

Anatomy of Deception and Plot

አርበኛ ቁንጨላት ካብ ጽሑፍ አይተ ገረላሴ ወለንኬል

→ ቀጨውጨው አይተ ገረላሴ እንታይ ስለዝተረኸበ ኢዩ ? 'ጓና ናብ ውሳኔኻ ንምእታው ምጉያይ : ምዕናው ገዛ ምኃኑ ስለዝፈልጥ ከይኸውን?

→ ቀጨውጨው አይተ ገረላሴ እንታይ ስለዝተረኸበ ኢዩ ? 'ንክትባልኣ ዝደለኻይ ኣባጉምባህ ዛግራ ባላ ከይኸውን?'

→ What prompted me to write this article above all is what Mr. Gerelase said in his article,

"ዝወለዱ ይውለዱ" ብግለት ንክትባ ከቆልቅለን ከሎ፡ ሃዊ ምእንድ አዩ።"

This is the same writer and his cohorts who are making a career out of attacking especially EDP and '2+1+' in general. I guess Mr. Gerelase and his cohorts have the absolute and exclusive right to intimidate anyone that does not campaign against the PFDJ regime on their benefactor's agenda. In the end, I have failed to see the difference between Mr. Gerelase's intimidation and PFDJ's. I guess, as Mr. George Orwell aptly put it ...not all animals with four legs are our comrades.

However, having said this, I would like to bring to the attention of my readers that Mr. Gerelase's feign attack at my support for the option of leaving negotiation open can not escape the real reason for his article. The timing of his and his colleagues' articles were delivered to us in one-two punch as if choreographed for some grand purpose. I could not discuss my suspicions without being accused of pure fabrication. I did not have to wait months, nor weeks; it would fall from the sky in black and white on Awate.com website within a couple of days. Thank God! All the pieces came together. Mr. Gerelase and his cohorts were not attacking my article titled 'Dialogue with the Regime', but rather it was one of my common themes suggested in a couple of my articles and one article I explicitly wrote on it, titled "Sovereignty, but ...".

The true purpose of Mr. Gerelase's article is to pre-empt any possible future criticisms against his benefactors by emptying out (or labeling) every political vocabulary against other opposition groups that characterizes the true nature of his benefactors. Cheap trick! Mr. Gerelase's article has backfired because Mr. Gerelase has only helped me to understand, without any doubt in my mind, what the motives of his benefactors are, and in the process has inadvertently helped me to feed on his own words to write this article. This is typical political miscalculations that scares me about Mr. Gerelase and his benefactors.

PART I. ANATOMY OF DECEPTION

After reading Mr. Gerelase's article, the only conclusion I came to is that he could be nominated for BEST SUPPORTING ACTOR for a movie titled 'Old Propaganda'. What prompted me to write this delayed reply is Mr. Gerelase's article titled "ህዝቢ ኣብ ኢንፎርሜሽን ነጥሪ¹ ኣብ ኩዳስ ስትራተጂ ናይ ተገላብ!!! By ብገረሰላሰ ወለገኬል Nov 16, 2004, 08:04 PST gerelase@awate.com " appeared on Awate.com. It is supposed to be an article critiquing my various articles. After reading the article many times over, I decided to reply because Mr. Gerelase's article is a prime example why the opposition groups remain as divided as ever.

Mr. Gerelase does not offer us any new information, ideas, or arguments on which we can engage to enhance our understandings. *In fact, Mr. Gerelase's article is designed to silence opinions that he does not feel meet his standards of opposition language.* I have catered this article to raise issues that will help my readers to understand the kind of propaganda that circulates within the opposition camp that has stalled any kind of true 'unity'.

At face value, I thought his article was written to refute my arguments that the option of 'negotiating' to immediately transfer power, if ever possible, should not be entertained. Unfortunately, his article contains so many hidden issues and agendas that I had to read his article many times over to even begin to grasp his underlying and hidden messages.

My first question was, 'why does Mr. Gerelase appear to go ballistic at this time on the idea of 'negotiation' when it has been and continues to be one of the lesser issues in the opposition camp? There are much more urgent issues that need to be addressed, and questions that need immediate answers, and yet Mr. Gerelase pretends to go ballistic on some lesser issues of 'negotiation', an issue that may or may not ever happen. I have never said, and my understanding is that those opposition groups that have stood on the principles of 'dialogue' or 'negotiation' have NEVER said that the PFDJ regime 'WILL' negotiate. But the wise leaders within the opposition groups have not ruled out that possibility. Time and situation will dictate if the regime will be engaged in negotiation. My readers can read back to my previous articles what my position has been on the issue of 'negotiation'. If leaving options open is perceived as capitulation, then implicitly Mr. Gerelase is supporting the PFDJ regime's stand of not negotiating with any of its adversaries. **Who defines when 'negotiation' is acceptable and when it isn't?** I suppose Mr. Gerelase and his sponsors will tell us when it is acceptable and when it isn't as they have exclusive wisdom. According to Mr. Gerelase, ordinary Eritreans should simply coat-tail what his sponsors tell us. **But we know where Eritrea is today because of PFDJ's intransigence, the same intransigence and intimidation that I see in some opposition members.** We are *against* PFDJ telling us that ordinary Eritreans should not entertain negotiation when we should, ostracized for thinking when we should be thinking, and being told what we should speak. It is adding insult to injury when some self-claimed opposition member in the comfort of his home and out of harms way to tell us what is acceptable and what isn't. This dictatorship in different form but with the same effect!

I encourage my readers to compare Mr. Gerelase's criticisms of my articles against Mr. Berhe Yeman's counterarguments against my articles. I say 'counterarguments' to characterize Mr. Berhe's article because he forwarded opposing views, backed with a book discussing the same issue, which he believed in. I definitely learned a lot from Mr. Berhe's article and the book he referred to all us. This is civil behavior! This is progress! This is democracy! Ideas are exchanged for the purpose of refining them.

I hope I am wrong but Mr. Gerelase prepared a well scripted article given to him by people that espouse the same ideas he does. Mr. Gerelase's article outwardly appears to argue with objectivity, some lessons from history, compassion, and principles we all agree on. But Mr.

Gerelase, typical of all aspiring politicians, appears to be unrefined master of mixing 'ሕውስዋስ' undisputed principles with propaganda. In this article I will try to point out that despite his outwardly show of anguish for the Eritrean tragedy, his views are identical to the PFDJ regime. **In fact, Mr. Gerelase inadvertently gives us an object lesson on why an all encompassing 'unity' remains as elusive as ever.** People who send conflicting signals create confusions. If we were to examine someone's position by one's words rather than by one's deeds, PFDJ would take top prizes for advocating for the 'Eritrean Causes'. Just because Mr. Gerelase keeps advocating for 'Unity' in his article does not necessarily mean that his words follow his deeds.

After much mauling over his article, the only conclusion that I have come up with is **that Mr. Gerelase is practicing an old saying, 'the best defense is a good offense'.** Through his article, Mr. Gerelase is desperately attempting to defend the indefensible. In fact in trying to defend the indefensible, Mr. Gerelase has opened so many holes in his article that the Nile River can flow right through it. It is full of contradictions and unsophisticated propaganda despite his valiant efforts at acting.

Before I get into the crux of my observations on Mr. Gerelase's article, let me address some of the compliments that he has bestowed upon me.

Bible Teaching

Mr. Gerelase began his article by characterizing my views with a verse from St. John 13: 34

"ከምቲ ኣነ ዘፍቅረኩም፤ ንኣድሕድኩም ተፋቐሩ።" Mr. Gerelase continues, "ምስ እዞም ጐዳእትና ክንዕረቕ፡ ኣሎና ማለት፡ ኣስተምህሮ ቅዱስ ወንጀል፡ ስለ ዝኾነ፡ ቁድስ ነገር እዩ። ብሉይ ኪዳን፡ ከም ዝብሎ ውን፡ ብጸጋም ዝጸፍ፡ ብደማን ድገመኒ በሎ ማለት፡ ክንደይ እኳ ሰናይ። ጥቕሲ ካብ ወንጀል የሃንሰ ውን፡ ኣብ ላዕሊ ኣሎ። "

First, I would like to thank him for conceding that I follow the teachings of our revered religions. The world is a tragic place because of those who preach the Bible or Quran but never practice it. My understanding of Mr. Gerelase's view is that the teaching of these Holy Books is for the idealist. Opportunist people give their own definitions, unsupported by the Holy Books, of 'Satan' or 'Jihad' designed to persuade followers by fear rather than by espousing the feeling of compassion and encouraging others to practice the true teachings of these Holy Books as a means to resolve life's everyday challenges.

'The Satan/Evil in Us'

For all the hatred we have towards President Isayas Afewerki (PIA), it is naïve to think that cruelty is limited to PIA. Cruelty, stubbornness, ego, and even ruthlessness that we attribute to PIA exists within the people that live around us, albeit to differing degree. After PIA is forced to leave power, we have to remain vigilant against those wolves who come to us in sheep's clothing.

Mr. Gerelase's article exactly advocates stubbornness and political ruthlessness that we despise in PIA.

