The empire of Ethiopia that ate elites and heroes of Oromo's are not successful to crush the long march struggle of Oromo people to everlasting freedom and democracy. The successive Amhara-Tigray colonial regimes including Abiy Ahmed government and bureaucratic Amharan's, who day and night striving to revive the unitary system (Neo-Nafxagna) exploited the natural resources of Oromia and massacre millions of Oromo's failed to understand that people who struggle for freedom, human rights, and human dignity cannot be reversed with military might, political maneuvers, deceptions, or martial law. Following the path of Matcha Tulama Association and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo" over take the struggle and recorded many historic and irreversible victories against the tyrant/fascist/genocider TPLF led government that ruined the country for three decades. Following the victory of "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo" Abiy Ahmed appointment as a prime minister of the transitional government from political organization with the name of Oromo party (OPDO/ODP/OPP) never gave rest for Oromo people's, and gross human rights violations continued.



Solomon Dessalegn

# "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo"

National Movement and Sustained Gross Human Rights Violations in Ethiopia.



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Publisher:

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17 Meldrum Street, Beau Bassin 71504, Mauritius

Printed at: see last page ISBN: 978-620-3-02668-9

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#### Abstract

The Amhara-Tigray colonialists' efforts to stifle the Oromo national freedom struggle were not succeeded to fulfill their colonial ambitions, i.e. total control of the Oromo nation and the destruction of its culture, history and gadaa democratic system. For the Oromo people, nothing is more important than standing up and defending the mother land, their cultural heritage, historical treasures and dignity. It is irrefutable fact that Oromia has always defended by its legendary traditional leaders, historic warriors, heroic national figures, liberation fighters and dedicated nationals. They made ultimate sacrifice, like millions of other Oromo martyrs who laid down their lives for the liberation of their nation and people, in hope that their bloodshed inspires the descendants and current Oromo generation to keep the freedom struggle ongoing until freedom and democracy reached. These Oromos' ultimate sacrifice were not worthless because the Oromos' question of national identity, "Abbaa Biyyummaa", and self-governance finally overtaken by Oromo national youth movement for freedom and democracy (Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo).

'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo' and patriotic nationalists have recorded many historic and irreversible victories at higher price that finally destructed and cleared tyrant/fascist/genocider TPLF from the Oromia land including Finfinnee. Following the removal of TPLF the appointment of Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister of Ethiopia from Oromo party never gave rest for Oromo people. Abiy Ahmed in cooperation with bureaucratic Amharan's waged war against Oromos' throughout Oromia to crush multi ethnic type of federalism and to replace it with unitary type of state. Oromia region back to the square one, arrest of thousands in infamous detention centers, thousands were extra judicial killed, raped and abducted by happy trigger soldiers. Under Abiy Ahmed government today Ethiopia is a center

of excellence in mass extra judicial killings, mass arrest in infamous detention centers, mass abduction, mass rape and genocide in horn Africa.

<u>Key Words</u>: 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo', Sustained Gross Human Rights Violations, Bureaucratic Amharan's, Neo-Nafxagna and Neo-Abyssinian.

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#### 1. Introduction

It is always important to bear in mind that the occupied and repressed people are not here for perceived ideas or temporary economic or material gains. Rather, they are fighting for fundamental national freedom- for independence, democracy, and human dignity that guarantees their future existence and progress. For these reasons, people who have fallen under colonial occupation or slavery will fight against any colonial hegemony. The Oromo as a nation, and 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo' as unarmed peaceful young Oromo force are not exception. They have been experiencing state terrorism, violent atrocities, humiliation, physical injuries, and loss of natural wealth under successive Amharan-Tigray colonial regimes. A few elements of Oromo elites who clearly understood the impact of Ethiopian colonialism and global imperialism on the Oromo nation had facilitated the emergence of the Oromo national movement in the 1960s and 1970s by initiating the development of national Oromummaa (Oromo national culture, identity, and nationalism).<sup>3</sup>

To change the deplorable condition of the Oromo people, 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' Oromo (Male and Female youth Oromo) movement is engaging in national struggle to restore the Oromo democratic tradition known as the gadaa system and to liberate the Oromo people from colonialism and all forms of oppression and exploitation by achieving their national self-determination. 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo' like Matcha-Tulama Association and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) have a lion share contribution in the history of Oromo struggle against Amhara-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Itana Gammada, Oromiyaa: Moving toward Ultimate Victory (17 January 2018). Retrieved from <a href="https://www.bilisummaa.com">www.bilisummaa.com</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Asafa Jalata, The Oromo National Movement and Gross Human Rights Violations in the Age of Globalization (European scientific journal February 2016, Vol 12, No.5) p 177

Tigray colonial regime.<sup>4</sup> 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' perceived as liberation front from any marginalization on Oromo nation.<sup>5</sup> The current political transition that replaced the supremacy of Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) is the result of all Oromo people's, Matcha-Tulama Association, Oromo Liberation Front, and 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo' struggles for centuries. For the current political transition 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' sacrificed their unreturned soul to voice the accumulated grievances of Oromo people and bring the current political transition in Ethiopia.<sup>6</sup>

This paper focuses on and explores the following important points: first, is mainly about the role of 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo' national movement that brings current political transition. Second, it discusses whether the current political transition is in the right track to address some of the questions Oromo people were/are struggling for centuries against the Amhara-Tigray colonial regime. Third, it explains why gross human right violations sustained in Oromia under the current political transition. To address these points provided above the writer mainly used secondary source of data for strong based evidence which mean reviewing books, articles, papers that is mainly relevant to this writing. In addition, documents, news, and features from private and government legal websites were used as secondary source of data. Further to get necessary information from aforementioned sources of data, writer own observation and document analysis were employed as data gathering tools.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' irreversible victories in the history of Oromo struggle for equality in Ethiopia (unpublished, 2020)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, 'Querroo fi Quarree Oromoo' Unarmed young Oromo force that save Ethiopia from disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019) p 35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Mulualem Daba, 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree': The engine of current transition in Ethiopian politics (International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications, Vol. 9, Issue 5, May 2019) p 534

# 2. 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' Oromo National Movement

The writer begin his discussion with the concept of nationalism, as Benedict Anderson provides nationalism is the most recent in its appearance, the most attractive at the present time, and the richest in promise of future power. Anderson's thoughtful critique of action's prediction is important that 130 years later the great polyglot empires that ruled the earth for hundreds of years from Lisbon, London, Moscow, Vienna, Paris, Istanbul, Madrid, even Addis Ababa (Finfinnee) have disintegrated leaving behind "only the residue of the Celestial Empire still more or less standing. Nationalism in its modern sense has become a reaffirmation of one's self-identity more than ever, a response, "an identity-signifier," to world terrorism and to globalization imposing itself in form of economics, politics, and human affairs by dividing the world into Global North and Global South-a new regionalization effect. Whereas self-identity of individuals and groups has become insecure and uncertain, humans draw closer to any collective union that is perceived as reducing insecurity, sheltering in their own heimats, i.e. home (Mana).

