ህዳር 17 ቀን 2002 ዓ.ም

የተከበራችሁ የአንድነት ምክር ቤት አባላት
የተከበራችሁ የመድረክ አባላት
የተከበራችሁ የዲፕሎማቲክ ማሕበረ ሰብ አባላት
የተከበራችሁ የመገናኛ ብዙሃን አባላት
ክቡራትና ክቡራን

የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በዴሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት ለመተዳደር ይፈልጋል፡፡ ይህን ፍላጎቱን ምርጫ 97 ላይ በግልፅ አስተላለፎአል፡፡ ይህንን እያዩ ያለውን መስተዳደር ለሰላሳና አርባ ዓመታት ለማስቀጠል የሚለፉት ወገኖች አሁን ድረስ ከምርጫ 97 ሊወስዱት የሚገባውን ትምህርት በተገቢው አለመውሰዳቸውን ያመለክታል፡፡

ንጉሠ ነገሥቱ አገዛዛቸው ባለበት መቀጠሉ እንደማይቻላቸው ምልክቱን 1953 ዓ.ም ላይ ያገኙት ቢሆንም ከዚሁ ለመማር ባለመቻላቸው ኋላ 1967 ላይ የሆነው ሆነዋል፡፡ የኮሎኔል መንግስቱ ኃ/ማርያም መንግስትም በያዘው መቀጠል እንደማይቻለው ያገኛቸው ምልክቶች በርካታ የነበሩ ቢሆንም ከሽሬው ውድቀት በኋላ የተከሰተው የመንግስት ግልበጣ ሙከራ በምሳሌነት መጥቀስ ይበቃል፡፡ ይህም ሆኖ መውሰድ የሚገባውን ትምህርት ለመወሰድ ባለመቻሉ 1983 የሆነው ሆኖአል፡፡

ሀገራችን ኢትዮጵያ በእነዚህ ጥቅም ላይ ያልዋሉ ምልክቶች መልካም የለውጥ ዕድሎች ያመለጧትን ያክል ኋላ በሃይል የመጡትን ለውጦች ተከትሎ በመጡት ምስቅልቅሎች አልተጎዳችም ማለት አይቻልም፡፡

የ97 ምልክት ከቀደምት ምልክቶቹ የተለየ የሚያደርገው በጦር መሳርያ ሳይሆን በምርጫ ካርድ የታየ መሆኑን እና መልእክት አስተላላፊዎቹ ጦር መሳርያ

ያነገቱት መሆናቸው ቀርቶ ሕዝቡ ራሱ መሆኑን ነው፡፡ ምልክቱ መተላለፉ ግን የሚያከራክር አይደለም፡፡

ከገዢው ፓርቲ በኩል እና ከአንዳንደ የዓለም አቀፉ ማሕበረ ሰብ አባላት ዴሞክራሲ ሂደት ነው የሚለውን አባባል በአጽንኦት ሲነገር እና ሲደጋገም እሰማለሁ፡፡ ከዚህ በመንደርደር ገዢው ፓርቲ ለሰላሳ እና አርባ ዓመት ልግዛችሁ ታገሱኝ ሲል ሌሎቹ ደግሞ ለኢትዮጵያውን አሁን ያለው አያንሳችሁም የቀረው ቀስ ብላችሁ ትደርሱበታላችሁ ይሉናል፡፡

እንደኔ እምነት ዴሞክራሲ በዕለት ተዕለት ሂወት እየኖሩበት የሚያዳብሩት እና የሚዳብሩበት እንጂ እንዲሁ በአንድ ወቅት ከተፍ የሚል ነገር አይደለም፡፡ በዕለት ዕለት ሂወት ካልኖሩበትና ካልተለማመዱበት ሊደርሱበት አይችሉም፡፡

በዚህ ሂደት በጎ ተሩፋት እንደሚኖሩ ሁሉ ስህተቶች ሊፈጸሙና ጉዳትም ሊደርስ እንደሚችል በገነዘብም በዴሚክራስያዊ መንገድ እየተጓዝን እያለን ለናደርግ በምንችለው ስህተት ምክንያት ልንከፍል የምንችለው ዋጋ ዴሞክራሲን በቀጠሮ በማስተላለፍ ወይም ጨርሶ በማሸቀንጠር ልንከፍል ከምንችለው ዋጋ በጣሙን ያነሰ መሆኑን ነው፡፡ ያለፈው ታሪካችን ይህንን እውነታ በአጽንኦት የነገረን በመሆኑ ዴሞክራሲን አሁኑኑ እንስራው እና እንኑርበት፤ ቀጠሮ አንስጠው እላለሁ፡፡

