



ቅጽ 14 | ቀ. 3 | ፋክስ (905)799-2193 | ሰኔ/ሐምሌ 2001

Vol 14 | Issue 3 | Tel (416) 459-5964 | June/July 2009 | www.hawarya.net | hawarya.publications@sympatico.ca

ህልም ሀይወት፤ በሙቀቱ ቤቴ - መደብ ሳይ ወለሱ÷ ቁንጫው ይምለጠኝ - አይ*ጣረኝ* ትሁዋኑ÷ ሜዳ ላይ ከሚያሸኝ - ተባይ ምናምት ከሚጫዎትብኝ ጊንጥና ጉንዳኑ። ትልቁ ቤታችን - የተሠራው ድሮ÷ ጣራና ግድግዳው - የቆመው ተዋቅሮ÷ ወለል መደብ አለው - በደም'ብ ተዘጋጅቶ ስንቱ የተኛበት - ክንዱን ተንተርሶ

ቢርበው ቢጠማው - ህልሙን ህይወት

አርጎ።

(ሙሉቀን)

ካናዳ 142ኛ የልደት ቀኗን አከበረች!

በየዓመቱ 'የካናዳ ቀን' ተብሎ በሀገር አቀፍ ደረጃ በጁላይ ወር የመጀምሪው ዕለት (July 1) ተከብሮ የሚውለው የሀገሪቱ ብሄራዊ በዓል÷ **በዚህ ዓመትም ረቡሪ ጁላይ** 1/2009 (Wednesday, July 1, 2009) በከፍተኛ ድምቀት ተከብሮ ውሏል። በዚህ ዕለት ካናዳ እንደ አንድ ፌደራሳዊ መንግሥት የተዋቀረችበትን 142ኛ ዓመት ያከበረች ሲሆን፥ ለአንድ አገር እድሜ በነዚህ በጣት በሚቆጠሩ ዓመታት ውስጥ፥ ሀገሪ ቱ ከፍተኛውን የእድባትና ሥልጣኔ እርምጃ ተራምዳለች።

ካናዳ በአንድ ፌደራሳዊ ሥርዓት ሥር የዋለቺው ከጁላይ 1ቀን 1867 ዓ.ም (July1,1867) **ጀምሮ ሲሆን**÷ ይህም ህጋዊ አወቃቀር ከዚያ በፊት በሰሜን አሜሪካ የእንግሊዝ ቅኝ ግዛት የነበሩትን ኖቫስኮሻ (Nova Scotia), አውብራንስዊክ (New Brunswick) እና የካናዳ ክፍለ ሀገር ተብሎ ይታወቅ የነበረውና በሁዋሳ በሂደት ኦንታሪዮና ኪዩቤክ (Ontario & Quebec) ชากิด የተሰየሙትን አራት ግዛቶች ያጠቃለለ ነበር።

የመጀምሪያው የአዲሷ ካናዳ ገቨርነር ጀኔራል የነበሩት ቻርለስ ስታንለይሞንክ÷4ኛው ቪስካውንት ሞንክ (Charles Stanley Monck, 4th Viscount Monck) 第3 20 43 1868 (June 20,1868) የፌደረሽት ቀን ካናዳዊያን በሀገር አቀፍ ደረጃ እንዲከብሩት የሚጠይቅ ዘውዳዊ አዋጅ ቢያስተሳልፉም÷ ብሄራዊ **በዓሉ በ**1879 ዶሚኒዬን ቀን (Dominion Day) ተብሎ እስከጸናበት ጊዜ ድረስ መንግሥታዊ በዓል



በአታዋ የተከናወነው ክብረ በዓል (The celebration in Ottawa)

በህፃ ከጸደቀው የ'ዶሚኒዬም ቀን' በሁዋሳም፥ ብሄራዊ በዓሉ እስከ 20ኛው ክፍለ ዘመን መጀመሪያ

ሆኖ መከበር አልቻለም ነበር። የታሪክ መዝገባት ያመለከታሉ። በጊዜው አብዛኛው የካናዳ ሕዝብ ሀገራዊና ወገናዊ ኩራቱን እንግሊዝአዊ አድር**ጎ ስለሚ**ቆጥር÷ ድረስ ጎልቶ ይከበር እንዳልነብር ለአዲሱ የካናዳ ሰውነቱ ብዙም

ይጨነቅ እንዳልነበር ከተሳለፉልን የታሪክ ቅርሶች መረዳት ይቻሳል። ካናዳ ዛሬ ልዩ ናት። እንደ ሕዝብ፥ ከዓለም አካባቢ በመጡ የተለያዩ የሰው ልጆች የተሞሳች÷

በባህሷና የኢኮኖሚ አውታሮቿ የተቀየጠች ስትሆን÷ እንደ ሀገርም የራሷ ማዛትና መከላከያ ያላት የበለጸገች አገር ናት። ምንም እንኳ እ*ሥ*ካሁንም ዘውዳዊው የእንግሊዝ ሥርዓት የተቆራኛት ቢሆንም፥ በሀገሪቱ አስተዳደር ሳይ ያለው ተፅእኖና ሚና ግን በጣም አነስተኛ ነው። እንደ ሌሎች ማህበረሰብ አባሳት ሁሉ፥ እኛ *መነሻችን* ኢትዮጵያ የሆን ዜጎች ካናዳ ለዋለችልን ውለታ እናማሰግናለን፤ በአርቆ አሳቢ ልጆቿ የተገነባውን ዴሞክራሲ*ያ*ዊ ሥርዓቷን ተጠቅመን ለተሟላ መብታችንና ተቅጣችን ስንታገል÷ በአኳያውም ደግሞ ክብሯንና ደህንነቷን ነቅተን **እን**ጠብቃለን።

እንዲህም እየሆነ÷ ብሄራዊው 'የካናዳ ቀን' ከፍተኛ ወገናዊነትና ክብር እያገኘ በሀገሪቱ መዲናና በየክፍለ ሀገሮች ዋና ከተማዎች በድምቀት ተክብሮ እየዋለ ነው። በካናዳ ዋና ከተማ - አታዋ-በተከበረው የዘ ንድሮው ክብረ በዓል ሳይ የሐዋርያ ዋና አዘጋጅ በቦታው ተገኝቶ በዕለቱ የተካሄደውን ከፍተኛ የአከባበር ሥነ-ሥርዓት ተከታትሏል።

ሐዋርያ ወደፊት ከዋናው ኢትዮጵያዊ ጉዳይዋ ጋር አያይዛ ካናዳ ውስጥ የሚካሂዱ ዋና ዋና ክስተቶችን ለአንባቢዎቿ ይዛ እንደምትቀርብ በዚህ አጋጣሚ **እናስገነዝባለን**። ካናዳ የሚቀጥለው ክሬምት ወራት አሊምፒክ (winter Olympic) አስተና*ጋ*ጅ እንደመሆኗ *መ*ጠን÷ በቦታው ለመዘገብ ሪቅድ አለን።

ሙዚቃ አፍቃሪዎች ተረጋኑ፤

ማይክል ጃክሰን እንደ ጥሳሁን ገሰሰ ህይው ነው!!



የማይክል ጃክሰን የመጨረሻው ገጽታ (The last face of Michael Jackson)

የሰው ልጅ በመጠቀ ተበቡ ገና ፊትኖ *ያሳሬጋገ*ጠው *ነገ*ር ቢኖር ስንት ዓይነት ሞት መኖሩን ነው:: ጀግኖች ከሚሊዮኖች ተመርጠው ለሀገርና ሕዝብ ደጀን ሆነው በፍልሚያው ቦታ ግምባራቸውን ሰጠው ሲወድቁ÷ አማኝ

፤ አሶቦዒ qo4 የማይታሰበውን አልመው÷ የማይቻለውን ችለውና አረ*ጋ*ግጠው የታወቁና ለሰው ልጆች የደስታ ስሜት ተጨናቂ የሆኑ ድንገት ከመድረኩ ዞር ሲሉ÷ 'ሞቱ' የሚል ነ*ጋሪ*ት ይ**ጎሰማል። በዚ**ሁ ልክ ደ**ግ**ሞ÷ ኑሮውን የመረጠ ዛርጤ÷ ለእውነትና ለሃቅ ደንገጡር ለመሆንና ደፍሮ ለመቆም ሃሞት ያልፌጠረበት የዚህች ዓለም ስ*ን*ፍናና አምሳኪ÷ ወይም አልባሌ ልምድ ተብትበው በመያዝ ህይወቱን ተገኛና ተሸናፊ ያደረጉት ገምቱ ስትንፋሱ ስትቋረጥ ልክ እንደሌሎች 'ሞተ' ይባላል። መሞት ማለት የዚህን ዓለም ሽታና ጨገሬ ታ አጥቶ በአካል መሰወር ከሆነ÷ የሞተው ማነው? ከተሰወሩ በሁዋላ እልፍ **አእሳፍ ሥራ**ዎቻቸውና ምግባራቸው የሚወደሱሳቸው÷ ወይስ የህይወት ዘመናቸውን ባፃባቡ ባለመጠቀማቸው ቀሪ ምልክት ሳይተክሉና የሰውን ልጅ ባህረ ሃሳብ ሳያንጓሉ እልም

እንዲሁም÷ | ድርግም ያሉት?

ለዚህ ነው ማይክል ጃክሰን እንደ ትናንቱ ብርቅ የኢትዮጵያ ልጅ ተሳሁን **ገ**ሰሰ አልሞተም **ማ**ለት የሚያስደፍረው። ዓለም የህይወት ተግል አውድማ መሆኗን የተረዱት የማይክል ወሳጆች ገና በተዋት የልጅነት ዕድሜው÷ ባዘጋጁለት መድረክ ላይ ጨዋታውን አጠናቆ ዘሳለማዊ ህይወትን ተጎናጽፏል። አንጨብጠውና አንዳስሰው ይሆናል እንጅ÷ ማይክል ጃክሰን በብዙዎቻችን ዘንድ ከእይታችንም ሆነ ከህሊናችን የሚሰወር ከቶ አይደለም።

ማይክል ጃክሰን ምንም እንኳ ዘግየት ብሎ የሙዚቃ አፍቃሪዎቹን ልብ ያልነካ የተለያዩ የባህርይ ለውቦች የታዩበት ቢሆንም÷ የሙያው ሙሉ ባለቤትና እፍቃሪ ሆኖ በአይታክቴነት ያበረከታቸው ድንቅ የሙዚቃ ሥራዎቹ ግን

ወደ ገጽ 23 ዞሯል

የኢትዮጵያዊያን ማህበር በቶሮንቶ ዓመታዊ ስብሰባውን አካሂደ



በስብሰባው ሳይ የተገኙ የማህበሩ አባሳት

በካናዳ ደረጃ በታሳቅነቱና በተግባራዊ እንቅስቃሴው በጉልህ የሚታወቀው የኢትዮጵያዊያን ማህበር በቶሮንቶና አካባቢው ባለፈው ሜይ 31 ቀን 2009 ዓመታዊ ስብሰባውን አካሂዷል። በዕለቱ ከአብዛኛው ተመሳሳይ ዓመታዊ ጉባኤዎቹ ሻል ባለ ሁኔታ በዛ *ያ*ሉ የቆዩና አዳዲስ አባላቱ የተሳተፉ ሲሆን፥ በቁጥር ደረጃ

ሲታይ እሰየው የሚያሰኝ ነበር። በጉባኤው መግቢያ ላይ የማህበሩ ፕሬዚዳንት ዶ/ር ቡሻ ታአ

የማህበሩን ህገ-ደንብ ተመርኩዘው ቦርዱ ያከናዎናቸውን የሥራ እንቅስቃሴዎችና ወደፊት ያቀጻቸውን ተግባራት ዝርዝር ማብራሪያ የሰጡ። የማህበሩ ዋና

ሥራ እስኪያጅ የሆኑት ዶ/ር ወደ ገጽ 22 ዞሯል

Hawarya- Amharic Monthly Owned by African Network Inc.

Muluken Muchie
Managing Editor/Publisher:

Mailing Address:

1116 Wilson Avenue P.O.Box 66036 Toronto, Ontario Canada M3M 1G7

Tel:

416-459-5964

Fax:

(905) 799-2193

E-mail:

hawarya.publications@sympatico.ca

Web Site: www.hawarya.net

Graphics & Layout

Mevlana Media Solutions Inc. Tel: 416-789-9933 fmelani@rogers.com

Annual Subscription Rate

Canada.... Cdn\$35.00

USA...... USD\$45.00

Others..... USD\$65.00

Institution \$100.00 consent of the publisher.

ለሐዋርያ ደብዳቤና ጽሁፍ ለሚያቀርቡ ሁሉ መመሪያ፤

- 1) የሚሳኩልን ደብዳቤዎች ከ200 ቃሳት ያልበለጡ ቢሆኑ ይመረጣል፡፡ (አጫጭርና ፍሬ ነገሮችን ጨምቀው የሚያቀርቡልን ደብዳቤዎች የበለጠ የመታተም እድል ይኖራቸዋል)
- ሀ) በኮምፒተር የአማርኛ ጽሁፍ ማቀናበሪያ የተዘ*ጋ*ጁ ከሆኑ ከ3 *ገፆች÷*
- ለ) በእጅ ጽሁፍ ከቀረቡ ከ5-7 ገፆች ባይበልጡ ይመረጣል፤ ወቅታዊነት ያሳቸው÷ ትምህርታዊ የሆኑ÷
- ያልተዛዛዙ ... ጽሁፎች ቀድመው የመታተም እድል ይኖራቸዋል።)
- 3) ማንኛውም ደብዳቤም ይሁን ጥናታዊና ትምህርታዊ ጽሁፍ አቅራቢ ስሙን፥ አድራሻውንና ስልክ ቁጥሩን አብሮ መሳክ ሲኖርበት፥ ከዝግጅት ክፍሉ *ጋ*ር የሚደረጉ
- የግንኙነት መረጃዎች በሚስጥር ይያዛሉ።
 4) ለሐዋርያ የሚሳኩ ጽሁፎች ሁሉ
 የጋዜጣው ንብረት ሲሆኑ ይዘታሰውንና
 መጠናቸውን ተገቢ ለማድረግ የአዘጋጆች
 የማስተካሾል መብት የተጠበቀ ነው።
 5) በኔ የዲረየል ኔመየር የዝግጅት
- የማስተካሾል መብት የተጠበቀ ነው።
 5) በኢዲቶሪያል አምዱና የዝግጅት ክፍሉ ከሚያቀርባሰው ዝግጅቶች ውጭ፥ በዚህ ጋዜጣ ለሚቀርብ ማንኛውም ጽሁፍ ይዘት አዘጋጁና አሳታሚው ሃላፊነት አይወስዱም።

ጀሮ ካዳመጠ፥ ወፍ ይነግራል!

ጉዳዩ፥ "ለብልህ ንገረው፥ ምን ይስተውው ብዬ፤ ለሞኝ ምከረው÷ 903 ይሰማ ብየ" ነው። የኢትዮጵያችን ፖለቲካዊና ማህበራዊ ስንክሳር በአትሮንሱ ላይ ተገልጦ፥ በጭዋና ካህን - በምልዕተ ሕዝቡና በሊቃውንቱ - በልዩ ልዩ ድምፀ-ቃና ከየካቲት እስከ *ግንቦት ተነ*ቧል፤ ተተርኳል። ረጅሙ የሀገረ-ኢትዮጵያ **ሁለገብ** የለውጥ ሃደተ÷ ያልሰሙ እንዲሰሙ÷ ያሳወቁ እንዲያውቁ÷ የተሳሳቱም ይታረሙ ዘንድ ብዙ ጊዜና ዕድል ሰተቶ አወያይቷል። ወቅት አዋቂ በአሁኑ ኢትዮጵያዊያን ከሊቅ እስከ ደቂቅ ጠሳትና ወዳጅን -ጥቅምና ጉዳትን አውቀው በአርምሞ የተቀመጡበት ጊዜ እንጅ፥ "ማን አደረገው፥ ለምንስ ሆነ" ብለው ከራሳቸው *ጋር የሚሟገቱበት፥ ወይም* እየሆነ ሳለው ሀገራዊና ሕዝባዊ ጉዳያቸው አጥጋቢ መረጃ የሚናውዙበት ጊዜ አይደለም። ሕዝብ ከዚህ በሳይ፥ 'ጥቅምና ጉዳትህን እወቅ'÷ 'ጠሳትና ወዳጅህን ለይ' ቢባል "ነገር ቢበዛ በአህያ አይጫንም" ማለቱ ቢጠበቅ እንጅ፥ "ይህም አለ እንዴ?' የሚያሰኝ አዲስ ነገረ-ፍጆታ የሚኮለኩለው ከቶ አይሆንም። ሳለፉት ከአርባ በሳይ ለሚሆኑ *ዓመ,*ታት ሳንዴም ዕረፍት አጥቶ በትግሉ ምህዋር ተጠምጥሞ የዞረውና ከሞት ድህንቱ ብዙ የተማረው ሕዝባችን፥ 'የዝምብ ጠ*ንጋራ*' ለይቶ *ያው ቃ*ል ቢባል ወጉ የሚያብል አይሆንም። የሚናፍቀው፥ ሕዝቤ **ግልድ**ሙን ጠቅሎ ለትግል የእጅ መዳፎቹን ወልውሎ ወደ ፍልሚያው ቦታ የሚዘልቅንና ጠ*ረኑን* እያሽተተ የሚከተለው ታማኝ መሪ እንጅ፥ አውቆ በታከተበት እውነታ ነጋ ጠባ መጠቅጠቅ ብቻ አይደለም። ድምጽና ስሜት በአንድ እየ*ተመመ* ሕዝብ÷ ያለው ከጭንቀቱ÷ ከመከራውና ከአፈናው ይታደገው ዘንድ አደራጅቶና አስተባብሮ በማታገል ለዴሞክራሲያዊና ሰብአዊ መብቶቹ ድል የሚያበቃው እንቅስቃሴ ነው

የሚኘው:: አታጋይ ዴሞክራሲያዊ እንቅስቃሴና *መሪ* ስንጣራ÷ **ግልጽ መሆን የሚገባውን** ማስታወስ በአጽንኦት ያስፈልጋል። እንደ ማንቦቱ ሕዝባዊ ትግል በሕዝብና በመሪዎች መካከል ሌላ አለ*መግ*ባባት *እንዳይ*ፈጠር ከወዲሁ ለማረም የትናንቱ ተመክሯችን እሴት መሆን መቻል አለበት። በግንቦት 97ቱ እንቅስቃሴ ከታዩት ጉልህ ተመክሮዎች አንዱ፥ ሕዝቡ በግንባር ቀደምትነት የተሰየሙትን የእንቅስቃቅሴ መሪዎች÷ ያስተጋቡትንና የተናገሩትን እንጅ የልባቸውን ምት ጉልበት አልመረመረም ነበር። *መሪዎች*ም በውል ያወቁት ጉዳይ ቢኖር ውስጥ አምልኮ ም管ታቸውን ብቻ እንጅ የሕዝብ ቁጣ ከውቅያኖስ ማሪበልና ከሰማይ መብረቅ

በበለጠ ሊያተለቀልቅና ሊሰነጣተቅ እንደሚችል ተረድተው በቂ ዝግጅት አሳደረጉም። ምንም እንኳ አምባንነት ሥርዓት በበኩሉ ከግንቦቱ ሕዝባዊ ነውጥ የራሱን ተመክሮ ይወስዳል ተብሎ ቢጠበቅም፥ የሕዝብ ወገኖች በሚቀጥለው ልዩና አይቀሬ ፍልሚያ ወቅት፥ ይህ አይነቱን ድክመት እንዲያስወግዱ ተስፋ የደረጋል።

ይደፈጋል። 'nዚህ ኃር ሊሰመርበት የሚገባው ጉዳይ ደግሞ፥ ለተፋፋመ ሕዝባዊና ዴሞክራሲያዊ ትግል ጥሪ የሚያቀርበው ሕዝብ፥ አሁን ከተጫነው ኢ-ፍትሃዊ÷ አ.-ዴምክርዳሲያዊና ጠባብ-ትምክህተኛ ሥርዓት ነጻ ይውጣ እንጅ፥ ከዚያ በሁዋሳ ሳለው ብዙም አይጨነቅም የሚል የተሳሳተ ትርጉም እንዳይወሰድበት ጽኑ ግንዛቤ ያስፈልገዋል። ትግሉ አንድን አምባንንን በሌሳ *መ*ልከ-መልካም "ሎጋ" አምባገነን ለመተካት፥ ወይም ያለፈውን ሥርዓት የክሳራ ቀባብቶና አለባብሶ ለመመለስ ሳይሆን፥ ሕዝብ የሥልጣኑ ባለቤት የሚሆንበት ቋሚ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ለመገንባት ነው። ሀገራችን ከአደጋ እናድን፥ ለሕዝቡ **ተያቄ መ**ልስ እንስተ ሲባል÷ ለውጥ አልባዎቹን ጉልቾች ለመቀያየር ሳይሆን፥ የአዲስ ሥርዓት ምሥረታ ጽንስ በትግሉ ማህጻን ፋፍቶ÷ በሕዝባዊው ድል ቅጽበት፥ በሳባችንና በደማችን ጠብታ ጸድቶ በተነጠፈው የኢትዮጵያችን እልፍኝ ወለል ሳይ መወለዱን ማረጋገጥ ያሻ

ሕዝባዊ ትግል ከተጠበቀው በሳይ ረዝሞ በድል አይቋጭ እንጅ፥ በተጓዝ ንበት ውስስብ የትግል ሂደት ላይ፥ ቆርጠዋ ዘለግ ብለን በሩቅ አማትረን የምንመለክትባቸው፥ ያሉ የድል ማማዎች በትግሉ ፍኖት **ሳይ ተገንብተዋል**። ከነዚህም ውስጥ፥ በይዘታቸው የሕዝባዊው ገድል ኩታ ያሳቸው ገጠምንት ወርሃ የካቲትና ማንቦት ሊጠቀሱ የሚገባቸው የተጋድሎ ንቁጣዎች ናቸው። ሁለቱም ወራቶች በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ የታሪክ መድበል ውስጥ፥ የየራሳቸው የሆነ ምዕራፍ ያሳቸው ቢሆኑም፥ መሰረታዊ **ግብዓታቸው ግን አንድ ነው** -ሕዝብ መብቱን፥ አንድነቱንና የበሳይንቱን ለማስከበር ተነሳስቶ የተጋደለባቸው ታሪ ካዊ ሰሞኖች ናቸው። ይኔ **በየካቲት** 1966 **ዓ.ም መሆን** የነበረበት ሆነ፤ ሁዋሳ ቀር *ዕ*ይታ ለአዲስ አመለካከት÷ በአይነቱ ለተለየና ሕዝባዊ ሥርዓት ቦታውን እንዲለቅ በተጀመረው ትንቅንቅ፥ ሕዝቡ ዳር እስከ ዳር "ማንህ÷ የማንስ ልጅ ነህ" ሳይባባል ተሳተፈ። የዚያ ዘመን የትውልድ አፎት የነበረው ወጣት፥ የተተኪነት ሃሳፊንቱንና የዜግንት ግዳጁን *ያለጣመና ታት* በመቀበል÷

እስካሁን

የተካሂደው



ጭሴቀን ሙቤ Muluken Muchie

እስከዛሬ ለማካሂደው ተግል *እርሾና የተመክሮ መሠረት* ሆኗል። የየካቲት አብዮት ጥያቄ÷ 'መሬት ለአራሹ'÷ 'ዱ*ሞክራሲያዊ መብት ለ*ሁሉ፡ 'የብሔረሰቦች*መ*ብት ይከበር'÷ አሽ*ጋጋሪ* የሆነ÷ 'ጊዜያዊ ሕዝባዊ መንግሥት' ይቋቋም፥ 'እኩልነትና ሰብአዊ መብት ይከበር' ... የመሳሰሉት አውደ ሃሳቦች ሲሆኑ፥ ትግሉ ሕዝቡን የሥልጣኑ ባለቤት ለማድረግና ኢትዮጵያን ከተደየነችበት **ሁዋሳ ቀር የበደልና የ**ጭቆና ሥርዓት አሳቆ፥ በምጣኔ-ሐብት የዳበረች፥ የዜጎቿ ሁለንተናዊ መብት የተከበረባት አኩሪ እናት ሀገር ለማድረግ ነበር። የግንቦት 97ቱ ሕዝባዊ ማእበልም የየካቲቱን ነጋሪት

የሚጎስምና የሕዝቡ የትግል

ደረጃ በሂደት የደረሰበትን ብሥራት ነጋሪ ነበር። ያ የየካቲት 66ቱ ሰፊ ባህረ-ሃሳብ፥ በየደረጃው በተከሰቱ ሹል የት**ግ**ል ፍላጻዎችና ሁለት-አፍ ስለቶች እየተሸራረፈ÷ በአምባንነኖች እየተደቆሰና በረዥ**ሙ የት**ግል ሂደት ላልቶ አቅም ባጣበት ወቅት÷ ጠባብ ብሄርተኛ ቡድኖች ሀገራዊውንና ዓለም አቀፉን ሁኔታ ተጠቅመው አበትሪ **(14::** ሥልጣን እንዚህ ምንደኛ ብሄርተኞች፥ ሕዝባዊ አንድነትንና ሀገራዊ ሱ*ዓ*ሳዊነትን ጥያቄ በማስገባታቸው÷ ሕዝቡ ሀገሩንና አንድነቱን በመከሳከል ጉዳይ ላይ አተኩሮ በወርሃ **ግን**ቦት 1997 ዓ.ም ዳር እስከ *ዳር ዳግም ተመመ*;; ይሁን እንጅ÷ አሁንም አደ*ጋ*

*ገጠ*መው::: የካቲቱ ከግንቦት ሕዝባዊ እንቅስቃሴ ብዙ ትምህርቶችን መገብየት የሚቻል ቢሆንም፥ ለትግሉ መጨጓጎል ዋናው ምክንያት **9**ን÷ የተፋፋመውን ትፃል ሙንድ ደፍሮ የሚጨብተና ጨርሶ ሳይፈጀው ቀልጠፍ ብሎ ተራምዶየሚሄድ ብቃት ያለው ድርጅታዊ እንቃቃሴ አለመኖሩ ነው:: ይህ ድክመት በከፊል የጠላትን ተፈተሯዊ ባህርይ ጠንቅቆ ካለማወቅ የመጣ ሲሆን፥ በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ በውል ሳይሰናዱ የሕባዊው ትግል አ*ጋ*ፋሪ የሆኑት ግለሰቦች የግል ጥቅምና ደህንነት ስጋት የወለደው ነው:: እነዚህን በመሰሉ ምክንያቶች ሕዝባዊው ትግል አቅጣጫው ሳይጠፋው ቀጣይና ወሳኝ አቅም በማጣቱ በቀሳሉ ሊ*ጦ,*ታ ችሏል። በትፃሉ አ*መ*ም 11ኛ ሰዓት ሳይ ይናቸውን እየጠረጉ ባልተረጋጋ እርሆአቸው ጀማውን የተቀሳቀሱ **ግለሰቦች÷ የትግሉን አር**ጩሜ መሃል ርዝማኔው ጨብጠው አየር በመቅዘፋቸው እንደዋና ተዋናኝ ስለተ-ቆጠሩ፥ የበራቺው ቀንዲሳችን በአርጩሜያቸው ዥዋዥዊት ሽውታ ድርግም አለችብን። የማንቦቱን ሕዝባዊ እንቅስቃሴ ለማደናቀፍ ልዩ ልዩ ተልእኮ ያሳቸው ማለሰቦችና መረባረባቸው ቢታወቅም፥ ገዥው አምባንንኑ የመለስ ዜናዊ መንግሥትና ለተቅማቸው የተጣበቁ የውጭ ሀገር መንግሥታት የ ቻሉትን **ማድ**ፈጋቸው ሁሉ **ማል**ጽ ቢሆንም፥ ሕዝባዊው አመጽ ይህን ሁሉ ሃይል ተቋቁሞ ከወጣ በሁዋላ፥ ሜዳ ላይ ቆመው በሚተኩሱ ደመ-ነፍስ አድፋጮች ተመቶ የወደቀው **ግን፥ ግላዊ ተቅ**ማቸውንና **ሽለኛዋን ጊደር እንጅ ገደሉን** ባሳዩ ሽልቫዎች ትግሉ ስለደራ

ትኩረታችን በትልቁ ምስል ሳይ ማነጻጸር ይኖርበ,ታል። ትልቁ ምስል ደግሞ የትግሉ **ግብ ነው**። የትግሉ ግብ ስንልም አምባንነን ሥርዓትን አስወግዶ በምትኩ የሕዝባችን ሙሉ መብቶች የተከበሩ በትና የሀገራችን ሉዓሳዊነት የጸናበት ሞክራሲያው ሥርዓት መገንባት ነው። ከየአቅጣጫው በተለያዩየፖለቲካድርጅቶች፥ ስብስቦችና ማለሰቦች የሚካሄዱ እንቅስቃሴዎች የግቡን ትልቅ ምስል ከሪይታቸው መስኮት ለአንዴ እንኳ መሠወር የለባቸውም:: ይህን ሳይሉ ለከፍተኛው የሥልጣን ወንበር ለመብቃት የሚደረገው አለችኝ መኳተን÷ "ሳም በሰማይ፥ ወተቷንም አሳይ" የሚለው ብሂላችን አንቀርቅቦ ፀሐይ ያሞቃቸዋል።

ደረጃ በማለሰብ *እንደምኛታችን* ぴなむ አልሆነም÷ ሕዝብና บาดว ኢያደማ ያለው ሥርዓት መወገድና የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ሙሉ መብት ተረጋግጦ የተደሳደለ ሥርዓት መመሥረት ቀዳሜታ አለው። ስለሆነም፥ በየዕለቱና ከየአቅጣጫው የምናደር ጋቸው ተ*ጋ*ድሎዎች በየግላችን "አጅሬ" ለመባል ወይም የማይጨበጥ (ሥልጣን) ጉም ለመዝገን መነሁለል የለብንም። ይልቁንስ፥ የትግሉን አጋሮች ከገጠሙን ጠሳቶች ለይቶ ሳይድበሰብሱና ሳያምታቱ ለመሠረታዊ ለውተና ግብ ትግሉን ማፋፋም ነው;; የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ወቅታዊና መሠረታዊ ጥያቄም ይኸው ነው፤ ፍትህ ርትእ ለሰፈነበት፥ የሕዝብ አንድነቱና ትሥሥሩ ለሚጥበቅበት÷ የኢትዮጵያችን ለሚጸናበት ሉዓሳዊነት የተጧጧፌ ሕዝባዊ ትግል *እን*ነሳ የሚል።

ሳዳመጠ ጆሮ÷ ይህ ቃሳይ ድምዕ ከአጥናፍ አጥናፍ ያስተ*ጋ*ባል፤ ወስነውና ቆርጠው መገስገስ ለፌለጉ÷ አሁኑኑ ድረሱ የሚል ጥሩ ወፍ ይጮሃል እንሳለን።

መበረታታት ያለበት ጅምር፤



አቶ ሳምኤል ጌታቸው ከሚስ. አድሪያና ማግናቶ-ሃም (Adriana Magnato-Hamu) *ጋር*

በቶሮንቶ ከተማ 'የኢትዮጵያ ጓደኞች' (Friends of Ethiopia) ተብሎ የሚታውቅ ቡድን (ግሩፕ) 'ኢትዮጵያን ፍራይደይ' (Ethiopian Friday) የተባለ በአይነቱ አዲስ የሆነ ማህበራዊ እንቅስቃሴና አስተዋጽኦ አያደረገ ነው።

ቡድኑ፥ በወር አንዴ የወሩ 2ኛ አርብ ዕለት ምሽት በቶሮንቶ ከሚገኙ አንደኛው ምግብቤት ወስጥ በተዘዋዋሪ በሚያደርገው ዝግጅት ከኢትዮጵያ ኮሚኒቲ ውስጥና ከአጠቃላዩ የካናዳ ህብረተሰብ መካከል ጉልህ አስተዋጽኦና ሃላፊነት ያላቸውን ግለሰቦች በየጊዜው በፕሮግራም በተያዘው

የምረጡኝ ዘመቻ በደገፍ፥ በበኩሉ የፌቃደኛነት አስተዋፆ ለማድረግ ከቡድናቸው ጋር በአሃዮና ፊሳደልፊያ (Ohio & Philadelphia) ይንቀሳቀስ በነበረበት ወቅት የምረጡኝ ዘመቻው ይጠቀምባቸው ከነበሩት መገናኛዎች አንዱ "ኢትዮጵያን ፍራይደይ" ብሎ የሰየመውን ይመሰል እንደነበር አብራርቶልናል።

አዲሱ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ፓርቲ (New

Democratic Party of Canada -

NDP) መሪ የሆኑት ሚስተር ጃክ

ሳተን (Jack Layton) እና የአንታሪዮ

ክፍለ ሀገር ግሪን ፓርቲ (Green

Party) ተጠሪ ሚስተር ፍራንክ ዲ

ጀንግ (Frank De Jong – leader of

Green Party of Ontario) hr.

ባልደረባቸውና የቶሮንቶ -ዳንፎርዝ

Greens) አካባቢ እጩ ተወዳዳሪ

ከሆኑት ከሚስ አድሪያና ማግናቶ-

ሃሙ (Adriana Mugnatto-Hamu

) ጋር በመሆን የዕለቱ የክብር

እንግዳ በመሆን የየበኩላቸው

የሥራ ድርሻና ሃላፊነት በሆነው

ጉዳይ ላይ በምግብ ቤቱ ለተገኙት

ተሳታፊዎች ንግግርና ውይይት

በመጨረሻም አቶ ሙሉቀን

ሳበሪከቱት

ሙጨ÷ የሐዋርያ ኃዜጣ አዘኃጅና

አስተዋጽኦ የአንታሪዮ መንግሥት

ምክር ቤት አባል በሆኑት በሚስተር

ማይክ ኮሌ (Mike Colle, M.P.P.)