1. “ከምዚ ኢሰ ምስ ፈተውተይ የዕልል እየ። አምባሳደር አድሓኖምን አምባሳደር ሕብረትን /ክብረት/ ፣ ዝጨነወ ጨንጭምም ይኸውን ቀጨውጨው ክብሎም ዝቐነየ። ኣነ ከማን ከምኡ። እዞም ናይ ዘተ ምስ ህግደፍ ዝብል መትከል ዘለዎም፣ መሰል፣ ተቓውሞ ሓይልታት፤ ኣብ ምጥርናፍን ሓድነትን ናይ ኩሉ ተቓውሞ ሓይልታት፣ ኣየድህሱን እዮም። ...ናይ ሰላምን ዘተን መጸዋዕታ፣ ልቢ ኢሳይያስ ዝነክእ እንተ ዝነበር፤ ተጣዒሶም እንተ ዘይኮይኖም፣ G13 ይመስክሩ። ናይ ሰላምን ዘተን መጸዋዕታ፣ ልቢ ኢሳይያስ ዝነክእ እንተ ዝነበር፤ 11 ካብ G15 መሬት ሃህ ኢላ ኣይ ምውሓጠቶምን።...”

G13 and G15 knew that PIA would not respond to negotiation. But they chose to pursue the option of negotiation both as principle and as strategy. I will discuss the strategy later in this article under 'PIA's Dilemma'. Of course, this is Mr. Gerelase's propaganda to say that negotiation is capitulation. It is my view that, if situation avails itself, sensible opposition groups should negotiate with the PFDJ regime to transfer power to a transitional group. Mr. Gerelase did **not** and can **not** argue against the importance, or even the necessity, of orderly power transfer which is much superior than a change brought about through violence. But there are certain opposition groups that choose a disorderly transfer of power, because they believe that their agenda can only be realized in disorderly transfer of power – pure and simple. They do not feel that they stand a chance of grabbing power in an orderly transfer. For these groups and individuals, the possible deaths and chaos that may ensue in violent change is secondary to their political agenda. After all, the ones that suffer in chaotic change are Eritrean in Eritrea.

I also find it perplexing to hear those who refuse to negotiate with their 'enemy' attempting to differentiate themselves from PIA. I beg to differ! They are the same! PIA allegedly refused to negotiate with ELF. PIA refused to negotiate with Woyane through international mediators when Minister Beraki and others suggested to him. PIA refused to negotiate with the Sudanese in 1994. PIA refuses to approach the Sudanese government despite recent Sudanese government overtures to negotiate with the Eritrean government. PIA's stubbornness and refusal to negotiate is leading Eritrea on disastrous path.

Somehow forgive my cynicism but I have major distrust of those who exhibit the same characteristics as PIA. I support EDP's view on negotiation as I understand it. I am not an insider, and in fact I am outside the sphere of EDP's influence. **My support of EDP remains in its place as long as our principles overlap.** As I understand it, EDP does not believe that the PFDJ regime will negotiate, which means that unfortunately less desirable avenues of change will take their path. **But the fact that EDP remains committed to its principle of negotiation and inclusiveness is everything PIA is not.** EDP is exactly what PIA is not! Mr. Gerelase and his likes have the same characteristics as PIA, but only at the other extreme end of the political spectrum. Mr. Gerelase and his benefactors are of the same shade as PIA but only at the other extreme end of a sick and ruthless political game. A ruthless game that can only be defined as 'Après moi le deluge'.

1. Words vs. Deeds

Mr. Gerelase has conferred on me the ambassadorship of EDP.

“መርገጽ ኣይተ ብርሃን ብኹሉ ትሕዝትኡን ዓይነቱን፣ ናይ ውልቀ መርገጽ ዘይ ኮነሰ፣ ብደረጃ አምባሳደርነት ናይ ሰደኤ (EDP) ዝጠበቐ ዘሎ ኮይኑ ተሰጢዑኒ። “

- a) Mr. Gerelase and his sponsors know very well that I am not an insider at all.

- b) However, it would be a privilege to work for an organization that espouses more or less the same principles as I do. I may even use Mr. Gerelase's insinuations as my reference to apply for the position of EDP ambassador. The nagging question is why does Mr. Gerelase choose to confer on me such an honor? Unfortunately and pathetically, this is an underhanded attempt by Mr. Gerelase and his sponsors to drive a wedge between EDP and me. Mr. Gerelase is saying to EDP, if you don't reign in or discourage Berhan Hagos from spreading his views we will begin a media war by attacking your leader and anyone associated with your organization. Mr. Gerelase's threat is **"ተስፋይ ገብር: እምነት ናይ ኣይተ ብርሃን: ናይ ውልቁ ጥራይ ክኸውን።"** **This is a veiled blackmail to EDP and by extension to '2+1'.**
- c) We don't have to go very far in time to note that the same writers have engaged in the same media wars with Nharnet. Wielding the media stick is nothing new, and is in fact the same modus operandi of the PFDJ regime in using 'Haddas Eritrea' and 'Dimtsi Hafash' to attack any perceived foes within and without Eritrea.

3. Mr. Gerelase's Contradictions on Secrets Revealed, or Is it His Hypocrisy Revealed?

In my opinion, Mr. Gerelase is practicing the biggest hypocrisy game. The main reason Mr. Gerelase has chosen to engage in propaganda against me is because I support EDP without any hesitation and apologies. It is a warning shot against EDP supporters not to express views as they see fit. Mr. Gerelase's article is designed to silence my and similar views which he has not so far been able to objectively argue against. In the process, he hopes to pacify others from asking the harder questions he can not defend. This is a classic example of intimidation.

At face value, Mr. Gerelase's article tells us that fellow Eritreans should support 'Unity' and refrain from supporting any one group or alliance. **And yet**, Mr. Gerelase and his sponsors are making a career out of explicitly attacking any non-ENA or non-'4+1' opposition groups. I can bring a long list of articles written by Mr. Gerelase and his sponsors attacking non-ENA or non-'4+1' groups, and yet Mr. Gerelase tells us

"ኣዝዩ ሓደገኛ ዝኾነ፡ ምስጢር ከኣ ኣብ ቃልዕ ምጽታሕ!!! ...ጸጥታን ድሕነትን፡ ናይ ሀዘቢ፡ ከይ ተንክፍካ፤ ንእምቶኻ ምጥባቕ፡ ንቡርን ጭውነትን እዩ። ንሀርፋን ፖለቲካ ክትብል ግን፤ ምስጢር ኣሕጊፍካ ንጸላኢ፡ ብወለገታ ምቕራብ፡ ሕሱምን ክትጻወር ዘይትኽእል፡ ፍጻመ እዩ። ንመኽሰብ ፖለቲካ መታን፡ ብሂወት ዘጋታት ምጥላዕ፡ ናይ ጥለምት ሀርፋን እዩ።"

This is exactly the same word-for-word of PIA's accusations against the G-15 and thousands Eritreans in PFDJ jails. Ordinary Eritreans did not fall for this type of cheap, but dangerous accusations. For Mr. Gerelase and his cohorts to accuse anyone else who does not fall within their sphere of influence as 'TRAITORS' speaks volumes on Mr. Gerelase's and his benefactors rather than on the accused. I may carelessly quote Mr. Gerelase when I should be quoting TM Negassi or Ali Abdu and yet I may not still be wrong. Wow! They all sound alike.

Mr. Gerelase has raised two points here, first, revealing secrets, and second, defending your group without compromising the safety of the people, which indirectly means without criticizing certain opposition groups. Again these are propaganda lines because,

First, Mr. Gerelase makes one sweeping statement and then only a couple of paragraphs later contradicts himself. To start, he has not told us exactly what

secrets I have divulged. I am afraid, this is exactly the same PFDJ propaganda launched against G-15 and thousands other imprisoned in PFDJ regimes. "Compromising National Security", "Revealing Secrets to the Enemy" are words we have heard from PFDJ regime without a single shred of evidence. Mr. Gerelase then contradicts himself by saying,

"... ኢሳያስ፣ ካብ ኣይተ ብርሃን፣ ብዛዕባ ናይ ተቓውሞ ኣይልታትን ወያኔ፣ ሸሕ ግዜ ከም ዘረገጥ ምመሓልኩ።"

My question to Mr. Gerelase is, doesn't his contradict with your earlier statement that I have revealed secrets to the regime? This contradiction is found in one piece of article! If PIA knows a lot more than I do, what secrets I have revealed? Make up your mind! You have a very low opinion of your readers. Another PFDJ!

Second, I guess Mr. Gerelase and his colleagues have the right to express their strong views and to criticize the '2+1+' grouping, while the rest of us do not have those same rights to criticize ENA or '4+1'. I can provide a list of articles that viciously attack EDP and '2+1' as if these were his prime enemies, not PFDJ. Mr. Gerelase and his likes are the same people who shout the loudest in the name of 'Democracy' and 'Freedom of Speech' and yet fail utterly at practicing it. When it comes to words and not deeds, PIA is the biggest supporter of 'Democracy' and 'Freedom of Speech'. Heck, PIA even keeps reminding us that he was declared democrat as far back as 1987 before it became a fashion. We judge people not by their words, but by their deeds! Mr. Gerelase is an artist at double standards aimed at intimidating anyone that espouses different views. It is bad enough we have to deal with the PFDJ regime, and we have another PFDJ in spirit within the opposition camp that practices the same intimidation game.

My articles have raised a number of issues and questions, which are mainly focused on the burning issues of the day within the opposition camp in Diaspora. These issues are the question of Sovereignty and preferable mechanism of transfer of power. But there was a passing remark I made in one of my articles stating that there is nagging question if certain Eritrean opposition groups in Addis Ababa were dictated by their paymasters. This is one line that may also have irked Mr. Gerelase, provoking him to go ballistic with his criticisms contained in his article. I am more than ever left wondering if I may have inadvertently hit the nail right on the head, i.e. certain opposition groups in Addis Ababa do indeed get their full support from the Ethiopian regime. Mr. Gerelase may have confirmed to me of my suspicion through his reactions. But I will hold my final judgment because I hope that the opposition groups in Addis Ababa will surely dispel this suspicion very soon by clearly stating the various outstanding issues that I mention later in this article. I will return to his topic later in this article.

