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CONTENTS

PAGE

- EDITORIAL 1-4
The Eritrean people's quest for peace
- ESSAY 4-7
The Challenge of Politics vs the true
Nature of the PFDJ Dictatorship
- COMMENTARY 8-9
The Impoverished People of Eritrea Should
In No Way Be Deceived by PFDJ's Intrigues
- A GLANCE AT THE DECAYING ERI TREAN ECONOMY 9-10
- EXPRESSIONS TO PONDER AT 11

EDITORIAL

THE ERITREAN PEOPLE'S QUEST FOR PEACE

*"Compatriots! - - - Whenever there is Peace, even the nights are illuminated with lights of hope.
- - - In the absence of Peace however, broad daylight is converted into darkness with no
glimmer of hope! "*

An elderly Eritrean addressing
a crowd of compatriots (1990)

1. INTRODUCTION

Peace is a cornerstone for the overall well-being of mankind. The relentless and painstaking search for peace being underway the world over is therefore, one of the most irresistible conditions that ought be within man's reach considering that today's world of ours is in many of its corners and more than ever, embroiled in and flatly exposed to inconceivable dangers and disasters. Some parts of the globe are becoming more and more repulsive, hostile, and inhabitable to mankind featuring ethnic conflicts, civil wars and in many instances genocide affecting from hundreds of thousands to millions of peoples.

All these disdaining catastrophes are concrete evidences attesting to the ugly and evil consequences of the absence of Peace. Quite innumerable mottos have been voiced out loud and by all nations. Whether at national, regional or international levels, all countries without any exception in their respective charters, vow and pledge to safeguard and maintain peace. Many international, regional, bilateral - - - etc conventions and agreements have been signed to improvise and contain peace. Hundreds of human rights organizations have been founded to watch and enhance the dignity of mankind under a peaceful and tranquil environment.

Many world statesmen had exclusively devoted their life-time in order for peace to assert itself as a domain of mankind and for ever. The Nobel Prize for Peace, a priceless prize has been awarded and is being awarded for those celebrities who advocate the virtues of peace, and have struggled for peace to the extent of sacrificing themselves for the sake of peace.

Hundreds of peace envoys had been and are being heavily engaged in peace negotiations where ethnic conflicts and civil wars have erupted. Thousands of troops are being deployed as "peace-keepers" where wars have flared or where wars are bound to occur, with the sacred intention of down-scaling the extent and magnitude of devastation in human terms.

2. PEACE: A COMPLICATED MISSION

All these arduous and exhaustive engagements for the sake of maintaining peace demonstrates ones more that not only is the world community scared of "anti-peace environment" but that it is also vying and longing for ever-lasting Peace. Though Peace is omnipotent, and indispensable to mankind however, no one can dispute the fact that man himself is the only maker of peace or anti-peace. He is sole the player and the only master for that matter, in subscribing for or against peace. In brief he is either the Samaritan

perpetuating peace or is the devil who perpetrates evil to foment or sabotage prevailing peace.

Conflicts of interests and lust for power, many believe are the root causes for peace to degenerate to chaos, destruction and devastation. And as a consequence of the absence of Peace, civil wars and ethnic conflicts have become rampant and particularly so in the developing countries, entailing mass migration, family disintegration, disruption and disorientation of social fabric, vicious crimes, moral decadence, and juvenile delinquency. In the absence of peace, lawlessness and anarchy become more routine and more ruinous paving the way, and more so for dictatorial regimes, a lame but a handy excuse to prolong their grip on power under the pretext of "maintaining peace and stability". By fomenting excessive anti-peace measures they resort to reckless governance. Rogue systems opt for harsh oppression; flagrant violation of law, and to blood tainted governance to enslave their disgruntled, mollified and impoverished peoples.

And naturally, the outcome of such sinister designs is a forgone story. All forms of freedom and justice are brutally oppressed. Broad-based political pluralism is abolished. Constitutionality and legitimacy of power is non-existent. Rule by the muzzle of the gun dominates the destiny of the people and determines the fate of their nations.

