In addition to this, the problem of opposition parties in Ethiopia having been less

focused, low commitment, un deep-rooted program/strategy, internal conflict, weaker leadership and external factors like financial constraints, leading party influence and expectations/being over ambitious. Most of the opposition party members also need membership as a means of economic solution, which means they are not economically independent.

Ethiopian government always refers dictatorship used to being developed soon like South Korea and Thailand, but it does not necessarily result in development. Development defined by human well-being which (which incorporates education, health, income generating/employment, and safety from internal and external threats) and even by personal discipline but it is not there on the ground. To make down the regime these mentioned issues above should be solved or focused area and then by organizing the society specially youth that politically aware, accountable, responsible and strong enough to pay any sacrifices to bring the change. Through process by which the actions of an often small dissident circle will translated into a mass movement involving a sufficient cross-section of society to sweep away a tyrant.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**Many people believe that the EPRDF regime has been using remittance and foreign aid as a tool to oppress Ethiopians. Is it possible to avoid effects of foreign aid and remittances on the domestic politics?

**Mr. Abidie: -** Not only oppressed but also using it as a reference for the so called development of the country's economy. It has been the second place next to export in terms of contributing Ethiopian economy. At this time in Ethiopia living expense going to be very high except for those who get remittance from abroad and corrupted leaders. It also Contribute to inflation, high food and fuel costs and housing problem that make a difference between the poor and the rich people.

Nowadays, the Ethiopian economy is going to be corruption & remittance leading economy but not agricultural lead. Foreign Aid is also a main means of corruption and

repression. The EPRDF has already been controlling almost all foreign aid by avoiding NGOs those participate in humanitarian issues. It might be possible avoiding the effect when avoiding the system then preparing the new guidelines and implementation strategy.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**There are different political forces within the political arena of Ethiopia. However, these opposition forces don't agree upon choosing the method of struggle let alone to find ways to work together. Some of the opposition parties still believe in peaceful struggle and others started to consider arm struggle as an alternative to dismantle the TPLF regime. In your opinion, where is the common ground for these polarized forces?

**Mr. Abidie: -** All parts of the stragglers believe that they are on the right track and need to avoid the system. Those who believed to overthrow by arm struggle was also came from the peaceful struggles camp. They tried for many years but because of the defective stragglers strategy and negative impacts of EPRDF on them they going to be frustrated. If you ask me how the two sides achieve their goal difficult to say anything without change the current attitude of Ethiopians towards politics.

There is a point of strong similarity among the number of the opposition parties and what is happening now in the Ethiopia, it is in the gradual expansion of this "bread not politics" deal. Why didn't the middle classes join with those opposition party members and leadership? Whenever strong opposition party will have come into the ground, key moment comes when people are asking themselves why they are not joining in. Then everyone becomes personally concerned and that might be a common ground.

In the end, however, the success of opposition party depends on the crossing of a fear barrier by enough people, not simply the small group of dedicated dissidents. A judgment that the risk is worth it and the freedom seekers might actually succeed.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**Evidences obtained from different sources indicated that the dictatorial regime in Ethiopia has allocated 23 million

hectares of land (20 percent of the total area of the country mostly from Gambella, Benishangul, Oromia, Amhara, SNNPR, Afar and Somali regional states of Ethiopia) to lease for foreign investors. Given the recurrent famine and the rapid population growth in the country, what will be the consequences of land grabbing in Ethiopia in general and in those regions in particular? What specific proposals do you have to address the issues of land grabbing?

**Mr. Abidie:** - Ethiopian government relocate tens of thousands of people from their ancestral homes in the rural areas that for large scale commercial agriculture, often benefiting the regime's higher officials (corrupted) and foreign investors and in urban areas also for building huge towers to show it as a result of the so called development but is not a development strategy but a scheme to benefit the ruling elites. Some areas the community has also seen minerals and gold being mined and exported. That is why currently Ethiopian government follows displacement strategy to save the land for corruption. It is the major source to be rich in overnight; this is only in Ethiopia being millionaire from the scratch.

When people move from their native home land there is no school, shortage of food security (they destroy wild fruits and animals), loss their cattle, clear all forests come and destroy their way of life, culture, and pasture land and it leads to famine and starvation. Ethiopian constitution still not protect citizen but states that: "Ethiopian farmers and pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands."

