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ያለፈው የልሳን ኤኮኖሚክስ ኢትም ከወጣ ወዲህ የኢትዮጵያ ኤኮኖሚክስ ባለሙያዎች ማህበር ካከናወናቸው አበይት ጉዳዮች አንዱ የኤኮኖሚ ፖሊሲና የ1992 ዓ.ም. ምርጫነ በሚል ርዕስ ላይ ያካሄደው የጠረጴዛ ዙሪያ ውይይት ነው። ውይይቱም የተካሄደው በተለያዩ የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች (ፓርቲዎች) ተወካዮች አወያይነት ነው።

ይህ ውይይት በአገራችን በመጀመር ላይ ያለውን የተለያየ አመለካከት ያላቸውን ድርጅቶች በጠረጴዛ ዙሪያ አገናኝቶ የማወያየቱን ባህል ለማዳበር አስተዋፅዖ ያደርጋል የሚል እንንት አለን። ዓላማው የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ በኢትዮጵያ ምን መሆን አለበት ለሚለው ጥያቄ የተለያዩ የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች (ፓርቲዎች) መልስ እንዲስጡበትና ውይይት እንዲደረግ ማድረግ ነበር።

በተለይ ድህነት በአጠቃላይ ደግሞ የኤኮኖሚ ችግሮች የአገሪቱ አበይት ችግሮች ናቸው የሚል ስፋ ያለ እምነት ቢኖርም የኤኮኖሚ ችግሮችን ለመቅረፍ የሚረዳ የኤኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ በኢትዮጵያ ምን መሆን አለበት ለሚለው ጥያቄ የተለያዩ የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች (ፓርቲዎች) በተለያዩ ምክንያቶች ብዙም ያተኮሩበት አይመስለንም። ይህ ውይይት በተወሰነ ደረጃም ቢሆን ለጉዳዩ ትኩረት እንዲሰጠው መሠረት ይጥላል የሚል አምነት አለን።

ለሙይይቱ ከተጋበዙት የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች (ፓርቲዎች) ውስጥ አራቱ የተሳተፉ ሲሆን ጽሁፋቸውም በዚህ ኢትም ወጥቶአል።

እንደተለመደው ይሀ የልሳን ኤኮኖሚክስ እትም ሌሎችንም ጽሁፎች ይዞ ወጥቶአል። መልካም ንባብ!

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

To: The Editor-in-Chief Ethiopian Economic Association Addis Ababa.

Dear Sir,

I have gone through the article entitled GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL FINANCE: THE CRUCIAL ISSUE OF AFRICAN DEBT, written by Assistant Professor Alemayehu Geda (Vol. 3 No. 1 February-March 2000). I am writing this letter to share some of my comments on the subject matter. It is absolutely true that the African debt problem has emerged as one of the most difficult development challenges confronting African countries. In fact, many things have been said in different literature about how African countries use borrowed money.

The Economist, in its issue of October 9-15 1999, wrote that unless the supervision gets a great deal sharper, much of the money saved from debt repayment could end up fuelling Africa's war. This idea of looking African states like a "child" and assuming that we borrow to finance war, I think, originates from the behaviour of some African countries. At this stage, it is worth-asking one fundamental question. How many African countries use the borrowed money for projects which will give return to the economy? Personally, I did not come across any source to learn about this issue.

I don't think that only borrowing money from abroad will lead a given country to the debt crisis. The main thing is to strengthen the repayment capacity of the country and to use the fund wisely. After all, the richest countries have also large public debt too. In the USA, for example, total national debt now exceeds US\$ 6 trillion. That is three times the debts of all developing countries put together.

The other problem which aggravated the debt crisis of Africa is capital flight. Africa has a proportion of 39% capital flight compared with 6% for East Asia before the crisis. As regards the use of borrowed money let me add one fact. Following high export earnings, some African countries undertook big projects without ensuring the viability of such projects to be financed with borrowed money. For instance, at one time, in Togo, following the phosphate price hike, the government counteracted a loan to build a big hotel of about US\$ 36 million, an iron-ore factory, and an airport in the president village. When the phosphate price fell, Togo was obliged to sell the hotel at a tenth of its total cost

and closed down the iron-ore factory due to lack of outlets. The same happened in Nigeria, Gabon, and Cote de'Ivore where a large share of external debt was allocated to projects not economically profitable and needed government subsidies to survive thereby generating internal debt. Therefore, African countries should be serious on how to use the borrowed money. Beyond this, in addition to good economic management, I think, focus of African governments should be to attract more private capital in their countries, stop capital flight and raise the domestic savings effort, as aid dependency is also an issue of concern for Africa. The high aid dependency is a reflection of the low savings prevalent in African countries.

What is needed for a solution to the African debt crisis, it seems to me, is political will on the part of multilateral and bilateral creditors. The donor community can take significant measure to ease the debt burden. Considering the debt crisis of Africa, donor countries can free up needed resources by writing off official debt. I think this is a possible option if there is willingness from creditor side. Around US\$350 billion total African debt is not a big amount to the rich countries. TIME Magazine on its March 20, 2000 issue reported that the UK, Spain and the USA promised to wipe out Mozambique's bilateral debt and this has to be followed by others widely. After all, the developedcreditor nations have to learn that they cannot survive if the African continent is sinking into oceans of poverty as a result of debt crisis.

Tesfaye Berhanu (MoF)



ANNOUNCEMENT

WE WOULD LIKE TO
INFORM OUR READERS
THAT VOLUME VI NUMBER 2
OF ETHIOPIAN JOURNAL OF
ECONOMICS IS ALREADY ON
SALE.

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To: The Editor-in-Chief Ethiopian Economic Association Addis Ababa.

Dear Editor.

Economic Focus is progressing well in promoting discussion on relevant economic issues and disseminating economic information to the public. The presentation of articles in Amharic is also one of its amplitude in contributing to public debate and for those who find it easy to get it in their native language. It has also an important contribution in filling the knowledge gap among the general public.

I have come across the information that EEA has planned to organize round-table discussions on Gender and Development. This, I feel, is an appropriate beginning to explicitly involve economists in the discussion of gender issues as it has been taken up by most other professions. Gender has been by and large considered as question of power relations and legal right by the public and this, I

think, is a misdirected conception of the realty. Although most justifications for appropriateness of gender issues are based on economic, social, cultural and political rights of women, the Ethiopian public has never adequately recognized addressing gender in the arena of economic rights. It is also important to bring out the economic right as the underpinning factor to problems associated to gender and also promote the understanding of the public a bit away from legal and power relations context. This would also be important for economists who are on the process of learning how gender issues are addressed in the profession (economics). I feel that Economic Focus would be the appropriate forum for us to exchange ideas and experiences in this area and am asking if the Association can open a column on Gender and throw light in the appropriateness of addressing gender. applying feminist economics in our country which in the west is taken as an area of concentration in the profession.

A member of the Association.

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE NEXT EEA ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE GHION HOTEL ON MAY 19, 2000 AT 6:00 PM AND WILL FOCUS ON 'GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT'.

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE ETHIOPIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION IS PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TO ITS ESTEEMED READERS THAT THE 'FIRST ANNUAL REPORT ON THE ETHIOPIAN ECONOMY' IS NOW ON SALE.

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OH! RESPECTED INSTRUCTOR

A tribute to the late Ato Mekonen Taddesse

Mohammed Nuredin Commercial Bank of Ethiopia

The Transformation you made in us By including good values, discipline, By imparting pure knowledge By encouraging honest life style, Is simply matchless. Your immaculate grooming had its First impression on us Your valuable teachings had its Lasting impression on us! Your immense knowledge makes our studies simple, Your zeal to share knowledge is so true By the illumination of your education, You shaped up our dreams and aspiration, Of success, prosperity and recognition To remember you is to remember of perfection, Of undivided attention. All for the sake of education. You remind us of smell of chalk. And blackboard dark. Of one missed mark, Of expert's talk Of lessons to learn, So that we can earn, Not only money but also,

A graceful place under the sun!

የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲና የ1992 ዓ.ም. ምርጫ

ከተክሉ ሽዋ የደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች ይሞክራሲያዊ ሕብረት ተወካይ

የደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሕብረት ፓርቲ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ በጣም ሰፊ ይዘት ያለው በመሆኑ በዚህ አጭር ጽሑፍ ሁሉንም በዝርዝር ማቅረብ የማይቻል ነው። ሆኖም ነላ ነላ ያሉትን ለማቅረብ ጥረት ተደርጓል።

በአጠቃላይ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲያችን haman Oharaphha PAO-3 . የሀብትና 60577 በማተበብ MCOPT ARYT 0£90 ngomm? U76-8 የኢኮኖሚ ልማት 08773 UHUgo ማፋጠንና ntarcs ሰው ሰራሽ ወደም TAM አስተዳደር ተባብሰው የሚገኙትን ችግሮቻችንን ደረጃ ማሕበራዊ በደረጃ በማስወገድ O.S. አስተማማኝ POR 77 185 መምራት ነው።

የሀገሪቱ ኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ በንጻ ገበያ ሥርዐት ላይ የተመሠረተና የግሉ ክፍለኤኮኖሚ ልማት እንቅስቃሴን በማበረታታት ወደ ተሻለና አስተማማኝ የዕድገትና የብልጽግና ጎዳና መምራት ነው።

1. የግብርናን ዘርፍ በተመለከተ፣

刊手 የተፈጥሮ ዝናብን በመጠበቅ ከሚካሄድ ኋላ ቀር የእርሻ ዘዴ ሀገራዊ እርሻው ተሳቆ hoof hamit P0241 **山尼奉干**3 ወንዞችንና w4.6. በመስኖ መጠቀም በሚያስችል ዘመናዊና ሠፋል የአመራሬት ዘዴ እንዲተካና በዚህም በምግብ ሰብል 617.33 no FA ባቂና አስተማማኝ ፕሬ ዕቃ ለሀገር ውስጥ ፋብሪካዎችና ኤክስፖርት

ማቅረብ በሚያስችል ደረጃ ማሳደግ፣

1.2. አርሶ አደሩና ዘላኑ የሀብረተሰብ ክፍል ዘመናዊ የከብት ርባታ እንዲሳመድና እንዲከተል በማንዝ ምርታማንትያ በማሳደማ ኑሮውን ማሻሻል፣

የግብርና 1.3. **ግብአቶች** የየአካባቢውን Pha.C ለምንት በማተናት ተስማሚውን ዓይነት ለይቶ በጥራት፣ በመጠንና ወቅቱን ጠብቆ አርሶ አደሩ መክፌል በሚችለው አቅምና ፌቃድ ላይ ተመሥርቶ እንዲቀርብ ማድረግ፣ በተለይ የፓለቲካ ድጋፍ ያላቸው **全C**英子子 730683 P378 በማቅረብ ለግበሬው りをする ገንዘብ ለማማኘት የሚያደርጉት ያልተገባ እንቅስቃሴ እንዲገታ 92271

1.4. በገጠርና በከተማ ማሕበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ አገልማሎቶችን በማስፋፋት የተመጣጠን ዕድገት እንዲኖራቸው ዶደረጋል። ወደ ከተሞች የሚደረገውን የሕዝብ ፍልስትም በመከላከል ረገድ አስተማማኝ ጥረት ይደረጋል።

1.5. የከተማም ሆነ የገጠር መሬት Pht 9 ባለቤትነት የአርሶ አደሩ የግል ይዞታ ሆኖ የዘላኑ ሕብሬተሰብ ባለቤትንትም eusa" የተጠበቀ 126 መጠቀሚያ እየዋለ መሬትም ሆነ የዘላኑ ሕብረተሰብ መሬት የአካባቢውም ሆነ ማዕከላዊ P6-26-A 4 had 66.00 ATAP አገልግሎት ለማዋልና ለኢንቨስትመንት ለማኮናተር ከተፈለገ በአካባቢው क्रेग्रन ስምምነት ፍትሐዊ በሆነ መንገድ

ካሣ ክፍሎ ወይም ምትክ ሰተቶ መጠቀም ይቻላል። በመሬት ላይ ያለው የመንግስት ባለቤትንትና ቁጥር ለፖለቲካ ጠቀሜታ ከመዋሉም በላይ የዜጎችን ንብረት የማፍራት መብት የተጋፋ ስለሆን ለመቀየር ብርቱ ጥረት ይደረጋል።

2. የንግድና ኢንዳስትሪ ልማትንና የግል ንብረት በተመለከተ ፡

2.1. ሀገራዊው የንግድና ኢንዳስትሪው ልማት ከውጭ የሚመጡ ሽቀመች በተለይ ለኢንቨስትመንት ሳይሆን ለፍጆታ የሚቀርቡትን በመተክት (Import Substitution) እና ባለን ንጽጽራዊ ጥቅም (Comparative Advantage) በመመሥረት በወጪ ዕታዎች ማበረታታት (Export Promotion) ላይ የተመሠረተ ይሆናል።

2.2. ሊደገፍ የሚገባው የኢንዱስትሪ መሥክ ወደ ሀገር ውስጥ የሚገቡ ዕቃዎችን የሚጎት ወደም ወደ ውጭ የሚላክ ዕቃን በብዛትና በጥራት ለማቅረብ በሚያስችል ጥናት ላይ የተመሠረተ የመከላከል (Infant Industry Protection) ርምጃዎች ይወሰዳሉ።

2.3. የባንክ ብድር ለማግኘትና የውጭ ንግድን በማስፋፋት ረገድ የሚጠይቀውን ከፍተኛ የመያዣ ግምቱ (>100%) የሀገር ውስጥ ነጋዴዎችን ጥቅም የሚሳዳ ከመሆኑም በላይ የልማት ጎዳናውን ስለሚያቀጭጭ ይኸንኑ ማስተክል።

2.4. የሀገር ውስጥ ጥሬ ዕቃዎችን በመጠቀም በሀገር ውስጥ የሚሠሩ ምርቶች የሀገር ውስጥ ነብደ እንዲያገኙ ወጥነት ባለው መንገድ ርምጃዎችን በመውሰድ ሁኔታዎችን ማመቻቸት። (ለኮንትሮባንድና ለርካሽ ዕቃዎች የንግድ በሩን ክፍት በማድረግ ሀገራዊ አምራች እንዲዳክም በግዶለሽነት አየተወሰደ ያለው ኃላፊነት) ብሔራዊ ስሜት የጎደለው እርምጃ እንዲስተካከል ማድረግ።

- 2.5. የግብርና የታክስ ትመናና አሰባሰብ ሕጉንና አራጻጸሙን ግልፅና የማያሻማ በማድረማ ግብር ከፋዮች የግብር መክፈል ጫና በማይሰማቸው (የማይማረሩበት) ገቢያቸውንና አቅማቸውን ባንናዘበ መልኩ በዜግንት ግዴታቸው በፌቃደኝነት የሚክፍሉበትን ሥርዓት መዘርጋት።
- 2.6. የንግድና ኢንዱስትሪ
 ማሕበራት ተቅማቸውን ማስጠበቅ
 አንዲችሉና የመወዳደር
 ብቃታቸውን አንዲያሳድጉ
 ማበረታታት፡ ለውጤትም
 አንዲበቁ ማስቻል፡
- 2.7. የነጻ ገበያ ሥርዓቱ ያለ እንክን እንዲሠራ የሚያስችሉ ተዛማጅ ፖኒሲሲዎች ይቀርጻል። ሕግ በማውጣት ደንቦችና መመሪያዎችን በመደንገግ ብቻ ይወሰናል።
- 2.8. ሆኖም መንግስት በንግድና ኢንዱስትሪ መሥክ እንዲሁም በሌሎች የኢኮኖሚው ዘርፎች ስትራተጂካዊ ጠቀሜታ። ማሕበራዊ መረጋጋት የሚያመጡ በንለሰብ መዋዕለ ንዋይ ሊደፈና የማይችሉ ግዜናና ውስብስብ መሠረተ ልማቶችን በመዘርጋትና በማስተዳደር ይወሰናል።
- 2.9. የከተማ እና መሬት ሊዝ ክፍድ: የመንግሥት ቤቶች ክራይ ተመን፡ የመብራትና የሙን ታሪፍ ... የሀገር ውስጥ ባለ ንብረቶች (ንጋዴዎች) በሚጠቀሙበትና የሀገር ኢኮኖሚ ሊደድግ በሚያስቸል መንገድ መምራትና
- 2.10. የቴክአክና ሙያ ማሰልጠኛ ተቋማትን በማብዛት የሀገሪቱን የሰሙ ኃይል የሙያ ብቃት በማሳደን የሀገር ውስጥ ኢክሮሚ

ልማቱ በቂ የሥለጠን ባለሙያና አምራች የሚያገኝበትን ሁኔታ በማመቻቸትና የባለሙያ ፍልስትን በመግታት የሀገሪቱ ዜጎች የኢኮኖሚ ተሳትፎ እንዲሳለብት ማድረግ።

