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ECONOMIC FOCUS

Bulletin of the Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA)

VOL. 5 NO. 4 July 2003 Economic Focus is published bi-monthly by the Ethiopian Economic Association and partially sponsored by Friedrich Ebert Stflung of Germany.

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ርዕይ 2020 በኢትዮጵያ

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- ✓ ሌሎች አስተያየቶች
 - Phone C (Leadership) Co.e.
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Editorial

The Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA) is willing to seek new ways to be of better service to members

EEA is a vital, vibrant and vigorous professional association. This can be seen in many ways, including the publications of the EJE - Economic Focus and Research Reports. It can also be seen in the rapid increase of our membership. Currently, we have 1179 individual members, 121 associate and 26 institutional members. The attendance and participation in the various forums of the EEA have been very encouraging and the day-to-day operations of the association continue to gain in strength and efficiency.

The vitality of the association can be seen in the vigor of the professional debates that take place in the conferences, workshops and round table discussions. Sometimes we became rather animated with each other but that is because of our passion and concern for the issues being discussed. What would be a major concern is if there was no debate and we were so moribund as a professional association that we had no disagreements. If that were the case we would indeed be in scrious trouble.

This past year has seen many new initiatives on the part of the EEA and we have built on the initiatives started in previous years. Vision 2020 is part of the new direction of EEA to address the core emerging social problems here in our country. In the second forum of Vision 2020, Dr Berhanu Nega presented his vision of bringing economic growth and prosperity in Ethiopia. Dr. Berhanu's brilliant presentation has, as anticipated, attracted a large audience.

The issues that are discussed in Vision 2020 are not just a 'wish list'. They provide solid directions, which can be implemented using appropriate policy instruments and involve the genuine participation of the people. This particular forum has the objective of breaking through the boundaries of the paradigm of traditional societies such as ours, and Dr. Berhanu has been successful in showing us how to break out of our vicious circle of poverty.

EEA will, I am sure, pickup the important issues discussed in Vision 2020 and conduct detailed studies to realize this vision. To this end, we, the EEA, will keep on making, developing and proposing progressive, responsive and effective economic proposals for the well being of our future generations.

የኢትዮጵያ "እጣ ፋንታ" ከአንድ ትውልድ በኋላ

ከብርሃኑ ነ*ጋ* የኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ ምርምር ተቋም ዳይሬክተር

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የዛሬ ሀደ አምስት ዓመት ሀደመቱን ይቅርና የዛሬውን ማታ የሰላም 1843 7.48 (150-9° ስአማዚአብሄር ከሰጠ ሀዝብ *ጋ*ር ስለማኒ ተጥለው "\\n\n. 30 mf ህደመት (አጣ ፋንታ) 入35,270" on 16.7 1100 89ºC O. R. R. T. ከተራ ጥንቆሳ ያሳለል፣ ምናልባትም 四点中 $0\lambda^{9}H_{c}\lambda^{-}H^{2}C$ de የመግባትን ያህል "ሥራ ፊትነት"፣ "ሊያስቀስፍ" POT TO አልፎም አደባኛ አካሂድ ሲመስል ይችላል። 3857 m. g.g. 7. PHU UMA ከትንበድ ጋር ዕኑ ፍቅር ካለው፣ ሰማን-ልበት P00-1-30 8 1.400-3 horamacors i 73 U.A. 02340 ካል ተሳካለት አስከአሁ-ን P07006-4. 1.230 **ナምり**(子 ተከታዮች አካባቢ መምጣቱም ብዙ リアア አያስገርም CUSA P 900 6.7.3 ስለመደፊት 4.2.8 h-1-30.pm አርግመኝነት 20 79.8849 UH 690 +ophc.4 AB7:13 APPE 738,0 አንድም (exercise) "amma ጥቅም ስለመደፊት የማስብን አለመንንዘብ፣ አልፎም m3hc ያለና ሥርዓት የተላበስ አስተሳሰብን Van U (disciplined thinking) የሚስተ የስነፎች ማስተባበያ ነው። መቶ ሀምሳ ዓመት ገደማ ቶማስ ሮበርት ማልተስ የተባለው የኢኮኖሚክስ እንግሊዛዊ 71179 +006.096 በምማብ ምርትና በሀገበ ቁተር እድገት መሀከል በተመለከተው አለመጣጣም 20 በመመስረት ወደፊት የሰው ልጆች

11.7.1 18. የሚደርሰውን ተንብደዋል። 90390 1323 0.0739951 730,Pa 8-1-277 ለኢትኖሚክስ hH. 890 AA6. የትምህርት ክፍል "ጨለምተኛው ሳይንስ" (the dismal science) የሚለውን አጉል ትጥድ ቢደሰጠ ውም፣ የትንቢያው አቢድ ፋደዳ ለሰው ልጆች ቋሚ አውቀት ሆኖ እስከአሁን እንዲዘልቅ መቻሉ ነው? アナラナカのゆ Propra 9109 የምርትና 1.6.34 Pariti anavana? እንዳለበት፣ Pha-PU-1-1: 027.5° አለመመጣጠን A. Fring. A Pay 1-10-3 48.9 0007311-0 TOC. 084.93 नीभने (3,00 (hund) የሚያደግበትን መንገድ መተለም አለበለዚያም የሕዝብ እድጊታቸውን መቆጣጠር እንዳለባቸው ማሳወቅ '/m :::

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ከንኝሀ ደ-ግግሞሽ ተንስቶ ነው ስለ ከስተቱ አቢይ ገንባሌዎች ንድል ያግርር ደተበ ምመጀር ዘዲምን በተደ ሙከራዎች የንድፌ ሀሳቡን ሀቀኝነት የሚፈትንሙ፣ 1111-50 PH. P3 hat-t-t-ナムアピトア POR. 4. 7 harmen. በአብዛኛው add-fina 00 1-70 C 8.11 አካሂድ ሳይንሳዊ P6.016.00-በየጊዜው ኢደደገ የሚሂደ፣ አውቀት ነው የሰውን ልጆች ቁሳዊ ሀይወት (material life) Sur Phono:: 30993 በአንፃሩ 9:11-90 አንደማይታወት ምስጠ,ሮና (mystery) የአ.ኃጣሚዎች (accidents) ስብስብ ASC% የሚመስደ ኅብሬተሰብ ከአለት ተዕለት ኑሮ አልፎ ማሰብ፣ ማቀድና ይህንንም 100-1-70C መንቀሳቀስ አይቻለውም። ይህንንም አስካልቻለ ሀይወቱን ለማሻሻል ያለው አድል OULED AN PART BUSA:

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ንብዝናቸውም ላይ ምንም ለውጥ አያመጣም የሚል ነበር። hchs-የሚካሂደው በጉዳዩ ላይ TST KECTSA. Oryn. 80957· 9000 9979 2-በልተሰ am'r **主デリに主** አዋቂዎች anulia ሲሆን፣ አብዛኛው ማህበረሰብም ጉዳዩን በቅርብ ይከታተለው ነበር። ለአኔ በጊዜው በጣም ያስገረመኝ፤ በዚህ ምክንያት ወደፊት ልጆቻቸው በአገሪቱ ሥመ ተር የሆኑ ትላልት Princhtzi 338,70-4Fm የሚፌልን። ገና ያልመለጹ፣ ግን በቀርብ ሊወልዱ ያሰቡ ተንዶች ወደፊት የሚወለዱ ልጆቻቸውን 自命をかかずの OHLU ATAP. 7-10-1-7 m-nr 107000117-11 ያደርጉ የክለው መሪባሪብ ክር። EFFEU: TO MATOME AF ከ20 አመት በ34 ስለሚነባበት Princh t: 2.00 わわひか መዘጋጀት! እንኝህ ሰዎች ስለወደፊት ህይወታትቸው አርግጠኛ መሆናቸው፣ ይህንንም የወደፊት ህይወት አሁን በሚመስዱት \C908 m.m.43 በሚፈልጉት አቅጣጫ A"7Albe በአብዛኛው እንደማኒ ትለ· " PUNGTON AH.1990 カカルケ Only S. J. L. W. (人人产于干田 ት/ቤት ገንዘብ ማስቀመጥ መዘተ)፣ 24 በአጠቃሳይም fayunn PATON KONAHA ተብብአደለ 有车子等 《光史7年 8.68 0.55 አስተዋፅኦ "የድረጉን በእርግጠኛነት መናገር ይቻላል። በአነሱ አድንትና በኛ ኋላ ቀርሃት መሀክል ላለው ልዩነት አንዱ መንስኤው ይኸው ይመስለኛል።

ለማንኛው-ም፣ CU. U.A. 0032C2C2 (1026.4: 11.5.3. ሳይ የተመሰረተ እንዲህ አይነቱ ው ይይት እንደ አገር የምንሂድበትን 04.0.90 አርግጠኛነት m378 እንኳን ባይሆን፣ አቅጣጫውን ሰፋና ጠቅለል ባለ ሁኔታ ለማመሳከት፣ በዚህም ምክንያት ሊደርሱ የሚችሉ አደጋዎችን hos.u. 100 4.89 ከመርዳቱም በላይ ለወደፊቱ የተሻለ Ammistr URAT £11339

ለኛም ባይሆን ለልጆቻችን አውን **እንዲሆን** የሚያስፈልገውን የአስተሳሰብ ለውጥ ለማምጣት ሊጠ ቅም የሚችል ሰፊ ፋይዳ ያለው መሆኑን በማሳሰብ ላይ የታለመ ',m::: hitti 0+02,776907 የማህበራችን አስተዳደር hay-t 20133 m-2.2.7-14.25.4Pm አልፎም በዚህ ውይይት ላይ ከእኔ የሚመጣ ሀሳብ ሊጠትም ይችላል ብሎ አምኖ ኔን በመኃበዙ በእጅን ለማምስ139° 5ው።:

የዚህ ዕሁፍ አቀራረብ በአብዛኛው አዘጋጆቹ እንዲመለሱ ደነሷቸውን アドセクテ በተነሰብት 49.90 ተከተል ለመመለስ የሚሞክር ሆኖ የተዋቀሪ ነው። በዚህም መሠረት ዕሁት አራት ክፍሎች ይኖሩታል። Pangangem 116.439 1771A-አሁን የሚገኝበትን ሁኔታ በስፋት ይዳስሳል። ሁለተኛውና ሶስተኛው "የተንቆሳው" ከፍሎች 19:00 F ናቸው። ይህ ክፍል ሁኔታዎች አሁን በሚሂዱበት አቅጣጫ ከቀጠ ሱ ከአንድ ትውልድ በ3ሳ ምን መልክ ሊኖረው ይችላል የሚለውን ツグナイ tingu 443 14.71 U.C.m.t.3 ለማምጣት 1383£ የአቅጣጫ ለውጠት 1,227 በኢክኖሚው ላይ ለውጥ ሊመጣ ይችላል የሚለውን and 90.7 ያሳያል። አራተኛውና የመጨረሻው 1-706.P. MEA 20 0.00 እንዲሆን 903 PALADA የሚለውን በአጭና ይጠቁማል:: 2C.9° 177,0 hH.U A06.17 7.88-7 11-1-07 1-ኢትዮጵያ የምትችለውን ስዕል Armona (Côድ) ያሳያል። ወደ ጭብተ ከመማባቴ በፊት ግን የሀሳቤን ፍሬ ነገር ለማስጨበተ እንዲረዳ ሁለት ማስገንዘቢያዎችን አስይገር ልለፍ።

1. 338.0 አይነት ov.hle. ከአነባሱ የሀይወታችንን ሙሉ 70:5 2,09.0 አይችልም። ስለዚህም፣ አቅራቢው እጅግ 970 አስፈሳጊ 007.47:00· Umgo በተመሰኑ 个中子 *ገዕታዎች ላይ ብቻ ማተኮ*ሩ

የማድ ነው። ይህ ማለት ማን በዚህ ዕሁፍ ያልተነሱት ሌሎች ጉዳዮች አላስፌላጊ አይደለ-ም መደንም 1111.90 4.88 የሌላቸው 57:00 707 እንጻልሆነ ግልዕ ነው። የኢኒ አቀራሪብ በአብዛኛው ኢኮኖሚያዊ ህይወታችን ላይ "7m3m'r በዚያ በኩል ያለውን ሁኔታ አጉልቶ ለማሳየት ያህል ብቻ የተቀየሰ ነው።

2. £09° 0°9° 73: 338.11 አይንት አቀራሪብ በተለምዶ አንደሚደረገው 04-005 የማህበራዊ ሳይንስ አተር ክልል $(\lambda, h \mathcal{C}^{\sigma}(hh))$ ሲወሰን አይችልም። ስለዚህም አቀራሪቡ የማድ ሰፋ ያለ ሁኖ habseyor (D: 6D) በኢኮኖሚያዊ ህይወታችን ላይ 1.04 659 6 **入小子の・** የምላቸውንም 1-1-1-19 ETHEA: 20339 APRCT በኢኮኖሚስቶች መሀከል ብቻ 004.8.6.7 m. e.e.t. እንደሚቀርበው ዓይነት ዝርዝር 7.88 75 116.4.7 m· OT KRAAP:: LUT OFFICECE ይገር ወደ ዋናው ፍሬ ነገር A79::

ጀ. አገራችን ያለችበት ሁኔታ

838 ATG 田只太十 02.7 እየሂደች ነው የሚለውን አቅጣጫ THAMPINA 1119 አገር: ነበረች? አሁንስ እንዴት አለች? የሚለትን ተደቄዎች ይዞ መነሳት የግድ ነው:: ምንም እንካን እንደ TCLAC Oaks 6.4. 5003 Pay Va.3 TPE enr. λ9. tPRCA 2.75 ሰማግለት የሚያስችል አውቀትም፣ ለኢኮኖሚ ስሌ ት Portura.go 0018 ባይኖረኝም፣ ቢያንስ መረጃ በቅጡ ከተጀመረበት መስብስብ ከ1950ዎቹ በመነሳት አካሂዳችንን መቃኘት ይቻላል።

ሥንጠረዥ 1: የኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚያዊ እድባት አፈፃፀም፤

	1984-89	1990-95	1984-95	1953-66	1967-83	1953-95
ግብርናና ተዛማጅ ክፍላተ ኢኮኖሚ	3.5	-1.5	1.7	2.1	0.6	1.4
ኢንዱስትሪ	7.4	4.7	5.6	7	3.6	3.4
የስርጭት አንልግሎት	8.2	4.9	6.5	7.8	2.5	3.5
ሴሎች አ ገ ልማሎቶች	6.4	7.3	7.5	6.9	4.8	5.6
ሀገራዊ ምርት	5.1	2.5	4.5	3.7	1.9	2.6
አጠቃሳይ የነፍስ ወክፍ ገቢ	2	-0.13	1.5	1.5	-0.9	-0.1
በንብርናው ከ/ኢኮኖሚ የተሰማሩ ዜጎች የነፍስ ወክፍ ነቢ	0.7	-3.4	-0.9	-0.08	-2.2	-1.2
ከግብርናው ከ/ኢኮኖሚ ውጪ ባሉ ክፍላተ ኢኮኖሚ የተሰማሩ ዜጎች የኒፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ	2.3	1.6	2.4 1.9°	4.3	0.2	0.8

ማስታወሻ። የ1984-89 እና የ1990-94 አሐዞች አማካይ ውጤቶች ሲሆኑ ሌሎች አሐዞች በኢኮኖሚትሪክስ መንገድ የተሰሉ ናቸው።

ሥንጠረዥ 2፡ ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚዎች ለአጠቃላይ እድባት ያላቸው አስተዋጽዖ፤

	1984-95	1953-66	1967-83	1953-95
ንብርናና ተዛማጅ ክፍላተ ኢኮኖሚ	18.5	38.5	16.5	30.8
ኢንዱስትሪ	13.4	97.5	20.8	13.5
የስርጭት አንልማለ-ት	20.6	24.4	17.8	17.9
ሌሎች አ ገ ልማሎቶች	47.2	20.4	44,9	39.4
የሕዝብ አስተዳደርና መከላከያ	28.2	6.4	20.7	18.4

የኢትዮጵያን ኢኮኖሚ አጠቃላይ ሂደት ለመዳሰስ ጥሩ አመላካች POTIFYOR HUA አመቃላይ የኢኮኖሚ እድንቱና huu oc የተያያዘው የሀዝቡ አማካይ የነፍስ whe m 700-1:: RU 70. OPhort: አድ77-Pay PAPO የህብሬተሰቡ ኢኮኖሚያዊ 5-C እየተሻሻለ ለመምጣት ODFA. አለመቻሉን በቅጡ ያመለከታል። በዚህ አህዝ መሠረት፣ የኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚ ሳለፉት አራት አውርት ዓመታት በዓመት በአማካይ በ2.6% አድ 3ል። OHLEO OPON 73 የህዝብ ብዛት በዚህ ጊዜ ትንሽ

የሀዝብ ብዛት በዚህ ጊዜ ትንሽ

የሀዝብ ብዛት በዚህ ጊዜ ትንሽ

ከዚህም ስፋ ባለ መልኩ አጠቃላይ
የሰብዓዊ ልማት (human development)
አመልካች ጉዳዮች ዙሪያ (ለምሳሌ
የተባሩት መንግሥታት የልማት ፕሮፕሪም
አንደሚያደርገው የአመልካቾች ጥምር
ኢንዴክስትHDI) ላይ መመሥረት ይቻሳል።
ይህ ንን ማስተሳለፍ ለምፈልገው መልዕክት
አጅግ አስፈላጊ ያልሆነ ዝርዝር ውስተ
ስለሚከተኝ በነፍስ ወክፍ ዙሪያ ብቻ እንዳጠ
ነተን ወስኛለሁ። ያም ሆና ግን አጠቃላይ

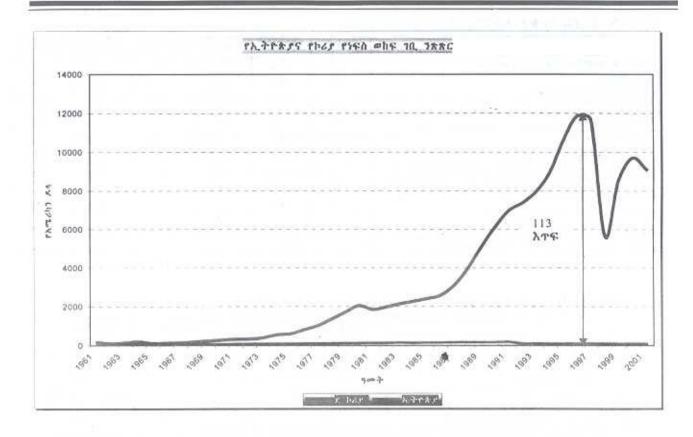
ከ2.6% በላይ አያደገ መተቷል። 21190 (loops: የህብሬተሰቡ አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ በዚያን ከንበረበት 903,90 6.4 አለማለቱ ብቻ ሳይሆን፣ አሁን እንዲያውም ትንሽ ዝቅ ብሏል። አገራዊ አማካይ የንፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ (በ1973 ቋሚ የብር OPTIP P አቅም)፣ በ1953 228 ብር፣ በ1957 ደግሞ 257 ብር ሲሆን፣ ይህ አሀዝ 11994 1 261 11CT 11995 €740 244 AC AF 500::

በአንፃሩ፣ በዚሁ ጊዜ የተቀፉት የዓለም ክፍሎች እንዲሀ እንደዋዛ Page + 8 የኢክኖሚ እድንትና P3-C APPOO አስመዝግበዋል። ለምሳሌ፣ ከአራት አሥርት 9000 160 20-0 bc.s የነበራት አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ ኢትዮጵያ ከክበራት አተፍ ቢሆንም፣ ሁለቱም አገሮች በአንድ

የኢኮኖሚ እርከን (የድሃ አገሮች ተርታ) ውስጥ ይገኙ ነበር። ነገር ማን፣ ደቡብ ኮሪያ ላለፉት አርባ ዓመታት ባስመዘገበችው 6.77 አድንት Ph381 hU-3 ከሐብታሞቹ አገር ት ナムナ ትገኛለች። Ulland 001116.1.1 በ1957 የኮርያ አማካይ ዓመታዊ የንፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ 110 የአሜሪካ ዶሳር የነበረ ሲሆን፣ የኢትዮጵያ 57 ዶላር ነበር። ከአርባ ዓመታት ተረጓል መለዲ ልሀው ተለ-ሀበ ሶደበ ከመቶ አተፍ በላይ ደርሶ፣ የኮርደ በ1993 9104 ዶሳር የኢትዮጵያ **277** 97 846 AF 506:: EU የኮርያ የምስራቅ አስያን የገንዘብ ቀውስ ካለፈ በኋላ የነበረ ነው። ከዚያ በፊት በ1989 የነበረውን አህዝ ስፍድ የኮርያ 11675 ዶላር የኢትዮጵያ ደግሞ 104 ዶላር ብቻ 500 ·::

መልስከቱ አምብዛም አይቀየርም።

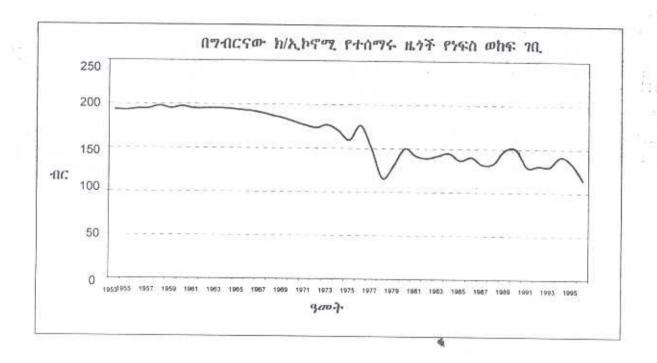
^{*} በቀላል አማካይ ውጤት ሲሰላ የዕድገት ምጣኔው 1.9% ሲሆን፤ ነገር ግን ለትንበደ የተጠቀምኩበት በኢኮኖሚትሪክስ መንገድ የተሰላውን የ 2.4% የዕድገት ምጣኔ ነው።



በዚህ ረጅም ጊዜ የኢኮኖሚያችን አወቃቀርም ይሀ ነው POTIA \ATT አሳመጣም:: hu-390 እንደያኔው በጣም ብዙው ሀዝብ 'ኑሮውን የሚገፋው ፍፁም ኋላ ቀርና ተልዋሮን እንዳለ ተቀብሎ መሥራት ባደረገ የግብርና ኢኮኖሚ አማካይነት ሲሆን፣ እንዲያውም ደደበ ጋመጨማሪ ብሄደ የሰው-ቁጥር የዚህ ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ አማካይ 9°C7 የነፍስ ወከፍ 11900-1-ዓመት እየቀነሰ በመምጣቱ፣ ሕዝቡ ይህችት ትሮ ትሮ ብሎ መኖር የማይችልበት ደረጃ ላይ እየደረሰ 7(D-::

ሳለፋት 42 ዓመታት የአርሻው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ምርት በዓመት በ 1.2% አየቀነሰ መተቷል። የኢንዱስትሪውና የአገልግሎት ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚው ድርሻ ለተወሰነ ጊዜ መጠነኛ መሻሻል በማሳየቱ፣ በተቅሉ ሲታይ፣ ከአርሻው ውጪ ያለው ነዋሪ ህይወት እንደ ገበሬው ሕይወት ከመዳሽቅ ቢድንም፣ ይህ ነው የሚባል መሻሻል ማስመዝግብ ማን አልቻለም። በ5ኝህ ዓመታት ከአርሻው ውጪ ያለው ሀዝብ አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ በዓመት የዐ.8% አድንት አሳይቷል። በዚህም ምክንያት በ1953፣ (በ1973 ቋሚ የብር መግገርያ አቅም) 194 ብር፣ በ1957 ዴማሞ 198 ብር የነበረው ገበራ አማካይ ዓመታዊ የአንድ 70 T 01994 OR 133 10CT 01995 RTP OR 114 AC ወርጿል። በአንፃሩ ከእርሻው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ውጪ ያለው ህብረተሰብ በ1953 አማካይ ገቢው 519 ብር፣ በ1957 ደግሞ 731 ብር የደረሰ ሲሆን በ1994፣ 968 ብር፣ በ1995 ደግሞ ወደ 953 ብር ዝቅ ብሏል። noopy.I 1711605 LUTO

በከተማው መሀከል 9502.0º ልዩነት በ1953 ሁለት አጥፍ ተኩል አካባቢ፣ በ1957 ደማሞ ከዚደም በልጦ ሶስት እተፍ ተኩል የነበረ ሲሆን፣ አምና ይህ ልዩነት ከሰባት እተፍ በላይ፣ ዘንድሮ ደግሞ ወደ ስምንት እጥና ተኩል አድዓል። እጅጉን አብዛኛው ሀዝብ በንጠር በሚኖርባት አገራችን የገጠሬው ድህንት እንዲሀ እየተባባለ መሄዱ የገጠሩ ህዝብ፣ ስለዚህም አብዛኛው ሀዝባችን፣ ምን አይነት ደካማ ኑሮ እየኖሬ እንደሆነ ለማሳየት ሌላ 1973 አያስሌልገውም:: የከተሚውም ኑሮ ከንጠሩ ጋር ሲተያይ የተሻለ ይምሰል እንጂ፣ ድሀንት በእጅጉ እየተንሰራፋ እየሂደ እንደሆነ የሚያስረግጡ ብዙ አህዞች (10039mit ስሌት ስለ። መሠረት፣ h1988 እስከ 1992 ባሉት አምስት ዓመታት የከተማው ድሀ መጠን በ12% ጨምሯል።



ለንንሩ እንኝሀ አሀዞች የሚጠቁሙት ひとっナ 84.255 አለመሆኑን ለመረዳት ብዙ ጽሁፍ ማገላበጥን አይጠይቅም:: 187 Unlas mwith P የሚባለው ን 7-CO-3 10094-7-51 X38,000 myg 79.0-7 ለማቆየት PUA የሚያስፌልንውን ምግብ ለማግኘት ያልቻለው リカリチラ der C በየጊዜው እየጨመረ መሂድ ለገጠ ሬው ሀዝብ፣ ኑሮ እንዴት እያደር አንቆቅልሽ አየሆነበት **እንደሂደ** 809.84.B on Fry 00731111 አያዳግትም። በአፄ ኃ/ሥላሴ ዘመን (1965) 日土われ十の 十本本 予クに አራሴን መመንብ ይቃትው መዝብ፤ በከፍተኛው 1-6.00 me. 1.5 ሚሊዮን ሀዝብ፣ ችጋሩ የዳሰሰው የአገሪተም hr.A በአብዛኛው ሰሜኑን ብቻ የነበረ ሲሆን፣ እጅን ትልቅ በተባለው የ1977 የደርግ ችጋር የስርጭት አድማሱን ወደ ምስራቀም ክፍል በማስፋት ወደ 6 ሚሊዮን ሀዝብ አተቅቷል። ዛሬ በዘንድሮው ድርቅ ምክንደት አራሱን መመንብ ያቃተው ነበሬ ቀተር ወደ 14 ሚሊዮን ያሻቀበ

ሲሆን፣ ምንም ድርቅ በሌለበት nayor-7.16 Amer. PAUA እርተባን የሚጠብቀው ነበራ ቁተር በየዓመቱ 6 ሚሊዮን ደርሷል። ለዘመናት ያልተቀየረ JUAP. የአስተራሪስ 1180 ULJ'HO Manan. hog oumor የሕዝብ 4144 20 1.89°C አንዳንድ አካባቢዎችን 们车办少 Aoug C የማያመቹ ቦታዎች አድርጓቸዋል። በ1965ቱ ችጋር ጊዜ የንጠሩ ሀዝብ ብዛት ወደ 29 ማሊዮን ደገመት ነበር። ዛሬ ይሀ ቁጥር በአጥፍ አድጉ ወደ 58 ሚሊዮን ደረሷል።

የኢኮኖሚ ድቀት የሚያስከትለው መጤት (በተለይ በክፉ መልኩ) ኢኮኖሚ ነክ በሆኑ ጉዳዮች ላይ ብቻ የሚያበቃ አይደለም። ከዚያ አልፎ በፖለቲካና በማሀበራዊ ሀይወታችን ላይም የሚያመጣው ምስቅልቅል እጅጉን ወደ ባለ የድህነት አዙሪት ውስተ መክተቱ በፍፁም የማይቀር ነው።