Oromo nationalism began in 1936 during the Italian invasion by "Western Oromo Confederation" followed by the Bale peasant's protest and the salale resistance. Though not all encompassing, thirty-three local leaders from western Oromia founded the "Western Oromo Confederation." They refused to send troops to take part in the battle against the Italian invasion in the northern front and rather sent delegations to appeal to League of Nations through British consul based in Gore, Western Oromia, for recognition and membership as "Western Oromo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Assefa Tefera, Some notes on Oromo cultural nationalism, p 3

<sup>8</sup> I.d

<sup>9</sup> Id, p 5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Id

Confederation," but the British consul did not recognize the "Confederation". The Raya-Asabo Oromo popular protest in north Ethiopia from 1928-1935 under the leadership of Ras Gugsa Wole come to an end only after repeated attempts by the imperial army and after eight-year defiance. George McCann describes it as a "political symbol of the larger pattern of violence" in the history of Oromo peasant resistance and as a part of "a series of localized responses to economic and environmental conditions in Ethiopia's emerging social formation". On the whole, these are some of localized and scattered Oromo resistance that consolidated eventually the "modern" Oromo nationalism against neo-Abyssinian domination.

Well ahead, Oromo nationalism against the Amhara-Tigray colonial regime continued by Haileselasie I University Oromo students. Oromo students were clandestinely meeting and discussing since the "official nationalist narrative of Ethiopian history and society that was promoted in the curriculum emphasized the civilizing mission of the Christian north and portrayed Oromo and other peoples of the south as less than noble savages and Muslims as threatening invaders. <sup>14</sup> The struggle was the voice of the general revolutionary university students at the time while 'Kana Beektaa?' that is, "do you know" was the Oromo students' issue to help escalate the cultural resistance with another clandestine issue, The Oromo: Voice against Amhara-Tigray colonial regime. <sup>15</sup> When the revolution erupted in 1974 a national movement for the revival of Oromo national identity, culture, language and others was growing and taking some definite shape among the

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Assefa Tefera, Some notes on Oromo cultural nationalism, in Gebissa Ezekiel (2007), The Italian invasion, the Ethiopian empire, and Oromo nationalism: The significance of "Western Oromo Confederation of 1936." (Northeast African Studies, Vol. 9, No 3, (New series), pp 75-96. Michigan State University Press.

<sup>12</sup> Id

<sup>13</sup> T.J

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Assefa Tefera, Some notes on Oromo cultural nationalism, in Hultin Jan, "Rebounding Nationalism: State and Ethnicity in Wollega 1968-1976." (African: Journal of the International Institute, Vol. 73, No 3 (2003), p 402-442

intellectuals.<sup>16</sup> Based on this the legal use of 'Afaan Oromoo' for mass media become possible for the first time, cultural shows that brought the Oromo language and arts on to the stage for the first time in the capital city and provincial centers.<sup>17</sup> But it was quashed because of Ethiopian military regime (Derg) continued ethnic identity suppression with continuing imperial old policy of "national integration" or nation-building through Amharization.<sup>18</sup> The struggle for national identity continued especially by Oromo intellectual and Diasporas.<sup>19</sup> Even though there were Oromo elites opted for unarmed struggle to change deep rooted and heinous policy of Amharization, it remained unsuccessful.<sup>20</sup> As a result the only left option as which from the beginning opted by some other elite for an independent organization was Oromo Liberation Front (OLF).

OLF as armed organization organized and continued struggle for the question of national identity. Oromo students in Europe and North America formed Oromo Student Organization<sup>21</sup> to study Oromo's language, history and culture. These Oromo student organizations created link with OLF to work together for liberating Oromo from dehumanized, extractive and exploitative Amharization policy.<sup>22</sup> From 1991 OLF with other ethnic fronts defeated Derg that was dominated Amharan policy. Following the fall of Derg, Oromia for the first time after long struggle against Amharan-Tigray colonial hegemony had her own demarked boundary line and recognized as sovereign regional state. Oromo language adopted

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' irreversible victories in the history of Oromo struggle for equality in Ethiopia (unpublished), in Mekuria Bulcha, The Survival and Reconstruction of Oromo National Identity, in Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries, ed. P. T. W. Baxter, Jan Hutlin, and Alessandro Triulzi (Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press, 1996), p 64

<sup>17</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Id, p 65

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Id n(4)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Id n (4)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Mekuria Bulcha (Survival and Reconstruction of Oromo National Identity), in Books of Being and Becoming Oromo, p 65, These Organizations were the Union of Oromo Students in Europe (UOSE/TBOA) and the Union of Oromo Student in North America (UOSNA). UOSNA latter become the Oromo Union in North America (OUNA). <sup>22</sup> Id n (4)

as medium of administration, law and education, and the mass media that brought the crystallization of Oromo identity.<sup>23</sup> The Sabean script, which is one pillars of Abyssinian cultural legacy rejected and replaced by 'Qubee' script which contributed to psychological liberation of Oromo people.<sup>24</sup>

After the fall of Derg (military dictator), there was hope and optimism that the country is at the new path of democracy. But the hope and optimism of democracy changed into autocracy by the hegemony of Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF). Mass arrest and torture, genocide, thousands of migration to neighboring country, Europe and North America, and large exploitation of Oromia natural resources continued by TPLF, Oromo People Democratic Organization (After this, OPDO) and bureaucratic Amharan's.<sup>25</sup> Oromo's question of national identity, question of "Abbaa Biyyummaa", and question of full self-governance remain fully unanswered. Even though Oromo's political organizations like OLF attacked by TPLF with the help of Eritrea government, and western powers, internally mainly by Oromo students the struggle continued against the TPLF and bureaucratic Amharan's. The struggle continued not only by Oromo students but also by Oromo elites internally and externally. The questions of Oromo people they struggled for centuries not fully addressed. The disorganized struggle of Oromo people's want long march which finally overtaken by the unarmed (peaceful) group called "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo" (Oromo National Youth Movement for Freedom and Democracy) to reach the final destination point.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Mekuria Bulcha (Survival and Reconstruction of Oromo National Identity), in Books of Being and Becoming Oromo, in A Glance at Oromo Art and Literature, Kifle Djote (1993), The Oromo commentary, III (2), 20-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Mekuria Bulcha (Survival and Reconstruction of Oromo National Identity), in Books of Being and Becoming Oromo, in Reasons for choosing the Latin script for developing an Oromo Alphabet, Tilahun Gamta (1993) the Oromo commentary. III (1), 17-20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Id n (4)

Inspired by 2011 revolution of North Africa and the Middle East known as Arab Spring, this Oromo youth group 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa' was established in 2011.<sup>26</sup> At first, very few people paid serious attention to it.<sup>27</sup> Many believed it to be just another bluffing of desperate groups opposing the government from the Diaspora.<sup>28</sup> But soon enough the group showed itself on the ground that it is struggling against the colonial hegemony of TPLF for real.<sup>29</sup> The movement of the group started showing itself mainly in universities and higher educational institutions in Oromia. A series of Oromo student protests broke out in several universities and colleges following the formation of the group. Oromo student protests continued on and off, but non-stop throughout the years 2011-2014 in Oromia mainly in universities, apparently under the underground leadership of this Oromo youth group "Oeerroo fi Oaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo". The TPLF led government suppression continued. The most widespread and bloodiest of all the protests is the series of protests that occurred in the spring of 2014. From 2014 thousands of 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo' sacrificed their life for the recognition and restoration of their national rights. From the beginning the struggle of 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa' against the tyrant TPLF and bureaucratic Amharan's were not considered hopeful by Oromo politicians, activists, and other Oromo's living inside and outside the mother land. As their struggle against tyrant TPLF and bureaucratic Amharan's want to show progress politicians, activists, civil servants inside and outside the mother land agitated and coordinated the struggle or protest movements.30