3. THE ERITREAN PEOPLE ARE DYING FOR PEACE

In this regard, a good representative sample and a vivid example is the PFDJ system in Eritrea. Despite the fact that the heroic people of Eritrea had fought for more than 30 years to emancipate themselves from colonial rule and have achieved absolute victory without any support from which ever, they have never been able to breath peace since the inception of the PFDJ regime. The blood-drenched people whose experience had been ugly wars against colonialism had been denied by the dictatorial system their demands and rights to peace, freedom, justice and democracy. The predator regime presides over the state and the people by the rule of the thumb.

Under the belligerent system, Peace is humanely inconceivable in Eritrea. In actual fact Peace is perceived as an irrelevant condition by the obnoxious system. Peace is what a cross-section of the population would have died for had their yearnings to that end were to be enhanced. But the system disdains Peace because Peace could challenge its very existence. It imposes its will on the people by ever-changing spontaneous decrees ranging from internal travel permits to instant curfews; and from abrupt closure of schools to conscription of youths for a military training across the board.

Widespread intimidation, humiliation, arbitrary detention; abduction, indiscriminate torture, maiming and killing of innocent citizens is what the notorious and cruel system is known for keeping the people at bay by brandishing its arson against any citizen who complains or voices out his deep-seated grievance against it. As a consequence and under duress the people are in constant fear, frustration and endless agony.

The poverty-stricken people in the war-ravaged state of Eritrea are grossly ignored in favor of war-mongering for which the system is intent on waging another border-war which had already been the cause for 19,000 youth to perish and which has lavishly consumed the debilitating economy of the country.

Political leadership belongs exclusively to members of the PFDJ. Opposition parties are banned and hence strictly prohibited from operating inside the country. Thus the regime is the sole proprietor of absolute power. It is the judiciary, the legislative and executive, the "Jack of all and master of all". And as such it neither represents the will nor the destiny of the peace, freedom, justice and democracy yearning people suffering under its yoke.

Peace negotiations with Ethiopia concerning the border dispute have been disrupted despite the world community's appeals to resolve the problem. The "no war, no peace" state of affairs between the two countries is deeply felt by the people of Eritrea lest another round of destructive war takes place. Nonetheless, the irresponsible system is amassing as many youth and as many military hardware to perpetrate war. Hence the desperate people are not only perplexed by war or news of war but virtually frustrated to the extent of moral decadence and the withering away of their national pride.

The regime adheres to clandestine dogma and maverick indoctrination which has been very true since its very birth as a political organization. Compounded by bravado, hypocrisy and sheer vigilante manipulations, it is surviving on the toils and blood of the famine and starving people of Eritrea. More than 1.5 millions Eritreans are lamenting in the Diaspora. More are on the move. Twenty to thirty people a day try to cross the Eritrean borders on their way to the Sudan, Ethiopia and Yemen. Currently, according to UNHCR, there are more than 100,000 refugees in Shimelba, Tigray, near the Eritrean border. Those captured "red handed" when crossing the borders are shot at to death and their bodies left to rot in the wilderness.

Voluntary returnees and forced repatriates are equally treated. What awaits them is torture and crude and cruel amputation of their limbs. Citizens evading or escaping military conscription face the same abhorring fate. Schools, colleges and the Asmara University have been shut off so that the regime could recruit youth as many as it could for military regimentation.

Many international organizations have been and are still relentlessly calling the dictatorial system to abide by international law for peace, justice and freedom to prevail inside Eritrea and the Horn. So far as is known, their calls have fallen on deaf ears.

4. CONCLUSION:

The people of Eritrea need support for peace to strive in the country "Peace, Justice, Freedom!" are the rallying cries of the rejected and dejected people of Eritrea. So far their cries too have been to no avail.

The Eritrean people are more than fed-up of wars. Their history is stained with blood. More than thirty years of war against colonial rule has exhausted their patience, impoverished their lives, and disintegrated their families and the shock and trauma of these tragedies is still lingering in their minds. The Eritrean people could therefore perhaps be the first people longing for peace and tranquility to prevail than any other peoples of the world.