ከቡራትና ክቡራን

ኢትዮጵያውያን በዴሞክራስያዊ ስርዓት መኖርን እንመኛለን፤ ለዚህም ሲባል ብዙ መስዋእት ተከፍሎአል፡፡ ከተከፈለው መስዋእትነት አኳያ አሁን ድረስ የተመኘነው ሥርዓት ዘንድ ባለመድረሳችን ተስፋ መቁረጥና ራስን ከፖለቲካ የማግለል ሁኔታ ይታያል፡፡ የምር ተፎካካሪ የሆኑትን ፓርቲዎች መቀላቀል ራስን ለአደጋ እንደማጋለጥ ተደርጎ የሚቆጠርበት ሁኔታም አለ፡፡

በዚህ አገር ጠንካራ ተፎካካሪ ፓርቲ ሆኖ ለመዘለቅ ያለው መንገድ መሰናክል የበዛበት መሆኑ ቢታወቅም ካለ ጠንካራ ተፎካካሪ ፓርቲ ዴሞክራሲ መገንባት የማይታሰብ እንደመሆኑ ለዚሁ ስኬት መስራት የግድ ነው፡፡ ተደራጅተን ለዴሞክራሲ ካልታገልን ለዴሞክራስያዊ ስርዓት አንበቃም፡፡

የመደራጀትን ፋይዳ በሚገባ እገነዘባለሁ፡፡ ይህም ሆኖ እስካሁን ድረስ በፖለቲካዊ ድርጅት ውስጥ ሳልታቀፍ በግል ሰብ ደረጃ በመድረክ ለዴሞክራስያዊ ምክክር በኢትዮጵያ ጥላ ስንቀሳቀስ መቆየቴ ይታወቃል፡፡ ይህ አጋጣሚ ለእኔም ሆነ ለሌሎቹ በመድረኩ ላሉት ወንድሞቼ እና እህቶቼ እርስ በርስ ለመተዋወቅ ዕድል ከመፍጠሩ ባሻገር በልዩነታችን ተሸፍነው የቆዩት የጋራ እምነቶቻችን እና አቋሞቻችን ጎልተው እንዲወጡ እና በእነዚህ በመመርኮስ ሁላችንንም የሚያስማማ መለስተኛ ፕሮግራም ለመንደፍ አብቅቶናል፡፡ ከአንድነት ፓርቲ አመራር ለመተዋወቅ የቻልኩትም በዚሁ ሂደት ነበር፡፡

አንድነት ለዴሞክራሲና ለፍትህ ፓርቲ መድረክን ከተቀላቀለ በኋላ እና ፕሮግራሙን በመቅረጹ ሂደት ላይ እያለን ፓርቲውን እንድቀላቀል የአንድነት ከፍተኛ አመራሮች ጥያቄውን በግምባር አቅርበውልኛል፤ ተመሳሳይ ጥያቄም ለክቡር ደ/ር ነጋሶ ጊዳዳ የመጀመርያው የኢፌድሪ ፕረዚዳንት ቀርቧል፡፡

የፖለቲካ ድርጅትን መቀላቀል ካለብኝ ድርጅቱ ሕብረ ብሔራዊ መሆን እንዳለበት ቀደም ብየ የደረስኩበት ድምዳሜ እንደመሆኑና ጥያቄውን ያቀረበልኝ ድርጅት ሕብረ ብሄራዊ ፓርቲ በመሆኑ ከእምነቴ ጋር የሚጣጣም እንደሆነ ገልጨላቸዋለሁ፡፡

ይህም ሆኖ እኔ አባል የምሆንበት ድርጅት ማንኛውም ሕብረ ብሄራዊ ድርጅት ሳይሆን የዜግነት ወይም የግለ ሰብ መብትን እና የወል መብትን ሳይነጣጥል ለሁለቱም በቂ ስፍራ የሚሰጥ፣ የምር የሁሉም የኢትዮጵያ ብሄር ብሄረ ሰቦች መገኛ