- 2.11. የመንግስት የልማት ድርጅቶች (Public Enterprises) የፖለቲካ ጫና ካሪልበት የቦርድ አስተዳደርና ቢሮክራሲያዊ መጠላፍ በማላቀቅ ተወዳጻሪ በሆነ የሥራ አመራር (Competent Management Principle) መርስ መተነት !
- 2.12. የመንግስት የልጣት ድርጅቶችን ወደ ግል ባለቤትነት በሽያጭ በማዞር ረገድ ቀልጣፋ እና በገበያ ዋጋ እንዲሆን ማድረግ። አሻሻጡም ግልጽና ከአድልኦ የጸዳ ሆኖ ከሽያጩ የተገኘውም ገንዘብ ለሀገሪቱ ዕድገት እንዲውል ማድረግ።
- 2.13. የተወረሱ የጎጆና አነስተኛ ኢንዱስትሪዎችና የንግድ ድርጅቶች ለቀድሞ ባለንብረቶቹ በአግባቡ መመለስ፡ ትላልቅ የንግድ ድርጅቶችና፡ ፋብሪካዎች ለቀድሞ ባለንብረቶች መመለስ፡ የሚችልበት ሁኔታ ካለ መመለስ፡ የማይቻል ከሆነም ተገቢውን ካግ
- 2.14. ከአዋጅ ውጭ የተወረሱ ንብረቶች ያለምንም ቅድመ ሁኔታ ወዲያውኑ መመለስ፣
- 2.15. የውጭ ንግድ ማንኙንቶች በግብርና ውጤቶች ሳይመሰን በኢንዳስትሪ ምርቶችና በአገልግሎቶች ላይም እንዲስፋፋ ማበረታታትና ማግዝ።
- 2.16. የገቢ ምርቶችን በመቀነስና በአንጻሩ የወጪ ምርቶችን በማሳደማ የውጭ ምንዛሪ ማኝታችንን ከሀገር ጥቅም አንጻር ማንልበት።
- 2.17. 1039 poil. 0.02.65 9"C47 homes 7. Pale P-1- 17 (0-7 P 10- "1" 903116 ለፍጆታ ብቻ ከማዋል 8.04 Vanm 9.4. A"7.7. 73925 4999 CF 00017.897 A1.9" 7392 17200A Tail 79:27:

2.18. ብሔራዊ ገቢን ለማሳደማና በርካታ የሥራ ዕድል ለመፍጠር ለእርሻ ለተረገነም እና ለኢንዱስትሪ ልማት ተስማሚ ፖሊሲ መንደፍ ርምጃዎችን መውስድ፡

3. የተፈጥሮ አካባቢ ጥቢታና የአካባቢ ብክለትና የሀብት አጠቃቀም፣

- 3.1. በኃይል ዕፕረት። በአርት ምሬት ፍለጋና 0A. A. 7. ምክንያቶች 0"7.1(0.4:4) ተደጋጋሚ ቃጠሎዎች ውብን የሀገሪቱን ደን ሽፋን አየቀንስና ለመተካትም የሚያስችል አርምጃ ባለመኖሩ ሀገራችን ጠፍታቸ ፍጥንት m.e. 112050 እየተቀየረችና የዳር አራዊቶችዋም እየተሰደዱ ከፍተኛ ሀገራዊ ጉዳት እየደረሰ ነው። ስለዚህ በሁሉም 80764 79-10-7 Pay 15 ብሔራዊ ፓርኮችና ደኖች ለማት አጠባበቅና አስተዳደር ፖሊሲ አውተቶ በሥራ ማዋል።
- 3.2. አካባቢን የሚጠነሱ የኢንዱስትሪ። የአርሻና ሌሎች መርዛማ ዝቃጮች በተመሰከተ ከሌሎች ሀገሮች ልምድ በመነሳት መቆጣጠር በሚያስችለን መልኩ የአካባቢ ብከላ መቆጣጠሪያ ደረጃ (ስታንዳርድ) በማውጣት የትድጣያ ጥንቃቄ ማድረግና አርምጃ መውሳድ።
- han-7 n.F.SmA 0°7.4°C8.4 04.7.7.5 PA31107-0037 2'0.0.27 + onepup. 4.417.119943 በማቋቋም ሃገር ግን ውሴን የወንች भारत तकर्षणने एकतने नामने (POT-BOYA: PAID DEA: PTIHI...) AMPHAHA PS. S.C.A ከልሎችንና የማዕከሉን ዕትድና **ጋ'ለ.ለ. ለማ**የስማማት የብሔራዊ ዕቅድ አዘጋጅቶ 1-796-4 078:29:
- 3.4. በደቡብ ያለው የተፈጥሮ ሀብት (የክርስ ምድርና የገጻ ምድር) ተገቢው ትኩረት ተደርጎለት እንዲለማና ለክልሉ ሕዝብና ለብሔራዊ ኢኮኖሚ ግንባድና አድባት አንዲቢታ ያሳሰለስ ፕሬት ማድረግ።

የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲና የ1992 ዓ.ም. ምርጫ

ስመ<mark>ረራ ጉዳና</mark> የኦሮሞ ብሔራዊ ኮንግሬስ ተወካይ

L ያለፉት የኢትዮጵያ መንግስታት በተከተሉት የተዛባ የፖለቲካና የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲዎችና ብዝበዛ የተነሳ ለአድባት የሚሆን እርሾ ያለመኖር ወይም አነስተኛ መሆን፡

- 1. የአፄው መንግሥት
 - ሀ. ገበሬን በተመለከተ፣

የአፄ ኃይለ ሥላሴ መንግሥት አጅግ በጣም ኋላ ቀር በሆነ የገባር ሥርዓት ገበሬውን አፍኖ መያዙና ይህም ሥርዓት በልጠረው ማነቆና ገደብ የለሽ ብዝበዛ የተነሳ አርሶ አደሩ ጎስቷላ ሕይወት ከመኖር አልፎ ለሀገር አድገት ጠቃሚ አስተዋጽም ማድረግ ሳይችል ቀርተቷል።

ለ. ንግድና ኢንዳስትሪን በተመለከተ፡

Ahg og PU761: 116.0.90 puc 37 1-11-11 OOD PH Howse አርሻና ኢንዳስትሪ አንድም በማነቆ ምክንደት ሌላም በትኩሬት 为中国 mant. ምክንያት ለትውልድ የሚተርፍ የአድንት ACT 1.8.6.mC ሥርዐቱ በመንኮታኮቱ ዛሬም ከኛ **ጋር ለሚኖር ኋላቀር**ነትና ድሀነት **ዳርጎን አልፎአል።**

በአጠ.ቀላይ ዋና ማንቆ የነበረው በደም ጥራት፥ በአበልጅነትና በጡት ልጅነት የሚያምን የፊውዳል ቢሮክራሲ ነበር።

2. የደርግ መንግሥት

ሀ. ወይ ሶሻሊስት ወይ ካፒታሊስት ባልሆን የዘፋቀደ ወታደራዊ አግነነ ምክንደት ኢንዱስትሪውና የንግዱ ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ መታፈንና መቀጨጭ ፡

ለ. ምንም እንኳን የመሬት አዋጁ PAG MC37 多的の暴免 QU3901 ባልተጠናና harr በተቀዱ የኢኮኖሚ いつごそ ፖሊሲዎችና በዘመቻ በተካሄዱ ተብዶዎች የገበራውን 697 ሕይወት ማመሳቀላቸው ለዛሬው 如中心中 አደር 31 የአርሶ አስተዋጽኦ አድርጓል።

በገበሬው ሕይወት ላይ አስከፊ ውጤት ከነበራቸው ፖሊሲዎች፤

- ከኅበሬው ፍላጎት ውጭ የተመሰረቱ የሕብረት ሥራ ማህበራት
- መንደር ምሥሪታና ሰፊራዎች – የግዴታ መዋጮዎች
- ባልተመጣጠን ዋጋ በአርሶ አደሩ ላይ የተደረጉ ዘረፋዎች ወዘተ ዋቂቶቹ ናቸው።

ሐ. ብሔራዊ እርቅና መግባባትን ልጥረው የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች የተረጋጋ ሕይወት እንዲኖሩ ከማድረግ ይልቅ የአጥፍቶ መጥፋት መርንት በመግሩቱ የደረሱ የተያያዙ ጉዳቶች የገዘፉ መሆናቸው።

- ለመር *መግሪያ መግ*ዣ የጠፋው የሕዝብ ሀብት
- በንጭና በቀዶ ሽብር። በርስ በርሱ ውርነት የመፋው የሰው ሕዶወትና የወደመው ንብረት
- የተፈጥሮ ብቻ ሳይሆን ሰሙ ሰራሽ ድርቅ ያስከተለው ጉዳት

አንድ ላይ ሰዛሬው የኋሊት ጉዞአችን አስተዋጽኦ አድርጓል።

በአጠቃላይ ዋና ማነቆ የነበረው ሕዝባዊ አመኔታ በሌላቸውና አውቀት በጎደላቸው ካድሬዎች የሚንቀሳቀስ የካድሬ ቢሮክራሲ ነበር።

II. የኢሕአዴግ መንግሥት

ከሳይ የባለጽናቸው ካስፉት መንግሥታት የወረሳቸው ማነቆዎችና ለራሱም የፌጠራቸው ማነቆዎች፣

- የኢሕአዴግ መንግሥት ወይ ካፒታሊስት ወይ ሶሻሊስት ያልሆነ የኢኮኖሚ ሥርዓት መክተሉ
- u. አርሶ አደሩን በሚመለከት የኢሕአዴግ መንግሥት ገጠሩን 70hA \$2.27 00Ch 7.00 ዘርግቻለሁ እያለ ተግቢ ድጋፍ ከመስጠት ይልቅ ለራሱ ፓርቲ ትርፍ ማካበቻ ቅድሚያ በመስጠቱ ጥራትና ተሰማሚነት 72068 hand o የሌለው-3 አቅም ጋር ባልተመጣጠን ዋጋ ገበሬው እንዲገዛ ማስገደድና 70120 UYPE annad. 2 በሌሎችም ምክንደቶች መክራል ልኔፈሰየካ ተበልተበ መተፋኒስ 0034940 4111-9 106.27.7 ሕይወት ማመሲታቀሉ የ70% or አዲስ ሕይወት an Pancs **አ**ማኝ ትአል 849Am 8:A ከንሽርው ፓርቲ ተረት ያለማለፉ።
- በተልተሮ ብቻ ሳይወን ሰው ሰራሽ ለወነው ድርቅ ተገራ ትቴሬት ከመስጠት ይልቅ ቸናው

ፓርቲ ስለተገኘው የኢኮኖሚ እድባት ማውራትና ማስወራት፣

- ባልተጠናና በተደበቀ የጎዥው ፓርቲ ፍላጎት ብቻ በመንግሥት ሥር የነበሩ የማምረቻና የማከፋፊያ ተቋማት ወደ ግል ማዞር እየፈጠረ ያለው ሥራ አጥነት።
- የተዥው ፓርቲ የትኩሬት አድማስ ሰፊና ሀባራዊ ባለመሆኑ የተባዙ የኢኮኖሚክ እንቅስቃሴዎች መፍጠራችው፤
- በሕዝብ ባልተመረጡ የመንግሥት ካድሬዎች ያለሀዝባዊ ተሳትፎ የሚወጡና የተቃዋሚውን ሕዝብ ፍላጎት ያልተግንዘቡ አዋጆች መመሪያዎች ትዕዛቶና ፖሊሲዎች ያስከተሉት መመስቃቀሎች በሀገሪቱ እድባት ላይ እየፈጠሩ ያሉት ጫናዎች፤

ምሳሌ፤ የሊዝ ፖሊሲ

- ከነጋዴው ሕብረተሰብ አቅም ጋር ያልተመጣጠነ ግብርና ቀረጥ በየጊዜው መጨመራቸው፤
- በዘፊቀደ የሚደረጉ የቤት ኪራይ ጭማሪዎች፣
- የሻዥው ፓርቲ ፖሊሲ አውጭ፣ ፖሊሲ አስፈጻሚና ተራ ነጋዴ መሆን በነጋዴው ሕብረተሰብ ላይ እየፌጠረ ያለው ሜና፣
- ሀዝቡን ባላሳተልና በቂ ጥናት ባልተደረገበት ሁኔታ እየተገፋ ያለው የትምሀርት ፖሊሲ አያስከተለ ያለው ችግር።
- ከምንም ጊዜ በላይ ትኩረት ያጣው የሀገሪቱ የጤና አገልግሎት ጉዳይ እያስከተለ ያለው ችግር፤

ምሳሌ። የሔና ዋበቃ ሚኒስትሩ ኦሮሞ በነበረበት ሀገር ከአዲስ አበባ ከተጣ ጥቂት ኪሎ ሜትሮች ጀምሮ ሕዝቡ በወባ መርገፍ።

- ብሔራዊ እርቅና ብሔራዊ መግባባት ተፈጥሮ የመንግስት ተቃዋሚ ኃይሎችን ለማፈን የሚወጣው ወጭ ወደ ልማት ሥራዎች ያለመዞሩና መዋዕለ ንዋያቸውን በሥራ ላይ ለማዋል ለሚፈልጉ የውስጥና የውጭ ባለሀብቶች በፍራቻ ምክንያት መታቀባቸው እያሳደረ ያለው ተፅዕኖ፤

- ድርሻችንን እንውሰድ በሚመስል መልክ በሕዝብ ሀብት ላይ እየተካሄደ ያለው ዘረፋ፣
- ሻቸው ፓርቲ በኤርትራ ላይ በተከተለው የተዛባ ፖሊሲ ሀገሪቷ አንደገና መርነት ውስጥ በመግባቷ አየደረሰ ያለው ጉዳት።

በአጠቃላይ ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች በሰላም ውርቶ መኖር የተመቻቸ ስርዓት PZAth ባለመራጠሩ የአድንትና U761: የብልጽማና 189 Athta አልቻለትም። አሁን ያለው ዋናው ማነቆ ለአንድ Aldo C የበላይነት Pay 884 የካድሬ ቢሮክራሲ መሆኑ።

III. በኦሮሞ ብሔራዊ ኮንግረስ አምነት የሁሉም ችግሮች መፍቻ ቁልፍ በሕዝብ አመኔታ ሥልጣን ላይ የሚወጣና ሕዝባዊ ተሳትፎን የሚያንለብት ዳ.ምክራ.ሲያዋ. のうりかうろ መመስፈት 刊手 ነው። እንዲህ አይነተ፡ መንግስት ሕዝቡን ሥርቶ ማስራት ብቻ ሳይሆን ሕዝቡ በተረጋጋ መንፈስ በስሳም ACA. Aang C የሚትልበትን ひとかゆそう ያመቻቻል። 738HU 3.851: መንግሥት ለኢኮኖሚ አድባት አጋዥ መዋቅሮችን ይዘረጋል። 十史四十3 ያስፋፋል። ከሁሉም በላይ እንዲህ አይነተ፡ መንግሥት ተጠሪንቱና ተጠያቂንቱ ለሕዝብ ስለሆነ በሕዝቡ ላይ ይልተጠኑ ፖሊሲዎችንና ሕጎች አይጭንም፣ በሀዝብ ትክሻ ላይ Pag 44 ቅምዋልና 000-05 e-t-ohA-የመንግስት ሹመኞችን በአግባቡ hc90% አፋጣኝ በመውሰድ የቢሮክራሲ ማነቆዎች ያስወግዳል። 2320 አይንተ፡ 0039 Mit N.oww. የሚችለው ደግሞ ፍትሀዊ ምርጫ ብቻ በንጻና 200-11

እዚህ ላይ ምን ጊዜም መረሳት የሌለበት የሕዝብን ፍላንት የሚያሟላ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ

ሊያመጣ የሚችልና ሀገሪቱን ወደ አድንት 189 809,00% 4039 mg 04140 1,00% 8+0800 a039 mit 刊于 መሆኑን ነው። የአንድ ኢኮኖሚ 700 92,2760 ሕዝባዊነት ብቸኛ መንገድ ሕዝባዊ ተሳትፎ ነው። የሊቃውንቱ ሥራ ሕዝብን መተካት ሳይሆን ከሕዝቡ ጋር ጠቀሜታ ነ PPIFE 81703 1-706.7 006,890 700-:: የሲቃውንተ፡ የመንግስት ባለሥልጣናትን 6.7 7.86 6.7. Phan 473 P07.86.4 ZAAP73 00384. 1203 116.00-บาเก: AU7C: ስትውልድና ለታሪክ የሚተርፍ ፖሊሲዎችን 00468 any"3 አለበት። የአንድ 20.0. ጠቀሜታውም Un የተሻለ የሚያውቀው ተጠቃሚው ስለሆን m+ " 2 2 0-390 ጉዳተ፡ንም ከሕዝብ ጋር ማስላት እጅግ በጣም አስፈላጊ ነው። ስለሆነም UVC.do Adv G.P. ተንግረስ 7340 በፖሊሲዎች መውጣት ላይ ሕዝባዊ ተሳትፎን 003787 ተሳላህበ 972277 ይቻላል። አንደኛ ው 00778 7 N.A. አውጭዎችና አስሬጻማረዎች በሕዝብ የተመረጡ ተጠሪነታቸውና ተጠያቂነታቸው ላሕዝብ በማድረግ ነው። ይህም በንጻና ፍትህዊ ምርጫ በሕዝብ 24002m5 PPIFE hoobot የተጎናጸፈ መንግሥት መፍጠር ማለት ነው። ሁለተኛው መንገድ 04377 PAFO ፓለ.ሰ.ዎች 0.00m 401CH በየቀበሌ ውና የሥራ ቦታዎች ሰራ ውይደት አድርጎ አቋም እንዲወስድባቸው ማድረማ ነው። ሁለቱ መንገዶች 99.01-9 120% PAZE ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት የአንድ ሳንቲም ሁለት ገጽታዎች ናቸው።