ተፈርሞ የተዘጋጀሳቸውንና የክፍለ

ሀገሩን አስተዳደር አርማ የያዘ

የአድናቆት ሽልማት ተቀብለዋል።

ይህ አይነቱ መልካም ጅምርና

እንቅስቃሴ ለአካባቢያችን አዲስ

ሲሆን እንዲያድግና እንዲስፋፋ

የህብረተሰብ አባሳቱ እርስ በርስ

ከማቀራረቡ በላይ÷ የአካባቢውን

የ ንግድ ድርጅቶች ይጠቅጣል፥

ሃሳፊነት ካሳቸው የካናዳ ልዩ ልዩ

ስብእናዎች የበለጠ በማስተዋወቅ

የኮሚኒቲው ጥቅምና ደህንነት

በየዝግጅቱ በእንግድነት እየቀረቡ

ስለ ሃላፊነታቸውና ዓላማቸው

ለማህበረሰቡ አባላት ንግግርና

ውይይት *እንዲያደርጉ መ*ጠየቁም

በትክክል አቶ ሳሙኤል ጌታቸው

ተበለፂ

ማህበረሰቡንም

*ያደርጋ*ል።

አድርገዋል።

መ((ረታትት

አጠቃሳይ

እንዲታሰብ

አሳታሚ ሆነው

(Toronto-Danforth

የሚስተር ባራክ አባማ ፕሬዚዳንታዊ ምርጫ በድል እንደተጠናቀቀ፥ ሳሙአል ጌታቸው ወደሚኖርበት ቶርንቶ፥ ካናጻ ተመልሶበኝኗሪ 2009 (January 2009) "ኢትዮጵያን ፍራይዴይ"



አቶ ሳ<mark>ሙኤል ጌታቸው ከሚስተር ጃክ ሳይተን</mark> (Jack Layton) *ጋር*

ምንብ ቤት ውስተ በመ*ጋ*በዝ በቃለ መጠይቅና በውይይት መልክ በጣም ትምህርታዊና ጠቃሚ የሆነ መልእክት እንዲንሽራሽር እያደረገ ነው::

ይህን ተመስጋኝ ጅምር የጠነሰሰው አቶ ሳሙኤል ጌታቸው የተባለ ወጣት ሲሆን የቅርብ ጓደኞቹ ገና ከጅምሩ ሃሳቡን እንደደገፉለትና ቆመው እንዳበረታቱት ከሐዋርያ ጋር ባደረገው ቆይታ ገልጾልናል። ጌታቸው ቀደም ብሎ ከሁለት ዓመት በፊት በአታዋ ይኖር በነበረበት ጊዜ፥ "ለሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ በበኩላችን ምን እንርዳ?" በሚል መሪ ሃሳብ (Friends of Ethiopia) የሚል በጎ አድራጎት ድርጅት መሠረተ። ከዚያም ከጓደኞቹ *ጋር በመሆን* አቅሙ በፈቀደ አንዳንድ አስፈላጊ የሆኑ ቁሳቁሶችን በመግዛትና በማሰባሰብ ወደ ሀገር ቤት በመላክ በዚያው የሚኖሩ እርዳታ ፌሳጊ ወገኖቻችንን ለመርዳት መሞከሩን **አጫ**ውቶናል::

"ኢትዮጵያን ፍራይደይ" የሚለው ሃሳብ የመጣለት ግን የዛሬው የአሜሪካ ፕሬዚዳንት ባራክ አባማ (Barak Obama) ለአሜሪ ካው ፕሬዚደንታዊ ውድድር አጩ ሆነው በሚወዳደሩበት ወቅት ከተመለከተው ተመክሮ ነው። ሳሙአል በግሉ የባራክ አባማን የሐዋርያ ዘጋቢ ከሳሙአል ጋር ባደረገው የቃል ልውውተ መረዳት እንደተቻለው፥ በየወሩ

የሚለውን ፕሮግራም ጀመረ። የመጀመሪያው ዝግጅት አይቤክስ ምግብ ቤት ውስጥ የተካሄደ ሲሆን ከዕለቱ ተና*ጋሪ* እንግዶች የኢትዮጵያ ማህበር ፕረዚዳንት ዶ/ር ቡሻ ታኣ፥ የኦንታሪቅ ክ/ሀገር ምክር ቤት አባል የሆኑት ሚስተር. ማይክ ኮሌ (Mike Colle, M.P.P.) የቶሮንቶ ትምህርት ቤቶች ቦርድ አባላት ይገኙበታል።

አቶ ሳሙአል ጌታቸው ከ ሚስተር ፍራንክ ዲ ጆንግ (Frank de Jong) ጋር

አጋማሽ አርብ ዕለት ምሽት ለንዳለወ በየምግብ ቤቶች የሚደረገው ጠንካራ ከማጅት ዋና ዓላማ በየሃላፊነት ቴርጃቸው ንግግር እንዲያደርጉና የኮሚኒቲውን አባላት እንዲያወያዩ ተጋብዘው የሚመጡ እንግዶችን የሃላፊነታቸውና የተጠሪነታቸው ደለም።

እንዳለው ማለሰቦች በተሰለፉበት ጠንካራ እንዲሆኑ ከማለማመዱና ከማበራታቱ በሳይ እግረ መንገዳቸውን የሚያስተሳልፉት መልክት በቀሳሉ የሚገመት አይ ደለም።

አንታሪዮ ትሪሊዬም ፋውንዴሽን (Ontario ጠንካራ ባለቤቶች **እንዲሆኑ ማ**ገዝ ሲሆን በዚያው ልክም ተሳታፊዎች Trillium Foundation) ከእንግዶች ቁም ነገር እንዲቀስሙ ማብቃት ነው ብሏል። የአፍሪካና ካሪቢያን ከዚህ አኳያም ሜይ 8/2009 ዳን ፎርዝ ላይ በሚገኘው ዋንዛ ምግብ ቤት ውስጥ በተካሄደው ማህበረሰብ የብዙሃን ምሽት÷ የሐዋርያ ዋና አዘ*ጋ*ጅ ሙሉቀን ሙጨ ከኢትዮጵያ ማህበረሰብ ውስጥ ከተ*ጋ*በዙት መገናኛዎች ኃበዚ፤ እንግዶች አንዱ ሲሆን÷ የካናዳ



ዋሪ የተደረገሳቸው *መገ*ናኛ አባሳት በከ<mark>ፈ</mark>ል ከፋውንዴሽኑ ባለሥልጣናት *ጋር*

አንታሪዮ ትሪሊዬም ፋውንዲሽን ከወትሮው ለየት ባለ ሁኔታ ለአፍሪ ካና ካሪቢያን ኮሚኒቲ የብዙሃን መገናኛ ተወካዮች የምሳ ግብዣና ያደረገ ሲሆን፥ በዕለቱ ስለ ፋውንዴሽኑ ዓላማና እንቅስቃሴ ሰፋ ያለ መግለጫ ተሰጥቷል።

የምሳ *ግብዣውና መግለጫው* የተሰጠው ቶሮንቶ ውስጥ 45 ቻርስስ ጎዳና (45 Charles St.) ላይ በሚገኘው ጽ/ቤቱ መሆኑ ሲታወቅ፥ ከአፍሪካና ከካሪቢያን ማህበረሰቦች (African & Caribbean communities) የተደረገሳቸው የየማህበፈሰቦቹ የብዙሃን መገናኛ ወኪሎች ተገኝተዋል። የመግለጫው ዋና ሃሳብ እያደጉና እየሰፉ የመጡትን ሁለቱን ማህበረሰቦች (አፍሪካና ካሪ ቢያን) በተመለከተ ፋውንኤሽኑ አገልግሎቱን ለማስፋፋት ያለውን ፍሳጎት ለመግለጽና በዚህ ጉዳይ ሳይ ሃሳብ ለመለዋወጥ፥ የማህበረሰቦቹ ሰፌ አባሳትም ይህን አገልግለት የማስፋፋት እቅድ በብዙሃን *መገናኛዎቻቸው* አመካይነት

እንዲተሳለፍሳቸው ለማሳሰብ ነበር።

በዛ ያሉ የሥራ ባልደረቦች በተገኙበት በዚህ የምሳ ግብዣ ውይይት÷ የአንታሪዮ ትሪሊዬም ፋውንዴሽን ዋና *ሥራ* አስኪ*ያ*ጅ (CEO) የሆኑት ሮቢን ካርዶዞ (Robin Cardozo) ከሰጡት መግለጫና በውይዪቱ ወቅት ከተነሱት ሰፊ ሃሳቦች *መረዳ*ት እንደተ*ቻ*ለው÷ አንታሪዮ ትሪሊዬም ፋውንዴሽን በአፍሪካና ካሪቢያን ኮሚኒቲዎች ውስጥ አዳዲስ ለትርፍ ሳይሆን ለተለያዩ ማህበረሰባዊ አገልግለት ተቋቁመው አገልግለት በመስጠት ሳይ ያሉ ድርጅቶችን ለመደገፍ እንደሚፈልግ ግልጽ ሆኗል። በነዚህ ማህበረሰቦች ውስጥ ያሉና ካሁን ቀደም ከፋውንዴሽኑ ጋር *ግንኙነት* የሌሳቸው ድርጅቶ ች የድ*ጋ*ፍ (fund) መጠየቂያ ማመልከቻዎቻቸውን ለጽ/ በመላክ መመዘኛዎችን አሟልተውና ልቀው ከተገኙ ድ*ጋ*ፍ እንደማይለያቸው ተብራርቷል።

በፍኖተ ዴሞክራሲ ሬዲዮ ሰኔ 27 ቀን 2001 ከተሳለፌው የዜና ዘድገባ፤

- በደሴ ከተማ በወ*ያኔ ፖ*ሊሶች 7 ሰላማዊ ሰ -ችን በጥይት *መገ*ደላቸው እና 14 መቁሰላቸው ተዘንበ

- ከባህርዳር ህዝብ እንዲጨርስ በአያሴው ጎበዜ የቃል ትእዛዝ የመጣው ልዩ ሃይል ሰላማዊ ሰው ላይ አልተኩስም በማለት ምላሽ ሰጠ

- የልዩ ሃይል አዛዥ እጁን በካቴና ታስሮ አዲስ አበባ ተወሰደ

- በሰራዊቱ ውስጥ የተጀመረው የምንጠራ ዘመቻ ተጠናክሮ ቀጥሎዋል

- በርካታ *መካን*ኖች ለቁም እስር እየተዳረ*ጉ መሆ*ኑ ተ*ጋ*ለጠ

- የፌኤራል ፖሊስ አድማ በታኝ በጦር ካምፕ ውስጥ ግምገማ አደረጉ ብዙ-ች ተባረሩ

ወደ ገጽ 22 ዞሯል

የጋዜጠኛው ማስታዎሻ

በተስፋዬ ገብረአብ ተደርሶ በ2001 ዓ.ም. (በ2009 ዓ.አ) ኬፕ ታውን (ደቡብ አፍሪካ) የታተመ 31 ምዕራፍ ያለው ባለ 412 ገጽ መጽሐፍ

ጌታቸው ኃይሌ

ይህ መጽሐፍ የትግሬ ወያኔዎች አገዛዝ ምን ዓይነት እንደሆነ ከውጪ የምንሰማውንና ያልሰማነውንም ሁሉ ፍርጥርጥ አድርጎ የሚናገር የዓይን ምስክር ነው። ደራሲው አቶ ተስፋዬ ገብረአብ ወያኔዎች ሥልጣን ሊይዙ ከአኮበኮቡበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ ሸሽቷቸው እስከሄደ ድረስ የጓዳ ሰዋቸው ሆኖ በጋዜጠኝነት ያገለገሳቸው ሰው ነው። "አባይን በምን ይረቱ? በሚስቱ በእኅቱ" የሚባለውን ተረት በወያኔዎች አድርሶባቸዋል። ሚስትና ባላቸውን/ወንድማቸውን የማያስዋሹት፥ ውስጥ ዐዋቂዎች ስለሆኑ ነው እንጂ፥ ልዩ ፍጥረቶ ች ሆነው አይደለም። "ማን ይናገር? የነበር፤ ማን ያርዳ? የቀበር" የሚባለውም እውነቱን ከአሉ ባልታ ለመለየት ነው። አቶ ተስፋዬ ስለራሱ የሚናገረውን በተርጣሬ ጆሮ ይሰሙት ይሆናል እንጂ÷ ስለወያኔዎች እውነቱን ከአሉ ባልታ ለይቶ ጽፎልናል፤ የጻፈውን የሚያጠራጥር ምክንያት አይታየኝም። ስለወያኔዎች ተንኮል የጻፈልን በሚሥሩት ሥራ በመሳተፍ በዓይኑ ያየውን በጆሮው የሰማውን ነው።

የጋዜጠኛው ማስታዎሻ የደረሰኝ አንዳንድ ነገሮችን ለመፈጸም በምቻኮልበት ጊዜ ሆኖ ሳለ÷

አንብቤው እስክጨርስ ሥራዬን ሁሉ እርግፍ አድርጌ ትቼው የመጽሐፉ ምርኮኛ የነበርኩት በሁለት ምክንያት ነው፤ አንደኛ÷ ጠሳትክን ዕወቅ ለሚለው ምክር ይጠቅማል፤ የእናት አገሬን የኢትዮጵያን ጠሳቶች ከማውቀው ይበልጥ አሳውቆኛል። የትግሬ ወያኔዎች ለኢትዮጵያ አንድነት የሚታገለውን አገር ወዳድ ሁሉ÷ እንዴት አድርገው አንደሚያጠፉት ሳይደብቅ ይነግረናል፤ ግርግር አስነሥተው በጥይት ልብራሱን ይሉታል፤ ወዲያው እንደገደለው ለማወቅ በሥራ ሳይ እንዳይውል የታገደ ልል ትእዛዝ ይሰጣሉ። አስገዳዮቹ እነሱ

መሆናቸው የሚታወቅባቸው ሲሆን ደግሞ፥ "ስምህን ለግድያ ከሚፈለጉ መካከል አይቸዋለሁና **ነፍስህን አውጣ" የሚል መል**እክት በሰው በኩል ይልኩለታል። ሰውየው ይኸን ሲሰማ÷ እንዳይታወቅ የገበሬ ልብስ ለብሶ በእግሩ ወደኬንያ ሲኳትን እነሱ ቁጭ ብለው ይስቃሉ። *ፓትርያርክ መርቆር*ዮስን በሸኚ የሳኳቸው በዚህ መልክ ነው፤ ጨርቃ ጨርቅ አልብሶ ይመራቸው የነበረው የወያኔ ነጭ ለባሽ ነበር። አቶ ተስፋዬ ሳይነግረን የቀሩ ብዙ *ነገሮች አ*ሉ። ለምሳሌ÷ ስለ ምርጫ 97 **የጻፌ**ው አስገራሚ ቢሆንም÷ የፈለግሁትን ያህልአይደለም፤ ግን ብዙዎቹን ርእሰ ነገሮች የዘለሳቸው መስለውት የምናውቃቸው ይሆናል።

ሁለተኛው ምክንያቴ የአጻጻፍ ዘዴው ነው። አቶ ተስፋዬ ገብረአብ የተዋጣለት የአማርኛ ደ*ራ*ሲ *መሆኑን ማን*ም አስተዋይ *ው*ስጡን

አይክደውም። ራሱም እንዲህ ሲል ጽፏል፤ "እንዚህን ሁሉ ገጾች የጻፍኩበት ቋንቋ የኔ አይደለምን? ይህን ቋንቋ ከኔ በላይ ማን ይራቀቅበታል?" በቋንቋው ከእሱ የሚራቀቅበት 97390 የለ ባልልም፥ አቶ ተስፋዬ እንደተራቀቀበት ለእኔ ግልጽ

ከአቶ ተስፋዬ ገብረአብ መጽሐፍ ብዙ ተምሬያለሁ። የዚች አጭር ድርሰት ዓሳማዋ ያተረፍኩትን ዕውቀት **ለ***መ*ዘርዘር ባይሆንም፥ ሁለቱን ሳንሣቸው ሕ**ፈል***ጋ*ለሁ፤አንደኛው ስለምርጫ 97 መጨናገፍ ነው። ስለዚህ ጕዳይ አቶ ተስፋዬ ከዚህ በታች ያለውን

በመሰረቱ የኢህአዴግ ፖሊት ቢሮ አባሳት በውጪ ሀገራት ባንክ በውጪ ምንዛሪ ያስቀመጡትን ገንዘብ *ማ*ጠን ለማወቅ አስቸ*ጋ*ሪ ይሆናል። የኢህአዴግ ፖሊት ቢሮ አባላት የሚታሙባቸው የአውሮፓ ባንኮች የእስያና የደምበኞቻቸውን መረጃዎች በቀሳሉ የሚሰጡ አይሆኑም። ትንሳኤ ሬዲዮ (ያወጣባቸው) ትክክል የመሆን እድል እንዳለው የሚጠቁሙ ፍንጮችን ማንሳት **ግን** (የሚያስቸግር) አይሆንም።

ምርጫ 97 ወደተቃዋሚዎቹ ባዘንበለ ጊዜ አብዛኞቹ የፖሊት ቢሮ አንጋፋዎች ሻንጣ ማሰር ጀምረው እንደነበር በቂ መረጃዎች አሉ። በስደት ሆኜ እንደሰማሁት ሹማምንቱ በግል ቤታቸውን ከማከራየት አንስተው ሚስትና ልጅን እስከማሸሽ

በወቅቱ የመለስ ዜናዊ ባለቤት

ደርሰዋል።

ልጆቿን ይዛ ወደለንደን አቅንታ ነበር። የተሰጠው ምክንያት "ልጆቹ ከጫጫታው ገለል ብለው *እንዲቆ*ዩ" የሚል ሆነ። . . .

በምርጫ 97 ታሪካዊ እስት ዋዜማ የዶሳር ምንዛሪ ዋ*ጋ* አሻቅቦ *ነ*በር። ባለስልጣናቱ የሽሽጉትን ብር ሁሉ በጆንያ እየያዙ ዶሳር ፍለጋ ተቅበዝብዘዋል። ተቂት የማይባሉ ባለስልጣኖች ልጆቻቸውንና ሚስቶቻቸውን የምእራብ ሃገራትን ዜግነት ያስያዙ ሲሆን÷ የማይሰንፉባት ተግባራቸው ደግሞ ቪዛ ማደስን ነው።

የኢትዮጵያ ህግ ድርብ ዜግነትን አይፈቅድም። ይህ ህግ ግን ለባለስልጣናቱ አይሰራም።

በዚያው ሰሞን ዶክተር አባ "ፓስፖርታችሁን ጰውሎስም ስታዘ*ጋ*ጁ እኔንም እንዳትረሱኝ" ብለው ባለሥልጣኖቹን ተማፅነው እንደነበረና እነቶኒ ብሌር ለመለስ ዜናዊ በአንድ የኢንተርናሽናል ድርጅት ውስጥ ሥራ ሊሰጡት ተዘ*ጋ*ጅተው እንደነበረም÷ ውስ**ተ**

ሲወራ ነበር። ከተስፋዬ መጽሐፍ ከአመጣሁት ከዚህ ጥቅስ ውስጥ ሁለት *ነገር እረዳ*ለሁ፤ አንደኛ÷ ኢትዮጵያን አሁን የሚገዙ ዜግንታቸው የሌሳ ሀገር የሆነ ሰዎች ናቸው። ከሁሉም÷

ከሁሉም፥ ጠጉር የሚያስነጨው በምርጫ 97 ተቃዋሚዎቹ ድሳቸውን በንዚህ ዜግን,ታቸው የሌሳ ሀገር በሆነ ሰዎች ማስወሰዳቸው ነው። በምክንያቱ ብዙ ሰው ከሞተ በኋላ፥ በዚያው በመግፋት ፈንታ ሰዓት እሳፊ ሲታወጅባቸው÷ በየቤታቸው ክትት ብለው÷ ለሞት ፍርድ በሚያደርስ ክስ ተከሰው እስር ቤት ገቡ። እኔም እንደእነሱ ልሪ ስለሆንኩ÷ እዚያ ብሆን ኖሮ ምናልባት እንደዝምባብዌና እንደ ኬንያ ሕዝብ እንደምንም ጨክነን ሞተን ተሟሙተን ሕዝባችንን ነፃ እናውጣ ብዬ አልገፋፋም ነበር። *ነፃነትን የሚያስገ*ፍፍ ፍርሃት ነው:::

ሁለተኛው ዕውቀት ስለኢትዮሜዲያ (ስቍሸሻቅቀስ-ሳሻሮ.ሰቅቀ) ባለቤት ይከነክነኝ የነበረውን እንቆቅልሽ ገልጸልኛል። ከምርጫ 97 ቀደም ብሎ ጀምሮ ስለቅንጅት የሚነገረውን ዜና ለማወቅ ኢትዮሜዲያን በከፌትኩ **ቀ**•ጥር ምንም አሳገኝም ነበር። ለምሳሌ÷ በዚያው ሰሞን ቅንጅት ባደረገው በአንድ ታላቅ ሕዝባዊ የፖለቲካ ሰሳማዊ ሰልፍና ትርኢት ሳይ ኢትዮሜዲያ እንደመሪዎች አስመስሎ ያቀረበልን ተ*ጋ*ብዘው የመጡትን እንግዶች እንጂ÷ ሰልፉንና ትርኢቱን ያዘጋጁትን የቅንጅት *መሪዎች* አልነበረም። ቅንጅት ከተከፋፌለ በኋሳ ደግሞ በኢንጂኔር ኃይሉ ሻውል ስለሚመራው ፓርቲ ምንም ነገር *አያመጣልንም ነበር። ምስ*ጢሩን አሁን የጋዜጠኛው ማስታወሻ አወጣው። ምስጢሩን ለማፈን የተደረገው ሙከራም አልያዘም፤ ስለኢትዮሜዲያ ሙከራው ባለቤት የተጻፈውን ከመጽሐፉ ውስጥ ገንጥሎ ማውጣት ነበር። የሙከራው ፍሬ ጣፋጭ መሆኑ ቀርቶ መራር ሆነ፤ የገጾቹ መቀደድ ዜና ደ*ጋፊዎቹን* እስኪያሳፍር÷ የሚያምኑትን እስኪያሳዝን ድረስ *ዓ*ለሙን አዳረሰው::

አቶ ተስፋዬ በዚህ በሾለ ብዕሩ ወያኔዎችን አገር ጥሎ እስከሂደ ድረስ እንደፈለጉት አገልግሏቸዋል፤ ከኢትዮጵያዊነት ይልቅ ለጎሳዊነት ቅድሚያ መሰጠት እንዳለበት ለማሳየት

የሚለውን ዝምታ የቡርቃ *ማ*ጽሐፍ ጽፎሳቸዋል። በዚህ ቁጭት ያሳቸው አንዳንድ ሰዎች÷ "እስከዛሬ የበደለው አንሶ አሁን ደግሞ ገንዘባችንን ሊያ*ጋ*ብስ ይኸን መጽሐፍ ጻፈ፤ የመጽሐፉ ቅጂ በኢንተርኔት ስለወጣ እየተቀባበልን እናንብበው እንጂ አንግዛው" ይሳሉ። ይገባኛል። ቀጭቱ የቡርቃ ዝምታ የወያኔዎችን ጀግንነት ለመመስከርና የኦሮሞችን ልብ ለመማረክ የተጻፈ

የፕሮፓጋንዳ መሣሪያ መሆኑን ማንም አይስተውም። ካስፌለገ ኦርሞዎችን ለማሞኘት የተፈጠረ አንድ ትርኢት ልጥቀስ፤ አንዲት ጸሐፊ ነኝ የምትል የኦሮሞ ተወሳጅ ሴት ያንን በኋላ የገደሉትን *ጎ*የሎም አርአያን እንዲህ ስትል ትጠይቀዋለች፤ "(በወያኔና በደርግ ፍልሚያ ጊዜ) አንድ ኦሮሞና አንድ የትግራይ ሰው ወድቀው ብታይ ቀድመህ የቱን ታነሣለህ?" አሮሞን ወዳዱ ጎየሎም ምንም ሳያወሳውል÷ "አሮሞውን" የሚል መልስ ሰጣት። ሰውየውን ለማክሰርና ከተቃዋሚው ሰፌር ሳለማስጠጋት የሚደረገው ሙከራ ማን አይገባኝም። አቶ ተስፋዬ እንዚህን ወንጀለኞች የተለያቸው ግብር አበራቸው መሆኑ አንገፍግፎት መሆኑን ብዙም አልጠራጠር። ከቀንዳሞቹ ይሆናል ብለው አልጠረጠሩም። ቢጠረጥሩ ይኸን ሁሉ ምስጢር ይዞ የሚሄደውን ሰው በቦሌ አያሶጡትም ነበር። "እኛን *ማጋ*ለጥ ራሱን *ማጋ*ለጥ ስለሆነ አያደርገውም" ብለው ተሳሳቱ።

ወያኔዎች አሁን ለማድረግ የሚችሉት፥ አንደኛ ማስፌራራት፥ ሁለተኛ *መ*ጽሐ*ቀን ጣሌን÷*

ማስተባበል ወይም ሰውየውን ማክሰር ነው። ሁሉንም እየሞከሩ እሱም ጠባያቸውን ስለሚያውቀው÷ "የወያኔ ሰፊ ጀሮና እረጂም እጅ ይህን መፅሃፍ ከመሰራጨት መግታት ከቶውንም አይቻለውም" ሲል ገጽ 408 ላይ አስጠንቅቋቸዋል። እውነትም አልቻሉም፤ ወዳጅ

ይሁን ጠሳት ማን እንደጀመረው ባሳውቅም መጽሐፉን ኢንተርኔት ለዓለም አዳርሶታል። ይህ

የሆነው÷ ሌሳው ቢቀር የመጽሐፉ ሽያጭ የማሳተሚያውን ዋጋ ከመለሰ በኋላ ቢሆን ደግ ነበር፤ *ግን* ድርጊቱ ወያኔዎች ሊያፍኑት አለመቻሳቸውን አረጋግጦልናል።

ኢትዮጵያውያንን ወዳስቆጣው ወደየቡርቃ ዝምታ ልመለስና፥ *ማ*ጽሐ**ፉ** ለወያኔ ከፋፍለህ ግዛው ፖለቲካቸው *እንዲጠቅጣቸው* የተጻፈ በመሆኑ አልተገረምኩም፤ ጸሐፊው የወያኔ የፕሮፓ*ጋን*ዳቸው መሪ ነበረ። መጽሐፉን ከማሳተሙ ሬቂቁን ለአለቆቹ በፊት *እን*ደሚ*መ*ቻቸው አሳይቷቸው ለዋውጠው ሰጥተውታል። ለዘብ ቢያደርገው ደግ ነበር፤ የሱ ሥራ ይሁን ወይም አለቆቹ ለውጠውበት እንደሆን ባይገለጽም÷ የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ በደነዝ ቢሳዎ ሲታረድበት፥ አንዱ ቆሻሻና ሃይማኖተ ቢስ ሕዝብ የቀሩትን ንጹሓንና ሃይማኖተኞች ሕዝቦች በጭካኔ የጨፈጨፈ አድርሳ ያቀረበበትን የቡርቃ ዝምታ እስከመጨረሻው ሳንበው የቻልኩት ኢትዮጵያችን ዛሬም እንደጎየሎም አርአያ ያሉ ጀግኖች የምታልራ አገር መሆኗን ስላገኘሁበት ነው። እንዲህ ያለ ጭከና ያሳቸው አማሮች እስከመፍጠር የደረሰው ምናልባት ሊቋቋመው

ያልቻለው ተጽዕኖ ቢያመጡበት ይሆናል። ከሸዋ ውስጥ አንድ ጥሩ ሰው ቢፈጥር÷ አማራ ነው ብለን የምንሳሳት መስሎት፥ ወዲያው በረቀቀ ኢርቱሪ አጻጻፍ የሰውየውን ጉራጌነት ያረጋግተልናል።

ያዘንኩት አማራ በመሆኔ ለአማሮች ተቆጭቼ የሚመስላቸው ካሉ÷ ተሳስተዋል፤ ስሕተታቸው የራሳቸውን *ጎሰኝ*ነት የሚገልጸው። ያዘንኩት እንዲህ ያሉ ኢትዮጵያውያን (ስተኛት "አቃታትናሞተች።አልቻለችኝም፤ የግዛ ነጠሳዋን አልብሻት ሄድኩ" የሚሉ ኢትዮጵያውያን) አሉ ተብሎ መጽጻፉ ነው። የቡርቃ ዝምታ እውነተኛ ታሪክ ከሆነ፥ ለኔ በውስጡ ያሉት ሁሉ ያጠፉትም የጀገኑትም ወገኖቼ ናቸው፤ በጀንኑት እኮራለሁ፤ በባለጉት አፍራለሁ፤ ስማቸውን በሚያጠፉት ጸሐፊዎች አዝናለሁ። ኢትዮጵያዊ ነኝ የሚል ሰው፥ ውገናውን አማራነት፥ አሮሞነት፥ ትግሬነት፥ . . . ላይ ከመሠረተ፥ ከኢትዮጵያውያን ሊለይ የፈለገ የሰብአ ትካት (ቆ'ቅሻቀሻቍሻበስቈ) አባል ነው። ከአንድ ጎሳ መወለድ እንደ ሰው የቆዳ ቀለም ወይም ቁ*መ*ት ባለበት የሚረሳ ነገር ሲሆን÷ የጎሰኝነት ስሜት ከተፈጠረ፥ ሀገር ስለሚጎዳ ከመሠረቱ ተነቅሎ ሊጣል የሚገባው ክሥተት ነው። አንድ ሰው ሀገረኝነትንና ጎሰኝነትን ይዞ መሄድ አይችልም፤ ሁለት ሃይማኖት እንደመያዝ ነው። ከሁለት አንዱን መምረጥ ይኖርበታል--ወይ ኢትዮጵያን ወይ ጎሳውን። ከአብሮ አደፃና ከጎጥ *ጋር መ*ፋቀር ጎሰኝነት አይደለም፤ ተሰኝነት በሀገር ጉዳይ ሳይ ለአብሮ አደግና ለጎጥ ማዳሳት ነው። አቶ ተስፋዬም ኢትዮጵያዊ *ነኝ* ስላለ ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ብቻ መምረጥ ይኖርበታል፤ ካልመረጠ፥ የሚጉዳው ኢትዮጵያን ሳይሆን፥ ለራሱም ቢሆን ወይ የአሮሞ፥ ወይ የአማራ፥ ወይ የወላይታ፥ ወዘተ ጥገኛ መሆንን መምረጥ ሊኖርበት ነው። በአቶ ተስፋዬና ሰማንያ በመቶ በምንሆነው አማሮች መካከል ያለው ልዩነት እሱ የአያት የቅድም አያቶቹን *ጎ*ሳ ሲያስታውስ እኛ ዘ*ሞ*ኑ ሩቅ ሆኖብን አለማስታወሳችን ነው።

እንጂ÷ ወያኔዎቹን ምንም ያህል አልረዳቸውም:: *እንዲያውም* የተጠሉትን የባሰ የሚያስጠሳቸው መሆኑን አንዳንዶቹ ልብ እንዳሉት በአዲሱ መጽሐፉ ነግሮናል። አሮሞቹም ቢሆኑ÷ እነዚህ ሁሉን የሚረግጡና የሚንቁ ትምክሕተኛ ወያኔዎች ሂደው ዴሞክራሲ በሀገሪቱ ሳይ ካልሰፌነ፥ የቡርቃ ወንዝ ዝምታ እንደማያከትም ያዩ ይመስለኛል። እኔን የገረመኝ *ግን* ሰውየው ስለመካ *መዲናና* ስለአሮሞዎች ሙስሊምነት እያጎላ የጻፈው ልክ ታሪክ ጻሐፊው ሙሐመድ ሐሰን እንዳደረገው በኦሮሞች ስም ሙስሊሞችን

ወደ ገጽ 22 ዞሯል

የሙስሊሞችና የክርስቲያኖች ግጭትኝ ፓልቶክ ደርሶ መልስ

ከጌታቸው ኃይሌ

የካቲት 1 **ቀን** 2001 (02/08/09) በሁለት ፖልቶክ ውይይት ላይ እንድሳተፍ ተ*ጋ*ብዜ የጠቀሙኝ ሰዓቶች አሳለፍኩ። የመጀመሪያው ሕይወቴ ከደረሰውና ካጋጠመኝ አንጻፍታ ሳው*ጋች*ሁ በሚል ርእስ ኮሌጅቪል (ሚኒሶታ) 9.90. ስለአሳተምኩት መጽሐፍ ሲሆን÷ ሁለተኛው ሰሞትን በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ በክርስቲያኖቹ በሙስሊሞቹና ኅብረተሰብ መካከል ስለተነሣው አለመግባባት አስተያየቴን ለማሰማትና ለሌሎችም ከዚያው ጕዳይ ጋር ተያይዘው ለሚነቊ **ተያቄዎች መልስ ለመስ**ጠት ነበር:: የመጀመሪያውን ግብዣ ሳል**ግ**ደረደር÷ እንዲያውም ማንም ሊገምተው በሚችል ምክንያት፥ በደስታ ተቀበልኩት፤ ስለሁ-ለተኛው ግብዣ ግን ለምን ከኔ የተሻለ ሰው አትፌልጉም በማለት አመንትቼ ነበር። "እነሱ ተ*ጋ*ብዘው መጥተው ነበር" የሚል መልስ ሳገኝ **ግብዣውን በስ***ጋት*ና በምስ*ጋ*ና ተቀበልኩ። ይቺን አጭር ማስታወሻ የምጽፌው በስጋት ስለተቀበልኩት ስለሁለተኛው ግብዣ ነው።

በማንኛውም ኅብረተሰብ ውስጥ ገዢዎች የሚጠቀሙባቸው ሰውን የሚያቀራርቡና የሚያራርቁ ክሥተቶች አሉ። ሕዝብ ያልተቀበሳቸው ገዢዎች ሰው የሚያጣሉትን ነገሮች ይኮተኵቷቸዋል፤ ዘዴው አዲስ ስሳይደለ÷ ማብራሪያ አያስፈልገውም፤ ሰውን አጣልቶ የዳኝነት ለመብላት ነው። አገር አስፋፊዎችና ሕዝብ ገምቢዎች ደግሞ ሰው በሚያፋቅሩት ነገሮች ሳይ ያተኵራሉ፤ "አንድ ነን እኮ" ሲሉ ይሰማሉ። *ግን* ሕዝብ በፌቃዱና በፍላጎቱ ያላቋቋመው አስተዳደር ሁሉ÷ አገር አስፋፊም ቢሆን እንኳ÷ በሁለቱም ዘዴዎች የሚጠቀምበት ጊዜ ይኖራል። በተለየ በከፋፍለህ ግዛው ፖለቲካ የተጠቀሙ የቅርብ ተንኮለኛ <u>ገገርዎች የኢጣሊያ ፋሽስቶችና</u> የአሁኖቹ የትግራይ ፋሺስቶች ናቸው። ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ሁለቱ ሃይማኖቶች የሚገፋፋቸው ካለ÷ የመቀራረቢያና የመራራቂያ አንዲያውም የግጪት ምክንያት ሲሆኑ የሚችሉ ክሥተቶች ናቸው::

ሃይማኖት የፃጪት ምክንያት ሲሆን *እን*ደሚችልና *መሆኑን*ም ከታሪክ እያነበብንና አሁንም ከዜና ዘ*ጋ*ቢዎች እየሰማን÷ "ምንም የለም" ከማለት የሚሻለውና የሚገባን የሚያዋጣውን መፍትሔ መፈለግ ነው:: የዛሬውን ግጭት የጫሩት የሚመጣውን ምርጫ የፈሩ **ፋሺስቶቱ የትግሬ ገገር**ዎቻችን መሆናቸውን አንርሳ። አገርን በእሳት ለማ*ጋ*የት አንድ ሕፃን ልጅ አንዲት ክብሪት ቢጭር እሳቱ ይቀጣጠሳል። ማጥፋቱ ግን አንድ የእሳት አደ*ጋ ሥራ*ዊት ሊያሸንፍ ይችላል። ስለዚህ ነው ሳይቀጣጠል በቅጠል የሚባለው። የሁለቱም ወገን የሃይማኖት መሪዎችና ሽማግሌዎች ተነጋገረው ክብሪት ሜሪውን ካሳሳፌሩት የፌለገውን መስጠት ይሆናል።

በሁለቱ ሃይማኖት ተከታዮች መካከል ስላለው ማንኙነት አስተያየት ስሰጥ የአንዱ ሃይማኖት

ተከታይ በመሆኔ የማዳሳት መልስ የምስጥ የመሰላቸው መኖሩን በማየቴ ትንሽ ቅር ቢለኝም፥ ውይይቱ የተካሄደው ሰላምን በሚልልጉ ኢትዮጵያውን መካከል በኢትዮጵያዊ ጨዋነት በመሆኑ በደስታና በተስፋ ደርሼ ተመልሻ-ለሁ። በውይይቱም ጊዜ ሆነ ወይም በዚህ ጽሑፍ ሚዛናዊ ለመሆን አንጇ፥ የየትኛው ሃይማኖት ተከታይ መሆኔን የሚያሳዩ ምልክቶችን ለመደበቅ አልተጨንቅሁም። ደግሞስ ከማን ነው የምደብቀው?