4. " ወደ ገባ' ትብል ሐረግ፣

Mr. Gerelase has dedicated a good portion of his article to discussing 'Wedo Geba', and how it is related to 'negotiated surrender'. At face value, all his discussion of 'Wedo Geba' is gibberish. It does not raise any important ideas or issues. But again that is not the real purpose.

The whole purpose of dedicating half of his article to 'Wedo Geba' is simply a provocation. Mr. Gerelase correctly figures that I wrote one of my articles in reaction to a certain

remarks about 'Wedo Geba'. What Mr. Gerelase is mistaken in believing is that just because he keeps using the 'Wedo Geba' label that I would get annoyed or that he has argued effectively against my belief that should the PFDJ regime request negotiation to transfer power to a transitional national assembly in an orderly manner that the opposition parties have the moral and historical responsibility to sit across the regime and determine the next course of action based on the new realities. In fact the word "ወደ ገባ" is being thrown around by Mr. Gerelase's sponsors as a way to pre-empt to what they precisely figure may be used against them sometime in the near future. This will also tie in neatly later in this article.

5. Political Leaders vs. Political Gamblers

Mr. Gerelase and some opposition groups say that PFDJ will not negotiate. The difference between 'political leaders' and 'political gamblers' are as follows:

'Political Leaders' - will say the PFDJ regime does not have a history of negotiating and do *not* expect him to negotiate. Failing to negotiate, change of government will be governed by various factors. However, 'Political Leaders' have contingency plans for any possible scenarios. *Political leaders will ask themselves, 'anything under the sun is possible', so what do we do if the PFDJ regime approaches us to negotiate? What are the consequences or the ensuing results if the regime approaches the opposition to negotiate and we refuse to negotiate? How do we make sure that the PFDJ regime is able to transfer power in orderly manner and with the least risk of sliding back? Leaders entertain, encourage, and prepare for various scenarios to spare as much agony to the Eritrean people as possible, and without compromising their 'STATED' principles.*

'Political Gamblers' - will say the PFDJ regime has no history of negotiating, and thus we have to espouse the same kind of intransigence as the PFDJ regime. *The cost of human lives and possible chaos that may ensue in a violent change is secondary to getting rid of the regime in the most humiliating manner.* Gambler politicians believe that the stake must be much higher for them to have any chance of winning. Gambler politicians have 'shifting' principles. The principle of 'Sovereignty is a non-issue' today, but it will become our unwavering principle tomorrow. Eritreans should be wary of politicians with gamblers mentality. PIA is a political gambler, and ordinary Eritreans are paying for it. As if PIA is not enough, we have opposition members with the same gambler mentality. *At least PIA is ultimately gambling with his own life, whereas political gamblers in Diaspora are putting fellow Eritreans in Eritrea at risk from the comfort of their home and outside the reach of the regime.* This is cowardice!

Mr. Gerelase also purposely throws in 'ጥለምት' to characterize my articles. Again, this is a word right out of PFDJ dictionary.

6. Mr. Gerelase's Contractions on POWER TO THE PEOPLE

“ከም ዝመሰለኒ/ ተቓውሞ ህዝቢ፡ ንመሰረታዊ ለውጢ፡ ጥለትሲ - ስልጣን ካብ ዲክታቶርነት መንግሥታዊ፡ ናብ ዋናታቲ፤ ጥለትሲ - ናብ ህዝቢ ምምላስ እዩ። ... ስልጣን ሕዝቢ፡ ልእላውነት እዩ። ... እቲ ሕቶ፡ ብኸመይ ኣቢሎም? እዩ። ኣይተ ብርሃን ከም ዝኣምኖ፤ ነዞም ናይ የጣኑ ጸጋም / ብሕልፊ እኳ ደኣ፡ ነዞም ዑሱባት ዝብሎም ግልፍልፍ / filter out / ኣቢልካ፡ ካብዞም ንሱ ዘፍቅርም ውድባት መሓዙት ተመራሪቕኻ ዓዲ

ምምሕዳር አዩ። ቅድሚኑ ከነግልጽ ዘድልየና፣ ነገራት ግን ተረሲዑ አሎ። ሓድነት ዝበሃል ነገር አሎ።”

When I read the above section of this article, I could not help but shake my head. Mr. Gerelase has been very active at attacking opposition groups that did not espouse the same principles and views as he does. Mr. Gerelase’s definition of forging ‘unity’ are based on *his* terms, through *his* intimidation in the media, and spreading unfounded rumors.

Mr. Gerelase tells us that power should not be given to any individuals nor groups but to the people. But Mr. Gerelase knows very well that power will NOT devolve immediately after the demise of PFDJ.

Then Mr. Gerelase contradicts himself,

“እዚ መሰርሕ እዚ፣ ብመንገዲ ምሕዝነት ኣቢሉ፣ ናብ ሃገራዊ ዋዕላ ክድምደም፣ ጸርገያ ተሃንዲሶሉ አሎ። እዚ መሰርሕ እዚ፣ ስልጣን ንምርካብ እዩ።”

When I read this I said to myself ‘ክላእ - እዚሰ ናይ ቆሎቶ ዘረባ እዩ ኢሉ’ According to Mr. Gerelase my sins are for advocating for a certain individuals and groups to become the active leaders to bring about the necessary democratic changes within Eritrea. In all my articles, I have unequivocally stated that not any one individual or group are the ultimate vanguards of Eritrean Constitution except the Eritrean people themselves. AND YET, Mr. Gerelase does not see any contradiction in telling me that I am not allowed to express my view, BUT THAT HE HAS the right, in any unequivocal terms, to crown ‘ENA’ not even ‘4 +1’ as the next government. Mr. Gerelase reserves the word ‘ምሕዝነት’ for ‘ENA’. More on this later in this article.

Mother of all contradictions was exposed when Mr. Gerelase’s own colleague only days earlier lamented that ENA either should get its act together in its latest executive committee or spare everyone the agony of supporting a lame-duck organization. These two colleagues are on different pages – not on minor diverging issues which is normal, but rather over the basic question of the fate of an organization. Which one is it? In fact, the latest surge of propaganda by Mr. Gerelase and his colleagues appears to be a desperate attempt to administer a mouth-to-mouth resuscitation of a drowned organization.

7. Mr. Gerelase’s ‘One thought, One Organization’

Mr. Gerelase tells us that,

“አምባሳደር መሓመድ ኑር፣ መግኛርትን መዳኸምትን፣ ምስ አይተ መስፍን፣ ከምዚ እንደ በለ ደኣ ...”

It is only a healthy organization, such as EDP, that is able to cater to different views and yet continue to work as one organization. This is how democracy works! It is not difficult to conceive that Mr. Gerelase’s benefactors can not entertain different views because their verbal and written communiqués are prepared by their paymasters. His benefactors may wake up mornings to find out that their paymasters had prepared and issued statements in the opposition group’s name unbeknown to them. It is exactly the same as PIA’s modus operandi of preparing official statements and then

saying the Minister of this or that said The only thing is that the Ministers whose names are being used wake up to read in the newspaper that they had said something the day before which they have no knowledge of. I guess Mr. Gerelase's ideal organization is one that DOES NOT raise and express different opinions. Mr. Gerelase fails to understand that genuine people air their differences and then sit down to discuss them. Devious opposition members hide their real agenda and proceed to engage in back-stabbing politics.

The breakaway faction of EDP may or may not be justified for splitting from EDP. But had they raised the moral bar higher I would have said these people are principled and even possibly joined them. But in my view they lowered the bar by ten notches, and that makes their split more of a personal issue than a principle one! When politics becomes personal it is the ordinary Eritreans that suffer. Herein lies Eritrea's woes!

8. Gerelase's views on my contradictions

Mr. Gerelase unsuccessfully attempts to find contradictions in beliefs,

" ?ይተ ብርሃን፡ ኣብ ውሽጢ ሓደ ሰሙን፡ ነንሕድሕዱ ዝጋራጩ ዘረባ እዩ ተዛሪቡ። ተስፋ ኣሎና ግዲ ኪይኑ፡ ንጽቡቕ ምልዋጥ ርእይቶ ሓንጎፋይ ንብሎ። ግርማ ሞገስ፡ ናይ ሓደ ወድ ሰብ ምሕላው፡ ቅዱስ ነገር ስለ ዝኾነ እምበር፡ ከምዚ ተገላግጦ ዘረባ፡ ክሰማዕ ከሎ፡ ገለውለው ዝበለ ገረወኛ ረኺብካ፡ ገልጦምጦም እንተ ተብሎ፡ እዩ ዝመጸካ። ብዕለት 11/2/04 ብዛዕባ እዞም፡ ተካላት መራሕቲ ተቐውሞ፡ ክዛረብ ከሎ፤ ህግደፍ ምስ ተሳዕረ፡ ኣብ ምህዳን ጠንቋሎ፡ ክደራገው ይኾኑ እዮም ይብል። ኣብ ንመቐጸዕቲ ዝደልዩዎም ሰባት ምህዳን፡ እታ ሓንቲ ዕላማኦም ንመግባር፡ ክጓዩ እዮም ማለቲ እዩ። ብዕለት 11/9/04 ከኣ፡ ብዛዕባ ሚንስተር ዓሊ ዓብዱ፡ ክዛረብ ከሎ፡ ወይልኻ ዓሊ! ዝዓይነቱ / ህዝቢ ሻጥር ምኻን ንካ ስለ ዝፈልጥ፡ ከይተፈለጥካ ባምቡላ፡ ናይ እዚ ስርዓት ኪይንካ ብምጽዋትካ፡ ከም ገበንካ ህዝቢ፡ ብሓለገጊ ከመልጠካ እዩ ይብል። ..."