በ1960ዎቹ የነበረው አንፃራዊ ኋላ ቀርነት፣ በተለይም የ1965 ችጋር

Phhtha አ*ገሬ-ዋ*. 2.5 ዓመን ስሜት፣ በጊዜው ከነበረው ልሂቅ ደካማንትና መጠነኛ ለውጥ እንኳን የማምጣት ችሎታ ከማጣት ጋር 189°C P19664:3 አብዮት አስከትሏል። መለስተኛ መሻሻል (reform) ለማምጣት ባለመቻለ-ም፣ A7.4 የሰሙተ እንቅስ.ቃሴውን እጅ 75° 101-1110 036.7 ትባስሶትስለ 7-8-7700200-3 ለ66ተ፡ ማህበራዊ ነውጥ፣ ብለ-ም 11753 AU's 四十只心里 77171 አሳልፎ ሰጠው። የዚህም አንዛዝ የ17 ዓመታት ዕድሚ ድህነትንና 7.203 ብቻ ሳይሆን፣ ከንኝፀም የከፋና በላቂ የሆን፣ አስከአሁንም ልናሽረው ያልቻልነው የሥነ ልቡና 本作本 7-1-63 አልፍአል:: አብሪትና ድንቁርና ያወረው ያ አንዛዝ የመንግሥትን የአስተዳደርና የአልና መዋቅር በስፊው ዘርግቶ፣ ወትሮ በማለሰቦችና በቤተሰብ ደረጃ የሚወሰዱ የአለት ተዕለት የኑሮ ውሳኔዎችን እንኳን በመንግሥት ልቃድ ብቻ የሚተንበሩ ድርጊቶች አደረጋቸው:: የአፄው ስልጣን ፍፁም በነበረበት 7.16 X3431

ሕይወት ለእግዚአብሄር የተተወች ከቡር ነገር ነበረች። የደርግ አገዛዝ ይህችንም hoc ሀይወት ማንም የቀበሌ ታጣቂ እንዳሻው ሊወስዳት nooggwit 24.75 PORT InC. አልባለ. 77C አደረጋት። AZ7:3 ከተቃት መከሳከል ውስጣዊ ግፊት የሰው ብቻ ሳይሆን የማንም አውሪ ደመ ንፍሳዊ (instinctive) አርምጃ ነው:: በጊዜው ማን ወላጆች ልጆቻቸው ከአጠገባቸው እየተወሰዱ ሲታረዱ ዝም ብለው እስከሚመለከቱ ድረስ ደርግ የማህበረሰባችንን ከብርና ወኔ ስለበው። ይህንን ክፉ ጊዜ በአገር 足乙等 自己化 四東東野 門中本日 በስላሙም ጊዜ ከነበሩ መለስተኛ 26. +89°C ብሂራዊ ብስቶች ለችግሮች አገራዊ ሳይሆን ጐሳዊ መፍትሄ ለመፈለግ ለተነሱ ሀይሎች ጉልበትን ሰጠ። ይህም በህብሬተሰቡ ውስጥ ያለውን አንድነት በመጠኑም OUT'S 66660 :: 211 U-A-ምስቅልቅል በፈጠረው በአገር ላይ አምነት የማጣት ሰሜትና ዝንባሌ ምክንደት፣ በንጉሱ 7.16 እንዴ ውርደት ይቆጠር የነበረው ስደት ロ・ハ・グ nopay 00 500-5 የሚናፍቀው አንራዊ ክስተት ሆነ። hillug" ALET Letis. Poomer 2:117-9 ng አስተዳደር ነባር ከሆኑት ኋላ ቀር ባህላዊ ገፅታዎች 2C +8"7C 16.49" (on m'r የነበሩ፣ ግን በዘመናዊ ትምህርት 141.34 0h4-407 24.40 አካባቢ. 764.81100-የነበሩ አስከሬ. TUAR አካሂዶች በማህበፈሰባችን ስንልቦና ሰፋ ይለ **尼州**力 入3名,写心于 60· X8.67:: デキラケナエ ጨለም ተኝነት T 1.04. 00 \$6.TG non hA00.1-09003 119:0-9" 127°00110 ለአድንት የማያመች፣ ማን በማህበረሰባችን ስር የሰደዱ የሥነልቡናዊ ቀስላችን 03b67 US:

የደርግ አገዛዝ መከሰምና በጊዜውም 69.009 ስብረትን መሬ.ሪካክስ ተከትሉ የመጣው አለም አቀፍ ሁኔታ በእጅጉ መቀየሩ በተወሰነ ደረጃ ለአገራችን አዲስ ውጥንንና ተስፋን ሰጥቶ ነበር። ምንም እንኳን 036.5 የኢሕአዴ 7 የሶሻሊስት እምነት፣ የአደረጃጀቱ <u>ጉሰኝነትና፣</u> OH Ugo TH አብሮ Paramo. PACTO ap77mA በብዙዎች ከፍተኛ 1135 TCM63 PLATC9 I DA394 ከሽማማሩ £9000 0039 mit የተወሰዱ አንጻንድ እርምጃዎች፣ 0-tage ሀሳብን በነፃነት የመግለፅ ነፃነትን (ከነባ ጋዜጦች መስፋፋት ጋር) እና እንዲሀ ያሉትን ሌሎችም፣ ነፃነቶች በሕገ መንግሥት ላይ መቅጀፅ፣ በደርግ ጊዜ የነበረው ዓይነት ፍፁም ያወጣ የሰብአዊ መብቶች he3 በአብዛኛው an76.4. のりょうす! ለግሎ የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ሰፋ ያለ የእንቅስ.ቃሴ AZA appund 1 WH-1:... ምናልባትም 中田只在十 ህይወታችን ብሩህ ይሆናል ለሚል July J. POLUT-እርምጃዎች ነበሩ። በሌላ በኩል ግን በብሂረሰቦች oruha 6.MY.0. አለመተማመን እንዲሰፋ መደረጉ 0037/11/19 714.7 የተሰጣቸው እስኪመስል በአንሪቱ ታሪክ ያልታዩ የተመሠረቱ ሰብአዊ OHC AR malt 76.4.975 13838.5° 加少中 中下山木炉子 (ለምሳሌ በደኖ፤ ወተር ወዘተ) በበጎ ምኞቱ 18 179. TA እንዲያጠሳ አድርገዋል። 18,0 0039 put 132 2.C7 7.11. 7-401+3 00375 በአስፀያል. (crude) ang 18-3 0287 ቢቀንስም፣ hgc7 በመረሰው-843064 የአስተዳደር መቀትር በመጠቀም いのファルナ 20 m 100 8 0.7 167-千丁 10079111 ስተቀጠፉ .36. ትየማየባማስለ OR 39" 00372073 क केवान hpul-

መባረርን ሊያስከትል፣ ስለሆነም ለኢኮኖሚያዊ 7.70 ሊዳርግ መቻሉን MARTA (ለምሳሌ ከዩኒቨርስቲ የተባረፉትን መምህራን ያስታውሷል)። በኢኮኖሚ monh 711-4 PUT. Pret 9372 是CERT 们們來來少 11-6.00 ነጋዴ ጋር እንዲወዳደሩ በማድረግ፣ 122,0-3 በማሽማቀቅ፣ AA6.90 እሱ ከመሰነሳቸው Ah 9.00 አልፈው ደፍረውኛል የሚሳቸውን 0"70CS ロックラフクナナナ የመንግሥትን ኃያልነትና ከሕዝብ 09390 200 only? 007.8m ሪፕሬው መልኩ በሕዝቡ አእምሮ እንደሰረፀ W.OT አንዲቀጥል አድርጓል::

ስለሆንም፣ አሁን ባለንበት ሁኔታ፣ ከላይ የጠቀስኳቸው፣ በደርግ ጊዜ የተንሰራት ፖለቲካዊና "7UNG-T ምስቅልቅሎች 0.867 7.16 የነበፉትን 911A90 161151 now ct ተቀርራዋል "70-7 አይቻልም:: ሰብአዊ 0011-**とつ**何タ子 hU-390 hA .: ተባሰንያውበ MINIO PACD-አለመተማመን ብለ እንደሆን እንጀ በፍፁም አልተሻሻለም፣ በአገር ላይ አምነት ማጣትና መሰደድ ሥር 自四百只名千四 P-1-50 mm-1: ትውልድ (የልሂቁን ልጆች ጨምሮ) 64.44 7-10 Aungar. 112764 ያለው ተስፋ በእጅጉ ተመናምኗል (D-4P Vany 6. ARA 1734 አለመሂድ ፍፁም 132 EAST የሚቆጠርበት 7,11. RCOSA): P0037/117. 9.0.90 449,009 እየሳሳ ሳይሆን እንዲያውም እየተጠ ናከረ የመጣ ይመስላል። ኢሕአዴግ 1112 900 + + 1134 አብዛኛው የማህበረሰብ hEA noow4+ Thhas ፍትህዊ ነው 110-የሚያምንበትን 2. 4Ph&-1. P.P. የአስተዳዳር ስርዓት 日かりる中 anany y ተስፍታል። ከዚያም

አልፎ ደርማ በጭካኔ ቀጥቅጠ OSCUT மாக்குக் ውስተ የከተተው ሰብዕናችን ከተደበቀበት ሽል ውስተ እስከአሁንም መውጣት አልቻለም:: 9"5A9-79" TAR Ph. anh 8.7 Chort ኢትዮጵያዊውን 2000 hn.17 ፍርሀት ማውጣት አለመቻሉ ነው አሳለሁ። የወደፊት ሕይወታችንም Or OBT በአብዛኛው 2033 ውስጣዊ ነፃነት ማግኘት በመቻልና ባለመቻላችን መካከል የተንጠለጠለ ይመስለኛል።

EU 67 500 ያለነው ብዬ የንደፍኩት ምስል በጣም ጨለማና 40.8 +114. መስተ Payhit እንደሆነ ይታየኛል። ወዲያው ግን የተሻለ ሀይወት ለመኖር እንችላለን ብየም አምናለሁ። ይህ እንዲሆን 73 0765 0261 እንደ እንድ ሀገር ዜጎች፣ እንደ አገር ሀዝብ 2000 ያለብን -1111-**奉**6-中 እርምጃዎች አሉ። ይህ እስካልሆነ 73 arm.t hill Dgo ሲብስ አንደሚችል ይታየኛል። hnw ቀጥዬ የማቀርበው ክፍል ይህንን በጐና ክፉ ገልታ የሚያሳይ ነው።

ወደዚያ ክፍል ከማምራቴ በፊት ማን፣ አሁን ላለንበት ሁኔታ ማነው ተጠያቂው ለሚል፣ በአለምሯችሁ ሰማ 7-ሳሳ TPE hop-C MAGO ሰተቼ ልለፍ። ለዚሀ እኔ ያለኝ man Umgo TAA 500::: U-1779 POZA 500 ::: P66+ ነውጥ ዕንፈኛ መስመር እንዲይዝ P7447 9063 የሚወቀሱትን PATUR PUAT 0039mit ለዘብተኛ 100 እንዲያመጣ 007447 ያ ታ ተ ቸው P45.00 አብዮት ልሂቃን፣ የደርማን ዘማናኝ ሞፍዉፋ ለመከሳከል አንድ ቃል መተንፈስ የተሳናቸው የሀይማኖት መሪዎቻችን፣ ባጠ*ቃ*ሳይም ይህ ሁሉ ማፍ ሲፈፀም እኔ ጋ እስኪደርስ

7190 9717 ይሻለኛል TIA-የሆነውን ማየት ብቻ የመረጡ ሁሉ horch 十の少です PO7.27 አይመስለንም:: アナムカ +0971777 Paggaman 179. £67.7 99£69 OP 290 ant-2C17 +1996 any? 们开 አይደለም! 179. 2017 h38goon Adoldony **\$C**m ኛንትና ፍላጐት ያልነበራቸውም ይጠየቃለ።

፤ . አሁን ያለው ሁኔታ አካሂዱ አንጻሁኑ ቢቀተል የኢትዮጵያ ሀዝብ ሀይወት ወደፊት ምን ሊመስል ይችላል?

ከተወሰነ ጊዜ በኋላ ምን ሁኔታ ይከሰታል የሚል ትንበደ ውጤት ምንንት በአብዛኛው ለትንቢያ መነሻ ከተወሰዱት ODA 9047 ሚዛናዊነት ጋር ይያያዛል። እንኝህ መንሻ መላ ምቶች በተቀየሩ ቁጥር P-7-30 Par mat on pps አይቀርም። hit ugo 11-02-76 የሰው ልጆችን የወደፊት አካሂድ በተግባር የሚወስኑት በጣም ብዙ anns.C.F.F (variables) አሉ። እነኝሀን ሁሉ ምክንያቶች ሙሉ በሙሉ ማካተት ፈፅሞ አይቻልም። ስለሆንም፣ ተንበየውን የሂደቱን አጠቃላይ 人争可可 ለማመላከት በሚያስችል አነስተኛ ሞዴል ላይ monhat አማራጭ የለውም:: OH US" 00W671 የወደፊት አቅጣጫችንን ለማመመላከት የተጠ ቀምከብቸው መኝሻ መላ ምቶች በአብዛኛው PAHA नामनेन्द्रम የሕዝብ አስፋፈርን፣ በተለይም የሕዝብ የገጠር-ከተማ ስብተርን፣ 四四七十 8267 hn, 99" MTTA ምCナークラナナ 12 አንስተኛ ለውተ ቢደረግ በሚል 7907 ላይ የተመሠረቱ 410 ስሌቶች ናቸው። ከዚያ በፊት ማን፣

ሁሉ ነገር አሁን ባለበት ቢቀተል በኢትዮጵያ አቆጣጠር በ2020 ዓ.ም ምን አይነት ኢኮኖሚያዊ ሁኔታ ይከሰታል? በሚለው ተያቁ ልጀምር።

እንደሚታወቀው፣ ባለፉት አርባ ዓመታት በተለያዩ የአገዛዝ ዘመናት PTAPP Phs-77. anm3 አስመዝግበናል። ሁሉንም ጨፍልቆ goods hoghe P40 00.7 መውሰዱ የወደፊቱ ምን ለመስል እንደሚችል ጥሩ አመሳካች ሲሆን አይትልም:: 1112 aw3m476 እንደታየው በአፄው ጊዜ፣ በደርግ H0039 hu-390 በኢሀአዴ 7 PTAPE የአድንት መጠኖች ተመዝግበዋል። PRC7 7.16 በኢትኖሚ እንቅስቃሴ ፍፁም ደካማ የነበረበት ጊዜ ስለሆነ (አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ በዓመት በ1% 470A) EU33 7.16 ከስሌተ 150000-የአዓመ-7,165 የኢሕአዴግ 7.11 ++6-6-A የእድንት መጠን የተመዘገበባቸው UPSO-እናገኛቸዋለን (ロレーハイ:9" ጊዜ በአማካይ የንፍስ ወከፍ ገበ በዓመት 1.5% አድዓል)። ከሁለቱ 71697 27901 9440 flam ቃላይ የማከሮ ኢኮኖሚ እድባት የኢሕአዴጉ ጊዜ ትንሽ የተሻለ ስለሆንና @P.4.7 ለምንማትረው ጊዜም የሚቀርበው እሱ ስለሆነ፤ በዚህ ጊዜ የተገኘውን የኢኮኖሚ አድንት እንደመነሻ መመ ሰዱ የተሻለ አማራጭ ይሆናል። ይህም AUT? 77C አለበት:: e ho-got በኢሕአዴግ 7,16 የተመዘገበው የኢኮኖሚ እንቅስቃሴ አንድ OT አይደለም።፡ በጣም ከፍተኛ መዋዝቅ ታይቶበታል። ለምሳሌ፣ የኢሕአዴማን P12 ዓመታት ጊዜ ለሁለት ብንክፍለው፣ በመጀመሪያዎቹ ስድስት ዓመታት፣ አጠቃሳይ ኢኮኖሚው፣ በአማካይ፣ በዓመት 05.1% ASE TI

በተከታዮቹ ስድስት ዓመታት 2790 ኢክኖሚው 98.70 ከመጀመሪያዎቹ ስድስት ዓመታት ከታየው አድባት በግማሽ 430 n2.5% 们手 700 ·:: AHLU9° ምከንያት፣ በመጀመሪያው ግማሽ ጊዜ አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ 19007 112% 887 ሲሆን፣ በሁለተኛው ግግሽ ጊዜ በዓመት 00.13% 431A::

ስለዚህ በዚሁ ከቀጠልን የት እንደርሳለን? የሚለውን የወደፊት ሂደት ለማስላት የትኛው ጊዜ ነው ጥሩ መነሻ የሚሆነን POLAD አክራካሪ ጉዳይ ነው። ለማንዛቤ 138.68T በአራት PTAPP いとナタ子 (no g oo 6900 የኢሕአዴማ ጊዜ ፣ በጠቅሳሳው የኢሕአዴ ን 7.H.T いいかかずの የኢሕአዴግ ዘመንና ባለፉት አርባ ሁለት ዓመታት አማካይ የእድነት ምጣኔ) የተሰራው ትንበያ ከዚህ በታች በሰንጠረዥ ሁለት ቀርቧል። ለሁሉም ግን በ2020 የሚሆነውን ለማየት የተወሰኑ መንሽ መላ ምቶች ተወስደዋል። እንኝሀም፣

- (1) <u>የሕዝብ አድገት</u>፣ በሕዝብ ቆጠ ራ (census) ግምቱ መሠረት በ2020 አጠቃላይ ሀዝቡ 124.5 ሚሊዮን፣ ከዚህ ውስጥ የገጠሩ ሕዝብ 78% ወይንም 96.7 ሚሊዮን፣ የከተማው ደግሞ 27.8 ሚሊዮን ይደርሳል፤
- (2) PhT 少A ምርታማነት (Productivity): OPAIL 973 አሁን ባለበት ሁኔታ የ0.17 gum's (OR. 390 11% የካፒታል ቁማሪ ምርት በ 0.17% SEJA የሚለውን) (ይህ በእድባት ሬግረሽን የተገኘ 500·) EH? 10354 የኢንቬስትመንት መጠን-ም አሁን ባለው ልክ ይቀተላል፤
- (3) <u>የኢኮኖሚና ሌሎች ፖሊሲዎች</u> ይዞታ፣ በተለይ የሕዝብ

የአስፋፈር ሁኔታ አሁን ባለበት ሂደት ይቀተሳል፤

(4) ሌሎች ሁኔታዎች አሁን ባለብት እንቅስቃሴና ሂደት ይቀተሳሉ የሚሉ ናቸው።

እንግዲሀ እነኝህን መሳ ምቶች ይዘን ስንንሳ፣ 02020 POLITON የኢኮኖሚ ሁኔታ፣ አሁን በያዝነው መንገድ ከቀጠልን ምን አስቸጋሪ እንደሚሆን መመልክት አያዳግትም። በሰንጠረዥ አንድ እንደሚታየው፣ በአንፃራዊ ሁኔታ እንቅስቃሴ ጥሩ የታየበትን Par 200690-3 የኢሕአዴማ የስድስት ዓመት የእድገት መጠንን 0057 A&C73 17501 ሀብሪተሰባችን አሁን ካለበት ሁኔታ መጠነኝ PrC OPTITA 们矛 ሊያሳይ እንግንዘባለን። 007:A-3 0000671 an na 02020 ዓመታዊ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ ወደ 659 ብር ሲያድግ፣ ከዚህም የገጠሩ 195 ACT Pht 70 879 2274 ብር ይደርሳል። ይህም የገጠሬው ትሮ አሁን ካለበት በ50% መሻሻል ሲያሳይ የከተሜው ከሁለት እተፍ ተኩል በላይ ይጨምራል ማለት ነው። በከተሚውና በንጠሩ ህዝብ መሀከል ያለው ልዩነትም h11 አተፍ በሳይ ይሆናል። እንግዲሀ ይሀ መነሻ በጣም ተሩ የሚባለው *ነ*ው።:

በመካከለኛው ስሌት (የኢሕአዴን ሙሉ ዘመን አማካይ አድንት መነሻ አድርጎን ስንነሳ) ሁኔታው ከዚህ Phs eusa: Ohur owatt በ2020 አማካይ አኅራዊ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ 590 ብር ሲሆን፣ የገበሬው አማካይ ገቢ ወደ 122 ብር በዓመት ሲወርድ የከተሜው ደማሞ 2219 ብር ይሆናል። ይሀ ማለት 0716 OF 四只 100 บาเกา ሚሊዮን Parmon-አማካይ የእለት ገቢው በቀን ወደ

33 የኢትዮጵያ 43-t-9" 们手 eusa 717 you (hut) 36 ሳንቲም 500-):: いれナデのう የኢሕአዴግ ዘመን (ひんナギゆう የስድስት ዓመት ጊዜ) ለወደፊት ትሮአችን ትንበያ መነሻ ካደረ**ግ**ነው ሁኔታው እጅግ የሚያስፈራ ነው የሚሆነው። በዚህ ሁኔታ ከቀጠ ልን፣ በ2020 አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ንቢ ወደ 541 ብር ዝቅ ይላል፤ የብዙሀት የገጠር ነዋሪ የነፍስ ወከፍ 19007 **መ**ደ 92 -flC ይመርዳል፣ የከተሚው ደማሞ 2104 ብር ይሆናል። ይህም አለታዊውን የገጠራ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ ወደ የኢትዮጵያ 17 17:19 ያወርደዋል። ባጠቃላይ ያለፋትን አርባ ሁለት ዓመታት ለመተንበያ 0047 ካደረግናቸው 27901 አማካይ አ*ገራ*ዊ የነፍስ ወከፍ *ገ*ቢ 346 ብር ብቻ ሲሆን፣ የግብርናው ዘርፍ 113 ብር፣ ከግብርና ውጪ ያሉት ዘርፎች የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ ደ**ግ**ሞ በእጅጉ ቀንሶ 1157 ብር ይሆናል²። ይህ አንግዲሀ እስከአሁን ስንሄድበት በነበረው ጉዞ ብንቀተል ሊገተመን የሚችለውን የኢኮኖሚ ችግር በቅጡ ያመለከታል። ይህም ቢሆን ማን ድፍን ስእል እንጂ ጠ ለቅ ያለ ግንዛቤ አይሰተም።

ተ፤

1 በአነኝህ ትንቢያዎች መሠረት በንጠፋና

2 በከተማው ያለው የንቢ መጠን ልዩነት

30 የንጠፋና የከተማው የአድንት ሂደት ልዩነት

30 ከመጀመሪያው የኢሕአዴግ ጊዜ ውጪ

ባሉት ጊዜያቶች ሁሉ ልጣን የግብርና

አድንት የታየው በጃንሆይ ጊዜ ነው ።

መንጠረሻና 3፡ አሁን ያለው ሁኔታ ቢቀተል ከ25 ዓመት በኋላ የሚኖረው የኢኮኖሚ ገጽታ

	ርት ብር ስት		d + ±		የንፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ			
ለመነሻ የኢኮኖሚ አድባት ምጣኔ ታሳቢ	ሀገሪ-ዊ ምር በሚሊዮን 1 (በጵሚ ዋጋ)	የማብርና ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ተጨማሪ ዕሴት	ከንብርና ውጪ ያሉ ክፍላተ ኢኮኖሚ ተጨማሪ ዕሴት	የግብርና ድርሻ	አጠታሳይ	วสตร	ከግብርና ውጪ ያለ- ክፍላተ ኢኮኖሚ	
የመጀመሪያው የኢሕአዴን ዘመን	82070	18846	63224	23%	659	195	2274	
ንጽጵር	4.7	2.5	6.3		2.5	1.5	2.4	
የኢሕአዴን <i>ዘመ</i> ን	73403	11802	61601	18.7%	590	122	2219	
ንጽጽር	4.2	1.6	6.2		2.3	0.92	2.3	
ሁለተኛው የኢሕአዴን ዘመን	67347	8867	58480	13.3%	541	92	2104	
ንጽጽር	3.8	1.7	5.9		2.1	0.7	2.2	
ያለፉት ወርባ ሁለት ዓመታት	43076	10917	32159	25%	346	113	1157	
ንጽጵ ር	1.6	1.4	3.2		1,3	0.85	1.2	

የክፋቱን ገሪታ በደበልጥ ለማሳየት 7.263 በምሳሌንት WAR3 እንየው። በዚህ ዓመት ችጋር ይጠ ቃው የማህበረሰባችን ክፍል ከላይ እንደተጠቀሰው እስከ 14 ሚሊዮን ERGAA 1.110 1·79" 生A:: ከ1971 ጀምሮ እስከ 1995 ድረስ ያለው ያችጋር ጉዳተኛ በአማካይ በ3.4% አደደገ ሂዷል። OHU 87.845 a mwc.t on m3 በየአመተ፡ በአማካይ በዚህ ስሌት ከተለበ ልኒሁ ልዩኒያ ንፈማላ ብዛትና በአካባቢ ብክለት ምክንደት ይህ አየጨመረ ይመጣ እንደሆነ እንጂ አይቀንስም)፤ በአሁኑ ሁኔታ 02020 07.2C ከቀጠልን፣ የሚጎዳው የአገራችን ገበሬ ቁጥር ወደ 50 ሚሊዮን እንደሚደርስና፣ ይህም ከአጠቃላይ ገበሬው ወደ 52%፤ ከአጠቃላይ ሀዝባችን ደግሞ እንደ*ሚ*ሆን 0/0 40 ይገመታል። አንግዲሀ ይታያቸው! የወደፊት ወደወታችን አሁን ባለበት ከቀጠለ ከአንድ ትውልድ በኋላ Planc ነዋሪ መደመት ለመቆየት የአሀል አርተባን መጠበቅ ሊኖርበት አው። በሌላ አንጋገር ከአገሪቱ ሕዝብ ገሚሱ ችግሪኛ ለማኝ ነው የሚሆነው ማለት ነው። P.CU57 7380 7.8.7.1: ለ.ሎችንም 0030647 የሀይወታችንን ገልታዎች ሳይንካቸው antigo heary: (langhago) ይህ ሁኔታ አሁን በሚሄድበት ከቀጠለ በሰላም የመኖር ሀልማችንን

ከፉ ተሳ ያጠሳበታል። ከሳይ የጠ ቀስኳቸው ያለፉት አርባ ዓመታት የኢኮኖሚ ድክመቶች የፌጠሯቸው የፖለቲካ፣ የማህበራዊ ኑሮና በአጠ **ቃላይም የአገሪቱ ህዝብ ስ**ንልቡናዊ ገፅታዎች እየተባባሱ ony, s.f.a. የማይቀር ነው። የድሀነት መከፋት አሁን ከተፈጠረው የእርስ በርስ and-mC 20. +89°C ለችግሮቻቸው ከኢትዮጵያዊነት መጪ መፍትሂ ለመሻት ለሚፈልጉ በታኝ ሀይሎች ጉልበት ሊሰጣቸው እንደሚችል አለመገመት ከታሪክ አለመማር ነው። ከዚህም አልፎ TAPT PRUST: man3 አየጨመረ በሂደ ቁጥር አብሮት የሚዳብረው ጨለምተኝንትና ተስፋ 1877 maker ΛU-Λ-9° የሀይማኖት አክራሪዎች መራቢያ ጥሩ ማሪዳ ነው የሚሆንላቸው:: EU9" のいってケオ・デ በሕክብንት ስንኮራበት የነበረውን፣ በሀይማኖቶች Allynn የቆየው 3 ornancs በሰላም አብሮ ምኖር ክፋኛ እንደሚል ታተነው and-mc አይቻልም። Attro ለሚመለከተው፣ የዚህ ሂደት አመላካቾች በማህበረሰባችን ውስጥ AD-39" UUY'00-B. J. PA .: ምናልባትም በአሁት ጊዜ ከምንም na.e.7. እየተጠናከረ. 9.10 84.5.00-6 138, 900-9° 7.38 1275 4-hhC PIPHO ቦታዎችን በብዛትና POTO"ALL 004-7 ለመስራት የሚደረገሙ መሯሯዋ ነው። አለማዊው ነብ

ፍፁም 76 897.829 42.09 0.03 መፍትሂ ለመኘት ወደ አማልክቶች መመልክት የተለመደ የሰው ART አካሂድ 700 :: ምናልባትም በዚህ ዙሪያ በተለያዩ PAW. A 27 onuha ልዩነት፣ በአንድ በኩል ወደ ፌጣሪ መመልከት ዓለማዊ ሀደወታቸውን ለማሻሻል ለሚያደርጉት POAT ተለለት POPPECT 7.70 መንፈሳዊ ድጋፍ እንዲሰጣቸውና እንዲያጠናከራቸው በሚሽት እና፣ በሌላ በኩል፣ መንፈሳዊ ሀይወትን ከዓለማዊው ሀይወት መሸሽያ እና 3090 ang ne et Anh.t. የምትፌልገውን 7-7-11 ለመስራት የሰነፉ ደካሞች መጠለያ አድርገው በሚወስጹ orthina ይመስለኛል። በሁለተ፡ም በኩል በሰማንድ 0.7 POTS 6.7:00-3 አቀባበል መተንበደ ባይቻልም፤ በምድር ኑሮአቸው ግን የቀድሞዎች ከኋለኞቹ የተሻለ አጠ.ቃላይ አለማዊ ኑሮ እንደሚኖሩ አያጠራጥርም።

በአንፃሩ 73 0A16.73 ከሀይማኖቶች እንደ ሰደድ አሳት 0014.4.7 20. የማህበረሰባችን የሞራልና የግብረንብንት ተንካሬ ሲጉለብት አይታይም። እንዲያውም እየተሰረሰሪ ሲሄድ እንጂ! በዛሬ ጊዜ በመንግሥት ሥራ ላይ ሆኖ የማይሰርትና የማይታልል 132. 们C中 Pag 1. 8 ሆኖአል። በባለሀብቶቻችን አካባቢ OC.F ደከሞ ሀብት ከማፍራት ይልቅ

በአጭር ጊዜ ፣ በአቋራጭና በማጭበርበር መከበር የጉብዝናና የንግድ አዋቂነት ምልክት ሆኖአል። በዎች በሚልፏቸው ቼኮች ላይ መተማመን የጠፋበት ጊዜ አየተደረሰ ነው።

P900-6-7 $\varphi\varsigma$ Phi -90071C anglass. PIPYO-">, 0-5-7-3 ተናግሮ የመሸበት ማደር" ብሃል 产产用工产子 PPPU7 አሊያም መሌክር አንጃ "hoh? 9"0-6-3" የሚጠበቅ ጠባይ አልሆነም። "ፍትህ የሀገደብት ፍትህ የተነፈገ ነው። የሚለው የሆን ባለሙ የዎች አባባል **みプルスの又に するつのす みちょうずめ** ልረንጆች እንጃ "ለትስማስተኛው" ህዝቦችን የሚሰራ አይደለም። በብዙ የሕግ ባለሙያዎቻችን ዘንድ ፍትህ በዋናነት የሚዥት የሙየው ውጤት መሆኑ እየቀራ እንዲያው አግሪ መንገዱን በሂደት ሊመጣ የሚችል የአ*ጋጣሚ ግኝት ይመ*ስላል። በአጠ **ቃላይ፣ የምራል ገነቅ**ጠት ጉዞአችን 央3史子33 18AC እየቀየረው መጥቷል። መስረት - መስራት ፣ ማስኮረድ፣ ማስራት ፣ ጉቦ መስጠት -ማጉረስ ... ሆኗል። ድህንታችንና የኢኮኖሚ のとサナチ子 0.8-0-5 026 767 443066 LPRC. eas anulas ማህበራዊ Am争り足 0267 四十万十十 11-17-779 ሊያሳስብ የሚገባው 7(D*:: BU 701 11.050 O.D. 738H6 ተበላሽቷል ማለት አለመሆኑ ግልዕ 5(D*:: AU-39° ሰሀት PUZAS ナナンタナ ሞልተዋል። 7.8.4.3 ስናየው ማን እንዲሀ አይነተ ዜጉች አናሳ አየሆኑ ለመሂዳቸው NA. ምልክቶች አሉ።

Ö. ከዚህ የተሻለ ህይወት ሊገኝ ይችላል?