እንደተገነዘብኩት÷ ጕዳዩን የምናየው ከሁለት አቅጣጫ መሆን አለበት፤ በመንግሥትና በሕዝብ ደረጃ። በሕዝብ ደረጃ ሲታይ ከወያኔዎች አገዛዝ በፊት በሙስሊሞችና በክርስቲያኖች መካከል ሊተች የሚገባው ነፍስ ያለበት ግጪት ትዝ አይለኝም። ይህን ምስክርነት የምሰጠው እኔ ብቻ ሳልሆን በድር ምምር ነው። የበድር ኢንተርናሽናል ኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞች ማህበር ለትግሬ ወያኔ **መሪ ለመለስ ዜናዊ ሚያዝያ** 1999 (ዓ.ም.) የጻፌው ደብዳቤ እንዲህ የሚል የምስክር ቃል ይዟል÷ "የመንግስትን ታሪክ ከህዝብ ታሪክ ለይተን ማየት ያለብን በመሆኑ በኢትዮጵያውያን ሙስሊሞችና ክርስቲያኖች መካከል የከፋ *ግንኙነት ነበር ብለን አናምንም*።" ኢትዮጵያን የሰሳም ሀገር ለማድረግ ተስፋ የሚሰጥ ምስክርነት ነው።

በመንግሥት ደረጃ ግን ችግር ነበረ፡ መንሥኤው ይለወቱ እንጂ አሁንም አለ። ከእጣውቃቸ ሙስሊሞች ውስቱ የኢትዮጵያ

የክርስቲያን መንግሥት እንደሚጨቁናቸው ምርር አድርገው

የሚናገሩ ነበሩ። በውይይቱ ሳይም አንዳንድ ሙስሊሞች ከአፄ ዓምደ ጽዮን ዘመነ መንግሥት (1307-1336) **ጀምረው** ታሪክ እየጠቀሱ ሙስሊሞች በ*መንግሥት* ደረጃ እንዴት ይጨቆኑ እንደነበረ አስረዱ። "ኢትዮጵያ የክርስቲያኖችና የሙስሊሞች አገር ሆና ሳለ ክርስቲያኖቹ የክርስቲያን ደሴት ይሏታል" እያሉ አማረሩ። መቸም ቢሆን ታሪክ የሚጠቀሰው ከሁለት ምክንያቶች ሳንዱ ነው--ወደ ለመርታት ወደ መፍትሔ ለመፈለግ። ለመርታት ሲሆን መረቻውን እየደበቁ መርቻው ብቻ ይጠቀሳል፤ መፍትሔ ለመፈለግ **ግን በሽታን ለሐኪም የ***መንገር* ያህል ሁሉም ፍርፕርፕ ብሎ ይወጣል::

በምንም ምክንያት ይሁን፥

ፓልቶኩ ሳይ የተጠቀሰው ታሪክ በተሟላ መልኩ አይደለም። ተቅሱ ነው፤ ለማሟላት *ያህ*ል÷ ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ ክርስቲያኖቹ ጥርቃሞ *ጎሳዎችን ሰባስበው የፌጠሯት ሀገር* ናት፤ *መንግሥ*ቱም፥ ክርስቲያኖቹ ስሳቋቋሙት የነሱ መንግሥት ነበረ። ታሪኩ በአንስታይ ጸታ መሲሐዊት" "መንግሥት ይላታል። ክርስቲያኖች ያቋቋሙት መንግሥት "የክርስቲያኖች መንግሥት" ቢሆንና ቢባል ስሕተቱ ከምኑ ላይ ነው? እስቲ እስራኤሳውያንንና የዓረብ ሀገር ስለራሳቸው ባለሥልጣኖችን መንግሥታት እንጠይቃቸውና ምን እንደሚሉ እንስማቸው?

"ኢትዮጵያ የክርስቲያን ደሴት ናት" ማለትም በሀገሪቱ ውስጥ ሌላ ሃይማኖት ያላቸው ሰዎች አይኖርባትም ማለት ሳይሆን፥ በእነሱ ማሀል የክርስቲያን መንግሥት ("መንግሥት መሲሐዊት") ያለባት ሀገር ናት ማለት ነው። በአንድ በኩል "መንግሥቱ የክርስቲያኖች እንጂ እኛ ሙስሊሞች

ድርሻ የለንም" ብሎ፥ ያንን አዳምጠን ሳንጨርስ ወዲያው "የክርስቲያን ደሴት አትበሷት" ብሎ መቆጣት የአስተሳሰብ ቅራኔ ነው። እንዲያውም በዛሬው ዘመን ቢሆን ብዙ ሙስሊሞችና የሌላ ሃይማኖት ተከታዮች ባሉበት ሀገር "መንግሥቱ የክርስቲያኖች ብቻ ነው" ማለት ጨቋኝነትን በይፋ መናገር ነው።

ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የክርስቲያን መንግሥት ማቋቋም ራሱን የማያስወቅስ ታሪክና ሊያስወቅስ የሚችል ችግር አለው። በማያስወቅስ ታሪኳ ልጀምርና፥ ኢትዮጵያ በተፈጠረችበት አካባቢ ያሉ መንግሥታት ሁሉ የተፈጠሩት እንደ ኢትዮጵያ ሃይማኖትን ነው:: መሠረት አድርገው በሃይማኖት ባህል ሳይ ያልተቋቋመ መንግሥት የለም። የኢትዮጵያ ክርስቲያኖችም እንደሌሎቹ አገር ሕዝቦች መንግሥት በማቋቋማቸው ኢትዮጵያን ተንታዊትና ባለ-ባህል አሰኝተዋታል፤ በበኩላችን ተንታውያንና የባህል ጌቶች ስላደረጉን እንኮራባቸዋለን።

በማህል ቤት ሌላ ሃይማኖት ገባ፤ እስሳም ማለቴ ነው። እስሳምን *መ*ጤ ሃይማኖት የሚሉ ካሉ÷ ክርስትና ቤት ሥርቶ ኮርቶ በመቶ በሚቈጠሩ ዓመታት በተቀመጠበት አገር መተቶ ስለገባበት ነው። የቅድሚያ ጕዳይ ነው እንጂ፥ ሃይማኖቶ ች ኢትዮጵያን ጨምሮ ዓለምን የወረፍት ከአንድ ቦታ እየመጡ ሌሳም ምክንያት አለው--እንደ ኮሎኒያሊስቶች የባህል ወራሪነት ጠባይ ይታይበታል። የሱዳንን ጥቍር ሕዝብ "ዓረቦች **ነ**ን" እንዲሉ *እንዳ*ሳሰባቸው **እናስታውስ**:: ይሁን÷ ክርስትናን ግን

ኢትዮጵያ ያስገቡት ሃይማኖቱን ከባህሉ አልሳቀው እንጂ፥ ከነባህሉ አይደለም። ማለት፥ አባቶቻችን እምነቱን የተቀበሉት በራሳቸው ፊደልና በራሳቸው ቋንቋ ነው። በዚያ ላይ በራሳቸው ሥነ ጽሑፍ ኢትዮጵያዊነት መልክ እየሰጡት

ሌሳ ምሳሌ ሳምጣ፤ የኢትዮጵያ ክርስቲያኖች ታሳሳቆቹን የጥንቶቹን የሃይማኖት አባቶች

ለማስታወስ ያህል አንዳንድ ጊዜ ለልጆቻው "ጴጥሮስ"፥ "ጳውሎስ"፥ ወዘተ የሚል ስም ይሰጡ እንደሆን ነው እንጂ የክርስቲያኑ ሁሉ ስም ከመጽሐፍ ቅዱስ የወጣ አይደለም። ለምሳሌ ጌታቸው የሚል ስም ያላቸው ክርስቲያኖች *እንዳ*ሉ አውቃለሁ። በዚሁ አንጻር ሙስሊሞቹ እስልምናን እንዴት እንደተቀበሉት ስናይ ሃይማኖቱን መጤ የሚያሰኝ መጤ ባህል ሲያመጣብን እናገኘዋለን። ኢትዮጵያ አገራችን የቋንቋ ሀብታም ሆና ሳለ፥ ሃይማኖቱ በዓረቢኛ የሚጠናው ነው:: የተከታዮቹ ስም ዓረቢኛ እንጂ ኢትዮጵኛ አይደለም። "ዐብደሳ" ማለት "ባብረ እግዚአብሔር" ማለት ነው፤ "ሐሰን" ማለት "አማረ" ማለት ነው፤ "ጀሚላ" ማለት "ቆንጇት" ማለት ነው፤ "ሐቢባ" ማለት ውድነሽ" ማለት ነው፤ "ሙ-ሐመድ" ማለት "ገለታ" ማለት ነው÷ "ዓሊ" ማለት "በሳይነህ" ማለት ነው፤ "ሰዒድ" ማለት "ደስታ"፥ "ፍሥሐ" ማለት ነው። "አሳህ" ማለት "እግዚአብሔር" ማለት ነው። አባቶቻችን "ቢስሚላሂ አርራሕማን አርራሒም" የሚለውን ተከትለው ሲጸልዩ "በስመ አግዚአብሔር ወመስተሣህል" ብለው ተርጕመው ነው። ፈላሻዎች ራሳቸውን ቤተ እስራኤል ቢሉም በሃይማኖታቸው ሳቢያ *ዕብራ*ይስ አሳጣጡብንም። ቋንቋቸው ኢትዮጵያዊ÷

ስሞቻቸው ኢትዮጵያዊ ነው።

ሃይማኖቱን አልብሶ የመጣው ባህል አለያየን፤ አንድ ሰው ስሜ ሐሰን ነው ሲሰኝ ሃይማኖቱን

ጭምር የነገረኝ ይመስለኛል። የመካከለኛው ምሥራቅ ክርስቲያኖች ሃይማኖታቸውን ሳይቀር የሚማሩት በብሔራዊው ቋንቋ (በዓረቢኛ) እንጂ በራሳቸው በቅብጡ በሱርስት አይደለም። የኢትዮጵያ ሙስሊሞች ግን በባህል ሬገድ "የዓረብ ጠረን" አለባቸው። ለዓረብ ሊግ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ቢሮ የከፌቱ ሰዎች በሀገሪቱ ውስጥ ዓረቦች አሉ ብለው ሳይሆን፥ እንደ ሱዳኖቹ ዓረቦች ሊሆኑ የሚችሉ ሙስሊሞች አሉ ብለው በመገመት ነው።

ወደታሪክ እንመለስና÷ በክርስቲ*ያን መንግሥ*ት እስሳም ገብቶ ተከታዮች ሲ*ያ*በዛ ነገሥታቱ

እናስታውስ። አንነዛቸውን በመሰሳቸው አባቶቻችን መንገድ ማስተካከል ነበረባቸው።

ያደረጉትም *እንዲህ ነበር፤* አብዛኛው ሕዝብ የእስልምና ተከታይ በሆነበት አገር ሁሉ *ነገሥታቱ የበሳይነቱን ለራሳቸው* ይዘው የውስጥ አስተዳደራቸውን ሙሉ በሙሉ ለቀቁሳቸው። ስለዚህ በራሳቸው ኢማም ይገሉ ጀመር። ይኸ ዓይነት አገዛዝ ሙስሊሞቹን ዜጎች ሊያጠግባቸው ይገባ ነበር ወይስ አልነበረም? እስቲ በእነሱ ዘመን ሆነን ትክክለኛ ፍርድ እንፍሬድ፤ ይህ ዓይነት አገዛዝ አያጠግብም የሚል ካለ÷ አማራጩ ምን መሆን ነበረበት? በዚያ ዘመን እስልምና *የነገ*ሠበትን ሀገር ይገዙ የነበሩ ባለ ሥልጣኖች በጥጋቸው ለሚኖሩ ክርስቲያን ዜጎቻቸው ይፈቅዱሳቸው የነበረው መብት ምን ነበር? ብርቱካንን ከብርቱካን *ጋር ማስተያየት ይገባል ብ*ዬ ነው።:

በነገውበት **እስልምና** บาด ያሉ ክርስቲያኖች አቅመ ቢሶች ስለሆኑ፥ ብዙም አይጠይቁም ብዙም አይሰጣቸውም ነበር። እኛ ዘንድ ግን ቀይ ባሕር ዳርቻ የነሱ መስፌሪያ ስለነበረ÷ በዓረብ ሀገር የሚመረትና ወደዚያ የሚመጣም የሌሳ አገር የእንዱስትሪ እቃ፥ በተለየም የጦር መሣሪያ÷ በቀሳል መንገድ ስለሚያገኙ ነገሥታቱ በመጠኑሳቸው መብት ሲወሰኑ አልፌለጉም። ሌሳ ምን ይጨመርልን ይሉ ነበር? መልሱን አንድ ሙስሊም ጠያቂ በጠቀሰው በአፄ ዓምደ ጽዮን ታሪክ ውስጥ **እናገኘዋለን**።

ጽዮን የሚባለው የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሥ ትሪቢተኛውና **ዲክቴተ**ሩ የከሐዲዎቹ *ን*ጉሥ ራሱን ከፍ አድርጎ በፈጣሪው ሳይ እንደ ተመካው እንደዲያብሎስ መክዳቱን ሰማ (ዲያብሎስ÷) "እንደ ልዑል (እግዚአብሔር) እሆናለሁ" እንዳለው÷ ሰብረዲን የሚባለው የከሐዲዎች ንጉሥም ራሱን ከፍ አድርጎ በጌታው በዓምደ ጽዮን ሳይ ትምክሕተኛ ሆኖ÷ "የመሳይቱ ኢትዮጵያ ምድር ንጉሥ **እሆና**ለሁ፤ ክርስቲያኖችንም በ(ሃይማኖቴ) ሕግ (አስገብቼ) እገዛቸዋለሁ፤ ቤተ ክርስቲያኖቹን አወድማቸዋለሁ" አለ። በዚህ ቃሉ *መሠረት* ፥ ተነሥቶ ዘመተ፤ ከክርስቲያኖች ምድር ደርሶ ቤተ (ክርስቲያን)አቃጠለ፤ ክርስቲያኖቹን ገደላቸው፤ የተረፉትን ወንዱንም ሴቱንም ማርኮ ከሃይማኖቱ አስገባቸው:: ከዚያ በኋላ፥ "በኢትዮጵያ ብሔሮች ሳይ የጽዮን ንጉሥ (ዓምደ ጽዮን) ገገርዎችእንደሚሾም እሾምባቸዋለሁ" አለና÷ ገገርዎች (መኳንንት) እና መሳፍንት **ሾመ**፤ በዳሞት ላይ አንድ መስፍን÷ በወረብ ላይ አንድ *መ*ስፍን÷ . . .

ታሪኩ እንዲህ እያለ ብሔሮቹንና የሾሙባቸውን ሰዎች ማዕርግ መዘርዘሩን ይቀተሳል፤

ወጊ÷ አሳማሌ፥ ፌጠ*ጋ*ር÷ እንደገብጠን፥ ሽሜ፥ ሙገር፥

ወደ ገጽ 21 ዞሯል

አቃጥራ**ሰ**ሁ!!!

መሐሪ ዳ.

በህግ አምሳክ ! በህግ አምሳክ በምራት !--- ቡችሳቼን እንደትነካ። ምሳስ ሰየትት። ሰሳሳ ሁስት አጥር አሳት ተናግራ ትደበቃስች። አጎጥንጤ ሳታወጪ መስከርመም የምትለማመጂው መስከተ ለ ምን ልታመጪ ነው? ለሴት ልጅ ግርዛት አስፈላጊ ነው!። ሰፌር ተ አያንዳንድሽ ልብ ብለሽ አድምጪ። ሴት ልጅ መገረዝ « ስት አሰባት።። እኛ ስለተገረዝን ነው ዕድሜያችን የረዘመው። ወላጆች ሴት ልጆቻችሁን አስገርዙ፤ ቀስሯል ያስዕድሜያቸው እንዳይቀጠፉ።

አልፈራም፣ አልኮራም። ፍርሃት የነጻነት ጠሳት ነው ፡፡ ተንበርክኬ ዕድሜዬ ከሚረዝም ተራምጄ ዕድሜዬ ይጠር፡፡ አልፈራም፣ አልኮራም፣ ዝምታ አፍ ያገማል፡፡ አለፈልፋለሁ፡፡ መለፍልፍን ከእኔ ኮርጅ፡፡ አትፍሩ፣ አትኩሩ፣ ቀባጥሩ እንዳትገሙ፡፡ ለቡችሎች ፍቅር ያጣችሁ ፍቅርን ተ ለማመዱ፣ መውደድን ተዋወቁ

ከፈጣን አንደበቷ የሚወጣው ቃል ከባድ፣ ጠንካራና አህምሮን ይቧጥጣል፡፡ የአካባቢው ስችና በመንገዱ የሚተላለፉት ቆመው ያደምጧታል፡፡

ባጫጭር ህንፃቹ መሐል የተወሽቀችው ቤት ከጎኗ የተ ሰለፉትን ውበት አደብዝዛለች። ከግራና ከቀኟ ከፍ ብለው የቆሙት መለስተኛ ህንፃች ቤቷን ቁልቁል በንቀት ይመስከቷታል። በግራ በኩል የሽቀጣሽቀጥ ግሮሰሪ ከቀኝ በ<mark>ኩል ደግሞ አስፋል</mark>ቱ *ጫ*ፍ የሚደርስ ሆቴል አለ። በደሳሳዋ ቤት ውስጥ አንዲት ሴትዮና በርካታ ውሽች ይኖራሉ። በውሾቹ መበርከት የማይገረም መንገደኛ የሰም ። ሕኔም ሳልፍና ሳንድም እንደ ትንግርት እመለከታቸዋለሁ ። ትንንሽ፣ ትላልቅና የእናታቸውን *ሙት የሚጠ*ቡ ቡችላች የቤቱ በራፍ ላይ ተቀምጠው ይውሳሉ። ቤቷ ፅዳት የጎደላትና ቀንም *ማታ*ም ጨ**ለ**ማ የነገስባት ነች። የቆርቆሮ በሯ መሬት ወድቆ መግቢያዋ ላይ ጆንያ በግማሽ ተንጠልጥሏል ።

«ይህሁሉ ውሻምንያደርግሳታል? ምንስ ትመግባቸዋለች?» በዚያ በኩል ሳልፍ የሚፈጠርብኝ ጥያቄ ስለሆነ የማወቅ ጉጉቴ በረታ። አንደ ቀን ወደ ግሮስሪዋ ገብቼ፤ ሴትየዋ «ጤነኛ ነች እንዴ?» ብዬ ጠየኩት በድፍረት ባለግሮስሪውን

.. «ጤነኛማ ጤነኛ ነች?» *መ*ሰሰልኝ ::

« ትጠጣሰች? » ደንምኩና ጠየኩት ፡፡

«በፍፁም ! የሚገርመው ነገር መጠጥ የሚባል ነገር ቀምሳ አታውቅም ፡፡

«ታዲያ ምንድነው እንደዚህ

በምሬት የሚያስጮኸት ? ጠየኩት ፡፡

«ለሰፈሩ እንግዳ ነህ እንኤ ?» ከላይ እስከ ታች በጥርጣሬ እየተ መስከተ ጠየቀኝ ፡፡

« አ! ሰሞታን ነው እዚህ ሰፌር ተከራይቼ የመጣሁት » መለስኩለት ።

« ስትናደድ ነው እንደዚህ የምትሆነው » አሰኝ ፡፡ እሱም ንግግሯን ለማድመጥ ጆሮውን ቀስሯል ፡፡ ስትናር ፍጥነቷ ያስገርማል ፡፡

« ባስሆቴሱ ውሻቹን ለማስገደል አመለክቷል አሉ» አለኝ። ሰሞኑን ነው የጀመረቸው። መሰፍልፍ ትታ ነበር። ስትናደድ እንዲህ ያደርጋታል። እስኪተዋት ድረስ ጠዋት ማታ በሯ ላይ ትቆምና ትለፌልፋለች። የምታስበውን ሁሉ የምታወራው ስትናደድ ይመስለኛል። አንዳንዴ እሷ የምትናገረውን ማንም አንደበተ ርቱህ የሚሞክረው አይመስልም ።» አለኝ ።

ዳበጨለማ ውስጥ ብርሃን አለ ግዞት ውስጥ ጥበብ ታቁራል። አረንንዴ ደም ያላችሁ ደማችሁን አስቀይሩ፤ የልብ ትርታ ደም መልስ ደም ቅጻ ---። ሰሚው ኃ ሄጄ አቃጥራስሁ! ።» ወንቧን በሁስት እጆቿ ይዛለች ።

ቀይ ፊቷን ማድያት ወሮታል ፡፡ ጎነበስ ብላ ፡-

*ጻ*አድማጩ *ጋ* ሄጄ አወራስሁ !! ሰሚው 2 ሄጄ ፍርድ ሕጠይቃስሁ !! መልስ የሚገኘው እሱ ጋ ነው ‼ ነገር ግን ከጣቃጠራ በፊት ልምክርህ ችግር ውስጥ *እንዳትገ*ባ ?!። እንስሳቹን እንዳትነካብኝ! ። ቡችሳ አሳደህ ማልንል አስንድ-*ስ*ህ እንስሳ አፈናቅስህ ምን ትጠቀማስህ ? የኔን ማስጠንቀቂያ ከአሁን ሰዓት ጀምሮ ተግባራዊ ካሳደረማህ ነገ በጠዋት ሄጄ ለክስ የምትሄድበት አይደለም የምከስህ። ትክክለኛ ፍርድ ያለበት ቦታ ነው የምሄደው። ውሻቼን ልታጠፋቸው አትችልም። አንተ ባለሃብት ስለሆንክ፣ ጉልበት ስለአለህ እንስሳቼን ልታጠፋ አትችልም! አቃጥራስሁ! ፡፡ጼ

ድሮ ከሰል *እየነገ*ደች የምትደዳደረው። ነግዳ *ጣትረ*ፍ ሲ*ያቅታት ተወቸው*ና ቤተክረስቲያን ደጅ ለምፅዋት መቀመጥ ጀመረች። ማታ ከ**ሚ**ያውቋት ስትመለስ ባስሆቴሎች ፍርፋሪ ስውሾቿና ለእሷ ይዛ ትንባለች። በጣም የሚገርም ነገር የሚመገቡት፣ የሚጠጡትና የሚተኙት አንድ ላይ ነው ። የሚገርመኝ ነገር አንዳቸውም ውሻቿ የትም ቦታ ምንም ነገር ፍለጋ አይሄ ዱም። ይህቺው ቤት ውስፕ

ቀጭ ብለው ይውላሉ ያድራሉ። የሚንቀሳቀሱት እሷ ካስችና እሷን ተከትለው ብቻ ነው ፡፡ ግርም ነው የሚሰኝ ፡፡ ትህዛዟን እንደ ሰው ነው የሚቀበሉት ፡፡ ድምቧ ወሬያችንን አቋረጠን ፡፡

*ጻ*ሄጄ አሳብ*ቃስሁ*!!፡፡ እሱ ፍርድ ይሰጣል። ምንም፣ ጣንም ያለምክኒያት *እንዲጠፋበት* የማይፈልገው ዳኛ ይፈርዳል። *ግቦ የማይቀበስው፣ በዘመ*ድ የማይሰራው፣ ፍርድ የማያዛባው፣ ምልጃ የማይፈልገው፣ እጅ መንሻ የማይጠይቀው ዳኛ ይፈርዳል ፡፡ እውነትን የማይጠየፈው፣ የማንም ተጽህኖ የሌለበት፣ ከውሽት *ጋር* የማይተባበረው ይፈርዳል!! የእኔ *ዳ*ኛ፣ የእኔ ፈራጅ አሳወቅኸውም እንጂ ከሰው ፈራጅ ይበልጣል። መዝገብ ሳይጠቅስ ያለ ምስክር ቀጠሮ ሳያጓትት ይፈርዳል ፡፡ እሱ ሰው *አያጉ*ሳሳም። እሱ ሲፈርድ ይግባኝ የለ! ከፍተኛ ፍርድ ቤት አቤ*ት ማስት* የለ! ጠቅላይ ፍ/ቤት *ማመ*ልከት የለ! *ኃያ*ሏ አሜሪካ *ጋ እን*ኳን ብትሄድ ፍርዱን *ማ*ሻሻል አትችልም ፡፡ የእሱ ፍርድ *ጣን*ም ሲያሻሽለው አይችልም። የትኛው ጠቢብ ነው፣ *የት*ኛው *ንጉ*ስ ነው የእሱን ፍርድ የሚቃወመው? የትኛው ጀግና ነው ከእሱ ፍርድ *ጋር መታገ*ል የሚችለው ? ፍርዱ በቅፅበት ይፀናል። ትስማኛስህ ? አድምጠኝ !!!ጴ

ወጣ ብዬ ተመለከትኳት ፡፡ ፊቷን ወደ ሆቴሱ አዙራሰች። እጆቿ ወንቧ ላይ አርፈዋል። አንንብሳ ፡-

ጻአታውቀውም እንዲ? እንዴት እስከዛሬ ሳታውቀው? የሚገርም ነው? አስተዋውቄህ ጣርህ እንዳይበረታ!፡፡ ተቆጥሮ የማያልቀውን ክፉ ስራህን አሳይም አልሰማም ብዬ ብተው በእንስሶቼ፣ በወገኖቼ ፣ በቤተሰቤ መጣህ? ፡፡» ትጠይቃለች፡፡

ሰውዬው የታለ? የምትናገረውን ያደምጣት ይሆን? » ባለግሮስሪውን ጠየኩት ፡፡

« እዚህ አይኖርም ነገር ግን ስሞትን እዚህ ነው ፡፡» መሰሰልኝ

ፊቷን ወደ ሆቴሱ አዙራ ሕያጨበጨበች :**-** አሳብ*ቃስሁዋ* ! ልጆቼን አትገልም ፣ ወገኖቼን ስታጠፋ ዝም **አልል**ህም። መጣ መሰለህ ? ጉልበትህንስ ያፈረጠመው ማን መሰስህ? --- ። ማስተዋል አቅቶህ እሳት ውስጥ ተው እንዳትንባ ?!። ዋ! ብያስሁ።ዋ! ተናግሬያስሁ ።ዋ! ዋ ! ዋ! --- ፡፡ በኃላ መውጪያው *እንዳይገ*ድህ፣ *መን*ከሳወሻው *ግር* እንዳይልህ ። የቆሰልከውን ሳትበሳው *እንዳት*ጠፋ። ልብ

ግዛ። ዋ! ዋ! ዋ! ።

ስትናገር አንገቷና ግንባራ ላይ ያስቱ ደም ስሮ*ቿ ይገታተራ*ሉ፡፡ እንዴት ብትማረር ነው ብዬ አስብኩ፡፡

ዳአሁን ጨክኛስሁ፡፡ ሄደ አቃጥራስሁ! ፡፡ አልሰማ ! አሳደምጥም አልካ!፡፡ ትምክህትህ ፣ጥሳቻህ ፣ንቀትህ፣ ጭካኔህ በረከተ!--- ርህራሄ አጣኣ! አሁን አቃጥራስሁ! ፡፡

ስድሃ*ዳ*ኛ የስም *ያ*ስው ማነው ነው ? እንዲህ ትምክህትህን ያፋፋኸው ማነው? *አመስክታስሁ*!!:: መልስ የሚሰጥበት ቦታ ነው *መድረክ ሳይ* የሚታይበት ጉዳዩን አነሳዋለሁ ። የውሽትን *መ*ለከጥ*ፋ*ነት *ያ*ኔ ትረዳዋለህ። የውሽትን ድቅድቅ ትጎበኛ ዋለህ። የውሽትን *አን*ካሳነ*ት* የውሽትን ያኔ ታወቀዋለህ። *አጭር ዕድሜ ያኔ ትገ*ንዘባለህ። *ዳ*ኞች አቅምን የአንተ ሽንጎ እውነትን *ያ*ኔ ትተዋወቃ**ስ**ህ። አባቴ ኃ ሄጄ አቃጥራለሁ! ። የእኔ *ዳ*ኛ በከርሱ ፍርፋሪ የሚደለል አይደለም ፡፡ ምክሬን ሰምተህ ነገ ድረስ መልስ ካልሰጠሽኝ፣ ስህተ ትህን ካላስተካከልክ፣ ጉዳዩን በጥንቃቄ ካል*መረመር*ከው፣ ከንጹህ ህሊና *ጋር ታርቀ*ህ ትምክትህን ካላራገፍክ፣ በእንስሶቼ ሳይ ያለህን ጥሳቻ ከነሰንኮፉ ከውስጥሀ ካልነቀልክ ---- አይማረኝ አልምርህም፤ *አቃ*ጥራስሁ ። አይማረኝ አሳብቃስሁ። ሳልፀፀት አቤት ሕላለሁ። ስማኝ ልብ ብለህ ። አልፈራም ፣አልኮራም።ኤ

ቤታ ውስጥ ስንት ውሻች እንዳሱ ብነማርህ በፍፁም አታምንም። ባል ነበራት ውሻ ማሳደግሽን ተይ ቢሏት እምቢ ስላለች ተፋቱ ይላሱ የመንደሩ ሰች። በዚህ ቅያስ ያሉት ቤቶች ከዚህ እስከጫፍ ድረስ ከእናቷ በውርስ ያገኘችው ነበር ይላሱ የሚያውቋት ሰች። ይህን ቤት (ማርሰሪውን ማለቱ ነው) የሽጠልን ስውዬ ነው የነገረኝ ።

መናገር ከጀመረች አታባራም። የምትናገረውን አታስብ፤ አታቋርጥ፤ ስስከንድ አታርፍም። እንደክረምት ዝናብ በሚገርም ፍጥነት ታዘንበዋለች ።

«በክርታስ ቤት ሰው አንዴት ይመቀኛል? በካርቶን ቤት ሰው እንዴት ይቀናል ? በቡችላች ሞት ሰው እንዴት ይደስታል ? ሰው ከምቀኝነት ጭቃ ነው እንዴ የተቦካው ? ከተንኮል ነው እንዴ የተገነባው? ከውሽት ከስግብግብነት --- ነው እንዴ የተ ጠፈጠፈኸው። ከምን አይነት ጭቃ ነው የጠፈጠፋዛችሁ? አፈር አልቆበት ነበር እንዴ እናንተን ሲራጥር? ውሃው ደርቆ ነበር እንኤ የተሰራችሁበትን ጭቃ ሲያቦካ? እፍታው ትንታ ነበር እንኤ እናንተ ላይ ሲተነፍስ ? ወይስ የክፋት ምሳሌ፣ የተንኮል ምልክት --- ሲያደር ጋችሁ አቅዶ ይሆን ?

«እናገራስሁ ፣ አቃጥራስሁ። ውሾች እንዳፌቅር ያስጠነቆሱብኝን እንድለፌልፍ የመተቱብኝን አቃጥራስሁ ፡፡ የሰው ዘር ዕጣክፍሴ አይደለም ፡፡ ፣ ሰውን ለመጥላት ሰው መሆን ብቁ ነው---፡፡ አልፌራም ! አልኮራም!