Mr. Gerelase continues to give his own twisted interpretation of what I meant in each case. However, my belief is clear for anyone that has read my articles,

- a. PFDJ has the option of transferring power through quick negotiation to a transitional government and avoid any kind of bloodshed (peaceful change),
- b. Failing or refusing to negotiate, change will come through either coup or public rebellion with unknown results. Nobody can say what may happen. Anyone can learn from history what mob justice could be in violent changes.

These are not conflicting views or beliefs, these are two sides of the same coin. The choice is up to the PFDJ regime. Explain to me, Mr. Gerelase, how this is a contradiction. Mr. Gerelase may have problems with different scenarios, and thus might be typical of those 'who fail to learn from history are condemned to repeat it'.

Mr. Gerelase is grasping at straws at the different scenarios I have managed to determine. This is not lost with Mr. Gerelase, but is unfortunately a desperate attempt to discredit me in order to silence me. But my unshakeable beliefs can only be changed through objective debate, not through distortion, and definitely not through intimidation. If you, Mr. Gerelase can't convince ordinary Eritreans through your convictions, then you have no place in Eritrean politics, and especially at a time of people's suffering.

9. Mr. Gerelase's contradictions on Negotiation

Mr. Gerelase has made it clear his objection of negotiation with the PFDJ regime under any circumstances. I support negotiation as the most preferable means of transferring power to ensure the most orderly transfer of power.

Inadvertently Mr. Gerelase's yet another colleague addresses my concerns, something Mr. Gerelase and benefactors have skirted around, and exposes their politicking

"The outcome would be a sudden collapse of the regime, with its inevitable, ensuing chaos. This, in the absence of strong opposition, would create a vacuum which would quickly filled by warlords. In such a situation, an intervention Ethiopia is not only a requirement for the international community but also a wish for Eritreans thus the demise of Eritrea. " **"Ras Woldemikael vs. Yohannes IV"** , By Burhan Ali Nov 25, 2004

It does not take a rocket-scientist to decipher and understand the political gambler mentality that characterizes Mr. Gerelase, his colleagues, and his benefactors.

I will leave the complete analysis to my readers. But let me just say that Mr. Gerelase and his benefactors tell us is that it is acceptable to invite foreign intervention to avoid possible post-PIA chaos.

- ✓ Mr. Gerelase tells us that while it is acceptable to invite foreign power, it is not acceptable to negotiate with the PFDJ regime, if it ever happens, to immediately transfer power to Transitional Government in order to avoid possible post-PIA chaos.
- ✓ Implicitly, Mr. Gerelase and his benefactors admit that they would rather see a chaotic post-PIA Eritrea rather than negotiate with the regime. This is just as ruthless political hatred as PIA's.
- ✓ When weighing the dangers of inviting foreign intervention against the dangers of public rebellion to remove PIA and its consequence on post-PIA chaos,
 - Foreign intervention is a sure guarantee that will launch bitter conflicts not only against the foreign power, but also against each other. This is a sure way to destroy a nation.
 - Public rebellion may calm down quickly and surely as Eritreans are overwhelmingly peace-loving people as proven by both distant and recent history. Post-PIA crisis may resolve itself through internal dynamics only. There will be some bitter infighting with its own casualties. But casualty will be far less than the scenario espoused by Mr. Gerelase and his benefactors. In the long-run, the nation will learn from its own history of rebellion and use it as its foundation to build a dynamic society and nation.

10. Other Observations

a. Mr. Gerelase Engaging in Insulting Intellectuals

"ምናልባሽ - እቶም ኣብ ወጻኢ ተወሊዶም ዝገበዩን ዝተጠህሩን፡ ኩነታት ኤርትራ ኣፃርዮም ስለ ዘይፈልጡ፡ ካብ ፃምድታት ናይ / crisis management / መጻሕፍቲ፡ ጸቡቕ ገይሮም ለጋጊጦም ዘቕርብዎ መፍትሒ፡ ኣብ ኤርትራ ኣየገልግልን ...።"

This reminds me of typical PIA answers which many of us have come to despise. Mr. Gerelase appears to use the same words as PIA. It reminds me a video I saw years ago when an Asmara University Law student asked PIA if the 'Special Courts' denial of the 'right of appeal' infringed on people's rights. PIA simply replied to the student by telling him to only worry about his grades, and that these legal mumbo-jumbo is for the West. I was dismayed to find Mr. Gerelase's affinity to use the same vocabularies and propaganda as PIA. Mr. Gerelase may even have learned it from the history of 'Pol Pot' regime. If Mr. Gerelase was in power he would do exactly what PIA has done - close down Mai Nefhi Technical School and University of Asmara.

b. Mr. Gerelase's Desecration of Martyrs

“እዚ ዘረባ ናይ ኣይተ ብርሃን፤ ኣደ ብንደም / ናይ ግዳይ ስርሒት ግፉ ኣስመራን፤ መዝራዕቲ ግዲ ኣቤቶን፤ እንተ ትሰምዕሲ፤ እንታይ ኮን ምበለት? ኣደ ይርጋ ዮሰዮፍ/ ራብዓይ ዓመት ተመሃራይ ኣስመራ ይንሸርስቲ / ግዳይ ናይ ማሕደር ረመጽ ዊዳ፤ ነዚ ዘረባ እዚ እንተ ትሰምዕሲ እንታይ ኮን ምበለት? ንቡር ሓዘን ከይ ረከብና ከሎና፤ ናይ ደቅና ተሰካር፤ ምስ ህግድፍ ክትበልዑ ምድላይ፤ ጸድቂ ዮብሎን ደኻን ምበለ? ጸንፃት ክእለትን ሂቡ፤ ደበሳ ይፍጠረለን ፈጣሪ።”

Mr. Gerelase tries to come across as the biggest vigilant of suffering Eritreans. Mr. Gerelase's resort to this type of propaganda is nothing new. The PFDJ regime continuously resorts to mentioning the responsibilities handed down from our Martyrs to us to deflect any kind of criticisms. Those who do not flinch to use this kind of propaganda to win over some support are unethical and desecrate our Martyrs and the suffering people of Eritrea.

Mr. Gerelase's role in the opposition camp is to use tragic events more as an instrument of politics than out of sheer anger most of us feel over these types of tragedies

c. Mr. Gerelase's Grasp at Straws

እቶም ኣገደስትን ተሰማዕትን፤ ዝበሃሉስ እምበር፤ በዓል ጀነራል ፍሊጶስ፤ ጀነራል ሰብሓት፤ ጀነራል ውጪ፤ ጀነራል ተኸላይ፤ ከንቲባ ሰመረ ርክሶምን እዮም። ሓደ ካብዚ ኣቶም ረኺቦም ደኣ፤ ህዝቢ ዘየድኡኑ? ዘገርም እዩ።

Mr. Gerelase is grasping at straws and could have simply added PIA to the list.

d. Mr. Gerelase's Desperate Attempt on Distorting the Role of Eritreans in Diaspora

In more desperate attempt to distort what I did not say, Mr. Gerelase says that I my views are,

‘ ለውጤ ካብ ውሽጢ ኤርትራ እንተ ዘይኮይኑ፡ እዚ ናይ ሰደት ተቓውሞ ብኣሰ እዩ።’

This is yet another PURE LIE, a total fabrication. Mr. Gerelase continues his desperate attempt to garner support by dividing people. This is typical PFDJ modus operandi. For anyone that has read my articles my views are clear and unequivocal. The prime instigators of change are those Eritreans in Eritrea. The main role of those in Diaspora is support. One can read my article titled ‘Brutal but Honest Road Map for the Average Eritrea’. I have clearly stated the roles of Eritreans in Diaspora, both those who have done marvelous jobs on the opposition websites and ordinary Eritreans in Diaspora. In the same article, I called upon my fellow Eritreans in Diaspora to continue their valiant struggle. But again Mr. Gerelase must resort to lies to get his points across because he does not offer anything that satisfies ordinary Eritreans in Diaspora.

PART II. ANATOMY OF PLOT

If Mr. Gerelase had instead expended his energy towards seeking to clarify questions in ordinary Eritrean head, the opposition camp would have been in much stronger position today.

My suspicion remains that Mr. Gerelase’s clumsy efforts at acting when writing his article is probably reflective of ‘ENA’s’ and ‘4+1’s’ discomfort in launching their opposition from Ethiopia because they sense the majority of Eritreans oppose it. At the same time, these opposition groups feel they need the Ethiopian support to have any chance of achieving power in Eritrea.

Many Eritreans have asked what the purpose of these opposition groups is to base their opposition from Ethiopia. But instead of ‘ENA’ and ‘4+1’ clarifying their positions, their proxies have chosen to muddy the thinking of ordinary Eritreans by creating confusion. **This is why Mr. Gerelase has chosen to cry very loud, way out of proportion to its significance, on the issue of negotiation. It is an insurmountable challenge to try and defend the indefensible.** What to do? Mr. Gerelase has chosen to turn to lessons probably learned right from the PFDJ books. *Just as PFDJ’s fate, deceptions and lies disappear like morning dew.* Mr. Gerelase is practicing the old saying ‘The best defense is a good offense’.