But Eritrea under the predator PFDJ system is not only inhospitable but is also inhabitable to its very native people. To the Eritrean people "Peace" is a long-fetched dream. The absence of Peace is decimating the Eritrean people in every dimension - - famine and starvation, war, migration, and indiscriminate maiming and killing. The PFDJ regime has

demonstrated to the world that it is an inferno to its own people and an active volcano that could erupt and splash its salvo of lava over its neighboring states.

The world community has not paid much attention to the appalling state of affairs in Eritrea. The Peace aspiring people of Eritrea are struggling alone against the tyrannical system. They deserve unquestionable sympathy and support to hasten the downfall of the criminal regime. The world community ought do more to materialize their just cause. If the blood- shedding system is dealt with for good, a pluralistic broad-based democratic system would eventually merge that would foster peace, tranquility, justice and freedom for the common benefit of all Eritreans.

Despite the fact that World Peace Day is commemorated, Eritrea and Eritreans are dwelling in darkness. Down has proven extremely hard to come by because of the absence of Peace. As the elderly Eritrean quoted above, has stated:

"- --In the absence of Peace - - - broad daylights are converted into darkness with no glimmer of hope". His statement is unequivocally pertinent, applicable and timely in describing the desperate political, economic and social conditions in Eritrea.

ESSAY

The CHALLENGE Of POLITICS VS THE TRUE NATURE OF THE PFDJ DICTATORSHIP

Until most recent times, the concept of dictatorship as a temporary emergency rule prevailed. In this sense, it is compatible with democratic government. In emergencies, democracies may in fact be compelled to suspend temporarily their dependency on the consent of the governed.

Since the end of the first World War, however, dictatorship has seemed to convey a very different meaning. It is often identified with autocracy or absolutism, which rightly connotes the aspiration of modern dictatorships to permanence. They claim to present a system of government outliving their dictatorial creator and extending their way into a totalitarian rule over particularly every sphere of human interest and activity. It is this quasi-institutional and totalitarian character, this virtually limitless extension in time and space, that holds out the challenge to democracy. (Rubenstein and Thumm p.210)

Modern democracy has not only to meet this challenge, but also to recognize in this dictatorial growth in its own quandary; in spite of the fact that dictatorships today represent the opposite of what democracies stand for, they are in many aspects the direct out growth of our present system with its discords. Their primary aim is leadership in the mass state and substitution for shattered institutions.

The new tyrannies whose historic hour strikes in the age of mass democracy are "popular dictatorships". Avowedly they exemplify the antithesis of democracy but at bottom the show a pseudo-democratic basis. Their "Legal" seizure of power, their pretence to elections, their constant craving for popular acclaim-- all these intricate schemes of a quasi-democratic existence are preconditional for the very survival of the new dictatorships. This fact is among important explanations of the predominant place yielded to propaganda in the daily life of modern totalitarianism. (Rubenstein and Thumm p.211)

Important as these propaganda techniques are, these new dictatorships are however, not simply the result of as unscrupulous and technically perfected system of propaganda. These propaganda techniques undoubtedly reveal most significant symptoms, but they should not

be mistaken for the essence and basic impulse of these movements. Propaganda to be effective must answer real needs and desires. This must be especially true of political movements as successful as modern dictatorships are justified or not, grievances toward the existing order generate the seekers of change whose greatest strength is often simply their enemy's weakness.

Negative characteristics far more than any positive creed serve as a point of departure for a concrete definition of modern dictatorships. They are anti-parliamentarian and anti-capitalistic, and anti-rational and anti-individualistic. Like all the previous types of historic dictatorships, their sheer negativism represents a focal point of crisis elements in modern societies; they are children of a crisis reaching into all ways of life and sweeping over all the populations they subjugate and enslave.

The impetus and extent of this social and political upheaval largely depend on cultural standards and political traditions in different nations. In countries where poverty and backwardness are wide-spread and political conscience not apparent, dictatorships find it conducive for their systems to be deeply entrenched; and where opposition, political or military, is disorganized or inadequate to threaten their systems, dictatorships will evolve more and more into absolute dictatorship or totalitarian.