የኦሮም ብሔራዊ ኮንግረስ ከራሱ ፕሮግራም በመነሳት የሚከተሉትን አማራጮች ለኦሮሞ ሕዝብና ለተቀረው የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ያቀርባል።

- 1. የኦሮሞ ሕዝብ መሠረታዊ የኢኮኖሚ መብቶችን በተመለከተ፤
- 1.1. የኦሮሞ ሕዝብ ብሔራዊ ሀብቱን እንዲቆጣጠርና ያለምንም ተጽዕኖ እንዲጠቀም ማስቻል፤

ልሳን ኢክኖማክስ

2. አርሶ አደሩን በሚመለከት።

- 2.1. በማዳበሪያ ስም በኅበፊው ላይ የሚደረገው መከባ እንዲቆም ማድረግ፣ ገበሬው በተመጣጣኝ ዋጋ እንዲያተኝና ሌሎች ድጋፎችን አቅም በፊቀደ መጠን እንዲሰሙት መንቀሳቀስ፣
- 2.2. የጤና ጣቢያዎች። መንገዶች፡ ንጹብ የመጠዋ መሃና ትጤቶች አትም በፊቀደ መጠን እንዲደርሱ ባለን ኃይል መሥራት፡
 - 3. የክተማ 5ዋሪዎችን በሚመለክት።
- 3.1. የሀገራቱ ሀብት እጅግ እየገዘል የመጣሙን የሥራ አጥንት፣ የአካለ ሥንኩልንትና የጎዳና ተዳዳሪ ኢትዮጵያሙያንን ችግሮች ለመትረፍ በአግባቡ

ተትም ላይ እንዲውል በሙሉ ልብ አስልላጊውን ተረት ማድረግ፣

- 3.2. ለአንዴው ሕብረተሰብ የነጻ ገበያ የኢኮኖሚ ሥርዓት ተስማሚ ፖሊሲዎችና ሕጎች ሥራ ላይ አንዲውሉ ማረጋገጥ፣
- 3.3. በንንዴው ሁበረተሰብ ላይ በየጊዜው በዘልቀደ የሚጨመሩ የቤት ክራይና ግብሮች ከንንዴው አትምና ትርፍ ጋር መሂዳቸውን ማረጋገጥ፣
- 3.4. በንግድ ስም ለተሸርሙ ፓርቲ የሀብት ማክበቻንት ይለምንም ባደብ የሚንቀሳቀሱ የንግድ ተቋማት ሕጋዊ መሥመር እንዲይቱ ማድረግ።
- 3.5. ማንም ኢትዮጵያዊ በየትም ቦታ ተንቀሳቅስ የመስራት ዋስትና እንዲያተኝ ማድረማ፣

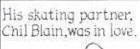
- 3.6. የመንግሥት ሠራተኞች የሥራ ዋስትና እንዲጠበት ማድረግ፣
- 3.7. ውጤቱ ለማይታወት እየተመሰቃቀለ የመጣውን የሀገሪቱን የትምሀርት ፖሊሲ መሥመር እንዲይዝ ማድረግ።
- 3.8. AU-A-9" F7CFF3 aug F ቁልፍ በአንድ ብሔር የበሳይንት አየተዋቀሪ 909.77 m. 10,30 m 3.06 MC3-1. 107% **ロムラスく・** 1116.6.9. AC49 00 7001. 1.6.TC U-1-9" 247-1-49 VIIII) thanc: Transfil Pay 4.4.11-1. ዲሞክራሲያዊት ሀገር Amg:mt ክሌሎች የሀገራት ዲሞክራሲያዊ ኃይሎች ጋር በውበፊት መታገል።

PEANUTS

By Schulz









While playing a show in Denver, she had become involved with a cowboy named Martin Gale.





EXECUTIVE SUITE

By William Wells & Jack Lindstrom





Mainichi Daily News, March 30, 2000

የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲና የ1992 ዓ.ም. ምርጫ

ከይስሐት ክፍሌ የኢትዮጵያ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ፓርቲ ተወካይ

"P"7,014-ቤት ይፎካከሩበታል: 809.009 n.i. ይመክከሩበታል" 732A: የኢትዮጵያ የኢኮኖሚክስ ባለሙያዎች ማሀበር 1. 1.7.7: P至5少年3 4.26-0007 Nos 80'77 a-07673 78779 A 097-7-1 20 入78. 2006 DERT 800-3 1.73010 プロセムデオ ኢዴጋ' ያለውን የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ 132700 ang an ስለሰጠን በአኔና በፓርቲዬ ስም ክልብ አመስግናለሁ።

የኢትዮጵያውያን ዴምክራሲያዊ **プに七(んぷ.ア) () われつんそう りんす** የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች ዕድሜ አኳያ ሲታይ ለጋ ፓርቲ ነው። ይሁን 23% TCt:o-ያስባሰባቸው 7.7.5 A7C 082 በመሆናቸው። አንግቦት የተነሳው 240990 የአብዛኛ ውን UNIA T490 P07.52.29T 9:477-5 amu'r: UAm-Gm-7 0++42 በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ ዕውቅና በአዲስ 173.6 አበባ hAA በማንካሂዱ የክልልና P-1-0119-7 20 Cass የሕዝቡን 9"/0.7 6.98 Vad. 2.3.4. Po-has ለውድድር ቀርቧል።

ኢዴፓ በፕሮግራሙ ላይ በግልዕ እንዳስራረሙ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲው በፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ተጽእኖና ከአብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲ የጸዳ ለነፃ ገበያ የኢኮኖሚ ስርዓት መሥራን ይታገላል።

እንደ ኢዴፓ እምነት በሀገራችን አስተማማኝ የኢኮኖሚ እድባት ለማምጣት በቅድሚያ ሁሉም ኢትዮጵያዊ በየትኛውም የሀገሪቱ ክፍል ተንቀሳቅስ አርሶ፣ ነፃዶና + + TC WCF Amg C P77.977-10-"h76" P07.0 0027 not 6-8 mGmC3 ለዚህም ዋስትና የሚሆን የፖለቲካ ርእዮት ማመቻቸት እንዳለበት 990GA: እያንዳንዱ የኢኮኖሚ ስርአት የራሱ የሆነ አለም አለው።

አሁን አለማችን የምትተኝበት tanger. いるか 80280280 የሶሻሊስቱ የኢክኖሚ ስርአት 11-86-60 959 708 作りてきんのま ስርአት) 64.74 46277 人争问题 እንደሆነ የሚያመለከት ነው። የዚህ ርዕዮተ ምሕዋርም ብሔርተኝነት ፡ ማለኝነት፣ የማልሀብትና የነፃ ገበደ 57 m:: BU 6708 nc97. ከማርክሲስቶች አብዮታዊ ይምክራሲ ማለትም ዴምክራሲ ለመደብ ወደም ለቡድን ጥትም h 9.00-አስተሳሰብ 20 ይጻረራል። በመሆኑም የኢዴፓ Phhara. 18.3 0276-73 አዘውትሮ የሚነገረውንና ለተወሰነ ተቅምና PUAZTAN 19:A P#7.2.700-3 PRACHE የአብዮታዊ ዴ.ምክራሲያዊ አካሄድ 20.3 m 1.705 አገሪቱ h9:45 ከምትግኝበት የእርሻ ተተኝነት ደረጃ በደረጃ OB. ኢንዳስትሪ **サイナナナナ** የምትመራበትን መንገድ መሻት 500-::

በዚህም መሠረት በኢኮኖሚው አረገድ የኢዴ*ፓ ፓ*ሲሲ በሚከተሉት ነጥቦች **ላይ** ያተኩራል።

1. የአገሪቱን የኢኮኖሚ ነፃነት
የሚያረጋግጥ የሕዝቡን የኦሮ
ደረጃ የሚያሻሽልና
የሚያቀራርብ፣ በነጻ ገበያ መርሀ
ላይ የተመሠረተና በሕግ የተወሰነ
የመንግስት ድርሻ ያለው የልማት
ፖሊሲ በሚመለከታቸው ክፍሎች
ሁለንተናዊና ቀጥተኛ ተሳትፎ
መቀየስ፣

2. የነጻ የገበያ ስርአት "ሁሉም ነገር የሚሸተ የሚለወተ ሽቀተ ነው" በሚል መርህ የሚገዛ ነው። ከዚህ አንጻር የምርት መመንጫ ዋንኛው አካል መሬት 0067 1 1935 a.9 የኢንቨስትመንት mh4.4.7.9 የኢኮኖሚ እድባት መሠረት ነው። ስለሆነም መላ የአባሪቱ አርሶአደር የመንግስት **ም**ስኛ እንዲሆን 82270-7 ለአግሪቱ ኢንቨስትመንት መስፋፋት ማነቆ PU'50-35 かるす የመንግስት アアルセカ 001168 እንዲሆን "co 6 7 88270-3 የመንግስት ነው" የሚለውን ፖሊሲ በመቀየር 17.78 2.11 በሆነ መልኩ ለአርሶ አደሩ ሀዝብ ተከፋፍሎና በማል ሀብትነት ተይዞ የሚሸተ የሚለወተ የሚከራይና የሚተላለፍ እንዲሆን በማድረግ ለኢንቨስትመንት አድባት ምቹ እንዲሁም いるか op GmC 111120 ሕይወት P0067 ባለቤትንት nº98nc 003603 P0067 ለምነትና የአካባቢ 20357 በአስተማማኝ ひるか

እንዲጠበት ማድረግ የኢዲፓ መሠረታዊ አሳግ ነው።

ADJE J

- 3. በምንብ አህል ምርት አራሳችንን ለመቻልና ከተመጽዋችነት ለመዳን መሬትን የማል ሀብት ከማድረግ ነን የግልና የማህበራት አርሻዎች የሚስፋፋበትን ዘዴ በመቀየስ በመናዊ የንብርና አግራ የሚስፋፋበትን፣ ነበሬሙ የቴክኒክ፣ የግተሪደልና የመለጠን የስሙ ኃይል ድንፍ አደተኝ ሕይመቱን የሚያሻሽልበትን መንገድ ማመንቸትት።
- 4. አካባቢያቸው በሰው ስራሽና የተራጥሮ አደጋ የተራቆተባቸው አርዕ አደሮች በሬታደኝነት ላይ በተመመረተ መልኩ ለኑሮአቸው አመቺ በሆኑ አካባቢዎች የሚመናሩበትን ሁኔታ ማመቻቸት።
- 5. በበላንንት የሚኖረውን የሕብረተሰብ ክፍል ሕይወተ የተመመረተበትን የአንስሳት ሀብት አደደዝና አጠታተም ማሳደግና ቀስ በተሰም በራሱ ፍላንት ወደ ደሚ የመኖሪያ ወሬር ምስረታና የተረጋጋ ሀይወት የሚመጣራበትን ሁኔታ ማመቻቸት።
- 6. የክተማ ቦታ ክሊዝ አውራር መዋች ሕብረተሰቡን ሊጠቅሙ የሚችሉ አባልግሎቶችና ተቋሞች ማንባታ በመትተኛ የአባልግሎት ዋጋ በመስጠት ኢንቨስትመንት አንዲሳተፉ ምቹ ሁኔታዎችን መፍጠር።
- 7. የመኖሪያ ቤት ችግርን የሚያቃልል የኢንቨስትመንት መስክ በመንግስት ልዩ ትኩረትና ድጋፍ እንዲሰጠው በማድረግ፣
- 8. በግል ባለሀብቶች በተናጠል መይም በሽርክና የሚቋቋሙ ኢንዱስትሪዎች ዓይነትና መጠን በፍተነት እንዲያድግ ምቹ የኢንቨስትመንት ፖሊሲ በመንደፍ ለልማት አድብታችን መሠረት ለሚሆኑት ኢንዱስትሪዎች በቂ የመንግስት ድጋፍ መስጠትና በየትኛውም ደረጃ ለሚቋቋሙ ኢንዱስትሪዎች የአባር ውስጥ ባለሀብቶች ቅድሚያ ኢንዲስሙ ማድረግና በተቻለ መጠን የፖራትድል የሚከፍተ ችልበት

ተጠቃጣሊዎች /Labour Intensive/ እንዲሆኑ ማድረግ፡

- 9. የአገር ውስጥ ባለሀብቶችና ኢንዳስትሪዎች ከውጭ ጋር የመመዳደር ብታትን እስከ ግደታለብቱ ድረስ በቂና አስተማማኝ ጥበቃ አግዛ በመንግስት አንዲደረግላቸው ግድረግ፣
- 10. ንግድ የታሪክ፣ የባወል፣ የቴክኖሎጂና የሕዝቦች ማንኙነት の首のつると 3と5十年 たみたと መሆኑን አደጋገ ያምናል። በመሆን-ም የንግዱ ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ለአባራችን እድባት የሚኖረው ድርሻ በቀላሉ 804.700.7 አይደለም። ይሁን እንጂ በአሁን ወቅት በንግዱ ማህበረሰብ ላይ የተጫነው ከጣሪ በላይ የናጀ የቤት ክሬድ፣ 1.86.6.05 7:099 h.463: 102 0423 ማምት ሙስፕ ያሳስገባ ነው። በዚህም ምክንደት 5.2ዴው ለአገሩ አድንት ማሰብ ቀርቶ የራሱ ሕልውና አመደደቂ ሁኔታ ውስጥ ጉበቷል። ይህን የግብርና የታክስ አጣጣል መርሀን ደልተከተለ አመራር በጣስመገድ የንግዳ ማህበረሰብ ለራሱና ለቤተሰቡ ከቢደም ለአንሩ ልማት የሚያበሪክተውን አስተዋጽኦ 107.2059 and 528.003 ራሱን ያሳተል የኪራይ የግብርና PAND PROST CONCAT:
- 11. የአድንትና 6120 W. 1. 1 አምብርቶች ከተሞች በመሆናቸው ብታት ባለው አስተድደራዊ መዋቅር እንዲተዳደሩ ሚዛናዊ 9700Z-T በሆን - ኢኮኖሚያዊና እቅድ *እንዲመሩ* 78:29: በተለይም አዲስ አበባ የሀገራችን የኢኮኖሚና የፖለቲካ ማዕከል ከመሆኗ አንጻር ከጠቅላይ ማኢስቴፍ ቁጥጥር ሥር ወጥታ የተሻለ ራስን በራስ የማስተዳደር መብትና 585ት በሚስተ የክልል መስተዳድርነት ደረጃ እንዲኖራት 078:29:
- 12. በኢንዳስትሪው ዘርፍ ወግኝ ሚና የሚኖረውን የመራታኛውን ሕዝብ ተገቢ ዋትም የሚያስጠብት ሚዛናዊ የአመሪና መራታኛ ሕግ አንዲኖር ማድረግ፣ እንዲውም መራታኛው ስኦሮው በቂ የሆን የሥራ ክፍደና ዋስትና

የሚያባኝበትን ሁኔታ በሕፃ መመሰንና ለጤንታቱና ለሀይወቱ ተገቢ ዋስትና እንዲያባኝ ተረት ማድረግ፣

- 13. የፕሬይቪ ታይዜሽን
 እንቅስታሴ ኢኮኖሚውን በትክክል
 ከመንግስትና ከፖለቲካ ኃይሎች
 ይዞታ ንጻ የሚያደርግና
 የመራተኛውንም ሕዝብ የሥራ
 ዋስትና ግምት ውስዋ ባስገባ
 መልኩ እንዲከናወን ማድረግ፣
- 14. በልማት ወደ: ነሳ ስቀሩ አካባቢዎች የተለየ ትኩረት በመስጠት የተመጣጠነና ተደ.26. የሆነ ልማትን ማሩጠን።
- 15. በደርግና በኢህአዴግ ያለአግባብ የተወረሱ የሕዝብ። የማህበራትና የግል ንብረቶች ለሕጋዊ ባለቤቶቻቸው እንዲመለሱና በአገራችን አስተማማኝ የኢኮኖሚ ዋስትና እንዲሰፍን ማድረግ።
- 16. የንግዱን ማመበረሰብ ከመፈታተን አልፈው ከግበደ አያስመጡት ያሉትንና ለሀገሪቱ የፖለቲካ ስርአት አደተኛ ውኔታ አየፈጠሩ የሚተኙትን በፖለቲካ ሙንቻ የሚታግዙ የኢኮኖሚ፣ የንግድ፣ የማከፋፈያና የኢንዱስትሪ ድርጅቶች ከግበደ ማስመጣት፣
- 17. የሁለንተናዊ አድባታችን ከፍተኛ አንቅፋት በመሆን ላይ ያለውን መስና ለማስወገድ አንዲቻል ለመስና አድል የሚከፍተ የአውራር ሥልቶችን መቀየር፣ የተጠናከረ የቀጥጥርና የክትትል ሥርዓትን ማጠንከር፣

እንዚህ ከዚህ በላይ የተዘረዘሩት የፓርቲው የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ አንኳር መሪ ሀሳቦች ሲሆኑ። መድረኩ የውይይቱ ተሳታራዎች ተጨባጭ ውጤቶችን እንዲይዙ ላቀረባቸው የመንደርደሪያ ጥያቄዎች ኢዲፓ፣ ያለው አቋም እንደሚከተለው ነው።

1. የሀገራቱ አድባት ዋና ማነቆ የሆኑ ነገሮች ምንድን ናቸው?