የኢትዮጵያችን የወደፊት አጣ ከዚህ የተሻለ ሲሆን ይችላል? ለዚህም መልቤ አዎን ይችላል ብቻ ሳይሆን መፍትሄውም በእጃችን ሳይ ነው ያለው የሚል ነው። ይህ ግን በእኛ Oh-A **λ32** 256 በ-ሰረ-ትስብ የለብ33 ·IIII-17C7 በቅጡ ከፊ.ፀምን ብቻ የሚገኝ እንጃ 110-DODBAR. pay ann ውጤት አይደለም። እዚህ ጉዳይ ላይ በኋላ አመለስበታለሁ። ከዚያ በፊት ግን፣ በኢኮኖሚው መስከ፣ ተልደመየ P-1-700 りとのナチ子 903 1157 1387 FA AMMANT ATTIC:

42,90 1119 1-1-1148864 ስለመደፊት POT. R. L. 7 730,8 የሚወሰነው ለመነሻ በተወሰዱ መላ グルデ 18 im:: hae hU-3 UVO-ひったか hema? 6.7. 7-300 እንደርሳለን Poy Am መሠረቱ አሁን ያሉት ፖሊሲዎችና አጠ.ቃላይ 177873 2384 ይቀጥላለhoy.A OUT 900 0054-tz ይታመሳል:: hit na አንዱና ዋናው ገጠርን መሠረት PR6700-PAR 71 おかする・古年. 7a1:: በእኔ カダッナ 20 አስትራቴች ለረዥም ጊዜ ደካማ እንቅስቃሴ ባሳየው ኢኮኖሚ ላይ በመመስረቱ የእድንት ጉዞአችንን ጉትቶታል። ከዚህ ይልቅ በጣም ለሚንቀሳቀሱ (dynamic) የኢኮኖሚ ከፍሎች አሁን ከተሰጠው የበለጠ ትኩሬት ቢሰጣቸው የተሻለ ውጤት ማስመገበብ እንችላለን ባይ ነኝ። 1-1-906. 2077 P7m53 ኢኮኖሚ አስቸጋሪ ሁኔታ ውስጥ hharad ምカラタネデ 13% የሆነውን፣ በንጠሩ ውስጥ ያለውን የሰው ብዛት በምሳሌነት በመውሰድ ለማሳየት ልሞክር።

አሁን ያለው የሀዝብ ብዛትና የንጠር-11-1-7 82111 አሰፋልር ሁኔታ ns.et mg. 85%T A7mC በከተሞች ደግሞ ወደ 15% ሀዝብ የሰፈሪ መሆኑን እንሪዳለን። ይህ የሕዝብ አስፋፈር በገጠሩ P10-3 የመሬት ይዞታ ከጊዜ OP. 7.16 እየቀነሰ morta: 12º01. አማካይ 01960岁年1 የቤተሰብ P0067 ይዞታ ከሁለት ሂክታር PYNZ 0.031 01992 2011

991148 1.8 01.867 サイナ እንደታየው፣ ይህ ይዞታ ወደ አንድ ሂክታር ዝቅ ብሏል። የዚህ የመሬት 4.43 LPRC. onung on? ምክንያቱ የንጠሩ የሀዝብ ብዛት መጨመር ነው። በነገራችን ላይ፣ UG አንዲሁም 90390 የሌላቸው አርሶአደሮች ወደ 11% ይጠጋለ። ከአጠቃላይ PHUT ብዛት መጨመር በተጨማሪ፣ የዚህ የገጠር ሀገተብ ብዛት መጨመር ምንሬው በተለይ ከ1967 የመሬት አዋጅ በ34 hanc ወደ ከተሞች የሚደረገው ፍልስት ሆን ተብለ። እንዲቀንስ መደረጉ ነው። ለምሳሌ፣ h1952 Anh 1967∓ Oht To P. 9 C. 85040 कामा ४८१२ gum's. (Rate of Urbanization) 1900 - 4.8% 1173: 110067 አዋጅ በኋላ እስከ 1979 በነበረው 7.16 mg, 3.2% 434A: hit. P 1989 ann non. 7.11. hiller wer n2.1% no hoc PUT PR-700-3::

POR6.43 Phharmy 11.7.1. ለመተንበይ ከተጠቀምኩበት አንዱ OPA 9"7: PU HAME OF HAM የሚደረግ ፑልስት በአኤሙ 7.16 ሰንበረበት ሂደት ቤተተል የሚል ነው። ከዚህ መሳ ምት ተነስተን የአድባት ሂደታችንን ስናየው አሁን ባለበት ቢቀተል በ2020 ከሚሆነው የተሻለ ኢኮኖሚ ይኖሪናል። በዚህ www.it 114.6 አንዴጠቀስኩት P97.97.00-02020 PA1117-3 ስብተር፣ የጎጠሩ 78%፣ የከተማው 22% ይሆን የነበረው፣ በጃንሆይ ጊዜ በንበረው የከተሞች አድንት ስሌት ቢቀተል በ2020 የከተማሙ ሀዝብ 40 % የገጠሩ ደግሞ 60% ይሆናል። ይህ የሕዝብ አስፋፊር ለውጥ ብቻ በኢኮኖሚ ሂደታችን ላደ ሁንኛ ለውጥ ያመጣል።

ስለነርህሩ በቅርቡ በዚህ ጉዳይ ሳይ የተፃፈውን ጂን ማሪ ኩር፤ ብርሃኑና በፍቃዱ ያዘጋቾትን "የከተማ አድገት ለማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ አድገት ያለው አስተዋዕአ" (EEA/EEPRI 2003) ይመልከቱ።

መንጠረዥ 4፡ የከተማ ነዋሪ ሕዝብ 40 በመቶ ቢሆን ከ25 ዓመት በኋላ የሚኖረው የኢኮኖሚ ገጽታ፤

	45	ስፍለ ሴት	日士 十	የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ			
ለመነሻ የኢክኖሚ እድገት ምጣኔ ታሳቢ	ሀገራዊ ምርት በሚሊዮን ብር (በጵሚ ዋ <i>ጋ</i>)	የንብርና ክፍረ ኢኮኖሚ ተጨማሪ ፅሴት	ከግብርና ውጪ ያሉ ከፍላተ ኢኮኖሚ ተዉጣሪ የሴት	አጠቃሳይ	ግብርና	ከማብርና ውጪ ያሉ ክፍላተ ኢኮኖሚዎች	
የመጀመሪያው የኢሕአዴን ዘመን	132091	18846	113245	1061	252	2274	
ንጽጵር				1.6	1.3	1	
የኢሕአዴግ ዘመን	124664	14158	110506	1001	190	2219	
ንጽጽ <i>ር</i>				1.7	1.3	1	
ሁለተኛው የኢሕአዴግ ዘመን	113646	8867	104779	913	119	2104	
3ጽጽ <i>ር</i>				1.7	1.3		
ያለፉት ወርባ ሁለት ዓመታት	68536	10917	57619	551	146	1157	
ንጽጽC				1.6	1.3	1107	

አሁን ያለው ሁኔታ ቢቀዋል ሊሆን ከሚችለው ጋር ሲነጻጸር፣

ከሳይ በሰንጠረዥ 4 እንደታየው፣ ይሀንን ለውጥ በማድረጋችን ብቻ የሚኖረው አማካይ የንፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ፣ ይህ ለውጥ ሳይኖር ከሚሆነው ሲነባፀር፣ አማካይ አገራዊ የንፍስ ወከፍ 7ቢ ከ60-70%፣ የ7ጠ 60 70, 879 056% PRAM RUTA :: OHLUGO 7. 1. 2000 አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ነቢ፤ በአጠ ቃላይ የኢሕአዴግን ዘመን መነሻ ባደረገው ስሌት፣ በዓመት 590 ብር የነበረው አሁን ወደ 1001 ብር ይደርሳል፣ የገበሬው አማካይ 70. R. 790 F 122 11G EU3 የክሬው፣ ወደ 190 ብር ከፍ ይሳል። በዚህ ስሌት መሠረት በገጠ ር ያለው የድህነት ሁኔታ፣ አሁን በደዝነው ሂደት ብንተዋል፤ በ2020 አሁን ካለው በ6.2% enna የክለው፣ ይህንን የሕዝብ አኗኗር ስብተሮሽ በመቀየራችን ምክንያት ብቻ የንጠር ድህነት አሁን ካለው በ22% እንደሚቀንስ 00+30e ይቻላል። ይህ እንማዲህ በከተማው ያለው ምርታማንት አሁን ባለበት EPTIAL አጠቃሳይ PAO-ብዛትም ምንም አይለመተም ከሚል 500 ::: hh.u ナラウナラ or all የተወሰደው አንድ መላ ምት የገጠሩ

ሕዝብ መቀነስ በአርሻ ምርት ብይ ምንም ለውጥ አያመጣም የሚለው ብቻ ነው። ይህም ብዙ የማደከራክር አውነተኛ መላ ይመስለኛል።

በእኔ አምነት ማን ከዚህም የተሻለ የኢኮኖሚ ለመ-ተ 99997 እንችሳለን። እንዲሁ በጠ**ቋሚ**ነት PhA ለማሳየት 42.90 11113 ከደዝናቸው መላዎች አንዳንዶቹን አናላላቸውና በ2020 ኢኮኖሚው ላይ የሚያመጣውን ለውጥ እንደ። ይሀንን ለማሳየት ከላይ በከተማና nac van ስብፕሮሽ ካደረማነው መላ በተጨማሪ፤

(1至) Phtoyar 9°Cナークラナナ! ብተለይ የኢንዱስትሪው hea 1,1999 ምር:ታማናት፣ አሁን ካለበት በጣም 刊中十年 ደረጃ በመጠኑ RATTA ብለን እናስብና፣ ይህንንም ለማስሳት ካፒታል ለምርት POTERCIO-አስተዋፅአ hU-3 ካለበት 0.17 10.0-F አገሮች እንደሚታየው ወደ 0.33 ቢያድማ (ይሀንን ለማድሬማ የማያስልልገው በአብዛኛው

ያሉንን መሳሪያዎች ማምረት የሚችሉትን ያህል እንዲያመርቱ በማድረግ ነው) እና በዚህም ምክንያት የኢንዱስትሪው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ በዓመት 10.6% ቢያድግ፣

(2学)

የገጠሩ አርሶአደር ምC.ナッツァナー 3,110) የመሬት ሳይሆን የነበሬው ስራተኛ ምርታማንት) አሁን ካለበት ቢጨምር (በተለይ anc. ያለመ-የሕዝብ नामने 7.37 መቀነሱ! ምክንያትና OH, U9º ምክንያት የከተማው ሀዝብ መጨመሩ የእርሻ ምርቶች 917-7 139, algo ስለሚያደርገው)፣ የአርሻ $\mathcal{P}CT$ 04% 113000 1. 88-71 [0576-73 18 RU P4% PTACS አድንት か76年 タクナラ የውሃ ሀብት በቅጡ ብትጠ ቀምበት እስከዛሬ እንኳን 1.89°60 8++-01.5 በሥራ ላይ እንዳይውሉ የተፈሪደባቸው 738 ጣና-በለስና AATC የመሳሰለ ማድቦች የመስኖ

አገልግሎት እንዲሰሙ	ዓመታዊ የእርሻ ምርት (3ኝ	[†]) የሕዝብ እድ <i>ገት መ</i> ጠንን
ቢደረጉ፣ ከዚህም የተሻለ	ከ3% በላይ መጨመር	የተለያዩ ፖሊሲዎች
የምርት አድገት ማግኘት	ይችላል። ይህም ከ3.7	በመጠቀም አሁን ካለበት
ይቻላል የሚል አምነት	ሚሊዮን ያሳንስ ችግሪኝ	የእድገት ሂደት በዐ.4%
አለኝ። ለምሳሌ የጣና-በለስ ፕሮጀክት ብቻ	ይመግባል። በዓመት	ያክል ብንቀንስ፣ በዚህ ድምር ተረት አጠቃላይ
የታቀደለት የ55 ሺህ	ከአንድ ጊዜ በሳይ	ኢትኖሚያችንን፣ በዓመት፣
ሂክታር መሬት ልማት	ማምሪት ታሳቢ ከተደረገ	በአማካይ በ8.9%
በተግባር ቢውል አሁን	ደግሞ ውጤቱን አተፍ	እንዲያድግ ማድረግ
ያለውን የአገሪቱን	ያደርገዋል።]	እንችላለን።

ሥንጠረዥ 5፡ ያለንን ካፒታልና የሰው ኃይል አቅም ከሞላ ንደል በአማባቡ ብንጠቀም ከ25 ዓመት በኋላ የሚኖረው የኢኮኖሚ ገጽታ፣

	965	- 4	d t	የነፍስ ወክፍ ነበ.			
ለመነሻ የኢኮኖሚ እድገት ምጣኔ ታሳቢ	ሀገራዊ ምርት በሚሊዮን ብር (በጵሚ ዋ <i>2</i>)	የግብርና ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ተጨማሪ ዕቤት	ከግብርና ውጪ ያሉ ከፍላተ ኢዜኖሚዎች ተጨማሪ ልሴቶ	አጠቃሳይ	121/2012	ከግብርና ውጪ ያሉ ክፍላተ ኢኮኖሚ	
ብክነት ትርጉም ባለው መጠን ቢወንድ	178531	21462	157069	1623	325	3570	
ንጽጵር*							
የመጀመሪያው የኢሕአዴን ዘመን				2.5	1.7	1.6	
ሁለተኛው የኢሕአዴን ዘመን				3.0	3.5	1.7	
የኢሕአዴግ ዘመን				2.8	2.7	1.6	
ያለፉት ወርባ ሁለት ዓመታት*				4.7	2.9	3.1	

*እሁን ያለው ሁኔታ ቢቀተል ሊሆን ከሚችለው ጋር ቢነጻጸር

ይሀንን ማድረግ ከቻልን፣ አጠቃላይ አገራዊ የንፍስ ወከፍ ገቢያችን አሁን ካለበት የ244 ብር ምጠን ከስድስት ተኩል እጅ ከአተፍ በላይ በማሳደማ ወደ 1623 · 11C 138,U-9°1 እናደርሰዋለን። የገበሬው አማካይ ገቢ አሁን ካለበት 114 ብር በሶስት እጥፍ ገደማ በልመ ወደ 325 ብር ከፍ ሲል፣ የከተማው አማካይ የንፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ ደግሞ፣ እንደዚሁ፣ በሦስት ተኩል እጅ እጥፍ አድኈ ወደ 3570 ብር ይደርሳል። ይህ አካሂድ የገጠሩን ድሀነት አሁን ካለበት በ47% ገደማ ይቀንሰዋል።

እንግዲህ መጠንኛ የፖሊሲና የአቅጣጫ ለውጣች ካደረግን፣ በህዝቡ ሀይወት ላይ ሁንኛ ለውጥ ለማምጣት እንደምንችል ለማሳየት ምክሬአለሁ። እንደኔ እምነት፣ ይሀ ልናደርግ ከምንችለው ተራት እጅግ በጣም ትንሹ ነው።

ከዚህም የተሻለ እድገት ማምጣት እንችላለን ባይ ነኝ። ከላይ የደበ-ብ ኮርያንና የኢትዮጵያን የእድገት 300C ሳመለከት እንደገለፅኩት፣ ከዚህም በላይ የእድንት መጠን በአጭር ጊዜ ያስመዘገቡ አገሮች መኖራቸው በቅርብ ጊዜ ታሪክ ያየነው ነው። እኛ ኢትዮጵያውያን በተልተሮ የተጣለብን፣ ከሌላው ማህበፈሰብ የተለየ ደካማ የባህርይ ህዋስ (Gene) አለን 71147 ሴሎት በስተቀር፣ የሂዱበትን የእድንት አቅጣጫ እንዳንከተል የሚከለከለን ቁሳዊ ምክንያት አለ

ብዬ አላምንም። ወደንም ደግሞ፣ እግዚአብሄር እኛን በተለየ ስለማ.ወደን፣ ተንካሬአችንን ለመፈተን ብሎ ለዚህ አይነት መከራ ሆን ብሎ ዳረንን የሚል ተረት ተረት በአአምሯችንም ሆነ በልቦናችን ማሰላሰሉ በሀይማኖ-ቱም የማያስኬድ ስህተት ይመስለኛል። ይልቁንስ እስከአሁን ለገባንበት ው ተንቅተ ምክንያቱም፣ ከዚህ Vapa-4-20 0047400 I ሁላችንም በማለሰብነታችን እና ህብረተሰብንታችን በአንድ ለአድንትና ለብልዕማና አስፌሳጊ የሆኑ የአስተሳሰብና የአስተዳደር ለውጠት ለማምጣት መቻል አለመቻላችን ላይ ነው። ከዚህ በሚቀተለው ክፍል ያስፌልጋሉ ከምላቸው ለውጣች ውስተ ዋና ዋናዎቹን አጠቅሳለሁ።

፩. የተሻለ ሀይወት ለማምጣት ምን ማድረግ አለብን ?

በተለምዶ፤ የማህበረሰብን እድንት 787 ナカナナヤギ! Otal. ኢትኖሚስቶች፤ በአገሮች መሀከል ሳለው የአድንት ልዩነት ምክንያቱ 256 \$m99 138 ኢንቬስትመንት 64. Ph.2.77. カファイデ Ohom C. d. 11.6.5 አለመኖራቸው ነው በማለት በነዚሁ ብቻ ይወስኑት ነበር። በአድንት ምርምር አንፃር፤ በአገሮቹ መሀከል ያለው ልዩነት በኢንቬስትመንት መጠን ብዛትና ማነስ ላይ ብቻ የሚወሰን አልሆንም። ከላይ የጠ ቀስኩትን DC. 839 P.C.1.1 ARIT የኢትዮጵያን Ph.2.77 የኢንቬስትመንትን ፍሰት mas.c.t 0078:7.97 113 ልንገልአውና ልንሪዳው አንችልም። በጊዜው ደቡብ ኮርያ ኢንቬስት J. S.C. 9 8501.00 19% PUA 3からゆ ずによう AUB3 TOHU ጊዜ አማካይ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢዋ በመትተ የዶላር ዋጋ ከ10% በላይ 22.7 MG:: ኢትዮጵያ ደግሞ በአንፃሩ፣ በኢሕአዴግ ዘመን ከ14an Ja 9°CX3 16% PIDA 7.30.07 J. 2.C.7 30C:: १००भागानिक १५६० क्रांट गा. አድባት ግን በወቅቱ የዶላር ዋጋ 2.3% ብቻ ነበር። ስለዚህም በሁለቱ አገሮች anuna 8-1-6,016.00-3 የአድንት ከፍተት (100 አጥፍ የአድባት ልዩንት) የኢንቬስትመንት APT 1150.3 V boundo. አይችልም። በዚህም ምክንያት፣ \$T6.70 APADOOL 84.2. የአድንት ሂደት ተመራማሪዎች፤ የአድንት በተለይም +6h 1441 PATCT 1006.096 የአድንት ልዩነት በህዝቦች መካከል የአስተሳሰብ፣ PHUAT na-7.4. 2.6.3 CO PANTARCS የስንልቡና አሴቶች ልዩንት ላይ 500· POZA የሚያጠንተን አመለካከት 200,000 12 ናቸው። እኔም ይህንን አመለካከት በዓለም አቀፍ ደረጃ ላሉ የእድንት ልዩነቶች በምክንያትነት ለማቅረብ የሚረዳ ሰፊ የታሪክ 20-44 984399 PA4.01-3 PACI 2007 የኢትዮጵያችንን ሂደትና አሁን ያለንበትን ሁኔታ h9"39" LEHaoU 9,00 2730 ጉዳዮች የወደፊት አጣ ፋንታችን ምን ሊሆን እንደሚችል ይወስናሉ የሚል ዕኑ አምነት አለኝ። ከኢነኝህ 7.88.7 **入3838年** m'nr ትር ታችንንና Ungo የሳሰ-9737-3-7-33 809,511 (Sensitive የሆኑ) እና ለረጅም ጊዜ አብረውን የቆዩ በመሆናቸው እንዲህ በቀላሉ የሚቀየሩ አይደለም። ማን፣ በእኔ 7.9°5-1-1 and PCG MITTON እንዳለባቸው ምንም የሚያጠራጥር አ.ይ.ደለም። 7.88 1.2 OH,D J.220 POT PALA DEOF እንዲሀ አይነት ለውጦች ለማምጣት የምንሂድበት አካሂድ በአብዛኛው በማስተማር ላይ ያተከረ መሆኑ፣ 007.7 00987089 PANIO-3 በዚህም ምክንያት ከህዝቡ ተቃውሞ month. 们下子少古 በማይቀስቅስ መደረግ ስለሚኖርበትም በተግባር 138.7 ተበደብለ PAPER ? የትኛው ስልት ነው አመርቂ ውጤት የሚያስገኘው? የሚሉት ተያቴዎች ብቻ ይመስሉኛል።

የአገር ኢኮኖሚ አድገት፣ ማለሰቦች
ሀይወታቸውን ለማሻሻል
የሚያደርጉት ተረት ድምር ውጤት
ነው። ስለሆነም፣ ፈጣን አድገት
ለማምጣት የማለሰቦችን ተነሳሽነት
የሚገፋፉና የሚረዱ ፖሊሲዎች፣
ተቋሞችና አሰራሮች ያስፈልጋሉ።
ከዚያም በላይ ግን፣ ማለሰቦች፣
ተረታቸው በሀይወታቸው ላይ ሁነኛ

ማመን አለባቸው። በሌላ አንጋገር፣ ከዐቅማቸው በላይ የሆኑና ሊቆጣጠ 270 P0987A 38A-7 (መንግሥት፣ እግዚአብሄር፣ መዘተ...) በሕይወታቸው እርምጃ ላይ ተፅእኖ ሲኖራቸው እንደሚችል ቢቀበሉም፣ በዋናነት ግን "የራሳችን ተረትና Pannina 9:17-7 1.8209 · L. O. ナギララ ይወስናል። እንኝሀ ኃይሎችም ይረዱናል፣ ያጠናክሩናል 138. አንቅፋት አይሆን-በንም ብለው ሊያምኑ ይገባል። "የለትም፤ ተስፋ ያሳቸውና የራሳቸው ሀይወት PU'5-ባለቤተ (empowered) ማለሰቦች አብዛኛውን የሕብረተሰብ 700 14.234 19:0 A 2.11 1º10.97 በተለይም Phoc-4: Love 7-1-1-26 POT TAO:: እንዲሀ አደነት ነፃነት የሚሰማቸው ማለሰቦች በበዙበት አገር የሕዝቦችን ለማመቻቸትና DEOT 90% በሰዎች መሀከል የሚነሱ ልዩነቶችን P1. 4900 1 1.53004 138 0039 Jude PA. 小史中子 በግለሰቦች እንቅስቃሴና መብት ላይ ያላቸው ተፅእኖ በጣም የተመጠን ነው። እንዳንዲ ያላቸውን የስልጣን ንደብ በቅጡ ባለመንንዘብ የሰዎችን 7977 ለመቆንጠዋ 介。中的车炉 ሀደለኛ ተቃውሞ ስለሚገተማቸው፣ መንግሥቶቹም ይህንን ተቀብለው (16. 4 g.m. "7110 ZOO-1"AM3 መጠን ተንድበው ይኖራሉ። በዚህም ምክንያት፤ ሰዎች በአብዛኛው ልበ 9 F. O .:: pargime. ችሎታቸውን (creativity) በሰፊው 6-07m-39 Emport +A: ሕብረተሰባቸውን ይጠቅማል እስካሉ UNI የማናለት 2441 አዲስ POPPIA テヘーナデの O 2.390 ያልተገደበ ነው። ለዚህም ነው፣ 7.38 19678 0.3 91. የኢኮኖሚክስ +006.09697 የሰዎች ነፃነት መስፋት የኢኮኖሚ አድባት ዋነኛ መሳሪያም ግብም ነው የሚለ-ት።

በኢትዮጵያ Hance: J.611 የመንግሥታት ሥልጣን በፍፁም emi በአንፃሩ 2,790 የማለሰቦች ነፃነት እጅማ የተገደበ ሆኖ ነው የቆየው። በአዔው ጊዘች 6440-7 በአግዚአብሄር 37.0 የሥልጣን ገደብ እግዚአብሄር በሰጠ መ የዕድሜ ገደብ ላይ ብቻ የቆመ፤ (1.ナデ: እግዚአብሄርን hu.s **ロナナモクチギの** 706641 20 የፈለጉትን የማድረግ ሥልጣን የነበራቸው ሲሆን፣ መንግሥቱ፣ ይህም አንሶት፣ የሰው ህይወት ራሱ ሳይቀር እሱ እንደፈለን የሚያገበት አደረገው። (በዚህም፤ ቀድሞውኑም PAP 7-3 አምብዛም 8707.00-3 የውስጥ 595ት ስሜት 2110-7 ንደለው። ይህ ለአድንት *መሠ*ረት የሆን የውስጥ ንፃንት ስሜት ከደርግ መመደቅ በኋላ ያንሰራራል ተብሎ ቢጠበቅም፣ እንኳን ሊያንሰራራ አልቻለም። 977790 በቅጡም አሁንም የውስጥ ስሜቱ በፍርሀት እንደተተበተበ ነው። በሕይወቱ ላይ በራሱ ወይም በጋራ ተረት ለውጥ ለማምጣት ችሎታና ብቃት አለኝ ብሎ የሚያምን ብዙ አይደለም።

ለዚህ ችሎታ ማጣት ስሜት፤ የተደራረቡ የፖለቲካ፣ የኢኮኖሚና 7.0 ምክንያቶች P7006-4 ቢኖሩም፣ በተለይ መፍትሄ ስናስብ በዋናንት ASPO. Pay 793! 14.890 NA76-7-3 7,16 የተንሰራፋውን የመንግሥትን ቅጥ የምንንድብበትን ρm ስልጣን መንገድ ማበጀት 701-:: AHLU ሕብሬተሰባችን ansign. ስለመንግሥት ያለው አስተሳሰብ፣ መንግሥት ደግሞ ስለ บน-กร ስለራሱ ስልጣን ያለው አመለካከት መመረታዊ በሆነ መልኩ መቀየር ang: (.7:: บาเกา 138. FA 00391117-39 99.A.P.P. Pan39/11-7 ተቋማትን 132 አስፌሪ ጭራቅ ሳይሆን፣ ራሱ