የሆነ ፓርቲ መሆን ይኖርበታል የሚል ፅኑ እምነት እንዳለኝና ከታላቅ አክብሮት ጋር ሆኖ ከአንድነት የቀረበልኝን ጥያቄ ከዚህ አኳያ እንደምመረምረውም ገልጨላቸው ነበር።

አንድነት በመስራች ጉባኤው ያሰፈራቸውን በጎ እሴቶች ከዚሁ አንፃር ምርምሬአለሁ፣ መድረክን ለመቀላቀል የወሰደውን በጎ ውሳኔና መለስተኛ ፕሮግራሙን በመቅረጹ ሂደት ድርጅቱ ያሳየውን የሰጥቶ መቀበል መንፈስ ተመልክቻለሁ። ከዚህ በመነሳት ጳጉሜ 4 ቀን 2001 ዓ.ም ላይ በአንድነት ወጣቶች በኩል ጥያቄው በድጋሚ ለሁለታችንም የቀረበልን ጊዜ ፓርቲውን ለመቀላቀል በመሰረቱ ዝግጁ መሆኔን ገልጨላቸዋለሁ።

የመጨረሻ ውሳኔ ለመድረስ ይቻል ዘንድ በፕሮግራም ነክ ጉዳዮች ከአንድነት ፓርቲ ተቀዳሚ ም/ሊቀመንበር ኢንጅነር ግዛቸው ሺፈራው እና ከፓርቲው ዋ/ፀሐፊ አቶ አስራት ጣሴ ያደረግናቸው ተከታታይ ውይይቶች ተከትሎም አሁን ለድርጅቱ ጉባኤ በረቂቅነት በቀረበው ፕሮግራም ላይ ስምምነት ለመድረስ ችለናል። በመሆኑም ይህ ፕሮግራም የአንድነት ፕሮግራም ሆኖ ከጸደቀ ፓርቲውን በአባልነት ለመቀላቀል ወስኛለሁ።

በአገራችን ውስጥ ካለው ፓለቲካዊ ምኅዳር አኳያ የምር ተፎካካሪ ሆኖ ኢህአዴግን መገዳደር በስለት የመንዝ ያክል አደጋ እንዳለው ብገነዘብም ከልጅነቴ የጀመርኩትን ጉዞ ዳር ሳይደርስ ከተደራጀ ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ራሴን ማግለል ህሊናየ ሊቀበለው የማይችል ነገር በመሆኑ ሊያስከትል የሚችለውን ኃላፊነት እና ሸክም ከእናነተ ጋር ለመቀበል መወሰኔን ለአንድነት ፓርቲ አባላትና ደጋፊዎች እና ለእኔ የትግል አጋሮች እና ደጋፊዎች ስገልፅ ታላቅ ደስታ ይሰማኛል።

አንደነትን የሁሉም ኢትዮጵያውያን ቤት ሊባል የሚችል ጠንካራ ሕብረ ብሔራዊ ፓርቲ ለማድረግ የሚሰራ በርካታ ስራ እንዳለ፣ በጥናት ጥራት እያገኙ የሚሄዱ ጉዳዮች እንዳሉ ብገነዘብም በረቂቅ ፕሮግራሙ ምሰሶዎች ላይ ሙሉ ስምምነት እንዳለኝም ላረጋግጥ እወዳለሁ። በእነዚህ ምሶሶዎች በመመርኮስ ይህንን ጠንካራ ፓርቲ የመሆን ሰፊ እድል ያለውን ፓርቲ እውን ጠንካራ ፓርቲ እናደርገዋለን የሚል ሙሉ እምነት አለኝ።