የኢትዮጵያ ዕድባት ማነቆ የሆኑ ነባሮች ታሪካዊ፣ ፖለቲካዊ፣ ልሳን ኢኮኖሚክስ

2.P-20006 7.58-73 ባህላዊ አካተው የያዙ መ-ስ-በስ-በ ሰው-16.75 ተልጥሮአዊ カウナキデ ናቸው። በታሪካዊ መልኩ የአለም የሥራ ክፍፍል። የሰሜን ደቡብ 93557: P#11.44mmark 0.0040. በፓልቲካዊ 78. P.C.2.2.9.9 989 (1039) 1007. 1.8.2.26.5 4mgy7 እ*ንዲሁም* PAO-45209 2.44 አለመኖር። የእርስ በርስ መርነት በምሳሌንት የሚጠቀሱ ST m: m48.9"57: PARTAG think M. S. ባይ ተዋርነት 0.6.6.8. በማህበሬ-ዊ 72. በአጠታሳይ 8 po 6.9 86.m6 ባሀል አለመዳበር በባሀላዊ ትን-Pag. J. P. F. F. ar.

የኢክኖማ 15:20 Payano. 69°CA 0877 በዓይነትና noom? an all and '/ co-:: በተታራኒው የኢኮኖሚ አለማደግ 89°C1 YVan Cranc 200-:: የኢኮኖሚ 08.77 A-LAPP 1.7.2 90h3847 87-1A: አንደሚታወቀው 1700 ለግም ረብ የሚከተሉት ነገሮች መሚላት አለባቸው።

ህ. መሬት (የተፈጥሮ ሀብት) ሲ. የሰው ጉልበት ሐ. ካፒታል (ግንዘብ) መ. ዕውቀት

ከንዚህ አንዳ ከንደለ የምርት ሂደት ይስተ-3ንላል። በአብዛኛው የዕድጉት ማነቆ ነው የሚባለው የካፒታልና የዕውቀት በተገቢው መጠንና ዓይነት አለመተኝት አንዱና መሠረታዊ ሲሆን። ከዚሁ ያልተናነሰው የዕድጉት ማነቆ ማን ያለንን ካፒታልና ዕውቀት በአግባቡ አለመጠቀም ነው።

PhTJAS ATZ4 Om.4.1 11.2.00-7 10877 00344 (D.P.90 77877 16.300 +m.+%. グカラア・ナ አይሆንም። ለአንድ 18:77 3.8.5十至6 97.4 643 ሀብት: የሰው 7A07: かじかるら 00-4-7 0°7.507.0 08.7.1.3 1.54.43 OO Alb arra. TGI18. PA"77 7.290 11-towast thta MG 18 አለማዋል ነው። በኢየንዳንዱ አባር ያለው A877 16.309 003030 ከተፈተሮ ሀብት፣ የሰው ጉልበት፣

ካፒታልና ዕውቀት በተጨማሪ የፖሊሲ፣ የአግነዝ የማበረታቻና የሀብት አጠቃቀም ልዩነት ነው።

ለአገራችን ዕድባት ማነቆ ከሆኑት PHTZAG የዕውቀት ማጠዋ በተጓዳኝ፣ የፖሊሲዎች መዛባት፣ የአንዛዞች አምባንነንነት ፡ Pの70ムナデタ子 $\lambda \Lambda m G C G$ ከሁሉም MAR PU-0-1-አጠ.ቃቀማንንን 11.80 1.70. አለመሆን ዓበይተ፡ የዕድ ገታችን ማንቆዎች ናቸው። አሁን ባለንበት Ph76-7-3 396.P. U. b.J. የአባራችን ዕድ ነት ማንቆ የሆኑት PU-Oit አጠቃቀም 7.70: Phrains 200-4-7 ATZ? PU'5.7. ችግሮች በተናጠልና natcate በማኒክተሉት መስኮች ይንጸባፈታል።

1.1. የመንግስት አመቃቀር

608.77 www.dt 84.622 የፖለቲካዊና ማህበራዊ ሕይወት በሕዝቡ መካከል መረጋገጥ ነው። የዚህ መሠረተ፡ ደግሞ ሕዝብ 80070 1: 9870 Pha : ያከበረውና የወደደው የመንግስት አደረጃጀት (አወታቀር) መኖርና PCA-39 anan6897 2307.5 608.11. 20097 กษาก 6.ቃድ ተግባራዊ ማድሪግ ሲቻል 100-11

A78C hitu ኢሀአዴ 7 Ptht Am 自まうま 18 Ptowatt የፌደራሊገነም የመንግስት አደረጃጀት (ይህንም በተገቢው ሁኔታ ያሳሚሳ ሳሚሳ ቢልም አደቻልም) የሕዝቡን ፍላጎት የተከተለ ካለመሆኑም ጎውኝንትን በላይ ፡ በማስፋፋት orymmas oph4.6.63 የሚያበረታታ፣ የልማት ስርጭትን ሚዛናዊነት ያልተከተለ በመሆኑ ለንብረት : 7711-0: አውቀትና ጊዜ መባከን የበኩሉን ድርሻ ያበሪከተና ለዕድ ንታችን ማንቆ PU' 10 -::

የመንግስት አመታቀሩ የፖስቲካውን ቁንጮ ለጨበጠው ብሔረሰብ ዕድጉት ምቹ ሁኔታን የፌጠረና በክልሎች መካከል የነበረውን ልዩነት በከፍተኛ ደረጃ በማስፋት ፖስቲካው የተረጋጋ እንዳይሆን ያደረገ ስለሆነ የዕድ ገታችን ዓይነተኛ ማነቆ ሆኗል።

1.2. የነፃ ገበደና የአብዮታዊ ዲሞክራሲደዊ ርዕዮታ ዓለም መጣረዝ።

283834 Phison. 1.63.1 P6.0 90% COP-1 309" አለመ። 879 2013 COP-1-PA-CTO-COP-7-Puran-ሊበራል ዲሞክራሲ ነው። የዚህም (:0P-) 8049113 £3.7£ ከማለሰብ ንዓንት ላይ የተመመረት 700-:: የማለሰቡ ንዓ መሆን P-1111-05-3 7977 \$2.27mA Pay. A 500-11 (1

አንጻሩ የአብዮታዊ ዲሞክሪ-ሴያዊ handhhil. 797.7 2. Pha.a. h(1-2-3 (am 9.41) ደጀምራል። የቡድኑ ነፃ መሆን የማለሰቡን 5957 \$2.27MA PMA P"7Cha.a.F.F 78.3. 7m-:: ኢሀአዴማ በአብዮታዊ ዲሞክራሲዮዊ A:200 አንዳይገሩበት 83A9" 4.504 ひるから Printen. (DC:7:) ማክተም ቀፍዶ ደዘው። ለጭራች እንዳይተመው mag. PAR.70-የአልባንያ ኮሚኒግም ነው። በዚህ ቅራኔ በመመጠር በመሬት ተያቴ ላይ የወሰደው አቋምና ያወጣው 27人人 どりたつとデラ みようすぎ TP\$ 0'5.A ::

Par 6.1. በመንግስት 10 97 ለኢሕአዴማ በስልጣን and Pol. የሚያባለግለውን ያህል። የሀገሪቱን ዕድንት የዚያኑ ያሀል 4040 **スピケナナナナ** 700 11 (1-1-00) 12. 0.2% 2"1.1.5" 11.09 ለኢንቨስተሮች አመቺ ባለመሆኑ የተፈለገውን ያህል በጎጠርም ሆን 01:1:09 ኢንቨስት·መንት አንዲስፋፋ አላስቻለም።

1.3. በዋናት ላይ ያልተመሠረተ የመዋቅር ማሻሻያ ፕሮግራም ተግባራዊነት

የመዋቅር ማሻሻያ ፕሮግራም (Structural Adjustment Programme) በዓለም አቀፍ የፕንዘብ ድርጅቶች በሆኑት አይ ኤም ኤፍ እና ዓለም ባንክ ለሁሉም ታዳጊ አገሮች ችግሮች በመፍትሄነት የሚሰጥ የሁሉም በሽታዎች መድህኒት ነው።

1.904 77 00 8 Uz t ለየትኛውም አባር በሽታ ፈዋሽ አለመሆኑ ነው። ይህ በውልና በማልጽ አየታወቀ፣ ኢሕአይማ የፖለቲካ ስልጣኑን ለማደላደልና የምዕራባው ያንን ድጋፍ ለማግኘት 8.29 98.00-7.90 X388 Amond hora and t ተንስቶ የወሰደው 00.0 የፕሮግራም ማስተካከደ የብርን ዋ.ኃ መቀንስ፡ ወደ የምንልካቸውን ሽቀመች 9:) በማርክስ፣ የአባር ውስጥ ምርት ha--L 002.20no mit m-8:8:0 አንዳመድት mil-i-በማድረግ የአገር ውስጥ ካፒታል እንዳደንስራራ ከፍተኛ 0778 ከመሆኑም በላይ ለሥራ አጥነት የበኩሉን ድርሻ አበርክቷል።

1.4.02 ስቲካ ድርጅቶች የሚታገዙ የኢኮኖሚ ድርጅቶች በማምረት፣ በማከፋልልና በማከማቾት ውስጥ ቀጥተኛ ተሳታፊ መሆንና የ2ነለቲካው ድጋፍ የሌላቸው የኢኮኖሚ ድርጅቶች ከነበደ መውጣት፣

8.6.8 (lanci) ኢሕአዴግ PZA北年 全心差不等。 有人也学"先 REP mer mus assaura-EU "73 :: A?"P9. 1.10% 公司并不 自人也是可见 1. 1. 19 19 P.C.P. Iran PACA PPAMIS 1-4543 X3820% hogo ለመግደብ የታሰበ እንጂ፣ በራሱ 4.B 4.6.8"7. 80"7 an(1) \AU'19":: (1000'5-9" 01:6-302 (2): (10)] · (m)] · : በኤሌክትሮኒክ። 0.001-0.3 0"714-8.89 an7G7:0434 ወበተ ዘርፎት የኢህአዴግ ንብሬት የኢኮኖማ. 1.2.407.3 0.9333901007701 \38,m\pm 17.7 a.cha.a.s ሌሎች አቻ የማል 007827 ድርጅቶች ከግበደው እንዲወጡ ነው። ይህም ነጻና 15221 ፍትህዊ የሆን የገበደ ውድድርን በመንዘጋት ገበደውን በምኖረገል 16.5 any Pay 8.2.100-3 Tail ከማሳየተም በላይ፣ ለዕድጌታቸን PHI-17 8.26 A.PaZhd: ሀይሎችን P07.7.1. hang በማስወጣት የአርምጃችን ማንቆ US.A . 2090 አ.ሕአዴ 7 ኢክኖሚውን 0-07-35-1-በመቆጣጠር ዘላለማዊ የፖለቲካ

የበላይነቱን ይዞ የመኖር ምኞቱን የሚያሳይ ነው።

1.5. ቢሮክራሲው ትምሀርት። ዕውቀትና ችሎታ ባለው የሰው ሀዶል አለመደራጀት

ACHEA 216 802.97 m.3 2307: 31779 marcs973 በማሻሻል። አዳዲስ Phwa.C. 23073 nmp28 በአጠታሳይ ለአድባት አመቺ የሆኑ ደንቦችንና **ののと8男子3 0門12美子 0番門** አመ-ጨመ- አካል 为为君母於中 P078: 299 Poor 2962775 የልማት ፖሊሲዎችም በትክክል ተማባራዊ እንዲሆኑ የሚደደርግ የመንግስት አይነተኛ የድርጊት መጣሪያ መሆኑ ግልጽ ነው። ከዚህ わうれじ 几じりんれ (人) カスティナデラ 004.039° 07 003十年 86.件 የሆነ ተጽዕኖ ያለው አካል መሆኑ ማልጽ ነው። በዚህ አካል ላይ 027 899.75 00-4-1: 7.9°007: A9089 PATE 0027 9.4C 1.6.5.7.2.9 0267 00947 029 0234 መሳተት ከፍተኛ ድርሻ አለው። ይህ መሆኑ እየታወቀ ኢህአዴግ howhithous pile Z'Ath aff A90 8 (10074A) 1.0029 ዕውቀት ያላቸው ሰዎት ተባረው በፖለቲካ ታማኝነትና በዘር ብቻ + hayay 7: PILC. W6.197 13 m an 311 n. 1: 4000 9.1 ለዕድ ገታችን መንተት ለሥራዎች በወቅተና በትክክል 7009° ዋና ማነቆ ሆኗል። ከዚህ በላይ በ,ሮክሬ-ሲው የተረጋጋ (2.04) PO 6.97 GAUDU'S. በዕትድና 04£9° Thita ካለመከፍወናቸውም 018 Physi-ሳልቆይበት በሚል ሁሉም "የድርሻዬን" 0.444. 998.6.8 ለአባሪቱ ዕድባት P"7.0-10-7 7711-11 P.J. Am-3 ያህል እየዘገን ይጠፋል። በመገናቸ ብዙሀን የሚሰሙ ዜናዎች ዛሬ በባለሥለጣኖች Pay.112.6.10-ንዝብ ብሽ, ሳይሆን በሚሊዮን Pay. #mc '700-11

1.6. የምርታማንትን ዝቅተኛነት። የፍጆታና ቁጠባ አለመመጣጠን

ባለ-በን አጠታላይ ኋላቀርነት የተነሳ፣ የምርት መባልባደ መጣሪያዎቻችንና የእያንዳንዳ ሠራተኛ የምርታምነት ደረጃ

PO7.6.170-3 PUA 2029 9"C2-777277 አይደለም። በኢንዱስትሪም ሆነ በግብርናው 用C军 入签号 "种中学 5mm ይU ከሳይንስና ቴክናሎጂ 77765 አጠታቀም : hw6.49 ar Och 4-7-5 子グルC子 .20 8446.9 የአጠታላይ :34 ቀርንታችን 58-በፊቅ ነው። ከዚህ 01:02.976 90394 7333 Pay FAM ao Fara hond. 8907.119 1900 -A-nn የሚተርፈውን እንኳ ቢሆን፣ ቀጠባ በሀሳብ ደረጃም ቢሆን ሰርዖን የባባ ሀሳብ አይደለም። 177: 12.20 P. (D, 2, 9" Ahcap "The arm 2333 937.0 የአጠታቀም ቁጠባ PA39":: 04:46-20-Pront アレイノントカリデン 119:0 840021-0-3 807,007-0 700-:: 1.10 +02CG 1.44.4. ይመንባል። ይለብሳል። መቆጠብ እንኳን ባንችል ያመረትነውን ያሀል የመጠቀም ባሀል ልናዳብር ይገባል። በኢኮኖሚስቶች አይን 903 0.28 እንደማረባል ባናውትም በኛ ከአመረተነት በላይ 2,9077 (0,2,90 ያላመረተ፡ትን መጠቀም የዕድነት ማንቆ ይመስለናል። Tage ሲፓጃሮ፥ በሚትስቡሽ mg: Ad መ*ናጣ* አይመስለንም። 1.08:0 ATTOCT: THEC $\Lambda m. G:$ ተብድሮ ለመንባድ፣ ለኢንዳስትሪ አንዲ።

1.7. ትምህርት ለዕድገት መፍጠን፣ ለችግር ፈቺነት በሚውልበት መልኩ አለመቀየስ

የአገር ዕድገት ከሰው ልማት ደጀምራል። ትምህርት የዕድ ነት ישיל יריציטישו 804.90m.90 ያለምክንያት አይደለም። የሰሙ ልጅ ተልጥሮን የሚለምደው የሚባራውና በራሱ ፍላጎት ሥር P04.80-10-04.9"004 መሳሪያንት ብቻ ነው። የዕድባት አንፃራዊ መለኪያውም የሰው ልጅ በተራጥሮ ላይ ያለው የበላይነት። ተራጥሮን አውቆ ለራሱ ጥቅም የማዋል ችሎታና ብቃቱ ነው። ħΛ 7.90007 8,990 የሚታሰብ አይደለም። እስከ ዛሬ የንበሩ ስርዓተ-ግዛቶች ትምህርትን PC08-1 3090 9986.9 ከማድረግ ውጭ ለምርምር እና 109.8007. 16.006 mAli

አልቀየሱትም። ትምህርት በሥራ 6.9654:5 በአገር 0877 አፋጣኝነቱ ያለው ድርሻ ጎልቶ እንዲወጣ የሚያስችል የትምህርት ፓሊሲ አልቀየሱም። የትምህርቱ ትኩሬት በቀለም ብቻ ያታከረ ስለሆን ለመያና ለቴክኒክ ዕውቀት บาเคราร 908 **እንዲሆን አድርሳታል**።

ይህም በዕድ ገታችን ላይ ማነቆ horast ጉዳዮች አንዱ ነው። 100 8.90 $\alpha \omega$ -አካባቢው ን P0700 +: P0000 PS P0096.7 ችሎታና ብቃቱ ውስን ነውና።