27 Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Daandii Qajeelaa, A chronological summary of Oromo student movement led by Qeerroo Bilisummaa Oromoo (Compilation): November 2013-November 2014. Retrieved from http://finfinnetribune.com, p 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Id n (4)

'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo' are super bright and idealistic front fighting for everlasting freedom and democracy. In this case, what anybody should note is that, the destruction of Matcha-Tulama Association, the OLF defeat by tyrant TPLF with the help of Eritrean government and western power, the death of thousands of Oromo's, arrest and torture of thousands of Oromo's, hundred thousands fled of Oromo's to other country, and genocide largely committed against Oromo people by successive Amharan-Tigray tyrant and fascist governor destructed neither the moral nor the hearts and minds of the Oromo people. For instance, tyrant and fascist TPLF regime spends millions to categorize the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) as a terrorist organization to thereby get a cover for committing all kind of atrocities against the Oromo people, especially on "Afaan Oromoo speaking Oromo's". The Amhara-Tigray colonialists' efforts to stifle the Oromo national freedom struggle were not succeeded to fulfill their colonial ambitions: total control of the Oromo nation and the destruction of its culture, history and gadaa democratic system.<sup>32</sup> For the Oromo people, nothing is more important than standing up and defending the mother land, their cultural heritage, historical treasures and dignity.<sup>33</sup> It is irrefutable fact that Oromia has always defended by its legendary traditional leaders, historic warriors, heroic national figures, liberation fighters and dedicated nationals.<sup>34</sup> They made ultimate sacrifice, like millions of other Oromo martyrs who laid down their lives for the liberation of their nation and people, in hopes that their bloodshed inspires their descendants

<sup>31</sup> Tuji Jidda, The untold History of Ethiopia: 1992 TPLF-OLF war, p 2

<sup>32</sup> Itana Gammada, Oromiyaa: Moving toward Ultimate Victory (17 January 2018). Retrieved from www.bilisummaa.com

<sup>33</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), in Oromiyaa: Moving toward ultimate victory, Itana Gammada (17 January 2018). Retrieved from www.bilisummaa.com <sup>34</sup> Id

and current Oromo generation to keep the freedom struggle ongoing until freedom and democracy reached.<sup>35</sup>

'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' Oromo and patriotic nationalists are now part and parcel of the ongoing (restless) bitter struggle for claiming national identity and equality among peoples of Ethiopia. One of the major triggering factors for 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' Oromo protest is the issue of land grabbing in Oromia region through different deceiving strategies. For instance, the issue of an integrated regional development plans for Finfinne (Addis Ababa) and the surrounding Oromia region was a systematic land grabbing strategy of which evicted thousands of Oromo peasant farmers. From 2014-2019 alone large number of 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' Oromo were arrested and killed by tyrant and fascist TPLF with help of bureaucratic Amharan's and the puppet OPDO.<sup>36</sup> More than 6000 'Oeerroo fi Oaarree' Oromo (youth male and female Oromo) were killed by massacre and tyrant TPLF mainly with the help of bureaucratic Amharan's and the puppet political organization OPDO.<sup>37</sup> The fascist and tyrant TPLF projects of mass massacre, mass murders, torture, incarceration and tens millions of mass removals from their ancestral lands never saved TPLF from falling down.<sup>38</sup> Surprisingly tyrant and fascist TPLF eliminated from the Oromo people and Oromia mainly by heroic 'Oeerroo fi Oaarree' Oromo.

The tyrant and fascist TPLF that exploited resources of Oromia and massacre thousands of peaceful young Oromo's force (the future of this country) failed to understand that people who struggle for freedom, national rights and human dignity cannot be reversed with military might, political maneuvers, deceptions, or

<sup>35</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), p 35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Id, p 36

martial law. Our fallen heroes and heroines have set the objective of this nation that patriotic 'Qubee' generations' are not only embracing, but have taken over with the determination to fulfill. For the past five years from 2014 onward, the heroic 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' Oromo, and patriotic nationalists have recorded many historic and irreversible victories at higher price that finally destructed and cleared the tyrant/fascist/genocider TPLF from the Oromia land including from the seat of the federal government and the epicenter of Oromia, which mean Finfinne (Addis Ababa).<sup>39</sup>

After the removal of TPLF from power what was left were the Amharan's bureaucratic and OPDO the former puppet of TPLF, which remain as a problem for the transition of Oromo people to democracy, equality, freedom, and self administration. The power of 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' Oromo shock the country political economy and this followed by transitional government headed by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. The appointment of Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister of the country brought optimism and hope to millions tired suffering atrocities of tyrant and fascist successive Amhara-Tigray governors. But the appointment of Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister of Ethiopia brought nothing especial for the Oromo people who were under the colony of tyrant and dictator successive Amhara-Tigray governor for centuries. Mass arrest, abduction, rape and killing of Oromos' especially in southern (Borana and Guji) and western (Wellega) part of Oromia region continued.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Id

## 3. Transition to Democracy or Disintegration

At the beginning of Abiy Ahmed appointment as Prime Minister there was hope and optimism. For instance, he traveled abroad and wooed the Diaspora; and his government invited exiled opposition political parties to return to the country and work peacefully and compete in a fair and free elections. <sup>41</sup> Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed presented himself as reformist and promised for fundamental change in governing and expanding political space. After few months of his power everything changed to their previous positions, i.e. mass arrest, mass abduction in southern and western part of Oromia, and mass killings of Oromo youth by federal government military and police are coming out daily.