With one of the fastest-growing populations in the world, Ethiopia is also running out of available grazing land and water points as urbanization expands into rural areas of whole country. Always urbanization is the best way to civilization and industrialization but yet not. In my opinion this issue needs Reform, 'land must free for Citizens but not for political beliefs!'

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**Do you consider national reconciliation as means to advance the political struggle in Ethiopia?

**Mr. Abidie:** - To come up with this like idea the starting point should be: all prisoners of conscience, including leaders and members of political parties, and religious, civic and professional organizations, must be released. And all harassments, persecutions and assassinations of members of the opposition and persons with opposing views must stop, ready to measures tackling more fundamental issues including constitutional reform, creation of an inclusive national defense force, redefinition of an acceptable federal structure, and implementation of aggressive anti-poverty programs.

First of all, we have to know that in our country national reconciliation might have been taking when the regime's power to control the country failed. The regime came up with this idea at the moment there will not get any chance. That is why it would have been finalized without any solution. The same thing will happen when if Ethiopia try to solve the current problems but it will be able to make a historical by doing so thinking as a good citizen.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**Do you believe that social media platforms such as Facebook, twitter and others can be used as a powerful tool to wage nonviolent resistance in Ethiopia?

**Mr. Abidie:** - Currently, the roll of social media in our country has incomparable, because it is the only way to express the whole situation. But when we see it's coverage of information distribution very limited because there are so many problems like access to internet, fear of the regime, experience of using media and political awareness. However, the current new proclamation has a negative impact I believe that the use of social media has been helpful in the recent uprisings, precisely because it increased the number of those "first actors" on the peaceful struggling.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**Today, we are witnessing that there are war incidences between Ethiopia and Eritrea. What will happen, in case of a full scale war between the two countries?

**Mr. Abidie:** - Any bloodshed is unjust! People should not die to serve the elite. Two countries will have got nothing from the war except destroy both human life and physical resources. The war between two countries has its own secret that only few higher officials from two countries know and it might be also not a matter of problems of the two countries people but it is only a few spectators interest of conflict. In the end, both sides need to set down work out their differences and be good neighbors.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-**What is your final message for all those Ethiopian men and women, young and old, prominent leaders and anonymous citizens in Ethiopia and in the Diaspora?

**Mr. Abidie:** - What I want to forward to all Ethiopians is that this is time to get freedom not by delegation but through struggle without any variation of ethnicity, religion, political attitude, age and gender. Otherwise, the previous struggle trend yet not working. All people must be act as a citizen but not as a subject.

Young people must claim space and needs to hear. The political crises they experiences is found in the poor leadership and governance that puts Ethiopian people's especially youth outside of decision making at regional as well as national level. Youth experience their own moral crises from their lack of direction in the country that doesn't think of them and the absence of relatable role models who represent the values and attitudes of responsible citizenship and success in life. In addition to the political crises the economic crises also found in the lack of innovations that pursue new types of employment and succeed in diverse business or investment opportunities that welcome youth. In terms of bettering future Ethiopia, youth experience a difficulty in creating their own sense of identity and dignity because without support they lack spaces to create self-esteem and can't develop a belief in themselves.

Youth need and want a future that is hopeful and positive. This includes resource and tools that help to give them faith in the future;

enables them to build their self-awareness; and enable them to take charge of their future as individuals as well as accountable and responsible generation for the future Ethiopia. They need tools now that enable them to navigate the whole country as adults later. But in Ethiopia there is no space to them neither to organize themselves nor to motivate in to a common future. Mostly though, youth need to know that they can speak and that there are places where people will listen to them. Young people need to know that what they think and feel matter, that people care about what they say and that what they say matters to how their communities are shaped and developed. Nowadays Ethiopian Youth seen by the regime as a criminal and young people are also under fear of punishment.

**The Ethiopian Affair:-Mr. Abidie,** thank you very much for the wonderful time we have had.

**Mr. Abidie:** - Nice to have me here.

## The need for revolution in Ethiopia

### Tewachew Derebe

There are many reasons for the need to revolution in Ethiopia. Widespread brutality, nepotism, violence against women, repression, famine and land grabbing are some of the reasons among many others. In addition, inadequate public services, wide spread unemployment, uneven distribution of resources and high level of corruption are unbearable conditions of the country. This condition has made a huge economic gap between citizens and it resulted in a severe absolute poverty. The corrupted and loyal slaves of TPLF officials have become Millionaires while the rest of society is not able to fulfill their basic needs. From those poor and inefficient people's hand the money and resources were stolen by servants of the regime.