1.8. የአንሪቱ ኤኮኖሚ በግብርና 15 wood 21

የአባራችን ኢኮኖሚ በግብርና ላይ 9+00W2+ han 17.90 200 የአስተራረስ ዘዴው ከባሀላዊ ያልወጣ ነው። ከዚሀ በላይ ኤክኖማ, በአብዛኛው 87-ACS とようタ子 Ots.TC ማለትም ለአንበጣ: ለድርት: 1.1.9°7: በረደ። ውርጭ ወዘተ የተጋለጠ ነው። ከዚህ ሁሉ በላይ የምርተን ann? በአደንዳንዱ 0067 14.7.9 የለምንት 2239 ተለየኤዴያሳስ 7.07 የሚመሠረት ነው።

Linky ተጠቃለው በምርት ውጤቱ ላይ ተፅእኖ ያሳድራሉ። በንድል ሀሳብ ደረጃ በግብርና ላይ ኤክኖሚ ቢያንስ 8+0002+ 29091 U-ILAV **军基少四**3 መቻል እንደነበረበት ይታመናል። የኛ ግን ክፍ ሲል በተጠቀሱት አጠቃቀም PU-0-1-የተልጥሮ ችግሮችና በአስተራረስ ዘዴ ኋላቀርነት የተነሳ ምግባችን ha-Fr 0.02:05 nocs2 ልበቀመ የተጦመስየ 78 ሆኖብናል። በዓለም የመጨረሻ ድሀ አገሮች የመጨረሻዋ አገር ኢትዮጵያ ሆናለት።

ይህም በመሆኑ ያሉት የፍጆታ ዕቃ አምራች የሆኑት የምግብ። POMMTS Parc. Parc P ፋብሪካዎች እንኳን ጥሬ ዕቃ፣ መለዋወጫ : ንዳጅ ወዘተ በውጭ ምንዛሬ ከውጭ ማስገባት ግዴታ አድርጎታል። ይሀ ሁኔታ ለተሰፋፋ የሚውለውን OCA+ v-0-7-ለፍጆታ እና ለአላቀ ምርቶች

እንድናውል አድርጎታል። ይህም በበኩሉ የዕድ ገታችን ማነቆ ነው።

1.9. ምዝበራና ብኩንንት

ምዝበራ የሀዝብንና የመንግሥትን 3-027: ለአገር 1877 የሚውለውን ህብት ህገወጥ በሆነ 00378 መውሰድ ሲሆን። ብኩንንት የዚሁ ዕደምታ ያለውና 341273 ያለአማባብ 00m490 20 HUG-2 700-:: nh-35-7: በሥልጣን መማከል። ኃላፊንት። ከዕውቀት፣ ከችሎታና ከትምሀርት *ጋር አለመመጣጠን፥ የመንግስት* NWG-C 708 አለመህን: アアハセカ . hhadaaat: ተጠይቂንትና リハムケー 11760 አለመኖር: እንዲሁ-9º क्या के ከለመዋር 🔹 3. ከፒታል ከትትልና **ቁ**ተጥር የሚከሰተ 77 m. :: እንዚህ ሁኔታዎች በአገራችን የተጠበቁ (P+227m) ባለመሆናቸው 80039 Mits የሀዝብ ንብረት በማለሰቦች ሲመዘበሩ ይስተዋላል። 2090 አንዱ የዕድባት ማንቆ 7 (D-::

1.10. mc57:

መር<u>ታ</u>ት የዕድባት ማነቆ ብቻ ሳይሆን የነበረን ዕድባት አውዳሚ ነው። የስልጣኔ ቀባሪ፣ የሰው ልጅ 00 PAG.7. UA OF PUT ከስተተ アカセカ里 7 m :: ኢትዮጵያ 076-77 02797 ልጆቿ ሁለንተናዊ መስዋፅትንት ዳር ድንበሯን አስከብራ ነፃነቷን m-11.4º PAPTO Omc54 ቢሆንም፥ መርታቱ በፅድንቷ ላይ ያሳደረው አፍራሽ ተጽእኖ አሁን P9"37307 596.P. 1.83. 97028 700-11 OmCit: ከሚወድመው ንብረትና ሀይወት n+62.096 ለጠርነተ: 47488 የሚውለው ገንዘብ፣ የሰው ሀይል። ቁሳቁስና ጊዜ ለዕድባት ይውል ከጎበረው एनाने-እየተቀንሰ የሚሰጥ በመሆኑ ጦርነት የቱን ያሀል የዕድባት ማነቆ መሆኑን መገንዘብ አይክብድም።

1.11. PUHITT 3 & 27-7-ከምርታችን እድባት ጋር አለመመጣጠን

የሕዝብ ቁጥርና የምርት መጠን አለመጣጣም 10277 የምናውለውን መዋዕለ 39 B

nonganT 11.309 974 BUGA:

ለንዚህ ማንቆዎች መኖር ምክንያተስ ምንድነው?

a.A ለመማለጽ እንደተሞክረው የኢኮኖሚ ዕድባት የሚባለው የምርት ዕድባት ነው። በተታራኒም 608-77 974 P"7,710-TOO. እንዳያድማ ዕንቅፋት የሚሆነው ማለት ነው። 9°C7-3 1.5°96.4 16.7 መሠረታዊ ነገሮች ያስልል.ኃሉ። እንሱም :

- 1. 00 6 7 (PT & TC UAT)
- 2. የሰው ጉልበት
- 4. ዕውቀት ናቸው።

ከንዚህ ውስጥ የአንዱ መንደል 9001.3 አያስገኝም። ስም'ርት 0871 YVandranc. 089" 162301 7778 Pagana. የካፒታልና የዕውቀት በተገቢው mm399,817 አለመገኘት ቢሆንም ዋነኛው የዕድባት ማነቆ ማን ያለንን ሀብት (カエナム 00-47 የስው 7-007-5 የተፈጥሮ ሀብት) በአማባቡ ጥትም 12 አሰማዋል 00 W 2 . J. 4. የዕድባት ማነቆ ነው።

የካፒታልና የዕውቀት ዕጥረት ለድህነት መኖር የሚያበረክተው ድርሻ ባያጠራጥርም ብቸኛው ተጠያቂ ግን አይደለም። ምክንያቱም ለምርት *ዕድገ*ት አይደለም። ወሳኝ ድርሻ የሚጫወተው ያለንን ሀብት የአጠቃቀም ዘዴ ነው። በአያንዳንዱ አገር ያለው የዕድጉት 6857 መንስዔው ከተልጥሮ 0.11-1: PAO-7-601-1: ካፒታልና፡ ዕውቀት በተጨማሪ የፖሊሲ፣ የአገዛዝ ማበፈታቻና የሀብት አጠቃቀም ልዩነት ዋናው ነው። የአገራችን ዕድጉት ማነቶ hurs-7 1707 ከካፒታልና 00.47 OMT 04383 የፖሊሲዎች መዛባት። የአገዛቦች የአምባባነንነት ፡ Pの102かチタギ አለመኖርና በአጠቃላይ የሀብት አጠ.ቃቀማችን H.S. 1.70 አለመሆን ዓይነተኞች የእድባታችን ማንቆዋች ናቸው። የዕድ ገታችን ማነቆ የሆነ ጉዳዮች የመኖራቸው ምክንያት በካፒታልና በዕውቀት

ዕጥሬት ቢሳበብም፣ በወሳኝነት 0039 mit 80286.90 Ro ፖለቲካና ፖለቲካውን ለማስረጽ 2.1.1. Paght Am 60877 カムコムナ + anger ひょか: 00-11-5 huntin ፍላታትና ከተማባሮች ቅደም thta +70.57·9 **・ ナ**タンプルカー አለመመንጨት ነው።

ማነቆዎቹን ለማስወገድ መደረግ ያለበት

የዕድ ንታችን ማንቆ የሆኑ ጉዳዮች 807.074 216 DAPP.C ችግሮች የአጭር። አይሆንም። Paohhas S P & F 90 7.11. P+4025 P+2.276. 0423 በተከታታይነት 1796.P. ያጠይታል። 99529 አ.ይ.ፓ ያሉብንን ማንቆዎች ለማስወገድ P07.10 108.27 YVU-J. P"7.h+A-7-7 50-::

1. በአጭር ጊዜ

1.1. በብሔራዊ ዕርትና ወላም ላይ የተመሠረተ ዴሞክራሲያዊ መንግስት ማደራጀት፣

08.74 44.20 乙五七年: "7UNZ-45 ኤክኖማ.ያዊ 3320.9° U.S. m-1-7: የተከታታይና ተደጋጋፊነት ያለው ብሔራዊ ፖሊሲ መኖርን ይሻል። ለዚህ ደግሞ መሠረተ፡ የሁሉንም ወገን ይሁንታንና ተቀባይነትን 179 PM (17 875 ይጠይቃል። ይህ ሁኔታ በአገራችን የለም። ስለሆነም በብሔራዊ ዕርት የተመሠረተ ለተፋጠን ኢትዮጵያ ይዛ 08775 ለቆየቸው መልካም አንድነት መቀጠል መድህን የሆነ የሬ.ዩ.ሬ.ል አደረጃጀት መኖርን፣ የመንግስት 7089 中面是独计 ያለው ሆኖ ባለሥልጣኑ በወቅታዊ ምርጫ በሕዝብ ፌታድ ስልጣን ዮሐ ተበቀለያግ የተበብዴያግን ስርዓት በሕግጡ (1039 pu J. 4 1.45 man 124.

1.2. ከአብዮታዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ አስተያየት የዐዳ የነፃ ግበያ ርዕዮተ ዓለም ማራመድና የነፃ ገበያ የኢኮኖሚ መርህ ከኢትዮጵያ ተጨባጭ ሁኔታ ጋር ባገናዘበ መልኩ ተግባራዊ ማድረግና መሬትን በግል ሀብትነት እንዲያዝ ማድረግ፣

1.3. ኢንቨስትመንትን ከቢሮክራሲው ውጣ ውረድ የገመድ ኁተታ በማላቀቅ ቀልጣፋና ምቹ ሁኔታን መፍጠር።

1.4. ለአገር ውስጥ ኢንዳስትሪዎች ዕድገት ምቹ ሁኔታ ከመፍጠር ባሻገር ለውድድር ብቁ እስኪሆኑ አስፈላጊውን ጥበቃ ማድረግ፣

1.5. በመዋቅር ማሻሻያው ፕሮግራም ሰበብ የተከሰቱ ችግሮችን ለመቋቋም የአገር ውስጥ ምርቶችን በመጠንና በአይነት በማሳደግ ወደ ውጭ የምንልካቸውን ምርቶች አይነትና መጠን መጨመር።

1.6. የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች በኢኮኖሚ የማክፍፈት ፣ የማክፍፈልናየማከማቸት ተማባር ላይ እንዳይሰማሩ ማንድ ፡

1.7. ቢሮክራሲው ከፖለቲካ ነፃ በሆነ መንገድ በሙያ ትምህርት ችሎታና ልምድ ላይ ተመስርቶ በውድድር እንዲያዝ ማድረግ፣

1.8. የሀዝባችን ቁጥር ከምርታችን፦ ዕድጉት ጋር የተጣጣሙ እንዲሆን ተገቢ ስልት ሙንደፍ።

1.9. ለአርስ በርስ መርነት ምክንያት የሆኑ፡ የስልጣን ድልድል የሀብት ክፍፍልና የአካባቢያዊ ልጣት ስርጭት ሚዛናዊ እና ሕተኛ እንዲሆኑ ማድረግ።

2. nanhhas 7.16

2.1. የምርት መገልገያዎች። መሳሪያዎችንና የሠራተኛውን ሀዝብ ምርታማኑት ደረጃ በደረጃ ለማሳደግ አዳዲስ ቴክኖሎጂዎችን መጠቀም። የሠራተኛውን ዕውቀት በተከታታዶ ሥልጠና ማሻሻል።

2.2. ትምህርት ለዕድገት መፋጠን መሠረቱ እንደመሆኑ ፖሊሲው በቴክኒክና በሙያ ትምህርት ላይ ትኬረት እንዲውጥ በማድረግ የሙያና የቴክኒክ ትምሀርት ቤቶችን ማስፋፋት፣

2.3. የግብርናው ክፍለ ኤኮኖሚ ቢያንስ በምግብ አሀል አራሳችንን በምንችልበት መንገድ ማደራጀት፡ የመሬትንና የአያንዳንዱን ገበሬ ምርታማነት የሚያሳድጉ ዘዴዎችን መጠቀም፡

ምዝበራና 2.4. ብኩንንት-ን MAM33 በማከፋልል ፡ P0039 1473 hw6.C 700 በማድረግ፥ ሥራና ሠራተኛውን በማኅናናት፣ U16.57-5 ተጠያቂነት በማጠናከር። ለተገቢ ሥራ ተገቢ ክፍያ በመከፊልና ጥብቅ **\$TTCS** htta በማድረግ መከላከል ፡

3. 几亿条90 7.16

3.1. በኢኮኖሚው ውስጥ የሀይል ማመንጫዎችን፡ ምደርናይዜሽንና ስፔሻላይዜሽን ሥራ ላይ በማዋል ኢኮኖሚው ከማብርና ጥገኝነት ተላቆ ኢንዱስትሪ መራሽ ወደሆን ኤኮኖሚ እንዲሽጋገር ማድረግና በዚሁም ውስጥ የግሎ ኤኮኖሚ የጎላ ሚና እንዲኖረው ማስቻል፡

መንግሥት ለሀገሪቱ ዕድባት ምን ዓይነት ወሳኝ ሚና አለው? ሀብረተሰብስ?

00377 mi በተለይም እንደኛ አገር ያለ መንግሥት የአገር እድባት አይነተኛና ሁለባብ ሚና የሚጫውት አካል ነው። ከሁለ በፊት ታሪካዊና ባወላዊ የሆኑትን 1-796-4:3 907-7-90 1179 ስርዓት ማስጠበቅ፣ ዳር ድንበር ማስከበር ፡ መጠበት። ፀጥታ ስላምን 72277 ++899. 1.704. 50-11 P.D 2790 ለዕድባት የራሱ ድርሻ አለው። ከዚህ በተ3ዳኝ ተስማሚ የዕድንት ፖሊሲ በመንደፍ። £307: anan689千35 1177.3 በጣውጣት የዕድባት አቅጣጫን 190 E+E1A# 900-0-7-7 በማይሰማሩባቸው የአገልግሎት ሰጪ ዘርፎች በመግባት ለምሳሌ መንገድ ሥራ። ድልድይ ወዘተ ወሳኝ ሚና ይጫወታል። ለሕዝብ የወል ጥትም የሚውሉ ማህበራዊና ኤኮኖሚያዊ ዘርፎችን

ልሳን ኢኮኖማክስ

009A097 ሰማለ-HCG አስፈላጊውን ተቤቃ በማድረግ፣ የወጪና የገቢ ንግድን በመምራት ወሳኝ ሚና ይጫወታል።

いれるかかれ

የአንድ አገር ዕድገት 8.90C ውጤት የእያንዳንዱ ሰው ፕሬት ድምር ነው። ሀብረተሰብ በግልና በማህበር ገንዘቡን። አውቀተን: ንልበተንና ጊዜውን በማቀናጀት ለአባር እድባት ዓይነተኛ P. 66 0 7. V. 11 いってするい የመንግስትን የልማት ፖሊሲ ወደ 1-790 1.0309 nouth. ለዕድባት የሚያበረከተው ድርሻ አንድና ሁለት የሚባል አይደለም። ይህ ግን ዕውን የሚሆነው ህዝብን ፖሊሲ. P99. 847. 4. 0.905 ፖሊሲውም በሀዝብ፣ ስለሀዝብ፣ ልቦ,ሰ ቡተየህለ O.S. 1.79C መተርጎም ሲቻል ነው።

P72869 80 15 to 14 66,00 2.44 የኢኮኖማ. PU11-113 ፍላጎት የሚያሟላና ሀገሪቱን ወደ ዕድጉት ጎዳና የሚያመሪ መሆኑ እንዴት መረጋገጥ ይቻላል

15 1 Polan Pay 86.90 8.00 የኢኮኖሚ 20.0. PUTI-113

ፍላጎት የሚያሟላና ሀገሪቱን ወደ 0877 185 87 8006 outs 602227ma+

u. ፖሊሲው በሀዝብ ፍላጎትና በእርሱ ቀጥተኛ ተሳትፎ የተንደፈ ኢንደሆን:

ለ. የፖሊሲው ሀሳብ hunto-የመነጨ ከሆነ።

በተማባራዊንቱ di. PUTIL የውዴታ ማዴታ ቀጥተኛ ፍላጎት ላይ የተመሠረተ ተላትፎ ክለበት። መ. ፖሊሲው ተማባራዊና ጠቃሚ 00033 h-r-owhe: P1-2.27m መሆኑን ሀዝቡ ሲያምንበት። ው. ፖሊሲው ከትክክለኛው ችግር

ሀብረተሰቡ በፖሊሲ ማውጣት ሂደት ውስጥ ቢሳተፍ ጠቀሜታ/ጉዳቱ ምን ይሆናል?