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and his government (i.e. transitional government) wage war against OLF, its supporters and the Oromo people at large than implementing agreement made in Eritrea with the latter. His government continued ruling the country based on divide policy mainly among the Oromo people. For instance, attaching Wellega Oromo with "Shane" waged war against the innocent people of Wellega as a result of which hundreds were killed and thousands were arrested in infamous detention center, and dismissed/removed those who are Wellega from positions both at federal and regional level. This division policy of Abiy Ahmed government not restricted to Wellega but it extends to Harargeh, Arsi, Bale and other parts of Oromia. Abiy Ahmed government is excluding Wellega, Arsi and Bale from development plan because he believed that these parts of Oromia region not recognized his government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Soretti Jarrssoo, What ODP (Oromo Democratic Party) leaders want? Maneuvering to cling to power or responding to challenging and complex issues? (January 15, 2019). Retrieved from <a href="https://www.ayyaantuu.org">www.ayyaantuu.org</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>**Shane** is an 'Afaan Oromo term' that represent executive body of OLF and this is structured based on Oromos' indigenous political system called "Gadaa yookiin Oda Shanan", but to divide and aggravate conflicts among Oromo, Abiy Ahmed and his government used the term "**Shane**" as defamatory word and they propagated as this armed group only represents Oromo Wellega but not entire Oromo people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Medhin Siraj, Hijacked revolution written in Amharic version (July 2019), p 102

Abiy Ahmed government is using the same divide and rule policy used by TPLF government to stay long in power. For instance, TPLF attach to some Amharan's the so called "Nafxagna" and OLF to Oromos' asking for the rights and freedom of their nation. In his book of hijacked revolution Medhin Siraj clearly provided that Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is strongly and continuously working on dividing Oromo for the purpose of breaking or weakening the unit of Oromo people that removed the tyrant and fascist TPLF colonial hegemony. That means Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed believed that the unit of Oromo people is threat to his power and political intrigue of reviving and continuing the legacy of Menelik under unitary system of government, i.e. One Ethiopia under one political ideology, religion, language, culture and etc, or the revival of supremacy of Nafxagna.

In the age of globalization Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's working hardly for the revival of Menelik governmental system that exterminate about five million Oromo people within thirty years between 1870-1900.<sup>46</sup> The struggle of Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's to back to the root, i.e. backing to Menelik fascist governance in twenty first century (21st century) or in the age of globalization is a barbaric and primitive way of political strategy which is dangerous for the country to sustain. That means Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's barbaric political strategy, if not abated on time, it may disintegrate Ethiopia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>**Nafxagna** means those mainly from Amharan's and other nations who were extractive and exploitative of labor and natural resources of the central and southern part of Ethiopia (in today's Oromia and Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Region) during European and Ethiopian feudalism and imperialism, specifically in Ethiopia during the reign of Menelik and Emperor Haileselassie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Medhin Siraj, Hijacked revolution written in Amharic version (July 2019), p 104-105

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in Un peuple antique au pays de Menelik, De Salviac (86-87, 278)

To corroborate the above points it is important to mention about Abiy Ahmed prosperity party. Why Abiy Ahmed chose to merge the Ethiopia People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) into Prosperity Part? It is just curious about the road that takes Ethiopia to prosperity without re-engineering the laws on land, natural resources, and property, capital and labour (because it is doubtful that the current Ethiopia labour law reform addresses the staggering unemployment rates in the labour market). Currently, we have an urban centered and wealthy (investors) development narratives essentially focusing the capital city Finfinne. Or how many of legal reforms currently underway that exemplifies the social and economic re-engineering of Ethiopia people to realize prosperity? For instance, better to see tax reform that create loopholes for the rich to exploit majority poor people taking their live savings to own property such as car and a house that this days become a necessity of urban life. Also better to add the allocation of land for the wealthy investors and political clients everywhere. They call a rich to auction of land for sale.

Abiy Ahmed "Medemer" and Merger of EPRDF into Prosperity party explicitly indicated as he deceptively working hard to cling to power. It is not doubtful that Abiy Ahmed prosperity important objective is to rebuild EPRDF fractured image, to redeem its tarnished reputation, to resolve the EPRDF's crisis of legitimacy and address its crippling dysfunction went for the nuclear option of dissolving the four constituent units of the coalition and forming a single pan-Ethiopia national party called Ethiopia Prosperity Party (EPP).<sup>47</sup> Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed strategy to expand and unifying the ruling EPRDF coalition into EPP, motivated by his desire

 $<sup>^{47}</sup>$ Solomon Dessalegn, The Merger of Ethiopia People Revolution Democratic Front into Ethiopia Prosperity Party and its Impact on the Constitution (unpublished, 2020), p 5

to centralize power and decision making, and display and strength the authoritarian mode of governance.48

This clearly indicates as transitional government led by Abiy Ahmed is not reformist but a dictator talking simply reform to buy time to get a good grip on power. Abiy Ahmed government completely failed to live its promise of reform and change of laws and institutions owned for long time by TPLF led EPRDF government. It is possible conclude that Abiy Ahmed transitional government turns to be part two tyrant/fascist TPLF than working against. Abiy Ahmed transitional government this day completely ignored Oromo people's opportunities that have been through a lot of trauma for generation instead he kept ruling the country by military force killing hundreds and detaining thousands including famous and public figure politicians that played irreversible role to quash tyrant/fascist TPLF. To mention some of them like Bekele Gerba, Jawar Mohammed, Gemechu Ayyana, Lammi Begna, Chaltuu Takelle and others. They were detained in infamous prison detention and they were not charged before courts of law properly as per basic substantive and procedural laws of the country.

That mean Abiy Ahmed government is eagerly working for his political party survival and continuity. In addition Oromo People's democratic Organizations (OPDO)/Oromo Democratic Party (ODP)/Oromo Prosperity Party (OPP) leaders like Shimelis Abdisa (President of Oromia region), Addisu Arega, Taye Danda'a and others are striving for the survival of their party and power. Because they are using their political capital to sustain themselves than finding peaceful way to move forward, make peace and implement agreement made with opposition political organization like with Oromo Liberation Front (OLF).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Id

To elaborate further Abiy Ahmed "Medemer" or his Prosperity Party is against African conception and philosophy of a person in a society, i.e. in Africa, man is part and parcel of the group. Individual rights could be explained and justified only by the rights of the community. So despite such embodiment of Africa (for that matter as embodied in Ethiopia people's philosophy of man) philosophy of individual conception animated by sprit of solidarity, why Abiy Ahmed Prosperity party or "Medemer" wants to inculcate the attitude that stands in stark contrast to the atomistic view of the western world, which regards individuals as locked in a constant struggle against society for redemption of their rights? In the continuum of empire state backed by exploitation of their natural resources and marginalization of peoples right against self-determination, you cannot persuaded a man from certain group of people to prosper alone isolating him/her from that group. That mean you cannot persuade me to ensure my prosperity by locking my mind that I should liberate myself from my own people. Because, that only serves your grip to power as you ideological incapacitate individuals to unite against yours ills to defend his/her rights. That is like trying to catch a fish out of the pond as the fish cannot survive without water. It is anomaly to think of "Medemer" or Prosperity but intoxicate the critical mass to think of themselves as a man, individual citizen proper. To the extent the monopoly of power by the state benefits the political elites and their cronies, it is not possible to succeed in the reengineering of the society as 'homo economicus': a rational individual who thinks his own personal interest from the vantage points of his economic relations with any other persons despite the creed of ethnicity and religious background. Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's as agent of the people completely ignored their role to level the playing field to mushroom equity, justice and equality.

The other important controversies that should be addressed about Abiy Ahmed Prosperity; is completely against multinational federation incorporated in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia constitution. Peoples believe that, the fusion of distinct entities that represented the various ethnic groups marks a return to Ethiopia's centralizing and homogenizing past.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, many Ethiopians living outside the capital city, Finfinne (Addis Ababa), have strong attachment to their ethnic communities and believe that ethnic groups should be entitled to determine their political, economic and cultural status without any external interference, including right to be judged and be educated in their own language. They want to belong to the larger Ethiopian polity while also preserving their unique identity and character. For Ethiopian peoples, Abiy Ahmed Prosperity threatens to undermine the achievements of the last three decades in terms of political autonomy and lays political foundation for a unitary type of state that will rob them of their dignity and autonomy.