ክቡራትና ክቡራን

የኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲከኞች የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ለዴሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት እውን መሆን ያለውን ምኞትና ተስፋ ከግብ ለማድረስ ደፋ ቀና ማለታቸው አልቀረም። ይህ እውን እንዲሆን የምንመኝ ዜጎች መገንዘብ ያለብን የመጀመርያው እውነታ ዴሞክራሲ በአንድ ፓርቲ ስርዓት የማይገነባና መድብለ ፓርቲአዊ ስርዓት ግድ እንደሚል ነው። መድበለ ፓርቲያዊ ስርዓት መኖሩ አንድ አስፈላጊ ሁኔታ ቢሆንም በአገራችን 92 የተመዘገቡ ፖለቲካዊ ፓርቲ አሉ መባሉ ለአንድ ፓርቲ አገዛዝ የተመቸ ሁኔታ መኖሩን ያመለክት እንደሆነ እንጂ የምር መድብለ ፓርቲያዊ ስርዓት መኖሩን አያመለክትም። ከዚህ መሳቅያነት ወጥተን በቁጥር አነስተኛ የሆኑ ጠንካራ ተፎካካሪ ፓርቲዎች ወደ ሚኖሩበት የመሸጋገር ሥራ ይጠብቀናል።

በአንድ አገር በቁጥር አነስተኛና ጠንካራ ተፎካካሪ ፓርቲዎች መፈጠራቸው የአገሪቱ ልሂቃን እና ፖለቲከኞች ግለ ስብ ወይም ቡድን ከመሆን ተሻግረው ራሳቸውን ለአገር እና ከአገራዊ ጥቅም የማስገዛታቸው፤ እንደፖለቲከኞችም የማደጋቸውና የመስከናቸው ምልክት ነው። በሚገባ ታስቦበትና ተመክሮበት የተሰራ ሲሆን ደግሞ በመሰረታዊ ሃገራዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ የመቀራረባቸው እና የመግባባታቸው ምልክት ነው።

መድረክን የጀመርነው የኢትዮጵያን ችግሮች ከትብብር ውጪ አንድ ፓርቲ ብቻውን ሊፈታቸው የማይቻለው መሆኑን ከመገንዘብ እንደመሆኑ የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዴሞክራስያዊ አንድነት መድረክ እውን ከሆነ በኋላም ቢሆን ቀጣይ እምርታዎች የሚጠበቅበት በሂደት ላይ ያለ ፕሮጀክት መሆኑ ሊጤን ይገባዋል፡፡ እኔ አንድነትን ስቀላቀል መድረክንም መቀላቀሌ እንደሆነ፤ አንድነትን ማጠናከር መድረክንም ማጠናከር መሆኑን ከመገንዘብና ሁላችን እጅ ለእጅ ተጨባብጠን በምናደርገው የጋራ ትግል ሃገራዊ ፕሮጀክቱን በማሳካት የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች ተስፋ እናለመልማለን ከሚል እምነት ነው፡፡

መተባበር ሂደት እንደመሆኑ መውደቅና ከውደቀቱም እየተማሩና እያሻሻሉ እንደገና መነሳት ይኖራል፡፡ መተባበር በታየ ቁጥር መፍረሱ አይቀርም ለሚሉት ትንቢት ተናጋሪዎች ሂደቱ ችግር የተሞላበት ለመሆኑ የማንከራከረውን ያክል ለውጤት እንደሚበቃ ግን የማንጠራጠር መሆናችንን ልንገልፅላቸው እንወዳለን፡፡

በዚሁ አጋጣሚም ኢትዮጵያ ዴሞክራስያዊ ስርዓት እንዲኖር ከምር የሚመኙና የሚታገሉ በበርካታ ፓርቲዎች ተበታትነው ያሉት ኢትዮጵያውያን ከሌሎች ወገኖቻቸው ጋር ተባብሮ ለመስራት በመወሰን በኢትዮጵያ ዘጠና ሁለት ፓርቲዎች አሉ የሚለውን አሳፋሪ ዜና ታሪክ እንዲያደርጉት በአክብሮት እጠይቃቸዋለሁ፡፡ አለመተባበር የአምባገነኖችን የስልጣን ዘመንንና የሕዝባችንን ሰቆቃ ያራዝማል፤ መተባበር ግን የዜጎችን ሰብአዊና ዴሞክራሲ መብቶች መከበርን የሕግ የበላይነትን የነፃ እና ገልልተኛ ተቋማት መኖርን ያቀላጥፋል፡፡ ስለ ህግ የበላይነት ሳስብና ስናገር ወትሮውን ወደ ጎሊናየ የምትመጣው የአንድነት ሊቀ መንበር ወ/ሪት ብርቱካን ሚዲቅሳ ናት፡፡ በእርሷ ላይ በደረሰው ዳግም እስር በተለያዩ አጋጣሚዎች እና መድረኮች እንደተናገርኩት ሁሉ ለዜጎች ነጻነት እና ለሕግ የበላይነት የምንቆም ሁሉ ለእርሷና መሰል የጎሊና እስረኛ ወገኖቻችን መፈታት በጋራ እንቁም እንተባበር! እንተባበር! እንተባበር! እላለሁ፡፡