‘ENA’ and ‘4 +1’ will serve the opposition cause much better if they came out publicly and unequivocally tell us what their political platforms and agendas are. **EDP, ELF-RC, ELF and other alliances have clearly stated their principles and views on a number of issues, of which the question of ‘Sovereignty’ is among the top agenda. That is**

gutsy! That is leadership! That is transparency! Why can't the others take unequivocal stand? What do you have to hide?

If 'ENA' and '4+1' make their hidden agenda public, I, along with other ordinary Eritreans, may agree or even support their positions. At the very least either our suspicions will be either proven or dispelled. When there is transparency, ultimately 'Unity' might be possible when every opposition group or alliance have clear, unequivocal, and publicly declared agendas and platforms. I ask the 'ENA' and '4+1' leaders to officially address our concerns and fears. Failing or prolonging your public declarations may only fuel the nagging suspicion that the views of people such as Mr. Gerelase represents the views and platforms of these groups. The solution to this unnecessary confusion is in the hands of 'ENA' and '4+1' leaders.

QUESTION REMAINS

Let me reiterate! Despite all attempts at sowing confusion around the following issues by the proxy warriors, the questions to the Eritrean opposition groups in Addis Ababa remain,

a. On Sovereignty

Why do these opposition leaders and group operate out of Addis Ababa at a time when Ethiopia continues to occupy Eritrean lands against an international ruling? Why doesn't Ethiopia rescind its 'Declaration of War'? Who are the victims of intransigence between two vindictive leaders? The Eritrean people are not only suffering because of PIA's ruthlessness but also because of Ethiopia's intransigence.

It is a sick political game when the Eritrean people are held hostages to Eritrean and Ethiopian internal politics, and when certain opposition groups underhandedly cheer Eritrean people's suffering because they want the Eritrean people to suffer to the point of rebellion by ruling out any negotiation to transfer power immediately to a transitional government, and without any solution for post-PIA Eritrea. Some of these sick underhanded opposition groups and leaders are shedding crocodile tears for these Eritreans that meet their untimely demise. Ordinary Eritreans are their foot soldiers for some opposition group's political games. PFDJ has shown its ruthlessness at using ordinary Eritreans for its sick game. I see no difference from the some of the opposition groups.

The Question remains, if these opposition groups do not receive any kind of active support from Ethiopia, why don't they operate out of Sudan?

EDP has, if true, met Ethiopian government representatives but outside Ethiopia. Why not do the same?

The question remains, why can't these Addis Ababa opposition groups take unequivocal stand and tell us that,

- a) Ethiopia must abide by the international ruling, expedite demarcation and pull out,
- b) Eritrean sovereignty is inviolable.

b. On Issue of Transfer of Power with Every Possible Scenario

As I stated in my previous article, I support EDP's principled stand on negotiation. In fact, I have explained my beliefs and views on the importance of keeping negotiation as an open option to ensure orderly transfer of power.

The question remains,

- a) Having ruled out any kind of negotiation to achieve orderly transfer of power, how do the opposition groups or leaders intend to achieve alternative way of orderly transfer of power? Give us or even teach us of the different scenarios that will enable an orderly transfer of power?
- b) My understanding is that where there is an absence of orderly transfer of power, the opposite is true – violent uprising without any direction. The only thing one 'hopes' for is that some sense will prevail after some possible bloodshed.
 1. The question remains, if a violent uprising is instigated by some organized groups in Eritrea, do we know which direction Eritrea will take? Usually, those who come to power in these circumstances are military people. Who benefits from this? Is eliminating PIA the only end game?
 2. The question remains, if the violent uprising is spontaneous without any direction, do these groups have contingency plans to handle these situations?

Unfortunately, the function of opposition groups is more than inciting violent uprising. There is no substitute for orderly transfer of power where possible. If there is disorderly transfer of power, it will not be due to lack of efforts. **As I have said in my previous articles, if the PFDJ regime chooses to fight to its last breath there is nothing anyone can do about that.** Realities on the ground will take their course and we just hope and pray for the best.

But if the PFDJ regime extend its hands to transfer power immediately through negotiation, opposition groups have a historic and moral responsibility to expedite and end this dark chapter and open a new chapter without PFDJ.

EMERGING ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS

I do not expect ENA nor '4+1' to publicly announce their agenda. But we are NOT totally in the dark. Unless ENA and '4+1' disassociate themselves from these proxies, the views and agendas of these proxies will be assumed to be ENA's and '4+1's. Having softened the ground through their articles, Mr. Gerelase and his benefactors are preparing to come out of their closets. These groups are preparing for a strong backlash from the majority of Eritreans. Mr. Gerelase and his benefactors said to themselves 'ወ.ሕ.ጅ ከይመጽ ፡ መገዳ ወ.ሕ.ጅ ጸረግ'. **To achieve this, Mr. Gerelase and his colleagues have launched a coordinated written barrage against me (but not intended at me) to intimidate and send a clear message to anyone within the other opposition groups or other ordinary Eritreans that may criticize their positions will face their wrath.** This is a classic political pre-emptive strike.

Mr. Gerelase's ቀጠላጠጣ is beginning to reveal itself in the following latest, but not limited to, articles that appeared on Mr. Gerelase's colleagues' website, AWATE.com

"A no peace no war state of affairs is only favorable to the Ethiopia side. Eritrea humiliated, wounded, bankrupt and controlled by a dictator, whose mental health is questionable, for a fairly long time, promises a disaster for Eritrea. The outcome would be a sudden collapse of the regime, with its inevitable, ensuing chaos. This, in the absence of strong opposition, would create a vacuum which would quickly filled by warlords. In such a situation, an intervention Ethiopia is not only a requirement for the international community but also a wish for Eritreans thus the demise of Eritrea. " [emphasis/underline added] "Ras Woldemikael vs. Yohannes IV " By Burhan Ali, Nov 25, 2004, 11:48 PST

Then the ONE-TWO punches are delivered in as many days,

"Ironically, **our skepticism bordering on paranoia of "foreign intervention,** [emphasis added]" our avoidance of dialogue, invites the very same foreign intervention we fear." **"Ending Dialogue-by-Proxy"** By Awate Team, Nov 26, 2004, 15:39 PST

My observations are as follows,

- ✓ 'ENA' & '4 + 1' avoided from publicly manifesting their tight relationship with the Ethiopian regime until the Ethiopian regime made some 'superficial' overtures to Eritrea on the border issue. We have now 'ENA' and '4 +1' leaders tripping all over themselves (even possibly against each other) to congratulate the Ethiopian

regime over its continued game of ‘smokes and mirrors’ or ‘much-a-do-about-nothing’. These organizations are telling us, through their proxy spokespeople and media correspondents, that Ethiopian intervention in the internal affair of Eritrea is actually beneficial to the survival of Eritrea as a state.

✓ I am totally dumb-founded. But again, the opposition groups in Addis Ababa are feeding us at the rate that they perceive Eritreans will be able to swallow on the issue of Ethiopian invasion (or should I use their words ‘intervention’) of Eritrea to save us from ourselves. Once Eritreans have chewed, swallowed, and digested the first piece of their argument for ENA’s support of this dangerous agenda, they hope that Eritreans will begin to warm up to their next agenda. All ‘ENA’ and ‘4+1’ hope to do is keep feeding us in progressive but small pieces on how the Ethiopian regime is reasonable, how they are prepared to negotiate, etc... One day not too long, at the rate ‘ENA’ and ‘4 +1’ are deliberately feeding us, at the next and yet another ‘superficial’ overture from the Ethiopian artist of ‘smokes-and-mirrors’, their proxies will begin to tell us that Ethiopian recolonization of Eritrea or even the 1950’s campaign of Mr. Tedla Bairu for ‘Andnet’ was correct all along. The son has vindicated his father. This is beginning to sound familiar again. What would Awate have said about this? What would Sheik Abdelqadir Kebire have said about this madness? What would Sheik Ibrahim Sultan have said about this foolishness? What would Mr. Woldeab Woldemariam have said about this folly? What would the over 100,000 Eritreans that have died for Eritrean Independence have said about bringing your former colonizers into your **ወ.ሻጠ?**

✓ The following quotation is just as infuriating,

“No one except the blind and the obstinate denies that ordinary Eritreans are now looking back at the derg era with Nostalgia, an ominous sign for us and a state of affairs which should send all warning signals off.” From Mr. Burhan’s “Ras Woldemikael vs. Yohannes IV”

This quotation by itself is not offensive. But Mr. Burhan proceeds in the same article to argue that ordinary Eritreans’ readiness to entertain allowing Ethiopia to intervene by force in Eritrea. The fact that Eritrean people are reminiscing Dergue-era is taken well out of context. It is only an expression! If every expression was taken at face value, the world would be a wacky place. But if the proxies must take it at face value, then let us talk at face value – bring back to power the Dergue and Col. Mengistu Hailemariam.

✓ Mr. Gerelase tells us that

“ዘተ ምስ ደመኛ ጸላኢኻ፡ ቅድሚ ምሕላን፤ ብቆዳምነት ዓቕምኻን ክእለትኻን፡ ክትመዝን ይግባእ። ብዘወሓደ ደረጃ፡ ዝዳረግ ዓቕሚ፡ ወይ ዝሰብልል ዓቕሚ ክህልወኻ፡ ረቛሒ እዩ። ኣብ ጥራይ መዓኮርካ ግን፡ ኣዘፍ ኣዘፍ ምባል ተሃላል እዩ።”

Let me ask Mr. Gerelase, how are ‘ENA’ and ‘4 +1’ **negotiating** on behalf of Eritreans and plotting to bring Ethiopia into Eritrea (per Mr.