The ex-president of Oromia regional state Lemma Megersa who was a key figure in a group of EPRDF known as team Lemma, hastening TPLF dominance exit, declared his opposition to merger of alliance party contending this is not the right time. According to Jawar Mohammed, Oromo political activist who dislike the merger; sooner or later the merger will start to erode the federal system. It is too early to dismantle ethnic based national organization. They point to the fact that ethnic nationalism is still the dominant mode of political mobilization in Ethiopia and argue that merging the alliance party before addressing the central political demands of the historically marginalized ethnic groups and before completing the democratic transition risks bringing the country to the edge of an abyss.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Awol K. Allo (5 December 2019). The new Pan-Ethiopian party created to replace the EPRDF coalition risks bringing the country to the edge of abyss. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.aljezera.com">https://www.aljezera.com</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Lemma Megersa dismisses Medemer and Prosperity Party, Addis Standard, 29 November 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Jawar Mohammed, (December 2019). Interview on the current political issue, Retrieved from <a href="https://oromiamedia.com">https://oromiamedia.com</a>

TPLF leaders who support ethnic federalism and view the merger as first step toward dismantling it reject it outright, believing that it signals the ends of multinational order. They believe that ethnic federalism protects Ethiopia from its own history of coercive centralism and cultural homogenization. Undoing it, they say, would set the stage for a return to rule by an abusive center or even worse.<sup>52</sup>

For communities whose long standing demands for genuine representation, cultural and linguistic equality is yet to be met, the prosperity party, as a vanguard part that is likely to dominate Ethiopian politics in the years to come, represents a considerable threat.<sup>53</sup> The other risk of Abiy Ahmed Prosperity party is that once the current structure is dismantled and ethnic groups lose direct representation within the new national party, their ability to advocate for their specific groups will be diminished, and they could lack influence over policy decisions that might undermines the current federal structure. Moreover, the structural vulnerability of the prosperity party means that the risk of anti-federalist forces taking over the party and dismantling the federal structure.

For a country to transit to democracy there should be free and fair election. Majority of African countries including Ethiopia not experienced free and fair election, and democratic type of government. For Africans including Ethiopia democracy is like spontaneous and involuntary premature expulsion of non viable fetus or spontaneous abortion. Undemocratic countries like Ethiopia compared to democratic countries have low economic development and living standard.<sup>54</sup> For instance, African countries including Ethiopia have abundant natural resources compared to western European countries, but currently they are aided for living by

<sup>52</sup> TPLF leaders rejected Medemer, Abiy Ahmed Prosperity Part, Addis Standard, (December 2019).

<sup>53</sup> Id n (49)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Medhin Siraj, Hijacked revolution written in Amharic version (July 2019), p 98

western European countries because they have no democratic type of government with proper policies and institutions for effective and efficient utilization of these abundant resources. Election in Ethiopia from time of transition was held for four times periodically in five years. As mentioned above these elections weren't democratic as the voice of the electors and ballots were hijacked by the then government. Most of the time after the election opposition party leaders and members were harassed and thrown to detention center by the then government. There was law that declared the opposition party as terrorist organization to exclude them from national election and forced them to flee to other countries.

At the begging of the transition Abiy Ahmed and his government without doubt showed their willingness for the national election to be held as per the five year election period (i.e. May 2020). But this day Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are not willing for the election to be conducted as per the time schedule and to succeed their mission used the following unlawful/unconstitutional mechanisms: escalating conflicts everywhere in the country among nations, and the government itself with Oromo liberation army (OLA) in the western and southern part of Oromia region; the government through opposition party like Amhara National Movement and Ethiopia citizens for Social Justice lobbying for the extension of the election period and raising budget as a problem for conducting election as per the time schedule.<sup>55</sup>

Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's failed to keep their promise and continued to label Oromo liberation army (OLA) fighters as the enemy even after they have stopped fighting and have surrendered their weapons. Abiy Ahmed preferred to continue with the surrendered OLA fighter's conflict and bloodshed in western and southern part of Oromia region. A prevailing narrative is that Abiy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Id, p 100

Ahmed government and his bureaucratic Amharan's unwillingness to compromise is due to the belief that a sustained crisis in western and southern part of Oromia region would suit its interest of incapacitating the OLF better than any peace deal.<sup>56</sup> Both areas are strongholds of OLF. Henok Gabisa (PhD) said he personally met with a number of government and OLF personalities and sought to better understand what was hampering negotiations. He noted some of his observations via his twitter account in a thread recently, which detailed what he believes, were the government's motivations behind escalating the conflict.<sup>57</sup> Henok Gabisa told Addis Standard that in the event of peace reigning supreme and elections being held, Abiy Ahmed would likely suffer total defeat at the polls in, especially in Wellega which has historical affinity with OLF.<sup>58</sup> With polls scheduled for August, elections in Wellega are likely to be cancelled citing the security situation. Without votes from Wellega, the OLF would be dealt in electoral defeat.

Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are the one setting obstacles to the peace deal, Henok Gabisa said. 59 The mistreatment of OLA fighters and the public show of force meant that the initiatives by the Oromo elders and respected individuals would be in vain. Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are pushed for war. It is a senseless conflict fueled by political interests, but innocent people are the one caught in the crossfire. Renowned activist and head of the OLF's youth chapter, Lammi Begna, spoke to Addis Standard that the government rushed to label OLA fighters with no objective. 60 The OLA fighters were never given the opportunity to bring forward their own ideas to the table. The government didn't want them in the democratic process. Instead it campaigned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Zecharias Zelalem, Failed politics and deception: Behind the crisis in western and southern Oromia (Addis Standard (special edition), March 2020), p 7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Id

against them with all means at their disposal which further created mistrust and forced OLA fighters to reconsider. From points discussed above it is clear that Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are not willing to conduct national election because they believe that their prosperity party lost support by majority people especial Oromo and southern people.

Then to stay in power one of their options is escalating conflicts among nations or among Oromos' or government with opposition party especially as mentioned above with OLF and OLA fighters. Not only that Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are busy of arresting leaders of Oromos' opposition party who are struggling peaceful without committing crime. Many opposition party leaders especially that of Oromo Federalist Congress like Bekele Gerba, Jawar Mohammed, Dejene Tafa and others, and OLF leaders like Lammi Begna, Gamachu Ayyana, Abdi Regassa, Michael Borana, Dr. Shigut Geleta, Kennasa Ayana, Yaasoo Kabada, Chaltu Takele and others were detained in infamous detention centers. Especially those OLF leaders were not charged before courts of law and where their about is unknown, and the government which mainly lead by bureaucratic Amharan's (Unitarist) closed or hide information about those leaders and misleading their supporters reporting as there were no OLF leaders arrested by the government.

So Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's (Unitarist) doing such ugly and trick game are escalating conflict/unrest especially throughout Oromia region for the purpose of not conducting national election and for staying in power for long time. Abiy Ahmed and his government is not popular elected government instead it is a transitional government. This day in Ethiopia there is no transitional democracy, justice, equality, fairness, decision and etc. There is high rate of extra judicial killings especially in the western and southern part of Oromia region. Mass

killings of innocent peoples especially child: in average below the age of ten years in western and southern part of Oromia region continued. It is obvious that Ethiopia signed and ratified international child rights convention and other international human rights instruments for the respect and protection of child human rights, but Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's through their military forces they are highly engaged in killing of Oromo child and youth in western and southern part of Oromia region.

This day in Ethiopia life is full of threat, you cannot move from place to place freely; you cannot speak or discuss ideas about the current political issues freely; throughout the country everything controlled by Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's military defense. Recreation centers, government and non-government (local) office changed to detention centers. Following the shot and death of iconic Oromo artist Hachalu Hundesa throughout Oromia region about more than five hundred (500) thousands Oromos' were arrested, and they were not charged and brought before courts of law. The arrest of leaders of Oromos' opposition political parties mentioned above especially from Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) was after the shot and death of renowned Oromo artist Hachalu Hundesa propagating that they were participated in the killing of Hacalu Hundesa. That mean they were arrested by Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's violating international and national substantive and procedural laws.

That means leaders of Oromos' opposition parties are arrested not because they participated in the commission of the crime but because Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's knows, if democratic, free and fair election held, they will completely defeated by these Oromos' opposition political parties as a result of which they are forced to give up power for them. For the fear of this Abiy Ahmed

and his bureaucratic Amharan's are using different unlawful and inhumane methods not to conduct national election as per the election period provided in the country constitution. Abiy Ahmed at the beginning of his power he preached democratic power transition through the voice of majority of Ethiopia people is the only solution for the country deep rooted political, economic, and social problems. But this day things are heading in the opposite direction because in different forums when Abiy Ahmed was asked about the national election he replied election that much is not necessary as there are a country not conducted election for about three decades.

Actually before the arrest of all Oromos' opposition parties' leaders following the death of iconic Oromo Artist Hachalu Hundesa there were Prospectant type of circumstantial evidence that explicitly indicate as Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's not willing to conduct national election. To realize his dream of staying in power for long time Abiy Ahmed and his government using the one sided (i.e. government sided) military defense begin for a wide spread of harassment and jailing of opposition organizers across the entire Oromia region. In addition to arresting opposition organizers, they have restarted shipping people to infamous mass detention centers at military camp where the arrested people through the whole night suffer with heinous torture and degrading treatment by military forces. For instance awash military camp used as detention centers where thousands are tortured and degraded.

Capitol of Kumsa Moreda of Leka Nekemt which served as a museum for long time changed to detention center where thousands of OLF supporters or all Wellega youth and teenagers suspected of membership of OLF/OLA arrested and tortured there. Pre election preparation party representative were blocked from collecting and submitting signatures that required by the national election law.

Parties registered at regional level are required to submit four thousand (4000) signatures while the national ones must submit ten thousand (10,000) signatures. Only across Oromia region, opposition party organizers engaged in collection of signatures are subjected to harassment, beating and imprisonment by Abiy Ahmed military force. For example an Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC) organizer bringing signature from western Wellega was tortured by Abiy Ahmed military force and the signature paper turned to ash. The other same event is an OLF organizer bringing from Bale to the capital city Finfinnee for submission to the National Electoral Board (NEBE) was arrested in Batu town and finally sent to awash military camp. The signatures he comes with were confiscated by the government body. So this without doubt clearly indicated that Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are restlessly working for the national election not to be conducted. Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are changing to autocratic type of government. And they are progressing for dismantling the country ethnic based federalism and taking back to unitary type of autocratic government.

## 4. Sustained Gross Human Rights Violations in Oromia

This part devoted to discuss about human rights violations from the time of Abiy Ahmed governments against Oromo indigenous in Oromia and other parts of the country. It also discusses gross human rights violations against other nations.

Sadly this day western and southern part of Oromia region turned to be zones of war by Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's<sup>61</sup> military soldiers. Killings of innocent people in Wellega, Borana and Guji by military soldiers is easy like drinking water because there is no sense of humanity and nobody make them responsible for their act. As Zecharias Zelalem provides in his article dozens of unarmed civilians have been shot and dead by Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's soldiers in the Qellam Wellega district of the Oromia region in a very few weeks.<sup>62</sup> He also adds that since 20<sup>th</sup> January, over hundreds from west Wellega fled their home to the neighboring Gambella region for the relative safety.<sup>63</sup> Most victims appear to have been young generation, suspected by military soldiers of Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's supporting the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) who operates mainly in western and southern part of Oromia region, and has maintained a virtually ubiquitous presence in the region.<sup>64</sup> The killings of innocent young generation in this area appear to be retaliation against locals the military force accuses of enabling the OLA presence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>Bureaucratic Amharan's are those who speak Amarigna and called themselves Amharan's in collaboration with Abiy Ahmed are seriously working on dividing Oromos' by religion, geography, or benefit or other grounds for achieving their mission and dream of backing to Menelik and Haileselasie imperial or feudal regime. Or these bureaucratic Amharan's are neo-Nafxagna or Abyssinian. They extremely resist and hate the 21<sup>st</sup> century effective and non-replaceable type of state structure called federalism. Instead they want a unitary type of state structure with sprit of feudalism or imperialism. Not only this also they want all Ethiopians speak one language (i.e. Amharic), follow and preach one religion in Amharic only (i.e. Orthodox Christianity) and follow and manifest one culture (i.e. Amharan culture) throwing their own.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>Zecharias Zelalem, Failed politics and deception: Behind the crisis in western and southern Oromia (Addis Standard (special edition), March 2020), p 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Id

The western and southern part of Oromia region put under the unconstitutional command post for more than two years. Because the western and southern part of Oromia region put under unconstitutional command post the area has become inaccessible for local journalists to obtain reliable and accurate information about the crisis. Using such circumstance Abiy Ahmed government was successful in concealing the death of hundreds of innocent civilians and detention of thousands in infamous detention centers. In western Wellega Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's soldiers were shooting at any one they encountered. One youth who had fled to Gambella said that the military is not just arresting, they will simply kill you as you walk the street. Whether you have connection with OLA or not, they don't bother to figure out, they kill. Today in the whole Wellega Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's through their military force are busy of extermination of the innocent Wellega peoples.

Thousands of innocent civilians who had fled to neighboring Gambella are suffering with a lot of problems. There are no government or humanitarian institutions providing them food, water, shelter and other basic necessity necessary for their survival. They are not secured as there is no protector either from government or non-governmental institution. Those who fled to Gambella said that we have no money for food and shelter. We don't know for how long we will able to last here. Because the government put the region under unconstitutional command post (i.e. for more than two years), the area has become inaccessible for humanitarian (local or international) institutions to provide humanitarian support for the internally displaced people.

Massacring thousands of innocent civilians and deploying thousands of young to infamous detention centers in western and southern part of Oromia but at the center of the capital city (Finfinnee) in the capital of Menelik, Abiy Ahmed and his

bureaucratic Amharan's are propagating as the country is in transition with prosperity party. In western part of Oromia region innocent civilians become a center of experimentation, or try and error against their irreversible life by trigger happy military soldiers of Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's.