እንደፈጠራቸው፣ ለራሱ ጥቅም እንደሚውሉ የእድንትና የሰላማዊ ህደመት መሣሪያዎች ሊያያቸው 279A:: fulletand ባለሚሎችም፣ ሀዝብን የሚፈሩ፣ የመንግሥት ስልጣንም 9:8.9º ከሕዝብ የተሰጠ 7.11.54 PUTY 8.6. OUTS3 የተቀበለብ 57 ይህንን ስልጣን ለሴሳ አስሪክበው Onto ሊዘ Ջኖሬ በተሰኔቡሴ የሚኖሩ መሆናቸውን የሚያውቁና፣ በዚህም ምክንደት የተሰጣቸውን በአማባበ-Parametan. MAMS መሆን ይኖርባቸዋል። የመንግሥት ሥልጣን በማያወላዳ ሁኔታ በሕዝብ የበሳይነት ስር መሆኑ ለስዎች የውስጥ ነፃነት መዳበር ወሳኝ ሚቁ ባድ ነኝ። የሕዝቡ A. mang የውስተ ነፃነት መፋፋት ደግሞ ለኢኮኖሚ 入生7ナデラ 9-8-9° 2016.00 PA.AO-00372 ይመስለኛል። የዴሞክሪ-ሲ.የዋ. መንግሥት መኖር ለአገር ሰላምና መረጋጋት፣ ለኢኮኖሚ ብልፅግናም አስፈላጊ ቅድመ ሁኔታ መሆኑ፤ ከአጠቃላይ PUAM 000068 ግንዛቤም በላይ፣ ከብዙ አገሮች ተመከሮ በመነሳት አህዛዊ ድጋፍ ያለው ሁኔታ ነው። እንዲህ ያለው ひとか በኢትዮጵያም 18 ተፈፃሚነት እንዳለው ከቶውንም *ምጠራጠር አይቻልም። አውነተኛ* ይምክራሲያዊ አስተጻደር may. 77 0226-73 ለብልፅግናችን ከዚያም በላይ ፋይዳ አለው አላለሁ። ይኽውም፣ ከላይ የጠቀስኩትን የሕዝባችንን የውስተ ንፃንት በማበልፀጉ ላይ የሚጫወተው ሚና ነው። የእውንተኛ ዲሞክራሲ መኖር አንዱና ዋናው መለኪያ፣ ዜጉች አንድ መንግሥት ስልጣን ላይ ለመውጣቱ ምክንያቱ እንሱሙ ማወቃቸው፣ OUTSTO-3 ማመናቸውና hu.890 3,40 0039 put กษาเก ከተሰጠው የስልጣን ገደቡ ለማለፍ ቢያስብ

ሊያቆሙት መቻላቸውን 00% ማመናቸው ነው። ይህ አምነት ነው 595.5 Far ለሙስጥ T376 የሚሰጠው። ይህ የውስጥ ነፃነት ነው ለስራ ተነሳሽነትና አዲስና የተሻለ ነገር ለማምጣት ድፍሪትና m's PayamFar: Add Oha ደግሞ፣ እንዲህ አይነት ነፃነት የሚሰማውን ሕዝብ የሚያስተዳድር ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግሥት የዜጉችን 595ት፣ እንቅስቃሴና 15005 ለመገደብ ፍላጉተም ችሎታውም አደኖረውም። በዚህም ምክንደት pay email a አስተራቴጂዎች፣ **クへんの子**す anand garag 078:67 እንኝህንም ተግባሪ-**ዊ** POY.WARTO አርምጃዎች፣ የአፈፃፀም ስልቶችና የአስተዳደር አኪያሂዶች የዜጐችን ተነሳሽነትና አፍላቂንት እንዳ ያውም የሚያበራታቱ ይሆናሉ። እንግዲህ PYANDA +5005+5 አፍላቂነት፣ በአንድ በኩል፣ እና 2073 POY 2799 POY 202 + J-ፖሊሲና አስተዳደር፣ በሌላ በኩል፣ 500 9°Cナッツケナラ +89°60 ብሎም የኢኮኖሚ አድንትንና ከዚህ *ጋር አብሮ የሚሂደውን ባህ*ሳዊና ማህበራዊ ብልዕግናን የሚያውጡት።

ለዚህ ነው በእኔ እምነት ለሀገራችን ብልፅግናን የምንመኝ ከሆነ፣ እውነተኛ ዴ ሞክራሲያዊ ስርአት በአገራችን እንዲሰፍን ሁሳችንም መጣርና ለዚህም መሳካት በግልም ሆነ በጋራ ማድረግ የሚገባንን የዜግነት አስተዋፅኦ ማበርከት

ይህ ማለት ማን፣ በምንም መልኩ የሕዝባችን የውስጥ ነፃነት ማጣት 9°h384 ピアカセカ ያ. ምክሪ·ሲ 们于 500-1 00,2390 mant. አውንተኛ PZAth 2 Than リ中等 (ስምሳሌ ምርጫ በ1997 በመጣ ማግስት ይህ (LECT)

የውስተ ነፃነት ጐልብቶ የሕዝብ thank tagher m-0.50-m 0275 12 PAM-カダッケナ +++ CCT PTARRO-1-00000 7.11.17 PAID क्षाना-न-+6,294 አዚሁ ለመኖር ይወስናል፣ ወዘተ... "707" h & & A 2" :: AHODG T. 200,509 የተመሳሰበ 77C3 7.7811.0 11411 ልንንሳንለው 137 Ago:

ለምሳሌ 02.5 አምንት ለውስጥ ነፃነት ማጣታችን አንዱ ምክንደት 1.1. A.C. 20 7.11. አብሮን የቆየው፣ ከህደማኖታዊ አስተምህሮታችን ጋር የተደደዘመና፣ በዚያም ምክንደት ባህላችን የሆነው። ለሕይወት የለን はAグナギ (Fatalistic) handhhir ነው። ከዛሬ ሰላሳ ዓመት በፊት TCLAC magg. 7.38A.7T a.e.m.7.3 1382H.PPG 1. P.A. እንደምንዘጋጅበት መድሪክ አድርጉ የሚመስደ። ממון וואס ለአለማዊ MADTEE ስድንት አም-ብዛም 7-11-6-7-POTEAT TUA በተ3ሰራሩበት፣ የኢኮኖሚ ብልፅንና (907年 法是の主) ののです 17年 UAT EUTA:: 自父リケナ かんす 1000 m-m-7-Pay 8.6.9 www. f. POT PR.C.700. 8:117-1 1.00-1 809.70 ODTE. 77C 00117.3 Angon 500::: 30903 hat-it እንደጊዜያዊ AAG9° ለዘሳለማዊው vemi-9 F.M.h angle & 6.1.5 POZOARAT THAT PURTY PURTY PERMY 9"7.00-T 4803 ተበሰቦ የሚቋቋሙት የፌተናው ዋና አካል አድርጐ በሚወስድና የዚህ አይነት አምንትና ባሀል ስሪ በሰደደበት አገር የኢኮኖሚ አድንት ከቆውንም አዲጋች ነው የሚሆነው። ከላይ የጠ 7957 9:17-7· Par nr 30099 ንሮን ከምር ከመውስድ የሚመጣ ነው። የዚህም የውስፕ 595-7 mart. new-1-3

የመቋቋምና የማሸነፍ ሀይል በእጀ ነው ብለ ማመን ነው። ይህም ነው የተባለው-ን 7679 ナラウガラナ 90974.4.0.5 47.21A TC7.8 00378 poghsta: 3093 138 114. 57C Pay P.R.T የዓለምንና የሕዝቧን ብለ-ም የራሱን ሕይወት ክሱ በላይና ክሱ ቁጥር ውጪ ናቸው ለሚላቸው ሀይሎች መ·ለ· ለመ· ለ ያስረክበ ሰሙ ነፃነትን ሲሻና ሲናፍት፣ ለብልፅግና ሊ*ዩ*ክር 6.0000% አይቻለውም:: 211 9.877 አስተሳሰብ የተጠናወታው ሰው ወይም ማኅበረሰብ አደንትን አራሱ አለመመኘቱ ብቻ ሳይሆን ያደጉትንና ለማደግ የሚተሩትንም Ohf-Payper ስለዘ ሀም የእነሱ ንም 1577 POT PATHA (1-kan-Pap-1 nmme. To ማሀበረሰብ ነው። እንደዚህ አይነት አስተሳሰብ ባለበት ሁኔታ ድሀነት እየጨመረ መሃዳ አያስገርምም:: 138,800-9" PEUT 0000,000 እንዲሀ አይንቱን አስተሳሰብ እይጠ Shaws አ.ዮን-ለበ-ተመ "930200-3 menn P4029 わけるす መስተ End PA:

የዚህ ዓይንት አስተሳሰብ በአገራችን P3 PUA PAPS NO PARE SOC የሚለው ጥያቄ አክራትሪ ሊሆን RETAKE RUSS POURS P. + 6h 1-006-09697 00%.00-ተመያይተው ቢመልሱት ይሻላል። አምንት በእኤ 777 四七字 2.9.9°C anifil. 904.7 40 Ban Joj በማኅበረሰበ-መነስጥ የተንሰራፋው 4という子 00m31 ከዚህ ጋርና በየጊዜው ከሚያጠቃው 1.00 20. 11-1-8811 2887 parama. የተመለዋችነት TUA ይሆን ሰሜት ከፋኛ አደንድኖታል የሚል አምንት አለኝ። የልጆቻችን የተሻለ እንዲሆን hã U.C. . 7. ከሆነ ፣ የሚቀጥለው 6203003 7.01-4.8. እጅማ የበለፀባ እንኳን

TRIPS NOOFC POTPALATONS ማማኝት የሚችል፤ መላ የውስጥ ነፃነት የሚሰማውና በአንሩና በራሱ አምንት ያለው አንዲሆን ከሌለግንና I COR HAT AFTOT DE PARA ባህሳዊ ገዕታዎች መቋቋም አለብን። የተሻለ ጉሮ ለመመኘት ለህደመት PAZ የማይለሽንት AHOTOY P ።ተበለፈ 1749 2077 በጎብሬተሰቡ An.S 099060 መመረታዊ የባሀል ለውን ካስፌለን (እኔ በጣም ያስፈልጋል ባይ ነኝ) AUPI mah የተሰማሩ ባለሙያዎቻችን፣ የወጣቱን አለምሮ POT ACA 009006.35 Parages ብዙሀን ባለሙያዎች በዚህ ተግባር 1-260000 PAAM 1.89.5 EMA:: PAILU አይንቱ ባህሳዊ አምንት መሠረቱ ሲወርድ ሲዋረድ የመጣ ሀይማኖታዊ አስተምሀሮት ከሆነ ትምህርቱን ከተመናዊ ኑሮ 20 (100) anger12773 109,88.4.4.C MATE 100460 PURMET 入りやチチラ3 AC. F አስተዋይነትና 2964 ETA በ2020 ሀብሪተሰባችን የተሻለ ኑሮ እንዲኖር ይህ ባሀሳዊ ለውጥ ከላይ hardited. ይ.ምክራሲያዊ. አስተዳደር መሻሻል ጋር አብሮና ጊዜ ሳይጠብቅ መካሂድ አለበት አሳለሁ።

ምንም እንኳን በአብዛኛው የሰዎች ナケハガケナ mul sop 76.4 por avajar 86.035 PA-1-0-03 ጉሮ ለማሻሻል ከሚፈልግ ውስጣዊ 007.4 (LUTTO I 0.1-42.77690 ውስጣዋ 5957-3 Pag. PanShCS ተነሳሽነትን የሚገፋፋ የመንግሥት 7 A.A.S 为自士名名任 አንደማ,ያስፌልግ P"7.8m6-TC ቢሆንም፣ ከታሪክ እንደምንጣረውና የስት ልቡና ምሁራንም በተደጋጋሚ እንደማረገልው ተ፣ Pom-AZ73 ድርጊት የሚመስነው በግል ወደንም በቤተሰብ ደረጃ የሚያገኙት ቀሳዊ

ተቅም ብቻ አይደለም። የሰውን ልጅ ድርጊት፣ አብሮ ከመኖር *ጋር* PTPPH 1.00 いとナタデデ hissu いるナタ子 2744 JA: のナとり መስተ 11-8,220 የታየውና ብዙ ሰዎች ህይወታቸውን በመስዋለትነት አስከመስጠት የሚደርሰብት ተልቅ ስሜት የአገር ፍቅር ስሜት (Nationalism) ነው። ይህ ስሜት፣ በበጉ ለተጠቀመበት ማለሰቦችን @73T ለማታሳሳት፣ ማህበረሰብን ለማስተባበርና ጠንካራ አገሪዊ ባህልን ለማዳበር ይህንንም ሀደል ለአገር እድገት ለመጠቀም ሁንኛ አስተዋፅኦ ያደርጋል። ባጠ ቃላይ ማለሰቦችን ለስራ ከማነሳሳት በተጨማሪ፣ ለምሳሌ፣ የዚህ ዓይነት ስማት 776.P OPRIC. በመንግሥት ሥራ ላይ ለተሰማሩ ዜጉት ቅንነትንና ለዚያ ዓይነት ስራ እጅግ አስፌሳጊ የሆነውን ከግል ጥቅም 306. 8269 776.P 72. 43 8906A Phh"A:: በኢኮኖሚ እድባት ታሪክ ፈጣን አድንትን በማስመዝንብ የታወቁት አገሮች፣ በሙሉ ማለት ይቻላል፣ ጠንካራ የኢኮኖሚ ብሂረተኝነት<u>ን</u> መሠረት ያደረገ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲ መቅረጻቸው ለእድንታቸው ከፍተኛ አስተዋዕአ አድርጓል። በተለይ እንደኛ ፍፁም ኋላ ቀር ሆነው የተነሱና ከአደጉት አገሮች ላይ ለመድረስ በእጅጉ መሮፕ ያለባቸው አገሮች ኢኮኖሚያቸውን AH.S የሪዳቸው ሰማድረስ ٩٨ ስምምንት 3,0 አገራዊ የተመሠረተ፣ ለአድንት ቅድሚያ のうつかすら AIC3 PAM ለማሳደማ ከተነሳ ውስጣዊ እልሀ የኢኮኖሚ 20 የተደባለቀ ብሂረተኛነትን የተሳበሰ አካሂድ ይመስለኛል። ለዚህ ደግሞ፣ ወሰኑን በማልዕ ያወቀ፣ በዚያ ወሰን ክልል የሚኖሩት ሕዝቦች ሁሉ እኩልና የዜማነት mant PAFO av.A መሆናቸውን የተገንዘበ፣ Ohanየሚኖሩትን ሕዝቦች U-A-በአኩልነት፣ YIC. 77 279 ከወሰኑ ክልል ውጭ ካሉ ሕዝቦች ሲ598ሩ፣ OC. በወሰኑ-MAA ያሉትን ሕዝቦች ተቅም አብልጦ የሚያደና የሚያስቀድም፣ ይህንንም በተማባር የሚያራጋማዋ መንግሥት መኖር አለበት። ሕዝበ-ም ይህን መቀበልና ማመን አለበት። ይህ ሲሆን የሚፈጠረው አንራዊ ስሜት U-A-39" የሕብረስተብ hen i በየተሰማሩበት PAG አቅጣጫ ለአገራቸው አስተዋፅአ ለማድሪግ የሚገፋፋ፣ አንድ አገር እንደ አገር ለመበልፀግ ከሁሉም ዜጉዊ ልታገኝ የሚገባውን አስተዋፅኦ እንድታገኝ የሚያደርጋት ይሆናል። ይህ ማለት 77! 90390 203 903! 20 አንራዊ እንቅስቃሴና ስሜት ማለሰቦች ሀይወታቸውን ለማሻሻል የሚያደርጉትን እንቅስቃሴ ፌጽሞ የሚገድብ መሆን የለበትም። ወይም 27901 እንዲሀ አይነት አገራዊ ስሜት የተወሰኑ ሰዎችን ወደንም የአ ከምማ ክፍሎችን ለመተቀም ተብሎ አጠቃሳይ 17643 1387-8 ይልቀድለት ማለት አይደለም። ለዚህ ነው በአብዛኛው፣ የኢኮኖሚ አድንት 48.41 የሰዎችንና የአምራቾችን Or P. P. C በተለይ $0\lambda 1C$ ውስጥ ኢኮኖሚ POY 906 ++1 2000 ላይ የሚመሠረት መሆን ያለበት። አገራዊ የገበደ ኢኮኖሚ ስርአትን ከአገራዊ የኢኮኖሚ ብሂሬተኝነት *ጋር አጣተሞና አደ,ጋግፎ መሂድ* ይቻላል ባይ ነኝ።

፯. ማጠቃለያ

ለማሳየት እንግዲህ hae እንደሞከርኩት የኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚ አሁን ያለበት ደረጃ ምን PUA አስክሬ. እንደሆነ ·IIII-842.84.29C አይመስለኝም። hU-3 hn.ugo 9,00 77

በምንሂድበት አቅጣጫ ከቀጠልን ከዚህም የከፋ አድል Noval a ትመልድ እናስተሳልፋለን፣ ለዚህም እንደትውልድ ከታሪክ ተጠያቂነት እናመልተም። መጪው ትውልድ በ2020 የሚገተመው አድል እኛ እንደማለሰብና እንደኃብረተሰብ ዛሬ የምንወስጻቸው ምርጫዎች ውጤት የተሻለ hite om.t እንዲኖር ማድሪግ ይቻላል። ከላይ ለማሳየት እንደምክርክት፣ ምለስተኛ PZAA አርምጃዎች በመውሰድና ያለንን የሰውና የተፈተሮ ሀብት በአማባቡ በመጠ ቀም አሁን በምንሂድበት አቅጣጫ 117476 ሊግተመን ከማ ችለው እድል የተሻለ app አድንት ማሳየት እንችላለን። ይህም እድገት አሁን ካለንበት ሁኔታ ጋር ሲተያደ በጣም የተሻለ ይሁን እንጃ፣ በቀ POYA 1.5°57 500-PA39":: ስለዚህም ከዚህም የሳቀና የሰፋ ለማምጣት ለውጥ እንችሳለን አላለሁ። ይህ እንዲሆን ግን፣ አሁን ያለንበትን ድባብ ስንልቡናዊ ODAN. በመሠረታዊ PUT 424 አርምጃዎች 2000 e.m ።ል?ቡፋበ 2770 አርምጃዎች 717.87 anm'r (III) ሰፊና ያልዳስስካቸውን -AH-7.88-7 POY OOAht: ቢሆነ-ም፣ በዋናነት ማን በሶስት መሠረታዊ 7.88-7 ሳይ ማጠንጠን አለባቸው እሳለሁ። ከኢትኝህም፣ በዋንኝነት፣ የግለሰቦችንና በአጠቃሳይም የማህበረሰባችንን ውስጣዊ ነፃንቶች አርምጃዎች ለ.ወሰዱ PUZ 5114. እንደሚገባቸው ጠቁሜያለሁ። ይህን የነፃነት አድማስ ማስፋት በፖለቲካ ገፅታው እውንተኛ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርአትን መመስረትን ይጠይቃል። ከዚያም በላይ ግን ስለሀይወት ያለን አመለካከትና ይህንንም የሚወስኑት ባህሳዊ 70,797 now C.J.P. MAT mppc. እንዳለባቸው እምንቴን ገልጫለሁ። በ*መጨረሻ*ም

PUHI 7-33 And. 4.507654.5 ナナインテナ A"7mGhC በኢትኖማመው ዘርፍ ሆነ በሌላው መስክ እንደ አባር የማሰብና እንደ አንድ አንር ሀዝብ የመተሳሰብ ባሀል 007307 73844131 የምናመጣቸውም የኢኮኖሚም ሆነ ሌሎች ፖሊሲዎች የአገርን ተቅም PMY PAR Com. I 11603 11:15 070:0 4.803 Pars. 6.4:3 ተውልድ አጣ ከማምት በማስገባት Pag 47.0.8 Pay 1.7015-ODIP3 X38AGF@ P-065% ምክፌአለሁ። በእን. አምንት እንኝፀን ሁሉ አርምጃዎች በስልታዊና እርስ በርስ በማምናቀር መልኩ መተማበር ETHISA 11:35 481731 እንችላለንም ብዬ አምናለው።

ይዘን ለማድረግ ግን ሁላችንም 0X38 076 1675/F3 PPZ7033 ደርሻ ለመመጣት መኔውም አልሁም ሲኖሩን ደገባል አላለው። ምንም አንኳን እንኝበ ሁሉ አርምጃዎች Pan37/11-3 119:4-5 T6.7 Paymed 0.03901 Abd: 6003 P4918700-1 nas **スタッナー**: hu-0-9" 048 0-47-39"; 027C መነስጥ ያለነውነም ሆንን በመቀው 89039C ኢትዮጵያው <u>የ</u>ን፣ ዜማንታችንን በቁም ነገር አመ*ነ*ንና 1,9053 PH. 777 00-11-1-7-33 በቀናኢንት ስንጠብቅና ማዲታችንን በቅጡ ስንወጣ ብቻ አው። በዚህ homey ! 2117 በሚመለከት : 01997 0928270 X76-E 9°C-1 በመንግሥት በኩል ከዚህ በፊት የነበረውን ዓይነት፣ በዲሞክራሲያዊ 4.R.t. 1.R. ህብሪተነበ። አምንት እንዳይኖረው የሚያደርግ አካሄድ 1388879" 00% mhaha አለበት፣ በኅብረተሰቡ በኩል ደግሞ "ምንም ለውጥ ላይመጣ 943 hehous" hoza 0176.0-ደካማነት (cynicism) ተሳቆ በማለ-ም ቢሆን ማድሪካ ያለበትን በማድረካ

Sorhen? 19"30" TO- 113" 18173 Pay 193 00117-39 ሰማስፈገተ mm)C ESCASA:: በተለደ ባለሙ የዎቻችን an pap 059°79C (107,m £. \$7.00 入のラナデラナエ 100-8 加品少 በመስጠት ላይ በመመስረት፤ በሌላ አገራዊ ጉዳዮች እንኳን መሳተፍ ባይችሉ፤ በያዙት ሙያ በሀቀኝነት T-Shoon 10.0-7 PUTGE 11.7-7-1 11-1-12.9° Vaneria. 1.0.48 አርአያ መሆን ይጠ 0 サリギ PA::

ይሀ ሁሉ ማን በአርግተ ሊሆን etam euga an ancom 554 Aong ac h\2590 113 "个子多个" hayarea. an. Pr. ችሎታ በላይ ነው። አንድ ነገር ግን በአርግጠኝነት መናገር ኢትላለሁ። ተሰፋ የድርጊት መሠረት ነው። ራሪንጆች እንደሚሉት አይሆንም h"70.0 80973 **中中华** 0.961 7.74 a.bar "አላልኳችሁም" በማለት የሚገኝ ከንተ፡ እርካታና መመባደት ብን፡ ነው። ለዘመናት በድህንትና በነፃነት ማጣት ለተከራመተው ሀዝባችንና スピクナ መሳለቀያ የአለም ለሆንቸው አባራችን ግን እንዲሀ ዓይነቱ መመባደትና አሽሙረኛነት 0061 PUYA mill TAgo አይስተም። nasku 1.87E "አዋቂንት"፤ ባያገኘውም በተስፋ 们开 ለማማኝት አየታገለ P07 90-1-00an1) 8.90 ለአገርም 16-11-90 PAAm ይጠቅጣል አሳለሁ::

ስለዚህያ 203 U.A. ሰመ-ጥ ለማምጣት **እን**ቸሳለን noza ተስፋ መነሳት ለድርጊቱም ሆነ ስማስም 0055 hurz 11381 25.90 hit.U 1.04. 100517 በ2020 የኢትዮጵያውያን ሀይወት ምን ሲመስል እንደሚችል ያለኝን

አጠቃሳይ ብሩክ ተስፋ (ርዕይ) በአጭሩ ተናግራ ሳብቃ::

በኔ ርዕይ፣ በ2020 የሚኖረው ኢትዮጵያዊ m-A-All 5m-:: ስለሆንም OtAP. 11003701 pay apay : PORT 785-1:3 የሚገድብ ተፅዕኖን አይቀበልም። አገሩን ይወዳል። ለአገሩም ለራሱም m3hc 206-6: 00111:3 አይመድም፣ 1.7h117 Pha-3 መብት ግን ያከብራል። የዜግነት ግዱ ታውን በቅጡ ይመጣል። አንሩን 直沿山市 PampA: 73 7-60.4-7:39 ስለማመድ h7-60,44 26 000995 በመከባበር ለ.26- ተትም አብሮ ይሰራል። ባሀሉን ይከብራል፣ ግን ለአደብት ወር ፍቸው የሚላቸውን P.免免四人:: TUN-T 02020 97-70-90 PA761: 79:A **人のかんす ヘナルン系 ルケチ カタキ** EUTA::

ኢትዮጵያ የብዙ ትላልት ከተሞች አባር ትሆናለች። አዲስ አበባ b8 5 ሚሊዮን ህዝብ በላይ ሲኖርባት፣ ከ 47.1.8.7 11711-11 240 የሚኖርባቸው ወደ 5 ከተሞች፣ ከ200000 ሰሙ በላይ የሚኖርባቸው በሳይ ከተሞች ይኖራሉ። h20: 0530 h-1-90 7. mmi 16. የመሠረተ ልማት አውታሮችና PUHA my Alegi (TS. ang 68 Q47. (a-1) **大中CO十**章 70-11 000887 00-116-7-1 WH++ ...) Uanza mit በባለሀ-በ-ዮትና かんターカー กบาเก-2.H6. 21.: anzolmij. บาเกม own Con በማይቻሉት ንግሮች ላይ ብቻ n. Pth.C do C (16-0)-ሕዝቡ የጋራ ጉሮውን ለመቋቋም NOG A78,46 9116 シナナ RIPSA :: Phitogory IPS PATS መንግሥት ከተቃትን የኢክኖሚ

ልሳ ኢኮኖሚክስ

ዘርፎች ይወጣሉ። መንግሥት ቤት አክሪ-ይ አይሆንም።

(100175.9° የቀበለ. 82000 ቤቶች፣ የቀበሌው บาเก -1111-90039 mit አገልማሎቶችን የሚያንባቸው፤ የቀበሌ መሪዎችም ህዝብ የመረጣቸው፣ ህዝቡ በደንብ POLPHAG.FO Pay Par DFOG ንዋሪዎች 中少四中 የቀበሌው ይሆናሉ። በቀበሌው ውስጥ ያሉት 17.79.7.1 የመነስጥ ለመ ስጥ የቀበሌው የዕዳት ሁኔታ፣ የቀበሌው በቀበለው 87.3.1 WH-1 አስተዳዳሪዎችና በቀበሌው abal-fl የጠበተ ትብብር ይመራሉ። em. 79% የተበለው የሰ-ና በ.ቃለ-:: የቤተሰቡ ኑሮ ተራት በቤተ ንዕህና አንደማይወሰን፣ ግን 18 115 12.7 የአካባቢው 11.7.7.90 አመ-ቆ አንደሆነ 206.07 አካባቢውን ለሚያበላሹ ትእማስት አደኖረውም። D.HU-MP00378. P09,888.00.3 homanes: AAG. በንዚህ የዕዳት ወሮች ላይ ከቀበለ. አስተዳዳሪዎች 119 A.29 20 ርምጃ ይወስዳል፣ ወይም ሀግ ፊት 9713.87 .ዮቀርብል:: 111,1190 የአካባቢ ው 3009 የተጠበቀ CUSA:

よりケナラ ማህበረሰበ-P.T em Payling" 7-117 አደኖረውም። 18:h-731 011,090 ምክንደት አሳዳጊ ሳሙ ህፃናት፣ ለአዛውንት፣ 646 W. 36.6 OH+:... ማኅበረሰቡና ተቀናጅተው 十字四十 126 AH, U9" እንከብካቤ P.S.C.20: ገንዘበ-ንም ጉልበቱንም በፌታደኝነት ስጋራ እድንት ያዋጣል። ልመና በፍፁም ++9.27+ 114-69 batt EUSA: የሌለሙ በከተሞች መንገድ ላይ ለማኝ አይኖርም። የማምለኪያ ቦታዎቻችን ከለማኞች ነፃ ይሆናሉ።

የከተማው ባለሀብቶች ተቅማቸውን በስፋት ይመለከታሉ::: ስለዚህም ロナデム ለንዋሪው anma? 06. በስፋት በሚልተሩ እንትስቃሴዎች ይስማሪ-ለ። One-For 18 POZ. 275-7 **入に与ますの・3** 1111 ትርፍ በማግኘታቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን፤ ለብዙ ወገናቸው ከድህነት ውጭ POY PATA 1.996. pole. OPENSTO EUSA: Oh-1-70-P#7.05. 11379 T T6.7 41.3 ሳይሆን ውበት ያላቸው ይሆናሉ። T6.1 PU3997 0.01-1.5 PG. A.4.6.47.7:ナードの・ 9"138.1 ስለሚሆን፣ ባለውብቶች እንዲያው ለማማኘት PAHA 731141 0.0 Pog 2.20-1139973 1.20000 P74 4447:10 ያስገድ ጸቸዋል። Pht-4073 PAPE. -findle መንግሥት እንዲቆጣጠር ነዋሪው ማፊት ያደርጋል። እንደፈለጉ ጭስ anti Cit Oh 1-40 7 bah-1.4. መንቀሳቀስ እንደልብ አይፈቀድሳቸውም::