In other words, in countries where the percentage of political illiteracy is high; per capita income meager and self-government not practiced, it is likely that dictatorships could easily strive and thrive or consolidate their grip on power. Russia, Poland, Italy, Spain and the Balkans have undergone such experiences, most of them both immediately after the World War I and World War II. (Rubenstein and Thumm p.212). Among the developing nations which have experienced bitter and impoverished plight under dictatorships.

Suffice it be to mention Uganda (Under Idi Amin Dada), Congo (under Sese Seco), Ethiopia (under Mengistu H/Mariam, Haiti (under Papa Doc. Duvalier). Issayas' dictatorship however, remains uncontested in the present-day world.

For dictatorships, politics itself is defined in terms of the irreducible category of friend and foe. Fully materialized social relationships have been basically conceived on the battlefield in advance. No concept of civil government is left. Military reflects all activities of modern dictatorship. Like with the PFDJ regime, it possess absolute power, civilian or military by arson. It shapes its party structure and its totalitarian control within this context.

For Isayas for example, dictatorship is a "permanent revolution" in foreign affairs and in internal politics that makes possible the strange mixture of dictatorship's promise of stability and at the same time in the belief in revolutionary action. The temptation to believe in "victorious dynamics" propagated by dictatorship becomes the only security sought to sustain his power. Though the PFDJ system has undergone a humiliating defeat both in the diplomatic and military front, had it achieved its devious goals it would have reinforced its "victorious dynamics"

Finally, there is the leadership principle, perhaps the most dangerous element of modern dictatorship. It is characteristic of the leader to hoard all power that should be shared among authorities and institution so as to establish absolute power surrounding his being in person.

According to the open letter distributed to all members of the PFDJ by ex-office members of the central Leadership, commonly known as the "G-15".

" The crisis is that the President (Isayas) is conducting himself in an illegal and unconstitutional manner. He is refusing to consul; and the legislative and executive bodies have not performed their oversight functions properly". Connell (p.183)

In reference to the absolute power the President has extracted over years the "open letter" states:

" Because of the weaknesses of the legislative and executive bodies the President has been acting without restraint, even illegally. Having been used to taking his unrestricted power, for granted, he finds it unacceptable now when attempts are being made to have those bodies work properly as well as correct the weaknesses of the system.

"The President has become so accustomed to acting freely and as he pleased, he is rejecting democratic dialogue, refusing to convene legally required meetings".
Connell(p.182-183)

The open letter which in fact is a petition signed by all the G-15 has requested the president to enact and enforce policies, decisions, laws and programs of the government and its agencies, among which are included:

"The cabinet has to decide on issues relating to internal and external aid and credit; and on the policy and size of the military and security forces; the cabinet has to coordinate, plan or control national security;

" Human and democratic rights of citizens should be guaranteed;

" As there was in the defense of the sovereignty of our nation, let there be now too broad participation by PFDJ members and the general public in the appraisal and evaluation of post experiences;

" Let the PFDJ and the government take concrete measures to implement and guarantee their professed aims of establishing a constitutional government;

"Let a constitutional government be established through free and fair elections - - - -"
Connell (p. 183)

The "open letter" was first addressed to the President's Office. When he obstinately refused to respond to their petition they were forced to distribute the same letter to all members of PFDJ. Gradually but steadily he was trying to appease the G15 with non-committal responses. But upon being nagged for too long, he reluctantly had to deliver the following letter dated 29/03/2006 to Sherifo on behalf of the petitioners.

"I have, this morning, received and seen the letter you sent, dated 28/3/2001, in the name of those members of Central Council who had previously signed a request.

"I do not want to go into its false and baseless content and say anything.

"Because I have chosen to be tolerant, I will patiently avoid any thing.

"But if by continuous provocation, you want to escalate problems by exaggerating non-existent issues, it is your choice.

"Again, I ask you to refrain from this mistaken path and come to your senses".
Connell (p.198)

From his letter in response to the petitioners, one could easily grasp that the petition has hit him hard. The boyish and flamboyant wordings in the letter attest that he is not clever at concealing protruding realities. He pretends as though he possesses "monopoly of Wisdom" and his commitment to the country far beyond others. In other words he has the rigid belief that he is the sole person empowered to decide upon the future of Eritrea. His glorification of himself by carefully selected phrases like, "I have chosen to be tolerant"; while for the last fifteen years he has demonstrated to the world that he is as intolerant and as cruel as Mengistu Bedel Bokassak, Idi-Amin, Saddam Hussein - - - etc.