የተነሳ እንደሆነ፣

በፖሊሲ 70.77 PUHIT an GC 1-41-6 ለፖሊሲው 相手 ትክክለኛንት 4803 2.440.3 ተማባራዊ ለማድረግ የሳቀ SCT PAZhA & LU 73 ハルハグ A.JA 82'A.A. 7887 1E PU-1.79" 08.90 የአብዛኛውን U31:0 1116. 474. መጠበት ተገቢ 700-አይደለም። 9"h384:9"

አንዳንዶቹ ፖሊሲዎች ቴክኒካዊ harif's አልፈው የዕውቀትን ስፋትና ተልቀት፣ የሙያ ብቃትን ደሻሉ። ደሀ ደማሞ ከሁሉም ሰው የሚጠበቅ አይደለም። **አንድን** ፖሊሲ አንጂ 7.88 በሚመለከታቸው ስካሎት ማለትም P00-900-ባለቤቶች ማስጠናትን የነርሱንም ማዕከላዊ ሀሳብ ማማናት ጠቀሜታው የበዛ ነው። ሀዝብን በፖሊሲ ማውጣት +70. ማሳተፍ 700 902,07m ተማባራዊ በመሆኑ ነው። ሀዝብ በፖሊሲ 90.01 የሚሳተፍባቸው መድረኮችም።

- U. Par 9 94067:
- ለ. የፆታ ማህበራት!
- ሐ. የትምህርት ተቋማት ፡
- መ. የ2'\th ድርጅቶች፣
- w. ሲቪክ ማህበራት:
- ሬ. የሥራተኛ ማህበራት ፡
- ስ. የብዙሀን መገናኛ ተቋማት፣
- ሽ. ለዚሁ ተማባር በሚቋቋሙ ho7.697:
- ቀ. ልዩ ልዩ ሴሚናሮችና ሕዝባዊ ስብሰባዎች ወዘተ...

አመስግናለሁ።

CALVIN AND HOBBES

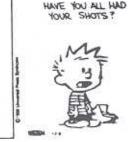
















የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲና የ1992 ዓ.ም. ምርጫ

ከዶ/ር በየን ጴጥሮስ የኢትዮጵያ የሰላምና የዲሞክራሲ አማራቁ፡ ኃይሎች ምክር ቤት ተወካይ

የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲና የ1992 ዓ.ም D. C. o.P. 007.00 00.0 P.S.C. 2:37 አቋምና P.11-7. እንድናብራራ ስንጠየት ይህንን 998:39 1.47.6. 1.6 C. P. ግዴ ታችን እንደሆነ በመውሰድ ነው፦ በጣም አጣዳል በሆነ ስራ-መክከል በዛሬው አለት አዚህ 1.8 V00121 008: 6h 11787 O.F. የቻልኩት። የለንም ወዘተ... ብሎ ይቅርታ በመጠየት ምክንያት የመደርደር ፍላጎት የለኝም።

በጉዳዮቹ ዙሪያ ባለፉት ስምንት አመታት የኖርንበትና ያለፍንበት ስለሆን ተዘጋጅቶና ሽምድዶ መምጣትም አያስፈልግንም። ስለሆንም እንኳር እንኳር የሆኑትን ንጥቦች ብቻ በማንሳት ከቤቱ በሚነሱ ጥያቄዎች አማካኝነት ሀሳባችንን ይበልጥ ማልጽ ለማድረግና ለማስፋፋት

000 2505 ርዕሱ ብሩሀ 1-790 **አ**ኳ35ም P90 C4663 የሚገልጽ ሆኖ እያለ። 1120% ጊዜ የምንንጋንፈው ወደ ትክክለኛ P#7.88.CA 90 (36) 四-只完仁 @P.90 Am S. S.C. ተብለ-ለበት ትመቺ የሆነ ሁኔታ በሌለበት X3207 04292 ለማሳውት አመዳለሁ።

እንግዲሀ ወደ ፍሪ ንገሩ ልሂድና የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲያቸን ለሀገሪቱ እድነት ዋና ማነቆ ለሆኑ ነገሮች መፍትሄ የሚሰዋ ሊሆን 入为是四个四个 与此为英王 《中央四篇 ሀሳብ የቀረበልን ነው። Pha-ስርአት አራሱ የደረደራቸውን መልሶ መድንም ለዚህ ለዛሬው ውይይት ጠቃሚ አይመስለኝም። ስለሆነም አሳስፌሳጊውን ፕዬ ዋናዎቹ ለሀገሪቱ አድባት ማነቆ የሆኑ ኢኮኖሚያዊ ምክንያቶች ምንድን ናቸው የሚለው ላይ ለማተኮር አልል.ኃለሁ። ከሁለ-ም एभावनें ने Allow देने SAD የማምረት። የመፍጠር። ንርን የማሻሻል ナラケガシオ 1.7.4. PSAK 500-0, 40 Hom G. T. 3 የኛ የኢኮኖሚ ያስቆጠረው። ፓሊሲ ሀዝባችንን ከዚህ ነጻ የሚያወጣ መሆን አለበት ብለን እናምናለን። የሀዝብን ተነሳሽንት (Initiative): PanGanC 子かタ: ተንቀሳትሶ የማምረትና የማፍራት በ58 ተማባር ላይ 11.4:4:3 እንዲያውል የሚያስችል ከፖለቲካ ውዠታ የጸዳ አካባቢያዊ ሁኔታ hitugo .2C አስራላጊ ነው። አብሮ የሚሄድ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ እንቀርጻለን። ለዚህም በቅድሚያ የፖለቲካ ስርአቱ እና ብሎም መንግስታዊ አስተዳደሩ O.S. ans: An 75 J'Ct: ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርአት መሽጋገር 978 10 1 hill oal ስለኢኮኖሚያዊ 76.34 1070-6-7 anorit and orthor ከመሆን አደልፍም።

ምናልባት አንጻንድ አምባንኖች (ዲክቴተሮች) በመፍባቸው አገሮች ሁሉ ኢኮኖሚያዊ አድባት ተካሂዶ የለም ወደ? የፒኖሼ ቺሊ፣ PAU-3 1.63: P"YCha? ፊሊፒንስ የመሳሰሉትን መጥቀስ ይቻላል። የሶቭየት ሀብረቱንም ትልቀን ኢምፓየር እንዲሁ። ነባር ማን እንዚህን ሁሉ መለስ ብለን ስናደ መሠረታቸው የተያያዘላቸው ዘላቂ 80% ኢኮኖሚያዊ እድ*ጉ*ት አሳይተው ዘላቂ (Sustainable) የሆን ንብ እና dison? AUTHO-Far-እንዳልሰጡና አስካውንም ከኢኮኖሚ ቀውሶች እንዳልተላቀቱ ይታወቃል። ስለሆነም መድበለ **プロセ 自じかす ロカコル・デオ** የሚሰፍንበት ሁኔታ ለኢኮኖሚ 2.4.1.27.3 መነሻ ይሆናል የሚለውን ሀሳብ አስንዝራለሁ። PM203 የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ ይኸው እስከአሁን ድረስ ወደ ኋላ ሲሳትተን ለድህንታችን ዋነኛው ምክንደት ሆኖ በልቋል። በኛ አምንት ሰፊውን የማህበረሰብ ከፍል መሠረት ያደረገ ነጻ የገበያ Ahrang. በአንራችን ሊሰፍን SAPP S በማህበራዊ 9.1.1 00CU 804,006. 18 ኢኮኖሚ ማለታችን ነው። ፍሬ ንባሩ የዳበረ የኢኮኖሚ ወቅም ያለው ብቻ ባለው አድሻንተች ተንቀሳቅሶ ወደ ኋላ የቀረውንና በንጻው ገበያ ስርአት የመወዳደር የሌለሙን Pay 88.9: Adole (FF na am ፓራሳይት የሆነ የጥቂቶች ብቻ ኢኮኖሚ ማለታችን አይደለም። ንጻ *ገቢያ* ኢኮኖሚ MYA ማህበራዊ 9:1.03 www. ያደረገ ሊሆን ይገባል እንላለን። ለዚህ ሁሉ ሰላምና መፈጋጋት

ያስፈልጋል።

ልዩንታችንን በሰላማዊ አማባብ የምንልታበት ひとか TATC የተረጋጋ ኑሮ መከተል የማድ LUSA :: AHUP በአ76-73 ከአደንዳንዱ ዜጋ መብት ጀምሮ የብሔር/ብሔረሰቦችና ማህበረሰቦች መብት የመከበር ጥያቄ በቂ ምላሽ 1.873 RAPA እንዲሁም የሀዝቦችን የእኩልነት FA ብለን በማለፍ የአገሪቷን ኢኮኖሚ እናሳድ ኃለን 1170 አሁንም ዘበት እንሳለን።

እንግዲህ ዋና ማነቆዎቹ እላይ የተጠቀሱት ሰው ሰራሽ ችግሮች ብቻ ናቸው ብሎ 9714 ምናልባት ሚዛናዊንትን 840 ይሆናል። በአገራችን ሁኔታ የአየር ተሸለበመ ተደጋግሞ መድረሱ ለአድባታችን ማንቆነት ተደማሪ ምክንደት እንደሆነም ማስንንዘብ አወዳለሁ። የተዛንል የአለም ኢኮኖሚ ሁኔታ ማለትም የፕሬ ምርቶች ዋጋ መውደቅ፣ በአለም የገበደ ዋጋ መዋገቦት የመሳሰሉት ሁሉ ለኋላቀርንታችን የራሳቸው ተፅእኖ ሳይኖራቸው ቀረ ማለት ሀሳባዊነት ይሆናል። ሆኖም ዋናው ሰራሽ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲያችን ብልሹነትና የከባቢው PZAth いるかの መበላሽት እንደሆነ ነው። ይሀንን በመንደርደሪያነት ካልኩ 0.34 አንዳንድ OW C.J. P. PU% የኢሰዴአን ም/ቤት የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ ታሳቢዎችን አጠቅሳለሁ። እንርሱም:

ነኛ. የኢኮኖሚያዊ አድባትን ለማፋጠን የህዝቦችን ክብርና መብት ማስጠበቅ፡ ፍትህዊ የሆነ የአስተዳደርና ኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ እንዲኖር ማድረግ፡

2ኛ. በመላው አገሪቱ ፌዴራሳዊ ክልሎች የብሄረሰቦችና ሀገቦች የተመጣጠን ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማሀበራዊ አድባት የሚያመጣ ፖሊሲን መቅረፅ፡

3ኛ. የአገሪቱ ኢኮኖሚያዊ ይዘት በንጻ የገበያ መርሀ ላይ የተመሠረተ ሆኖ (ቅድም ስለ ማሀበራዊ ፍትሀ አንስቻለሁ) የመንግስት ሚና ፓሊሲዎችን ደንቦችንና ድንጋጌዎችን

በማውጣት የኢኮኖሚውን ስርአት እንቅስቃሴ ማረጋጋት እንዲሁም 71455 ው-ስ-በስ-በ ow 2+ ልማቶችን በመዘር ጋትና በመስተዳድሩ ሚና እንዲኖረው ማድረግ ይሆናል። ለምሳሌ አገር አቋራጭ አውራ ጎዳናዎችን፣ ከፍተኛ anm? 8470.3 ኢሌክትሪክ PURRC URA ማመንጫዎችን の大大大学 የመንግስት ማዕከላዊ ተግባር ይሆናል።

4ኛ. የመስኖ አርሻዎችን ማስፋፋት ለዚህም የሚሆን የውሀ **ንድቦችንና** Poons ስራዎችን አስፋፍቶ ገበሬው +m.+0% እንዲሆን ማድረግ። የአገራችንን 740653 ow Lit 8867 ኢኮኖሚ ለተፈጥሮአዊ ሀሳች ብቻ ለቆ በመተው ውጤት የሚጠብቅ የኢክኖሚ ፖሊሲ አይኖረንም። ተልጥሮን በአቅማችን haa መቻል እንዳለብን መቆጣጠር ይሰማናል። በዚህም ረገድ የመስኖ እርሻ የማስፋፋቱ ተማባር ከሁሉም arn. ቅድሚያ የምንስጠው የኢትኖሚ ፖሊሲያችን መሠረት RUSA ::

5ኛ. የመንግስትን P0067 ባለቤትነትና **አከፋፋይ**ንት ማስቀረት። ACC አደሮች የከተማ ነዋሪዎችና የዘሳንar.A. いれるナかれ noo-A-PRHATO ባለቤትና የንብረታቸው ወሳኝ እንዲሆኑ ማድረግ። በመሬት ላይ ያለው የመንማስት ቁጥተር ለፖለቲካ ጠቀሜታ ከመዋሉም MAR የዜጎችን ንብረት የማፍራትና ባለቤትንትን PPL241 PY8 ኢኮኖሚ ስርአቱን የሚያቀውው ስለሆን እናስቀረዋለን።

6ኛ. በመንግስት ስልጣን ላይ ያለው ፓርቲ በ59 ኢኮኖሚ ሽፋን የፓርቲ ሞኖፖሎችን በማቋቋም የሀገሪቱን ሀብት ተቆጣጥሯል። AHU90 P375 **全C至平于**3 በማቋቋም የዜጎችን ውርቶና ነግዶ የመኖር መብት አደጋ ላይ ዋሎታል። የግ<u>ሉ</u> ክፍለ ኢክኖሚም እንዳያድግና እንዳይስፋፋም ደንቃራ ሆኗል። የውጪ መዋዕለ ንዋደና ቴክኖሎጂ በቀላሉ እንዳይገባ ስጋት ፈጥሮ ይገኛል። በፖሊሲያችን እንዚሀን Unto እናስቀራለን። የማሉhFA

ኢኮኖሚ ዕድገት እንዲፋጠን የውጪ መዋዐለ ንዋይ ፍሰት ያለስጋት እንዲቀጥል ለማድረግ ድርጅታችን፣

ሀ. ሕገወጥ የሆነውን የጎዥውን ፓርቲ የንግድ ሞኖፖል ማስወገድ፣

ለ. በንጠርና በከተማ መሬት ላይ ያለውን የመንግሥት ባለቤትነትና መሬት የመሸጥ ስልጣን ማንሳት። አሁን በስራ ላይ ያለውን የሊዝ ፖሊሲ መሰረዝና በአገሪቱ ኢኮኖሚ ደረጃ ማለትም ብሄራዊ ከበርቴውና ሌላውም በሀገሪቱ የሚንቀሳቀሰው ኢንቨስተር ሊወጣው በሚችል መልክ እንደገና ማዋቀር ያስፈልጋል።

ሐ. ባለልው ስርአት የተወረሱ የግል ቤቶችንና ንብረቶችን (እንደመሬት ያሉ ቋሚ የተልጥሮ ሀብቶችን ማለታችን አይደለም። በግለሰቦችም በኩባንያዎችም ቢሆኑ የተካበቱ የማምረቻና የመኖሪያ ቤቶችንና የመሳሰሉትን ማለታችን ነው።) ለባለንብረቶች በተናት በተመሰረተ መልክ እንዲመለሱ ማድረግ። ለትላልቅ ሀንጻዎችና እንደዚሁም ለክፍተኛ ኢንዳስትሪያል ተቋሞች አግባብ ያለው ካሣ መክልል።

መ. በንጠር በንበሬውና በክተማ 1220 ላይ የሚደረገውን ስርአት አልባ የግብር አጣጣልና አሰባሰብ በማስወገድ UDES **ግልጽ የሆነ የመንግስት ገቢ** አስተዳደርን በቦታው መተካት። (አዚሀ ላይ አዲስ አበባን እንኳን ብንወስድ የአባሪቷን ነጋዴ ኪራይ እንኳን ከፍሎ ንግዱን ማንቀሳቀስ በማደችልበት ሁኔታ ላይ እንዳለ ይታወቃል።) ይሀንን ሁሉ ነው ወደ አቅም (የአገሪቷ ኢኮኖሚ አቅም) ወደሚችለው ገደብ ዝቅ ማሻሻል አድርጎ 7903100:11 እንደዚሁም የአገሪቱ ዜጎች በግል በሽርክና ወይም በኮንሴሽን በያዙት ይዞታ ካፈሩት ሀብትና ንብረት ተገቢው ካሣ ወደም ተለዋጭ ሳይሰጣቸውና ስምምነት 26 ሳይደረስ በዘፊቀደ እንዳይነጠቁ በማድረግ በከተማም ሆነ በንጠር በ.2ራ መጠቀሚያነት መሬቶችን መንግስት P+ 9H ለተለየ የልማት ተማባራት ሲፈለማ የሀዝቡን ስምምነት እንዲያተኝ

99829:

ነጥቦች ATHLU3 ካንሳሁ 024 መጨረሻ ላይ የተነሳው መንግስት የሚያራምደው የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ ፍላጎት 907,50715 PUH-113 አገሪቱን ትዮጲለ 785 909 800% any 1.3 እንዴት ማሪጋገጥ ደቻላል የሚል የመላ 907 (Hypothetical) TPB አዘጋጆቹ ያስቀመጡት አለ። በዚህ ላይ የምንለው።

Iኛ. አንድ ፖሊሲ ከአጠቃላይ የዓለም 1. Tohe አቀፍ: ሲገናክብ የት ሀገር የተ ፖሊሲ ara. t. አስመግማቢል h"7.00-በመንሳት የአንድን ፖሊሲ ምን ውጤት ሲያስመዘማብ 8.7.1A P"7, 10-3 00 1.30 RG an Janit BJAA :: የኢትዮጵያ Ab509. ከአለም አቀፍ ኢኮኖሚ በተለየ 十中学の ፈረንጆች እንደሚሉት መሽከርከራትን እንደገና መፈልሰፍ the (Re-inventing wheel) እንደሚባለው ዘመትር ወደ draw-P7. 906.09 ing-board an 4.5: አይመስለኝም። man. T ያስመዘገቡ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲዎች በአለም 144. 4.4°hc አለ.። Ant ከክዚያ በመስል QUA: የአየር ዐባይ። የመሬት ለምንትንና ሌሎችን ጭምር የተመዘገቡባቸው 211197 .70 738.7 የሚለውን L.P. emmma አቅጣጫን መቀየስ ወይም ፍርድ ማሳለፍ ይቻላል። ስለዚህም በዚህ አይነት መለኪያ ማየት ይቻላል **λ**3443።

2ኛ. ሁለተኛውና ዋናው የአንድን निकि निकिति アイ・ケーナ ይመስለናል። የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲው 08:9°C9° 11.07 LPhonu 110 PAO Oak? TE WALL YOU hand G ፖሊሲው ከወጣ ሶስት አምስት አመት ሊሆን ይችላል። ኢያስመዘገበ PAMm.m.in 90383 7 (D-ከማይንሱ አለም አንደምናውቀው POYRAG. ኢክስፕ*ርመንት* U.A. PIRSAR Pay 200 200-11 500-ስለሆኑም መስተካከሎች በየጊዜው ይደፈጋሉ ማለት ነው። w.w.j. የሌለው የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ አንዴ አውጥተናልና ተብሎ ከሀዝቡ ጋር አልሀ ተ.ንብቶ ያለምንም አርምት a.w.g. (10087) 00-7171 1100 ማስመዝገብም አገሪቷን

ማሳደግም አይቻልም። ስለሆነም flexible የሆነ አካሄድን እንመርጣለን። ከአንድ መንግስት ፖሊሲም ሊታይ የሚገባው ይሄ ነው እንሳለን።

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HOW BEST CAN THE PROMOTION OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR BE DONE?