ひと四学半手等子 mrun-P'1-10 ሁኔታ ጋር አብረው E1111 DHO. OUS. DANZWORF D.V.D. 43 PUR. 9987 "Thace 43 አይሆንም። ለድምፅ ብክለት ሀገጡ ስለማይኖረው ፤ 1-09mit አምልኩት በማምለኪያ በታዎች የተወሰኑ ይሆናል። **ቅጥ**ር 27(1, PAHIC. 11.1-97 POTO"ALSG **RUSA** 3009 PHMOP ህይማኖቶች ሰማያዊውን ኑሮ ብቻ ሳይሆን ለበ- አስፌሳጊ PIP'sm-3 አለማዋ 7116 7-111-7-3 ያስተምራለ።

P114-40 7 X38.11.0 00014-4-7-9 የኢትኖሚ አቅም መዳበር፣ ከዚህም 20. pay anala). 11. CC 0043 ለገበሬዎት 1ºC37 marc. P07.7377070 2880 ጥቅም የአርሻ HCG: F Ehr-t-4:FPA::

ስለዚህም በከተሞች አካባበቢ ያለ-119:47 70697 7311-11 ATHATS Pay POTY 138 ፍራፍሬ፣ የወተት ሀብት፣ ዶሮና ስጋ፣ ወበተ... አይነት ዘርፎች ላይ £0976.0 .:: ከየአካባበ ይቸው ከተሞች ጋር ከሚኖራቸው የትርብ 5-25Far Phànc. P-1-50 ! እንደበፊቱ የተንጠለ ሳይሆን ገሚስ here furt hower to every: ከከተማ የራቀትም ገበሬዎች የሰው (1004 h) グカラとす नागने-EHITTON REGIONS ONLY TIF 010,00 aph4.4. 18173 ምክንያት ለምርታቸው የማደኘት ዋ.ኃ እየጨመሪ ይሂዳል። ነቢ የቸው አየጨመሪ ሲሂድና ወደ ከተማ በሚኖረው ፍልሰት ምክንያት የሰው 7-007 አተረት 00075C አርሻቸውን THOOT P. 00378 ለማካሂደ: £728A-:: e shahaa:: አካባቢ ሮቸው ንም h. h909. 79.9 Mans ምክንያትም የግጠሩ ሀዝብ ፍላጉት ስለማረጨምር፣ P.117790 ティケナー ለማርካት· Pamc 114-407 እየተስፋፉ ይሄዳለ። ብዙ የገጠር ከተሞችም አንስተኛ ኢንዱስትሪዎች ይስፋፉባቸዋል። 02020 7.0C የሚባል ነገር ለኢትዮጵያ ገበራ አሬ-ታሪክ ብቻ ይሆናል።

በ2020 እኔ የምትታየኝ ኢትዮጵያ ንብረት ለማፍራት ለሚሽና ለዚህም ጠንከረው ለመስራት የውስጥ ግፊት ሳሳብ፡ሙ ኢትዮጵያው የን አድሎች ያለብት አገር ትሆናለች። በዚህም ምክንደት በሙቀድ የሚኖሩና በዚያም ሀብት ያልሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ሀብት ለማፍራትና አርምጃ Par 8.6.7 ለአገሪተ፡ የራሳቸውን አስተዋፅኦ ለማበርክት n-nu-tbut apully. hac. ትሆናለች። የሃኝህ ኢትዮጵያውን ang: mC mondag 106. Dan Sign. Parties y Valley

ከሚመጡት ጋር ተዳምሮ፣ አዲስ አውቀት፣ የተሻሻለ ሙያና የአሰራር A908.1 የአስተሳሰብ ADTI @H+ ... のみつるホ በስፋት እንዲስፋፉ ይረዳል። ይሀ ሁሉ የሚፈተረው የስራ አድል፣ በሙያ የማደግ እድል፣ በሰፊው ከሚኖረው የግል ነፃነት ጋር ተዳምሮ! ወደ ውጭ የመሰደድን ፍላጐት ባየመ 4.00-90 0267 ይንድብዋል። በትምሀርት ፍለጋ ወይንም በሌላ ምክንያት ከአገር የሚወጡ ወገኖች በቶሎ ጉዳያቸውን ፌዕመው ወደ አገራቸው ለመመለስ ከፍተኛ ጉጉት ይኖራቸዋል።

በ2020 የማልማት ኢትዮጵያ ባለሙያዎቻችን የሚከበሩባት አገር ነች። አስተማሪዎች በተማሪዎቻቸው የሚፈሩ ሳይሆን በአርአያነታቸው የሚከበሩ ድንቅ ዜጐች ይሆናሉ። PUNTE 1740.80.7 Λ****\0.000-ህደወት ትልቅ ከበሬታ ያላቸው፣ የሰውን ህይወት ለመታደግ ባላቸው አውቀት ሁሉ የሚጠቀሙ፣ በዚህም የሀዝብ አክብሮትን ብቻ ሳይሆን 9.4C3 P75.1 በሚሰጡትም አገልግሎት ምክንያት ተፉ ኑሮ P0794 11.70 7 7 7 EUSA .:: የመንግስት ሰራተኞችም በሙያቸው ብቻ የተመደበብ ተገልጋዩን ሀዝብ Pay Philles የሱ አንልጋዮች መሆናቸውን የተቀበለ፣ የሚያገኙት ደመወዝ ኑሮአቸውንና የሚሰጡትን አገልግሎት የሚመተን፣ ስለዚህም አገልግሎቱን በደስተኛነት የሚሰጡ ቀልጣፋ ሰራተኞች eursa .::

የትምህርት ተቋሞቻችን የአውቀት TOTA EUSA-I 四四千千 በትምህርት ከሚያንኙዋቸው ከሂሎች *ጋር* ጠንካራና ነጻ መንፈስን፣ እንዲሁም Palih ባሀልን የሚያዳብሩባቸው ተቋማት ይሆናሉ። ከነዚህ ተቋማት የሚወጡ መጣቶች በአውቀት የበሰለ-፣ በስንምግባር የታነፁ ወጣቶች ይሆናሉ። እንደወባና እንደኤድስ ያሉ ተሳሳፊ በሽታዎች ሀዝባችንን አይጨርሳም። በ2020 ለጻኝነት የቀረበ ማንኛውም ጉዳይ በአጭር ጊዜ ውሳኔ የሚሰተበት የፍትህ ሥርዓት ይኖራል።

በመንግሥት ስልጣን ላይ የሚወጡ 167-7-90 nn タナギの年 በስነምግባራቸውና naac. ወዳድነታቸው 14041 ታ መለበት የበለጠ ቦታ ለማድረስ ችሎታው፣ አልሁና ርዕዩ PATO ይሆናሉ። OH, U90 ምክንደት ምርጫዎቹ Undan 4-hhC የበዛባቸውና ሀዝቡም በስፋት የሚሳተፍባቸው አጓጊና በናናቆት የሚጠበቀ £6147 ይሆናሉ። ለመሪነት የሚታጨት ፖለቲከኞቻችን ከነኝሀ እሴቶች መ- co. የመመብት አካካቢ፣ የዘር ሐሬጋቸው፤ ወዘተ... በመመረጥ ባለመመረጣቸው ላይ ምንም ውጤት አደኖረውም:: በዚያን ጊዜ የከተሞች መስፋፋት በሚፈተረው 826 ህይወት ምክንያት የማንነታችን መንለጫ የከተማው **ነዋሪነታችን**፣ አልፎም

ኢትዮጵያዊንታችን እንጂ የዘር 6.090 **ግን**ዳችን አይሆንም:: ABRILU POT PAR-ሰዎችም በማህበረሰቡ በንቀት የሚታዩ ሰዎች ይሆናሉ። በከተሞች መንገድ ላይ ሲራመድ የሚታየው ኢትዮጵያዋ፤ አንድም በጣም በፍተነት ወደ ስራ 12,800 600 Cas 6-1 አለያም ከስራ ውጪ በአረፍት ጊዜው PPLASSI Obit 6.773 የሚታደበት፣ ንፁሀና ተሩ የለበሰ **ትየተያ**ዊ EUSA:: homme መ-ጨ ጊዜ ለማሳሳለፊያ የሚሆኑ ብዙ ዘመናዊና ባህላዊ የሥነ ተበብ መድረኮች ይኖራሉ።

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If we look deeper into things as they

Ethiopia's Fate After One Generation

Berhanu Nega

Translated by Yonas Admassu

I. Introduction

Let us talk about a community of people to whom contemplating what its fate would be twenty-five years down the line is a luxury, if not an altogether alien, even inimical idea, a community that has left the mere possibility of making it to the next day entirely in the hands of God. Now, to extend an invitation to such a community to a serious discussion about the fate/destiny of future generations may appear as nothing more than an invitation to an commonplace engagement wizardry, or in an idle exercise that is tantamount to interfering in God's divine dispensation, or even following a dangerous course that would bring doom on all of us. It may not come as much of a surprise that the idea of holding such "useless" discussion to begin with was initiated by economists that have a penchant for prediction, and are continuously trying, in the process, to improve their techniques and to ever consolidate their conviction that it is possible to do so. Nevertheless, to cast into doubt the usefulness at all of making predictions about the future, for fear that any such prediction may not turn out to be a reality and, accordingly, holding in derision such an exercise is, on the one hand,

failing to realize the value of thinking about the future, while, on the other hand, it is a pretext on the part of idle or indolent people for evading disciplined thinking.

It was some hundred and fifty years ago that the English clergyman and economist. Thomas Robert Malthus. taking the then existing imbalance between food production and the increase in the world's population as a point of departure, predicted a precarious future for humanity. economist's Although prediction was a little bit too exaggerated and had at the time opened the way for labeling economics with the indecorous epithet of 'the dismal science', the underlying value of the prediction has persevered as an enduring basis of human knowledge. The central thesis and aim of such a prediction is that the rate of increase in human should population counterbalanced by at least an equal rate of increase [food] production; moreover, that. humanity should realize the danger that the imbalance between the two factors poses for its survival and, therefore, either seek ways in which food production could be increased over and above the increase in population or, conversely, regulate and control the rate of the increase in population.

have been and as they are now, we will realize that one of the manifestations of the differences between development [civilization?] underdevelopment [backwardness?] is (granting the existence of chance occurrences) the ability or inability [success or failurel to think in a reliable manner about humanity's future and, based on such thinking, to come up with plans for that future and to ensure their implementation. The basic assumption of the natural sciences is that natural phenomena operate and interact along the principles of regularity and order. It is its recognition of these principles that makes these sciences the disciplines that they are and that serves as the main drive for humanity to study nature in a scientific manner. It is using these principles of regularity and order as a point of departure that humanity theorizes about the main tendencies and patterns of the operation of the phenomena; that it tests the validity of its theories through repeated and continuous and that experimentation; predicts, correctly in the majority of cases, the future trends that the development of nature would It is the ever-growing follow. knowledge that this scientific approach to nature has managed to develop that has radically altered transformed humanity's and material life. In contrast to this, a society that considers the world as a total mystery and an aggregate of accidents cannot think beyond fulfilling its day-to-day needs and be in a position to plan ahead and act accordingly. As long as such a society cannot do so, the chances for it to improve its livelihood is as proportionally slim as its inability to think ahead and act for a secured future.

I still clearly remember a debate between intellectuals in New York. which I was witness to when I was doing my graduate studies some twenty years ago. There were two positions taken among intellectuals concerning education of very small children (between the ages of 1 and 2), One side maintained that, if these children were sent to special schools that would enable them to broaden their intellectual capacities. they would indeed become the more intelligent and the smarter for all that. The other side maintained the exact opposite position: these children should be left alone to play about, as children in their age-range should, until such time as they were actually ready for school, for leaving them be what they are would make no difference at all on the future development of their intellect. The debate was between child psychologists, who claimed to have conducted research on the matter and educationists, while the

community was closely following up the debate. What struck me as amazing was not the debate itself. Rather, it was the reaction of the community. Yes, what amazed me was the fact that there were couples who did not have children at the time. but who were planning to have some in the near future and who were wishing to have their children enrolled in such big and reputable universities. What was amazing was the unrelenting effort that such parents made to have their future kids registered in such special schools as the two sides in the debate were talking about. Imagine! Making preparations now about what university a child not yet born, even conceived, would go 20 years down the line! Think of how certain such people are about what the future holds for them! Think of their conviction that they have about their ability to direct the future of their children the way they want! Think also of the preparations they make so early something that may happen in a twenty-year time span in the future (such as saving money for their children's education)! One can certainly conclude from all this that such optimism about life has certainly contributed a good deal to the stage of development that they have reached at present. I think this is one of the sources for the difference between their development and OUL backwardness.

At any rate, these introductory remarks are meant to point to the value of such a discussion in enabling us to map out, though not with full certainty, but somehow broadly, the direction that we, as a nation, could possibly follow in the future. The remarks are also intended as reminder that such discussion, beside helping us ward off possible future risks and dangers, has its use in prodding us into desiring a better life for the future and bringing about the necessary attitudinal change that would enable us to make such a life come true, if not for us now, then for our children. I also mean to use these remarks as an expression of my heartfelt appreciation to Association's Executive Committee for organizing this forum and, also, for inviting me address this audience. believing what I have to say would contribute to the present discussion.

This presentation is so organized as to try to address, in the main, the issues suggested by the organizers in the suggested order Accordingly, the presentation has four parts: The first part examines. thoroughly as possible. situation in which our country and its people find themselves in; the second and third parts deal with the "predictions." This section particularly addresses the question of what the existing situations would look like a generation from now if they followed the existing

trend and attempts to show the transformations the economy would undergo if certain changes of direction were made to bring about a better way of life. The fourth and final section attempts to briefly answer the question of what would need to be done if our vision must translate into a concrete reality. Along with this, it also attempts to portray the future Ethiopia--what it will look like--if and when these important issues are addressed and realized. Before getting into a discussion of the main issues, however, I would like to point out two things to my audience:

- 1. Such an attempt as I am going to make with regard to addressing the issues outlined above cannot claim to present the full picture of what our life looks like. This presenter is therefore forced to limit himself to addressing those few issues that he considers are very crucial. This does not mean, however, that the issues not addressed in this are not presentation important or that they are of little use. It only means that my presentation is so geared as to focus on our economic life and highlight the main issues in that respect.
- However, such a presentation cannot be circumscribed within the limits only of one social science discipline (economics, in this case).
 The approach adopted,

therefore, is one that attempts to take into account those aspects of our life that fall outside of the strictly economic sphere, which, nevertheless, bear upon our economic life. In then. the doing. presentation refrains from going into those fine details as often is witnessed in and discussions debates professionals among economics. Having pointed out this, I shall now move on to tackling the main issues this paper has set out to address.

II. The Current Situation of Our Country

In order to answer the question of what direction a given country would follow in the future, one has to ask the inevitable questions of what the country's past was like, as well as what situation it finds itself in at present. Although I do have neither the knowledge, unlike Professor Bahiru, nor the necessary economic data to extend my exploration of the country's past as far back as the time of Emperor Tewodros, I believe it is possible to explore the situation by at least starting with the 1950s, during which period proper collection and documentation began.

A good indicator of Ethiopia's general economic performance is its overall economic growth and the associated per capita income.1 For the purpose at hand, the annual rate of increase of this income is sufficiently reliable to indicate whether or not the population's livelihood has been improving, According to the estimate based on indicator, the Ethiopian economy has been growing at an annual rate of 2.6% over the last four decades. At the same time, however, the population has been growing at an annual rate of a little over 2.6%. Precisely because of this, the people's per capita income has not only remained where it had been at the time, it has, in fact, declined, however little the amount. The average per capita income (at 1980/81 constant prices) was Birr 228 in 1960/61 and Birr 257 in 1964/65, while the average per capita income for 2001/02 was only Birr 261, and for 1995, Birr 244 only.

^bThis can also be broadly based on the combination of the three human development indices, as that adopted by the United Nations Development Program (namely, per capita income, GDP, longevity). However, as this would take us into too many details that may be of no relevance to the message I am trying to get across, I shall limit myself to per capita income.

Table 1: The implementation of Ethiopia's economic growth

	1991/92-	1997/98-	1991/92-02/03	1960/61-73/74	1974/75-	1960/61-
Agriculture & allied activities	3.5	-1.5	1.7	2.1	0.6	1.4
Industry	7.4	4.7	5.6	7.0	3.6	3.4
Distributive Services	8.2	4.9	6.5	7.8	2.5	3.5
Other Services	6.4	7.3	7.5	6.9	4.8	5.6
GDP	5.1	2.5	4.5	3.7	1.9	2.6
Per Capita GDP	2	-0.13	1.5	1.5	-0.9	-0.1
Per Capita GDP: Agrarian	0.7	-3.4	-0.9	-0.08	-2.2	-1.2
Per Capita GDP: Non-agriculture	2.3	1.6	2.4	4.3	0.2	0.8

Note: While the figures for 1991/92 and 1997/98 - 2001/02 are simple arithmetic means, the rest have been estimated by OLS method.

Table 2: Contributions of the various economic sectors towards overall economic growth

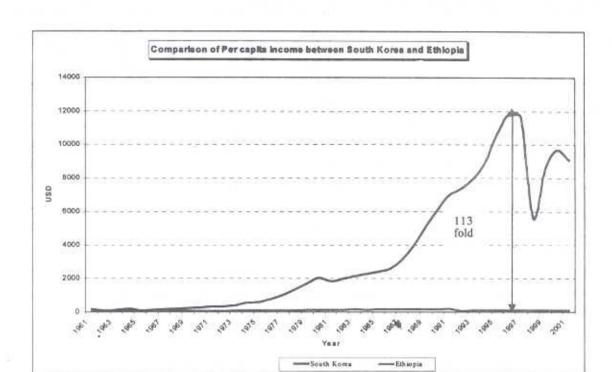
	1991/92- 01/02	1960/61- 73/74	1974/75- 90/91	1960/61- 01/03
Agriculture and allied activities	18.5	38.5	16.5	30.8
Industry	13.4	17.5	20.8	13.5
Distributive Service	20,6	24.4	17.8	17.9
Other Services	47.2	20.4	44.9	39,4
Public Administration and Defense	28.2	6.4	20.7	18.4

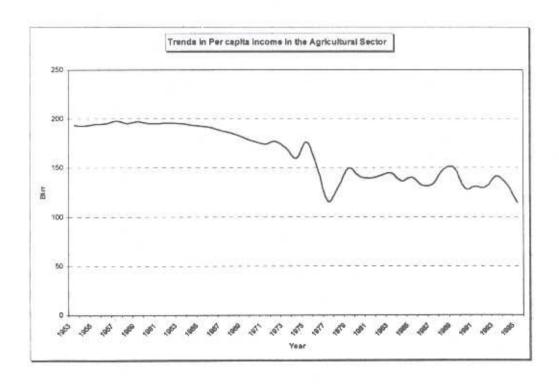
Compared to Ethiopia, the rest of the world has a record of improved livelihood. that cannot be underestimated For instance: although the per capita income of South Korea four decades ago was double that of Ethiopia for the same period, nevertheless, both countries were classified in the same economic category (that of poor countries). And yet, because of the speedy growth rate that it recorded in the last four decades, South Korea now finds itself in the category of rich countries. Accordingly, while South Korea's

per capita income was USD110 in 1965, that of Ethiopia was a mere USD57 for the same year. After forty years the gap between South Korea and Ethiopia has more than doubled, as a result of which South Korea's per capita income for 2001 had reached USD9104, while that of Ethiopia was a mere USD97. This was after the South-East Asian Crisis was over. If we take the figures prior to the crisis and look at South Korea's per capita income for 1997, we see that it was USD11,675, while that of Ethiopia was a mere USD104.

Our economy has not scored any structural change in the course of such a long time. The majority of the people are still scraping through life by means of a highly backward agricultural economy totally dependent on nature as it is. Even worse, as the size of the country's population continuously increases, the per capita income gained from this economic sector has been declining, as a result of which the people have reached a stage where they could even barely make it through life.

^{*} While the rate of growth is 1.9% when calculated taking the simple average estimate into consideration, what I used for predicting the rate is the 2.4% estimate based on OLS method.





The per capita income from the agricultural sector has been

declining at the rate of 1.2% per annum for the last 42 years.

Because the industrial and service sectors' share of GDP has shown some improvement, the livelihood of that population engaged in economic activities outside of the agricultural sector has managed to stay afloat. Even then, improvement these sectors have shown is really not something we can speak of as worthwhile. The per capita income of the population engaged outside of the agricultural sector has been increasing at an annual rate of 0.8% in the period consideration. Thus a farmer's per capita income that was Birt 194 in 1960/61 (at 1980/81 constant prices) and Birr 198 in 1964/65 dipped to Birr 144 and Birr 114 in 2001/02 and 2002/03, respectively. In contrast to the agricultural sector, the average income of the population outside of the agricultural sector was Birr 519 in 1960/61 and Birr 731 in 1964/65, whereas the average income for this sector, which was Birr 968 in 2001/02, has declined to Birr 953 in 2002/03. Because of this, the gap in average income of the urban population and that of the rural population, which was about two and half times in 1960/61, jumped to three and half times in 1964/65. This gap increased to over seven times last year (2001/02), while in the current year it has increased to about eight and a half times. In our country, where the large majority of the population lives in rural areas, we need no further evidence than ever-worsening poverty thesituation of the rural population to demonstrate what kind of pitiable livelihood the rural population and, therefore, the majority of the country's population leads. Although, relatively speaking, the

livelihood of the urban population appears better than that of the rural population, there are concrete data that confirm the increasing proliferation of poverty in the urban areas as well. According to government estimates, the size of the urban poor has increased by 12% in the five years between 1995/96 and 1999/00.

Incidentally, one need not go through the pages of many documents to figure out that these figures are not exaggerated. It is not difficult to grasp how much of a riddle life has become for the rural population when we consider the increasing size of the country's population with no access to the minimum amount of food required just to survive. At the time of the great famine that occurred during Emperor Haile Selassie's reign (the 1973 famine) the number of people that couldn't feed themselves was estimated, at the maximum, at 1.5 million, while the areas of the country victimized by that famine was mostly confined to the northern part. The famine that occurred in 1985, during the Derg regime, and which is said to have been exceedingly large-scale, afflicted about 6 million people, while it proliferated into areas in the eastern parts of the country as well. While the number of farmers unable to feed themselves due to the current famine has increased to about 14 million, the number of farmers depending on the charity of others every year, even in peaceful times with no famine, has increased to 6 million. The traditional method of farming, which has remained

unchanged for centuries, coupled with the ever-increasing size of the country's population, has rendered some areas completely uninhabitable. The size of the rural population during the 1973 famine was estimated at about 29 million. Today, this number has grown to about 58 million.

The consequences of economic failure are not limited to economic-related issues. The turbulence it creates in our social and political life will inevitably hurl us into the vicious cycle of poverty.

The relative backwardness of Ethiopia of the 1970s, but especially the sense of loss and national humiliation that came in the footsteps of the 1973 famine, coupled with the weaknesses of the intellectual class (elite) of the time and its inability to bring about even a modicum of change, gave birth to the 1974 revolutionary upheaval. Because it couldn't bring about even a moderate reform, the intellectual class of that period abandoned the movement for illconsidered extremist ideological positions and delivered the society to the 1974 social upheaval and, eventually, to an excruciatingly terrible military regime. In the seventeen years that that regime lasted, it bequeathed us not only poverty and deprivation, but even worse, a psychological pain and trauma that we have not still been able to emerge from. That regime, completely blinded by arrogance established ignorance, and administrative structures that served as nothing more than organs of suppression and wanton killings and subjected even the most routine individual and household decisions to be governed by the will of the government. Even when the power of the imperial regime was at its most absolute, life was considered a sacred thing better left in the hands of God. But the Derg regime turned this life into some cheap thing that could be dispensed with according to the whim and fancy of some armed kebele thug, a commonplace phenomenon totally at the mercy of the will of the government. Protecting one's offspring against imminent danger is an instinctive impulse, not only of human beings but of animals as well. At that time, however, the Derg regime had so completely emasculated the society of its dignity and valor that people were helplessly watching when their children were snatched out of their bosoms and massacred in broad daylight. The inability of the society to stand up against those terrible moments as one nation, coupled with some minor ethnic grievances that prevailed at the time, paved the way to power for forces that opted for ethnic rather than country-wide solutions for the existing problems. This, in turn, resulted in the relative undermining of the accord that existed among the different ethnic groups populating the society. All this loss of confidence in one's country, which is a result of the upheaval suffered by the society, rendered fleeing one's own country, which was considered humiliation during the Emperor's time, a national phenomenon to be keenly wished and longed for. Moreover, the ever-worsening poverty and

administrative injustice, coupled with certain backward aspects of cultural tradition, opened the door for unseemly cultural practices that formerly were there, but which, as a of modern result education, particularly in urban centers, began to rear their heads, overwhelming the psychological makeup of a good portion of our society. Envy, pessimism, despair and loss of selfconfidence have come to constitute the deep-rooted core of the society's psychological wound, creating an environment too inauspicious for development and growth.

The international situation that developed in the aftermath of the collapse of the Derg regime and the fragmentation of the former Soviet Union had, at the time, opened, on a limited basis to be sure, a new vista and ushered in a new hope for Ethiopia. Although the extremist socialist position of the EPRDF at the time, the ethnic orientation of its organization, and the secession of Eritrea that came along with all this had created a high suspicion among many people, some measures taken since the transitional government, particularly the right to freedom of expression (together with the proliferation of the free press), incorporating this and such rights into the constitution, the temperance, for the most part, of the gross human rights violation that was characteristic routine during the Derg regime, creating broader opportunity for the development of the private sector, etc. were all measures that perhaps sparked some hope that our future would, after all, be a promising one. On the other hand, however, such actions of violations human rights and, sometimes, massacres based on

ethnicity (e.g. Beddenno, Weter, etc.), to such an extent as has never been witnessed in the country's history, and appearing as if they had all the blessing of the government, have cast gloom over burgeoning optimism of the people. Although the new regime has managed to greatly reduce its crude show of force, as used to be the case with the Derg regime, it has used extensive administrative network that it bequeathed from the Derg regime to demonstrate to citizens employed by it that disagreement with, or opposition to, the government could mean losing one's job and, thus, facing economic hardship. (One need only recall the teachers expelled from the Addis Ababa University.) The new regime has also gone into competition with the private sector by establishing huge enterprises owned and controlled by the ruling party and, even going further steps from intimidating private business persons to incarcerating those whom it considers have gone beyond the confines prescribed by it and have, therefore, dared to challenge it. In so doing, it has continued to inculcate in the minds of the people the idea of the sovereignty or supremacy of the government and its dominance over the people in ways that nobody ever suspected would happen.

Consequently, although the political and social distraction and turmoil that I mentioned above, which were widespread during the *Derg* regime, are not currently as bad as they were then, one cannot, in all honesty, say they have been fundamentally removed. There still exist instances of human rights violation; the mutual mistrust

among nationalities still has not improved, if not getting worse; because of the fact that losing confidence in one's own country and the attending phenomenon of fleeing to other countries have become so deep-rooted, any hope that remains of the youth (including children of the elite/intellectual class) for a better life in this country has completely diminished (so much so that we have reached a stage where getting the opportunity to go out of the country and not using that opportunity to do so is considered mere stupidity). It appears that the government's absolute dominance, rather than being on the wane, is, in fact, getting ever stronger. After 12 years in power, the EPRDF has simply proved incapable of building the democratic system of governance that the majority of the population believes to be fundamentally correct and just. Moreover, our humanity and dignity, which the Derg regime had managed to smother in fear through years of cruel persecution, still has not managed to extricate itself from the hole it has hidden itself in. I would venture to say that, perhaps, the EPRDF's greatest weakness lies in the fact that it has not been able to emancipate the individual Ethiopian from this fear. It appears to me, therefore, that our fate, our future hangs precariously between our ability to achieve this internal freedom and our failure to do so.

I can clearly understand that this picture I have attempted to paint of our present situation appears very dismal. But I also believe that we can indeed live a better life. For this to happen, however, there are many bold steps that we have to take both as individuals and as one country. Unless this is made to happen, I can imagine, the resulting scenario could even be worse than it is now. The next section attempts to demonstrate both the virtues and vices of the situation.

Before proceeding to the next section, however, allow me to give a short answer to a question that may be bothering you even as I speak now: namely, "who is responsible for the predicament we fin ourselves in? The answer I have to this question is very simple. It is all of us. As much as the intellectuals who prodded the 1974 social upheaval onto a course of extremism, the prerevolution elite of Haile Selassie's regime that were too impotent to urge Haile Selassie's government to bring about even a minor reform, our religious leaders who failed to speak out even one word against the gruesome persecution and massacre inflicted on the population by the Derg, and all those who simply chose to watch quietly all that injustice and atrocity as long as they were not personally affected, all these groups as well cannot elude being answerable to history. Answerability to history is not a monopoly of only those who engaged in, or were accomplices to, evil deeds. Those who were not of the resolve and willingness to prevent evil deeds from happening will be held accountable as well.