ታጨበጭባለች ፡፡ እጆቿ ወንቧ ላይ አሳርፋቸዋለች ፡፡ አንንቷን ወደፊት አስግ*ጋ* ፡-

ንሰሀ አ게ዜላች ኃለሁ ፡፡ ለመሰበክ የግድ ቤተክርስቲያና መሄድ የሰባችሁም፡፡ መጣር ቤተክርስቲያን ብቻ ነው ያለው ማነው ? ግብረንብን ለምን ከእነሱ ብቻ እንጠብቃለን ?»

«አቃፕራስሁ ፣ አሳብቃስሁ ፡፡ አልፈራም ! አልኮራም ---፡፡

ፍቅርን ለምትንቁ፣ ጥላችን ለሰበሳችሁ፣ ትምክህት ለከበባችሁ፣ ስምትቀኑ፣ በሰው ድህነት ለምትፋነድቈ፣ ከግብግብነት ለነገስባችሁ፣ ውሽት ለሚጋልባችሁ --- ሄጄ አቃጥራለሁ! ሄጄ አሳብቃለሁ!

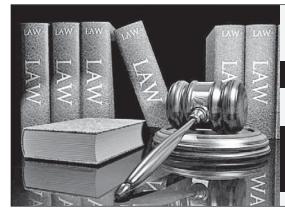
መማር ከፈላጋችሁ በእኔ ቤት በኩል አሰፉ። ውሾቹን ተ መልከቷቸው። እንዴኔ ውሾች ተ ቃቅፋችሁ፤ ተሰብስባችሁ ኑሩ። የአንዳችሁ ሙቀት ስሴሳው እስኪደርስ ተዋደዱ ። አትንካስሱ ። እናንተ ከእንስሳ ታንሳሳችሁ እንዴ? ። ---

ታወርዳዋስች፡፡ አይደክማትም
? ፡፡ ድካም ሲሰማኝ ሰዓቴን
ተመለከትኩና ደነገፕኩ ፡፡ ይህን
ሁሉ ሰዓት ቆሜያስሁ ?፡፡
ባለግሮስሪውን ተሰናብቼ ወደ ቤቴ
አመራሁ ፡፡

መስክ ከራርሜ ወደ ቤቴ ስመለስ አካባቢው ሌላ ገፅታ ይዞ ጠበቀኝ። ዋናው መንገድ በመጠን ሰፍቷል። የቤቴን ቀኜ ይዤ ስንዝ ትልቁ ሆቴል ፌርሶ ተመለከትኩ። ደሳሳዋ ጎጆ ጎስቋላ አኳላን ያለ አፍረት ለትልቁ ጎዳናና ፀሐይ አጋልጣ ቆማለች ። በራፏ ላይ ውሾቹ ተኮልኩለዋል።

«አረ ማቃጥር!፣ አረ ማሳበቅ !::» አልኩ በልቤ የሴትየዋ ንግግር ትዝ ብሎኝ እየተገረምኩ ::

ቡችላቹ ይቦርቃሉ፣ የቤቷን ሆድ ለመደበቅ የተንጠለጠስችው ጀንያ ንፋስ ክፍ አድርጓት ትውለበለባለች። ቤቷ አጠንብ ስደርስ ጥርስ በሌለው አፏ ስትስቅ ተመለከትኩና እኔም አብሪያት ሳቅኩ።



Tikam K. Lalla, ll.b.

BARRISTER SOLICITOR NOTARY PUBLIC

•ኢሚግሬሽን •ቪዛ •የህግ ውክልና

- House Purchase/Sale/ Mortgages
- Wills Incorporation Business
- Immigration Visa Declarations
- Power of Attorneys Notarizations

ቲካም ሴ ሳሳ÷ የህግ ጠበቃ

Toronto Main Office:

1203B Bloor St. W., Toronto, ON, M6H 1N4 (Between Lansdowne & Dufferin)
Tel: 416-532-2801 • Fax: 416-532-4942
email: tklalla@rogers.com

Mississauga Home office:

5159 Hidden Valley Court (Eglinton & Creditview)

Tel: 905- 812-8004

(Evening & Weekends - By appointment only)

BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR2008 COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES



Ethiopia is a federal republic led by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) coalition. The population was approximately 77 million. In the 2005 parliamentary elections, the EPRDF won a third consecutive five-year term. In local and by-elections held in April the EPRDF and allied parties won virtually all of the more than three million seats contested, severely diminishing opportunities for mainstream political opposition. Prior to the vote, ruling coalition agents and supporters used coercive tactics and manipulation of the electoral process, including intimidation of opposition candidates and supporters. Political parties were predominantly ethnically based, and opposition parties remained fractured. During the year fighting between government forces, including local militias, and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), an ethnically based, nationalist, insurgent movement operating in the Somali Region, resulted in continued allegations of human rights abuses by all parties, particularly diversion of food aid from intended beneficiaries suffering from a severe drought. Although there were fewer reports of extrajudicial killings and other similar human rights violations in the Ogaden than the previous year, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and others reported persistent abuses. While civilian authorities generally maintained effective control of the security forces, there were numerous instances in which elements within those forces acted independently of government authority.

Human rights abuses reported during the year included limitations on citizens' right to change their government in local and by-elections; unlawful killings, torture, beating, abuse, and mistreatment of detainees and opposition supporters by security forces, usually with impunity; poor prison conditions; arbitrary arrest and detention, particularly of suspected sympathizers or members of opposition or insurgent groups; police and judicial corruption; detention without charge and lengthy pretrial detention; infringement on citizens' privacy rights including illegal searches; use of excessive force by security services in an internal conflict and counterinsurgency operations; restrictions on freedom of the press; arrest, detention, and harassment of journalists; restrictions on freedom of assembly and association; violence and societal discrimination against women and abuse of children; female genital mutilation (FGM); exploitation of children for economic and sexual purposes; trafficking in persons; societal discrimination against persons with disabilities and religious and ethnic minorities; and



Meles Zenawi

government interference in union activities, including harassment of union leaders.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom From:

a. Arbitrary or Unlawful Deprivation of Life

Government forces, including militias, and armed elements of the ONLF were responsible for targeted killings in the Somali Region during the year (see section 1.g.).

Security forces committed arbitrary and politically motivated killings during the year.

In December 2007 three government militiamen abducted Welelaw Muche, a supporter of the former Coalition for Unity and Democracy in Enamrit town (West Gojjam Zone, Mecha Woreda, Amhara Region) from his home and arrested him. One of the militiamen shot him to death in a nearby forest. No arrests were made by year's end.

On July 8, local police in Wonago town (Oromiya Region) shot and killed Aschalew Taye, a supporter of the All Ethiopia Unity Party (AEUP). Officials arrested the police officers involved; at year's end the trial was in session.

Land mines planted as a result of the 1998-2000 conflict with Eritrea and unresolved border dispute killed at least four civilians in the Tigray Region along the border with Eritrea. In addition, there were unconfirmed reports from a credible source of at least 12 killed and 50 injured in landmine blasts. The government's demining unit, the Ethiopian Mine Action Office, continued to make progress in its survey and demining of border areas. The office defused 5,274 of an estimated two million landmines in the country, most of which were located along the border with Eritrea in the regions of Tigray and Afar. Two people were also wounded by landmines in the Ogaden Region.

Addis Ababa and other areas experienced several bombings that killed civilians and military personnel during the year. Although no one claimed responsibility, the government charged the bombings were the work of insurgent groups and or agents of Eritrea.

On March 13, a bomb exploded on a public bus in Humera (near the Eritrean border), killing eight persons and wounding at least 27. The government captured the alleged perpetrators, who testified in court to working for dissident groups supported by Eritrea. Their trial was ongoing at year's end.

The UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea and the Mine Action Coordination Centre reported 10 casualties when unexploded ordinance exploded while persons were burning paper at a school in Humera on the Ethiopian side of the Tempo-

rary Security Zone. Among the casualties were a 16-year-old girl, a 50-year-old woman, and eight men.

On April 14, bombs exploded at two commercial gas stations in Addis Ababa, killing four persons and wounding at least 16. The perpetrators remained unknown at year's end.

On May 20, a bomb exploded on a public minibus, killing six persons and wounding at least five. The police apprehended suspects they claimed were affiliated with the insurgent Oromo Liberation Front (OLF).

On May 26, bombs exploded in two hotels in Negele Borena, Oromiya Region, killing three persons and wounding five. Ethiopian soldiers were among the casualties. Investigation was ongoing at year's end.

On September 3, a bomb exploded in the Merkato market in Addis Ababa, killing six persons and wounding 26.

On September 27, a bomb exploded outside a hotel in Jijiga, Somali Region, killing four and wounding 20. Police apprehended a suspect whom they identified as a member of Al-Ittihad al-Islamiya, an insurgent group. No trial date had been set by year's end.

There were no developments in the following 2007 killings: Tesfaye Taddese, Degaga Gebissa, Tsegaye Ayele Yigzaw, Belachew Endale Bitew, Manaye Alamrew, Alemu Tesfaye, Tariku Yakiso, Mensur Musema, and the two students at Gue Secondary School (Gue town, Oromiya Region).

Police officer Alemu Deriba, sentenced to death for a 2006 shooting of four youths, remained on death row at year's end.

There were no developments in any of the 2006 bombings.

Clashes between ethnic clans during the year resulted in hundreds of deaths (see section 5).

There were no developments in the following 2006 attacks: the bus attack near Bonga town (Gambela Region) by armed men; the hand grenade incident in the town of Jijiga; and the explosion in Addis Ababa.

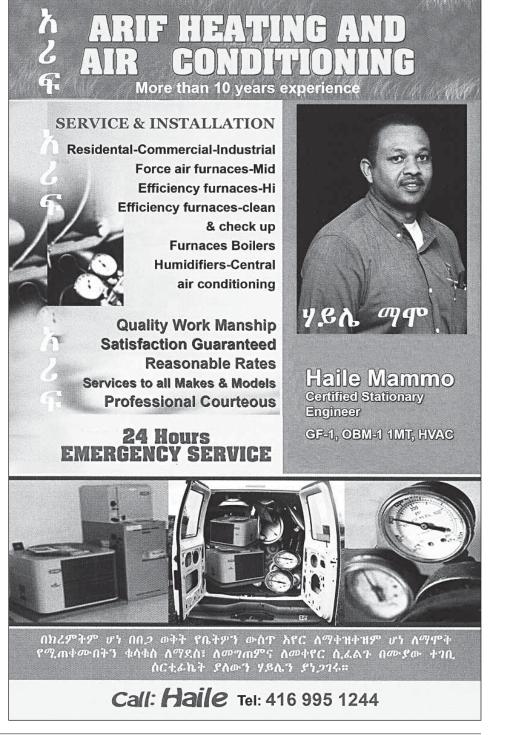
The Federal High Court in Addis Ababa convicted and sentenced to death in absentia Mengistu Hailemariam and eight of his aides, who were charged with committing genocide and other war crimes, including extrajudicial killings, under the 1975-91 Derg regime (see section 1.e.).

b. Disappearance

There were reports of politically motivated disappearances.

According to the Ethiopian Teacher's Association (ETA), two active members of their organization (see section 2.b.) disappeared this year. Tilahun Ayalew, chairman of the Dangila town ETA and coordinator of the program Education for All, was detained from December 2007 to March 2008. He reported that Bahir Dar regional police detained and tortured him for three to four days before transferring him to

Continued on p(8)





Continued from p(7)

Maikalawi police station in Addis Ababa, where police reportedly tortured him also. The Federal First Instance Court then released him on a habeas corpus petition, citing the lack of formal charges against him. Shortly after seeing his family upon release, Tilahun disappeared, and his whereabouts remained unknown at year's end.

Also, Addis Ababa police arrested Anteneh Getnet, chairman of the original ETA in Addis Ababa and an ETA coordinator, in 2006 on charges of participating in the Ethiopian Patriotic Front (EPF) an outlawed, allegedly armed group operating in the Amhara Region. The Federal High Court denied his release, but the Federal Supreme Court released him on bail. After a few additional trial appearances, he disappeared in March, and his whereabouts remained unknown at year's end. Anteneh was first detained in 2006 for more than two months on charges of instigating violence in the 2005 elections. He alleged that he was tortured during his 2006 detention.

There were no developments in the following reported 2007 disappearances: Yohannes Woldu Girma Tesfaye Ayana, Befekadu Bulti Merri, Mulatu Gebremichel, Ismail Blatta, Daniel Worku, and Amha Yirga.

A few of the thousands of civilian protestors who were detained and held incommunicado in 2005 remained in prison at year's end; however, most had been released by the end of 2006, and an additional 31 were released in August 2007,reportedly following an elders negotiations process in July 2007 (see section 1.d.).

c. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Although the constitution and law prohibit the use of torture and mistreatment, there were numerous credible reports that security officials tortured, beat, or mistreated detainees. Opposition political party leaders reported frequent and systematic abuse and intimidation of their supporters by police and regional militias, particularly in the months leading up to the local and by-elections held during the year (see section 3). In Makelawi, the central police investigation headquarters in Addis Ababa, police investigators reportedly commonly used physical abuse to extract confessions.

In December 2007 student Ayena Cheri was arrested in Nekempt on suspicion of being a member of the OLF. The lower court dismissed his case and ordered his release, but he remained in prison until the High Court ordered his release on February 11 following a 1,000-birr (\$98) bail. He alleged repeated severe beatings while in detention. On January 11, police and security forces arrested Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) member Alemayehu Seifu while he was on his way home from work in Addis Ababa. He was conveyed to Makalawi where he was allegedly tortured for eight days while his captors sought to force a confession that he was part of a plot to overthrow the government. He was released on January 21 without appearing in

On February 9, police and militia broke into the home of Gelaye Tadele, a resident of Arba Minch town in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR), and beat him. They then took

him to a detention facility in Kofele where they fractured his right leg and beat him unconscious. He was eventually taken to the local police station and later admitted to Arba Minch hospital. His mother filed a complaint but local authorities took no action by year's end.

Of the 37 CUD members arrested and tortured in May 2006, the courts released 26 on a 5,000-birr (\$488)bail in October 2007 while denying bail to nine others who remained in jail at year's end. The other two individuals died in prison.

There were no developments in the September 2007 beating of regional parliamentarian Wegayehu Dejene (Me-ea District, Oromiya Region) and his family members.

There were no developments in the 2006 beatings of one regional parliamentarian of the Oromo Federal Democratic Movement (OFDM) and five of the Oromo National Congress (ONC).

Prison and Detention Center Conditions

The country has three federal prisons, 117 regional prisons, and many unofficial prisons. Prison and pretrial detention center conditions remained harsh and life threatening. Severe overcrowding was a problem. In September 2007 it was reported that there were 52,000 persons in prison. Earlier in the year, prison populations decreased by 10,000 due to pardons but reportedly again increased due to increases in ethnic conflict and economic crimes. Prisoners often had less than 22 square feet of sleeping space in a room that could contain up to 200 persons, and sleeping in rotations was not uncommon in regional prisons. The daily meal budget was approximately 5 birr (50 cents) per prisoner. Many prisoners supplemented this with daily food deliveries from family members or by purchasing food from local vendors. Prison conditions were unsanitary and there was no budget for prison maintenance. Medical care was unreliable in federal prisons and almost nonexistent in regional prisons.

In detention centers, police often physically abused detainees. Authorities generally permitted visitors but sometimes arbitrarily denied them access to detainees. In some cases, family visits to political prisoners were restricted to a few per year.

While statistics were unavailable, there were some deaths in prison due to illness and poor health care. Prison officials were not forthcoming with reports of such deaths. Several pardoned political prisoners had serious health problems in detention but received little treatment at the time.

Authorities sometimes incarcerated juveniles with adults if they could not be accommodated at the juvenile remand home. Men and women prisoners were largely, but not always, segregated.

During the year the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited regional prisons only. The government continued to prevent ICRC representatives from visiting police stations and federal prisons throughout the country including those where opposition, civil society, and media leaders were held. Regional authorities allowed the ICRC to meet regularly with prisoners without third parties being present. The ICRC also continued to visit

civilian Eritrean nationals and local citizens of Eritrean origin detained on alleged national security grounds. The local NGO Prison Fellowship Ethiopia (JFA-PFE) was granted access to various prison and detention facilities, including federal prisons. The government also periodically granted diplomatic missions access to regional prisons and prison officials, subject to advance notification.

d. Arbitrary Arrest or Detention

Although the constitution and law prohibit arbitrary arrest and detention, the government frequently did not observe these provisions in practice.

Role of the Police and Security Apparatus

The Federal Police Commission reports to the Ministry of Federal Affairs, which is subordinate to the parliament; however, this subordination is loose in practice. Local militias also operated as local security forces largely independent of the police and military. Corruption remained a problem, particularly among traffic police who solicited bribes. Impunity also remained a serious problem. According to contacts at government agencies, the government rarely publicly disclosed the results of investigations into abuses by local security forces, such as arbitrary detentions and beatings of civilians. The federal police acknowledged that many of its members as well as regional police lacked professionalism.

The government continued its efforts to train police and army recruits in human rights. During the year the government continued to seek assistance from the ICRC, JFA-PFE, and the Ethiopian Human

Rights Commission (EHRC) to improve and professionalize its human rights training and curriculum by including more material on the constitution and international human rights treaties and conventions. JFA-PFE conducted human rights training for police commissioners and members of the militia.

Arrest and Detention

Authorities regularly detained persons without warrants and denied access to counsel and family members, particularly in outlying regions. Although the law requires detainees to be brought to court and charged within 48 hours, this generally was not respected in practice. While there was a functioning bail system, it was not available in murder, treason, and corruption cases. In most cases authorities set bail between 500 and 10,000 birr (\$494-975), which was too costly for most citizens. Police officials did not always respect court orders to release suspects on bail. With court approval, persons suspected of serious offenses can be detained for 14 days and for additional 14-day periods if an investigation continues. The law prohibits detention in any facilities other than an official detention center; however, there were dozens of unofficial local detention centers used by local government militia and other formal and informal law enforcement entities. The government provided public defenders for detainees unable to afford private legal counsel but only when their cases went to court. While in pretrial detention, authorities allowed such detainees little or no contact with legal counsel.

Opposition party members consistently

INDIAN GROCERIES & SPICES

vegetables and many more ... (Corn Oil, Vegetable Oil & Mango Pulp, Fresh Coriander Leaves)



416-752-7157

1983 Lawrence Ave East (at Warden Ave. & Lawrence)

reported that in small towns, authorities detained persons in police stations for long periods without charge or access to a judge, and that sometimes these persons' whereabouts were unknown for several months. Opposition parties registered many complaints during the year that government militias beat and detained their supporters without charge in the run-up to the local and byelections held earlier in the year. For example, at a May wedding in Chendiba town in Chilga District, Amhara Region, officials arrested nine AEUP supporters: Wagnew Tadesse, Mekuanent Seneshaw, Alehegne Mekuanent, Kifle Tadege, Demissie Yehualla, Kolagie Jegne, Teffera Akemu, Setegne Tadege, and Endale Tadege. Officials accused them of holding an illegal political gathering. At year's end, all nine remained in jail, held without bail, formal charges, or communication with their families.

On October 4, the government released eight of 10 Kenyans suspected of being foreign fighters in Somalia and detained clandestinely in the country since early 2007. Human Rights Watch (HRW) reported that Kenya originally arrested at least 150 suspected fighters of several nationalities and then rendered dozens to the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) for questioning. Most were eventually released but these last 10 remained in ENDF custody where they reported beatings and torture. The whereabouts of the remaining two were unknown at year's end.

In late October, officials arrested at least 53 ethnic Oromos (some reported as high as 200), including university lecturers, businessmen, and housewives, many with no apparent political affiliation, for alleged support to the banned OLF. Many supporters of the mainstream political opposition OFDM were also arrested during the same time period for the same charges.

On December 23 and 24, hundreds of Somalis were arrested in Addis Ababa. A Somali embassy spokesperson reported that following the initial round-up, police checked records, fingerprinted, and then released detainees.

Just before the Ethiopian New Year in September 2007, security forces arrested individuals suspected of supporting the OLF or terrorist activity. Many were members of the opposition United Ethiopian Democractic Forces (UEDF) or OFDM parties. Approximately 450 arrests were reported to opposition party offices in Addis Ababa. At year's end, 148 detainees remained in jail.

In the case of Yosef Abera and nine others who were arrested in 2006 on accusations of providing food and arms to the OLF, police transferred them from Ayra Guliso town in Oromiya to Senkelle Police Training Center, also in Oromiya. They were released on March 16 after signing a letter stating they would not participate in any future illegal activities.

Police continued to enter private residences and arrest individuals without warrants (see section

Most of the 180 persons arrested in Nazret, Oromiya Region, in 2006 were released in 2006, but there was no information available on the remaining three detained at year's end.

Amnesty

On March 28, the federal government pardoned two human rights activists, Daniel Bekele and Netsanat Demissie, after they signed an admission of guilt and served 28 months in detention. These two were the last of the highprofile political detainees arrested after the 2005 national elections. Both originally declined to admit guilt, instead defending their case before the Federal High Court. The court ultimately convicted them of incitement, a charge that had never been alleged or raised until the day of the court's verdict, and sentenced both to 30 months imprisonment.

On September 28, the federal government granted amnesty to 4,500 prisoners, excluding convicted murderers, rapists, and those found guilty of corruption.

On November 16, the Tigray regional government granted amnesty to 2,167 prisoners, excluding those who committed crimes in connection with corruption, and causing fire and destruction



of infrastructures or forests.

On November 25, the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) Pardon Board pardoned 44 OLF members who were convicted of serious crimes after serving 16 years in prison.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

The law provides for an independent judiciary. Although the civil courts operated with independence, the criminal courts remained weak, overburdened, and subject to significant political intervention and influence. Constitutional interpretation remains solely with the upper house of parliament, exclusively comprised of ruling party members, which also handles judicial appointments and reviews judicial conduct. Judicial practice allows the court unilaterally to convict defendants on charges not raised by the prosecution at any point preceding the court's decision on guilt. This practice effectively im-

pedes defendants from presenting an adequate defense as they may not be aware of the potential charges they face.

The government continued to decentralize and restructure the judiciary along federal lines with the establishment of courts at the district, zonal, and regional levels. The Federal High Court and the Federal Supreme Court heard and adjudicated original and appeal cases involving federal law, transregional issues, and national security. The regional judiciary was increasingly autonomous and often heard regional cases.

Regional offices of the federal MOJ monitored local judicial developments. Some regional courts had jurisdiction over both local and federal matters, as the federal courts in those jurisdictions had not begun operation; overall, the federal judicial presence in the regions was limited. Because of

Continued on p(10)

FIRST ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION TO THE U.S. IN 1919 MADE HEADLINES



By Liben Eabisa

New York (Tadias) - The arrival of the first Ethiopian diplomatic delegation to the United States on July 11, 1919 made headlines in Chicago, where journalists eagerly awaited their opportunity to meet and interview the delegation.

At the time Woodrow Wilson was serving as the 28th President of the United States. In Ethiopia, Empress Zawditu, the eldest daughter of Emperor Menelik, was the reigning monarch.

Dejasmatch Nadew, Empress Zawdituís nephew and Commander of the Imperial Army, along with Ato Belaten-ghetta Hiruy Wolde Sellassie, Mayor of Addis Ababa, Kentiba Gebru, Mayor of Gonder, and Ato Sinkas, Dejamatch Nadew's secretary, comprised the first official Ethiopian delegation to the United States in the summer of 1919.

The main purpose of their trip was to renew the 1904 Treaty of Amity (Friendship) between the United States and Ethiopia (brokered when President Theodore Roosevelt authorized 37-year-old Robert P. Skinner to negotiate a commercial treaty with Emperor Menelik).

continued on p(20)

MISTER GREEK

MEAT MARKET WHOLE SALE & RESTAURANT SERVICES





- WHOLE LAMB
- HALF LAMB

VERY FRESH- DIRECT FROM THE FARM

416-469-1577 416-469-0733

801 DANFORTH AVE. (CLOSE TO PAPE SUBWAY) TORONTO, ONTARIO



በማድረግ ተራቱን እንደጠበቀ በDVD/HD ያቀርባል

.Digital Video Editing Services.



Continued from p(9)

this, many citizens residing in rural areas did not have reasonable access to the federal judicial system and were forced to rely on traditional conflict resolution mechanisms like the Elders' Councils. Anecdotal evidence suggested that women did not always have access to free and fair hearings in the traditional justice system because they were excluded from participation in the Elders' Councils and because there was strong gender discrimination in rural areas. Anecdotal evidence suggested that some local officials believed they were not accountable to a higher authority.

The judicial system severely lacked experienced staff, sometimes making the application of the law unpredictable. The government continued to train lower court judges and prosecutors and made effective judicial administration its primary focus.

Judicial corruption was a significant issue. During the year, the federal MOJ brought corruption cases against 17 judges; however, 15 of those cases were dismissed without sanction against the judges involved. The remaining two cases were pending at year's end.

Trial Procedures

According to the law, accused persons have the right to a fair public trial by a court of law within a "reasonable time," a presumption of innocence, the right to be represented by legal counsel of their choice, and the right to appeal. However, closed proceedings occurred, at times authorities allowed detainees little or no contact with legal counsel, and detainees usually were not presumed innocent. Judicial inefficiency, lengthy trial delays, and lack of qualified staff often resulted in serious delays in trial proceedings.

The Public Defender's Office provides legal counsel to indigent defendants, although its scope and quality of service remained limited due to the shortage of attorneys available. Although the law explicitly stipulates that persons charged with corruption are to be shown the evidence against them prior to their trials, authorities routinely denied defense counsel pretrial access to such evidence.

In the country's judicial system, there are federal and regional criminal courts. There are federal first instance courts, high courts, and the Supreme Court. There are also regional first instance courts and high courts. The Supreme Court maintains appellate authority over all courts.

The law provides legal standing to some preexisting religious and customary courts and allows federal and regional legislatures to recognize other courts. By law all parties to a dispute must agree to use a customary or religious court before such a court may hear a case. Shari'a (Islamic) courts may hear religious and family cases involving Muslims. In addition other traditional systems of justice, such as Councils of Elders, continued to function. Although not sanctioned by law, these traditional courts resolved disputes for the majority of citizens who lived in rural areas and generally had little access to formal judicial systems.

The federal first instance court's seventh criminal branch, headed by three judges, handled cases involving juvenile offenses and cases of sexual abuse of women and children. There was a large backlog of juvenile cases, and accused children often remained in detention with adults until officials heard their cases.

Criminal matters related to the military are handled by military tribunals. Military tribunals may not try civilians except in cases of national security. The military justice system lacked adequately trained staff to handle the growing caseload.

In January and February 2007, Ethiopian forces serving in Somalia arrested and detained civilians suspected of being affiliated with foreign fighters in Somalia. Some of the civilians were released after questioning; however, two international NGOs reported that some were transferred from Somalia through Kenya to Ethiopia, where they were tried by a military tribunal. Others were held without charge or due process. While most of these foreign fighters were returned to their home countries in 2007, the country returned eight Kenyans to Kenya on October 4. These are believed to be the last remaining such detainees.

In 2006 the 57 top officials from the former Derg (Mengistu) regime, including former communist dictator Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam, were found guilty of genocide, treason, and murder for crimes committed during their 17 years of rule. On January 11, they were given sentences ranging from 23 years to life in prison. However, the prosecutor appealed many of these sentences, and on May 26, the court sentenced Colonel Mengistu and 18 of his associates to death. All but Colonel Mengistu, who was in exile in Zimbabwe, sat on death row



Colonel Mengistu Hailemarian

at year's end; the government had not established an execution date.

Political Prisoners and De-

The number of political prisoners and detainees during the year was estimated to be in the hundreds. There were numerous reports of unlawful detention of opposition candidates and their supporters, mostly in the months before April's local and by-elections (see section 3).

In one example, Chaka Robi, a 20-year-old CUD supporter, was arrested without a warrant from his Addis Ababa residence on March 5. Officials held him in Maekelawi where, family members reported to the Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHR-CO), police denied them visitation rights accorded by law. It is common practice for police to deny visitation rights without

SHARMA & SHARMA

BARRISTERS, SOLICITORS & NOTARY PUBLIC

Also of the Middle Temple, London, England, Barrister -at- law



Ishwar Sharma, LL.B

We work for you Highly successful and Affordable

CRIMINAL

- Theft
- Impaired Driving
- Assault
- Family Law
- Bail Hearing

IMMIGRATION

- Visitor Invitation Letter
- Family Sponsorship
- Detention Review
- Afidavits Sworn



Roop Sharma, LL.B



Tel.: 416-461-0467
Tel: 416-461-1777
942 Gerrard Street E.
Toronto, ON M4M 1Z2

cause while detainees are under investigation.

Political prisoner Assefa Abraha, former head of the Office of Government Development Organizations in the Prime Minister's Office, was paroled on July 31 after serving more than seven years in detention. Police arrested Assefa and four of his siblings, including former defense minister Seeye Abraha, on corruption charges in May 2001 following a contentious rift within the ruling party but released his siblings in 2007. Assefa was eventually convicted in July 2007 and sentenced to nine years' imprisonment before being paroled.

In mid-October about 20 people were arrested and put under the custody of the Federal Army at the Army Camp in Dembe Dollo. Among them was Ato Makonnin Dheressa, a prominent member of the OFDM. He was released one week later.

In late October/early November, police, local authorities, and ruling party cadres arrested more than a dozen second-tier leaders from various opposition parties engaged in community outreach or opening new offices throughout the country. OFDM secretary general Bekele Jirata was arrested on October 30 and charged on December 16 with recruiting and organizing OLF members, promoting OLF terrorist activities, and financially supporting the OLF. The case was pending at year's end.

On December 5,a popular singer known as Teddy Afro (Tewodros Kassahun) was sentenced to six years in prison and fined 18,000 birr (\$1,755) for the hit-and-run death of a homeless man in 2006. Some of Teddy Afro's songs were seen as opposition anthems during the violent aftermath of the 2005 elections. While it is unclear whether the conviction was politically motivated, the expeditious incarceration and prosecution of Afro's case 18 months after the alleged incident suggest political interference rather than solely delays in pursuing the case.

On December 29, Unity for Democracy and Justice Party president Birtukan Mideksa was rearrested for accurately telling European media organizations that she had not requested from the government a pardon leading to her release from jail in July 2007. President Girma Wolde-Giorgis revoked her pardon and reinstated her life sentence.

At year's end, many other political detainees, including CUD, ONLF, and OLF members, remained in prison.

In July and August 2007, the government pardoned 71 individuals arrested following demonstrations in 2005. The pardons permitted the defendants' future political participation, but in practice the government continued to limit that right.

The trial continued for most of the 52 individuals arrested in 2006-07 for alleged membership

in the EPF, although two prominent ETA members reportedly disappeared (see section 2.b.).

Civil Judicial Procedures and Remedies

Civil courts, which provided judicial remedy for alleged wrongs, were generally viewed as independent and impartial. The law provides citizens the right to appeal human rights violations in civil court; however, no such cases were filed during the year.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

The law requires authorities to obtain judicial warrants to search private property; however, in practice, particularly outside Addis Ababa, police often ignored this law. Opposition party representatives claimed that police sometimes used fraudulent warrants to enter homes and commit criminal acts, including extorting money. This occurred primarily in the months preceding April's local and by-elections. There were reports that members of local militias robbed persons during the year in locations throughout Oromiya.

There continued to be reports of police forcibly entering civilian homes throughout the year.

All but three electronic communications facilities were stateowned. Political party leaders reported incidents of telephone tapping and other electronic eavesdropping. There were also reports of the government jam-

ming radio stations (see section 2.a.).

The government used a widespread system of paid informants to report on the activities of particular individuals.

There were reports during the year of the forced displacement of families in the Somali Region (see section 1 g)

tion 1.g.).

Security forces continued to detain family members of persons sought for questioning by the government.

g. Use of Excessive Force and Other Abuses in Internal Conflicts

During the year fighting continued between government forces, including government-backed and affiliated militia, and the ONLF, an ethnically based, nation-

alist, insurgent movement operating in the Somali Region, triggering widespread criticism of human rights abuses. While NGO reports of burnt villages and population displacement significantly declined during the year, unsubstantiated, but largely credible, reports of human rights abuses continued, including extrajudicial killings, torture, rape, abductions, and arbitrary arrest. Deliveries of food and medicine were restricted as a result of insecurity, lack of capacity, and Ethiopian

detentions, torture, rape and assault, livestock confiscations, and restrictions on civilian movements. In response to the allegations the government conducted its own investigation into the alleged abuses and found that there were no systematic human rights abuses but rather "evidence of one or two cases of abuse, and one of torture." The selection of former ruling party insider Lisan Yohannes to lead the investigation, however, opens questions about the independence of the investiga-



military restrictions. Since the ONLF was outlawed in 1994, the organization has engaged in lowintensity armed conflict with the government. The regional conflict in Somalia that began in late 2006 spread to the Somali Region and, allegedly fueled by support from the Eritrean government, resulted in greatly increased armed activity by the ONLF, whose members share ethnic ties with Somalis. Civilians, international NGOs, and other aid organizations operating in the region have reported that both the ENDF and the ONLF were responsible for abuses and harsh techniques used to intimidate the civilian population.

Since the Ethiopian military began significant counterinsurgency operations in the Ogaden in response to the April 2007 slaying of oil exploration workers, the government has limited the access of diplomats, NGOs, and journalists to the Somali Region, allegedly due to serious security concerns. However, human rights groups and others have accused the government of denying access to the region in order to prevent potential critics and observers from monitoring ENDF operations. The government has allowed some humanitarian access, but the ability to investigate human rights abuses has been restricted. Reports of human rights violations largely have come from interviews with second-hand sources or alleged victims who have fled the Somali Region.

In June HRW issued a report alleging that the ENDF committed war crimes and crimes against humanity in the Ogaden area of the Somali Region. The report claimed a "brutal counter-insurgency" campaign was conducted in the Ogaden involving systematic forced relocation, burning of villages, arbitrary killings, mass

tion. The government stated that the officer responsible for the said abuses was summoned to court.