Modern dictatorship assumes the place of a religion for people who have lost their faith in transcendental power. It ministers to the human yearning for worship. This explains the subsequent and deadly conflict of a totalitarian state with religious authorities. At the same time such a revival of divine right theory serves as a useful device for shifting final

responsibility to an agency deprived of efficient means of control and coercion It fortifies dictatorship. It transcends human power to combat, thus removing it from the realm of human criticism. It makes the dictator a superman, a demigod. (Rubinistain and Thumm p. 216).

This factor which is a characteristic to the PFDJ regime, has become a menace to religious leaders and followers of various faiths. More than a hundred religious clerics belonging to the Twahdo, Evangelical, Pentecoste, Jehovah and Moslem faiths have been and much more that number are being detained merely for respecting and practicing their religions traditions. The youths in particular are the largest victims of the regime as regards practicing religion. If apprehended reading or preaching the Bible or the Quran, they are driven to prisons and forced to recant contrary to their beliefs. As stated in the above captioned quotation, the blood-shedding regime is bent on molding a new generation, devoid of its beliefs, tradition and culture by denying its spiritual rights, and brainwash it with immoral, unethical anti-human dogma alien to a cross-section of our population. Under the pretext "national defense", the whole lot of the new generation is being forcibly indoctrinated to be anti-religion, a dogma which PFDJ holds as essential before and beyond any spiritual belief.

Hence, in Eritrea the efficient means of control and coercion over the population in general and the youths in particular.

Some Dictatorships like to hide their brutality because it gives them deniability. This was not so in Iraq for example, where Saddam Hussein's regime was eager to flaunt the various degrees of repression.

*" The first level of repression was arrest, interrogation, and imprisonment, actions that often were taken without cause, with no other purpose than to instill terror and keep the population docile. Sometimes suspects were hustled away secretly, in the dead of night, leaving their family and friends to make desperate pilgrimages to government bureaucracies to find them". *1*

" The knowledge that the knock on the door could come at any hour is enough to inspire terror in most people. * Middle East watch's 1990 Human Rights Report on Iraq.

" The leader epitomizes the dictatorial system. He is its beginning, its moving spirit, its fate. The analysis of his power and position, therefore, will lead to the core of modern totalitarianism." (Robnistain and Thumm. P. 216)

The next level of punishment was torture. According to Amnesty International recounted: "Security agents simply diverted passers by down a ramp blind-folded them, and drove them to what they assumed was the headquarters of the Baghdad security forces. The victims later told Amnesty, that they were repeatedly interrogated and tortured, first to confess to spying, then to inform on others. Their camphor beat their feet with a rubber hose, kicked their ears with their boots, and used electric shocks on their hands, feet, genitals, kidneys, and especially their ears. They fed them irregularly, sometimes with tainted or heavily salted food; they made their cells either too cold or too hot; they refused to allow them to clean their cells. They threatened to mutilate them and told them they had arrested their wives and they would be punished if their wives didn't cooperate. They could also hear the screams of other prisoners. - - - One hundred ten days after their arrest, they were released. They were never told what they have done wrong." (Amnesty International Report on Human Rights In Iraq, from 1982-1984).

*1 THE OUTLAW STATE. Elaine Sciolino. John Wiley and Sons, Inc. USA. 1991. p. 85

COMMENTARY

The Impoverished People of Eritrea Should In No Way Be Deceived by PFDJ's Intrigues

Because of the fragile economic policy which the PFDJ has launched and the untenable policy it has implemented the poverty-stricken people's and the war ravaged country's future fate hangs in the balance. Diplomatically, the one-man dictatorial system is isolated. The Eritrean people are disenfranchised with the regime. Gross violation of international law and the policies it pursues are anti-democratic, anti-peace and anti-human. No wonder, the predator system is converting the country into "no man's land" with its people and particularly the youths being indiscriminately imprisoned, tortured, maimed and killed in hundreds of thousands, and the rest spending without much - - -to the respect of humanity their youthful life in the deputed border areas. The populations are facing unprecedented famine on, more than 60% with the majority on the brink of death as a result of the drought. And yet, the rogue system gives no heed to these abhorring and repugnant economic and social conditions in the country. Obsessed with lust for power, its sole agenda is restricted to impoverish, humiliate, mutilate and annihilate the people for the sake of securing its dictatorial regime.