III. What Form Could the Life of Ethiopians Assume in the Future if Things Were to Follow the Existing Trend of Development?

Any prediction about what kind of situation would emerge after a given period of time largely depends on the validity of the assumptions forming the basis of the prediction. To the extent that these assumptions, serving as points of departure, change, the results of the prediction based on those assumptions also change. Moreover, there are many variables that, in practice, determine the outcome of human behavior and activities. It is impossible, therefore, to include all these variables in our attempt to predict the future. Accordingly, there is no alternative to basing the prediction on a narrower model that would enable us to indicate the general direction of the development process. Consequently, the variables that I used to indicate our future direction mainly are population population settlement, especially rural-urban population distribution, and estimates about minor changes to be made with regard to capital productivity. Before going into this, however, let me start with the question: If everything continued to operate along the same line as it does now, what kind of economic situation will emerge by the year 2020, Ethiopian calendar?

As we all know, we have, in the last forty years and under different regimes, recorded varying rates of economic growth. Taking the 40vear average estimate in one lump will not serve as a good indicator of what the future will possibly have in store for us. As indicated in the tables above, different growth rates have been recorded during the three regimes of the Emperor, the Derg and, now, the EPRDF. If we leave the period of the Derg regime out of consideration because of the fact that the country's economic activity was at its worst (considering that the average per capita income was declining at the rate of 1% per annum), we will see that the rate of economic growth during imperial regime and, now, at the time of the EPRDF, approximate each other (considering that in both regimes the average per capita income has grown by 1.5% per annum). Moreover, when we consider these two regimes, because the EPRDF's regime has shown a minor improvement, particularly in the macro-economic sector, and also because this period is the closest to the future, it would be a better alternative to take the economic growth achieved under EPRDF as a point of departure for our prediction. Even this has its own problems, however. And that problem is that, the economic performance undertaken in the years that EPRDF has been in power are not homogeneous. They have been highly inconsistent. For instance, if we divide the 12 years EPRDF has been in power into two equal parts, we see that the in first six years the GDP of the country had been growing at the rate of 5.1% per annum, whereas during the second six-year period, the growth rate has declined by half, recording a growth

rate of only 2.5%. Because of this, while during the first half the average per capita income was growing at the rate of 2% per annum, during the second half, however, it has been declining by 0.13% per annum.

Consequently, the possibility of definitely determining which period constitutes a good point of departure to predict what will happen in the future if things continue along the same line as they are doing now is debatable. In order to have some idea of what things would look like in 2028, the estimates for the prediction made on the basis of four different situations (namely: the average growth rate during the first half of EPRDF regime; the whole period of EPRDF; the second half of EPRDF regime; and the last 42 years) are given below in Table 3. To show what the situation would look like in the year 2028, some initial assumptions have been made namely:

- On the basis of the existing population census, the country's population would reach 124.5 million in the year 2028, of which 78% or 96.7 million will be constituted by the rural population, while the urban population will have a share of 27.8 million;
- The existing output elasticity of capital (0.17%) continues and assume that for every 1% increase in capital, production will grow by 0.17% (this estimate has been arrived at through growth

regression). And the investment will continue with the same trend as now:

- Economic and other policies, particularly the settlement pattern of the population will continue to follow the existing trend;
- Other situations will continue to follow the same trend as the existing one.

Taking these assumptions as a point of departure, and if the existing trend of development continues into the year 2028, it will not be difficult to see the economic difficulties we are going to face. As has been indicated in Table 1, if we take as a point of departure the rate of growth during the first six years of the EPRDF, during which relatively better economic activities had been witnessed, we will see that our society's livelihood will make only some improvement. Accordingly, in the year 2028, the population's annual per capita income will increase to Birr 659; of this amount, the rural population's annual income will be Birr 195, while that of the urban population will be Birr 2274. This means that, while the livelihood of the rural population will improve by 50%, that of the rural population will improve by more than two and half times. Similarly, the disparity in income between the rural and urban population will grow by more than 11 times of what it is currently. Mind you, however, that the basis of this estimate is supposed to be the very best!

Table 3: Ethiopia's economic situation 25 years from now, if the current trend of economic growth continues unchanged

	million r (at onstant es)	ri al	ed in	of the litural tor		Per Capita inc	ome
Basis for prediction of economic growth rate	GDP in milli of birr (at 1980/SI const prices)	Value Added the agricultu sector	Value Added the non- agricultura sectors	Share of the agricultural sector	Overall	Agriculture	Non- agricultural sectors
First half of EPRDF Regime	82070	18846	63224	23%	659	195	2274
Comparison	4,7	2.5	6.3		2.5	1.5	2.4
EPRDF (Whole)	73403	11802	61601	18.7%	590	122	2219
Comparison	4.2	1.6	6.2		2.3	0.92	2.3
Second half of EPRDF Regime	67347	8867	58480	13.3%	541	92	2104
Comparison	3.8	1.7	5.9		2.1	0.7	2.2
Last 42 years	43076	10917	32159	25%	346	113	1157
Comparison	1.6	1.4	3.2		1.3	0.85	1.2

If we take as our point of departure the whole period EPRDF has been in power and forecast what things would look like in 2028, we will see that the economic situation will even be worse than what has been indicated in the preceding estimate. Accordingly, while the national average per capita income will be Birr 590, the average annual income of farmers will plummet to Birr 122, while that of the urban population will dip to Birr 2219. What this means is that the daily income of the country's population in the said year, which is estimated to hit the 100 million mark, will be only 33 Ethiopian cents (the daily income currently stands at 36 Ethiopian cents).

Now, if we take the second half of EPRDF's regime as our point of departure, what awaits us in the year 2028 is really scary. If our economy continues following the current trend of growth, the population's per capita income will dip further to Birr 541 and the annual income of the rural population will decline to Birr 92, while that of the urban population will decline to Birr 2104. This situation further reduces the daily income of the rural population to 17 Ethiopian cents.

If we take the last 42 years as our basis for forecasting how things would look like in the year 2028, we will see that the national average per capita income will be a mere Birr 346 and the annual income of the rural population will be Birr 113, while that of the urban population will plummet to a mere 1157 Birr.² What has been so far described represents a good

indicator of what we will run into in the year 2028 if our economic growth were to follow the existing trend. Even this provides us with only a general picture, not a thorough understanding, of the situation.

To understand the gravity of the situation, let us take famine as one example. The number of people that have fallen victim to the current famine is estimated to have reached the 14 million mark this year. The number of victims has been increasing on the average by 3.4% between 1979 and 2003. Accordingly, if we assume that the number of victims would increase at this rate annually (this figure may rather increase due to population growth and environmental degradation) the trend and continues, the number of the country's farmers that will fall victim to famine in the year 2028 is estimated to reach the 50 million mark, and this figure constitutes

According to these forecasts, the reason for the disparity between the incomes of the rural and urban populations is the difference between the growth rate of the two sectors, as indicated in the different periods considered as points of departure. As indicated in Table I, of the periods other than the first half of EPRDF's regime, the only period during which fast economic growth in the agricultural sector was witnessed was that of Haile Selassie's period.

52% of all farmers and 40% of the country's total population. Now, mind you, if our future life keeps on following the current trend, a generation down the line, half of the rural population will be forced to depend on food handouts just to survive. In other words, half the country's population will end up becoming beggars.

This kind of proliferation of poverty in the country is sure to affect other aspects of our life. If, therefore, the situation continues at the current trend, our very dream of living in peace will itself be thrown into doubt. The political, social and psychological crises that have come in the footsteps of the poor economic conditions over the past forty years will inevitably head for the worse. The worsening poverty situation, coupled with the mutual suspicion among the different ethnic groups, would more than likely encourage divisive forces who are after solutions inimical to our vision of Ethiopianness, and not paying heed to this possibility is, once again, to fail to learn from the lessons of history. Moreover, as the intensity of the poverty the country is experiencing now increases, by that much will favorable conditions be created for all sorts of religious extremists (fundamentalists) flourish. And that such a situation will put to the test the long-standing mutual respect and coexistence among the different religions of the country, which is one of the emblems of our pride as a country, cannot be doubted. For one who observes closely, the symptoms of such a trend are clearly visible and

widespread in our society. Probably one of the phenomena that is gaining ground, and that appears to be following a dangerous course, is the increasing competition construction of places of worship by all religious groups. It has always been common practice for people to turn to their respective deities when the material life they lead becomes confusing and dismal. In this regard, I think the difference among people lies, on the one hand, in the difference in outlook between those who turn to their deity seeking spiritual nurture and fortitude in the their day-to-day struggle to improve their material life and, on the other hand, those who use spiritual life as an escape mechanism from the material world and as a hideout and pretext for those who are too indolent to engage in activities necessary for the success of the world's development. Although one cannot predict the type of reception both types of people may get in the hereafter, one cannot be in any doubt as to the much better material life the former type would live here on earth.

The paradox in this scenario is that, compared with the proliferation of religions with the speed of brushfire, one cannot see the same degree of consolidation of the people's mentality in the moral and ethical domains of their life. Contrary to such expectation, what one sees is the people's moral and ethical values being constantly eroded. It has now become a rare phenomenon to find people in the employ of the government that do not steal or cheat. Getting rich

quick, instead of working hard and making wealth, has become a feat of courage and an emblem of intelligence among those with the capital to invest. We have reached a time when mutual trust is fast disappearing about the checks people write to each other.

When it comes to our intellectuals, speaking one's mind and being ready to take the consequences (አውነትን ተናማሮ የመሸበት ማደር). which once was the hallmark of genuine intellectuality, is now considered a principle only of the naive, otherwise the war cry of adventurers, not something to be expected from "mature intellectuals." The motto of legal professionals that "one against whom justice has been delayed is one to whom justice has been denied" has practical implications only for the ferenjis, who had the misfortune of being overlooked when God was meting out Patience to his creatures. The motto has no place whatsoever with our people. who are "armed to the teeth with that everlasting Patience!" appears that, among many of our professionals, justice, instead of being something they should seek as an outcome of the profession they are into, has become a chance occurrence that they run into by accident. Generally speaking, moral degeneration in our society has reached that stage where it has affected even our day-to-day linguistic transaction. 'stealing' has been transformed into 'conducting business'; 'letting a student cheat on exam' has become 'assigning work'; 'bribing' has, in a

sudden gesture of generosity, become 'putting a mouthful of food into someone's mouth', so on and so forth. Unless our poverty and economic failure are reversed through the concerted effort of all of us, the impending social chaos is something that should prod us into thinking seriously. Obviously, when I say all this, I am not in any way implying that everybody has become as degenerate as all that, We still have lots and lots of people who are genuine and honest in their workplaces. But when we look at the general trend in this respect, we see that there are signs that the size of such honest and genuine people is gradually shrinking.

IV. Is It Possible to Attain a Better Life than What We Have?

Could our Ethiopia's future become better than it is now? My answer to this question is not only in the positive, but I also believe that the solutions to our problems are staring us right in our faces. But it must be noted that a better life for Ethiopia can be attained if, and only if, we, as one society, accomplish the so many things that must be accomplished, not if we just sit around and keep on praying. I will come back to this point later on. Prior to that, I would like to focus on what our future life would look like in terms of our economic development.

As I have indicated earlier, any forecast made about the future is determined by the nature of the assumptions one starts out with. The

forecasts presented above are based on the assumption that the existing policies and the general trends we currently following continue along the same line, with little or no change. One of these assumptions has to do with the agriculture-led industrialization strategy of the present regime. It is my opinion that, because this strategy has been founded on an economy that has for long been weak, it has slowed down the progress of our economic growth. It is also my conviction that, instead of persisting on this strategy, we would be able to score a much better result if more attention were given to those dynamic economic sectors that can flourish better than hitherto. To show that what I am suggesting would work better, let me take as an example one of the factors that put the rural economy in difficulty, namely, the size of the rural population.

When we look at the pattern of the rural-urban population distribution. we see that about 85% of the population live in the rural areas, while the remaining 15 % live in urban centers. This pattern of settlement has resulted in the gradual diminishing landholding size in the rural areas. For instance, the average household landholding size, which was 2 hectares in the 1970s, had declined to I hectare towards the end of 2000. This gradual and continuous diminishing of the rural landholding size is the result of the increase in size of the rural population. Incidentally, even with scenario, the number of farmers with no plot of land to their name amounts to about 11% of the rural

population. In addition to the increase in the total population size of the country, the reason for the increase in the size of the rural population was the deliberate policy of reducing the number of people migrating from rural areas to urban centers once the 1975 land reform proclamation had been issued. For instance, while the rate of increase in the size of the urban population for the period between 1960 and 1975 was 4.8%, after the land reform, the rate had decreased to 3.2%. From that period until 1997, the rate of urbanization increased by a mere 2.1%.3

One of the assumptions I based my forecast of future trends is that this rural-to-urban migration would follow the same trend as that during Haile Selassie's period, Basing ourselves on this assumption, and looking at the trends of our economic growth, we will have a better economy in 2028 than we would if the current trend of economic growth continued. Accordingly, as I have indicated above, the rural-urban population distribution pattern that would be 78% and 22%, respectively, for the rural areas and urban centers if the trend continued, distribution pattern by 2028 would have been 40% for the urban centers and 60% for the rural areas if the growth rate of urbanization had followed the trend during the regime of Haile Selassie. This change in the pattern of settlement of the country's population will bring about a considerable change in our economic development.

³For further details, please see the article "The Role of Urbanization in Socio-Economic Development Process", by Jean-Marie Cour, Berhanu and Befekadu, EEA/EEPRI, 2003.

Table 4: The face of our economy after 25 years if the rural population size were 40%.

	r (at prices)		ed in	Per Capita income				
Basis for prediction of economic growth rate	GDP in mil of birr (s constant pr	Value Added in the agricultural sector	Value Added the non- agricultura sectors	Overall	Agriculture	Non- agricultural sectors		
First half of EPRDF Regime	132091	18846	113245	1061	252	2274		
Comparison				1.6	1.3	I		
EPRDF (Whole)	124664	14158	110506	1001	190	2219		
Comparison				1.7	1.3	1		
Second half of EPRDF Regime	113646	8867	104779	913	119	2104		
Comparison				1.7	1.3	1		
Last 42 years*	68536	10917	57619	551	146	1157		
Comparison				1.7	1.3	1		

^{*}The current trend compared to what would happen in 2028 if the current trend continued to follow the same pattern.

As indicated above in Table 4, the average national per capita income would be 60-70% and the rural population's income would grow by 56% by only making the suggested changes, compared with what would happen if such changes were not made. Accordingly, the average per capita income, which was 590 according to estimates based on the whole period of EPRDF as a point of departure, would grow to Birr 1001 when using Haile Selassie's period as a point of departure, while the rural population's average per capita income, which was Birr 122, using the EPRDF estimates as a base, would grow to Birr 190. On the basis of these estimates, the existing rural poverty situation, which would have worsened by 6.2% if we followed the existing trend, would, by 2028, be reduced by 22% by simply changing the rural-urban population distribution pattern, as suggested by the estimates in Table 4. This is, of

assuming that urban productivity would follow the existing trend and population size would remain unchanged over the projected period. Another assumption outside of this is that the reduction in the rural population size will bring about change whatever agricultural production, and this assumption is a legitimate one that will create no controversy.

It is my conviction, however, that we can effect an even better economic change. Just to indicate some possibilities, let us look further into some of assumptions that we previously picked up for our forecast and see what changes they will bring about in our economy in the year 2028. To demonstrate this, in addition to the urban/rural population distribution pattern, the following will be taken into consideration:

- 1. First, let us assume that urban productivity, and particularly productivity of industrial sector, will make considerable enough improvement over the very low level it is at now; let us further assume that, in order for this to happen, the contribution of capital to the growth of production will increase from the current 0.17 to the 0.33 level that we witness in other countries (for this to happen, in turn, we need to use all the available instruments production to their optimal capacity); and let us, then assume that, because of these changes, the industrial sector of the economy will grow by 10.6%;
- Secondly, let us assume the productivity of the rural farmers (labor, not land, productivity) shows an increase over the current capacity (since,

especially, the decrease in the rural population size and the concomitant increase in the urban population will increase the demand for agricultural products) and, for that reason, agricultural production will increase at an annual rate of 4%; [Incidentally, it is my belief that, if the country effectively utilizes the water resources it has and does particularly restore to operation such dams as Tana-Beles and which stopped Alwero. operation and have since been

condemned to idleness, and resumed irrigation projects, we would even perform better to increase agricultural production over the 4% indicated above. For instance, if the 55 thousand hectare Tana-Beles development project were to resume, it would be possible the raise current agricultural production by over 3%. This means that the production thus obtained would feed a population of not less than 3.7 million for six months.

- The effect would double if we were to assume a production capacity of twice a year].
- Thirdly, let us assume that we could reduce the growth rate of the population by about 0.4% by resorting to different policies. Then, through a combination of all these different efforts and measures, we could increase the growth of our economy by an average annual rate of 8.9%.

Table 5: The face of our economy after 25 years if we could use the capital and manpower we have more or less effectively

- 1		p =		Per Capita income		
Basis for prediction of economic growth rate		Overall	Agriculture	Non- agricultural sectors		
If inefficiencies were meaningful reduced	178531	21462	157069	1623	325	3570
Comparison						
First half of EPRDF's regime				2.5	1.7	1.6
EPRDF's regime (whole)				2.8	2.7	1.6
Second half of EPRDF's regime				3.0	3.5	1.7
The past forty years				4.7	2.9	3,1

The current trend compared to what would happen in 2028 if the current trend continued to follow the same pattern.

If we could do all this, we would be able to increase our overall national per capita income from the current 244 Birr by over six and half times to Birr 1623. Similarly, farmers' average income would increase from the current 114 Birr to Birr 325, a three-fold increase, while the urban population's average per capita income would increase three and a half times to Birr 3570. If this trend continues, rural poverty would

decrease from the current level by about 47%.

So far, I have attempted to demonstrate that, if we could make some changes in our policies and the directions we follow, we could bring considerable change in the lives of our people. In my opinion, all this is only a small fraction of what we could do. It is still my conviction that we could bring about even a much better change to our economy than what has been outlined above. As I have explained above, when I was comparing the growth rates of South Korea's and Ethiopia's economy, the fact that there are countries that scored an economic growth rate much higher than what I have indicated here is something we have witnessed in recent history. Unless we believe that we Ethiopians, as a race, have been cursed with a peculiar gene that makes us susceptible to powerlessness and incapacity, I certainly am not of the belief that there is any material cause that would prevent us from following in the footsteps of other countries that have attained fast economic growth. Even worse, indulging in some fantasy about God loving us so much that He deliberately multiplied our tribulations in order to test the extent of our fortitude is, believe. transgression a unpalatable even to religious precepts. Rather, the reason for the disarray we are in and, also, a pointer to the solutions we seek, is the fact that we, both as individuals and as a community, have not been able to make both the attitudinal and administrative changes necessary for our economic growth and prosperity. It is with the main changes that need to be made that I am going to deal with the following section.

V. What Do We Need to Do in Order to Improve Our Livelihood?

Conventionally, students of social growth, but particularly economist, used to limit the differences between the growth rates of different countries to the insufficient presence of such factors as savings and investment, which are supposed to contribute to economic and social growth. But from the perspective of the literature on growth, the differences between countries has been found not to be confined only to the extent

between the growth rate of South Korea and Ethiopia, which I talked about earlier, can never be explained in terms of investment flow alone. While South Korea, at the time, was investing 19% of its annual production, its average per capita income was growing at the rate of more than 10% at the current purchasing power of USD. Ethiopia, on the other hand, has been investing 14-16% of its annual production during the current regime. Its average per capita income, however, grew at the rate of 2.3% at the current purchasing power of USD. Consequently, the gap created in growth rate between the two countries (100% difference in growth, in favor of South Korea) could not have been caused by differences in size of investment alone. Because of this, a growing number of researchers in the area of economic growth, but particularly experts in the history of economic growth, are increasingly advancing the view that the difference in growth rate between countries revolves around differences in attitudinal, religious, administrative and psychological values. For my part, although I do not have a broad historical knowledge to support my claim in favor of this view, when I assess the past forty years and the current situation in the history of our country's development, I strongly believe that the said values will certainly determine our country's fate down the line. Among the values enumerated above, since some of them are too close to our hearts and too

to which the size of investment is

greater or lesser. The difference

delicate, and because they have also been with us for very long, they cannot be altered that easily. As far as my convictions go, however, there is no doubt in my mind that they must be changed. It is also my conviction that, what should invite debate is not that some of these values need to change. Rather, the debate has to do with the fact that, when we go about trying to make changes, the process we should follow must be based on educating the population and must be undertaken such that it does not offend the sensibilities of the people, or does not invite their protest. So the questions we ask must be: How should we go about it all? Of any strategies we think of, which one would work best to the satisfaction of everybody? Only this, I believe is debatable, not that changes must be made.

A country's economic growth is a result of the collective effort of to improve individuals their livelihood. Accordingly, policies, institutions and strategies that enhance people's initiative and enterprising spirit are required, Over and above that, however, individuals should convince themselves that the efforts they make can bring about considerable change in their livelihood. In other words, although they may believe external forces that (e.g. government, God, etc.) could possibly exert influence on the steps they take in their lives, they should also convince themselves that their own effort and desire to improve would primarily their lives determines the future course their

livelihood is likely to take and that these forces "would help us and strengthen our will rather than being hindrances to the effort we make." That is to say, it is when people with hope and empowerment constitute the majority of a society that economic growth. particularly the growth of a capitalist system, could be attained. In a country where people with such sense of freedom constitute the majority, the influence such institutions as government, whose role in the main is facilitating things for the people's communal life, wield with regard to individual freedom and movement is very limited. Such institutions may sometimes not realize the limits imposed on the extent of their power and may, accordingly, try to interfere in people's freedom. But, in such instances, they may also run into opposition from the people, so that such governments will operate within the limits of the power willingly and freely given to them by the society they are meant to serve. Because of this people living in such countries are, by and large, confident about themselves. They use their creativity extensively. As long as they believe that their creativity helps themselves as well as the society in which they operate, their ability to generate and entertain novel ideas is unlimited. That is why economists, such as Amartya Sen, argue that the broadening of people's freedom is both an instrument and goal in economic growth.

In Ethiopia's modern history, the power of governments has

invariably been absolutely unchecked, while individual freedom has been highly stifled. During the imperial era, the Emperor, who believed he was the Elect of God, perceived the limits of his power as concurrent with his lifetime and, but for the fear of God. the then rulers could do anything they wanted to their subjects. At the time of Mengistu, this was not considered enough, so that he turned an individual's life into something he could manipulate and play with, as flies are to wanton, little boys, if you will. By so doing he completely desiccated the inner sense of freedom the people had, of which there was not much to speak of in the first place. This inner sense of freedom, which forms one of the bases of economic growth, one would have expected, would get a second chance at replenishment after the demise of the Derg regime, but as things stand now, it couldn't even convalesce to an even modest degree. The people's inner feelings are still entangled in fear. It is not many people who believe they have the ability, as well as the capacity, to bring about the necessary change, whether individually or through collective effort.

Although there are multiple political, economic and social causes for this sense of impotence, when we think particularly of seeking solutions to the problem, our main focus should be on how we could curb the unchecked power of government that has for long prevailed in our country. In order to achieve this, our starting point should be effecting fundamental

changes in the society's perception and view of government, as well as government's perception of the people and its own power. The people should learn to see the government and the institutions it oversees, not as some kind of monster but as the phenomena they themselves created for their own benefit and as instruments for facilitating their economic growth and peaceful life. Government officials and civil servants, for their part, must be the type that respect the people; they must be the type that recognize the fact that the political power that they wield is bestowed on them by the people and that it is absolutely transitory, that any time any day they could relinquish this power and become ordinary citizens living among the people. They should, accordingly, use their power properly. It is my belief that, when the power of any government is unconditionally subordinated to the principle of the sovereignty of the people, it will play a critical role in the enrichment of the people's inner sense of freedom. I also believe that this enrichment of the people's inner sense of freedom is absolutely without alternative for economic growth. That the existence of democratic government is a prerequisite for a country's peace, stability and economic prosperity is, over and above being just a matter of principle in the abstract, supported by concrete evidences drawn from the experiences of many countries. That this link between a democratic system and peace, stability and economic prosperity, should apply

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to the Ethiopian situation is beyond any doubt. But it is also my opinion that the existence of a genuinely democratic system in our country has a useful role to play in terms of our prosperity beyond what has been said. And this has to do with the role such a system of government plays in the enrichment of our people's inner sense of freedom that I have already talked about. One of the criteria, and the main one at that, for testing that genuine democracy exists in a given society is the people's realization that they are the force behind the ascendance of a given government to power and that, if the said government entertains the idea of trespassing the limits of the power bestowed upon it by the people, they can collectively stop it from doing so. It is this conviction about their ability to do so that gives their inner sense of freedom strength. It is this inner sense of freedom that also equips them with the courage and the daring to always take their own initiative and engage in novel better undertakings. and Conversely, a government that governs a people with such inner sense of freedom will have neither the desire nor the capacity to restrain the freedom, movement and citizens. initiative of its Consequently, the strategies, policies and directives that the government draws, as well as the implementation measures. mechanisms and administrative procedures it designs for the realization of the strategies, policies directives will, in fact, encourage individuals' sense of initiative and creativity. It is,

therefore, such individual initiative and creativity, on the one hand, and policies and governance that encourage such initiatives and creativity, on the other, that together help bring about productivity and economic growth, as well as the cultural and social prosperity that necessarily results from the former.

That is why, in my opinion, that, if we genuinely desire prosperity for our country, we should all strive towards the establishment of a genuinely democratic system in our country and that we should, as citizens, do all that we must, both individually and collectively, for the successful realization of this goal.

This, however, in no way implies that the reason for the lack of inner sense of freedom among our people is the lack only of political democracy. Neither does it mean that, on the morrow of the establishment of genuine democracy (for example, if genuine and honest election were conducted in 2005), this inner sense of freedom will be energized, people's sense of self-initiative will be people's strengthened, the confidence in their country will be automatically restored, those living in exile will return en masse to their homeland, and the youth still living here will develop a sense of stability and decide to stay here, etc. All this, for the simple reason that we cannot rid ourselves of age old and complex problems as easily as that.

For instance, one of the reasons, in my opinion, for the lack of our inner sense of freedom is the age-old fatalistic vision of life that is related to the inculcation of religious ideas. and that has, for this reason, become our culture pure and simple. As Professor Mesfin put it thirty years back, in a situation where a culture that views life here on earth as a venue in which we are preparing ourselves for death, therefore a culture that pays little, if any, attention to earthly (material) prosperity and growth, wishing for economic (earthly) prosperity is tantamount to indulging in a mere flight of fancy. The effort one makes to extricate oneself from peverty bases itself on the conviction that poverty is something that one should flee from. In a country where a belief system and culture prevail that view the world as transitory and, moreover, as a school where one is tested for qualification to inherit eternal life in the hereafter, a culture and belief system the views poverty not as something to avert and flee from, but as a challenge to endure as part of that test, economic growth is indeed unthinkable. The inner sense of freedom that I spoke of so far obtains from taking this earthly life earnestly and seriously. And what, in turn, obtains from this inner sense of freedom is one's own conviction that facing challenges and emerging victorious in the process are in one's own hands. It is, consequently, this conviction that drives forward the said effort and sense of initiative and paves the way for economic growth. A person who views the world as something evil, a person who has completely relinquished the world and the life of its people,

as well as his/her own, to those forces that he/she believes are outside of his/her control cannot desire and long for freedom and, consequently, is in no position to strain him/herself for prosperity. An individual or community that is afflicted with this kind of outlook not only does not wish for growth, but it also represents an individual or community that is a walking corpse that looks upon those who have grown and make efforts to grow misanthropically and tries to hinder their progress. No wonder, then, that poverty keeps going on the increase in an environment in which such an outlook prevails. It is, in fact, the case that the increase in poverty fortifies such an outlook and further drags society into an even worse vicious cycle of poverty.

The question of how long such kind of outlook and attitude have been existing and taken root in our country can be controversial. I think that students of culture and history are better equipped to answer this question. In my opinion, however, when or how such attitude and outlook emerged is not the main issue. It is my conviction, and this is more important, that the extent of poverty that had been intensifying over the past forty years and the culture of dependency that came in the footsteps of relief aid in connection with the recurrent famine have definitely fortified this kind of attitude and outlook. If it's our wish and desire for the livelihood of our children to be better than ours, if it is our wish and desire that the coming generation

have access to enough resources to live on, if not to live prosperously, and if it is our wish that that generation will grow up feeling a sense of freedom and confidence in its country, if indeed this is our wish and desire, then we have to confront such deep rooted aspects of our culture. If we must wish for a better life, this apathetic attitude we have towards life must stop. In order to be able to inculcate this in the minds of the people, and if we believe that our culture needs a radical transformation (I, for one, believe it does), our professionals working in the field of culture, teachers and intellectuals who nurture and shape the mindset of our youth, and mass media professionals should have more courage to step forward. If the source of such a negative cultural attitude happens to be the religious teachings that have for generations been inculcated in our minds, then it requires the wisdom and courage of our religious fathers to integrate the teachings with modern ways of life and revise them such that they will encourage economic growth. In order for our society to live a much better life by the year 2028, I say that this transformation in our culture should be undertaken together with bringing about a better democratic system governance without any further delay.