Killings

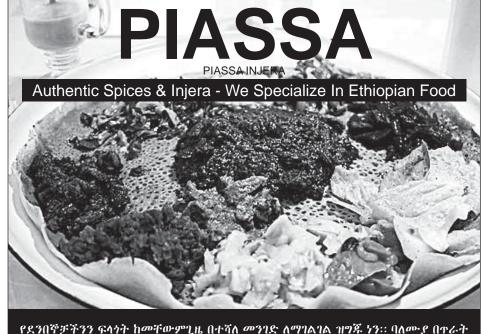
On March 30, the government reported that security forces arrested eight men suspected of involvement in the April 2007 ONLF attack on a Chinese-run oil facility in the Degehabur zone of the Somali Region. The attack killed 65 civilians and nine Chinese nationals and resulted in a dramatic escalation in the conflict, which triggered widespread criticism of human rights abuses perpetrated by government forces. The government also reported that the same eight individuals were implicated in a May 2007 Jijiga grenade attack on a crowd during an official holiday celebration. All suspects remained on trial at year's end.

On September 27, a bomb exploded in a hotel in Jijiga, killing four and wounding 10. Police apprehended three suspects who reportedly acknowledged being ONLF members

On October 16, Prime Minister Zenawi told parliament that the government had confirmed that all bombings this year in Addis Ababa were the work of the OLF and all bombings in the Somali Region were confirmed to be the work of the ONLF. Apart from the cases noted above, no credible evidence has been presented to verify these claims.

On November 22, police forces attempted to force villagers from Laare and Puldeng villages (Gambella Region) to move to a new area. When villagers refused, violence ensued, killing nine civilians and wounding 23 others. Two policemen were killed and six others were wounded. Police also reportedly set fire to homes and killed numerous livestock.

Continued on p(14)



የደንበናዎችንን ቁጥተ በመተውምጊዜ በተባለ መንገድ ለማገልገል ዝንዱ ንን። ባለሙያ በተራተ በቀመመው÷ በጣፋጭታቱ ተወዳዳሪ በሌለውና በረጅም ጊዜ ባህሳዊ የምግብ አውራር ዝ ባተረፈው ፒያሳ ምግብ ቤት ይመገቡ።

ሽሮ÷ በርበሬ÷ ማርና ቅቤ÷ እንዲሁም የተለያዩ ቅመማቅመሞች÷ የቴፕ ከሴትና ሲዲ እንሸጣለን።

ቪዲኦ እናከራያለን÷ የእንጀራ ዱቄት እንሸጣለን፣ መፅሄትና *ጋ*ዜጣ እናሰራጫለን፣ ምግብ በአ ፋጣኝ በተፈለገው ቦታ እናደርሳለን።

ፉል÷ ሽሮ÷ የቡሳ *ገንፎ÷ እንቁ*ሳል ፍርፍር÷ ፍርፍር፤

<u>እጅ የሚያስቆረተም ሳንድዊች!</u>

እንቁሳል ሳንድዊች፥ የአትክልት ሳንድዊች፥ ተብስ ሳንድዊች፥ ምሳና ፊት!

ሥልክ ቁጥራችን፡ - 416-929-9116 260 Dundas St. E. (at Sherbourne St,)

can i send online money transfers worldwide and save?





With convenience, speed, reliability and now savings**, say Yes! to Western Union®† online at Scotiabank.

- From the comfort of your own home using Scotia OnLine®
 Financial Services
- Available on all online transfers under \$1,000
- 24 hours a day, 7 days a week
- Send to over 334,000 Western Union®† Agent locations worldwide, including Canada and U.S.

Visit www.scotiabank.com/westernunion for details.





*IN ADDITION TO THE TRANSFER FEE, WESTERN UNION ALSO MAKES MONEY FROM THE EXCHANGE OF CURRENCIES. ** Savings based on comparison with former fees through Scotia OnLine* Financial Services. Money transfer fee of 59 plus 1% of principal is valid for money transfers below \$1,000 on consumer to co







Continued from p(11)

The ONLF issued a report stating that the ENDF killed 48 civilians and wounded 50 on December 17 in Mooyaha village (23 miles northwest of Dagabur, Ogaden). They also accused the ENDF of killing six civilians in Galashe (near Fik) on the same day. The government had not responded to the allegation by year's end.

Abductions

On September 23, an unknown armed group kidnapped two foreign staff members of the French NGO Medecins du Monde (MDM) near Shilabo town in the Somali Region. The kidnappers transported both hostages into Somalia where they were sold to another group that demanded ransoms. At year's end ransom had not been paid and the two MDM staff members remained hostages.

Physical Abuse, Punishment, and Torture

International rights groups and NGOs reported that alleged unlawful killings, torture, rape, abductions, and arbitrary arrests continued in the conflict zone. While there were numerous reports of human rights violations

in the conflict-affected areas, there were no successful attempts at substantiating the reports due to lack of access to the region (see section 1.g.).

Other Conflict-Related Abuses During the year the government loosened restrictions on the delivery of food aid from donor organizations into the five zones of the Somali Region in which military activity was the most intense. Nevertheless, only 12 percent of food aid reached beneficiaries. Improvements in food aid deliveries allowed relief to reach primary destination points, but distribution to secondary towns, rural areas, and final beneficiaries remained limited. Commercial traffic into these zones somewhat increased.

The government restricted access of NGO workers and journalists to affected areas. International journalists who entered the Somali Region without permission of the government were arrested or obliged to leave the country. The government continued to ban the ICRC from the region, alleging it cooperated with the ONLF. Bureaucratic impediments to Medicins Sans Frontieres-Switzerland (MSF-CH) operations in the Somali Region and govern-

ment accusations it cooperated with the ONLF prompted MSF-CH to terminate operations in the country on August 26.

During the year, some humanitarian groups reported roadblocks manned by insurgent groups who occasionally briefly detained them. These same humanitarian groups reportedly were interrogated by the ENDF on their encounters at the roadblocks with the insurgents. On January 26, the ENDF placed Medicins Sans Frontieres-Holland (MSF-NL) staff members under house arrest in Warder for allegedly providing medical support to the ONLF and confiscated MSF-CH property and vehicle keys in Kebri Dehar, limiting its staff members' movement to the town for three weeks. These restrictions originally covered all UN and NGO groups operating in the Somali Region; however, they were lifted on January 31 for all groups except MSF. five MSF-CH Fik-based staff for 19 days. The government previously suspended MSF-NL operations between July and November 2007. There was no judicial process or charges filed in any of the

Section 2 Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press While the constitution and law provide for freedom of speech

> and press, the government did not respect these rights in practice. The government continued to arrest, harass, and prosecute journalists, publishers, editors. and The government continued to control all broadcast media except three private FM radio stations. Private sector and government journalists routinely practiced self-censorship.

Government-controlled dia mostly reflected the views of the government and the ruling EPRDF coalition. However, live radio and television broadcasts at times included televised parliamentary debates and broadcast the views of opposition parliamentarians, as did government newspapers.

Although some new, small-circulation newspapers were published during the year, the number of private newspapers remained low. Approximately 20 private Amharic-language and English-language newspapers with political and business focuses were published, with a combined weekly circulation of more than 150,000.

The government operated the sole television station and tightly controlled news broadcasts. The broadcasting law prohibits political and religious organizations or foreigners from owning broadcast stations.

Foreign journalists and local stringers working for foreign publications at times published articles critical of the government but were subjected to government pressure to self-censor. During the year some reporters for foreign media were subjected to intimidation and harassment or threatened with expulsion from the country for publishing articles critical of the government.

During the year the government convicted and sentenced journalists for articles and reports in their publications. Journalists were intimidated, harassed, arrested, and detained on charges of defamation, threatening public order, and contempt of court.

For example, on February 16, police arrested Al-Quds publisher Maria Kadi Abafita and editor-inchief Ezeddin Mohammed, along with Sheikh Ibrahim Mohammed Ali, the publisher and editorin-chief of the Islamic Amharic weekly newspaper Salafia. The arrests followed their publishing of articles critical of an education ministry directive on religious worship in schools, including the reprint of a letter allegedly written by the vice president of the Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme Council. The vice president denied writing the letter and filed criminal defamation charges. Police searched the newspapers' offices and confiscated computers and printers. The journalists were detained for 26 days and released on February 29 on a bail of 12,000 birr (\$1,200). The case was pending at year's end.

On March 6, Dawit Kebede, editor-in-chief of the weekly Awramba Times, was detained and released. The National Electoral Board (NEB) accused him of posting an advertisement for his newspaper on a poster promoting EPRDF candidates for local elections. He appeared in court and was released on 200 birr (\$20) bail the same day. No further action was taken before year's end.

There were multiple incidents of harassment and arrest surrounding journalists' coverage of the ongoing 2006 hit-and-run trial of pop singer Tewodros Kassahun, commonly known as Teddy Afro.

For example, on May 2, police

detained editor/owner Alemayehu Mahtemework and three staff members of the private Amharic monthly entertainment magazine Enku and confiscated 10,000 magazine copies after Enku ran a cover story on Afro's controversial arrest and trial. The government accused them of publishing "stirring articles that could incite people" and held them for five days before release. Alemayehu was also charged with threatening public order, and his case remained pending at year's end. The magazine continued operating and police released the confiscated copies on July 31.

Also on July 29, Mesenazeria reported that its editor-in-chief and deputy editor-in-chief were detained for 32 hours and released on July 26 for printing photos without permission of the two police officers escorting Afro to trial. The journalists were not formally charged.

On August 4, the judge presiding over Afro's trial charged Mesfin Negash, editor-in-chief of the independent Amharic weekly Addis Neger, with contempt of court after he published an interview with the singer's lawyer, Million Assefa, in the July 26 edition. The newspaper accurately quoted the lawyer as saying he would file a complaint against high court judge Leul Gebremariam over alleged bias in his handling of the singer's case. On August 6, the judge sentenced Mesfin to a onemonth sentence suspended for two years. The lawyer, Million Assefa, was also found guilty of contempt of court and sentenced to one month and 20 days at Kaliti prison. Police summoned and questioned Addis Neger journalists regarding four separate stories involving investigative reports.

Following Awramba Times' extensive coverage of the Movement for Freedom, Democracy, and Justice (Ginbot 7), an opposition group advocating a change in the government by "any means," the newspaper reported receiving threats on August 4 and 5 that it would be banned and "held accountable." In addition there were allegations that an internal MOJ memo advocated the same. On August 7, the Addis Ababa Police Commission charged editor-inchief Dawit Kebede with "inciting the public through false rumors" but released him on bail the same day. Harambe editor-in-chief Wossenseged Gebrekidan was also charged and released on bail following similar coverage of Ginbot 7. There were no further developments in the cases by year's

On August 22, two police officers, one from Addis Ababa and the other from Gondar, arrested Amare Aregawi, editor-in-chief of the Amharic- and English-language newspaper The Reporter, at his office. Police held him

Continued on P(16)

IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS?



Belva Spiel, B. Mus, LL .B. Barrister & Solicitor

1670 BayView Ave. Suite 402 Toronto, Ontario Practicing Law since 1986

Serving the Ethiopian Community since 1990

ከዚህ በታች ለተዘረዘሩት ጉዳይ ሲኖርዎት በልቫ ስፔልን ያማክሩ! ህጋዊ ጉዳዮዎት በአግባቡና በትጋት ይያዝልዎታል።

Let us help with:

- Refugee Calaims(Legal Aid Certificates accepted)
- Family Sponsorships
- Sponsorship Appeals
- Independent Immigrants
- Humanitarian Applications
- Student & Work Authorizations

Tel. (416) 486 - 1688 Fax (416) 486 - 2274

PLEASE CALL: 416-486-1688

to arrange an appointment: Interpreters arranged on request







TORONTO TRUCK

FORKLIFT - HEAVY EQUIPMENT SCHOOL



ONTARIO'S BIGGEST DRIVING TRAINING INSTITUTE TRAINING BY EXPERIENCED INSTRUCTOR'S







A - B - C -D - E - F - M - Z LICENSES

JOIN THE PROFESSIONAL TEAM
JOB PLACEMENT ALSO AVAILABLE

SEVERAL LOCATIONS TO SERVE YOU BETTER

SCARBOROUGH 416- 213- 2222

747 DONMILLS ROAD
FLEMINGDON PARK
PLAZA
DONMILLS & EGLINTON
TORONTO M3C 1T2

HEAD OFFICE

416-675-7500

225 CLAIRPORT CRESENT ALBION & STEELS REXDALE, ON M6W 6P4 SCARBOROUGH EAST

416- 293- 3733

4168 FINCH AVE. EAST SCARBOROUGH ON M1S 5H6



continued from p(14)

overnight in an Addis Ababa police station and then transferred him in a brewery vehicle to a station in Gondar. approximately 470 miles north of Addis Ababa. On arrival, he was transferred to Gondar police custody. The arrest was in connection with a libel case brought by the Gondar-based, ruling-partyowned Dashen Brewery in response to a July 20 story on a labor dispute at the brewery. Amare appeared in court in Gondar on August 27 and was released after posting bail of 300 birr (\$29) and spending six days in detention. He again appeared in court on September 1 but learned there were no charges against him, and the bail money was returned to him. The article's author, Teshome Niku, was taken to Gondar on July 30 to appear in court but was released on bail of 300 birr (\$29) on August 1. The rendering of both journalists to Gondar raised concerns about the legality of the action; the press law adopted on July 1 stipulates that defamation cases are to be tried in the locality where the claimed offense allegedly took place, and The Reporter's registered headquarters is in Addis Ababa. Following his release, Teshome reportedly received anonymous, threatening phone calls.

On November 4, private newspaper Enbilta editor-in-chief Tsion Girma, deputy editor Habte Tadesse, and reporter Atenafu Alemayehu were arrested in connection with an article published October 3 that mistakenly identified the judge in the Teddy Afro hit-and-run case. Tsion was released on October 22 on 2,000 birr bail (\$200). Her two colleagues were released October 24 with no charges. Tsionwas convicted November 4 on criminal charges of inciting the public through false rumors and fined an additional 2000 birr (\$200).

OnOctober 31, The Reporter editorin-chief Amare Aregawi was violently attacked in front of his son's school. School staff found him unconscious andrushed him to the intensive care unit at the hospital. He later recovered and returned to work. The media reported that police arrested one of the assailants and the driver of a taxi planned as a getaway car. The Addis Ababa Police Commission continued to investigate the case at year's end.

Several journalists remained in exile, including journalists detained following the 2005 elections but released in 2007.

On July 1, the parliament passed The Mass Media and Freedom of Information Proclamation, published in the official Negarit Gazette on December 4. The law prohibits pretrial detention of journalists and censorship of private media, and it recognizes the right of journalists to form professional associations. However, the law allows only incorporated companies to publish print media; requires all previously licensed press to reregister; bars foreign and crossmedia ownership; grants the government unlimited rights to prosecute the media; criminalizes defamation of public officials and increases defamation fines to 100,000 birr (\$9,751); establishes "national security" as grounds for impounding materials prior to publication; provides government information officials exclusive discretion to withhold "sensitive" information without judicial review; and maintains the MOI's absolute authority to regulate the media.

The Ministry of Information was dissolved on October 30. Media reported that the government planned to replace the ministry with a new communications office that would be directly accountable to the prime minister. Although reports indicated the new en-

tity would not be responsible for press licensing, that responsibility had not been reassigned by year's end.

Regional governments censored the media during the year by prohibiting NGOs and health centers from providing information to, or allowing photography by, foreigners or journalists about malnutrition caused by the mid-year drought.

The government indirectly censored the media by controlling licensing. In the first week of January, the Ministry of Information denied press licenses to Eskinder Nega, Serkalem Fasil, and Sisay Agena, the former editors of banned private newspapers Menelik, Asqual, Satenaw, Ethop,and Abay, who had been detained for 17 months after the 2005 elections and were pardoned and released in April 2007.

On July 2, the same three publishers were fined a combined amount of 300,000 birr (\$29,252) in connection with their papers' coverage of the 2005 elections. The court ordered them to appear before the First Criminal Bench of the Federal High Court in December if they failed to pay. They appeared in court on December 24 and delivered a written petition citing pardon law 395/2004, article 231/2, which stipulates that pardons granted to persons automatically pertain to monetary penalties against them. The court adjourned and is scheduled to reconvene in January 2009.

During the year the government granted licenses to Dawit Kebede and Wosonseged Gebrekidan, two other journalists detained after the 2005 elections and released in August 2007, for two new Amharic-language weeklies, Awramba Times and Harambe.

The government owned the only newspaper printing press.

In June, Ayele Chamisso, member of parliament (MP) and chairman of the Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (CUDP), filed charges against three private newspapers: Addis Neger, Awramba Times, and now-defunct Soressa. Ayele claimed that the papers used his party's name for other groups. The editor of Awramba Times appeared in court in November on defamation charges and was released on 2000 birr (\$190) bail. He appeared in court again in December. His case and the cases

high school campuses.

In June the government banned the first exhibition of nude photography scheduled to open on June 27 in Addis Ababa. The private photographer who organized the exhibition, Biniam Mengesha, told the media that culture ministry officials wanted to preview the photos, did so, then banned them for



against the other two newspapers were pending at year's end.

The sustained jamming of Voice of America's Amharic and Afan Oromo Services, which started in December 2007, largely ended in March.

Internet Freedom

The government restricted access to the Internet and blocked opposition Web sites, including the sites of the OLF, ONLF, Ginbot 7, and several news blogs and sites run by opposition diaspora groups, such as the Ethiopian Review, CyberEthiopia.com, Quatero Amharic Magazine, Tensae Ethiopia, and the Ethiopian Media Forum.

On August 29, a statement by the New York-based NGO Center Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) stated that reliable sources reported that its servers were inaccessible to users, and that emails were not coming through to CPJ. These reports emerged at the same time CPJ was investigating the detention of The Reporter editor Amare Aregawi. The Reporter also alleged blocking of its Web site for four days during this time. CPJ's Web site was also inaccessible at other times during the year.

The Ethiopian Telecommunications Corporation (ETC), the state-run monopoly telecom and Internet provider, had approximately 30,000 Internet subscribers. Citizens in urban areas had ready access to Internet cafes; however, rural access remained extremely limited. Mobile telephone text messaging, which restarted in September 2007, was available. The number of mobile telephone subscribers reached 1.9 million.

Academic Freedom and Cultural

The government restricted academic freedom during the year, maintaining that professors could not espouse political sentiments. Authorities did not permit teachers at any level to deviate from official lesson plans and discouraged political activity and association of any kind on university campuses. Reports continued of uniformed and plainclothes police officers on and around university and high school campuses. Professors and students were discouraged from taking positions not in accordance with government positions or practices. College students were reportedly pressured to pledge allegiance to the EPRDF to secure enrollment in universities or post-graduation government jobs. There was a lack of transparency in academic staffing decisions, with numerous complaints from individuals in the academic community of bias based on ethnicity or religion. Speech, expression, and assembly were

frequently restricted on university and

being pornography, not art.
b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and
Association

Freedom of Assembly

The constitution and law provide for freedom of assembly; however, the government restricted this right. Organizers of large public meetings or demonstrations must notify the government 72 hours in advance and obtain a permit. The government issued permits to political parties to assemble in halls but has barred street demonstrations since 2005.

Opposition political parties reported that during the year their supporters were targets of frequent and systematic harassment and violence by government security forces, particularly in the lead up to the local elections (see section 3). Regional governments, including the Addis Ababa regional administration, are reluctant to grant permits or provide security for large meetings. For example, police refused to permit Unity for Democracy and Justice's (UDJ) general assembly to meet in a hotel in Addis Ababa, despite a letter from the NEB stating no license was needed.

There were few attacks by police and militia against demonstrators since no public assembly permits were issued and illegal demonstrations were infrequent.

On August 21, residents of Dejen town, Amhara Region, gathered to protest local officials' stalling on the residents' application for use of nearby farmland. Local police and militia surrounded the demonstrators, beating dozens. A few protestors required hospitalization. No legal action was taken against the perpetrators.

There were no developments in the April 2007 police shooting of two demonstrators in Damot Weyde District and none in the 2006 killing of 15 demonstrators by police in the East Wallega zone, Guduru District.

The Independent Inquiry Commission, established in late 2006 by the government to investigate the use of excessive force by security forces in violent 2005 antigovernment demonstrations, found that security forces did not use excessive force, given demonstration violence; however, prior to the release of the report, the chairman and deputy chairman of the commission fled the country, allegedly in response to threats made against them by government forces. After fleeing, both stated publicly and showed video evidence that, at an official meeting in 2006, the commission had originally decided, by a vote of eight to two, that excessive force was used and that the total number of killed and injured was the same as eventually



reported. Following this vote, government officials allegedly urged commission members to change their votes to indicate that excessive force was not used. At year's end, the government had taken no action to investigate or prosecute perpetrators of the excessive force.

Freedom of Association

Although the law provides for freedom of association and the right to engage in unrestricted peaceful political activity, the government in practice limited this right. Opposition parties reported receiving no government subsidies for their political activities despite laws providing for them. The MOJ technically registers and licenses NGOs, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) screens applications for international NGOs and submits a recommendation to the MOJ whether to approve or deny registration. The MFA recommended that some international NGOs' registration be denied absent a deposit of two million birr (\$195,000), effectively preventing them from registering.

As provided by law, the government required political parties to register with the NEB, which continued to limit political activity by the CUDP. For example, on January 3, the NEB awarded the CUDP name to a renegade member and the CUDP party symbol to another breakaway group, the United Ethiopian Democratic Party (UEDP)-Medhin, forcing the bulk of the CUDP's leaders to establish new parties.

During the year the UEDF, UDJ, OFDM, and Oromo People's Congress (OPC) reported arrests of members and the forced closure of political party offices throughout the country and intimidation of landlords to force them to evict the political groups (see sections 1.d. and 3).

During the year some political leaders, including federal and regional MPs, were discouraged from traveling to their constituencies to meet with supporters, although others visited constituents without incident. For example, OFDM chairman Bulcha Demeksa was persuaded not to visit his constituency in Wellega district, Oromiya Region, because the government told him his security could not be guaranteed. Some local officials blocked some opposition MPs access to their constituencies, arguing that as federal MPs they had no reason to visit.

The ETA has operated since 1967, but in 1993, after the EPRDF took power, an alternate, pro-EPRDF ETA was established. In 1993 the original ETA and the government-supported ETA began prolonged legal battles over the organization's name and property rights. On June 26, the Court of Cassation ruled against ETA and awarded its name and property to the pro-EPRDF ETA (see section 6.a.).

c. Freedom of Religion

The constitution and law provide for freedom of religion, and the government generally respected this right in practice; however, local authorities and members of society occasionally infringed on this right. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) and Sufi Islam are the dominant religions; nearly 90 percent of the population adhered to one or the other faith.

While the government required that religious institutions annually register with the MOJ, there were no reports of government action against institutions that chose not to register. Under the law, a religious organization that undertakes development activities must register its development wing separately as an NGO. The government did not issue work visas to foreign religious workers unless they were associated with the development wing of a religious organizations.

Some religious property confiscated under the Mengistu (Derg) regime had not been returned by year's end.

Minority religious groups reported discrimination in the allocation of government land for religious sites. Authorities continued to ban Waka-Feta,

a traditional animist Oromo religious group, because it suspected that the group's leaders had close links to the OLF. Protestant groups occasionally reported that local officials discriminated against them when they sought land for churches and cemeteries. Evangelical leaders stated that because authorities perceived them as "newcomers," they were at a disadvantage compared with the EOC and the Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme Council (EIASC) in the allocation of land. The EIASC claimed it had more difficulty obtaining land from the government than did the EOC; others charged that the government favored the EIASC

On May 6, the MFA hosted a conference for religious, regional, and NGO leaders to promote religious tolerance. Also, an interfaith dialogue involving leaders from the Orthodox Church, EIASC, and other religious institutions meets regularly to discuss such issues as interfaith cooperation, religious tolerance, health, and community development

On December 1, police opened fire at a public gathering near a church in Arba-Minch (Gamo Gofa Zone), wounding three individuals. Police were reportedly attempting to disperse a crowd following a disagreement between Orthodox priests.

Societal Abuses and Discrimination

The Jewish community numbered approximately 2,000, and there were no reports of anti-Semitic acts.

For a more detailed discussion, see the 2008 International Religious Freedom Report at www.state.gov/g/drl/irf/

d. Freedom of Movement, Internally Displaced Persons, Protection of Refugees, and Stateless Persons

Although the law provides for freedom of movement within the country, foreign travel, emigration, and repatriation, the government restricted some of these rights in practice.

Throughout the year the government severely restricted the movement of persons into and within the Ogaden areas of Somali Region, arguing that the counterinsurgency operation against the ONLF posed a security threat (see section 1.g.).

The law prohibits forced exile; and the government did not employ it. A steadily increasing number of citizens sought political asylum or remained abroad in self-imposed exile, including more than 55 journalists (see section 2.a.).

During the year the ICRC repatriated 1,023 citizens from Eritrea and repatriated 27 Eritreans. Most Eritreans and Ethiopians of Eritrean origin registered with the government and received identity cards and six-month renewable residence permits that allowed them to gain access to hospitals and other public services.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

The conflict between government and insurgent forces in the Ogaden area of the Somali Region resulted in the displacement of thousands of persons (see section 1.g.). During the year violent clashes between different clans, often over competition for scarce resources or resulting from disputes over territorial boundaries, displaced persons and resulted in deaths and injuries.

UNHCR estimated there were approximately 200,000 IDPs in the country, including an estimated 62,000 in the Tigray Region, 44,700 in the Gambella Region, 30,000 in the Borena area of the Oromiya Region, and 50,000 on the border of the Oromiya and Somali regions.

Protection of Refugees

The law provides for the granting of asylum or refugee status in accordance with the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, its 1967 protocol, and the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention. The government has established a system for providing protection to refugees. In practice the government provided protection against "refoulement," the expul-

sion or return of refugees to countries where their lives or freedom would be threatened, and it granted refugee status and asylum. The government generally cooperated with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian organizations in assisting refugees and returning citizens. There were anecdotal reports that deported Ethiopian asylum seekers from Yemen were detained upon return.

During the year the government, in cooperation with UNHCR, opened two new refugee camps: Sheder, northeast government. In local and by-elections held in April, the ruling EPRDF and allied parties won virtually all of the more than three million seats contested, severely diminishing opportunities for mainstream political opposition. Prior to the vote, ruling party agents and supporters engaged in coercive tactics and manipulation of the electoral process, including intimidation of opposition candidates and supporters during the run-up to the vote. Citing these obstacles, two leading opposition parties withdrew from the elections shortly



of the town of Jijiga, to accommodate a steady influx of Somali refugees, and My Ayni, in Tigray National Regional State, to accommodate up to 10,000 new Eritrean refugees. An average of 400 to 500 new Eritrean refugees arrived monthly during the year. However, approximately 200 to 300 Eritrean refugees departed monthly on secondary migration through Egypt and Sudan to go to Europe and other final destinations. UNHCR assisted in the reception and transportation back to My Ayni of over 150 Eritrean refugees who had been detained in Egypt and deported by the Egyptian authorities.

The government required that all refugees reside and remain in designated camps, most of which were located near the Eritrean, Somaliland, and Sudanese borders, unless granted permission to live elsewhere in the country. Such permission was given primarily to attend higher education institutions, undergo medical treatment, or avoid security threats at the camps. During the year, the government expanded its policy to provide greater freedom of movement to some Eritrean refugees with family members living outside of the camps. Almost 1,500 urban refugees are currently registered with the UNHCR and the government, the majority of them from Somalia, Eritrea, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Unlike in the previous year, conflict between ethnic groups in the Gambella Region did not directly interfere with UNHCR's refugee protection activities.

The government, in cooperation with UNHCR, continued to provide temporary protection to individuals from Sudan, Eritrea, and Somalia who may not qualify as refugees under the 1951 convention and the 1967 protocol.

During the year UNHCR processed 334 refugees who departed for resettlement abroad. UNHCR and the government also assisted the safe, voluntary return of more than 10,215 Sudanese refugees to their homes during the year, allowing UNHCR to close two Sudanese refugee camps in May.

Unlike in the previous year, there were no allegations of government cooperation with the government of Sudan in the forcible repatriation of Ethiopian refugees.

Section 3 Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government

The constitution and law provide citizens the right to change their government peacefully, and citizens exercised this right in practice through partially free and fair elections held on the basis of universal suffrage. In practice the ruling EPRDF and its allies dominated the

beforehand.

The government policy of ethnic federalism led to the creation of individual constituencies to ensure representation of all major ethnic groups in the House of Peoples' Representatives. Nevertheless, small ethnic groups lacked representation in the legislature. There were 23 nationality groups in six regional states that did not have a sufficient population to qualify for constituency seats; however, in the 2005 elections, individuals from these nationality groups competed for 23 special seats in the 547-seat House of Peoples' Representatives. Additionally, these 23 nationality groups have one seat each in the 112seat House of Federation, the upper house of parliament.

Elections and Political Participation
The constitution provides citizens
the right to change their government
peacefully and to freely join a political
organization of their choice; however,
in practice these rights were restricted
through bureaucratic obstacles and government and ruling party intimidation
and arrests.

The local and by-elections on April 13 and April 20, respectively, were the first nationwide elections since the historic 2005 national elections, which ended in heavy postelection violence and large-scale arrests. According to domestic and international observers, the 2005 elections, in which the EPRDF coalition won 372 of 547 seats, generally reflected the will of the people and were an important step forward in the country's democratization efforts. However, irregularities in 2005 marred polling in many areas. For instance, observers reported vote count fraud, improper handling of ballot boxes, and barring of party agents from polling stations and ballot counts. Observers also reported killings, disappearances, voter intimidation and harassment, unlawful detentions of opposition party supporters, and bribery. Opposition parties accused the NEB of ruling party bias and of failing to address the complaints it received. Following an ad hoc complaints resolution process, the NEB decided to hold new elections in 31 constituencies in 2005; however, opposition parties boycotted due to perceived flaws in the review process.

Opposition parties made an unexpectedly strong showing in the 2005 elections, increasing their parliamentary representation from 12 to 172 seats and earning 137 of 138 Addis Ababa City Council seats. Despite this, some opposition members refused to take their seats and instead boycotted. Violent antigovernment protests then erupted in November 2005 and led to

a government crackdown including arrests of several dozen opposition leaders, journalists, and civil society group members, as well as between 30,000 and 50,000 demonstrators. Most prisoners were released in three months, but many prominent individuals spent almost two years in prison, with an unknown number of individuals still in custody. Military intervention also led to widespread abuses such as arbitrary detention and killings.

These events in 2005 formed the backdrop for this year's local and byelections held on April 13 and 20, as the first nationwide elections since 2005. Unlike in 2005, polling went smoothly and peacefully and there were no postelection mass arrests or violence. However, the prepolling weeks and months were marred by reports of harassment, intimidation, arrests, and killings of opposition party candidates and their supporters, and incomplete compliance by the NEB with the Electoral Law, prompting some of the major opposition parties such as UEDF and OFDM to boycott the election. Ruling party, regional, federal, and NEB officials mostly denied these incidents and, with few exceptions, neither investigated such allegations nor held perpetrators responsible. Other opposition parties remained in disarray and did not have enough time to take part in the elections.

This climate, along with a dearth of opposition candidates, contributed to starkly different election results from those in 2005. Of the 3.6 million local and by-election seats contested, opposition parties won three: a federal parliament seat, an Addis Ababa city council seat, and a Gambella town council seat. According to the NEB, the EPRDF coalition won more than 3.5 million seats with the remainder going to noncoalition but EPRDF-allied parties. For instance, EPRDF won 38 of 39 contested federal parliament seats and 137 of 138 Addis city council seats; this latter result was an exact reversal of 2005.

The EPRDF, its affiliates, and its supporters controlled 408 seats in the 547-member House of People's Representatives and all seats in the 112-member House of Federation, whose members were appointed by regional governments and by the federal government. Membership in the EPRDF conferred advantages upon its members; the party owned many businesses and was broadly perceived to award jobs and business contracts to loyal supporters.

The NEB reported a 93 percent voter turnout, approximately 24.5 million of 26.3 million registered voters. However, the government refused to allow foreign election observers, and this turnout rate was inconsistent with observed voter presence levels and posted polling station tallies.

Opposition parties fielded very few candidates in some regions. This was due in part to widespread harassment of opposition candidates and supporters as well as the delayed reopening of party offices in November 2007, following forced closures after the 2005 elections. Together opposition parties were able to register only an estimated 16,000 candidates countrywide. For example, in one area of Oromiya where the opposition won overwhelmingly in 2005, there were 60.955 EPRDF candidates running against seven opposition candidates. Given a lack of capacity, some opposition groups chose not to contest town seats and instead focus on district and zonal seats.

On April 10, the UEDF, a coalition of opposition parties from SNNP and Oromiya regions, announced their withdrawal from the elections. This followed their delivery to the NEB of a list of seven preconditions to their electoral participation based on incomplete implementation of the Electoral Law, including proper elections of poll observers, an end to candidate harassment, and registration of all denied UEDF candidates.

The 2007 Electoral Law requires each Continued on p(18)



Continued from p(17)polling station to have five nonpartisan observers elected from the community, or approximately 200,000 election observers for the more than 42,000 polling stations. There were, however, widespread reports that many of these poll observers were instead appointed directly by the NEB from EPRDF affiliates. The Electoral Law also allows NGOs to conduct either voter education or election observation, but not both. While the Electoral Law stipulates that election observers shall monitor the electoral process, the NEB finally released its election observation guidelines on February 29, three months after voter registration commenced and weeks after the conclusion of candidate registration. This came too late for some NGO monitors, and others did not even request permission to observe, due to a lack of confidence in the process. Still others, like EHRCO, simply didn't receive an NEB response. In the

There were again reports that local officials used threats of land redistribution and withholding of food aid and fertilizer to garner support for the ruling coalition. There were many reports of ruling-party or government harassment intended to prevent individuals from joining opposition parties, registering

end, the NEB approved 11 do-

mestic NGOs as observers.

their candidacies for elected office, or renting property. There were numerous reports of intimidation and violence directed against opposition party members and supporters, primarily in the months before the local and by-elections, including threats, beatings, arrests, and killings.