Due to increased and unbearable poverty in rural areas of the country high numbers of people are migrating to the bigger cities and towns. For instance recently released information indicates that there are over 160,000 street children in Addis Ababa excluding adult beggars and homeless. So we can see that the number could rise over a million when all the regional bigger cities and towns street children, adult beggars and homeless added up.

When I change my opinion from socio economic situation to socio- political condition, Ethiopia is facing now most shameful and horrible political condition in all of its history. In Ethiopian history no government or regime had committed such a countless crimes against its own people. The continued massacre, torture, arrest and persecutions of civilians by TPLF regime has become daily horrors which Ethiopians are facing on their daily life.

In general, Ethiopia is overwhelmed by many problems with few solutions. The country has already become the land of endless cry, continuous sadness and sorrow.

Millions left their homes, hundreds of thousands were killed. No freedom, No security, No justice and No words to explain our pains. It is only revolution that will solve all these problems once for all. Therefore, let's join the wave of protests against the regime the regime in every corner of the country.

## Pillars of Dictatorship in Ethiopia

### Asnake Demena

Experts of nonviolent struggle stated that dictators are never as strong as they tell you they are, and the people are never as weak as they think they are (Sharp, 2011). Sharp also explained that nonviolent action can eat away at a regime's pillars of power like termites in a tree. This is to mean that political power is always potentially fragile and is always dependent on the society over which it is applied. Based on this explanation, it is possible to suggest that the political power of the brutal regime in Ethiopia can be destroyed without much risks and causalities. However, it is also potentially disastrous for any group to wage a struggle against dictatorship without prior knowledge of its fundamental pillars of support. Hence, the main purpose of this article is to identify, the fundamental pillars of support of dictatorship in Ethiopia.

Scholars of nonviolent resistance agreed that understanding of the nature of political power will help us to understand how to conduct the struggle effectively. Any regime: dictatorial or democrat will rely on some pillars of support more than on others. The regular interaction between pillars of support is the most important source of power for all forms of governments. Therefore, identifying fundamental pillars and developing a multi-level strategy that weakens those pillars may make the difference between success and failure for our nonviolent struggle.

Based on our daily observation it is possible to identify fundamental pillars of

support of the brutal regime in Ethiopia. Some of these pillars, such as the military, police and security, courts, media, foreign aid and remittance are vulnerable to popular mass action or withdrawal of consent from the general population. Let's take this discussion a bit further.

### 1. Military

The dictatorial regime in Ethiopia uses military force to stay in power. In every protest that took place in Ethiopia, it is the military force that has killed many people than local police. More recently, it was the notorious Agazi Commando that killed more than 400 protestors in Oromia alone. This indicates that the military is the most crucial pillar of support for the regime in power. Since, the military unit is separated from the society to hinder the development of personal relationships between military and civilian families; there is no reason on the part of military units to use less force on protestors. In some circumstances, soldiers were considered by the regime to be more reliable than the local police and militia to use excessive force on civilians. Therefore, any plan for nonviolent struggle in Ethiopia should consider dissemination of information into the military apparatus to develop a positive relationship between soldiers and the rest of the society.

### 2. The police

Policing in Ethiopia is complex. Along with federal and regional police, there are also local militias that operate as local security forces. The federal police was created in 1995 to operate under the Ministry of Federal Affairs. Regional police also known as local police operates under their respective regional justice offices. The police and security apparatus have been effectively served as instrument of intimidation, torture and kidnapping for the corrupted and repressive regime in the country.

But still, it is possible to begin changing the attitudes and behavior of police personnel. There are a few factors to keep in

mind concerning the police. First, police normally live in the communities that they serve. Therefore, their families, relatives, acquaintances and friends have developed a network of relationships. If the government, then, characterizes those people in the community who oppose the regime as criminals or terrorists, the police have another reference point by which to evaluate government propaganda. Secondly, police forces carrying out the orders of the dictatorial regime should not, in general, be viewed as the enemy of the people. They are servants of a system that has failed. It is the system that needs to be replaced, not the thousands of honest and honorable people whose training and skills are necessary to serve and protect a democratic society. Keeping these points in mind let's work hard to change the attitudes and behavior of police personnel towards our struggle against the brutal regime in Ethiopia.