አመሰግናለሁ

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Ethiopian people wish to live within a democratic system. They have demonstrated this desire clearly during the 2005 election. Given this clear message from the people, trying to prolong the present rule for thirty or forty years is a clear indication that our rulers have not drawn the appropriate lesson from the historic signal of 2005.

Despite the fact that, in 1960, the Emperor had received signals indicating that his rule could not continue as it was, he failed to draw the appropriate lesson from those signals and what happened in 1974 happened.

Again, there were numerous signals indicating that the government of Mengistu Hailemariam could not continue for long in the way it was going. The military coup attempt that was made soon after the Shire debacle can be cited as one clear example. Here, too, because wisdom was lacking and no lesson was learnt from the timely signals, what happened in 1991 happened.

Ethiopia has paid dearly as a result of the unheeded signals and missed opportunities and the violence and chaos that followed.

What makes the 2005 signal different from the previous other signals is that it had manifested itself not in the form of arms but in the form of the vote ballot. Furthermore,

the transmitters of the signal were not armed forces but the people themselves, peaceful and unarmed. What was indisputable was that the message passed was clear and unmistakable.

What I often hear stressed and repeated by the ruling party, and by some of the members of the international community, is that democracy is a process. Using this view as a springboard, the present ruling party is trying to tell us to be patient and to allow it to rule us for the coming thirty or forty years. Others are telling us that the amount of democracy we have now is adequate for us and the rest we will acquire gradually, through time.

I believe that democracy is what we have to live right from the start. True, democracy is a process but we have to live in it from the beginning and develop it from within by active, daily participation. During this process, there will be benefits and there will be losses. We realize that, during this process, mistakes could be made and damages could result.

We cannot postpone the experience of full democracy for a later or some suitable time. The price we pay for delaying it is much higher than the price we pay for experiencing and growing in it right from the start. Our recent history reminds us of this truth with emphasis. Therefore, let us ***make*** democracy; let us ***live*** democracy ***now***, right from the start; let us not put it off for tomorrow.

Ladies and Gentlemen

We Ethiopians wish to live in a democratic system and we have paid dearly in our struggle to realize this wish. Because of the precious prices paid in the struggle to realize our wish, and also because the prices paid so far have not yet brought us to the fulfillment of that wish, we see a tendency of hopelessness and resignation from politics prevailing. There is also the tendency where joining the real, competitive parties is taken as exposing oneself to real danger.

It is well known that the road to forming a strong, competitive party in this country is fraught with dangers. On the other hand, it is also well known that a viable democracy cannot be built without a strong, competitive party. Therefore, it is imperative that we work for the building of such a political force. If we do not organize and struggle, we cannot be beneficiaries of a democratic system.

I realize fully well the value of organizing. However, up to now, it is known that I have not joined any political party but have been an active participant in the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (FORUM). This experience has given me and my brothers and sisters in the FORUM an opportunity to know one other, to bring forward our similarities and stands that were hidden in our differences and on the basis of which we were able to draw a common minimum programme. It was during this experience that I had the opportunity to be closely acquainted with the leadership of Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (UDJ).

After UDJ had joined the Forum and while we were in the process of drafting the programme, high level UDJ leaders had asked me in person to join their party. A similar question was directed to Dr. Negasso Gidada, the first President of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

It was my principled stand I had maintained earlier that if I were to join a party, that party would have to be a national party. Since the party that asked me to join it was a national party, I expressed to the leadership that the nature of their party went well with my beliefs.

Furthermore, for me, it is not enough that the party I join be ***any*** national party. It is my strong belief that it must be a party that harmonizes the rights of the individual with those of the group and a party that serves as a hub for all the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia. Accordingly, I had let the UDJ leaders know that I would consider their invitation with due respect.