International Organizations including NGO's and the world community at large are well versed in these harsh conditions Taking place in Eritrea to day. Nonetheless, PFDJ is repellent to democracy, peace and justice and exercise the same dogma of the rule of the thumb as it used to during the armed struggle, which in retrospect is a clear evidence that from its formal- - - day's it had been vying for a totalitarian regime despite these realities PFDJ is not ashamed, to say, the least, to aggressively and irresponsibly engaging itself in defaming and character assassinating not only the Eritrean opposition forces but also the neighboring states which are introducing democratization. To quench its host for power, for years PFDJ leaders had been greatly occupied with scrupulous and intensive false propaganda to that end. Only recently, its propaganda machine has targeted its squalid fabrication of lies against EDA. It had at least two "make believe" intensions.

One, by glorifying itself as the and by white washing its ugly image to conceal its destruction driven policies and deeds from the international community. This is primarily meant that it remains solid and strong despite the fact that it is progressively cracking and trembling from its inside.

Secondly, by defaming the opposition forces it is trying to lure and appease the subjected and enslaved people that it is the only vanguard party that could fulfill their aspirations while it has proven itself over the years, to the Eritrean people and to the world that it had never ever had been concerned in any agenda of any sort related to peace, stability, justice and democracy. It is to the contrary a menace to the Eritrean people and those in the region.

In the previous months its full fledged occupation was geared towards defaming the opposition forces for having formed a central political organization, and is also discrediting the neighboring states for introducing democratic reforms despite the fact that it is meddling in their internal affairs. It has for more than seven years training and equipping the Sudanese opposition. Simultaneously it is also supporting secessionist group opposed to the Ethiopian government, including full use of its state-owned media print and electronic.

But EDA could not stay silent or passive to the fake propaganda the regime is relentlessly and with full vigor disseminating to confuse and perplex the Eritrean public and the peoples in the region and the world.

Al-Amin Mohammed Said in his hypocritic sentiments conveyed by media of the region was not ashamed to say " *The opposition forces against the Eritrean government neither have the vision nor the support of the Eritrean population - - - etc.* " Such erratic and unfounded allegations against the opposition are customary with the leadership of the obnoxious system and it deliberately meant to camouflage its decaying set up and its fading power. It is also meant to so- - - its bruise ego since it is being isolated from within and from with out. PFDJ is harsh against pluralism, it wants to stay on the grip on power as long as it could.

The states in the region are striving for peace, stability, justice, freedom, democracy social progress and economic development,. But PFDJ's destructive and impoverishing policy has started at home, inside Eritrea -- and is determined to expand it in practically every state. In as far as the rogue regime is in place there is no glimmer of hope for the Eritrean people to live in peace and enjoy freedom, which are absolute necessities for democracy, economic development and social progress.

A GLANCE AT THE DECAYING ERITREAN ECONOMY

According to Suwera 2005 Report:

- Eritrea has limited human and economic resources.
- Drought war with Ethiopia, corruption, maladministration political problems, preauthorizing security expenses, control of the ruling party over commercial and investment activities in the country weakened the economy.
- Following years of Independence, Eritrea produced only 25% of its needs of food substances. Last year (2004) production declined to 17% of its needs.
- According to united Nations Office for coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) , 2,200,000 Eritrean would not be able to secure their nutritional needs by themselves in 2005. This number approximately constitutes two thirds of the population currently living in the country.
- As a result of the war with Ethiopia, 56,300 citizens have been displaced from their homes. Although the war ended five years ago, they are still dependent on humanitarian aid.
- 118,200 refugees who returned from the Sudan under the voluntary repatriation program depend on humanitarian aid.
- The rate of malnutrition among mothers in Eritrea is 53%, which is one of the highest in the world.