### 3. The courts

The courts in Ethiopia are strongly controlled by the regime in power. They are pillar of support of dictatorship which facilitates the imprisonment of thousands of dissents in the name of justice. The EPRDF regime routinely uses its vague and overly broad anti-terrorism law to stifle freedom of expression and political opposition. For the past 25 years, courts have been working hard to replace the rule of law with the rule of jungle. Death penalty and long term prison sentences have been given to individuals for being human rights defender or political activist.

Most of the judges to these courts are appointed by the regime only based on their party affiliation instead of their legal qualification. As a result of this, their judgment is based on intentional political motivation of the regime. In most case, state agents such as police ignore court orders regarding the release or treatment of defendants, as occurred when a supreme federal court ruled that Habtamu Ayalew could not travel abroad to receive urgent

surgery and medical treatment due to torture inflicted kidney failure and Hemorrhoid. This subversion of judicial independence to political interests occurs at all levels of government. Judges who do not conform to those interests are either face disciplinary punishment or dismissal. All the scenarios discussed above indicate that courts are the most crucial pillars of support of the regime in power. Therefore, let's encourage judges to think about strategic defection against the regime in Ethiopia.

#### 4.The Media

If a popular nonviolent movement for democratic change is to be successful, it must have the means to communicate its messages to its target audiences. The brutal regime in Ethiopia knows this and makes attempts to deny or limit the flow of information among the society. The most recent "computer crime proclamation" of the regime was created to serve this purpose intentionally, in addition to the so-called anti-terrorism law that has been used to impede freedom of expression in the country for many years.

Furthermore, Magazines, Newspapers, television and radio stations are under the control of the repressive regime. All of these mass media have virtually been used to disseminate harmful propaganda for the past 25 years. However, by boycotting these media or by finding an alternative outside the country's border it is possible to overcome impacts harmful propaganda on the struggle against the regime.

#### 5.Foreign aid and remittance

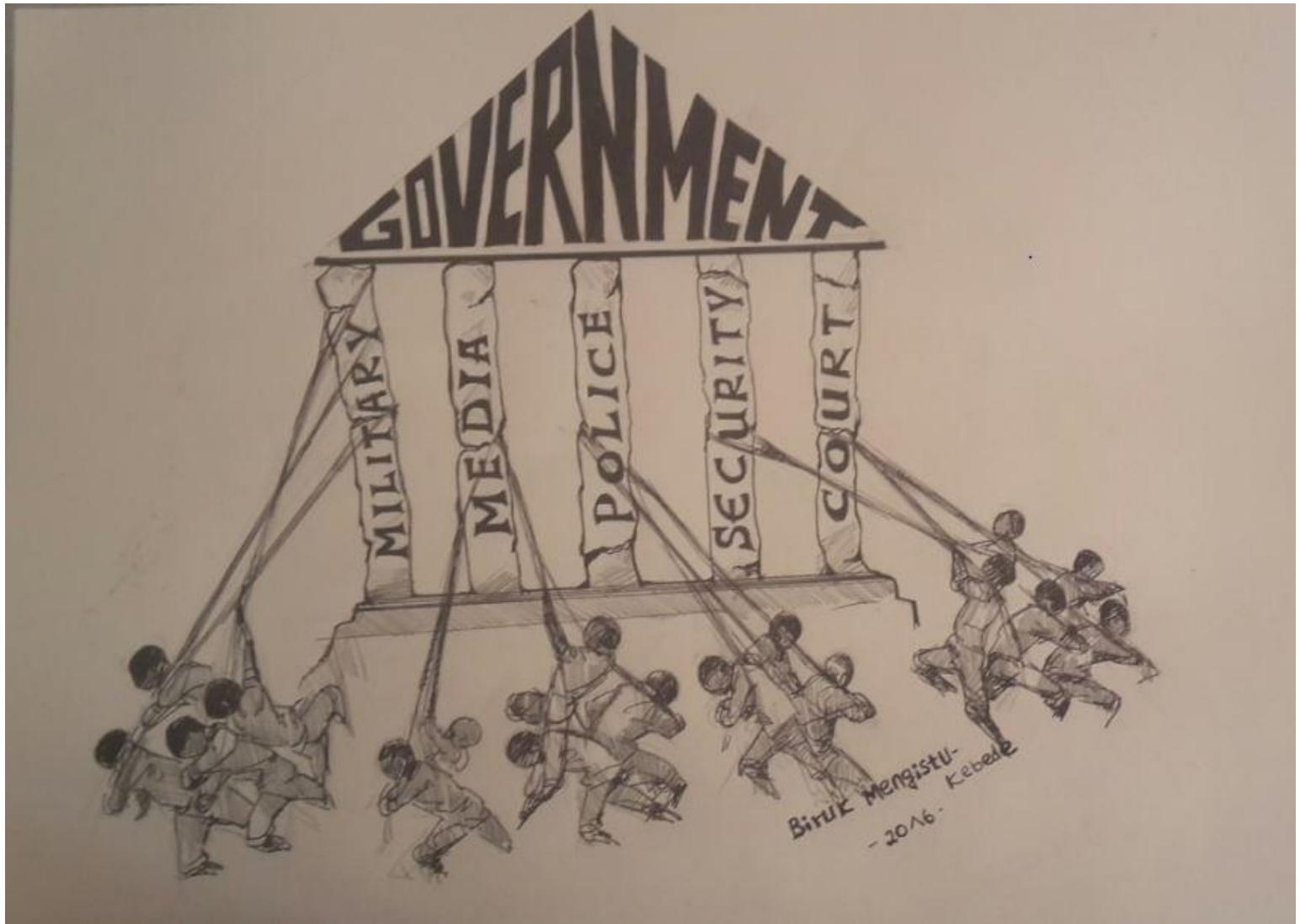
Friendly governments that provide foreign aid, technical assistance or serve as international trade partner are also fundamental pillars of dictatorship in Ethiopia. The total amount of foreign aid to Ethiopia, estimated to be 4 billion US dollar on average from international donors in recent years. On the other hand, according to reports from the banking industry, remittances from abroad to Ethiopia reached 3.7 billion US dollar. This means, foreign aid and diaspora remittance represents 60 to 70