Although, by and large, people's initiative is a result of the urge to improve one's own and one's family's livelihood, and although there is need for government policies and governance structure to

strengthen people's inner sense of freedom and encourage people's self-initiative, from what we learn from history, however, and also from what psychology experts have repeatedly asserted. determines people's actions is not only the material benefit they gain. People's actions are also determined by other factors that emanate from living together as a community. Among these factors, the one deep feeling that history has repeatedly confirmed, and one that many people go as far as sacrificing their lives for, is nationalism/patriotism. This feeling, when in good hands and is used for the common good, greatly contributes mobilization of people, to the unification of communities, to the creation and consolidation of a strong national culture and. consequently, towards using the force so molded for the country's growth and prosperity. In addition to helping mobilize communities, such national feeling can, for instance, help cultivate among civil servants the sense of honesty and moral duty that goes beyond looking only after one's selfish advantages to embrace the interests of the country as a whole. If we look at the experiences of those countries, we can even say all of them, who are known to have achieved a speedy development, we see that their ability to develop an economic policy based on economic nationalism has greatly contributed to the great progress they have made. It seems to me that those countries that were very backward like our own country in terms of economic development, and that

had to move with great speed to catch up with the developed ones, have been greatly helped to get where they are by a system of government founded on a broad national consensus and one that gives priority to economic growth. coupled with a strong desire to develop one's country and a strategy guided by economic nationalism. In order to achieve this, there must be, first of all, a government that clearly knows its territorial boundaries recognizes the right to equality of all the peoples living within the bounds of that territory. While such a government should treat all the peoples living within its territory with equality, it must also make sure that, compared to peoples living outside of the given territory, those within the territory are given priority over those others. The peoples living within the said territory should recognize accept this arrangement as well. The nationalism thus created will serve as a driving force for all sectors of the society to contribute to their country's development in their chosen profession. Such nationalism will enable a country to get all the contributions that it should get from all citizens in order to prosper as a country. This does not mean, however, that whatever happens, this nationalist feeling should in any way be used to put restrictions on the activities individuals undertake to improve their livelihoods. Neither does it mean such nationalist feeling will be allowed to benefit a specific group of people or economic classes at the expense of the general interests of the

country. That is why, in the majority of instances, the kind of economic growth envisioned here should be based on a free market economy that encourages competition among people/consumers and producers, particularly at the national level. I am, finally, of the conviction that it is possible to tackle in tandem a national, free market economic system with country-wide economic nationalism.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

As I have tried to demonstrate thus far, I do not think that we need to dwell that much on the extent to which Ethiopia's economy finds itself in a grave situation. But more than that, if we still continue with the current trend, what we are going to bequeath to the next generation could be worse and, if that be the case, we are going to be answerable to history. The fate awaiting the next generation in the year 2028 is in the main determined by the choices we make today, both individually and collectively. It is possible to achieve better results than has been attempted hitherto. As I have attempted to point out above, if we take some policy measures and properly utilize the manpower available to us, we will be able to achieve a much better economic growth and progress than we would if we were to continue with the present trend. However, although the kind of growth I have in mind will be much better than what we have achieved so far, I nevertheless do not believe it is enough. I

reiterate my conviction that we can still bring about a much more superior and extensive change than that described so far. For this to happen, however, it is required of us to take measures to transform the stifling psychological environment in which our society operates. Although the measures I have in mind are broad and include issues that I have not gone into in my presentation, I shall focus on three basic issues that I consider are major issues.

One of the main issues, which I have already mentioned, has to do with measures that must be taken to broaden the inner sense of freedom of individual citizens and our society as a whole. The broadening of this sense of freedom requires, in areas of politics. establishment of a genuinely democratic system. 1 have. moreover, expressed my conviction that, over and above establishing a genuinely democratic system, our attitudes towards life and those cultural aspects that determine these attitudes must undergo radical transformation. Finally, I have attempted to remind all those concerned that, to strengthen our people's enthusiasm for work and their diligence, we need to think and show concern to one another as one nation in the economic as well as in the other sectors. I have also tried to point out that our economic and other policies should be so designed as to take into consideration, before all else, the country's interests, not limiting themselves to our present concerns only but incorporating the fate of the future generation into

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their objectives. It is my belief that, not only must we concretely realize all these measures judiciously and in a manner that would not create discord among ourselves, but we can also actually manage to do so.

But in order to achieve this and pitch in our share of contribution as citizens, we must, both individually and collectively, equip ourselves with the courage and enthusiasm necessary for embarking upon the job. Although all these measures require a big effort on the part of the government, it is my conviction that, most above all, our desire to succeed will become a reality if all of us, those living here in the country as well as those Ethiopians fiving abroad, seriously give thought to the fact that we are all citizens of this country, affirm our belief in this fact and jealously guard our rights as citizens and fulfill our duties accordingly. I would like to use this opportunity to send a message to the government about the upcoming elections of 2005. I urge the government to make sure that the process and procedures of the elections would not go astray, as they had during the earlier elections, thereby leading the society into losing its confidence in the democratic process. At the same time, I would like to urge the society not to wallow in cynicism and do everything it can and must to demonstrate that democracy is not only something we desire but also a right that we deserve. The cynical attitude that 'whatever I do makes no difference' will simply take us nowhere. In particular, it is highly expected of our professionals to be models for future generations by behaving and acting in accordance with what professional ethic requires of them, by at least working honestly in whatever field of work they are engaged, if not participating in other national affairs.

But can all this certainly happen? To be certain and say that such things can happen is beyond me as well as my profession that is very much disposed to the culture of 'forecasting'. But I can say one thing with certainty. Aspiration is the basis of all action. As the ferenjis say, if there is any benefit to be gained from saving that something cannot be made to happen, that it cannot be realized, it is only the hollow satisfaction hypocrites express in the negative terms of "didn't I tell you!" Such kind of hypocritical, sardonic attitude will not obtain even in an iota of benefit to our people, who have been suffering the misery of hunger and absence of freedom for centuries, and to our country, which has become the laughing stock of the world for being poor, paradoxically with all the potential resources it has. The non-educated, illiterate members of the society that struggle with full of hope to make it in life, even when their aspirations may not be realized, are useful to themselves individually and to the country as a whole than those with the kind of sham knowledgeability of the kinds of cynics and hypocrites that I spoke of above.

Accordingly, then, if starting out with the hope, with the optimism, that we can bring about all this change serves as a basis for action as well as our vision of the future, let me wrap up by starting with this hope and try to project the bright vision I have of what the livelihood of Ethiopians would look like in the year 2028.

In my vision, the Ethiopians of the year 2028 will be daring and confident, as a result of which they will not succumb to any pressure from the government that would curb their internal sense of freedom. The Ethiopians of the year 2028 will love their country. They will work hard both for themselves and for the collective interests of their country. Every part of the country will be open to and welcome all those citizens ready to engage in work. Those Ethiopians will not tolerate the violation of their rights, but they will also respect the rights of others. They will properly and effectively fulfill the duties required of them as citizens. The Ethiopians of the year 2028 will feel pained when someone attempts to attack their country, but because they like and respect their neighbors, they will work with those neighbors peacefully and with mutual respect for the common good of all. They will respect their culture, but at the same time they will oppose and resist those customs that they consider are inimical to growth and development.

In the year 2028, Ethiopia will become a country with many big cities. Whereas Addis Ababa will have a population of more than 8.5 million, 5 cities will have a population of more than 1 million, and the number of towns with more than 200,000 people will be more than 20. And in all of these cities and towns, extensive infrastructural

construction and service projects (good living quarters, provision of running and potable water, clean toilets, electricity, etc.) will be undertaken through the concerted effort of the government, private investors and the people. While the focus of the government will be limited to those tasks that cannot be accomplished by the people, its main job will be to encourage the people to work together to take care of their livelihood. Both city and national administrations will not engage in minor economic sectors. And the government will not involve itself in renting houses.

kebele Kebele precincts and residents will be beneficiaries of many government services; kebele officials will be individuals elected by the people, well known to and respected by the residents as members of the community. Byways within the kebeles will be built by the cooperation of kebele administrations and the people; likewise, the keheles' sanitation and security will be taken care of by same. The concern of residents for sanitary conditions and cleanliness will go beyond caring for just one's own residence so as to embrace the keheles as a whole and, accordingly, residents will not tolerate those who pollute the environment. The people will not only loathe those who relieve themselves publicly but will kebele cooperate with administrations to make sure that legal measures are taken against such them. As a result of such steps, the environment will be kept clean and sanitary problems taken care of.

In the Ethiopia of the year 2028, Ethiopian society will not tolerate the inordinate poverty that we witness all around us today. Instead, the society and religious institutions will combine their efforts to take care of invalids, orphans, the elderly, etc. Communities will volunteer their resources for communal growth and progress. Beggary will become a completely unacceptable phenomenon, and there will be no beggars in our streets. Places of worship will be free from beggars.

Urban investors will look after their interests zealously. They will therefore engage extensively in activities that will create jobs for the society. Their satisfaction with their activities will derive not justa from the profits they make but also from their capacity to create jobs that will enable their fellow citizens to extricate themselves from poverty. Construction projects undertaken in urban centers will not only be qualitatively good but also architecturally attractive. Because the quality and beauty of buildings will make them demandable, investors will refrain from erecting shoddy buildings just out of getrich-quick motives, which finally goes in their own long-term interests. The urban population will be such that it urges the government to bring urban pollution under control. Vehicles that emit excess exhaust from their engines will not be allowed to operate unchecked. Our religious behaviors activities will improve abreast of improvement transformation of the people's lives. Because, in the year 2028, people will be busy, not all days will be moments for religious worship. Because the people will not tolerate noise pollution, religious worship will be restricted to within the compounds of religious institutions.

Places of worship and cemeteries will be kept clean. The different religions will teach not only about life in the hereafter but also about the corporeal morality and ethic that complement the former.

The expansion in this manner of urban centers and the development of their economic capacity, together with the transformation in the nutrition of the population, will contribute to the opening up of new enterprises in the agricultural sector that would bring in new benefits to farmers. As a result, farmers living in the outskirts of urban centers will go into the production of such commodities as vegetables and fruit, poultry and meat, and similar other products, from which they will get higher income. Because of the close link they will have with urbanites, the life style of these farmers, far from being isolated as before, will assume a semi-urban mode. Because of the reduction in the population size of rural areas far from urban centers. not only will landholding size of farmers increase but the prices they get for their products will also increase because of the expansion of the market system. Because of the increase in their income and the shortage of labor due to increased rural-urban migration, they will be forced to employ modern farming techniques and, consequently, protect their environment. Because the needs and demands of the rural population will increase as a result of the growth of the rural economy, urban centers will expand in order to meet those needs and demands. Many rural towns will also have small-scale industries. Consequently, in the year 2028, hunger and deprivation will have become legends of the past to the farmers of Ethiopia.

The Ethiopia I envision for the year 2028 will be a country full of opportunities for those Ethiopians desirous of making a living and wealth and for those who have the inner drive to engage in work. And as a result of this, Ethiopia will be a country to which those Ethiopians living abroad, and who have made money while there, will flock to make money here and make their share of contribution for the country's future progress. The return of these Ethiopians and the creation of new jobs by them, coupled with those who return to serve their country through their professions, will help in the proliferation of new knowledge, better expertise and work ethic, change of outlook and attitude, etc. throughout the whole country. The new job opportunities and the attending growth in one's area of profession, coupled with extensive individual freedom, will put a break on the desire to emigrate to other lands, if not altogether eliminate it. And those Ethiopians who go abroad for further education or for any other reason will develop a great enthusiasm for quickly completing their business and returning to their country.

The Ethiopia I dream of for the year 2028 will be a country in which her professionals will get the respect they deserve. Teachers, rather than being people to be feared by their students, will be wonderful citizens respected for the good models they represent. Our doctors and medical professionals will be full of big concern and respect for human life, people who give all they know to protect and save human life, people who, for this reason, will have not only the respect of people but also their love, and who will, finally, be

our worthy citizens leading a good life as a result of the services they provide. Civil servants will be the type of people who are assigned jobs only on the basis of their professional expertise, who respect the people they serve and who have accepted the fact that they are there to serve the people, whose salaries will be commensurate with their livelihood needs and their professional skills and expertise, and who, because of all this, will be efficient workers who will heartily provide the services they give to the people. Our educational institutions will be centers of learning and knowledge. They will institutions in which our youth will develop a strong and free spirit and civic culture, alongside with the skills they learn through classroom instructions. The young people that go through these institutions will be both intellectually and ethically molded and mature. In 2028, such epidemics as malaria and AIDS will not decimate our people. In 2028, there will be a system of justice through which any case brought to court will be duly settled and resolved in the shortest time possible.

As for those people who will hold political positions in government, they will be the type for their capability, reputed professional ethic and patriotism (national allegiance) and have the competence, the passion and the vision to get the society to a higher level than that at which if finds itself presently. Because of this, elections will be events that are highly competitive, events in which the people will participate widely and which will be awaited eagerly. Outside of these values and attributes, the geographic and ethnic

origins and similar other criteria extraneous to the said attributes will have no impact, one way or other, on the results of the elections. In that year, 2028, because of the common life that will be created as a result of the expansion and growth of our urban centers, the basis and hallmark of our identity will be our urban and, beyond that, our Ethiopian citizenship, never our ethnic or racial roots. And people who ponder along such lines of thought will be viewed and treated with disdain. Those Ethiopians seen walking the streets of our urban centers will be the type that are either in haste to go to work or taking relaxed walks at the end of a day's work, their faces full of smiles, clean and well-dressed. In the Ethiopia of the year 2028, there will be many modern cultural and artistic forums serving as pastimes, outside of the culture of drinking, which appears to be the sole pastime at present.

In our Ethiopia of the year 2028, children going to kindergarten and primary schools will be Ethiopians, who, when asked: "what would you like to be when you grow up into adults?" would have the desire and the daring to answer, with no hesitation whatsoever: "I would like to be the President or Prime Minister of Ethiopia," much the same way they would answer that they would like to be "a doctor. scientist, pilot, investor, etc".

Finally, I wish for all of us a life long enough for us to be able to witness the emergence, as a reality, of this Ethiopia!

And I thank you!

የዶ/ር ብርሃኑ 5,23 ጽሑፍ አስመልክቶ የተሰጠ አስተደየት

ክአስፋ አድማስ. <u>በአዲስ አበ</u>ባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ተባባሪ ፕሮፌሰር

በመጀመሪያ በዚህ መድረክ ላይ ተገኝቼ ዶ/ር ብርሃኑ ባቀረበው የመነሻ ሀሳብ ላይ ተመርኩገና አንዳንድ ለውይይት መነሻ የሚሆኑ ሃሳቦችን እንዳቀርብ ዕድል ስለተሰጠኝ አመስማናለሁ።

ዶ/ር ብርሃኑ ኢትዮጵያ ከአንድ ትውልድ በኋላ ምን ሆና ማየት ትፌልጋለሀ በሚለው ርዕስ ሥር ይሀንን ጠቃሚ ግንዛቤ ስላስጨበጠ ን ሳመሰግን አመዳለሁ።

የዶ/ር ብርሃኑ ጽሑፍ ኢትዮጵያ ከአንድ ትውልድ በኋላ ምን ሆና ማየት እንደሚሻ አስቀምጣልናል። C08-7 የተቀመጡት Thha STO 0,8,90 አይደለም ከርክር ለመግባት አልፌልግም የዚህ መድረክ ዓሳማም ይህ አይደለም። COPF አምንት ብአኤ A'tH,U C08-7 PU-17-79 POLUT ይመስለኛል። ምናልባትም አደንዳንዳችን ከዚህ የበለጠ ሰፋ ያለ ርዕይ ይኖረናል ብዬ አስባለሁ። ተልቁ ቁምነገር፣ እንግዲህ እነዚህን ò@-3 COPF ለማድሪግ መደረግ አለበት የሚለው ነው። እንዚህ ርዕዮች ከሕልም እንዴት ደለደሉ? ተግባራዊ እንዲሆኑስ ምን መደረግ አለበት የሚለው አቢይ ይመስለኛል። እንደ እኔ አመለካከት ሴሎችም እንዚሀና ርዕዮች ዕውን ሊሆኑ የሚችሉት OSHP የሚወስደውን 00378 የሚያሰናክሉትን ነገሮች ለይትን እ*ያንጻንችን* በማውጣትና

ለመፍትሂው አስተዋፅኦ ስናደረግ ብቻ ነው።

ስለዚህ እኔ ማተኮር የምሻው ዶ/ር ACY's ባንሳቸውና PATAS Shira 子のごデチラ RUSA :: በእኔ 7907 94 ችግሮቻችንን በግልፅ ማውጣትና 001,27C ለመፍትሂው 950 ODJRCRUS ይመስለኛል። ችግሮቻችን በጣም ሰፊና ውስብስብ በመሆናቸው በአንድ አቅጣጫ ብቻ መመልከት ትክክል አይመስለኝም። ኢኮኖሚክስ 00-99 QU'390 በሀብሬተሰባችን ውስጥ PA-73 ውስብስብ ችግሮች የኢኮኖሚክስ የትምህርት ዘርፍ ከሚያስቀምጠው አቅጣሜ በላይ ማየት ያስፈልጋል POYA スダッナー አለኝ። PHU መድሪክም 919 የአገራችንን P00- P 77C በአንድ HCS TIF. 四年十十 (discipline) ስለማይቻል 114. PA አካሂድ (holistic approach) @£90 (system approach) ብንከተል ይሻላል የሚል ይመስለኛል።

የውይይቱ ዋና ዓሳማ ለእኔ
እንደገባኝ የተጋረደብንን
compartmentalized አካሄድ ተወት
አድርንን ሰፋ ያለ መሠረት እንስጠ
ው የሚል ነው። ስለዚህ
የማንሳቸው ሀሳቦች በኢኮኖሚክስ
የሙያ ዘርፍ የታጠሩ ሳይሆን አጠ
ቃሳይ የሀብረተሰብ ችግሮች ናቸው
ብዬ ከማስባቸው በጣም ጥቂቶቹን
ብቻ ነው።

ለውይይቱ እንዲረዳ፣ የአኔ አቀራረብ በ 3 ክፍሎች ላይ ያተኮረ ይሆናል። እንዚህም፣

- አሁን ያለንበት ሁኔታ ወይም
 መነሻችን ምን ይመስላል;
- ዋናዋናቹ ችግሮቻችንስ
 ምንድናቸው፣
- እንዚህን ችግሮች ለመፍታትና የሚቀጥለው ትውልድ ከእኛ የተሻለ እንዲሆን ምን ብናደርግ ይሻላል የሚሉት ናቸው።

005万千3

ዶ/C ብርሃኑ በአሀዝ A+276. የአ ከኖማ ክስ 00/8 AU-3 176.73 የለችበትን ひとか በዝርዝር ስላስቀመጠው መድገም አስፌሳጊ መስሎ አይታየኝም። በእኔ አመለካከት ኢትዮጵያ በአሁታ ወቅት በጣም በክፋ ችግር ውስጥ ትንኛለች። በተቅሉ አሁን ያለንበት 四种十二

- የተስፋ መቁሬጥ ዘመን፣
- የድህንት፣ የሬሀብ፣ የስደት ዘመን፣
- የልመና ባሀል የተስፋፋበት ወቅት፤
- PHG4 ባሀል የተስፋፋበት ጊዜ!
- የፍርሀት ድባብ የነገሰበት ህብረተሰብ የበዛበት ዘመን፣
- በሽታ የነገሰበት፤

ነው ብል ማጋነን አይመስለኝም።

በአጠቃላይ አገራችን የድሀዎች ድሀ የሆንችበት ወቅት ላይ ደርሰናል። በዚህ ሆኔታ ከቀጠልን በእኔ *ዕይታ* ለመተፋት ከተቃረቡት እንስሳት ክፍል ውስጥ ለመመደብ የተቃረብን ይመስለኛል።

 አሁን ለምንገኝበት ሁኔታ አስተዋጽኦ ያደረጉት ዋና ዋና ችግሮች

2016 114 COO 0038.C.8.68 ስን5ሳ የሚታሰበው ዋናው ቁም ነገር ያለንበትን ሁኔታ በትክክል ለመገንዘብ ችለናል ወይ የሚለው EUTA:: ከዚህም በላይ በዚህ ひとう DAMA3 arm.t 903 Parton. TPt ሊሆን ይችላል PODD 88 TGO. Con 1,0% ደብባል የሚል አምንት አለኝ።

አሁን ሳለንበት ሁኔታ አስተዋፅአ ·IIII いたナタチ 8867 እንደሚኖሩ እገምታለው፣ ሁሉንም P07.3:A THE STAFF CONCHC 7907 አይመስለኝም። በኢኒ A含有中でラナデラ 99 PG. መንስኤዎች 94 m 116. የማስባት:መ-ን አንዳንድ ሀሳቦችን ብቻ ለመተቀስ አፈልጋለሁ።

2.1 የመደፊት ርዕድ ያለመዋርና ተስፋ የመቁረጥ ስሜት መንግሥነ

በአኔ ማምት ለኋላቀርንታችን አንዱ መንስኢ የመደፊት ብሩሀ (Positive) PAMOGC earnaga: COR ለመደፊቱ ከዚህ የተሻለ ጉሮ መኖር አለብኝ የሚል ባሀል በብዙዎቻችን አአምሮ 中价电 20 ህብሬተሰባችን አይምስለኝም። ተሰብሰበ መብላትን እንጂ ቁጠ 13 Pag 106 2. 2. AUP 十つ十つ PA@-9":: 8106 1.807 039531 6.0063 ስርቆትንና 711.6.83 ARU3 የምናበረ:ታ:ታበት 四十十 4.8 SCASA:

119:4-5 9117 mm-t: የተስፋ-ስማት の中心で ይታይበታል። O'AT በህብረተሰበrole model P09113 16.2 አየጠፋ. 7.8 A :: የአሁኑ 2004 role model 7-7-11 ++69 11.0 ሳይሆን 01-1750 መንገድ ከአገር ወተቶ RAC has has porahor is UGA::

ልጆቻችንን ብንጠይቃቸው ሁሉም ከተቻለ ወደ አሜሪካ፣ ጀርመን፣ አንግሊዝ፣ ጣሊያን፣ ወይም ካልሆን ወደ አረብ አገር መሄድ ነው ሕልማቸው። አኛ ልጆች ሆነን ማትሪክ በተሰን ኮሌጅ ግብተን አንል ነበር። ዛሬ በብዙ ሰው አአምሮ ይሀ ዓይነት አመ**ል**ካከት ያለ አይመስለኝም።

2.2 ያለንበትን ሁኔታ በትክክል አለመየንዘብና የሚመጣውን አደጋ ለመተንበይ አለመቻል ወደም አለመፈለግ፣

በእኔ አምነት አሁን የደረስንበትን
ሁኔታ በትክክል ተገንዝበናል የሚል
አምነት የለኝም። በአሁኑ ወቅት
ያለውን ነባራዊ ሁኔታ በትክክል
አስተምጠን ስለወደፊቱ በተጨባው
ማሰብ የጀመርን አይመስለኝም።
አካሂዳችን ሁሉ የዘመቻ ሥራ (fire
fighting) ስለሆነ ቀጣይነት ሊኖረው
አልቻለም። ስለዚህም ውጤታማ
ሥራ ውርተናል ወይም አየውራን
ነው ብዬ መናገር ይክብደኛል።
ክርክራችን፤ ውይይታችን ሁሉ
በአብዛኛው የትናንቱንና የዛሬውን
ሁኔታ ብቻ የሚዳስስ ነው።

- ሀብሪተሰሳችን የተጋረጠበትን አደጋ በትክክል ተገንዝቧል ወደ?
- የመሽፋፌን፣ የመሽዋወድ ጉዞ ወዲት ሊወስደን እንደሚችል ተንንዝበናል ወደ?
- የለውጥ አራማጆች፣ የሃይማኖት አባቶች፣ ፖሊሲ አውጭዎች፣

ነባራዊ ሁኔታውን ተገንዝበውታል ወደ? የሚሉትን ተያቄዎች በተገቢው መንገድ መመለስ የወደፊቱን ጉዞአችንን ያሳካዋል ብዬ አስባለሁ።

2.3 Risk ለመውሰድ ወይም ለመቀበል ያለን ዝግጁነት አናሳ መሆን፥

በዚህ ዓለም ላይ Risk የሌለበት የሕይወት **እንቅስቃሴ** PA አይመስለንም፣ 00 Ti-8. አስኪ5.2 574 hon or h 1.52 Risk 0789 2.4.7 0°7006-4 ሕይወታችን ውስጥ ያለ ነገር ነው። ማን እኛ በአብዛኛው 57C Risk መመብድ በጣም የምንፌራ ሰዎች አምናለሁ። 53 116 Risk ካልተወሰደ እንደ ት መንቀሳቀስ ይቻሳል? አንደ ትስ 45.20 eamma? 0.3150 1387 EN44A? Risk Ammante. 7.70.73 90060273 ከመነሳሳት Amg. J. J. BAP ማቆየትንና ማሽጋሽግን (postpone) አካሂድ እ*ንመርጣለ*ን። 20 ሰማ ተተለው ትውልድ ውስብስብ ችግርን ማቆየት ይመስለኛል።

2.4 ለቴክኖሊጂ መስፋፋት ያለን ዝቅተኛ ግምት፡

የፀረ ፌጠራና የፀረ አዲስ ሀሳብ ባሀል በሀብረተሰቡ ውስተ በከፍተኛ Unigo 8.28 omnas. 87-87 ይመስለኛል። 643 Abomb. 7907-5 개화수주 YouVylig. 0h16-73 A.CC Pag 200-3 0127 PINTA. 777C ウミヤナム::

ገበሬው የሚጠቀምበትን ማረሻ እንደምሳሌ እንውስድ፣ ይህ ቴክኖሎጂ ከቪሀ ዓመታት በፊት ይሠራብት ነበር ዛሬም በቅርፅና

16490 ሳይለመተ እየተሠራበት 279A: Resource እንደልብ ባለበት 四十十 ARRAP! 46 በምንጠቀምበት 97.5 Omcgo መሬቱን ወኃ ወኃ አድርት ምርት ማግኘት ይቻል ነበር። ዛሬ ምንም እንኳን 803 PHATE U-0-1-በጣም የተመናመነ ቢሆንም የምንጠ ቀምበት the A.F. hoodde FAS 400P ይረማጣል። በባህላችን ውስተ የማንከባለል ፅንሰ-ሀሳብ (circular motion) በብዛት ያለ ይመስለኝም። የዚህ ዕንሰ-ሀሳብ Anong C ተያያገርነትና 十尺つつるう十 ያላቸውን ቴክኖሎጃ ዎች ለመፍጠር እንቅፋት ይመስለኛል። P&m&113 በአንራችን Pay 75. 99°C9°C ተቋማት በዚህ ሬገድ ምን ያህል አስተዋጽአ እንጻደረጉ Onlan የሚያጠያይቅ ይመስለኛል። እኛ ችግርን ለመፍታት የምንሞክረው በሥራና በራጠራ ሳይሆን እጃችንን ወደ ሰማይ በመስቀል ብቻ ሆኗል።

2.5 ያለንን የተፈተሮ ሀብት በትክክል ያለማወቅና ተቅም ሳይ ለማዋል አለመቻል፥

ምን ደህል የተልጥሮ ሀብት እንዳለን **λ**'λ አሳሙቀም። '77C የሚያስልንድት የተልጥሮ U-07-(ጥቅም ላደ, POLTA 1.00.0 የተፈጥሮ ሀብት ማለቴ ነውን ያለን 7907 አይመስለኝም:: በእኤ 176.73 0+6.70 いーナ አንደሚ ዘፈንሳት ስተመስለኝም። ከሁ-ለ-ም በላይ ያለንን የተልጥሮ い小十 በት ክክለኛ oodh-十四年の3月生み መይ? የሚለው ひるナ かりつつる ይመስለኛል። የተማረ የሰው ኃይላችን ዘወትር (D. 47) የሚመለከትበት መደ ምክንያት ምንድነው ብለን ጠይቀን የምናውቅ አይመስለኝም። ከዚህም በላይ ተነፃፃሪ በሆነ መልኩ የትኛው ሀብታችን ነው የበለጠ ተቅም ወይም የሚችለው 711. ሊያስንኝልን

የሚለውን በትክክል የንመንምነው አይመስለኝም፡፡ Comparative advantage ያለን በቱሪዝም ነው፤ በንብርና ነው፤ በንግድ ነው፤ በአንዱስትሪ ነው፤ ወዘተ...
የሚለው ዘርዘር ያለ ውይይት የሚያስፈልገው ይመስለኛል፡፡

2.6 ደካማ የሥራ ባሕል (poor work ethics and low productivity) ፣

8A3 816 JAA! በተለይም PTIA 70 a 2.90 150 ZA በምንለው የሕብሪተሰብ hEA ውስተ በጣም አሳፋሪ ይመስለኛል። ህብረተሰባችን፣ 00 pub.73 የሚያንቋሽሽ፣ መስመንን 73 POLSINGTY AUP PATHOD ይመስለኛል። በእኔ ማምት፣ በእኛ ባህል የሚያስከብረው ሽፍትንት፣ ማጭበርበር፤ መሽወድ፤ ወዘተ... ይመስለኛል። ማብርና፣ አናጢነት፣ ማምበኝንት፣ መይም መምሀርነት 93 የተጠሳና አሳፋሪ ሥራ ነው።

hll,ugo 11-42.096 8146 ののようのりょうそう (low productivity) በጣም ዝቅተኛ መሆን በቡሀ ላይ ቆርቆሮ አንደማለት ይመስለኛል። የተለያዮ የኢኮኖሚክስ Odr 6.7 አንደሚያመለከቱት PTAPP A.h.t.C.F. ውጤታማንታቸው በጣም ዝቅተኛ ABRIES SOM: PAB POPOREC 们中午 U-UHmah. 903 ምርታማኑት ይወሰናል። nehoy የሥራ ውጤታማንታችን በቀላሉ ከጨዋታ ውጭ የመሆን ለድላችን ከፍተኛ ንው።

2.7 ከፍተኛ የማሕበራዊ ባህል ተፅዕኖ፣

ብዙ ጥሩ ጥሩ ባህል እንዳለን ሁሉ ብዙ ሊወንዱና ሊታረሙ የሚንባቸው የባህል ተፅእኖዎች ያሉብን ይመስለኛል። በአብዛኛው፣

のからする 12177 0000033 አያበረታታን፣ መቆጠብን ሳይሆን መለንስንና ሰብስቦ ማብላትን አያበረታታን፣ 97 02:20 እንደሚቻል ለእኔ አይንባኝም። የሚያስመስግነው/የሚያፀድቀው/ 738 Unit 79567 (capital accumulation) አይደለም እያልን እየሰበከን እንዴት ከድህነት መውጣት እንችላለን?