- Approximately one million citizens face lack of potable water and 70% of the villages lack water and only 18% of the population has access to potable water.
- Among more than 2,600 villages, only 40 are supplied with electricity.
- Donors stopped their support to Eritrea except in the field of demobilization and humanitarian aid because of concern about the government's financial and economic policies as well as refusal of the government to carry out elections, permit freedom of press, allow political parties and improve the human rights situation.
- The International Monetary Fund (IMF) criticized repeatedly the economic policies of the government especially restrictions on the private sector and monopoly by the institutions of the government and the ruling party over the economic activity as well as not conducting statistics and lack of transparency in passing the state's budget, which has never been discussed publicly since independence.
- In Eritrea, the per capita income is US\$ 130 per year, which is one of the lowest in the world.
- The rate of inflation, which was stable for four years since independence, has increased after the war with Ethiopia.
- The deficit in the budget has increased to 35% of the domestic production because of losing the traditional export market in Ethiopia and food shortages as well as increase of weapons import.
- The exchange rate of national currency (Nakfa) declined since it was issued in 1997 from 8 to 24 Nakfas per US\$ 1.
- Because of the government's economic policies and suppressing the opposition, the transfer of migrants declined. These transfers constituted a major source for foreign currency reaching 37% of the total foreign currency in the country.
 - The national contribution of the migrants has declined for the same reason and it became 0.2% in 2002 while it was 3.2% in 2000.
 - The revenue from selling government's treasury bills declined from 3.1% of gross of domestic production in 1999 to 0.6% in year 2002.
 - All that led to the decline of foreign currency reserve this year (2005) to cover only importing the needs of goods and services for 15 days while in 1977 it used to cover the needs of five months.
- The International Humanitarian Aid to Eritrea declined the imposition of the government to control humanitarian aid because of the tension between the government and humanitarian organizations which suspect that the former transfer the humanitarian aid to the military.

EXPRESSIONS TO PONDER AT

- *“Military might have limited the individual’s capacity to shape his survival. Yet, it is only through the political process that man can hope to order his life according to reason and ideals. The allure of politics is strong; the struggle hard; and the stakes unique: the future of man”*¹
- Is concern in politics:
 - “a desire for personal power? or,*
 - “an intellectual curiosity concerning the nature of the political process? or,*
 - “a humanistic concern with improving the way society handles its affairs? or,*
 - “a sense of moral concern and commitment which seeks to end injustice?”*²
- *“Totalitarianism actualizes the image of popular sovereignty by means of a party which claims to identify with the people and which, beneath the cover of this identification, seeks to occupy the place of power.”*³
- *“Fascism and bolshevism are new forms of political societies. The God-state does not tolerate dissidence, for it is represented by minorities that possess all power, the rest of the population consisting of passive citizens. Indeed the totalitarian conceptions culminate, in a process of purging”.*⁴
- Saudi Arabia’s King Fuhad predicted:
 - “At one point in time a government would emerge in Baghdad ‘with national and Islamic stature’ that would have good relations with the Kingdom”.*⁵
- *“- - - The mile-long convoy of escaping Iraqi troops was trapped between US armored forces to the north and Marines to the south. Instead of letting them home, the Allies mowed them down, mercilessly bombing, strafing, and shelling the panicked soldiers. One American pilot later described the attack as ‘shooting fish in a barrel’; another likened it to a turkey shoot”.*⁶
- Saddam Hussein at a joint meeting of the Revolutionary Command council and the council of Ministers boasted:
 - “I must declare to you, dear brothers, that the fighters at the front (Iran-Iraq border) who are prepared to destroy the arrogance of infidels, deviants, and hypocrites will not be dissuaded from this role by the minor difficulties life. They realize that these difficulties are temporary and that once the emergency situation is over, the bright sun we have been waiting for will rise”.*⁷
- Yishak Shamir, foreign minister of Israel, in an interview published in the New York Times on September 28, 1980 retreated:
 - “The Iraqi leaders have great ambitions, an ambition to dominate all the Middle East. Saddam Hussein dreams to be the successor of Nasser. So far he has been going deliberately and successfully in that direction”.*⁸

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