percent of the national budget of the EPRDF regime. This tremendous amount of money allowed the EPRDF regime to win support from the military and to fund numerous instruments of political repression, such as police and security forces. In other words, it is our own money has been serving as a walking stick for the regime to remain in power. If we are really serious about bringing down the regime, it is time to control the flow of foreign aid and remittance into Ethiopia.

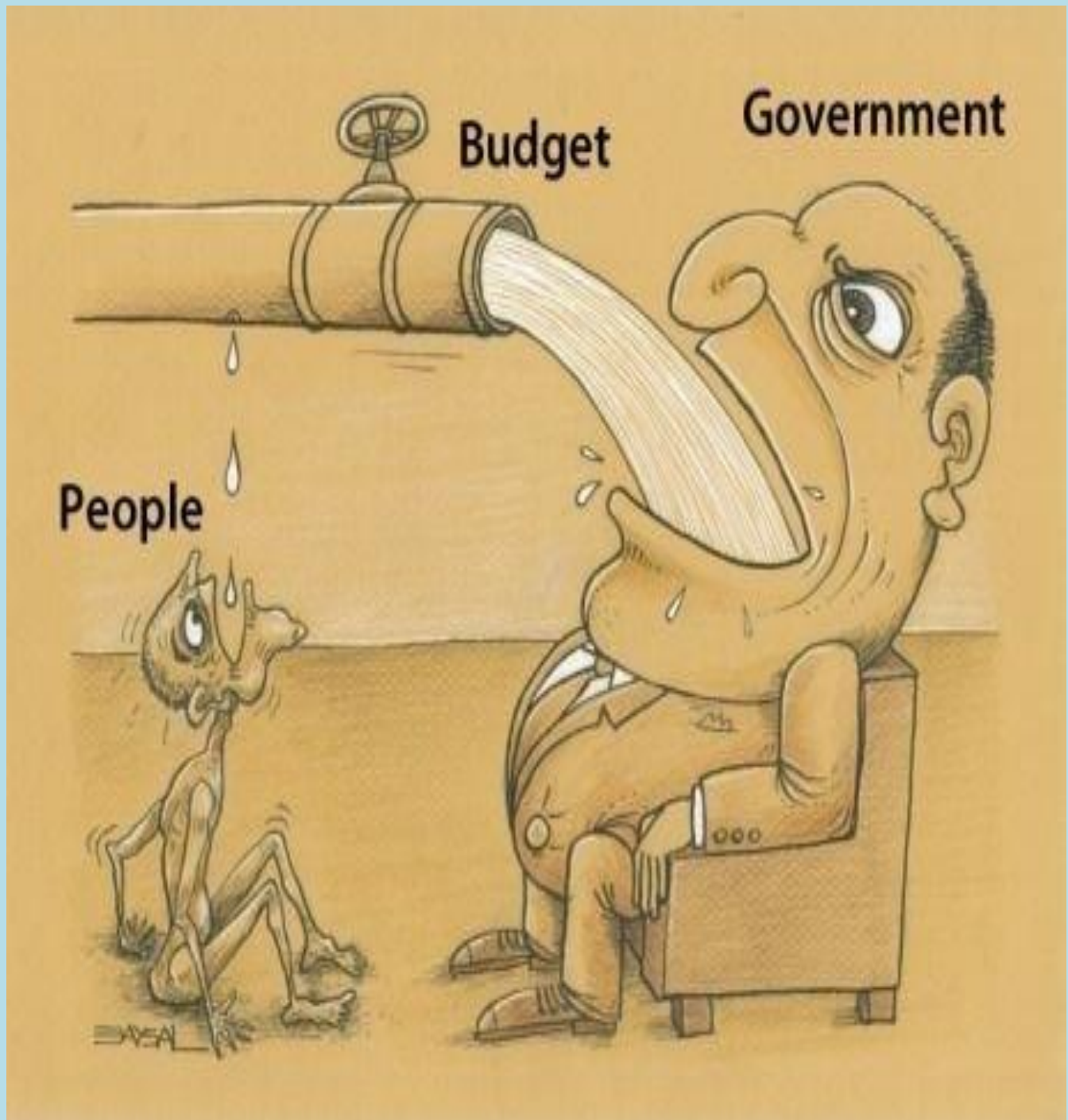
To conclude the entire argument of this article, serious struggle against brutal dictatorship is not a pleasant prospect. An essential part of any effective nonviolent struggle is to identify and attack the regime's few crucial pillars of support. All of the above mentioned organizations are made up of