Burhan Ali) if these groups, by your own admission, are very weak? What kind of leverage do these groups have over the Ethiopian regime? Is this not a classic example of 'negotiated surrender'? Aren't you, Mr. Gerelase, and your cohorts contradicting yourselves? Mr. Gerelase's outwardly well-crafted and well-timed article is simply a pre-emptive strike at other opposition groups who will rightfully object to 'ENA's' and '4+1' capitulation and 'negotiated surrender'. **ገንዘብና ስልጠና አገልግሎት ያገኙ በሌሎች ጉዳዮች?**

- ✓ I was flabbergasted when 'ENA' and '4+1' put out two highly public statements at the same time as the Ethiopian statement on reversing its objection to the border ruling. Yet these are the same organizations that put out a couple of very meek statements days later in an obscure section of a couple of websites over the Adi Abeto tragedy at a time when most Eritreans and international community were outraged for days. Nharnet, Voice of Eritrea, Voice of Democratic Eritrea, Asmarino.com, Meskerem.net, dekebat-eritra.com, many Eritrean humanitarian organizations, and others who believe that Eritrea is only for Eritreans continuously campaigned for days culminating in PFDJ's yet another and ever tightening condemnation from international human rights organizations and the European Parliament. **THIS IS HOW PEACEFUL RESISTANCE, which Mr. Gerelase and cohorts purport to support, IS WAGED!** Yet again the Eritrean opposition groups in Addis Ababa are probably too busy being chaperoned around Sheraton and Hilton hotels to notice or to bother with these little but effective campaigns.

Yet Mr. Gerelase and his cohorts have the gall and shamelessness to tell us that those opposition that have campaigned the hardest at bringing down the PFDJ regime are actually the ones capitulating to it. What a convoluted logic! **Mr. Gerelase's role in the opposition camp is to use tragic events more as instrument of politics than out of sheer anger most of us feel over these types of tragedies.**

In fact, my first reaction to the simultaneous and almost instant announcement of support to the Ethiopian government's overture was, have these guys been given the 'Minister of Eritrean Affairs' and 'Deputy Minister of Eritrean Affairs' within the Ethiopian government. Then I began to wonder if 'ENA' would get 'Ministerial' position and '4+1' the 'Deputy Minister'.

'More Catholic than the Pope' goes an old expression.

MORE INNUENDOS

IN FACT THE INNUENDOS in the combined AWATE articles are so much that for the sake of **not** repeating myself, I will just highlight some of them,

- ✓ Awate team "Ending Dialogue-by-proxy" takes a swipe at two things,

“but we strongly believe that **any organized and credible** Eritrean opposition group (the stronger and more unified the better) that had the **courage and political maturity** could have **negotiated precisely the same peace initiative** that is being proposed by Meles Zenawi now” [all emphasis added]

- ✓ Awate team’s “Ending Dialogue-by-proxy”

“...others, **at the risk of having their patriotism impugned, chose to directly engage the Ethiopian officials.** At the end of the day, while welcoming Ethiopia’s position, we hope that all of us reflect on whether this could have been achieved much earlier if we had a strong and unified opposition speaking with one voice.” [Emphasis added]

- ✓ Awate team’s “Ending Dialogue-by-proxy”

“The issues that the Ethiopian government wants to discuss during the demarcation phase deal with (a) the root causes of the conflict and (b) the actual placement of the pillars and how these will affect the people who live in these localities.”

This is what I wrote earlier with the various AWATE writers delivering messages with different tones but with one aim – feeding us one bite-a-time at pace that they perceive we can swallow and digest to tell us that foreign intervention is good and that Ethiopia’s issue towards the border are very minor.

PIECES OF PUZZLE PUT TOGETHER

Mr. Gerelase says,

“እቶም ዘተ ዝብሉ ዘለዉ ግን፡ ኣብ ዋጋ ዕዳጋ ሽመት ክጨረሙ እምበር፡ ስልጣን ኣንሳብ ንኣዋሩ፡ ካብ ህግድፍ ክምንጥሉ፡ ከብይም ዘይገብረሎም እዩ፡ ኣደን መርፃትን መዓሰ ይጣለጣ ኮይነን?”

It is now clear who the ‘**ኣደን መርፃትን**’ are! ‘ENA’ and ‘4+1’ go to a former colonizer, whom these groups mistakenly consider to be their ‘**ኣደ**’, and get chaperoned around in Sheraton and Hilton, wined and dined like ‘**መርፃት**’. The bride is being prepared for what Mr. Gerelase and Mr. Burhan clearly tell us,

“እዚ መሰርሕ እዚ፡ ብመንገዲ ምሕዘነት ኣቢሉ፡ ናብ ሃገራዊ ዋዕላ ክድምደም፡ ጸርግያ ተሃንዲሶሉ ኣሎ። እዚ መሰርሕ እዚ፡ ስልጣን ንምርካብ እዩ።”

Second observation is that it is human nature to run to your ‘**ኣደ**’ whenever you are in trouble. Eritrea is in trouble. ‘ENA’ and ‘4+1’ went to their ‘**ኣደ**’ Ethiopia, whereas ‘2+1+’ are calling on to their Eritrean ‘**ኣደ**’ — the true heroes of Eritrean struggle - Eritrean mothers through the Voice of Liberty and Voice of Democratic Eritrea. Need I say more?

PART III. ANATOMY OF ERITREAN CHALLENGES AND OPPOSITION

MY UNWAVERING SUPPORT FOR EDP and '2+1+'

To the dismay of Mr. Gerelase and his benefactors who want to strip off my rights which they have exclusively reserved for themselves, I will use my democratic and God-given right to express my views. If they want to objectively criticize my views, then I welcome them. We can probably learn from each other.

Based on my understanding to date, EDP espouses the same belief as many of those imprisoned in PFDJ jails. Some of those in jail could have probably grabbed power through shortcuts (usurpation). But they rejected the mentality and modus operandi of PFDJ as being more destructive than the means that may have been available to them. They did not want to be part of an ugly history that has plagued many third world countries. These are people with convictions and leadership qualities. *They do not believe that the end justifies the means*, like inviting foreign intervention to resolve internal crisis. Conversely, Some within the opposition espouse a dangerous belief in that the end justifies the means. These are political gamblers who are prepared to play with people's lives. Leadership is all about foresightedness and leading by example! 'Those who fail to learn from history are condemned to repeat it.'

The G-11 and many other heroic Eritreans in PFDJ jails chose the most honorable means of struggle,

- ✓ Peaceful resistance,
- ✓ Asked for negotiation, **not** so much because they believed PIA will negotiate but because they chose to stick to their principles,
- ✓ Fully knowing PFDJ's ruthless justice, they chose to go to the guillotine for their beliefs,
- ✓ In the process they chose to lead by example rather than using others as their political foot soldiers,
- ✓ These are our heroes.

Mr. Gerelase's belittling of our heroes only reflects on him. Mr. Gerelase and his likes are typical of those who campaign for shortcuts. Many of us are averse to advocate shortcuts because, **'Those who don't remember the past are condemned to repeat it'** says [George Santyana](#), the Philosopher. Those who fail to learn from history are condemned to repeat, how true!

The G11, many other opposition Eritreans inside PFDJ jails, Eritrean people in general, EDP, ELF-RC, ELF and the other '2+1' groups **ARE EXACTLY WHAT PFDJ IS NOT**. I can not support the views of people and groups that espouse Mr. Gerelase's views and hypocrisy. I have shown in this reply to Mr. Gerelase how his positions is not any different than PFDJ. DEEDS, not words is what we believe in. DEEDS are shown by those who choose to go to PFDJ jail for what they believe. WORDS are for the internet tigers, and those that get wined and dined and chaperoned in expensive hotels. Mr. Gerelase has no right to dishonor these brave people or their principles. The fact that Mr. Gerelase's attempt to soften his criticism of the G11 and the thousands of Eritreans in jail out of fear of backlash from Eritreans, does not hide his underlying and sinister propaganda to dishonor these heroes.

In fact, after reading Mr. Gerelase's article the only thing I learned from it is that I could have just changed the names a bit around, leave his arguments intact, and could have passed as an article written by TM Negassi.

EDP affirmed at its Founding Congress and then again at its 2nd CC meeting that it will not be able to travel to Addis Ababa until sometime in the future because EDP continues to hold reservations; reservations that are reflective of most Eritreans' concerns. In the process EDP and its alliance have chosen to stand firm on their principle of sovereignty and carrying other platforms and agendas that reflect general public opinion. Although this policy has meant that '2+1+' may get stuck between a rock and hard place, this group are standing shoulder-to-shoulder with those Eritreans in PFDJ jails and most Eritreans. This groups is now hunted down by the PFDJ, and seriously frowned upon by the Ethiopian regime. '2+1+' know that compromising on principles is a sure way to destroy a country. It would have been easy for the '2+1+' to capitulate and head to Addis Ababa for quick money and the Ethiopian regime's support. How nice it would be to get chauffeured from the Airport to Sheraton and Hilton, wined and dined at the best restaurants in Addis Ababa while many Eritreans in Eritrea refuse to compromise on their principles and chose to go to PFDJ jails and even to give up their lives for their convictions. Instead, '2+1+' chose to conduct their meetings in Sudan feeding themselves 'fata' for breakfast, lunch, and dinner, while sleeping in cheap hotels four or five delegates to a room. This has created bonding; eating together and sleeping together has solidified the belief in common cause between these different opposition groups. **These genuine opposition groups chose to honor our heroes because 'ከብድህ ለደብዳቤ ለሰላም ለደ' to go against what their fellow Eritrean heroes believed in. They can not compromise on their principles so that they can be wined and dined, and groomed for seat of power by a foreign power. These opposition leaders and groups are in solidarity with those brave Eritreans in jail who probably go on days without food and water in PFDJ jails. Although we are not in jail with them, we are with them in spirit.**

Towards the end of Summer 2001, the G15 knew that PIA would deliver his brand of justice. It was not a question of 'if' but only 'when'. The G15 could have kept quiet like many of their colleagues excusing themselves that they fought all their lives in the deserts & mountains of Eritrea and that they needed to live peacefully for a change. They could have said that it was others' turn to fight, and that they had done their part.