2.8 PUHLオ かん おらう ゆけう (lack of collective action):

አድማሳችን በ**ግ**ል የአመለካከት አአምሮአችን ወይም 070,27-3 አጥር የተመሰነ ስለሆነ፣ በኃራ ♠ ችማሮችን የመጋልጥ ባህል የለንም። ቆሻሻ 加。少于了 አመ-ፕተን በአጥራችን ሥር ከጣልን የቆሻሻው መዘዝ እኛን እንደማይነካን አድርፕን PODO-AS AUP 7(D+ 803:: በደርግ ጊዜ የምረቤት ልጅ ሲመሰድ የእኛ ልጅ እስካልተመሰደ ድረስ ምን አንባኝ ስንል ነበር። ነንሩ፣ ነን ወደ እኛ አይመጣ ይመስል። አገር የ*ጋራ*-ቤት መሆኗን ረስታን በሌላው ላይ የደረሰሙ በእኔ እስካልደረሰ ድረስ T763 POTAT 2000 DZ かたりの・! 0h.b5'04.00-1 በማህበራዊ USOFT (四-百) በጣም ሳድቶናል ብዬ አስባለሁ። 99179 የሕብረተሰብ 19:10-1 በርካታ ጠቃሚ የማሀበራዊ እሴቶች አሏቸው። ነገር ግን እንዚህን በነ P"7006-4. አሴቶች 1776.73 መፍቻ የማድረግ ዓላማችን ውስን 500-::

2.9 ያለፈውን በጥቅሱ የማጥፋትና የማንቋሽሽ ባሀል ማስፋፋት፣

ያለፍንባቸው ጥቂት ዓመታት ግልፅ ያደረጉት ነገር ቢኖር ያለፌውን በተቅሉ ማፍረስና በአዲስ ለመተካት የመሞከር ባህል የተፅናወተን ነው ብዬ አምናለሁ፤ ለዚህም በጣም ብዙ ምሳሌ መጥቀስ የስከን hool-C 251A: PA6.0-3 ባለመኖሩ በጥቅለ-ለማውደም በመምከራችን ብዙ m ቃማ ልምዶችንና ብዙ 3-06-7 ይመስለኛል። Pm2903 የማንወደው አካል ከሠራው ምንም አይቻልም oven C. አአምሮአችንን ከዘጋን ብዙ ርቀት መራመድ የምንችል አይመስለኝም።

2.10 አበሪታቸና ተስማሚ የኢኮኖሚና የሶሻል ፖሊሲ አለመኖር፤

የምንንድፋቸው የሶሻልና የአከኖሚ ፖሊሲዎች ዕድነትን የሚያበረታቱ መሆናቸውን የሚያጠራጥሩ ብዙ ሁኔታዎች አሉ። አንድ ወጥ የሆነና ቀጣይነት ያለው የእድገት ፖሊሲ አዘጋጅተናል ወይ? የሚለው እንደገና መፌተሽ ያስፌልገዋል። የፖሊሲዎቹ ችግር ፌቺነት በጥያቄ ውስጥ የሚወድቅ ሆኖ፤ የወጡትስ ፖሊሲዎች ምን ያህል በተግባር ተተርጉ**ማ**ል? የሚለው ሌሳው አሳሳቢ ጉዳይ ይሆናል። ከዚህም በሳይ ፖሊሲን ተግባራዊ ለማድሪን የብቃት ማነስ፤ ሁሉ በአድገታችን ሳይ ከፍተኛ ተጽዕኖ አድርገዋል።

ማጠቃለያ

ምንም ተባለ ምን፣ ዋናው ጥያቄ አሁን ካለንበት ውስብስብ ችግር ለመውጣትና የወደፊቱ ኑሮአችንን ከዛሬው የተሻለ ለማድረግ፣ ወይም COP-7 0+796 PA-33 ለመተርጎም 1 ASSC7 ይመስለኛል። BYTA POY NO በዚህ ጽሁፍ ዝርዝር የመፍትሄ ሃሳቦችን ለመደርደር አልምክርም። በእኔ አመለካከት፣ ወደ ዝርዝር የመፍትሂ ሃሳቦች ከመገባቱ በፊት orns porshbears onthe የሚያደናቅፉትን ነገሮች በዝርዝር መሃ,ኃነሩ የመፍትሂው ይመስለኛል። ስለዚህ በእኔ ዕይታ

ጎባራዊ ስመረዳት 0-thha ች**ግ**ሮቻችንን በ**ግ**ልጽ ባልተሸፋፊን ለማስቀመጥ የመፍትሂው ።A ትለሰማሪያ ድ 15 ታ ችንን በትክክል አምነን ከዚህ ልንወጣ የምንችልበትን 00378 በጋራ መፈለግ ትልቅ ግምት ሊሰጠ ው ይገባል የሚል አምንት አለኝ። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ ዓለምን ጨለማ አድርጎን ከማየትና ተስፋ ከመቀረጥ ይልቅ "ይቻላል" የሚለውን መሬክር ተቀብለን ለተማባራዊነቱ ስንጨነቅና ስንተጋ ለውጥ ማምጣት ይቻላል ብዬ እንምታለሁ። ከሁሉም በላይ፣ የተጋሪደብንን የጽንፈኝነት በሽታ ረንብ አድርፕን ሁላችንም ሀገራዊ ሃላፊነትና መብት (ስለ ሀገራችንን ሰማሰብ፤ መፍትሂ 100 as 14! ለማፈላለማና፤ እያንጻንዱ ዜጋ መብት አለው ብዬ አምናለሁ) እንጻለን አውቀን በ.ኃራ ርዕይ ስንጓዝ የተሻለ ሕይወት መፍጠር የሚቻል ይመስለኛል።

Next "Vision 2020 Ethiopia" Schedule

Prof. Shibru Tedla – August 29, 2003

W/o ZenebeworK Tadesse – September 26, 2003

Ato Kebour Gena – October 31, 2003

Prof. Mesfin W/Mariam – November 28, 2003

የኢትዮጵያ "እጣ ፋንታ" ከአንድ ትውልድ በኋላ

ክዶ/ር ብርሃት ነጋ በቀረበ ጥናታዊ ጽሁፍ ላይ የተሰጠ አስተያየት

ኢየሱስወርት ዛፉ

"የኢትዮጵያ ዕጣ ፋንታ ከአንድ ትውልድ በኋላ" በሚል ርዕስ ዶ/ር ብርሃን ነጋ ያቀረቡትን የጥናት ጽሑፍ አንብቤ ስጨርስ የተሰማኝ የመንፈስና የአካል ዝለትና ድክመት በሕይወቴ ከንጠሙኝ ሁለት ሁኔታዎች አንዱ ነበር። የመጀመሪያው ከአንድ 15 ዓመታት በፊት በዳካር ከተማ ብሔራዊ ስብሰባ አዳራሽ ከዓለም በሙሉ ለተሰበሰቡ የኢንሹራንስና የሪኢንሹራንስ ምሁራንና ባለሙያዎች "የአፍሪካ አህንር የወደፊት ዕጣ ፋንታ በኢንሹራንስ እና በሪኢንሹራንስ ዓለም" በሚል ርዕስ የራሴን ጥናት ባተረብከብት ጊዜ የተሰማኝ የመንፈስ መስለብ እንደነበር አስታውሳለሁ።

ከሙያዩም ከልምዴም አንፃር እንዲህ ዓይነቱን ጥልቅ የሆነ ጥናት ተቺ ሆኙ የተመረጥኩት ምናልባት ከመራጮቹ አሰማወቅ የመነጩ ይሆናል ብዩ አስባለሁ። መጽናኛዬ በጥናቱ ውስጥ የተዘረዘሩት ጉዳዮች ሃገራዊና ወቅታዊ በመሆናቸው አኔም ብቻ ሳልሆን ማንኛውም ኢትዮጵያዊ ስለተነሱት ጉዳዮች ዕወቀታዊም ባይሆን ከሜታዊ አስተደየቶች እንደሚኖረው አልጠራጠርም። በለዚህም የአኔን የሚቀጥሉትን አስተደቶች ታዳሚዎቹ በዚያ መንፈስ እንደደዩልኝ በትህትና አጠይቃለሁ።

ከመር በፊት ፕሮፌሰር በሕፍ ዘውዱ ባቀረቡት ጽሑፍ ላይ መይይት ሲደረግ የሀገራችን ሕዝብ እንኳንስ ስለሌሎች ሙበት ሲጠይቅና ሲክራክር ቀርቶ ስለራሱም ሕጋዊና ሰብዓዊ መብት ክሽክሽክታ በላይ ድምችን ማሰማት ሬርቷል፣ ደንዝዟል! በድናል ተባለና ለሁኔታው መፈጠር ዋነኛው ምክንያት በደርግ ዘመን የደረሰው ኢ-ሰብዓዊ ጭፍጨፋና የሥነልበና ኩልሽት ነው በሚል ተፈረጀ።

ለደርግ መምጣት ደጋፊና ተሰላፊ ባይሆንም፣ በግልጽ አንዴታየው መንገዱን የሳተ የአረመኔ አንዛዝ እንዳይሠርጽ ትርጉም ያለው ቅዋሜ የላደረገወ በአኔና በእኔ አድሜ አካባቢ ያለው ትወልድ ከደሙ ነፃ ነው ሊባል አይችልም።

የዘመኑን ትወልድ የመንፈስ ወላዋይነትና፤ "እናቴን ይገባ ሁሉም አባቴ ነው" መሰል ግዱለሽነት አስተሳሰብ ችግር በመጠኑም ቢሆን የመቅረፍ ኃላፊነቱ የፊተኛው ወይም የኛው ትውልድ ታሪካዊ ግዬታና ኃላፊነት ነው እንደተባባልን ይታወሳል።

ንሮፌሰር ባሕሩ ዘውዱ ካቀረቡት በአስተማሪነቱ፤ በኃሳብ ስኬቱ፤ በቋንቋ ጥርምቱ በማይተናነስ መልኩ በአሁት ጊዜ ስለሚታየው የሞራልና የወኔ ውድቀት አመጣጥ ዶ/ር ብርሃት ድንቅ አድርገው አስቀምጠውታል።

በደርግ አገዛዝ /ግር ያለፉትን ሁሉ እንዴት አድርጎ ሕልማቸውን፤ ርዕያቸውን ሰልቦ፤ ሰውነታቸውንና የሰውነት ክብራቸውን ገፎ፤ ቀሪ ሕይወታቸውን አንንታቸውን ደፍተው ጥላቸውን ሲያዩ የሚደነብሩ፤ በአምሳል ብቻ "ሰው" አድርጓቸው እንዳሰል በሚገባን ቋንቋ ገልፀወልናል።

በዚያ የሥቃይ ወላፌን የተገረፉትንም ያህል ባይሆን፣ በዓይነ ሕሊና መለስ ብለን የስቆቃቸው ተቋጸሽ እንድንሆን የዶ/ር ብርሃኑ አቀራረብ አስማድዶናል። ከዚያም በሃገር ወስጥ በቶዩ ሰዎች ሰይ የደረሰው ሰቶቃ ከድል አጥቢያ አርበኞች የክናፍር ምፀት አልፎ ሥጋ የበረበረ፤ አጥንትን የሰበረ እንደነበረ ማንዛቤ እንዲኖረን አድርንዋል።

የዛሬው የመንፈስ ድክመት በደርግ የስቃይ አገዛዝ ብቻ አይገለጽም። በዕድሜያችን ስለሀገራችን ታሪክ የተማርንበት አጋጣሚ ምን ያህል ነበር? በነዚህስ አጋጣሚዎች ከመሪዎች ውጭ ስለሕዝብ ታሪክ ምን ተምረናል? በንጉሡ ዘመን ስለቀድሞዎቹ መሪዎችስ የቱን ያህል ለቀጣይ ትውልድ እንዲተላለፍ ተደርጓል? እኔና በእኔ አድሜ አካባቢ ያለን ሰዎች ከአዩ ኃይለ ሥላሴ በፊት ስለነበሩ ሌሎች መሪዎችና ትውልድ የቱን ያህል ተምረናል?

መነሻውን ያላወቀ ትውልድ ስለመድረሻው የሚኖረው ግንዛቤ ትርጉሙ-ቢስ ነው። ለይስሙላ ብቻ ክሶስት ሺህ ዓመታት በላይ ስላስቆጠረ ታሪክ አያወራን፣ አንዳንድ ሊያሳፍሩን የሚዥሉ የዛገር ውስጥ ክስተቶችን እንደ ኢምንት የሚያስቆጥሩ ድርጊቶችንና ድሎችን በመካድ የራሳችንን አቅጣጫ የሳትን የባሕር ላይ ኩበት ማድረግ ከጀመርን ብዙ ዓመታት ተቆጥረዋል። የአውነትም ሆነ የፊጠራ (ልብወለድ) አስተዋይ - ብልህ - አዋቂ - ደፋር - አልንካም ባይ በተምሳሌትነት የሚጠቆሙ ሰዎቻችንን ታሪክ ዘመን በፌጠረው የኘሮፖ ጋንዳ ላጲስ መፋቅን እንደ ሙያ ከተያያዝነው ጥቂት ቆየን።

የኢኮኖሚ ልማት ተመራማሪዎች እንደሚሉት ከሆነ፣ ለፌጣንና ቀጣይ የኢኮኖሚ አድባት የቆየ፣ የሰክነና የደረጀ ሃንራዊ ባሕልና አምነት ከወሳኝ መሠረቶች አንዱ ነው ይላሉ። ይህን የተመራማሪዎችን ግኝት በምሥራቅ አስያ በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ ተልህ የኢኮኖማ አድባት ለውጥ ያመጡትን ሃንሮች ጃፓንን ጨምሪው እንደምሳሉ ይቀርባሉ።

ያለል ታሪካችን በሙሉ ሳንካ ያልነበረው ነው ባይባልም፤ በአጠቃላይ ሲታይ አኩሪ እንጂ አሳፋሪ እንዳልነበረ አምናለሁ። ስለሆነም ዶ/ር ብርዛን እንደሚሎት የሕዝቦች አስተሳሰብ፤ የባህልና የሃይማኖት፤ የአስተዳደርና የስነ ልቦና እሴቶች በኢኮኖሚ አድግታችን ላይ የሚጫወቱትን አሱታዊና አምንታዊ ሚና መገንዘብ አማራጭ የሌለው ሂደታችን መሆን አለበት። የሚያኮራ ታሪክ እንዳለን ማስተማርና በየአጋጣሚው ማሳወቅ፤ ማሳመን፤ የላሽቀ ወኔያችንን ለማነሳሳት አንዱ ጠቃሚ እርምጃ ነው ብዬ አምናለሁ።

ዛሬ ካለንበት የድሀነትና የውድቀት አረንቋ ለመውጣት እንደ ሕዝብ፣ እንደሃገር ከተፀናወተን የአፍዝ አደንግዝ በመመን ነቅተን መልካም ለውጥ ለማምጣት በቁርጠኝነት መሥራት እንዳለብን ዶ/ር ብርሃን በማያወላዳ መልኩ አስንንዝበውናል።

ጥሪው ለሃገር ነው። ለገበራው፣ ለነጋዱው፣ ለሠራተኛው፣ ለአሠሪው፣ ለአስተዳዳሪው፣ ለሃይማኖት መሪዎች፣ ለምሁሩ፣ ለተማሪው። ጥሪው ለሁሉም ነው። ሁሉም የተሳፈረባት መርከቤቱ ኢትዮጵያ አቅጣጫዋን መሳት ወይም አለማወቅ ለሚያስከትለው ጥፋት ሰለባዎቹ ሁላችንም ነንና።

የአመራር (Leadership) ርዕደ

አያሌው በገየ

ኢኮኖሚክስ የኢትዮጵያ ባለሙ ያዎች ማህበር ርዕድ 2020 በሚል ርዕስ ባዘጋጀው ሁለተኛው ውይይት ላይ ዶ/ር ብርሃን ነጋ "የኢትዮጵያ ስጣ ፋንታ ከአንድ ትውልድ በኋላ" በሚል ርዕስ ጽሁፍ 四争とりその ይታመሳል:: 8/C ያቀረበትን COR ሙሉ 11C77-(lav. A. OtAR 7977 "መ-ስጣዋ Pay Amon ትውልድ፣ "ተስፋ" ያለው ትውልድ በ2020 ኢትዮጵያ ሲኖር ይታየኛል ያሉት ልቤን ክቶታል። ይሀንንም 7.11.尹宝 1.8-116-51 PH. P3 ልጆቻችን ምን መሆን ትልልጋለሀ Ah 9"1 1-1100-直加昆虫 መህንዳስ፣ ዳኛ መዘተ እንደሚሉት ሁሉ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር መሆን ብለው የሀገር መምራት ኃላፊነትን ከጠዋተ፡ የሚመኝብትና የሚሆኑባት አገር ኢትዮጵያ ስትሆን ይታየኛል ብለዋል።

ይህ የዶ/ር ብርሃት ርዕይ ማራኪ የሆነውን ያህል በተለይ ከአመራር እንድናስብ አ39ር ስናየው ·IIII-የደርገናል። ይህ ሁኔታ እንዲፈጠ 0081.79 onip3 903 CÒ እንዳለበትም ደሳስበናል። ይፀን 11675 2790 118/C 0.626 8U-F 18 ナデナ hom-7 9-1C. አደማሴ 738c 204 አንድ 571 @850-A 8.1C አሰፋ ወደ ይወስደናል። 11675 P2020 COL 8./C ማለፍ PA-1133 ለመድረስ 138 7707 AHGTIS የአርአያ (role model) መጥፋት መሆኑን ጠቅሰዋል።

እንደሚመስለኝ ኢትዮጵያ N'S በ2020 ተስፋ ያለውና ውስጣዊ ነፃነት የሚሰማው በተለይም አገሩን በተለያየ ደረጃ በመሪንት፣ ኃላፊንት ለማገልገል ፍላጉቱ ያለው ትውልድ X3%&mCT ለመጣተ Ohmb.C (role የሚሆነው ሰው እያየ እንዲያድግ የስፈልጋል። ይህ ማለት 2790 በፖለቲካው፣ በኢኮኖሚውና በበጉ 6.48 **み7**あ7かす HCF የምናውቀቸው የምንከራባቸውና 00697 ang C አለባቸው:: እንደዚህ ዓይነት መሪዎች ሲኖሩና ሲታወቁ፣ የአመራር ስልታቸውም ታመቆ ለሌሎች አርአያ 00183 00657 868,809 ሲጀምር PUZ.6.195 pay 005.7 PAICS የሕብሬተሰብ "97A78 ong. Ch መጣቶችም PUTTA :: የሚማርካቸውን TAN በመከታተልና በመካን አንድ ቀን በሀገር ደረጃ አስተዋጽአ ማድረግ የሚችሉብት የመሪነት ደረጃ ላይ መድረስን ይመኙታል።

1000097 们于ም አደቆምም ከሰፈር ልጆች P. C. P. J. S 107-となるとす እንቅስቃሴ 00677 በትምህርት አንዲት፣ 几十千四 በመ/ቤታቸውና hH. 890 አካባቢ በመኖሪያቸው በሚደረጉ እንቅስቃሴዎች ሙስጥ 十四月日四 1217 ከውስተ (assigned) **ነፃ**ንታቸውና ከራሳቸው ティアナ P00647 うりんうす (1001a) 00906.73 ይወስዳሉ፣ NOOD LA 81-4800 BY.I ተብሰሶ Panchit ሊደርሰብት ደረጃም ይዘጋጃሉ። ሊያገለግሉት

የሚፈልጉትም ሕዝብ ከትንሹ አንስቶ በተለያየ ደረጃ በተከፈለብት የመሪነት ኃላፊነት ያስመዘዝቡትን ተግባር በይፋ ስለሚያውቅ ይመተናሉ ብሎ ባሰበበት የመሪነት ኃላፊነት ላይ ያስቀምጣቸዋል።

ከላይ በተጠቀሰው አንፃር የቅርብ ጊዜውን ያገራችንን ታሪክ ብናይ በሙሉ ያለፉ መሪዎቻችንን ተላት በመቀባትና በማውገዝ ልጆቻችን 6.5 mm 641-00 \$ 600 አየናደን PA500-:: 25 A7C1 ትክክለኛው "7.2hc6.3 PPHO. እየሆነ መጥቷል። ይሁን አይሁን እርግጠኛ ባልሆንም 325% ስለአንድ አካባቢ ሕብሬተሰብ ሲያጫውተኝ አባቱ የሚታወቀው እናቱ ስትሞት ነው" ደባላል ያለኝ ትዝ ደለኛል። የኢትዮጵያንም በተለይ ከአመራር an 69年 139C1 2.6h MER አስካሉ ድረስ ገናና እና ሐቀኛ፣ ለሕዝብ አሳቢ Unam. P. 4 PA-1 ሲሞቱ ወደንም ከሥልጣን ሲወገዱ ደግሞ ተሳሽት ይቀባሉ። አገሪቱ የቆየትው ስታስተናግዳቸው ፖለሲዎች በኢክኖሚውና 007-ውጤት HC 9.90 ያስመዘገበ፣ የሚታወቁና ለወጣቱ ትውልድ አርአያ ሲሆኑ የሚችሉ መሪዎች ሊበቅሉ አልቻሉም።

150 hemai 20 2320 በኢትዮጵያዊነታቸው በራሳቸውና ከውስተ ኮርተው። **ነፃ**ንታቸው 100000 novia አገሪ-ቸውን የሚዘጋጁ ከጠዋተ፡ 6000022 九子子 አይቻልም። 75.6.7 እንኳንስ የአሁኗን ኢትዮጵያማ

007 15001 1005.1 A golph ሊኖሩባትስ 6.48:: ለመማባትና A ang C 3076h ፈቃድ የማግኘት ቁጥጥር ባይኖር መጣትና POZSC. AHI K7C ጉልማሳ ይኖራልን? ይሀስ በመሆኑ በወጣቱ መፍረድ ይቻላልን? እዚህ ላይ ነው፣ ተስፋ ያለው ትውልድ የሚለው የሚነሳው። ተስፋ ያለው ትውልድ፣ አገሩ ላይ፣ አካባቢው ላይ፣ መቆየት ይመርጣል፣ ከዚያም አካባበ ውን 1753 AAG. 8.005A1 noncitt Amiana AH. SO BHOKA :: BU 1:04-ደግሞ በተአምር አይፌጠርም ። መጣቱ ሲያድግ አርአያ የሚሆነው 266 ph 66. 76. 99.9 ሲችል ነው። ያለል ያገሩን ታሪክ ሲማርም አገሪቱ ያለንበት ዘመን 入了公子举足 አስተዋጽአ 2.60 ያደረጉ ልንኮራባቸውና 1150-90 00697. A3"7C P937A

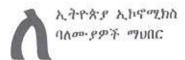
እንደነበሯት ሲረዳ ነው። አለበለዚያ ያለፈው ሁሉ ከንቱ ከሆነ ታሪክ የሚጀምረው ከኔ ነው ብሎ እንዲነሳ መጋበዝ ነው። ይህ ደግሞ ተስፋ ያለው ትውልድ እንዲበቅል መርጻቱ ይቅርና፣ ትክክልም አይደለም።

በእርግተ ማንኛውም ሰው F.B.90 እንዳልሆን U-A-804-መሪዎቻችንም ሊሆን FB-90 አይችሉም ነገር ግን አንዳንዶች በጉ ጉናቸው ያመዘነ፣ አንዳንዶቹ ደግሞ መተፍ ጉናቸው ያመዘን ሲሆኑ እንደሚችሉ አይጠረጠርም። ይህንን ከነበሩበት የታሪክ ወቅት ,2C กๆวรหก አየተረጉሙ 0777770 6 ልጆቻችን መኩራት ታሪክና መሪዎች እንዲከሩ ማድሪግ ይመስለኛል። POLPHLAT አለበለዚያ የመንፈስ ድሀ የሆኑ AZT 700· የምናሳድገው

ያሉትም አሁን አፌራስሁ። መሪዎቻችን ቢሆኑ ከመሽ በኋላ በቴሌቪዥን hoy 4co. 643 አጋጣሚዎች አማባብ ባላቸው and: ትውልድ አያወቃቸው ሲሂድ T4. አርአያነት ይመስለኛል። ስለዚህ ለማጢቃለል ያህል ዶ/ር ብርሃኑ ነጋ ባቀረቡት COR 1R "ኢትዮጵያ P2020 በፖለቲካው፣ በኢኮኖሚው፣ በበጉ በሌሎችም 6.95 አገልግለ-ተና HCGT ann-h 2004 POT PO \$70.1 hh006.C ሥልታቸው ሊማር የሚችልበት፤ OH POP OTAPP RUE PUTC 31657 00/57 0595-7-1320031 138.6A75 እንዳዘጋድ የሚያስችሉ መሪዎች ደኖሯታል" የሚል ቢመመርበት የተሟላ የሚሆን ይመስለኛል።

ርዕደ 2020ን አስመልክቶ አስተያየት

ኃይሌ ወልደ ሚካኤል የአፍሪካ ቤዛ ኮሌጅ ፕሬዚዳንት



ኢትዮጵያ በ 2020 በሚል Con 50 የቀረበው 0.8/C 11677 አርክቶኛል። nago 8 dr 9. 11003 (10)90 2020 Pay Na UNEWT PLHOD () ODU'S 2.CO. P#990 አይመስለኝም፣ በምናብ አርሳቸው 77 የቀረፁዋትን የተሳካላት ኢትዮጵያ በዓይናቸው ስማየት እንዳበቀ አመኛለሁ።

አባ ገብሪሃና የኅረቤት ሴት "አይዝዎት ይድናሉ" ስትሳቸው "እንጻፍሽ ባደረገልኝ" ያሉት ብሔ መሆኑ ነው።

ዶ/ር ብርሃኑ ለማየት ከፈለጉዋቸው ብዙ በጎ ነገሮች መካከል፣

- 1 በ2020 መሃይምነት ሙሉ በሙሉ ከኢትዮጵያ ሙተፋቱን፣
- 2 የአንደኛና የሁለተኛ ደረጃ ትምሀርት ተሳትፎ ከ90% በላይ መድረሱን፣
- 3 የኮሌጅ ደረጃ ትምሀርት ተሳትፍ 60% መድረሱን!

- 4 የአፍሪካ ቀንድ አገሮች የኢኮኖሚና የፖለቲካ ውሀደት ዕውን መሆኑን፣
- 5 የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ችግሮችን የመሸከም ዕናት ችግርን ወደ ማሸነፍ መሽ,ጋገሩን፣
- 6 በሃይማኖቶች መካከል የበለጠ መተባበር መዳበሩን፣
- የኢትዮያውያን የልጠራ ችሎታ ወደ ተግባር የሚመነዝር ድርጅትና ባሀል መጎልበቱን የሚሉትን ቢጨምሩ የ2020 ዓመቷ ኢትዮጵያ ይበልጥ የተሟላች በሆነች ነበር አሳስሁ።

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