individuals who can be influenced. If the resisters can persuade these individuals to lessen or even withdraw their support for the regime, the pillar is weakened, and the regime's power is diminished. These efforts can take place at both an individual and an organizational level. An early attack might focus on "pulling out" one or a few influential individuals. Finally, the organizations as a whole are still supportive of the regime, but unable to function as usual. This leads to entire collapse of the regime once for all.

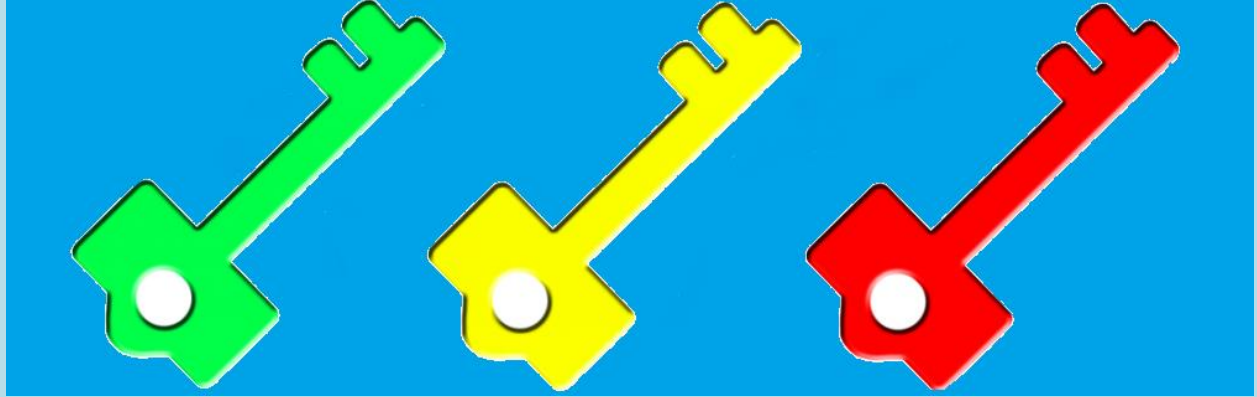
**Reference:** - Gene Sharp, 2011. An interview on BBC Radio 4's Broadcasting House, 20 February 2011.

## Political Views Of Biruk Mengistu



# Annual Budget Distribution in Ethiopia





የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ያገባናል