Registered political parties must receive permission from regional governments to open and occupy local offices. There were, however, widespread reports of opposition parties closing offices due to intimidation and coercion by local officials. A common tactic reported was to intimidate landlords into evicting their political party tenants. For example, ONC had only two remaining offices, down from more than 100 in 2005, and AEUP had only 25 offices, down from 280 in 2005.

On October 12, Bekele Girma, AEUP political organizer, left AEUP's head office in Addis Ababa to open an office in Dilla town in the SNNPR. Despite possessing an NEB letter requesting every regional government to assist the bearer in opening a political office, Dilla town police chief Obsa Hundessa detained Bekele and refused to allow an AEUP office. Bekele was released in November.

Authorities often disrupted or unlawfully banned opposition party meetings. For instance, authorities banned as illegal a preplanned March 29 UEDF rally in a local constituency.

There were reports that authorities told opposition members to renounce their party membership and vote for EPRDF if they wanted access to fertilizer, agricultural services, food relief, continued employment, and other benefits controlled by the government.

There were reports of closed voter registration stations in pro-opposition rural areas and of prospective voters advised to return the following day after walking two or more miles. Opposition candidates also reported registration office closures and fraudulent dropping of opposition names from NEB candidate registration lists.

There were numerous reports of intimidation, harassment, abuse, and detention of opposition candidates and their supporters, particulary in the months leading up to the April elections. For example, in early April the OPC assembled a list of 189 willing candidates for zonal and district seats and sent a party officer to deliver it from Nekempt to the OPC chairman in Addis Ababa. Regional police stopped the bus he was riding on, confiscated the candidate list, detained each individual named on the list, and held most until after candidate registration

On February 3, OPC member Terefe Tolossa, was assisting candidate registration in Bekke town, Oromiya Region. Police detained him for five days with-

out charge and without trialat the Bekke police station, where he suffered leg and back injuries from their beatings. After his release, police and local militia rearrested him on February 14 at his home and again released him on February 23 without trial. He was rearrested twice more, on March 7 and March 9, never charged, and eventually released.

In February ruling party cadres detained an opposition candidate seven times in the 15 days after he registered as a district candidate in Western Oromiya. They alternately threatened to fire him from his teaching job, relocate him to a rural site, and kill him and his children.

On March 9, police and local officials beat federal parliamentarian Gutu Mulisa while he campaigned for the UEDF in Elfeta District, Oromiya Region. Gutu filed a complaint with Elfeta District Police. At year's end the case was pending.

On March 24, police and plainclothes officers stopped Bilisuma Shuge, a resident of Bole Sub-City, Addis Ababa, at gunpoint on his way home from playing sports and beat him severely as a suspected CUD supporter.

There were credible reports that teachers and other government workers had their employment terminated if they belonged to opposition political parties. According to opposition groups OFDM and ONC, the Oromiya regional government continued to dismiss their members--particularly teachers-from their jobs.

Government Corruption and Transparency

The law provides criminal penalties for official corruption; however, the government did not implement these laws effectively. The World Bank's worldwide governance indicators reflected that corruption remained a serious problem.

a serious problem.

The MOJ has primary responsibility for combating corruption, largely through the Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (Ethics Commission). A combination of social pressure, cultural norms, and legal restrictions limited corruption. However, government officials appeared to manipulate the privatization process, and state and party-owned businesses received preferential access to land leases and credit.

During the year, there were numerous arrests of senior and junior officials on corruption charges. For instance, on February 18, the Ethics Commission arrested Tesfaye Birru, former ETC managing director, and 12 other senior management staff and accused them of approving an equipment and technology contract outside of government bid regulations, costing 1.52 billion birr (\$148.2 million). The case was before the Federal High Court by year's end.

Also early in the year, the Ethics Comimision accused eight high-ranking National Bank officials for involvement in a gold scandal worth 158 million birr (\$15.4 million). The trial began in July before the Federal High Court and continued at year's

The law provides for public access to government information, but access was largely restricted in practice. The Press Law passed in July included freedom-of-information provisions but will not take effect for two years.

The government publishes its laws and regulations in the national gazette prior to their taking effect. The Ministry of Information managed contacts between the government, the press, and the public; however, the government routinely refused to respond to queries from the private press (see section 2.a.).

Section 4 Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

A number of domestic and international human rights groups generally operated with limited government restriction, investigating and publishing their findings on human rights cases. The government generally was distrustful and wary of domestic human rights groups and international observers.

Two of the most prominent domestic human rights organizations were EHRCO and the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA). The government routinely discounted EHRCO's reports and labeled it a political organization.

EWLA's primary function was to provide legal representation for women. These and numerous other groups mainly engaged in civic and human rights education, advocacy, legal assistance, and trial monitoring. However, the government neither shared information nor acknowledged the existence of human rights abuses.

During the year the govern-

ment introduced restrictive legislation that would affect numerous civil society organizations. The Charities and Societies Proclamation seeks to prohibit civil society organizations that receive more than 10 percent of their funding from foreign sources from engaging in activities that promote human rights and democracy; the rights of children and the disabled; equality among nations, nationalities, people, gender and religion; or conflict resolution or reconciliation. Since nearly all civil society organizations that work in these areas rely on foreign funding, it is likely that many will be unable to continue their activities. Among the civil society organizations likely to be affected are the two most prominent human rights organizations, EHRCO and EWLA.

The government sometimes cooperated with international organizations such as the UN. However, the government continued to restrict the ICRC, MSF, and other NGOs from working in the Somali Region. Both the ICRC and MSF had expressed concern about the government's counterinsurgency campaign against the ONLF (see section 1.g.).

Two NGO members detained in 2005 were pardoned (see section 1.d.).

The government denied the ICRC access to federal prisons, police stations, and political prisoners.

Security officials continued to intimidate or detain local in-

dividuals to prevent them from meeting with NGOs and foreign government officials investigating abuse allegations.

The government-established Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) investigates human rights complaints and produces both annual and thematic reports; however, their reports were not public. This year, the EHRC received 300 complaints but determined that most fell outside of its jurisdiction and, at year's end, had eight to 10 cases pending.

Early in the year, an EHRC team investigating human rights abuses in the Somali Region was prohibited from traveling outside of the regional capital and was permitted access to only one detention facility.

The Office of the Ombudsman has the authority to receive and investigate complaints with respect to misadministration by executive branch offices. The office received hundreds of complaints this year, mainly focused on delays or denials in services, improper institutional decisions, promotions or demotions, and pension issues. It is not known which complaints were investigated or acted upon.

Section 5 Discrimination, Societal Abuses, and Trafficking in Persons

The constitution (Article 25) provides all persons equal protection without discrimination based on race, nation, nationality, or other social origin, color, gender, language, religion, political or other opinion, property, birth, or status; however, in practice the government did not fully promote and protect these rights.

Women

The constitution (Article 35) provides women the same rights and protections as men. Harmful Traditional Practices (HTPs) such as female genital cutting, abduction, and rape have been explicitly criminalized. Enforcement of these laws lags. To address this, the government established a National Commission for Children's and Women's Affairs in 2005, as part of the EHRC, to investigate alleged human rights violations against women and children.

Women and girls experience gender-based violence daily, but it is underreported due to shame, fear, or a victim's ignorance of legal protections. The National Committee for Traditional Practices in Ethiopia identified 120 HTPs. The 2005 Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey found that more than 74 percent of women and girls were subjected to FGM, although this was declining. In the context of gender-based violence, significant gender gaps in the justice system remained due to poor documentation, inadequate investigation, and lack of special handling of cases involving women and children.

The law criminalizes rape, calling for five to 20 years of imprisonment depending on the severity of the case. The law does not include spousal rape. The government did not fully enforce the law, partially due to widespread underreporting. The Addis Ababa 2006 annual police report listed 736 rape cases out of an estimated population of

DNA STUDIES TRACE MIGRATION FROM ETHIOPIA

RESEARCH DATES ORIGINS UP TO 100,000 YEARS

Los Angeles Times

Scrutinizing the DNA of 938 people from 51 distinct populations around the world, geneticists have created a detailed map of how humans spread from their home base in sub-Saharan Africa to populate the farthest reaches of the globe over the last 100,000 years.

The pattern of genetic mutations, to be published Friday in the journal Science, offers striking evidence that an ancient band of explorers left what is now Ethiopia and -along with their descendants -- went on to colonize North Africa, the Middle East, Europe, southern and central Asia, Australia and its surrounding islands, the Americas and East Asia. A second analysis based on some of the same DNA samples corroborated the results.

Those findings, published Thursday in the journal Nature, demonstrated that the greater the geographic distance between a population and its African ancestors, the more changes had accumulated in its genes.

The story of human migration revealed by DNA "compliments what's known through history, linguistics or anthropology," said Jun Li,

the University of Michigan human geneticist who led the Science study.

Both research groups relied on DNA from blood samples collected by anthropologists around the world as part of the Human Genome Diversity Project, a controversial effort from the mid-1990s to gather genetic specimensfrom thousands of populations, including many indigenous tribes.

Previous studies have relied on data from the International HapMap Consortium, which cataloged DNA from 269 people of Nigerian, Japanese, Chinese and European descent.

"Instead of saying a particular person's genome is from Africa, this kind of data allows us to say which part of Africa they were from," said Andrew Singleton, chief of the molecular genetics section at the National Institute on Aging in Bethesda, Md., and senior author of the Nature report. The studies were funded by the NIH, the ational Science Foundation and private foundation and private foundations."

In both studies, the researchers analyzed more than a half-million single-letter changes among the approximately 3 billion As, Cs, Ts and Gs that make up the human genome. Those changes --

called "single nucleotide polymorphisms," or SNPs - begin as random mutations and accumulate over time as they are passed from one generation to the next.

Each time a small group left its home territory to found a new population, the migration ultimately led to a nique pattern of SNPs. Comparing those patterns, the researchers were able to show that humans spread around the globe through a series of migrations that originated from a single location near Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

With the expanded DNA data set, Li's group was able to make finer distinctions among groups that were previously treated as homogeneous populations. In Europe, for example, the researchers were able to distinguish between Orcadians from present-day Scotland, the French, Tuscans, and Northern Italians fromwhat is now Bergamo.

In the Far East, population geneticists previously had surmised that northern and southern Han Chinese were distinct populations, and that the Japanese islands were populated by northern Han.

"Now we have direct evidence that that's true," Li said.

five million persons. Statistics on the number of abusers prosecuted, convicted, or punished were not available at year's end.

Domestic violence, including spousal abuse, was a pervasive social problem. The 2005 Health Survey found that 81 percent of women believed a husband had a right to beat his wife. A 2005 World Health Organization (WHO) study found that in two rural districts, Meskan and Mareko, 71 percent of women were subject to physical or sexual violence, or both, by an intimate partner during their lifetime. While women had recourse to the police and the courts, societal norms and limited infrastructure prevented many women from seeking legal redress, particularly in rural areas. The government prosecuted offenders on a limited scale.

Limited access to family planning services, high fertility, low reproductive health and emergency obstetric services, and poor nutritional status and infections all contributed to high maternal mortality ratio (673/100,000 mothers), according to the 2005 Health Survey. Maternal health care services did not reach the majority of women; skilled birth attendants aided only 10 percent of births. The national average for antenatal care (ANC) is 28 percent.

Prostitution was legal for persons over age 18 and was commonly practiced around the country; however, the law prohibits pimping and benefiting from prostitution. Persons exploited in prostitution routinely reported that poverty was the principal reason. Article 634 of the Ethiopian Penal Code (revised May 2005) stipulates "whoever, for gain makes a profession of or lives by procuring on the prostitution or immorality of another, or maintains, as a landlord or keeper, a brothel, is punishable with simple imprisonment and fine."

Sexual harassment was widespread. The penal code prescribes 18 to 24 months' imprisonment; however, harassment-related laws were not enforced.

The law sets the legal marriage age for girls and boys at 18; however, this law is not enforced. For example, a 2006 Pathfinder International study found that in the Amhara Region, 48 percent of women are married before the age of 15--the highest early marriage rate in the country.

Discrimination against women was most acute in rural areas, where 85 percent of the population was located. The law contains discriminatory regulations, such as the recognition of the husband as the legal head of the family and the sole guardian of children over five years old. Authorities did not consider domestic violence a serious justification for granting a divorce. There was limited legal recognition of common law marriage. Irrespective of the number of years the marriage existed, the number of children raised, and joint property, the law entitled women to only three months' financial support if a common law relationship ended. A husband had no obligation to provide financial assistance to his family and, as a result, women and children sometimes faced abandonment. Even with recent stronger formal laws, most rural residents continued to apply customary law in economic and social relationships.

All land belongs to the government. Although women could obtain government leases to land, and the government had an explicit policy to provide equal access for women to land, rural communities rarely enforced this policy. In nearly all regions women did not have access to land, except through marriage. The law states that any property owned before marriage belongs to the spouse that previously owned it, while any property gained during marriage belongs to the husband upon divorce. In practice, when a husband died, other family members often took the land from his widow. In pastoralist areas where poverty is higher, women do not own property without a male guardian, which increases their marginalization and vulnerability. A widow must marry her brother-in-law or have an adult son in order to keep her deceased husband's land. In urban areas, women had fewer employment opportunities than men, and the jobs available did not provide equal pay for equal work. Women's access to gainful employment, credit, and owning and/or managing a business was limited by their low level of education and training, traditional attitudes, and limited access to information.

Children

The constitution (Article 36) provides a comprehensive list of rights for children. The government supported efforts by domestic and international NGOs that focused on children's social, health, and legal issues, despite its limited ability to provide improved health care, basic education, or child protection.

As a policy, primary education was universal and tuition-free, but not compulsory; however, there were not enough schools to accommodate the country's youth, particularly in rural areas, and the cost of school supplies was prohibitive for many families. In 2005, primary school attendance rates were 81.7 percent for male children and 73.2 percent for female children; in Addis Ababa, girls' attendance was significantly higher. Government reports indicated that 20.6 percent of the children who attended school left the system before they reached the second grade, and only 41.7 percent who began first grade completed eighth grade.

Child abuse was widespread. Members of an NGO staffed 10 child protection units in Addis Ababa's police stations to protect the rights of juvenile delinquents and juvenile victims of crime. Some police officers received training during the year on procedures for handling cases of child abuse.

Societal abuse of young girls continued to be a problem. HTPs included FGM, early marriage, marriage by abduction, and food and work prohibitions

In the Afar Region older men continued to marry young girls, but this traditional practice continued to face greater scrutiny and criticism. Local NGOs, such as the Kembatta Women's Self-Help Center and the Tigray Women's Association, also influenced societal attitudes toward harmful traditional practices and early marriage in their areas. Regional governments in Amhara and Tigray ran programs to educate young women on the issues of early marriage.

The majority of girls and women in the country had undergone some form of FGM. Girls typically experienced clitorectomies seven days after birth (consisting of an excision of the clitoris, often with partial labial excision) and faced infibulations (the most extreme and dangerous form of FGM) at the onset of puberty. The 2005 Health Survey reported that the practice of FGM among all women had decreased from 80 to 74 percent, while support for the practice among women had dropped from 60 to 29 percent. Additionally, a February study funded by Save the Children Norway reported a 24 percent national reduction in FGM cases over the past 10 years due in part to a strong anti-FGM campaign. The penal code criminalizes practioners of clitorectomy by imprisonment of at least three months or a fine of at least 500 birr (\$49). Likewise, infibulation of the genitals is punishable with imprisonment of five to 10 years. No criminal prosecutions have ever been brought for FGM. The government discouraged the practice of FGM through education in public schools and broader mass media campaigns.

Although illegal, the abduction of women and girls as a form of marriage continued to be widespread in several regions, including the Amhara, Oromiya, and SNNP regions, despite the government's attempts to combat the practice. Forced sexual relationships accompanied most marriages by abduction, and women often experienced physical abuse during the abduction. Abductions led to conflicts among fam-

ilies, communities, and ethnic groups. In cases of marriage by abduction, the perpetrator did not face punishment if the victim agreed to marry the perpetrator. Authorities often commuted the sentence of the convicted perpetor if the victim married the perpetrator.

Child marriage was also a problem, particularly in the Amhara and Tigray regions, where girls were routinely married as early as age seven, despite the legal minimum age of 18 for marriage. There were some signs of growing public awareness in communities of the problem of abuse of women and girls, including early marriage.

The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimated there were between 150,000 and 200,000 street children nationally, with a further one million vulnerable or at risk of ending up on the streets. UNICEF stated the problem was exacerbated because of families' inability to support children due to parental illness and decreased household income. These children begged, sometimes as part of a gang, or worked in the informal sector. Government- and privately run orphanages were unable to handle the number of street children, and older children often abused younger ones. Due to severe resource constraints, hospitals and orphanages often overlooked or neglected abandoned infants. "Handlers" sometimes maimed or blinded children to raise their earnings from begging.

Trafficking in Persons

The law prohibits trafficking in persons; however, there were reports that persons were trafficked from and within the country. The law prescribes five to 20 years imprisonment for such crimes. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA), in collaboration with the police, is responsible for monitoring trafficking in persons, while the MOJ is responsible for enforcing laws related to trafficking. During the year, the MOLSA revised Proclamation 104/98 to improve coordination, supervision, and control over international employment agencies and better protect migrant workers from fraudulent recruitment and debt bondage situations.

The country is a source country for men, women, and children trafficked primarily for the purpose of forced labor and, to a lesser extent, for commercial sexual exploitation. High unemployment, extreme poverty, and the chance at better opportunities abroad drive migration. Local NGOs estimated 30,000 to 35,000 persons were trafficked internationally between March 2007 and March 2008. More females than males were trafficked. Young women, particularly those ages 16-30, were the most commonly trafficked group, while a small number of children were also reportedly trafficked internationally.

Rural children and adults are trafficked to urban areas for domestic servitude and, less frequently, commercial sexual exploitation and other forced labor, such as street vending, begging, traditional weaving, or agriculture; situations of debt bondage were reported. $Women\,are\,trafficked\,transnationally\,for$ domestic servitude, primarily to Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, but also to Bahrain, Djibouti, Kuwait, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, Some of these women are trafficked into the sex trade after arriving at their destinations, while others have been trafficked onward from Lebanon to Turkey, Italy, and Greece. Small numbers of men are trafficked to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States for low-skilled forced labor.

Addis Ababa's police Child Protection Unit (CPU) reported that traffic broker networks grew increasingly sophisticated and collaborative. Traffickers now approached vulnerable individuals at bus terminals seven to nine miles outside of Addis Ababa to avoid police presence. Traffickers sometimes used agents and brokers to lure victims with jobs, food, guidance, or shelter.

Crosscountry bus and truck drivers are involved in trafficking of children, while brokers, pimps, and brothel owners finalize the deal at the receiving end.

Local brokers operate and recruit at the community level, and many knew the victim or victim's family. To avoid police detection and identification, local brokers did not advertise, often worked from rented houses, cafes, or hotel rooms, and changed places often. Some brokers used commission-based facilitators who were trusted by a potential victim's family to recruit victims.

The government helped address trafficking through awareness raising about risks of seeking employment overseas. It employed two predeparture counselors to brief persons intending to work overseas, worked with NGOs and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to monitor immigration and emigration patterns for evidence of trafficking, and supervised and trained international labor migration firms.

The government and its embassies and consulates provided little assistance to victims of trafficking: limited legal advice, infrequent temporary shelter, and no repatriation loans. Returning victims relied on psychological services provided by public health institutions and NGOs.

The government accords no special protections, restitution, and has very limited shelter provisions or other special services benefits for victim returnees. In 2007 there were anecdotal reports of returned trafficking victims being detained, jailed, or prosecuted for violations of laws, such as those governing prostitution or immigration.

While antitrafficking investigations continued, there were only three convictions reported in the last year. In addition, law enforcement entities lacked the institutional capacity to separate data on trafficking cases from broader fraud cases. In 2007, the CPU at the central bus terminal reported 694 cases of child trafficking to the police, a decrease over the previous year. Of these, 50 cases were referred to the prosecutor's office; 30 were closed for lack of evidence or a suspect; and the remaining 20 cases were pending prosecution. Of the remaining 594, 103 were referred for shelter services in Addis Ababa. No follow up information was available regarding the remaining 491. Law enforcement data was not reported for areas outside of the capital.

In March the Federal High Court sentenced a man to five years' imprisonment for trafficking more than 40 men to work for a Saudi Arabian construction company, where they were forced to provide unpaid manual labor and experienced physical abuse.

Another trafficker was sentenced in January to one year's imprisonment and fined 26,000 birr (\$2,535) for trafficking a female domestic worker to Dubai. A small number of local police and border control agents are believed to accept bribes to overlook trafficking.

Persons with Disabilities

The law does not mandate equal rights for persons with disabilities, and the government devoted few resources to rehabilitate or assist such persons. The government did not mandate access to buildings, such as schools, for persons with disabilities or provide services for them.

Persons with disabilities sometimes complained of job and wage discrimination.

Women with disabilities are more disadvantaged than men in education and employment. For instance, an Addis Ababa University study showed that female students with disabilities are subjected to a heavier burden of domestic work than their male peers. The enrollment rate for girls with disabilities is lower than males at the primary school level, and this gap increases at higher levels of education. Girls with disabilities are also much more likely to suffer physical and sexual abuse than ablebodied girls.

There were approximately seven million persons with disabilities, according to the Ethiopian Federation of Persons with Disabilities. There was one mental hospital and an estimated 10 psychia-

trists in the country. There is one school for the blind in Addis Ababa. MOLSA, which was responsible for protecting the rights of persons with disabilities, funded prosthetic and orthopedic centers in five of the nine regional states over the past three years as part of its "National Program of Action for Rehabilitation of Persons with Disabilities."

National/Racial/Ethnic Minorities

There are more than 80 ethnic groups, of which the Oromo, at 40 percent of the population, was the largest. Although many groups influenced political and cultural life, Amharas and Tigrayans from the northern highlands played a dominant role. The federal system drew boundaries roughly along major ethnic group lines, and regional states had much greater control over their affairs than previously. Most political parties remained primarily ethnically based.

The military remained an ethnically diverse organization; however, Tigrayans increasingly dominated the senior officer corps both through preferential promotions and heightened attrition among non-Tigrayans.

There were occasional reports that officials terminated the employment of teachers and other government workers if they were not of the dominant ethnic group in the region.

Government and ONLF forces were responsible for widespread human rights abuses in the Somali Region (see section 1.g.).

EHRCO reported that ethnic conflict made up the majority of its human rights reporting this year. Ethnic conflict in the western, southern, and eastern areas resulted in killings and injuries above levels in 2007 and resulted in the death of hundreds and displacement of tens of thousands of persons. There were also clashes among ethnic groups in the Oromiya, Benishangul-Gumuz, and SNNP regions.

For example, on February 22, an Oromo student stabbed to death Zewdu Abate, an ethnic Amhara and fellow classmate at Dilla University in the SNNPR, allegedly due to ethnic tension. The suspect was in custody.

From February 3 to 7, clashes between Konso and Derashe ethnic groups left 33 dead and 17 injured in the SNNPR.

From February 21 to 26, Koira and Guji ethnic groups fought over scarce resources along the Oromiya-SNNPR border, resulting in 10 dead and 27 injured.

From May 17 to 21, a conflict over land rights between the Oromo and Gumuz ethnic groups in the Sasiga, Diga, Bumto Gida, and Limu districts in the Oromiya Region resulted in approximately 130 deaths and an unknown number of injuries. Federal and local police restored some order and arrested approximately 120 suspects, including the Benishangul-Gumuz regional vice president. At year's end trials were reportedly underway for some suspects.

During the year, the government, led by the EHRC, completed its first implementation report for the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The EHRC solicited input from NGOs and encouraged them to do a shadow report.

Other Societal Abuses and Discrimination

Homosexuality is illegal and punishable by imprisonment. Instances of homosexual activity involving coercion or involving a minor (age 13 to 16) are punishable by three months' to five years' imprisonment. Where children under 13 years of age are involved, the law provides for imprisonment of five to 25 years. While society did not widely accept homosexuality, there were no reports of violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals; however, the lack of reporting may be due to fears of retribution, discrimination, or stigmatization.

The AIDS Resource Center in Addis Ababa reported that the majority of selfidentified gay and lesbian callers--75

Continued on p(20)



Contiued from p(19)

percent of whom were male--requested assistance in changing their behavior to avoid discrimination. Many gay men reported anxiety, confusion, identity crises, depression, self-ostracizing, religious conflict, and suicide attempts.

In December nearly a dozen religious figures adopted a resolution against homosexuality, urging lawmakers to endorse a ban on homosexual activity in the constitution. The group also encouraged the government to place strict controls on the distribution of pornographic materials.

Societal stigma and discrimination against persons living with or affected by HIV/AIDS continued in the areas of education, employment, and community integration. Despite the abundance of anecdotal information, there is no data or statistical information on the scale of this problem.

Section 6 Worker Rights

a. The Right of Association

The law provides most workers with the right to form and join unions, and the government allowed this in practice. However, the law specifically excludes teachers and civil servants (including judges, prosecutors, and security service workers) from organizing unions. There was government interference in trade union activities during the year. Under a new regulation passed by the Council of Ministers on August 14, the Ethiopian Revenue and Customs Authority's director general has the sole power to dismiss workers suspected of corruption. Courts have no authority to reinstate workers cleared of such charges. A minimum of 10 workers was required to form a union. While the law provides all unions with the right to register, the government may refuse to register trade unions that do not meet its registration requirements. The government retained the authority to cancel the registration of a union after consulting the appropriate courts. There were no reports that the government used this authority during the year. The law stipulates that a trade organization may not act in an overtly political manner. Approximately 300,000 workers were union members.

Seasonal and part-time agricultural workers did not organize into labor unions. Compensation, benefits, and working conditions of seasonal agricultural workers were far below those of unionized permanent agricultural employees.

On February 7, the Supreme Court ruled that the independent ETA be shut down and forfeit its name, property, and bank assets to the governmentcontrolled ETA. This decision capped 15 years of lengthy legal proceedings and appeals. The independent ETA ultimately appealed this decision to the Court of Cassation, a component of the Supreme Court limited to fundamental errors in law, but again lost on June 26. The independent ETA relinquished its property on August 8.

On July 23, employees of Shell Ethiopia demonstrated at the gate of their

head office, expressing disappointment with Shell's decision to sell its interests in the country to Oil-Libya and demanding better treatment. In November 2007 Shell Ethiopia's labor union filed a lawsuit in the Federal First Instance Court alleging that Shell Ethiopia illegally changed its retirement and severance packages to save money on unemployment payments prior to a possible closure of operations. At year's end the case remained pending.

During the year, top management of the state-owned Bole Printing Enterprise disagreed with its trade union on worker compensation and unlawful termination. In late December a labor advisory board composed of state ministers, representatives of the employees, the Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions, and the management of the enterprise found that both sides were at fault and decided to reinstate the unlawful terminations of employees. The employees were expected to resume their

Although the constitution and law provide workers with the right to strike to protect their interests, it contains detailed provisions that make legal strike actions difficult to carry out, such as a minimum of 30 days' advance notice before striking. The law requires aggrieved workers to attempt reconciliation with employers before striking and includes a lengthy dispute settlement process. These applied equally to an employer's right to lock workers out. A majority of the workers involved must support a strike for it to occur.

Workers nonetheless retained the right to strike without resorting to either of these options, provided they give at least 10 days' notice to the other party and to the MOLSA, make efforts at reconciliation, and provide at least a 30-day warning in cases already before a court or labor relations board.

The law also prohibits strikes by workers who provide essential services, including air transport and urban bus service workers, electric power suppliers, gas station personnel, hospital and pharmacy personnel, firefighters, telecommunications personnel, and urban sanitary workers.

The law prohibits retribution against strikers, but labor leaders stated that most workers were not convinced that the government would enforce this protection. Labor officials reported that, due to high unemployment and long delays in the hearing of labor cases, some workers were afraid to participate in strikes or other labor actions.

b. The Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively

The law protects the right of collective bargaining for most workers, and in practice the government allowed citizens to exercise this right freely. Labor experts estimated that collective bargaining agreements covered more than 90 percent of unionized workers. Representatives negotiated wages at the plant level. Unions in the formal industrial sector made some efforts to enforce labor regulations.

Although the law prohibits antiunion discrimination by employers against union members and organizers, unions reported that employers frequently fired union activists. Lawsuits alleging unlawful dismissal often took years to resolve because of case backlogs in the labor courts. According to labor leaders, a number of court cases in which workers were terminated for union activities were pending after four or five years. Employers found guilty of antiunion discrimination were required to reinstate workers fired for union activities and generally did so in practice.

There are no export processing

c. Prohibition of Forced or Compulsory Labor

While the law prohibits forced or compulsory labor, including by children, such practices occurred (see sections 5 and 6.d.). Courts could order forced labor as a punitive measure. Both adults and children were forced to engage in street vending, begging, traditional weaving, or agriculture work. Situations of debt bondage also occurred in traditional weaving, pottery, cattle-herding and other agricultural activities, mostly in rural areas. Forced child labor occurred.

d. Prohibition of Child Labor and Minimum Age for Employment

There were laws against child labor; however, the government did not effectively implement these laws in practice, and child labor remained a serious problem, both in urban and rural areas. Under the law, the minimum age for wage or salary employment is 14 years; however, the minimum age for employment was not effectively enforced. Special provisions cover children between the ages of 14 and 18, including the prohibition of hazardous or night work. By law, children between the ages of 14 and 18 were not permitted to work more than seven hours per day, between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m., on public holidays or rest days, or overtime; however, children ages 15 to 18 are allowed to work, so long as it is not hazardous to their health, education, development, or well-being. The government defined hazardous work as work in factories or involving machinery with moving parts or any work that could jeopardize a child's health. Prohibited work sectors include transporting passengers, electric generation plants, underground work, street cleaning, and many other

In a 2001 survey conducted by the Central Statistics Authority, approximately 58 percent of boys and 42 percent of girls ages 5 to 14 were working. These figures were supported by a 2006 UNHCR study on the worst forms of child labor. The majority of working children were found in the agricultural sector (95 percent), followed by services, manufacturing, and other sectors. The number of working children is higher in the Amhara, Oromiya, SNNP, and Tigray regions compared with other regions. During the year the government increased investments in modernizing agricultural practices as well as in the construction of schools in efforts to combat the problem of children in agricultural sectors.

According to MOLSA, many children work for their families without pay. In both rural and urban areas, children often begin working at young ages. The MOLSA reported that two out of five working children are below the age of six. In rural areas, children work in agriculture on commercial and family farms and in domestic service. Children in rural areas, especially boys, engage in activities such as cattle-herding, petty trading, plowing, harvesting, and weeding, while other children, mostly girls, collect firewood and fetch water. In urban areas, many children, including orphans, work in domestic services, often working long hours which may prevent them from attending school regularly. Children in urban areas also work in construction, manufacturing, shining shoes, making clothes, portering, directing customers into taxis, petty trading, and herding animals. Many children believe they are unable to quit their jobs and fear physical, verbal, and sexual abuse from their employers while performing their work. According to social welfare activists and civic organizers, who cite anecdotal evidence, forced child labor is poorly documented, and child laborers often face physical, sexual, and emotional abuse at the hands of their employers.

Estimates of the population of street children vary, with government estimates between 150,000 and 200,000 and the UNICEF estimate, 600,000. In the capital city of Addis Ababa alone, there are an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 street children according to the government and 100,000 according to UNI-CEF. Some of these children work in the informal sector in order to survive.

The commercial sexual exploitation of children continued during the year, particularly in urban areas. Girls as young as 11 reportedly were recruited to work in brothels, often sought by customers who believed them to be free of sexually transmitted diseases. Girls were also exploited as prostitutes in hotels, bars, resort towns, and rural truck stops. Reports indicated that some young girls were forced into prostitution by their family members. The government's definition of worst forms of child labor included prostitution and bonded labor. Within the country, children are trafficked from rural to urban areas for domestic service, commercial sexual exploitation, and forced labor in street vending and other activities. Reports indicate that children have been trafficked from the Oromiya and the SNNP regions to other regions of the country for forced or bonded labor in domestic service. Child labor issues are currently covered by the MOLSA, with limited support from the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Ministry of Youth and Sports. Cooperation, informationsharing, and coordination between and among the ministries were poor. Courts are responsible for enforcing childrens' rights, and criminal and civil penalties may be levied in child rights violation cases. In the absence of a national strategy, investigation and disposition of child rights violation cases is minimal.

To prevent child trafficking, a joint police-NGO child victim identification and referral mechanism operates in the capital. The Child Protection Units (CPUs) in each Addis Ababa police station rescued and collected information on trafficked children that facilitated their return to their families; the CPUs referred 240 trafficked children to IOM and local NGOs for care in 2006. The CPUs also collect data on rescued children to facilitate their reunification with their families. Internationally funded centers in Addis Ababa provided shelter, medical care, counseling, and reintegration assistance to girls victimized by trafficking. Other international NGOs provided assistance to children engaged in commercial sexual exploitation, including such services as a dropin center, shelter, educational services, skills training, guidance, assistance with income-generating and employment activities, and family reunification ser-

e. Acceptable Conditions of Work

There is no national minimum wage. Some government institutions and public enterprises, however, set their own minimum wages. Public sector employees, the largest group of wage earners, earned a monthly minimum wage of approximately 320 birr (\$31); employees in the banking and insurance sector had a minimum monthly wage of 336 birr (\$33). According to the Office for the Study of Wages and Other Remuneration, these wages did not provide a decent standard of living for a worker and family. Consequently, most families in the wage sector required at least two wage earners to survive, which forced many children to leave school early. Only a small percentage of the population was involved in wage labor employment, which is concentrated in urban areas. Many young girls have migrated illegally to the Gulf States in search of housekeeping work in order to assist families back home. Many of these girls have been subjected to inhumane living and working conditions, and some have lost their lives. In an effort to prevent these situations, the MOLSA continued to encourage illegal employment agencies to register as legal organizations.

The Ethiopian labor law provides for a 48-hour maximum legal workweek with a 24-hour rest period, premium pay for overtime, and prohibition of excessive compulsory overtime. Although the government did little to enforce the law, in practice most employees in the formal sector worked a 40-hour workweek. However, many foreign, migrant, and informal sector workers worked more than 48 hours per week.