But deep down idealist never rest when others trample on their beliefs and on their people. The G-15 could have recanted and fallen back into the arms of the regime – as some had done. The G-15 could have left the country. In fact, Mr. Petros Solomon returned to Asmara from his trips abroad late in the summer although he knew his arrest was imminent.

The G-15 did not run away from their ultimate responsibilities. They stood by their convictions, despite having asthma and diabetes. The G-15 encouraged a new generation of Eritreans to stand by their beliefs. The imprisoned journalists have become a living icons. Many other Eritreans have stood by their convictions and have chosen to be imprisoned for their convictions.

The world has shut down the PFDJ regime from all diplomatic, economic and other support and assistance because of the peaceful resistance of thousands of Eritreans in PFDJ jails. Some of the major PFDJ headaches are,

- a. PFDJ regime has not been able to resolve the border problem because the world says release the G11 and other imprisoned Eritreans whenever PIA sought support for his case,
- b. Amnesty International, Human Right's Watch, CPJ, African Human Rights Commission, European Parliament and the list is long have shut down the PFDJ machinery,
- c. Most bilateral and unilateral aid to Eritrea has stopped because of the G11 and other Eritrean heroes.

The PFDJ regime has arrested a number of people since independence but its action took a decisive downturn and has led to PFDJ's outcast from international community because the actions of these brave men.

Mr. Gerelase and his sponsors do not flinch from belittling people who are brave enough to go to the guillotine for their beliefs. Mr. Gerelase is typical of people who launch their resistance from the comfort of their homes beyond the reach of the regime. Even worse, their opposition is now being launched in best hotels over expensive wines and t-bone steaks. Thinking about it, these groups might even want to stick to the status quo. In the world of Mr. Gerelase, those opposition leaders who rack up frequent flier points traveling to Addis Ababa are more deserving to take the mantle from the PFDJ regime. Mr. Gerelase characterizes as immature 'እዚህ ናይ ቆሎ-ቆሎ ዘረገ እዩ' anyone supporting those heroes who are willing to give up their lives, and who have contributed the most to bringing down the PFDJ regime to participate and lead the transitional government. Mr. Gerelase's typical "ጨለ ዘረገ"!

As Mr. Gerelase would like to characterize me as 'naïve' or 'childish' person, I will repeat my God given right to stay true to my principles and beliefs that the unsung

heroes have proven that they are prepared to sacrifice for all us. That is all the proof I need of their commitment to their country. And definitely someone who practices arms chair quarterbacking is not going to get my vote.

ON UNITY

Ending Dialogue-by-Proxy, By Awate Team

“Finally, the previous position of the Government of Ethiopia and the various responses of the Eritrean opposition groups, were used as wedge issues to distance each from the other and thus hinder the formation of a consolidated and cohesive Eritrean opposition group. With our beloved nation being decreased to a non-entity by the day and the motives of the Government of Ethiopia now better clarified, we call on the opposition groups to work even harder to bring about a strong and effective resistance, and a peer-level co-operation with our neighbors, to rid Eritrea of the scourge of PFDJ.”

I can add many more quotations from public relations office of ‘ENA’ and ‘4+1’ that unequivocally show the Addis Ababa opposition groups calling upon Unity based on bringing other oppositions groups under the umbrella of the Ethiopian regime. It is like being called to a dinner where the food they are serving you will surely give you diarrhea.

I don’t expect that ‘ENA’ and ‘4+1’ will abandon the comfort of their adopted or new found or never left ‘ADE’, while I expect and hope that the ‘2+1+’ will stick to their principles and struggle from Sudan.

PIA’s Dilemma

Scenario	Event	PIA’s Legacy	Human Casualty To Eritrea	Power Transition	PIA’s Fate
1	Transfer Power to Transitional Government	Discredited	Minimum	Smoother	May Negotiate Retirement
2	Removed by Rebellion	Go down in history As Dictator	Medium	Less Smooth	?
3	Foreign Intervention	Go down in history As Hero	Maximum to Point Of Disaster	Chaos	?

4	PFDJ launching war first	Villain Butcher	or	Maximum to Point of Disaster	Chaos	?
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Ethiopia's latest 'overture', is more of political maneuvering than any real progress on the demarcation issue. There is no denial that this has only tightened the noose on PIA's neck five times over. The international community will pamper Ethiopia while further isolating Eritrea. PIA knows that he does not have any political ace card to play. PIA's last ally, Col. Muhammed Ghaddafi shunned him at the last meeting which took place days ago in Tripoli. Col. Ghaddafi has paid over \$3 Billion to Western powers to gain their friendship. Col. Ghaddafi is too busy entertaining world powers to risk associating himself with outcast dictator. In fact, the American government has told Libya in no unequivocal terms that if Libya is to rejoin the community of nations that it must abandon supporting rogue leaders.

PIA knows that if he enters into negotiation with the opposition groups or worse if there is a rebellion in Eritrea that his legacy will be ruined for ever. His legacy will be a 'መመሰሊ' of all things bad and evil in Eritrea.

PIA is not yet willing to give up his legacy as a hero. PIA has accepted his mortal fate, but he is afraid of destroying his legacy as an Eritrean hero. What the G-11, who know PIA very well, have done through their bravery is to IRREVERSIBLY destroy his legacy as a hero if Scenario 1 or Scenario 2 happen. The G-11 did not entertain, both on principle and as strategy, their coup because that would most likely have defeated the purpose – PIA may return as a hero.

PIA is now sparing no effort to pursue Scenario 3. Unfortunately PIA is playing 'ENA' and '4+1' like a guitar. Heck, PIA is just praying that these groups push Ethiopia to 'intervene' in Eritrea, which gives him the chance to play his highest gamble. PIA will regardless say under Scenario 3, 'Did I not say that we should not trust the Woyane regime?', and many Eritreans will believe him. Even if the worst is to happen to PIA, he would become a divisive figure under Scenario 3 rather than a sure discredited hero under Scenario 1 and Scenario 2.

PFDJ's demise from power can only be expedited when PIA gives up his last hope that Ethiopia may trigger another round of conflict with Eritrea under Scenario 3. PFDJ is totally discredited and isolated from the world community. Eritrea is facing extreme economic and social challenges. PIA can not maintain the status quo for too long.

Whereas PM Meles' continuous overtures and claims of wishes to resolve the border issue peacefully may tighten the noose around PFDJ, the presence of 'ENA' and '4+1' in Addis Ababa are offsetting this effect by giving PIA the hope that these opposition groups may nudge Ethiopia into war by giving all the wrong signals. PIA is counting on 'ENA' and '4+1's unbridled ambition to attain power at any cost will be his only salvation. If 'ENA' and '4+1' were to fully base their opposition in Sudan, and abide by

the principles of the vast majority of Eritreans, the united opposition would have expedited PIA's downfall. It would have been political suffocation for PIA.

RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA

Wedge Issue?

Mr. Gerelase and his cohorts will attempt to portray me, or some of the oppositions, as anti-Ethiopia. Believing in one's sovereignty and espousing to resolve one's internal problems among citizens of one's own country can not be portrayed as being anti-another sovereign nation. But all this is not lost with Mr. Gerelase, who is just grasping at straws to resuscitate the discredited opposition groups in Addis Ababa through his distortions. Mr. Gerelase can not fool anyone!

I will quote one sinister propaganda,

“EDP's Conclusions: ... Even now, going to war with Ethiopia is justified to restore Eritrean sovereignty.” **“More Urgent Than We Think”**, By Saleh AA Younis, Nov 11, 2004

This propaganda is left intentionally ambiguous. Does this insinuation mean that EDP is advocating for Eritrea to launch a war against Ethiopia to reclaim its territory, or does this insinuation mean that Eritreans should not defend their sovereignty if neighboring countries launch war against Eritrea?

From my understanding, EDP and other G11 have never advocated for war to reclaim disputed territories. I will use some of the major example that I am aware of,

1. In August 1998, during the first National Eritrean Assembly after war broke out with Ethiopia, members of the Assembly, which included many EPLF veterans, castigated PIA for his handling of the conflict with Ethiopia.
2. In January 1999, days before the 2nd round of conflict with Ethiopia, Minister Beraki warned the dangers of not accepting the Rwanda-US proposal in terms of the destruction of people and property to both countries. Minister Beraki's appeal to PIA was not so much out of fear of Ethiopia, but rather because Minister Beraki did not believe in war to solve issues. Minister Beraki advocated for peaceful resolution of the border conflict.
3. In August 2000, Minister Haile Woldetensae said that once UN troops are stationed in the demilitarized zone that Eritrea should proceed with the task (or business) of running our country, including the implementation of the Constitution, election and other urgent issues. Min. Haile does not sound like a leader who believes in waging war to reclaim land. Eritreans have other more urgent issues.