Accordingly, I have examined carefully the values enshrined in UDJ's programme and approved by its founding Congress. I have also followed the positive step taken by UDJ to join the FORUM and observed the spirit of give and take it demonstrated during the process of drafting the Minimum Programme. Based on such a background, when, on September 9,2008, the

question was presented to me and to Dr. Negasso once again by the youths of UDJ, I told them that, in principle, I was ready to join their party.

Following a series of discussions with UDJ's Deputy Chairman, Engineer Gizachew Shiferaw, and the General Secretary, Ato Asrat Tasie, agreement was reached on the revised UDJ programme that is about to be presented to the UDJ Congress for adoption. Hence, if the programme is approved by the Congress, I have decided to join UDJ.

Although I realize that operating as a strong and really competitive party and challenging EPRDF is as dangerous as walking on a sharp edge, my conscience will not allow me to remove myself from organized and active political participation, a journey I had begun when I was a child, before reaching my cherished goal. It gives me great pleasure to announce to the members of UDJ and their supporters, as well as to my own partners and supporters in struggle, that I have decided to continue my struggle with you and to bear with you the burden that the struggle entails.

Although I realize that there are many remaining tasks that have to be carried out to make UDJ even a strong national party and an inviting common home for all Ethiopians, I would like to assure you all that I am in full agreement with the pillar values enshrined in the draft programme. I have full confidence that, based on these fundamental pillars values, we can make this party with great potentials, a truly strong party.

Ladies and Gentlemen

There is no doubt that Ethiopian politicians have gone up and down in their own ways to enable the Ethiopian people to realize their dream of living in a democratic society. Those of us who wish to see this dream fulfilled must realize that democracy cannot be built by one party alone. It is imperative that we put in place a multi-party system. Although having a multi-party system is a necessary precondition for democracy, the existence of 92 registered parties in our country does not seriously indicate that there truly is a multi-party system, except that it may indicate the existence of a favorable condition for a continued one-party rule. We have to come out of this laughable state and transit to a system where there would be a few strong and competitive parties.

The existence of a few but strong and competitive parties in a given country is an indication that the intellectuals and politicians in that country have transcended the state of being engrossed in individual or group preoccupations and subjected themselves to higher national causes. It is also an indication that, as politicians, they have grown to a higher level of awareness and gained maturity and stability.

When we initiated the FORUM, it was with the realization that the problems facing Ethiopia could not be solved by a single party, outside of the framework of cooperative endeavor. When I join UDJ, I also join the FORUM. Strengthening UDJ is strengthening the FORUM. With this realization, we can join hands and stand together should to shoulder to achieve the national goal with our common endeavors and to revive the hope of the Ethiopian people.

Cooperation is a process and in this process there will be failures. The wisdom here is to learn from the failures and to rise again with renewed vigor and improved performance. To those prophets who say that every time there is cooperation, there is inevitable disintegration, this is what we would like to say : that the process is filled with problems is indisputable but that there is victory and success in the end is equally indisputable.

I wish to take this opportunity to respectfully request my fellow Ethiopians, who long to see a democratic system established in Ethiopia but who are currently scattered in the plethora of parties, to join the rest of their fellow Ethiopians and make the embarrassing phenomenon of 92 parties existing in Ethiopia a history—a thing of the past. Not cooperating prolongs the oppressive rule of dictators and the suffering of our people. Cooperation, on the other hand, facilitates respect for human and democratic rights and enables the rule of law and free and non-partisan institutions to flourish. Furthermore, not only does cooperation shorten the life of dictatorship but it also shortens the days of suffering of our fellow citizens, including W/t Birtukan Mideksa,

Whenever I think and speak of the rule of law, it is W/t Birtukan Mideksa, the Chairperson of UDJ, that always comes to my mind. As I have spoken on different occasions and forums about her re-imprisonment, I wish to take this opportunity again to call upon all of us who stand for freedom and for the rule of law to struggle in unison for the release of Birtukan and other fellow citizens who are prisoners of conscience and are currently languishing in prisons throughout this country.

Let us unite!

Let us unite!

Let us unite, for in unity we stand strong!

I Thank you!

Siye Abraha

Addis Ababa

November 26, 2009