The government, industries, and unions negotiated occupational health and safety standards; however, the MOLSA inspection department did not effectively enforce these standards, due to lack of resources. Lack of detailed, sector-specific health and safety guidelines also pronhibited enforcement. Workers had the right to remove themselves from dangerous situations without jeopardizing their employment; however, most workers feared losing their jobs if they were to do so.

FIRST ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION TO THE U.S. IN 1919 MADE HEADLINES

continued from p(9)

The treaty had expired in 1917. This four-man delegation to the United States became known as the Abyssinian mission.

The distinguished delegation headed to the White House in Washington D.C. after staying at the elegant Waldorf-Astoria in Chicago.

The group visited the U.S. at a time

when blacks were by law second-class citizens and the most common crime against American blacks was lynching. Before leaving Chicago, a reporter for the Chicago Defender, an African American newspaper, asked the delegation what they thought about lynching in the U.S. The representatives responded "[We] dislike brutality... lynching of any nature, and other outrages heaped upon your people."

African-Americans were inspired to see a proud African delegation being treated with so much respect by U.S. officials. Newspapers reported that in honor of the delegation's visit "the flag of Abyssinia, which is of green, yellow, and red horizontal stripes, flew over the national capitol."

The Chicago Defender reported

that the delegation expressed their support for the struggle of American blacks and gave them words of encouragement. A member of the press had inquired if the group had advice to African-Americans. Ato Hiruy Wolde Sellassie, who spoke fluent English, replied: "Fight on. Don't

The Ethiopian presence at the





Left, Empress Zawditu (In office: 1916 to 1930), Right, President Woodrow Wilson (In office: March 4, 1913 - March 4, 1921).

continued on p(22)

የሙስሊሞችና የክርስቲያኖች ግጭትኝ ፓልቶክ ደርሶ መልስ

ከገጽ 5 የዞሬ

ጽሳልሽ፥ ከተታ÷ ግራርያ÷ ሰርማት÷ ወግዷ÷ ክልአት÷ ተጕለት÷ ምድረ ዝ*ጋ፥ መንዝ፥ አምሓራ፥ ሰገራት፥* አንጎት፥ ቅዳ፥ ማእከለ ተዋዛት፥ ማእከለ ባሕር÷ እንደርታ÷ በጌምድር÷ ጕዣም። መድረስ ከማይችልበት (ብሔር) ሳይቀር በምድረ ኢትዮጵያ ሳይሾምበት የቀረ ምድር አልነበረም። ግን እግር ራስ፥ ምድርም ሰማይ፥ ሎሌ ጌታ አይሆኑም፤ ያ ከሐዲ የተናጻፌ እባብ (አፍአት) እና *የመር*ዛም ሕባብ (*ቃግ*ስማ) ልጅ የሌሎች÷ የሰይጣን ዝርያ ግን የዳዊትን ዙፋን ተመኝቶ፥ "በጽዮን እኔ እነፃሣለሁ" አለ። እንደ አባቱ እንደ ዲያብሎስ ትዕቢት በልቡ ገብቶ÷ "አብያተ ክርስቲያኑን የሙስሊሞች መስጊድ አደር*ጋ*ቸዋለሁ፤ ክርስቲያኑን ንጉሥም ከንሕዝቡ ወደ ሃይማኖቴ ሕግ አስገባውና ከገገርዎቹ አንዱ አደርገዋለሁ፤ አልሰልምም ካለ÷ የግመል ጠባቂ እንዲያደርጉት ወርጅሕ ለሚባሉ ከብት እረኞች አዳርገዋለሁ። የንጉሥን እቴጌ *ንግሥት ዣን መንገሣን* ወፍጮ መዷናውን አስ<u>ፈጫ</u>ታለሁ። መርዓዴን መዷናዬ አደርጋታሉ::

ንጉሡ (ዓምደ ጽዮን) የከሐዲውን ንጉሥ ብልፃና ሲሰማ ተቆጣ፤ ሰውንቱ በቁጣ ተንቀጠቀጠ። አንዲህ ብሎም ሳከበት፤ "ይኸ ስላንተ የምሰማው ነገር እውነት ነው ወይስ አይደለም? የእግዚአብሔርን ቤተ ክርስቲያን ክርስቲያኖችን አቃጠልክን? ገደልክን? የተረፉትንም ማርከሀ እንደ አባትህ እንደ ዲያብሎስ ሕግ *እንጂ እንደክርስቲያን ሕግ ወ*ደ አልሆነው ወደ (እስሳም) ሕግህ አስገባሃቸውን? ከአሁን በፊት ወንድምህ ሐቀዲን ትሪይንታይ የሚባል አንድ ትንሽ ሎሌ በወሰደ ጊዜ ያደረግሁትን እኔን አታውቀኝምን?" · · · ·

(ሰብሪዲን) ለንጉሥ እንዲህ ሲል ላከበት፤ "(አንግዲን ወዲህ ግብር ለመገበር) መጥቼ ከፊትህ አላደገድግም። ወደኔ የምትመጣ ከሆነም አልፌራም፤ ምክንያቱም፥ በሰይፍ፥ በሾተል፥ በፌረስ፥ በቀስት፥ በጋሻ፥ በጦር፥ በድምቡስ--ማለት፥ በብረት ዘንግ--በፅንጨት ጦር የሚዋጋ፥ ከሥራዊትህ የሚበልጥ ሥራዊት አለኝ። ወደኔ ለመምጣት ከፌለግህ በሰፊው ጎዳና ና፤ አለዚያ እኔ መጥቼ እገተምሃለሁ።

ባጭሩ የግጭቱ ምክንያት ኢትዮጵያን ማን የበላይ ሆኖ ይግዛት የሚለው አስተሳሰብ ነው። ተገንጥሎ ነፃ የመውጣት ነገር እንኳን የለበትም። ሀብቱ ያለው ከደጋው አገር ስለሆነ ፍላጎታቸው እንደወያኔዎቹ "እኛ እንቦጥቡጠው" ነው አንጂ÷ እንደሞኞቹ እንደሻሪቢ ያዎቹ "ከባሕር ዳር እንደ ብቅል ተሰጥተን ሰማይ ሰማይ ስናይ *እንኑር*" አልነበረም። አፄ ዓምደ ጽዮንም አቅም እስካለው ድረስ ከአባቶቹ የወረሰውንና እሱም ያስፋፋውን መንግሥት ለማንም አይለቅም። መታቸው;; ያቦዮሐ መንግሥት እስካልተቋቋመ ድረስ ምክንያቱና **ግ**ጭቱ አሁንም ይቀጥሳል።

ጥቅሱን ልብ ብለነው ከሆነ፥ አፄ ዓምደ ጽዮንና ኢማም ሐቀዲንም ቀደም ብለው ተጋጭተው ነበር። ከሌላ ምንጭ እንደምናውቀው፥ ቀጥሎ ቀዳማዊ አፄ ቴዎድሮስ፥ አፄ ዘርአ ያዕቆብ፥ አፄ ናኦድ ከኢማሞቹ ጋር ተዋግተዋል። በሰፊው የሚታወቀው ግን የኢማም ኢሕመድ ኢብን

ኢብራሂም አልጋዚ (የግራኝ መሐመድ) እና የአፄ ልብነ ድንግል ግጭት ነው። የግራኝ ዐመፅ

ታሪክ ሲነሣ፥ "እንርሳውና ወደፊት እንይ እንጂ፥ ኢጣሙ ያወጀው ጂሀድ ነበር" ስል አንድሰው ተነሥቶ፥ "ጂሀድ ማለት ተግል ማለት ነው፤ በኢጣሙ ጦርነት ጊዜ የተቃጠሉት ቤተ ክርስቲያኖች ዓሥራአንድ ብቻ ናቸው፤ የእስልምና ሃይማኖት ሰው መግደል ይከለክላል" አለን።

の年90 ወደኋላ የሚታየው ያለፊው ስሕተት እንዳይደገም ለማድረግ አንጂ÷ ለበቀል አይደለም፤ ለበቀል ከሆነ ሁሉም ቢሳዋውን ይስልና መተሳለቁ ይቀጥሳል። *ጃፓን*ና አ*ሜሪ* ካ÷ ጀርመንና የቀረው አውሮፓ **የለ**ማቸውን አብረው ሲሥሩና ሲቀጩ፥ እኛንም ሲመጸውቱ፥ ትካትነታችን ከሰብአ (ቆኞሻቀሻቍሻበስቃስቈቈ) አንሳቀቅም ካልን÷ የኔ ምክር **ነ**ቢዩ "እሳትና ውሐ አቅርቤልሃለሁ እጅብን ከሚጠቅምህ አሳርፈው" ያለው ነው። ከአለፈው ለመሳቀቅ የምንችለው ለመርታት እየተከራከርን ሳይሆን የሆነውን ተቀብለን ታሪክ ያመጣብንን ለማሪምና ለመቀበል ስሕተት ስንዘ*ጋ*ጅ ነው። ምንም አርቶ ዶክሳዊ ክርስቲያንነቴ ቢሰማኝ÷ ክርስቲያንያልሆኑኢትዮጵያውያን ወንድሞቼና እኅቶቼ የክርስቲያን መንግሥት ተገኞች ሆነው ይኑሩ ልል አልችልም። በዚያው አንጻር ሙስሊም የሆነ ሰው "ተራው የ<mark>ኛ ነው</mark>" ቢለኝ አልቀበልም፤ ከተቃዋሚው *ጋ*ር እሰለፋለሁ።

የሀገሙን አንግ መደፊተ ግነቱ ነው። ትግሱ ልጆች ከሜዳ ሳይ ወተተው "ና እንታገል፤ የሚወድቀውና የሚተለው ይለይ" የሚሉት ዓይነት አይደለም። " በምንም ምክንያት ወደኋሳ

ሳናሬገፍግ በአንድነት በእሮምታ እንዝመትበትና ድራሹን እናጥፋው" የሚል የጭካኔ ጥሪ ነው። እርግጥ ሃይማኖቱ ነፍስ መግደል ይከለክላል፤ ግን ተከታዮቹ አንገት ቈርጠው "ነፍሱ

እየተቅለበለበች ገሃንም ገባች"

እያሉ ራሳቸው የ**ጻፉ**ትን አንብበናል።

ጦርነት

ቅርስ

ኢትዮጵያ

ጥፋት እስካሁን አሳንሰራራችም።

"የተቃጠሉት ወይም የወደሙት

ПЦЯ

የለውም፤

የወደመባት

ኢትዮጵያ

መጠን

ከዚያ

ቤተ ክርስቲያኖች ዓሥራአንድ ብቻ ናቸው" ማለትም ወደሰላም የሚመራ ሳይሆን የሚያስቆጣ ይሆናል። ኢየሩሳሌም ያለው አልአቅሳ መስጊድ ቢቃጠልና አንድ ሰው መፕቶ "የተቃጠለው አንድ *ማ*ስጊድ ብቻ ነው" ሲል ብሰማ እኔን **ሙስሊም ያልሆን**ኩትን እንኳ ሳይቀር ያስቆጣኛል። ደብረ ሊባኖስ፥ አክሱም ጽዮን፥ ደብረ ዳሞ÷ ደብረ ሐይቅ÷ ደብረ ቢዘን፥ መካን ሥሳሴ፥ ደብረ ሣሕል÷ ምሥሐስ ማርያም÷ አትሮንሰ ማርያም፥ ክብርቶ፥ የጣና ሐይቅ ገዳማት÷ የሳሊበሳ አድባራት በክርስቲያኖቹ ዘንድ እንደ አልአቅሳ መስጊድ ናቸው። የኢማሙ ሙጃሂዲን (ታጋዮች) ደብረ ሲባኖስ ሲደርሱ መነኮሳቱ÷ ውሰጹ፤ ቤተ "የፌለ*ጋችሁን* ክርስቲያናችንን ግን እናታችን ናትና እባካችሁ ማሩልን" አሏቸው። ሙጃሂዲኑ ልመናውን ተቀብለውና ተስማምተው ንብረቱን ከወሰዱ በኋላ ዞር ብለው ቤተ ክርስቲያኗን አቃጠሏት። ከመንኮሳቱ÷ ብዙዎቹ "ከእናታችን ተለይተን አንቀርም" በማለት እየዘለሉ ከእሳት ገቡ። ሳሊበሳን የከብት በረት አድርገውት ነበር። ከክርቲያኖቹ ወታደሮች አንዱ ተሽሎክሉኮ ገብቶ አንዱን የሙጃሂዲንን መሪ በሾተል የወጋው ከቤተ ክርስቲያን ውስጥ ከሴት *ጋር ተኝ*ቶ አግኝቶት ነው። የኢማሙ ዓረቦችና ከነሱ በፊት ኢትዮጵያን የጎበኙ ፖርቱጋሎች የመካን ሥሳሴን ውበት ሲያደንቁ ይኸን የመሰለ ሕንፃ የትም አሳየንም ብለዋል። ይህን ሁሉ ታሪክ የጻፈው አንድ ደብተራ ብቻ ሳይሆን ፉቱሕ አልሐበሻን የጻፈው ዓረብ ፈቂህ በሚል ስም የሚታወቀው የኢማሙ ታሪክ ጸሐፊ ምምር ነው::

አንዲት ጠያቂ ጽላተ ሙሴ ኢትዮጵያ መምጣቷን ተርካ "ሀገሪቱ የእግዚአብሔር ሀገር ብትባል ጥፋቱ ወይም ስሕተቱ ከምን ላይ ነው?" ብላ ጠየቀች። እግዚአብሔር የሚመለክበት ሀገር ሁሉ የእግዚአብሔር ሀገር ነው። ቅዱስ ዳዊትም "ለእግዚአብሔር ምድር በምልኣ" (መሬት በመሳዋ የእግዚአብሔር ነች) ብሏል። ይኸንን "አልቦ አግዚአብሔር" ከሚሉ ኢአማንያን (ሀቍሽስ-ፕቈቍቈ) በቀር

ማንም አይክድም። ውዝግብ የሚነሣው "ኢትዮጵያና መንግሥቷ የፌጣሪዎቿ የአርቶዶክሶቹ ሆና ትጉር፤ የኢትዮጵያዊነት መሠረቱ የአርቶዶክስ ሃይማኖት ነው፤ ስለዚህ የእግዚአብሔር ሀገር ናትማለት የእግዚአብሔር ሀገር ናትማለት የኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ) ሀገር ናትማለት ነው" ሲባል ነው። የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ተጠቃ-ልሎ እግዚአብሔርን በሌሳ ሃይማኖት ቢያመልከው ኢትዮጵያ የእግዚአብሔር ሀገር መሆኗ ቀረ ማለት ይቻላል?

ከአይሁድ ሃይማኖት ጽሳቱ የተወሰደ መሆኑን ለጊዜው ብንረሳውም÷ ያለንበት ዘመን ብንወደውም ባንወደውም ሃይማኖትና *መንግሥ*ት በዓዋጅ የተፋቱበት ዘመን ነው። የፍቺውን ሥርዓት ከፈጸሙት የፖለቲካ ካሀናት አንዱ፥ "አገር የ*ጋ*ራ ነው፤ ሃይማኖት ግን የግል ነው" ያሉት አፄ ኃይለ ሥሳሴ ናቸው። ይኸን ዓዋጅ ከልብ መቀበል ለጥቂቶቻችን ቀሳል አይደለም። "እሱ ሙስሊም ነው፤ እሷ ኮተሊክ ናት፤እነሱ ፕሮቴስታንቶችናቸው፤ የአባቶቻችንን ባህል ሳያከብሩ እንዴት ኢትዮጵያውያን ሊባሉ ይቻሳል?" የምንል አንጠፋም። ኢትዮጵያ የኢትዮጵያውያን ሁሉ ሀገር ነች ማለትን መስማት ለአንዳንድ የኦርቶዶክስ ክርስትና ተከታዮች ከባድ ይሆንባቸዋል ማለት ነው።

የያዙትን መልቀቅ ቀሳል የማይፈልጉትን ነገር እንድንቀበል ታሳቋ አግያ ሶፌያ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ተወስዳለች፤ ንጥቂያውን ግሪኮች በግድ ተቀብለውታል። አሜሪ ካኖች ሚስተር አባማን በመምረጥ **ግዳታውን በው**ዴታ ስላለፉት÷ ያለፉበት ሰላማዊው መንገዳቸው ምሳሌ እንደሚሆነን ተስፋ አለኝ። ስምሳሌ÷ አንድ ጠዋት *ጋ*ዜጣ ስንገልጥ÷ "ኢትዮጵያ አዲስ አቋቋማች፤ መንግሥት ሼኽ አሕመድ ሑሴይን ፕሬዚዴንት፥ ሼኽ ኢድሪስ ው*ጦ*ር ጠቅሳይ ሚኒስቴር ሆኑ" የሚል ዜና ብናገኝ÷ "ምነው ይኸን ቀን ሳላይ በወሰድከኝ" ብለው የሚያዝኑ ሰዎች እንደሚኖሩ እገምታለሁ። አዲሱ መንግሥት የተቋቋመው በዐመፅ መንግሥት በመገልበተ ከሆነ÷ ሥጣኑን የይዙት ጳጳሶችም ቢሆኑ አዝናለሁ። በሕዝብ ምርጫ ከሆነ ማን፥ "ሕዝብ ካለ እግዜር አለ፤ የእግዜር ስም ይባረክ" ብዬ ለሚቀጥለው ምርጫ አዘጋጃለሁ። የምዘጋጀው ሼኾቹን ከሥልጣን ለማውረድ *እንዳይ* ስላቸሁ፤ ካገለገሉ ኢትዮጵያን መልሰ ለ*ማምሬ*ጥ፥ ከበደሉ ለማባሬር ነው። የምንመርጠው የፖለቲካ መሪዎች እንጂ የሃይማኖት መሪዎች አይደለም። በሃይማኖቴ አይገቡብኝም፤ ለሙስሊሞቹም አ*ያዳ*ሉም።

አርቶዶክሳው,የን የፍቺውን ዓዋጅ ከልብ እንዳይቀበሉ የሚያደርጓቸው÷ አንዳንድ ምክንያቶች አሉ፤ የሚያሰጋቸው ሌሳ ሃይማኖት ያሳቸው ሰዎች መንግሥቱን *መጋራታ*ቸው ሳይሆን ሁሉም (ሙስሊሞቹም ሌሎቹ *ክ*ርስቲያኖች) ሆኑ አልባውን የአርቶዶክስ በግ ስለሚያጋብሱና ወገናቸውን ስለሚቀንሱባቸው ነው። ለዚህም የውጪ ኅይል አለበት ይባላል። ዘመቻው እርግፕ በሕገ ወጥ ወይም ሃይማኖት በማይፈቅደው መንገድ አርቶዶክሶቹን ለማተፋት ከሆነ አልሞት ባይ ተ*ጋ*ዳይ የሚባለው ይደርሳል። ግን አንድ ምእመን የአባቶቹ ሃይማኖት ሳይስማማው ቀርቶ ወደሌሳ ከሄደ የሚሄደው ኢትዮጵያዊነቱ ተጠብቆለት በሰላም ይሸኛል።

ከሚያሰጓቸው ምክንያቶች ሌለው፥ ሙስሊሞቹ ዛሬም የኦርቶ ዶክስ ቤተ ክርስቲያኖችን

ያቃተሳሉ፤ ካሀናቱን ይገድሳሉ። ጃራ የተባለ ሙስሊምና ጀሌዎቹ "እድሜ ዕድሉን ለሰጡኝ

ለትግሬ ወያኔዎች" እያሉ ጨርጨር ውስጥ ባለው ደብረ አሰበ ገጻም ውስጥ የሚኖሩትን መነኮሳት በቢላዋ እንዳረዷቸው አንብበና። ደብረ አስቦ የተመሠረተችው የዛሬ ሰባት መቶ ዓመት ግድም ነው። በአሁት ዘመን አርቶዶክሶቹ ስንትመስጊድ አቃጠሉ? ይኽ ሁሉመቆም አለበት። ሌሳውን ማሰብም እንኳን ባንችል፥ ከሁለቱም በኩል በሚሊዮን የሚቈጠሩ አማንያን ማጥፋት እንደማይቻል እናስብ። እነዚህ ሰዎች ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ለመኖር ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ አሉ።

ከንጉሥ ዓዋጅ የምረዳው አንድ ኢትዮጵያዊ አንድ የ*ጋራ* እና አንድ የግል እምነት ሲኖረው እንደሚገባ ነው:: እምነት "ኢትዮጵያዊነት" ሲሆ*ን* የግሉ እምነት እያንዳንዱ ሰው እግዚአብሔርን የሚያመልክበት **@ 6.9**0 የሚክድበት OD Cah ወደሚያደርሰን ቦታ መገሥገሥ አለብን። ይኸንን ከማድረጋችን በፊት ግን ብሔራዊ ውገናችንን ኢትዮጵያዊነት ላይ እንድናደርግ የሕሊና መሐሳ ማድረስ ይኖርብናል። የምንለያየው ወደቤተ ጸሎት ስንሄድ ብቻ **ነው**።: ኢትዮጵያዊውን ወገኔ ነው ካልን ሕሊናና ሕግ ተከትሎ የሚገነባው ጸሎት (ቤተ ክርስቲያንም ሆነ *መ*ስጊድ) ሊያሳስበን አይገባም። የክርስቲያን ሃይማኖት ተከታዮች እየሰለ**ሙ የሙስሊሞ**ቹን **ተ**ጥር ሲያበዙት ክርስቲያኖች ካዘኑ፥ ማዘን የሚገባቸው ከክርስቶ ስ መድኃኒትነት በመራቃቸው ለእነሱ ነው እንጂ ወገን በማጣት ምክንያት መሆን የለበትም። ጕዳዩ ካሳሰበ ለሃይማኖት መሪዎች ጎ ሳፊንታቸውን ማስታወስ ይቻሳል። ሃይማኖት መለወጥ ወገን የማጣት ስሜት ካመጣ ግን ኢትዮጵያዊውን ከልብ አለመወገን ይሆናል። ለማንኛውም÷ የወደፊቱን የሚያውቅ የለም እንጂ፥ በአሁኑ ሰዓት ዓዋጁና ዲሞክራሲ ኦርቶ ዶክሶችንም ሆነ የሌሳ ሃይማኖት ተከታዮችን የሚጠቅም እንጂ የሚያሰ*ጋ ነገ*ር የለበትም።

በአንድ ማስጠንቀቂያ ልደምድም፤ የማይተማመኑ ባልንጀራዎች በየወንዙ ይማማሳሉ የሚባለው እንዳይደርስ ሁለቱም ወገኖች መጠንቀቅ ይኖርባቸዋል። ወገንተኝነት የ*ጋራ* ነው፤ አንዱ ወገኔ ሲል ሌሳው አዎን እያለ ወገንነቱን ማዘናጊያ እንዳያደርገው ራሱን ይምከር። ሀገር የ*ጋራ* የሆነችውን ያህል የሌሳው ጠሳትም የ*ጋራ* ነው፤ የአንዱ ኅብረተሰብ ጠሳት የሌሳው ኅብረተሰብ ወዳጅ ሲሆን አይችልም። ወዳጅነት የሚጠንክረውና ሰሳም የሚሰፍነው እምነት ከሚያሳጣ ሥራ ሲቆጠቡ ነው::

የጋዜጠኛው ማስታዎሻ

ከገጽ 4 የዞሬ

ሊያነማካ አደሚችል ልብ አለማለቱ ብቻ ነው። ጨቋኝ ገገር እንጂ ጨቋኝ ሕዝብ፥ ክፉ ሰው እንጂ ክፉ ሕዝብ፥ እንደሌለ በብዙው ስለተጻፌ፥ አልጨምርበትም።

ታዲያ እንግዲህ፥ ዓላማውን ሊመታ ባልቻለ በቡርቃ ዝምታም ሆነ ወይም በሌላ ምክንያት፥

ተስፋዬን ለመጕዳት ተቃዋሚዎች በኩል በወየኤ የሚደረገው ሙከራ ስሕተት ይመስለኛል፤ እንዲያውም ይኸን ሙከራ የሚያደርጉት የወያኔ ደ*ጋሬዎች* ካልሆኑ፥ ባለማወቅ የወያኔ ደ*ጋ*ፊዎች ሆነዋል። አቶ ተስፋዬ ሀገር ተሎ የወጣው እንደነ ፕሮፌሰር ተኮሳ ሐ**ጎስ፥ እ**ንደነ አብርሃም በሳይ÷ እንደነ አብርሃም ያየህ የወያኔ ተቃዋሚ እየመሰለ የወያኔ የውስጥ አገል*ጋ*ይ ለመሆን *እንዳ*ልሆነ *መ*ጽሐ**ፉን** በዝፃታ ሳንበበ ሰው ማልጽ ነው። አቶ ተስፋዬ በዚህ መጽሐፍ ወያኔዎችን አያደሙ ማድማት አድምቷቸዋል። አውሬዎች ነበሩ፤ አሁን የቈሰሉ አድርጓቸዋል። አውሬዎች እናክስረው ከሚሉት *መ*ካከል÷ በዚህረገድ አንዳቸውም ይወዳደሩት አይ*መ*ስለኝም። አንዳንዶቹማ ሰፌራቸውን ከተቃዋሚው ወገን ለማስመሰል ያህል ይንጫጫሉ እንጂ÷ ይኸን አስተዋጽኦ አደረጉ የሚባሉ አይደሉም።

አቶ ተስፋዬ በብዙ ዘዴና ወጪ ከወያኔ ለይቶ የሚያመጡት ሰው ሆኖ ሳለ አውቆ ሲመጣልን

ቀጤማ ጎዝጉዘን በመቀበል ፈንታ፥ ካጋጠመን እንበቀለው ማለት የትልቅነትና የአርቆ አስተዋይነት ጠባይ አይደለም። ማተቃት የጎበዝ ሥራ አቅምና ሥልጣን ባለው ላይ ሲሆን ነው። ያ የአቶ ተስፋዬ ዘመን አልፏል፤ የምንፈልገው በቀል ከሆነ፥ በቀል ወንጀልም ጎጢአትም ነው። በፖለቲካ ረገድማ፥ በቀል ጠሳት ማፍራት እንደሆነ ከአፄ ምኒልክ ተምረናል። እንዲያውም፥ የወያኔን ወንጀለኞች ጥስው ለመሂድ የሚያስቡ ካሉ÷ አቶ ተስፋዬን ለነሱ መቀጣጫ ማድረግ አገርን መበደል ነው። እሱን ሳንቀበል ወያኔዎችን ስንቀር÷ ሌሎች ተለው ለመሂድ የሚያስቡ÷ "ከንዚህም ከንዚያም እየተገላመጥን ከምንኖር ለራሳችን ስንል እዚሁ ከወንጀለኞቹ *ጋ*ር ሆነን እንረዳዳ" ነው የሚሉት። ሲ. አይ. ኤ. የደርግ ባለስልጣኖችን ያስከዳ የነበረው ጥሩ ሰው ለማግኘት ሳይሆን፥ ደርግን ለማድማት ነበር። የምሥራቅ በርሊን ወታደሮች ጠመንጃቸውን እየጣሉ ግምቡንና የሾሁን ሽቦ አጥር እየዘለሱ ወደ ምዕራብ በርሊን ሲመጡ፥ የምዕራብ በርሊን ሰዎች እያጨበጨቡ ይቀበሷቸው የነበረው የወታደሮቹ ጠመንጃ ደም እንዳፌሰሰ ሳይገምቱ ቀርተው ሳይሆን፥ የምሥራቁ የጭቆና ግዛት የሚያከትመው ደ*ጋ*ፌ ሲቀነስበት መሆኑን ስለተረዱ ነው። በ1933 ዓ.ም. የኢትዮጵያ አርበኞች ከሱዳን በጎጃም በኩል እየገቡ የፋሺስት *ኢጣ*ልያ ባንዳዎችን እያስከዱ የጠሳትን የጦር አቅም ማዳከማቸው የቅርብ ታሪካችን ነው።

አቶ ተስፋዬበራሱ ኢትዮጵያዊነት ሙሉ እምነት አለው። በዚህ በሰሳ ብዕሩ ሳሰኝነትን ኮንኖ

ኢትዮጵያዊነትን አፃንኖ *እንዲ*ጽፍ ልናበረታታው ይገባናል። ከልቡ ገንፍሎ በወጣው ጭቊን ኢትዮጵያዊነት ምክንያት÷ ፍሳጎታችንን የራሱ ፍሳጎት እንደሚያደርገው አልጠራጠርም፤ እሱ ከወዲያ እኛ ከወዲህ ተነሥተን ስንጓዝ አንድ ቦታ ላይ ተገናኝተናል። ጉዛውን የጀመረው እንደነ መለስ ዜናዊና እንደነ በረከት ሲሞን አብሯቸው አገር እንዳይቦጠቡጥ ሕሊናው የወቀሰው መሆኑን ከግምታችን ማውጣት የለብንም። የቡርቃ ዝምታው አኖሌ ዋቆ ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ትቶ ወደአሮሞነት እንደተለወጠ÷ ተስፋዬም የጎሰኞችን ፖለቲካ ከማጠናከር ወተቶ አገሬ ወደሚሳት ወደ ኢትዮጵያ ስለተመለሰ፥ የጋራ አገራችንን የሚጠቅም መጽሐፍ ይጽፍልናል። ለኔ ወሳኙ÷ በእስረኝንቱ ጊዜ የጻፈው ሳይሆን÷ አሁን በነፃነት ባለበትና የእኛንም ስሜት በአነበበበት ጊዜ የሚጽፈው ነው። በዚያ ጊዜ÷ የቡርቃ ዝምታን የጻፈው "ምናልባትም÷ ኢትዮጵያን ለመግዛት የወደፊት ባለተረኞች ናቸው ብሎ የገመታቸውን አሮሞዎች ለመወዳጀት ይሆናል" የሚል አስተያየት ያለንን ወይ የጸድቀው፥ ወይ ስሕተት መሆኑን ያሳየን÷ ወይ ይዘለው ይሆናል::

ስለዚህ በውጪ ሀገር ያሉ ከወያኔ ነፃ የሆኑ የተቃዋሚ ድርጅቶ ች ሁሉ "የእንኳን ደኅና መጣህ" *ጋ*ዜጣዊ *መግለጫ እንዲያወ*ጡ÷ *ማ*ጽሐፉን ከኢንተርኔት ያሳገኙ እየገዙ እንዲያነቡት÷ ከኢንተርኔት ያገኙትም ዋጋውን እንዲከፍሉ አሳስባለሁ። እኔም ዋ*ጋ*ውን ለማን እንደምልክ ቢነገረኝ ወዲያው **እልካለሁ። እስከዚያ ድረስም የአቶ** ተስፋዬ ገብረአብ እናት የተቀበሩ በት ቃጇማ ጊዮርጊስ ግብዝናው የአባቴ እንደነበረ ስጽፍለት ዜናውን የተቀበለው በአክብሮትና በደስታ ነው፤ <mark>መ</mark>ልሱ አብሮ ለመሥራትና *ችሎታውን አገር ተቅም ላይ* ለማዋል በጎ ፌቃድ ያለው ለመሆኑ ከመጽሐፉ ያገኘሁትን ግምት **አጽን**ቶልኛል።

በአለንበት አገር ቋንቋና አነጋገር፥ ኛሥስቯሰቅቀስ ሀቍቅ ምስቈ-ሶሮቦስ ሆስሯ ቅስሀሯ! ሙ ቯስሮቈስ ሰቨሮቯቯስቃሷስ ቦቅቋች ሰቅቯ-ቯስሮሷቋስቈ ባሸቅ ሮችስ ሮቍ ቆችስቈስቃቍ ሻቃ ቍሸስ ቈስች-በሻሰስ ቅሶ ቍሸስ ስቃስቀዐ ቍቅ ሶቅቯቯቅባ ቦቅቋች ሶቅቅቊ-ቈቍስቆቈ.