Endanchyelem Mekonnen
Ethiopian Economic Association

1. INTRODUCTION

The existence of the informal sector is a world-wide phenomenon. However, it is predominantly a feature of the developing countries. Developing countries have concentrated investment and supporting facilities on the modern wage employment sector in the belief that it will be able to absorb the increase in labour force. But, this sector, by the very nature of the investment, is made to be capitalintensive with limited labour absorbing capacity. This is happening in the face of a rapid labour force growth. In the absence of unemployment benefit. the additional labour force, which cannot be absorbed by the formal sector, has no choice but to engage in some form of income generating activity. Such activities are generally termed as the informal sector activities.

The informal sector is operating in a discriminatory and hostile macro-economic policy environment. rarely recognised or supported by most governments. Rather, the attitude of governments towards the sector is either neglect or harassment. As a result, the growth potential of the sector is constrained. And in most cases it is operating on the verge of poverty and illegality.

However, recently, most governments are realising that:

- a) The informal sector is growing in size, while the income derived from it is declining-thus the link between poverty and the informal sector;
- b) Taking into consideration the national and international economic condition, in the next few years, it is unlikely for the formal sector alone to be able to absorb the increase in the labour force:
- Internationally, work is increasingly being deregulated and informalised;
- d) Given the chance, some activities in the informal sector have a growing production potential.

Due to these factors, some governments have changed their attitude towards the informal sector and are in favour of promoting the sector. Although there is a general consensus on government intervention in the informal sector, there are some disagreements on how this intervention should be effected.

2. GENERAL PROBLEM AREAS

The problem with most governments is not only neglect and harassment of the sector, but also the weaknesses of the policies designed to promote the sector. Some of the major disagreements and failures start with the general approach in

policy design. Should informal sector promoting policies be designed towards the phase-out or development of the sector? Should policies favour it more than the formal sector?

Care should be taken not to take either of the options to the extreme. Designing an allencompassing policy for the promotion of the sector in general might have a counteraction. A number of factors should be considered in designing policies for the promotion of the informal sector.

- a) Before designing policies for the promotion of the sector, it is appropriate to identify internal and external factors that affect the growth of the sector.
- b) The informal sector is operating under certain policy environments and in relation to other sectors. Therefore, the process of policy design for the promotion of the sector should be set within the whole macroeconomic policies and regulations.
- c) The heterogeneity of the sector is another major factor that should be considered in designing policy. An all-encompassing policy for the promotion of the sector might rather have a negative effect on the growth of the sector.
- d) Most importantly, it is essential to have quantitative information on the sector. Obtaining such

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information might be difficult. But it is difficult to address the problem without information on the nature and type of activities; on major constraints of the activities; on the employment status and skill of the people engaged in the activities; the income derived and profitability of the activities. Considering the heterogeneity of the sector, having such information will be helpful in differentiating the activities that need to be promoted.

 e) Crosscutting all the above issues is the issue of participation.
 All stakeholders should be able to participate in the policy formulation process.

3. SPECIFIC ISSUES

Some policies fail because of the general approach they take. Not all activities in the informal sector benefit from measures designed to improve the productive capacity Due to the of the sector. heterogeneity of the informal sector, improvements on productive capacity may benefit that those are organised. While as a result of government intervention, viable enterprises thrive; the condition of those in the lower strata may worsen. What is required may be improvement in welfare rather than support in improving productive potential.

The policy measures for the promotion of the informal sector can be framed into two settings. Policy measures can be directed towards those activities that are identified to expand and generate more employment and better income. A second setting can be measures for the provision of welfare support to enterprises with no or little growth potential. In the long run welfare support rather than productive support may have a better effect.

Productive Potential Improvement

The major constraint of those

enterprises that are prevented from moving to a higher productive level is the restricted access to resources especially finance, market and skill.

Finance. Lack of working capital can be one of the major constraints of the informal sector. Because the sector has limited access to formal credit facilities, it relies mainly on informal credit systems. With regard to the development of the financial sector, how best can this be done needs further investigation.

Market. The goods and services produced in the informal sector cater for the needs of the poor who are mostly within the sector. But, because of low income and low purchasing capacity, the demand generated within the sector is not sufficient. Therefore, there is a need to link the products of the informal sector with the demand of the formal sector. In this regard, government can play a vital role. Subcontracting some of the public sector activities. removina discriminatory restrictions in bidding and giving informal sector enterprises a share of the market are some of the areas where government can intervene regarding market. However, care should be taken in linking informal sector enterprises to formal market so as not to expose it to exploitation.

Having access to market does not ensure expansion of the informal sector. The demand for the goods and services in the sector can grow when these goods and services are produced in good quality and reliable amount. And this requires improved skill, better technology and increased investment.

Skill. Lack of managerial and other technical skills may also be a hindrance to the growth of informal sector enterprises. However, in designing training programs, care should be taken on the type of the program. Is it enough to upgrade existing skills

or is there a need for the development of new skills? Here participatory formulation of training programs is vital.

Rules and Regulations. For a large proportion of informal sector activities, compliance with existing laws and regulations is beyond their economic means. Therefore, they operate outside these laws and regulations. Relaxing some of the regulations which bar informal operators from access to resources, market, working place and productive inputs will facilitate their activity.

Furthermore, it can be argued that in an attempt to make them legal. trying to apply all existing regulations on informal activities might affect their employmentgenerating capacity. since entrepreneurs refrain from expanding their businesses in fear of additional cost. In summary, there is no general policy measure which could be applied to all activities and to all countries. Therefore, it will be necessary a) to examine which laws regulations hamper development the most; b) taking consideration the country's macroeconomic policy and the welfare of the society, to examine whether the flexibility of these laws and regulations complies with the national interest.

As it has been suggested earlier, the promotion of the informal sector need not necessarily focus on the sector alone; a change in the formal sector might be to the benefit of the informal sector. Therefore, urban development could work in favour of the informal sector through the provision of working space. market-places, sanitary facilities a well-developed infrastructure.

4. CONCLUSION

Government can play a vital role in promoting the informal sector. But care should be taken in introducing interventions. Large ልሳን ኢኮኖሚክስ

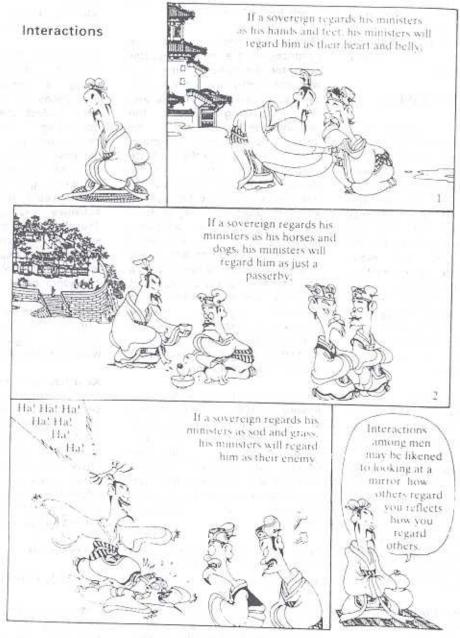
scale and too much intervention might be counterproductive by creating more bureaucracy and more rules, thereby increasing cost on the part of the government and destroying the business vibration of the sector, which in turn decreases its employment-creating and income-generating capacity.

Government

intervention does not mean formalisation of the informal sector.

What is required is not too much intervention but effective intervention, which concentrates on the constraints of growth, rooted both in the formal and informal sectors. Such

intervention should aim at removing these constraints while trying to integrate the activities of the formal and informal sectors. The economy of a country can only grow with the complementary and interdependent growth of all sectors of the economy.



International Herald Tribune, Dec. 8, 1999

CONSTRAINTS TO AGRICULTURAL INPUT LOAN REPAYMENT

Ayelegn Fantahun and Shirega Minuye

Ethiopia had a population of about 56.4 million in mid-1995. Sixty percent of the population live below the poverty line (FAO, 1993). Eighty-five percent of the population depends on its livelihood on agriculture. Agriculture is the cornerstone of the Ethiopian Economy. The sector generates about 90 percent of her total export earnings and accounts for about 52 percent of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Teressa 1997).

The sector is dominated by subsistence smallholders who have been adopting mixed farming with traditional technologies. Small-scale farmers on average account for 95 percent of the total area under crop and for more than 90 percent of the total agricultural output (MEDaC 1999). In countries like ours, where agriculture is the backbone of the economy, the rapid change of economic development is highly determined to a great extent by the growth of the agricultural sector. Therefore, agriculture growth can only be made possible through yield augmenting technological changes as well as appropriate economic incentives and assistance to the farming families (Belay 1998).

Most peasants in Ethiopia are subject to live at a bare subsistence level. In a subsistence economy, saving is almost nill; therefore, small-scale farmers have limited or no working capital for purchased inputs to improve their productivity. The availability

of credit is the only mechanism to acquire biological and mechanical technologies. The importance of credit for agricultural development according to Zena Limat Bank is:

Agricultural credit is an important and a unique resource to accelerate the growth and development of either peasant or commercial farming. The kind and amount of capital used by farmers in the production process is the fundamental factor, which distinguishes traditional and modern agriculture. In other words, small farm credit for fertilizer use helps to solve problems associated with inadequate working capital to purchase inputs to increase production to feed the fast growing rural and urban population and to raise farm incomes (AIDB 1993).

In considering this fact, the government has extended credit facilities from formal sources.

However, the credit provided to small-scale farmers has to be repaid and hence loan repayment is necessary for credit scheme to be viable, strong and sustainable. Contrary to this fact, in most cases, repayment performance of agricultural credit has been very poor over the last three decades, even during good harvesting years (Belay 1998). Recovery rate of Development Bank of Ethiopia

(DBE) for the period 1986-90 was a mere 9% for the overall recovery rate of the bank. This recovery rate started declining since 1990 and showed a deteriorating trend (CBE Annual Report 1998). Low repayment performance discourages the lender to promote and extend credit to large and fragmented farm households. This brings the defaulter farmers once again into the vicious circle of low productivity and poverty. This condition paves the way for rural money-lenders to lend smallholders at exorbitant interest rates.

Default may arise for various reasons. The first is the inability of borrowers to repay the loan as a result of crop failure by frequent occurrence of drought, crop environmental pest/diseases, degradation and natural calami-Second, loan diversion, which may arise by late delivery, may result in late farm operation which results in low crop yield. Besides, improved seeds may have low quality (e.g. poor in germination) which will be realized after planting. This creates loss in agricultural output. The third reason is unavailability of market for farm produce and poor arrangement for loan recovery. interest, taxes and other contributions.

Lack of market for the farm produce immediately after harvest results in excess supply on the market and hence low price of the agricultural produce resulting in low income and poor loan repayልሳን ኢኮኖሚክስ

ment.

The absence of a large market for surplus agricultural produce results in selling at prices that are too low to cover costs of fertilizer (i.e. principal plus interest). This could affect farmers' food security. Food security and markets are closely connected. One important factor which benefits both producers and consumers is improving grain marketing by reducing marketing costs of grain which again reduce grain prices in the deficit regions and increase prices in the surplus producing regions.

In Ethiopia there are regions which produce enough food to meet the needs of the deficit region. However, owing to lack of transport, storage and marketing facilities, people in the deficit areas are still exposed to famine while producers in the surplus producing regions are facing crisis as a result of low producer Particularly in drought prices. years, the role of efficient grain market for improving food security is a priority more than other issues. Free markets alone never 'produce' food security (Wolday 1999). Organized arrangements for marketing are necessary in all cases where surplus is realized.

A sharp increase in fertilizer price has been observed in 1993 because of the devaluation of the Birr. As a result, subsidy was introduced to absorb the effect of bigh prices resulting from devaluation. In 1997, a new fertilizer distribution policy eliminated subsidy and allowed private sectors to participate in fertilizer distribution system.

The decontrol of fertilizer prices has resulted in further increase in fertilizer price. There is a need to control prices to expand input use among farmers. The prices can be lowered if the government subsidized input prices. The output produced using agricultural input technologies is more productive than traditional technologies.

nologies if and only if favorable climatic condition exists. Both the seed varieties and the fertilizers that are being offered to farmers require a high level of moisture to be effective, raising the risk of failure under conditions of high rainfall variability as in most parts of Ethiopia (Mulat 1998). However, the output measured in terms of loan is unprofitable. Interest rates should be levied according to the profitability of farm production.

The common measures taken on those farmers who have never repaid loans are:

- (i) their property is auctioned
- (ii) they taken to court.

These loan repayment mechanisms have a negative impact on their labor productivity and discourages long-sustained growth by inhibiting loanees to take investible loan. As a result, they remain in a vicious circle of poverty and/or they would migrate to urban centers in search of job by selling off their land, under the curtain of long-term contract agreement, and other assets.

To improve delinquency of fertilizer credits, the following major recommendations are forwarded.

- i). Technologically and organizationally well-structured market system immediately after the harvest:
- ii). Input interest calculation should be arranged on the basis of agricultural produce profitability;
- iii). Devise mechanism for input efficient utilization, quality control and delivery time. The successful implementation of welldevised mechanisms leads farmers to adopt new or improved

- iv). Developing micro financing at village level using traditional arrangement-Iddir;
- v). There are customary practices in rural Ethiopia such as social ceremonies (i.e. weddings, festivities, etc.) celebrated immediately after harvest. It costs a lot of money beyond what farmers have earned and may be one of the major causes of delinquency in formal loan repayment. study by Zeller and Sharma (1996) in Bangladesh confirmed that social events had negative effect on loan repayment. Thus groupbased cost sharing should be made by community to reduce expenditures associated with social ceremonies:
- vi). Expanding off-farm activities and irrigation facilities. Experience from different less developed countries indicates that income from non-farm activities provides continuous flow of income to small-scale farmers enabling them to meet their daily consumption expenditure and loan repayment. Besides, there is a need to decrease the country's reliance on rain-fed agriculture. Thus, the government should pursue small-scale irrigation in areas with less reliable rainfall.

Taking into account that good loan repayment is essential for sustaining credit programs in the long run and for the financial viability of the lending institutions identifying social, economic and institutional factors for poor loan repayment is very indispensable. An identification of factors impeding agricultural loan repayment would help policy makers to shape successful rural develop-

technology through Development Agents and other agriculturists. It is widely acknowledged that farmers who have frequent contact with Development Agents are benefited from cumulative knowledge of development agent concerning modern input use and other agricultural related technologies;

¹ This means that even if better yield performance has been made possible, farmers are forced to sell the lion's share of the agricultural produce at lower price to settle their debts.

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ment approaches.

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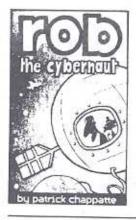
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ECONOMIC POLICIES, GOVERNANCE AND CAPACITYBUILDING IN AFRICA: A PERSONAL VIEW

Dereje Wolde-Medhin

Former Staff of the Addis Ababa University and current of the African Capacity-Building
Foundation (ACBF) Programme Officer

INTRODUCTION

. The topic of this paper presents an interesting challenge to us because ECONOMIC POLICY, GOVERNANCE. CAPACITY BUILDING, IN AFRICA TODAY constitute individually, when qualified from their ordinary meanings, a difficulty to our detailed comprehension. The purposeful study of their interrelationships is an even more compounded difficulty of understanding, especially with regards to conceptual and definitional efforts that are required to be made and also to the opaqueness of Afrigan reality today.

Economic policy is understood to mean, not only as the publicly known end-product-that is, the Government's statement and implementation of such or such economic orientation and/or choice-, but also as the intellectual, economic, political activities that led to the above mentioned end-product, as well as the results and impacts which it brought about by its implementation. It may not be a consensual definition but it is clearly ACBF's. Indeed, economic policy encompasses the whole process of the conceptual construction involving basic and applied researches in the selected area, the whole

process of policy format and the process of ex-post evaluation. ACBF believes that a less rigorous definition will be essentially reductionist both for policy-making and for capacity-building, and a resource economizing understanding of economic policy formation may turn out to be, on the contrary, more costly.