Coming to the country military force we have the same and unchanged path, i.e., always the Ethiopia military force protects the autocratic/dictator/fascist government than protecting the innocent civilians and sovereignty of the state. The Ethiopia people for centuries tired of such blood sucking type of political system especially the central and southern peoples. Not only that entire western part of Oromia region suffered a lot because they were cut off from essential government service supplies such as electricity, telephone, internet, water, transport, and other similar services.

This day western part of Oromia region turned to dark cave. Living and moving to this area is seriously difficult. As discussed above thousands of the young generation of the area feared of detention or shot to death by Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's military force are running to the neighboring regions and some others to the center of the country. Not only the young force but also hundreds of households locking their residence are running out of the area to better secured neighboring region and central part of the country. Totally because of government military force high engagement of killing innocent civilians and mass deployment of innocent to infamous detention center life and living in Wellega is completely unguaranteed.

Gross violation of human rights by Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's sustained throughout Oromia especially southern Borana and Guji, eastern Hararge and south eastern Bale. In this areas hundreds young Oromo generation were killed

by triggering happy military soldiers and thousands deported into infamous detention centers where there about is unknown particularly for family to access them. Genocide of Oromo and Oromia continued not only by those military soldiers but by neighboring regional state using their special force. For instance, the invasion and genocide by Somali special police force continue unabated in eastern Oromia, Chinaksen border and south Moyale, which cause death of hundreds of innocent Oromos'. The people of these areas suspect that government military force is cooperating with neighboring state special force to open fire against Oromo people since the military force didn't tried to stop the invasion.

Genocide or extermination against Oromo nation (the second largest nation in Africa) by successive Amhara-Tigray governor including Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's continued. Under the transition led by Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's the attack not limited to the Oromo nation and its iconic public figure. It includes attacking its institution like media (For instance, the banning and locking of the Oromia Media Network (OMN) whose founder is activist and higher personnel of Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC) Jawar Mohammed and the attack of Rift Valley University whose owner is the well known activist Dinku Dayas). The attack of institutions also includes banks having the name of Oromo especially at capital city Finfinne.

Following the death of iconic Oromo public figure musicians and activist Hachalu Hundesa the national government owned Amhara Medias explicitly waging war against Oromo nation. Some of these Medias are Ethiopia Broadcast Corporation (EBC), Fana Broadcast Corporation (FBC), Walta Television and others. The non-governmental Amhara Medias that are waging war and division among Oromos'

are Ethiopia Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT), Ahadu Radio, Abbay Media, Ethio tube and others. They are working restlessly to escalate conflict among this largest nation in Africa to divide them based on religion as Orthodox Christianity and Islam, or based on geography like Wellega, Shewa, Arsi, Bale, Borana, and Guji. This movement led and sponsored by Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's government.

Following the death of iconic Oromo public figure Hachalu Hundesa according to Amnesty International report, in Finfinne and throughout Oromia at least hundred thousand Oromo people were arrested by triggering happy military soldiers of Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's, many of whom are in communicado detention with whereabouts unknown. Abiy Ahmed authorities are causing great anguish to the families of those arrested by failing to divulge their whereabouts, said Deprose Muchena, Amnesty International's Director for east and southern Africa.<sup>65</sup> Deprose Muchena also said Abiy Ahmed authorities must immediately discloses where each detain is being held, and either charge them with a recognizable crime or release them immediately.

As mentioned above Amnesty International discloses that lawyers were unable to establish the whereabouts of key officials of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) including Michael Borana, Dr. Shigut Geleta, Lammi Begna, Kennasa Ayana and Colonel Gemechu Ayana, who were arrested on various dates since Hachalu Hundesa's death. 66 The lawyers told Amnesty International that the Finfinne police commission, the federal police commission, the Oromia police commission and Oromia special zone authorities have all denied having any of the OLF officials in their custody. Deprose Muchena, Amnesty International's Director for east and

<sup>65</sup> Simon Ateba, Level of brutality against Oromo people in Ethiopia during Hachalu Hundesa protest simply shocking (26 July 2020), Retrieved from http://todaynewsafrica.com <sup>66</sup> Id

southern Africa said Abiy Ahmed authorities must immediately disclose where each OLF officials detained are being held, and either charge them with a recognizable crime or release them immediately.

What Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's this day are doing throughout Oromia approves beyond reasonable doubt to ban Oromo nationalist and their institution, to weaken the strong unity of Oromo especially as discussed above dividing them based on religion and geography, and following that sustaining exploitation of Oromia rich natural resources. Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's after accomplished their mission they had against Oromo the next move is to revive the supremacy of Neo Nafxagna under unitary type of state government. Unitary type of government means one religion (i.e. Orthodox Christianity), one language (Amarigna of the northerner) and one culture (i.e. the Amhara culture). Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's final destination are to crush a multi ethnic type of federalism and replacing it with unilateral autocratic type of state.

Another OLF leader, Abdi Regassa, arrested in February 2020, remains unaccounted for, according to his lawyer, because the police have been moving him from one place of detention to another, such that neither his family nor his lawyers know his whereabouts.<sup>67</sup> Seif Magango, Amnesty International's deputy director for east Africa, the Horn and the Great Lake said that Abiy Ahmed authorities must stop arbitrarily arresting and detaining opposition figures. They must immediately discloses Abdi Regassa's whereabouts, charge him with recognizable crime under the law or release him without further delay.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>Amnesty International, Ethiopia: Police must account for missing Oromo opposition leader (3 March 2020), Retrieved from <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news">https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news</a>
<sup>68</sup> Id

Surprisingly Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed who won the Nobel peace prize with the believe and full of confidence that he will transform Ethiopia to everlasting land of freedom, equality, democracy, to economic prosperity and social development now turned to be main dictator/autocrat/killer/gross violators of human rights. Abiy Ahmed project is not democracy, equality, freedom, economic and social development but his project is being in power for long time like African leaders by killing hero politicians or by throwing them to prison for long time, by dividing Ethiopia peoples especially Oromo peoples based on ethnicity, political ideology/attitude, geography and etc. Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are busy of massively undertaking genocide against the innocent civilians in western part of Oromia region.

Not only that Abiy Ahmed is hardly working against indigenous elites from western Oromia region in different governmental and non governmental institutions for their removal by which he was successful completely. This day elites from west Oromia region working in different sectors especially at the center including Finfinne were expelled because of Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's divided and rule projects. Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's declared a complete segregation against Oromo people and their elites from western part of the region. The elites from western Oromia region are segregated from higher academic position, from position in both regional and federal level, and overall not take part in the country political, economic and social affairs. The people of western Oromia region almost blocked from social service and economic support provided by the government under Abiy Ahmed premiership and his bureaucratic Amharan's. Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's are governing the country based on barbaric and primitive politics which is not consistent or contradictory to the age of civilization and globalization. Also not

consistent with this generation conscious and political will. This is the today's face of Ethiopia under Abiy Ahmed premiership and his fellow bureaucratic Amharan's (Neo Nafxagna). Ethiopia today is a center of excellence in mass extra judicial killings, mass arrest in infamous detention centers, mass abduction, mass rape, and genocide in the horn of Africa.