የኢትዮጵያዊያን ማህበር በቶሮንቶ ዓመታዊ ስብሰባውን አካሂደ

ነው። ማህበረሰባችን የተለያዩ

ከገጽ 1 የዞሬ

ረታ አለማየሁ ደግሞ በበኩሳቸው የማህበሩን የአንድ ዓመት አጠቃሳይ የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ አመርቂና ሙያማ በሆነ መልኩ አቅርበዋል። ዶ/ር ረታ የማህበሩ ዋና ሥራ ከተመደቡ እስኪ*ያ*ጅ ሆነው ጀምሮ በአመራራቸው ካካሂዱት እንቅስቃሴ ባሻገር÷ በእድ*ሜያቸው* በተለያየ የሥራ መስክ ያካበቱትን ተመክሮ እንዴት ማህበረሰቡን በሚጠቅም መንገድ እየተገለገሉበት እንዳሉ በሚያስረዳ *መንገ*ድ በግሩም አቀራረብ ለተሳታፊዎች አስጨብጠዋል። በስብሰባው የተገኙ የማህበሩ አባላት በቀረቡት የሥራ ዘገባዎች ላይ ተመርኩዘው ጥያቄዎችንና ሃሳቦችን በማንሳት በቂ ዉይይት አካሂደዋል።

ከጉባኤው የመነጋገሪያ **አጀ**ንዳዎች አንዱ PM6 አገልግሎት ዘመናቸውን ባጠናቀቁ ምስጉን የቦርድ አባላት ቦታ አዳዲስ የቦርድ አባትን መምረጥ ነበር። ይሁን እንጅ ይህን አጀንዳ በተመለከተ የታሰበው ቀርቶ ያልታሰበው ሆኗል። ፕሬዘዳንቱ እንኳ ያገልግሎት ዘመናቸው ገና ያልተጠናቀቀ ቢሆንም፥ ቅሬታ ባጠሳበት መንፈስ ጉባኤው እሳቸውን አሰናብቶ በምትካቸው ሌሳ ተጨማሪ የቦርድ አባል እንዲመርጥ በመጠየቃቸው የጉባኤው መንፈስ ግራ ተጋብቶ ነበር። በዚህ የፕሬዘዳንቱ ጥያቄ የጉባኤው ተሳታፊዎች ችግሩ ምን እንደሆን ማብራሪያ እንዲሰጣቸው የጠየቁ ቢሆንም ይህ ነው የሚባል በቂ ግንዛቤ ቢያንስ በግልጽ አልቀረበም። የፕሬዘዳንቱ የማህበሩን አንድነትና ደህንነት ለመጠበቅ ሲባል የተደረገ ማዋዛት ነው ያሉ ታዛቢዎች ሲኖሩ፥ ያለወትሮ ብዛት ያሳቸው የቆዩና አዳዲስ የማህበሩ አባላት በዕለቱ የመገኘታቸው ምልክት **9**ን በጎ እንዳልንብር በሃዘኔታ ስሜታቸውን የገለጹ አሉ። ይህም ስ*ጋ*ት የኢትዮጵያ ተቃዋሚ የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶችን ገሬታትሮ ያራራቃቸው ወጀበ ሃፋስ ማህበራችንንም እንዳይገፌትረውና በጢመ ደፍቶ በመጣል ጤና *እንዳያሳጣው በመፍራት ነው::*

የኢትዮጵያውያንን ማህበር በቶ ሮንቶ መሣሪያ አድርጎ ለመገልገል የሚያስብ የፖለቲካም ሆነ ሌላ ድርጅት ካለ ፖለቲካዊው ተበብ ሆን ሰፋ ሳለው የማህበረሰብ ክፍል የመቆርቆር ብልሃቱ ገና ያልሰረጸው ነው። የኢትዮጵያዊያን ማህበር ከፖለቲካም ሆነ ሌላ የአገልግሎት ፕሮግራም ካለው ድርጅት ወገናዊነት ነጻ ሆኖ *თ*გთ. የህልሙናው መሠረት ሲሆን÷ ፖለቲከኛ ነንወይም የተለየየብዙሃን አሳማ እናራምዳለን ለሚሉም ወገኖች ለእንቅስቃሴያቸው ዋስትና

የእንቅስቃሴ ዘርፎችና ሙያተኛ **ማለ**ሰቦች *እንደሚያስ*ፈልጉት ሁሉ፥ የፖለቲካ ሰውነትና በተለያዩ የማህበረሰቡ ጉዳዮች ብቃት ያሳቸው አባሳት እንደሚያስፈልጉት አያጠያይቅም። ለንዚህ ሁሉ የተለያዩ ማህበስሰባዊ ክንዋኔዎች የኢትዮጵያዊያን ማህበር የ*ጋራ* ህጋዊ ቤታቸውና ልብሳቸው ሆኖ ያገለግሳቸዋል። ሲበደሉ ይጮህሳቸዋል÷ ሲጠቁ ይደርስሳቸዋል፤ ለብዙሃኑ ሲሉ ለሚያደርጉት በነ አስተዋፅኦ *መ*ድሪክ ሆኖ ያሰባስባቸዋል። *ነገ*ር *ግን አንደኛው ከ*ሌሳው በል*ጦ* ስ*መቆጣጠርና ማበሩን* በራሱ ምስል ስመሳል ከሞከረ÷ መጀመሪያውን ነገር የፖለቲካም ሆነ የራሱ ሌላ አሳማ ያለው ድርጅትን ፕሮግራም በሀጋዊው የኮሚኒቲ ማሀበር ስም ማካሄድ የተፈቀደ አይደለም፤ ይህ አርቆ አስተዋይነት የጎደለው እርምጃም ለምህበሩ ህልውና መፋለስ የመሠረት ድንጋይ ይሆንና ባዶ እጃችን ያስቀረናል። ይህ ሲባል *መታ*ወቅ ያለበት ጉዳይ ግን የተለያየ ማህበራዊ ጉዳይ ዝ ንባሌና ፍሳጎት ያሳቸው የማህበረሰቡ አባሳት ወደ ማህበሩ አይቅረቡ ማለት በፍጹም አይደለም። እንዲያውም ጊዜውና አቅሙ ካሳቸው ለማህበሩ አመራር መታጨት ያለባቸው ከነዚህ ወገኖች መካከል ነው:: ይህም በተለያዩ ማህበራዊ የሥራ ክፍሎች ተሰልፈው ማህበረሰቡን ለማገልግል ሲኖሩ ካሳዩት ፍላጎት፥ ተመክሮና ት*ጋ*ት አኳያ፥ የሁሉም ቤትና መገልገያ ስሆነው ማህበር ፌቃደኛ ለማገልግል ቢመረጡ የታው የበለጠ ጠቀሜታ ይሰጣሉ። ነገር *ግን* ይህን ሃሳፊነት የሚቀበሉ ወገኖች ሃላፊነታቸው በፌርጅ በፈርጁ መሆኑን ጠንቅቀው ማወቅ አለባቸው፤ የፖለቲካ ሰውነታቸው ወይም የእምነት ምልክታቸው፥ ወይም ደግሞ የግል ባህር,ያቸውና ልምጻቸው የማህበሩን ህልውና እንዳይጸናወት ከፍተኛ ጥንቃቄ ማድረግና ህገ-ደንቡን አክብረው መገኘት ይኖርባቸዋል። ማህበሩ ሰፊ ቦታ የሽፌን መንሸራሽሪያ *ማ*ስክ *ነው*። የተወሰኑ ወገኖች የግሳቸው የሆነን ባህርይ ወይም ሃሳፊነት የማህበሩን ካባ አልብሰው የኮሚኒቲውን ተቅም እናስከብራለን ሊሉ አይችሉም። የሚታማውና የሚደመጠው እው**ነት ከሆነ አካሂ**ዱ ከሀፃና ከአስተዳደር ስለማጊሆን முகு ወደመጀመሪያዎቹ ቢያንስ የማህበሩ የጭቅጭቅ ዓመታት ይመልሰናል፤ ሲከፋ ደግሞ ባንዳንዶች ዘንድ እንደ አማራጭ ተወስዶ ኢትዮጵያዊ የፖለቲካ የሚያምሰው ድርጅቶቻችንን ክፍፍል ያጋተመናልና በተብቅ ልናብበት ይጣል፤ 93390

ከገጽ 3 የዞሬ

አረመኔው የወያኔ ቡድን የተ ስመደውን በህዝብ ላይ ጭፍጨፋ የመፈጸም ተግባር በደሴ ከተ ማና አካባቢዋ ነዋሪ-ች ላይ ዘመቻ መጀመሩን ከስፍራው የደረሰን ዘገባ ገለጸ

ሰኔ 23 ቀን 2001 ዓ.ም. ከጠዋቱ 12 ሰዓት ተኩል ሲል በደሴ ከተማ 5 ኪሎ ሜትር ርቀት ላይ የሚገኘው ሳር አምባ በተባለውቦታ ላይ ህዝቡ የጸሎት ስነ ስርዓት ለማድረግ በተዘጋጀበት ወቅት የወያኔ የፖሊስ ሃይል ድንገተኛ የተኩስ እሩምታ በመክፈት 3 ሴ-ችን ወዲያውኑ ሲንድል አስራ አራቱን ደግሞ ክፉኛ ማቁሰሉን ከደረሰን ዘገባ ለማወቅ ተችሎዋል

ከሶስት ዓመት በፊት የቤተክርስትያን ህንጻ ለመገንባት በከተማዋ አስተዳደርና በክልሱ ጭምር *መን*ግስት የይዞታ ማረ ጋገጫ ካርታና የግንባታ ፈቃድ የተሰጣቸው የደሴና አካባዋ የኦርቶዶክስ እምነት ተከታዮች በተ ፈቀደሳቸው መሰረት ስራ ለመጀመር ወደ ስፍራው አቅንተው ጸሎት በማድረግ ሳይ እያሉ የፖሊስ ሃይሉ ድንንት የተኩስ እሩምታ በመክፈት ሁስት ስግሳጋ ወጣቶችንና አንድ አዛውንት እናትን ንድሎ አስራ አራቱን ደግሞ ያቆሰለ ሲሆን ከቆሰሉት ሰ-ች መካከል አራት ሰ-ች ህይወታቸው በማሰፉ የሙዋቾቹን ቁጥር ሰባት ሲያደርሰው ከስድሳ በላይ የሚሆኑ ሰ-ችን ለእስራት መዳሬጋቸውን የደረሰን ዘገባ ጨምሮ አስረድቶዋል

የወያኔ ባለስልጣናት ራሳቸው ፈቃድ ሰጥተው ህዝበ ክርስትያን የማምለኪያውን ቦታ ግንባታ *እንዲያከ*ናውን የፈቀዱትን ከ*ሙ*ስሊም ወገኖቹ በመሻር *ጋር ስጣጋ*ጨት ምንም ባልተ ፈጠረና ባልሆነ ወይኔ ስራሽ ቅስቀሳ አድ*ርገ*ው ቦታው ውዝግብ በማቅረብ ያለበት አስ*ሙ*ስሎ *ግ*ጭት ስመፍጠር ቢያስቡም ወንድማማችነቱ የበለጠበት የሙስሊሙ ህብረተሰብ በአርቆ አስተዋይነቱ የወያኔን ተልእኮ ሳይፈጽም በመቅረቱ የተበሳጩት የወያኔ ሆድ አደር ካድሬ-ች የታጠቀ ሃይል በመሳክ በክርስትና ሕምነት እንዲካሄድ ማድረ*ጋ*ቸውን ዘገባው *አብራርቶዋል*

በተደ*ጋጋሚ* ግዜ ወደ ከተ ማዋ አስተዳደርና ወደ ክልሱ ባለስልጣናት በመሄድ ግንባታውን ለመጀመር አቤቱታ ሲያቀርቡ የቆዩት ህዝበ ክርስትያናት ምላሽ በማጣታቸው ቀድሞ በተሰጣቸው የይዞታ ጣረ*ጋ*ጫ ካርታ መሰረት እና የማንባታ *ፈቃ*ድ *ቀ*ነ ቀጠሮ ቆርጠው ማክሰኞ ሰኔ 23 ቀን 20001 ዓ.ም. ከጠዋቱ 12 ተኩል ላይ ከኮምቦልቻ ፤ ኩታበር ፤ ሃይቅ ፤ ደሴና ከአካባቢዋ ተሰባስቦ የመጣው ህዝብ በጸሎት ስራውን ለመጀመር እየተዘ*ጋ*ጀ ባለበት ወቅት « *ጭር* ሲል አንወድም » የሚሉት ነብስ በላ-ቹ የወ*ያ*ኔ ሆድ አደር ባለስልጣናት በማን አለብኝነት በሰላማዊው ህዝብ ላይ የጥይት ናዳ እንዲወርድበት ባዘዙት መሰረት ህዝበ ክርስትያን ለከፍተኛ ጉዳት የተዳረጉ መሆኑን ለጣወቅ ተችሎዋል

የወያኔው አለቅሳቂና የአማራው ህዝብ አንንት እንዲደፋ ሴት ተቀን የሚጥረው ሆድ አደሩ አያሴው ነበዜ ከባህር ዳር ስድስት መኪና ፈጥና ደራሽ ጦር ልኮ ምእመናን ንዲመቱ ትእዛዝ የሰጠ ቢሆንም ሴሲቱን ተጉዞ ረቡእ እለት የደረሰው ፈጥና ደራሽ ኃይል ከህዝቡ ጋር ተነጋግሮ « እርምጃ አንወስድም ፤ አንድም ጥይት አናጮህም» በማስት ትእዛዙን

ወዩ 78 24 ዝሯሆ

continued from p(20)

Waldorf Astoria, dressed in their traditional white robe and pant attire attracted large attention.

Upon arriving in Washington D.C. they took up residence at Hotel Lafayette and awaited their formal presentation at the White House.

"It perhaps is of much interest to know that the Abyssinian religion is the oldest Christian religion in the world", Captain Morris, the delegation's chaperon, told reporters. "The queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon was once their queen, and the present ruler is descended from the queen of Sheba."

ለምንም አይጠቅምም።

The Abyssinian Mission enjoyed an overall warm welcome and before returning to Ethiopia, they toured the cities of New York and San Francisco. They also visited an Irish Catholic cathedral, a Jewish synagogue, the Metropolitan Baptist Church in Harlem, and Yellowstone National Park.

የካናዳ ሊበራል ፓርቲ መሪ ከብዙሃን መገናኛ የኮሚኒቲ ተወካዮች ጋር ውይይት ደረጉ፤



ተቃዋሚ የሆነው የካናዳ ሊበራል ፓርቲ መሪ (ወንበር ሳይ በስተቀኝ) ሚስተር ማይክል ኢግናቲዬፍ (Michael Ignatieff) ከሚስተር ቶማስ ሳራስ (Thomas Saras) ጋር ገለጻ ሲያደርጉ

አዲሱ የካናዳ ሊበራል ፓርቲ | *መሪ፥* ሚስተር ማይክል ኢፃናቴፍ (Michael Ignatieff) የተለያዩ የብዙሃን *መ*ገናኛዎችን ወክለው በወርሃዊ መደበኛ ስብሰባቸው ሳይ ከተገኙ የማህበረሰብ አባሎች ጋር የዕለቱ ክብር እንግዳና ተናጋሪ በመሆን ሰፋ ያለ ውይይት አካሂዱ። የተካሂደው ውይይቱ 11/2009 (May 11/2009), **ኩዊንስ** ፓርክ በሚገኘው የአንታሪዮ ክፍለ ሀገር አስተዳደር ዋና መሥሪያ ቤት በሆነው ህንጻ ውስጥ ሲሆን መደበኛ ስብሰባው

ብሂራዊ ማህበረሰብ የህትመትና መገናኛ ምክር ቤት" (NATION-AL ETHNIC PRESS AND ME-DIA COUNCIL OF CANADA) ነበር።

በሎች ጋር የክብር እንግዳው በምክር ቤቱ ፕሬዚዳንት በሚስተር ቶማስ ሳራስ (Thomas Saras) አስተዋዋቂነት ለንግግርእንደተጋበዙ፥ የማህበረሰብ መገናኛ ብዙሃን (Ethnic Media) በካናዳ ህብረተሰብ ውስጥ ይበረከቱትንና እይበረከቱ ይለውን ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽኦ አድንቀው በርትተው እንዲቀጥሉበት

አበረታትተዋል። ሚስተር ኢግናቴፍ "ኢትኒክ" (Ethnic) የሚለው ቃል ደስ እንደማይላቸው ገልጠው፥ ለዚህም ሲያብራሩ ሁላችንም በ*ጋራ* ካናዳዊያን ነን ብለዋል።

ሚስተር ኢግናቴፍ (Mr. Ignatieff) በዛ ያለውን ጊዜያቸውን የሰጡት ለጥያቄና መልስ ሲሆን፥ የብዙሃን መገናኛ አባላቱ ሙሉ ጊዜያቸውን በጥያቄና አስተያየት አሳልፈውታል። ሚስተር ኢግናቴፍ ትኩረት ሰጠው ያብራሯቸው ነጥቦች አሁን በዓለም



የተቃዋሚ ፓርቲ መሪው ስማቸውን (autograph) ለአድናቂዎቻቸው ሲጽ

አቀፍ ደረጃ የሰፈነው የኢኮኖሚ ቀውስ በካናዳ ደረጃ ሊያደርስ ስለሚችለው ጫናና ምን መደረግ አለበት በሚለውና፥ በካናዳ ውስጥ የሚገኙ ልዩ ልዩ ማህበረሰቦች ሊኖራቸው የሚችለው ሚናና ካንዳ ይህን በእጇ ያለ መልካም ዕድል ሀገሪቱንና ዜጎቿን በሚጠቅም ሁኔታ እንዴት ልትገለገልበት እንደምትችል ነበር።

የኢኮኖሚውን ቀውስና መወሰድ ስላለበት አርምጃ አስመልክቶ ሚስተር ኢግናቴፍ ሲናገሩ፥ የካናዳ መንግሥት በሁሉም የሀገሪ ቴ አካባቢዎች ሚዛ ናዊነት ያለው የሥራ እድል መኖሩን ማረጋገጥ ይኖርበታል ከማለታቸው በተጨማሪ፥ አንስተኛ ገቢና የኑሮ ደረጃ ያላቸው ዜጎች እንክብካቤ እንዳይጎላቸው መታሰብ አለበት ብለዋል። ከዚህም አኳያ ከአቅም ጋር ተመጣጣኝ የሆኑ የመኖሪያ በቶች አቅርበት መሟላት ያለበት መሆኑን አስምረውበታል። ከዚህ ጋር እያይዘውም፥ ለተተኪው ትውልድ ከባድ እዳ ጥለን እንዳናልፍም ሃሳፊነታችን በራሳችን ትክሻ ተሸክመን መውጣት አለብን ብለዋል።

የካናዳ ጸጋና ውበት የሆኑትን ማህበረሰቦች በተመለከተ፥ የካንዳ ሕዝብ በዓለም ውስጥ የሚገኝን ማንኛውንም ቋንቋ ይናገራል ብለዋል። ይህም ከተለያዩ ሀገሮች በቅለው ካንዳን ለሀገርነት መርጠው በሚኖሩ ዜጎች፤ አመካይነት እንደሆን አስረድተዋል። እንዚህ የማህበረሰብ አባሳት ከየመጡበት ህገ በሚኖራቸው የቤተሰብና የሥራ ግንኙነት አመካይነት ካናዳን በዓለም ዙሪያ ስለሚያስተዋውቋት ይህን አ*ጋ*ጣሚ እየሰፋ ለመጣው የኤሽያ፥ ሳቲን አሜሪካና አፍሪ ካ ዓለም አቀፍ የንግድ ግንኙነት ልንጠቀምበት ይገባል ብለዋል። በስብሰባው ሳይ ከ60 በሳይ

የሚሆኑ የማህበረሰባቱ የብዙሃን መገናኛ ተወካዮች በተጨማሪ ከዋና ዋና የካናዳ መገናኛ አውታሮች የመጡ ዘጋቢዎች ተሳትፈውበታል። ለትሳልቆቹ የካናዳ መገናኛ ብዙሃን ከየማህበረሰቡ *ጋር ተቀሳቅ*ለው ለየኮሚኒቲዎቻቸው ድምጽ የሆኑ *መገናኛዎች ማበብና ማዕ*ከል **ፌ**ተረው ከዚህ ደረጃ *ሙ*ድረስ ሳያስደንቃቸው እንዳልቀረ መረዳት ይቻላላ። ሕዋርያ ጋዜጣ "የካናዳ ብሄራዊ ማህበረሰብ የህትመትና መገናኛ ምክር ቤት" (NATIONAL ETHNIC PRESS AND MEDIA COUNCIL OF CANADA) ሙሉ አባል ሲሆን÷ በዕለቱ በካናዳ ታዋቂ የሆነው ቶሮንቶ ስታር (Toronto Star) *ጋ*ዜጠኛ የሐዋር*ያ*ን ዋና አዘ*ጋ*ጅ በሌሳ ጉዳይ ሳይ አን*ጋግሮት* በማግስቱ ሜይ 12÷ 2009 እትም ታትሞ ወጧል።

ማይክል ጃክሰን እንደ ጥሳሁን ገሰሰ ህያው ነው!!

ከገጽ 1 የዞሬ ዘወትር ህያው አድርገውት ይኖራሉ። "ማይክል ጃክሰን ምን አብዛኛው የሚያውቀውን እጅግ ሰፌ ዝርዝር መልስ ከመስጠት ይልቅ÷ ይህ የፖፕ ሙዚ*ቃ ንጉሥ* ለዚህ ደረጃ የበቃበትን ሚስጢር በመጠኑም ቢ*ሆን መመርመ*ሩ ለ*ቀሪ* ይጠቅም ይሆናል። ከሁሉም በፊት ሊጠቀስ *የሚገ*ባው÷ የወላጆቹ ቀጣና ተግሳጽ ምንም እንኳ ከልክ አልፎ የሀሲና ጠባሳና የጎጅነት ባህርይ ታይቶበታል ቢባልም፥ ህጻን ልጃቸውን ታዋቂ ለማድረግ ያደረባቸው ፍላጎትና እንዲበረታ ያደረጉት ውትወታ ለስኬታው አንዱ ገጽታ ሳይሆን እንደማይቀር ይገመታል። የማይክል ቤተሰብ (በተልይም ጆሴፍ አባቱ÷ *ጃክሰን*) ይህን ፍላጎት ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ የተከተሉት ፕሮግራምና ሥነሥርዓት እንደ ጥሩ *መ*ነሻ ሳ*ያገ*ለግል አል*ቀረም*። ለዚህ ጠንካራ ግፊት ጉዝዟዝ የሆነው ደግሞ ማይክል በተፈጥሮ መልካም የታደለው ለስሳሳ ድምጽና ቅልሑፍ ታዛዥ ሰውንት የመነናጸፉ እድል *መሆኑም* ሊጠቀስ የሚገባው ነው::

አንድ ሰው በህይወቱ ውስጥ ለሚያደርጋቸው ታሳሳቅ ሥራዎች የልጅነት ተመክሮው ከፍተኛ ተፅእኖ ሊያሳድሩበት እንደሚችሉ ከማይክል ጃክሰን መገንዘብ ማይክል ይቻሳል:: ጃክሰን ከቤተሰቡ አባሳት *ጋር* ሙዚቃ የጀመረው ገና 10 ዓመት ሳይሞሳው ሲሆን÷ ከአምስቱ የጃክሰን ሙዚቃ ባንድ አባላት መካከል ፈክቶና ደምቆ እንደሚወጣ የታወቀው ከጅምሩ ነበር። የማይክል ጃክሰን ድንቅ የሙዚቃ ብቃትና ግስጋሴ የአሜሪካን ሕዝብ የቀለም አጥር ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ደርምሶ ሕዝብን ከሕዝብ *ጋር* ያዋሃደና በአንድ መድረክ ያስጨፈረ ነበር። ይህ በራሱ አንዱ የማይክል ጃክሰን ትሩፋት ነው። የሙዚቃን ቋንቋና ስሜት ዓለም አቀፋዊነት ይዘት ማሬ*ጋ*ገጥ ብቻ ሳይሆን÷ ባለቤ<u>ታ</u>ና አክባሪዋ በፍቅር አጥብቆ ከያዛት ማንኛውም የሰው ልጅ ሊከበርባት እንደሚችል በተግባር ያረጋገጠ **ተቀር አሜሪካዊ ነው**::

የማይክል ጃክሰን ሌሳው ቀሪ ታሪኩ ሰብአዊነቱ ነው። የሰው የሚለካው ツグケホ แหลบ በጨንቀውና ጊዜ ባዘንበለበት ወቅት ተገዶ በሚወስዳቸው እርምጃዎቹና ስሜቶቹ ሳይሆን÷ በራሱ ጊዜና ነጻ አመለካከቱ፥ በተለይም ደግሞ ተድሳና ደስታ፥ ሃይልና ጉልበት ቤቱን በሞሉት ጊዜ ነው። ባገኝ ጊዜ የማይለ**ግ**ስ÷ ስተቸገሩ የማይራራ÷ ስተራቡ የማያዝ ን ልቦና ያለው ሰው ክፉ ነው። እንደዚሁም ደግሞ÷ ሃይልና ጉልበት ባገኘ ጊዜ÷ ሥልጣንና መብት በተነናጸፈ ወቅት የበታቾቹን የሚንቅ ዳንዴ÷ ትናገሩኝና አጨፈልቃችሁዋለሁ የሚል ስብእና፥ ለሚያለቅሱና ለተበደሉ ጠበቃ የማይሆን ዘመናይ፥ ሰው ሳይሆን ኮርማ በሬ

የማይክል ጃክሰን ሰብአዊ ርህራሂ በአሜሪካ ብቻ ተወስኖ የቀረ ሳይሆን ዓለም አቀፋዊ አጽናፋዊነት አለው:: እኛ ኢትዮጵያዊያንም



የዚህ አዛኝ ልቦናው ተቋዳሾች ረስተው ባስራቡንና ባስጠሙን ጊዜ ከሙያ አቻዎቹ *ጋ*ር ሆኖ ስለኛ አልቅሷል፤ ለእኛ ለምኗል፥ ለእኛ ለግሷል። ማይክል ጃክሰን ታዋቂውን እንጉርጉሮ፥ "ዊ አር ዘ ወርልድ - ዊ አር ዘ ችልድረን" (we are the world - we are the children) ከታዋቂው የሙዚቃ ጓደኛው ከሊኦኔል ሪቸል (Lionel Richil) *ጋር በ*ምድረስ በዓለም ሕዝቦች ታሪክ አስደናቂ የሆነውን የበጎ አድራጎት እርዳታ አሰባሰብ በ1985 ዓ.ም (እ.ኤ.አ) በኢትዮጵያ **ዓ**,ሶ ምክንያት ለደረሰው አሰቃቂ ሬሃብ የሚያስከብረውውንና ለዝ ናው ተመጣጣኝ የሆነ ውለታ ውሎልናል። በዚህም እናከብረዋለን÷ በሥጋ ከዚህ ዓለም በመለየቱ እናዝ ናለን።

ማይክል ጃክሰን በተወለደ 50 ዓመቱ ጁን 25÷ 2009 (አገስት 29/1958 - ጁን 25/2009) ከሰዓት በሁዋሳ በቤቱ ውስጥ ምኝታው ሳይ እንዳለ ደከመው። ነብሱን ለማዳን የተደረገለት ርብርቦሽ ሳይሳካ ቀርቶ በዚሁ ዕለት ለማንም ቢሆን የማይቀረውን የመጨረሻውን የስትንፋስ ስርቅታ አጧል። ይህ ዘገባ እስከተዘጋጀበት ጊዜ ድረስ የሞቱ ምክንያት ምን እንደሆነ በውል አልታወቀም። ምናልባት ለምኝታና ለሀመም ማስታገሻ የወሰደው *መድሃኒ*ት ሲሆን ይችላል የሚሰው ግምት ግን ቀዳሚ ቦታ ይዞ እያነጋገረ ነው። ማይክል ጃክሰን እንደ ትሪለር (Thriller) ያሉ ብዛት ያሳቸው ድንቅ የሙዚቃ ሥራዎችን ያበረከተ ሲሆን ከነዚህ ውስጥም÷

"Ben (1972), Don't stop Til You Get Enough (1979), Rock with You (1980), Billie Jean (1983), Beat It (1983), Say Say Say (1983), We Are The World (1985), I Just Can't Stop Loving You (1987), Bad (1987), The Way You Make Me Feel (1987), Man in the Mirror (1988), Dirty Diana (1988), Black or White (1991), You Are Not Alone (1995)" ようす

Ontario Child Benefit Increase On The Way

McGuinty Government Building Opportunity For Low-Income Families And Children

July 9, 2009

NEWS

Beginning this month, low-income families will receive more money through the Ontario Child Benefit to help with the cost of raising their children. The benefit will reach 1.3 million kids and is almost doubling to a maximum of \$1,100 per child this year, up from a maximum of \$600 last year. Parents don't need to apply for the Ontario Child Benefit – to be eligible they must:

- · File their income taxes
- · Register for the Canada Child Tax Benefit
- · Have a child under age 18
- · Live in Ontario

The Ontario Child Benefit is the cornerstone of Ontario's Poverty Reduction Strategy, which aims to break the cycle of poverty by giving families and children the support they need to reach their full potential.

The strategy sets a target of reducing the number of children living in poverty by 25 per cent over 5 years — that's 90,000 kids.

OHOTES

"We're giving families more support during these challenging economic times. This can mean extra healthy groceries every month or the opportunity for kids to take part in some summer or after-school activities that weren't an option before."

Deb Matthews, Minister of Children and Youth Services

QUICK FACTS

· Families with an annual income of \$20,000 or less will receive the full Ontario Child Benefit for each child. Those earning more may also be eligible, based on the number of children under 18 and the family net income.

· Funding equivalent to the maximum Ontario Child Benefit is also provided to children and youth in the care of children's aid societies.

I FARN MORE

Learn more about the Ontario Child Benefit at www.ontario.ca/childbenefit and the Canada Child Tax Benefit at www.cra-arc.gc.ca/cctb.

Check the online calculator at www.ontario.ca/childbenefit to see if you are eligible.

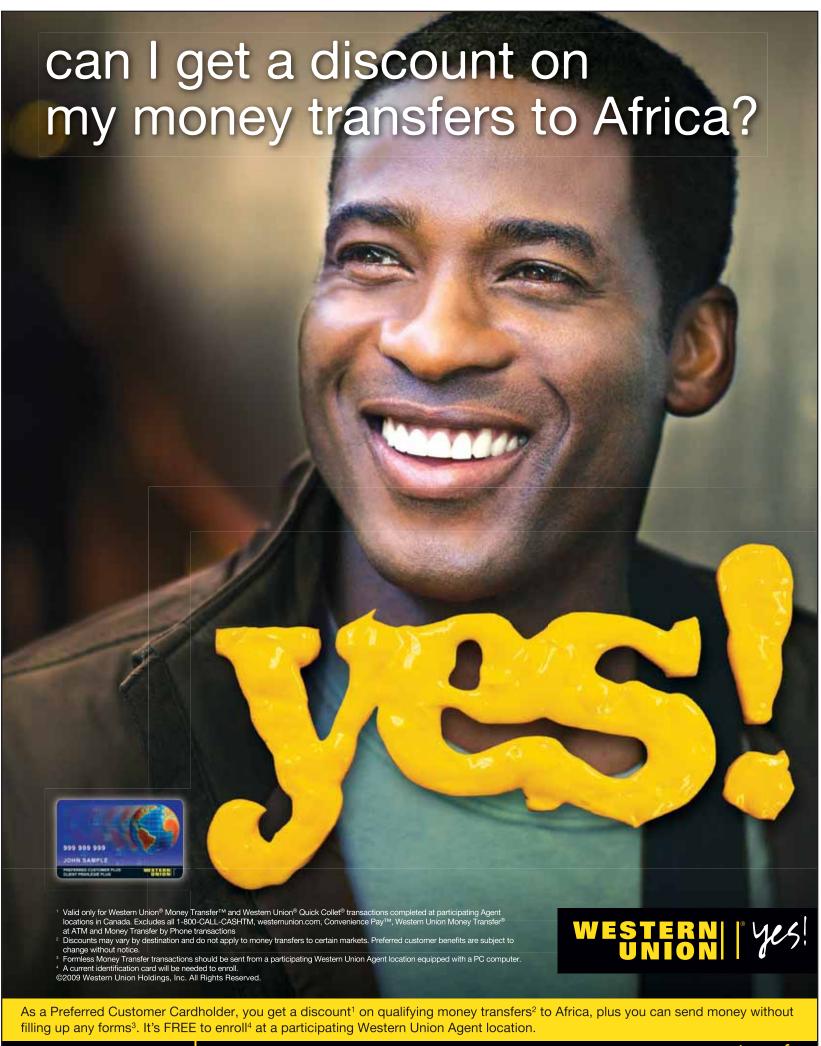
Find out more about Ontario's Poverty Reduction Strategy at www.growingstronger.ca.

Yuli Wang, Balmoral Marketing Johnson Chang, Balmoral Marketing

westernunioncanada.ca

416-364-0046 ext. 225 416-364-0046 ext. 230 Laura Dougan, Minister's Office
Anne Smith, Ministry of Children and Youth Services

416-212-3394 416-325-5156



_ _ _ _ _ _

ከገጽ 22 የዞሬ

ያመከነበት መሆኑን

፡ ሰማወቅ ተችሎዋል [!] በዚህ የተበሳጨው _! አረ*መ*ኔው አያሴው *ነ*በዜ _! ፡ ካድሬ-ቹ በድምጽ *ማጉያ* !

¦ በደሴ ከተማ ውስጥ | እየተዘዋወሩ ችግር | እንደተፈጠረ በማስመሰል | | እንዲሰፍፉ ትእዛዝ | መስጠቱን ዘንባው

ጨምሮ አስረድቶዋል ሆድ እንጂ ማሰቢያ ያልፈጠረባቸው፣ ህሊና እ**ነበ**ረከት ሮስምአን *`* እራሳቸው ፈቃድ ! ስጡበትን ቦታ *መ*ልሰው! እንዳልተፈቀደ አድርገው ባመጡት ችግር ህዝቡን ወንጀለኛ በማስመሰል ቢያደርጉም ጥረት - አልሳካ ሲላቸው። የህዝቡን የእምነት ጥያቄ ከፖለቲካ *ጋር በማገ*ናኘት · ከፍተኛ ቅስቀሳቸውን በተቆጣጠሩትና እንደፈለጋቸው፣ ! በሚፈነጩበት *ሬዲ*ዮና -!

ታውቆዋል ተወልደው ያደጉበትን ህዝብ ደም የመጠጣት አባዜያቸው ያሳቸው አማራ ህዝብ ላይ እየወሰዱት ያለው ሕርምጃ አልጠቅምህ ስላሳቸው **አሁን** ደማሞ *አ*ካባቢ*ዋ* በሚገኙ ፣ የክርስትና *እምነት ተ* ፣ ከመፈጸማቸውም በላይ ፣ *እንዲ*ጸድቅ በሚጠበቀው ፣

*ስመክ*ሰስም

บหกร

ቴ ለ 3 ቭ ዥ ን ማለራጨታቸው

ቅድመ ዝግጅት እየተ ደ*ረገ መሆኑን* ከዘ*ገ*ባው ለማወቅ ተችሎዋል በከተ*ማ*ዋ የሆኑ ማለሰቦች ጭምር የታጎሩ ሲሆንቤታቸውም ያለፍርድ ቤት ትእዛዝ ፣*ድንገተኛ* ፍተሻ ተገ ደርጎበታል ያለው ዘገባ ወይኔ ሕራሱ ቦምብና የጦር መሳሪያ ደጃፋቸው ላይ እያስቀመጠ አገ-ሁባቸው በማለት የህጻን ልጅ ቀልድ ሕየተጫወተ ! ከመሆኑም በላይ በሃሰት የተገኘው የጦር መሳሪ፣ ያ የኔ ነው ብላችሁ! ፈር*ሙ እየተባ*ሱ ክፍተኛ ፣ ድብደባና *ስቃይ እየተ* ፣ ፈጸመባቸው የሚገኙ

ዜ*ጎች በእስር ቤት*

መኖራቸውን ጨምሮ

አስረድቶዋል

money transfer