Governance is generally comprehended as the exercise of a given authority by a given body in order to meet the society's objectives of overall welfare, under a specifically African context of relative political instability/unrest, political instability/unrest, of relative poverty/scarcity of resources, of relative lack of means to apply "adequate" policy and therefore of relatively permanent adjustment of thinking and policy-making to existing resources. If and when material welfare (growth) is high on the agenda of overall welfare, then governance, which may have several forms, will tend to have elements facilitating growth i.e.:

- · transparency/accountability
- impersonal and efficient administration, and
- · the rule of law.

When studied within this topic, governance may also usefully be related to the size and quality of

works of the government, to the areas of direct and indirect state intervention, and most importantly to the politics involved behind the whole process of economic policy formulation.

This paper tries to identify and analyze a typology of relationships between economic policies and governance, as they are defined above, under an African situation of multiple constraints. The presentation will be realistically problem-oriented, with provisional suggestions as to how capacity building may be part of the solution.

1. ECONOMIC POLICIES AND GOVERNANCE: MULTIPLICITY PATTERN AND NECESSITY FOR CAPACITY-BUILDING

The point of departure is that modern economic policy formulation requires a set of activities, which can be hardly circumvented. An up-to-date knowledge about economic theory, the construction of basic models, its transformations into operational models are part and parcel of economic policy formulation and application. Data must be gathered and treated. Policy formulation, readable to all, must be worked out. After implementa-

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tion, lessons must be drawn. All this demands a given level of institutional, human and intellectual capacities, the absence of which will create what we may call "capacity deficit" in the exercise of economic policy formulation. This deficit, when it exists, is a source of a major problem in that it represents a high return foregone in the form of adverse impacts on the rates of growth and of development.

The same holds true for governance: a battle to fill this deficit should go hand in hand with the combat towards governance conducive to growth and development. Even if there is no unanimity on the form of this kind of governance, there is a tacit understanding on its basic elements: transparency, accountability, legal and administrative efficiency. The implicit assumption of the foregoing is that where economic policies and governance entertain mutually strengthening activities, then as a result, they tend to critically contribute, ceteris paribus, to the creation of an enabling environment for higher rates of growth and deve opment. Even though it is not clear how the causation works, especially at the initial stage, efforts to "filling the deficit" and ensuring a workable governance create a dynamic motion in a manner that may allow sustainability of growth and development rates.

From this general perspective, one can also identify situations which are "paradoxical" where correspondences of efforts in the two areas do not exist and yet we may have a situation of growth, as observed in some areas of Africa and elsewhere. These paradoxes ought to be analyzed and explained.

When we observe the African situation, it does not bring about a clear indication on the type of relationships that exist between economic policies and governance and an outright general statement may not be operationally useful at this stage. Instead, and alternatively, we may attempt a pattern study by distinguishing three types of relationships that are observed in the African arena:

- . The "organic" type
- The "relative autonomy" type
- . The "contingency" type

1.1. The "organic" approach

The organic approach stipulates that, among the few instruments par excellence expressing sovereignty in the hands of the state lies in good place economic policy, side by side with foreign policy, security policy... The approach is said to be "organic" in that the two activities-policymaking/governance-belong the same body. As a policy, economic policy is, thus, considered as a quasi-exclusive prerogative of the state and part and parcel of the ways and means by which governance is expressed in the society. This view is shared by some African countries. In this category, we may find countries experiencing unrest/instability, or countries where political life is not set by accepted rules but rather by violence and uncertainty, where, also, there is an established habit of governance of a centralized rule with a command economy (whether direct or indirect)... In such situations, where the state tends to be oversized, the probability is high that economic policy be designed not for its own objectives but for goals established outside known economic rationality (political, philosophical, religious...). may assume inefficiency and wastage. Needs for capacitybuilding at every level, especially at the level of the state, are obvious and may be geared towards decreasing inefficiency.

Paradoxical as it may seem, however, such situations do not preclude significant and rapid economic growth, historical examples are there to testify to

the contrary. There is a need for explanations: highly centralized, authoritative and sometimes corrupt governance is said to be resource consuming in generating growth when the policies it adheres to go against wellestablished and strong economic laws. The futile struggle against the said laws simply leads to wastage and is, thus, selfdefeating. When, on the contrary, the same type of governance despite its lack of transparency, is there to reinforce the working of these laws against, say, obscurantism, then there seems likely to be growth and development for a given period of time after which the question of the inadequacy of the form of governance will be posed. Capacitybuilding is also a necessity, here, but somewhat differently.

The overall objective of capacitybuilding in this "organic" case should be the (re)establishment of the (deserved) status of economics and of the recognition of the forces of economic laws. The privileged and starting strategy capacity-building would be through institution-building (creation and/or strengthening existing ones). Economic agents must also be activated and researches on policy formulation encouraged. These last remarks are particularly valid in the "organic" situation with the above-mentioned paradox where the struggle between economic laws and non-corresponding forms of governance is exacerbated, i.e. in these situations. sometimes administration is observed attempting to confiscate the gains of growth.

The deficit in policy-making may also be indirectly narrowed by reflections on governance as well. The reduction of the gap may be, obtained through the progressive gain of freedom in economic policy formulation from the tutelage of the state, which, by the same movement, liberated itself from a heavy and unrewarding task. It is within ACBF's

mandate to accompany the movement, upon request, and be part of the general solution of countries ready to enjoy a "peace dividend." or a "stability / stabilization dividend".

1.2. "The relative autonomy" approach

Here, economic policy is viewed the "resultant" of a "negotiation" between various concerned forces (internal and external) and the state, in real terms, plays the role of arbitration. Economic agents have been activated. In other words, there is no crowding out, or it has, in due time, been corrected. Under this framework of thought, the form, the size, and the type of governance take a different structure that would eventually lead to a different (opposite) plan of action as compared to the one which is implied in the "organic" approach. Policy-making is in relative autonomy, and governance tends to be, unsurprisingly, in conformity with the requirements of transparency. This is particularly true in a few African countries where there is already a sound economic basis, and deficit in capacity in terms of policy formulation is not noteworthy.

In North Africa, in the Southern part of Africa, in the Indian Ocean Islands and in some other African countries, we see these good performances matched by adequate governance and both reinforcing Lach other. Under these circumstances, capacitybuilding is likely to be requested in support of efforts to maintain the momentum by a regular and permanent updating of capacities i.e. in high tech. information technology... In general, in this "relative autonomy" approach with good performance where policy formulation is "shared", capacity-building strategy should not be to concentrate on statal or parastatal but rather on the different actors' capacity building through autonomous or semiautonomous regimes.

Another paradox solicits explanations: a small lot of countries have set governance as defined above and yet performance is not following. The explanations are that under ceteris paribus, economic policies, however shared. are not adequate. If we relax the ceteris paribus hypothesis, the explanations of the paradox become composite in which the lack of appropriate policy will have its own (good) share. Consequently, the logical demand from the beneficiaries would stress on the efforts to upgrade the quality of output in terms of researches and findings done in preferably semi-autonomous institutions.

1.3. The "contingency" ap-

Here, economic policy is considered partly as an element of governance (organic) and partly not (relative autonomy). Following the specific case, it may be an instrument of assertion of governance or of self-assertion. Since the way of reasoning, here, consists in saying 'it may or it may not,' the approach is named "contingency" approach, but in concrete terms, it means that it gathers a mixture of elements of the two first approaches with, probably, one dominating the other. Some countries may entertain relationships close to the "organic" approach, others to the "relative autonomy" approach and still others may be found just in the middle.

A big number of African countries fall into this category of "contingency" approach and that is the reason why capacity-building needs assessment on a country basis seems unavoidable in Africa. In broad terms, it stands to reason that capacity-building will have all its elements present i.e. institution-building, research, training... but the dosage of activities will depend on the specific conditions of each country and their specific requests.

The overall capacity-building strategy here would be to participate in the activities which would shorten the distance separating any given country to a situation close to the one prevailing in the "relative autonomy" approach. This is because it is increasingly an established belief that it is the most efficient way towards development. The whole package activities, bringing "contingency" African countries to a situation where the working of economic laws are allowed unhindered by man-made obstacle, represents for us not less than the establishment of preconditions for sustainable growth and development. We may call it "the development dividend", in which capacity-building, will necessarily have its own significant place and contribution.

2. GOOD POLICIES AND GOOD GOVERNANCE: LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE

The historical evolution of the relationships between economic policy and governance displays a meaningful lesson toward identifying what would be a forthcoming trend relationship between good policies and good governance in Africa. There are three important periods:

- . The nation state building period.
- · The structural adjustment program period,
- . The recent trend of thought.

2.1. The nation-state building period

In the early 60s, post colonial African states undertook nation-state-building tasks for which all other considerations were sub-ordinated. The two decades in the 1960s after independences were particularly devoted to this grand objective. Economic policy formulation was equally at its service. Despite a variety of individual behaviors, the period could be characterized as the golden age of the "organic" ap-

proach. Even more so, when the size of the state got more and more important and grew over time, transparency and accountability were, in general, sub-objectives and in relative isolation as far as impacts on economic policy formulation were concerned.

It is within this general framework that examinations of the different economic options were made: in monetary and financial policy, in fiscal policy, in sectoral policy, in trade and pricing policy....

Let us remember the arguments and the rationale developed to justify the prevailing economic policies. The free interplay of economic forces was not believed to be adequate enough to promote development in that these laws were said to better work when money and production apparatus was already there and in that, unlike what was more or less prescribed by mainstream economics of the time, taking into account of externalities and public goods was recommended because they were bestowed highly "magical" virtue to the developmental process.

Let us recall also, the prevailing money supply policy which used and abused deficit financing with a quasi fixed pegging of national currencies to the high-powered hard currencies, mainly the US dollar the pound sterling and the French franc This situation continued undisturbed until late 70's and the Jamaica Conference. Fiscal policy used also recipe corresponding to the overall primary objective, by resorting to easy borrowing and tariff protection, under the argument of "nursing infant economy". As for the sectoral policy, industrialization via import substitution on the one hand, or, export promotion of products which display comparative advantage, or a wise combination of both, did provide mixed However, they did not succeed in easing pressure on the capital account of the balance

of payments in terms of hard currency reserve availability to support the economic crisis of the mid-1970s to pursue the whole of experience Nation-Statebuilding and to ensure development within it. Similarly, in terms of trade and pricing policy, the prevailing way of reasoning and the various manipulations thereof were based on the assumptions that policies could be formulated as in a situation of semi-closed есопоту....

The consequences of all this policy orientation were that, despite remarkable realization, the African economies were, by and large, more and more fragile, demanding at the beginning of the 80s monetary, financial (public finance)..., corrections. From our perspective, here, we will have to note that the whole period was a victim of a combined effect of two elements:

- economic policy, dominated as it was by a political objective, tended to consider in perspective economic laws and concepts such as efficiency, optimality, opportunity costs....
- governance, with an overall poor record on transparency and accountability, served as an instrument to the forced application of sub-optimal economic policies. The final outcome was a quasi general "revolt" of the African reality on both accounts.

2.2. SAP: Adjustment in policy and governance

That an adjustment appeared to be necessary after the economic crisis of the 70's in Africa was a truism shared by many. Rather, the interesting question was: what kind of adjustment? Ultimately, the point of view of the international financial organizations prevailed in defining its contours. Privileged understanding of SAP would allow to identify the overall global objectives it followed: to create a new generation of relationships between economic policies and govern-

ance. Thus, the "organic" approach was relatively marginalised, and the "contingency" approach gained momentum as a "transition within a transition" to pave the way to the final destination: the "relative autonomy" situation. It is in this phase that capacity-building entered in the picture forcefully.

To encourage the "reactivation" of dwarfed economic agents (privatization and the increase of the size of the private sector), to reduce disguised unemployment, to decrease public spending, to discourage increased public indebtedness, to go against further price distortions including distortions relative to exchange rate fixation, to re-establish macrofinancial equilibria were policy orientations that did strike established vested interests and rent seeking activities and positions. To implement these policies, there was a need that governance itself changed and abandoned partisanship to the former way of government, and introduced new quidelines. More transparency, more accountability to a given constituency were required. In that sense, SAP, save some exhaustively discussed details in economic policy formulations that were open mistakes, was a way forward towards improving the quality of the relationships between economic policy formulation and governance. Economic liberalization or semiliberalization went well together with governance's changes in size and in quality of intervention. in that, policy environment and economic environment changed in the same direction; to the better. But still, the "contingency" approach presented ambiguity in that the transformation was observed as gradual, with contradictory movements of advances and retreats. Furthermore, as observations of SAP made it clear since the 1980s, it is not at all enough to secure macrofinancial equilibria to ensure development. Economic policy perspective should go beyond having a shortልባን ኢኮኖሚክስ

term view with emphasis on financial and monetary issues only. Regulations of long business cycles demanded, on the contrary, to add to the preoccupations of SAP, requirements of real and sustainable growth and development in Africa. Otherwise, the double-digit growth observed, here and there, in Africa in the 1990s, may risk to be short-lived.

2.3. Recent trends towards good policies and good governance

Very recent trends of thought demonstrate a shift of emphasis that is noteworthy. Scholars, economists of international organizations... have developed a re-thinking which some consider as being a post-adjustment theory. In reality, it will be nearer to the truth if we say that the new thinking is a serious qualification to SAP.

Indeed, we observe two important qualifications; one in the direction of policy-making, the other concerning governance, the content of which can be summarized as a way of passage from the contingency approach to the relative autonomy approach.

In terms of policy-making, the overemphasized spirit of policy-making within SAP is not any more blindly accepted as sufficient because wealth creation should be an activity which follows its own rule instead of coming as a consequence of a corrected management from the

demand side. So emphasis should be (re)given to production, to growth, to long term analysis in a healthier environment created by SAP of the 1980s and 1990s. Together with it, demand of clarification on governance is such that any gross ambiguity may not be allowed.

Economic actors request more and more to be given their due shares in activities of governance and of policy-making, with the strong creed that there is not any sane reason why in Africa, following the emulation of some African countries under the relative autonomy approach, governance should overlook considerations such as: constituency. transparency, accountability, disciplined and efficient bureaucracy, professionalism in the civil service, harmonious working relations between government and the private sector as well as the civil society, the rule of law ... Good policies are, thus adequately matched up to good governance. That is the reason why, in its phase II, ACBF strongly emphasises on quality and impacts of the products of its projects.

CONCLUSION

The view developed here is not new as such. It is our contention that economic policy formulation has an impact on performance, and that the differentiated impacts among countries are due to the differentiated status given to policy formulation and implementation and to the differentiated

quality of policy. That governance is linked to policy-making in such a way that it may hinder or encourage the impacts of policy on performance, depending on the nature of governance, is also our view.

Similar views, are aired by eminent scholars and researchers, mainly from international institutions. For instance, recent emphasis on long-term analysis, on production of material goods and not on simply monetary and financial regulations, on capacitybuilding as being one of the leading explanatory variables of growth... is very welcome by ACBF. Policy (re) thinking and (re) orientation is not the only good news. Correspondingly, a strong preference to governance which tends to eliminate rentseeking activities and positions in Africa by fighting corruption, and mismanagement S another Consequently, the relative homogenization of countries activities may give way to economic associations (RECs) and further encourage multilateralism.

Thus, good policies added to good governance create conditions for increased capacity-building activities, which in turn link up growth and development. It is capacity-building which will narrow the age-old paradoxical discrepancy between the rates of growth of the two, while, at the same time, increasing their absolute values.

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Prosperity is necessarily the first theme of a political campaign.

Woodraw Wilson campaign speech Sep 4, 1912

Political campaigns are designedly made into emotional orgies which endeavour to distract attention from the real issues involved, and they actually paralyze what slight powers of cerebration man can normally muster.

James Harvey Robinson The Human Comedy 1937

There may be some cynics who think that a Platform is just a list of platitudes to lure the naive voter— a sort of facade behind which candidates sneak intopower and then do as they please. I am not one of those.

Dwight D. Eisenhower speech in Washington, D.C. June 7, 1957

Handshaking is friendly until your hands bleed. Confetti looks festive until you're forced to spit out mouthfuls hurled directly into your face. Applause is wonderful until you can hardly hear yourself speak. A crush of screaming women is flattering until they tear your clothes.

> Ralph G. Martin A Hero for Our Times, 1983

You can campaign in poetry. You govern in prose.

Mario Cuomo New Republic April 8, 1985 A majority is always the best repartee.

Lord Macaulay letter to an unnamed correspondent Aug 3, 1832

We were told our campaign wasn't sufficiently slick. We regard that as a compliment.

Margaret Thatcher The New York Times June 12, 1987

The ballot is stronger than the bullet.

Abraham Lincoln speech May 19, 1856

One of the rules of the business is somebody gets to fill up the cup. If you want to be successful, you have to fill it up first.

John Sasso remarks concerning Dukakis's campaign quoted in *Time* Nov 21, 1988

We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us.

Abraham Lincoln speech to his supporters following his reelection, Nov 10, 1864

Voting is merely a handy device; it is not to be identified with democracy, which is a mental and moral relation of man to man.

> George Douglas Cole Essays in Social Theory 1950

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