Beyond Oromia region gross human rights violations in its best sways in Amhara regional state. The magnitude of lunatic acts in the Amhara state has already gone beyond the red line limit. Amhara state officials seem to have been enjoying atrocities orchestrated by their bureaucracy, security and intelligence apparatuses against minorities like Qimant in their region and in the neighborhood as well. After Qimant voted for their own autonomous administrative units in September 2017, there were frequent clashes between Amhara and Qimant communities. Amnesty international's report reveals that Amhara liyu police, Amhara local administration militia and two Amhara youth vigilant groups joined forces to attack members of the Qimant community in January 2019, and again in September-October 2019, leaving at least 100 people dead and hundreds displaced.<sup>69</sup> Qimant homes and property were also destroyed.<sup>70</sup>

From 10-11 January 2019, Amhara security forces of the region and vigilante groups attacked a Qimant settlement in Metema with grenades and guns and set homes in fire. Fifty-eight people were killed with 24 hours as Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's military soldiers in nearby camp failed to respond to cries for help.<sup>71</sup> Flyers and leaflets telling Qimant civil servants to leave the area had been circulating since September 2018, but Amharan authorities took no action.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Amnesty International: Ethiopia: Rape, extrajudicial executions, homes set alight in security operations in Amhara and Oromia (20 May 2020), Retrieved from <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news">https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Id

Dinqie Tekeda, 25, escaped from her burning house with four of her brothers and a cousin only for Amhara guards at Bunna International Bank, where they had sought refuge, to expose them to vigilante Amhara youths. "Armed Amhara youth come and killed three of my brothers and my cousin and wounded my other brother. They killed them at point-blank range while I watched. They died instantly," she said.<sup>72</sup>

Another attack on 29 September 2019 left 43 more Qimant dead and 12 injured. At least one family burnt alive in their home, a witness told Amnesty International.<sup>73</sup> "Just 100 meters from my home, the vigilante armed Amhara youth burnt Endihnew Nega, his mother, his sister and her baby at around 10pm," Tsedal Abate said.<sup>74</sup> These killings were committed by Amhara police special force, Amhara local militia and Armed Amhara youth. The other unforgettable heinous event was the mass killings of more than 250 minority Gumuz children, women and men by Amhara police special force, Amhara local militia and Armed Amhara youth under the direct order of higher Amhara officials. 75 The attack waged by Amhara police special force, Amhara local militia and armed Amhara youth under the direction of higher Amhara officials also extends to Wollo Oromo, Karrayu and Dherra that results for loss of hundreds human life and destruction of properties. Organized Amhara gangs blocked the route from Gondar to Tigray for quite a long time, looted and vandalized properties. There was no corrective action from bureaucratic Amharan's higher officials because they are direction providers with first degree participation in such heinous crimes.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Id

Nolomon Dessalegn, "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), p 38

About more than six Oromo University students were killed in various Amhara regions universities and hundreds were injured by Amhara police special force, local Amhara militia and armed Amhara youth. There was no action taken by Amharan regional and federal government. Even they didn't utter a word to denounce such killings and the terror. Billions of birr worth of construction materials of Oromo business person was burnt down, looted and vandalized in north Shewa of Amhara region by these armed Amhara youth. The same thing happen from part of government, no measure was taken. About more than four mosques turned to ash in Mota town of Amhara region. At the same no measure was taken from both federal and Amhara regional government. Witnessing such horde of a dancer after aggression and blatant attack on religious institutions is nothing but a manifestation of a climax of anarchism and terrorism. It is not what Amhara organizations such as government, Orthodox Church, bureaucracy, Amhara Media, Amhara NGOs and Diaspora communities want to achieve through building hostility with other nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. The behaviors being demonstrated in Amhara region both in actions and words are so dangerous to the country.

#### 5. Conclusion

The empire of Ethiopia that ate elites and heroes of Oromos are not successful to crush the long march struggle of Oromo people to everlasting freedom, democracy and equality. The successive Amhara-Tigray colonial regimes including the tyrant/fascist/dictator Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLLF) and Abiy Ahmed and his bureaucratic Amharan's, who day and night striving to revive the unitary system (Neo-Nafxagna) that exploited the natural resources of Oromia and massacre millions of Oromos' failed to understand that people who struggle for freedom, national rights and human dignity cannot be reversed with military might, political maneuvers, deceptions, or martial law.

The crush and destruction of Oromo organizations like Matcha Tulama Association, Oromo Liberation front (OLF) by Amhara-Tigray colonial regime failed to stop the question and struggle of Oromo nation. The Oromo question of national identity, 'Abbaa Biyyummaa', and self-governance finally overtaken by Oromo National Youth Movement for Freedom and Democracy (Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo). Next to Match-Tulama Association and Oromo Liberation Front, 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo' perceived as liberation front and have a lion share contribution in the history of Oromo struggle against Amhara-Tigray colonial regime.

'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo' are super bright and idealistic front fighting for everlasting freedom and democracy. The crush and destruction of Matcha-Tulama Association, the OLF defeat by TPLF with the help of Eritrean government and western power, the death of millions of Oromo's, hundreds thousands of fled of Oromo's to other country, and genocide largely committed against Oromo people by successive Amhara-Tigray tyrant/fascist governor

destructed neither the moral nor the hearts and minds of the Oromo people. For the past five years from (2014 G.C.) onward, the heroic 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Bilisummaa Oromoo', and patriotic nationalists have recorded many historic and irreversible victories at higher price that finally destructed and cleared the tyrant/fascist/genocider TPLF from the Oromia land including from the seat of the federal government and the epicenter of Oromia, which mean Finfinne.

The removal of TPLF led government from power and the appointment Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister of the transition from political organization with the name of Oromo party (i.e. OPDO/ODP/OPP) never gave rest for the Oromo nation. Instead Abiy Ahmed in cooperation with bureaucratic Amharan's followed the same path of tyrant/fascist Amhara-Tigray governors against Oromo and Oromia. At the beginning of Abiy Ahmed appointment as Prime Minister of transitional government Oromo nation filled with hope and Optimism that his government will address the questions of Oromo they struggled for centuries. But Abiy Ahmed in cooperation with bureaucratic Amharan's turned his back to the question of Oromo nation. Oromia back to the square one, arrest of thousands in infamous detention centers, thousands of Oromos' killed, raped, and abducted by Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's happy trigger military soldiers.

Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's to revive the imperial system waged war throughout Oromia against Oromo nation. Oromo people put under unconstitutional command post for more than two years. Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's to achieve their political mission continued divided and rule police among Oromo peoples' based on geography, religion, ideology and etc. Arresting and hiding leaders of Oromo opposition political party largely continued

throughout Oromia region. Also killings and arrest of iconic Oromo public figures, Oromo elites, and Oromo richest business persons continued throughout Oromia region. All these heinous and degrading acts against Oromo's and Oromia by Abiy Ahmed and bureaucratic Amharan's are to crush multi ethnic type of federalism and to replace it with unitary type of state.

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