I can go on with other examples. It is suffice to say that EDP espouses the same principles and agenda as these sound political leaders in PFDJ jails. The question of border will be settled sooner or later peacefully based on the international decisions handed down in April 2002. Eritreans have other more urgent issues.

If Mr. Gerelase's colleagues are suggesting that EDP should campaign for Eritreans rolling over and playing dead to foreign intervention is their idea of bringing about change in Eritrea, then Mr. Gerelase's colleagues have all this backwards. I am now truly scared that there are

Eritreans that are playing fire with Eritrean sovereignty. These opposition leaders in Addis Ababa are entertaining the worst scenario as the best and only viable option as if their lives is put in line of fire. Those who will suffer from this political gamble are ordinary Eritreans, while these opposition groups in Addis Ababa are sipping their whisky in Addis Ababa Sheraton until the foreign power has done the dirty work for them. The political judgment of Mr. Gerelase and his cohort's scares me because these are the same people who are compromising every principle and sound judgment to gain power.

The purpose of Mr. Gerelase's colleague's purely fabricated propaganda is simply for fear-mongering. In fact, ordinary Eritreans have been complaining about PIA using the same innuendo regarding the 'unfinished business with woyane' to advance his own personal agenda. Now we have certain members within the opposition camp who are using the same beaten and tired propaganda for their agenda of reviving their own decaying politics.

With friends like these who needs enemies!

There **is a wedge** issue between those Eritreans advocating for Sovereignty and those Eritreans advocating of giving up our Sovereignty for their hidden agenda of "Andnet" for all I know. This is déjà vu of Eritrea in the 1940s & 1950s. One only needs to flip through history to learn the similarities of the propaganda used by the 'Andnet' group and the propaganda now used by the opposition groups in Addis to learn where we are today. The Eritrean opposition groups in Addis Ababa is using the same old lines regurgitated from that tragic era. Those who fail to learn from history are condemned to repeat it!

Healthy and Respectful Relations with Ethiopia is the Desire of All Eritreans!

In fact, I have said in **all my articles** in clear and unequivocal terms **even before** Ethiopia's latest overtures that,

- ✓ A transitional government of Eritrea should re-establish diplomatic relations once Ethiopia rescinds its 'Declaration of War' against Eritrea,

After rescinding of the 'Declaration of War' and even before the end of demarcation,

- ✓ At which time Eritrea should accelerate its demobilization of its army to economically sustainable,
- ✓ Re-affirm the policy of non-interference into each other's internal affairs consistent with AU Charter.
- ✓ Allow Ethiopia to use the Port of Asseb on mutually beneficial arrangement.
- ✓ Normalize Relations based on mutual respect, and on a policy of good neighborly basis.

On the border demarcation issue,

- ✓ Eritrea should lodge its claim in timely manner to international bodies to maintain the legal effects of the border decision.
- ✓ Continue to use diplomatic relations and pressure to finalize the border decision,

- ✓ Hope that the border will finally be demarcated within the timeframe that will take into consideration the dynamics for the internal politics of both countries.

In addition I would like to add,

- ✓ Support the generous international assistance being given to Ethiopia as long as this is not being diverted for purchasing armament for intervention into internal Eritrean affairs,
- ✓ Welcome PM Meles pledge to seek peaceful means to resolve the crisis,
- ✓ Some believe that strong Ethiopia is threat to Eritrea. Wrong! Economically, politically, and socially weak Ethiopia is a threat Eritrea. We wish all the best of luck in their endeavors.
- ✓ Although I am certain Eritreans will forgive but not forget the 75,000 Eritreans that the Ethiopian government has expelled for simply being Eritreans, I welcome Ethiopia's acceptance and accommodations of new Eritrean refugees.

Having said all this,

- ✓ Can not accept the argument that Ethiopia should intervene in Eritrean politics to save us from ourselves,
- ✓ If Ethiopia wants a strong and stable Eritrea as its next door neighbor, for Ethiopia's own sake, the Ethiopian government should not allow PIA to play Scenario 3 given above under PIA's Dilemma.

My message to the Opposition Groups in Addis Ababa and other opposition groups,

- ✓ As long as PIA is in power there is a danger that Ethiopia may decide to interfere in the internal affairs of Eritrea,
 - ✓ Ethiopia's political handling of Eritrea is absolutely independent of the Eritrean opposition groups presence in Addis Ababa. The Eritrean opposition groups have absolutely no positive role there. Ethiopia will only engage the border issue based on its own internal political dynamics and any international pressure that are exerted on it.
 - ✓ The only role of the presence of Eritrean opposition groups in Addis Ababa is to send the wrong signal to the current and future Ethiopian governments, and beyond that to other neighboring countries.
 - ✓ The presence of Eritrean opposition in Addis Ababa creates dangerous precedence to the future political and even national security of Eritrea.
-
- ✓ I welcome ELF-RC's and ELF's statements toward Ethiopia's overture.
 - ✓ If true, I welcome and support EDP's meetings with Ethiopian government representatives outside Ethiopia.
 - ✓ I support '2+1+' refraining from traveling and/or establishing base in Ethiopia.

- ✓ The responsibility of “officially” normalizing relations with Ethiopia should be delegated to the only representative of the State of Eritrea, which is the Government of Eritrea.
- ✓ Eritrean opposition group should pursue relations with Ethiopia on ‘unofficial’ level. The relationship and common understandings should be based on the laws of the international community and some of the principles I suggested above. ‘Unofficial’ meetings with the Ethiopian government is highly recommended to ensure that there is no misunderstanding or apprehension on the part of Ethiopia when ‘2+1+’ assume control of transitional power in Eritrea, on behalf of the people of Eritrea.
- ✓ Until such time, opposition groups must continue to operate out of Sudan.

Who am I to suggest all this?

Mr. Gerelase, I am just another ordinary Eritrean, with all the rights and freedom that you yourself exercise. I am an Eritrean who has been patiently following Eritrean opposition politics for the last three years with the hope that the gulf between the different groups would resolve itself. In these three years, even my second son has managed to walk and talk. I can’t wait until my sons are in their middle ages to say ...

IN CONCLUSION

As Mr. Gerelase and his colleagues do not hesitate to crown their ‘ENA’ to take over the next government, I have not and will not hesitate to tell my fellow Eritreans that ‘2+1+’ should assume power and form a transitional government once PIA exits from power. *I question the political judgments of those opposition groups in Addis Ababa. Sound political judgment is needed to rebuild and wade through the complicated political, economic and social issues that Eritrea will definitely face in post-PIA Eritrea – a challenging journey to fully democratic and viable nation.*

The time has come for Eritreans to decide which group to support and to become actively involved in defense of their country.

Eritrea is born out of defiance, perseverance, and patience. Tens of thousands gave up their lives for what they believe. Many Eritreans continue to pay the price under PFDJ regime. Raising a flag by itself does not guarantee strong and viable nation. It is the participation of every Eritrean that can only ensure peaceful and prosperous nation. *No one individual, leader, group, or foreign interference can do the job of the people of a nation – to stay on guard for one’s rights, freedom, justice, and equality.*

I hear many fellow Eritreans complain and criticize the opposition leaders and groups for infighting, for being ineffective, and other problems. But change can only come if we ask ourselves first, ‘what have I done to change this situation?’ The question must begin

from ourselves because the people in opposition are flesh and blood as we are, not arch-angels sent from the sky to help, nor do they have magic wands to simply make our problems disappear.

The time has come for fellow Eritreans to stand and be counted, to support, with whatever means are at our disposal, the two 'United' opposition groups that are joined in spirit – those brave Eritreans in PFDJ jails and '2+1+'. I call upon the '2+1+' to redouble their efforts, which has been superb to date, and engage both ends of the political innuendos.

ON UNITY - 'Unity' has been achieved among Eritreans in our beliefs, in our convictions, and our common history. It is not a handful organizations that will tell us whether we have 'Unity' or not. Ordinary Eritreans' beliefs in shared principles and values is the basis of Unity. The question is which organization or alliances share our 'United' belief? The answer is simply '2+1+'. That is 'UNITY' – pure and simple.

We wish the Addis Ababa opposition groups the best of luck, as one Eritrean to another. I hope that these groups will come to their political senses and not play right into PIA's game.

For those who wish to ante up the internet propaganda, I would like to quote Mr. Gerelase,

"ኣብ ዓይንኻ ዘሎ ጉንዳ ዘይ ረኻሰኒ ኣብ ዓይኒ እንዳ 'ማትካ ዘሎ ገፈል ከም ምርኣይ"

ALLOW ME TO REPEAT,

THE ONLY WISDOM THAT I CAN SHARE WITH MY FELLOW ERITREANS IN THE OPPOSITION IS THAT ERITREA WAS BORN OUT OF PRINCIPLES, DEFIANCE, AND SHEER WILL. WE CHOSE TO STICK TO OUR PRINCIPLES OVER SHORTCUTS. DESPITE THE HARDSHIPS OF TODAY, ERITREA'S FUTURE WILL BE BUILT AND FOUNDED ON THESE UNWAVERING PRINCIPLES & CONVICTIONS.

I would like to thank Mr. Gerelase for opening my eyes. There is one thing I do agree with Mr. Gerelase, *ካብ ሕሱም ጎረቤት፣ ካብ እሾኽ ምድርቤት/ ካብ ሕማም ዕርቁ፣ ካብ ወዲ ኣፍወርቁ የድእሕነፍ ፈጣሪ። ኣጫን!*

Zelalemawi Zikri N'Sewuatna!

Berhan Hagos
November 28, 2004