

# የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ

Being a youth in Ethiopia



"None of us will be free until we all are free!"



The Ethiopian Affair

“የግድ አንዱን ምረጥ ብዓል ነፍሴ ወደ ትያትሩ የምታዘነብል ይመስለኛል”

ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ



BERGEN?



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ብሩክ መንግስቱ

**Editor-in-Chief**

Asnake Demena

**Deputy Editors**

Abebe Abidie

Daniel Moges

Daniel Shitie

**Assistant Editors**

Amin Rejawu

Tewachew Derebe

**Secretaries**

Liya Nigussie

Saba Afework

**Coordinators**

Helen Belete

Daniel Kassa

**Cover Design**

Genet Tesfahun

**Cartoonist**

Alex Tefera

Biruk Mengist

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ያገባናል!**

**The Ethiopian Affair**  
**Waldstraße 42A, 63589 Lisengericht**  
**Mobile: 004915218187672**  
**Email:**  
**ethiopianaffair@gmail.com**  
**Germany**

ማውጫ

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የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ በጀርመን አገር በሚኖሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ከመስከረም 2007 ዓ.ም ጀምሮ በየሦስት ወሩ በአማርኛና በእንግሊዘኛ ቋንቋዎች የምትታተም የግል መጽሔት ናት። መጽሔቷ ከማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ድርጅት የማትወግን በመሆኗ የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ያገባናል ብለው ለሚያምኑ ወገኖች ሁሉ የነፃነት ልሳን ሆና ታገለግላለች።

የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ በሀገራችን ፖለቲካዊ ፣ ምጣኔ ሀብታዊ ፣ ማህበራዊና አካባቢያዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ባለሙያዎችን በማነጋገር ወቅታዊ መረጃዎችንና የመፍትሔ ሃሳቦችን ለአንባቢዎቿ ታቀርባለች። መጽሔታችን የህወሓት/ኢህአዴግ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ላይ በማድረስ ላይ ያለውን የመረረ አፈናና ግድያ በመዘርዘርና በማውገዝ ብቻ መፍትሔ ይገኛል የሚል ዕምነት የሌላት በመሆኑ፤ የተጠኑና በኢትዮጵያ ለተገባሩ በሚችሉ አማራጭ የትግል ስልቶች ላይ ምክረ-ሃሳቦችን ታቀርባለች። በመጽሔታችን የገጽ ሽፋን ላይ በሦስት የቁልፍ መክፈቻ ምስሎች ለማሳየት የሞከርነው አገራችን ለዘመናት መፍትሔ ሳያገኙ በቀጠሉ ፈርጅ-ብዙ ፣ ጥልቅና ውስብስብ ችግሮች ውስጥ የምትገኝ መሆኑን ለማመልከት ነው። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ ቁልፍ በአገራችን የፖለቲካ ሂደት ውስጥ በሕዝብና በመንግሥት፣ በመንግሥትና በተቃዋሚዎች እንዲሁም በተቃዋሚዎችና በሕዝብ መካከል አለመተማመን መንገሡን ያመልክታል። የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ይህን ያጠየቀ የሚል ዕምነት ባይኖረንም፤ ብሔራዊ መግባባትና መተማመን የችግሮቻችንን ሁሉ መክፈቻ ቁልፍ መሆኑን ለማስታወስን እንወዳለን።

የህወሓት/ኢህአዴግ መንግሥት አማራጭ የመረጃ ምንጮችን ሙሉ በሙሉ ዘግቶ የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብ ስለሀገሩ የወደፊት ዕጣፈንታ ምንም ነገር እንዳይተነፍስ በማድረግ ላይ ይገኛል። የታፈነና አማራጭ ያጣ ሕዝብ በማንኛውም ሰዓት መብቱን ለማስከበር እንደሚነሳ ከደርግና ከአፄ ኃይለ ሥላሴ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዞች ውድቀት ከበቂ በላይ ተምረናል። አልተማርኩም የሚል ካለ በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ስቃይና ሰቆቃ የሚሳለቀው የህወሓት/ኢህአዴግ አምባገነናዊ አገዛዝ ብቻ ነው።

ተልዕኮችን ወቅታዊ መረጃዎችንና የመፍትሔ ሃሳቦችን ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ማቅረብ በመሆኑ ፤ አንባቢን ላለማስልቸትና የመጽሔታችን ጥራት ለመጠበቅ በሌሎች ማህበራዊ ሚዲያዎች የወጡ መጣጥፎችን ለማስተናገድ እንቸግራለን። ስለሆነም በምንችለው ሁሉ እውነተኛና ሚዛናዊ መረጃዎችን ለአንባቢዎቻችን በማቅረብ ፤ በሀገራችን እንዲሰፍን የምንፈልገውን ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ለማምጣት በሚደረገው ትግል ውስጥ የበኩላችንን አስተዋፅኦ ለማድረግ ቃል እንገባለን። ይህን ተልዕኮችንን ከግብ ለማድረስ የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ያገባናል ብለው ከሚያምኑ ወገኖች ሁሉ የሚሰጡንን አስተያየቶችና ጥቆማዎች በደስታ እንቀበላለን።

# የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ

ትክክክኛ መጽሔት በትክክክኛው ቦታና ጊዜ!  
መስከረም ፳፻፯ ዓ.ም ተመሠረተ።

# የአዘጋጆቹ መከሰኛት የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ የጎሳ ፈዴራሊዝም፤ ሰከባ አይሆንም !

ላለፉት 27 ዓመታት የህወሓት ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ላይ የጫነው የጎሳ ፈዴራሊዝም፤ ዛሬም በሰው ሕይወትና በንብረት ላይ ውድመት ማስከተሉን ቀጥሏል። የሩቁን እንኳን ብንተውው ባለፉት ሁለት ወራት ውስጥ ብቻ ከግማሽ ሚሊዮን በላይ ኢትዮጵያውያን የወያኔ የጎሳ ፈዴራሊዝም ባስከተለው መዘዝ ከቤትና ንብረታቸው ሲፈናቀሉ፤ በመቶዎች የሚቆጠሩት ደግሞ መተኪያ የሌላት ሕይወታቸውን ተነጥቀዋል። ህወሓት በየትኛውም የዓለም ክፍል ታይቶ በማይታወቅ መልኩ ቋንቋን ብቻ መሠረት አድርጎ የፈጠረው የጎሳ የፈዴራሊዝም ኢትዮጵያን ከማትወጣው አዘቅት ውጥስ ከቷታል። ሁኔታው በዚህ ከቀጠለ በየቦታው የሚታየው የዘር ግጭት ወደ እርስ በእርስ ጦርነት ተለውጦ አገሪቱን ማጥፋቱ የማይቀር ነው።

መፅሔታችን በኢትዮጵያ እየታየ ላለው የፖለቲካ ቀውስ እና የመበታተን አደጋ ከፍተኛ ትኩረት በመስጠት፤ ከአርባ በላይ የሚሆኑ በህወሃት የጎሳ ፈዴራሊዝም ዙሪያ የሚያጠነጥኑ መጣጥፎችን ይዞ ቀርቧል። አብዛኞቹ መጣጥፎች በአሁኑ ወቅት እየታየ ያለው የጎሳ ግጭት መንስኤ የህዝባዊ ወያኔ ሐርነት ትግራይ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ የፈጠራቸው የጎሳ ክልል ማህበራትን በዝርዝር ያስረዳሉ። በኢትዮጵያ የፖለቲካ ታሪክ ውስጥ ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ አንድን ብሔር መሠረት አድርጎ በ1967 ዓ.ም የተቋቋመው ህወሓት “ታላቋን የትግራይ ሪፖብሊክ” ለመፍጠር ዕቅዱን አጠናቋል። ህወሓት ይህን ዕቅድ ተግባራዊ ማድረግ የሚችለው የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብ የማያበራ የዘርና የሐይማኖት ጦርነት ውስጥ በማስገባት በመሆኑ ዛሬ በየቦታው የምናየውን ሕዝብን ከሕዝብ ጋር የማጋጨት ዕኩይ ተግባራት በማከናወን ላይ ይገኛል።

የህወሓት የጎሳ ፈዴራሊዝም ኢትዮጵያን ከዛሬ አንድ መቶ ሃምሳ ዓመታት በፊት ወደ ነበረችበት የዘመነ መሣፍንት ሥርዓት መልሷታል። ከታሪክ እንደምንረዳው ዳግማዊ ዐፄ ቴዎድሮስ የዘመነ መሣፍንትን ሥርዓት በመደምሰስ የኢትዮጵያና የሕዝቧን የአንድነት መሠረት ጥለው በጀግንነት አልፈዋል። ዳግማዊ ዐፄ ቴዎድሮስ ለኢትዮጵያ ክብር፤ ነፃነትና ሉዓላዊነት ሲሉ፤ እጃቸውን ለእንግሊዝ ጦር ከሚሰጡ ሞትን በመምረጥ ሽጉጣቸውን ጠጥተው ለኢትዮጵያዊነት ክብርና አንድነት የተሰው ንጉሠ ነገሥት መሆናቸውን በርካታ የታሪክ ተመራማሪዎች አረጋግጠዋል።

የዚህ ዕትም የቃለ መጠይቅ እንግዳችን ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበም “የቴዎድሮስ ርዕይ” በተሰኘው ታሪካዊ ቴአትር ውስጥ በተዋናይነት መሳተፉን በተመለከተ በነበረን ቆይታ “አሁን በኢትዮጵያ እየታየ ያለውን የመከፋፈልና የግለኝነት አስተሳሰብ አስቀርቶ፤ ከራሱ ጥቅም የሀገሩን ጥቅም የሚያስቀድም እንዲሁም እራሱን ለሀገሩ እስከሞት አሳልፎ የሚሰጥ እንደ አፄ ቴዎድሮስ ዓይነት መሪ ይገኛል ብለህ ታስባለህ” በማለት ላቀረብንለት ጥያቄ የሚከተለውን መልስ ሰጥቶናል። “ይህ ከባድ ጥያቄ ነው። አሁን ባለንበት የመጠፋፋት፣ የመከፋፈል እና የመበላላት ዘመን እንደ አፄ ቴዎድሮስ ዓይነት መሪ እንዲሰጠን የሁላችንም ምኞት ነው። ቴዎድሮስ በንግስናው ዘመን የኢትዮጵያን ትልቅነት እያነሳ ኢትዮጵያን “አወድሻለሁ!” ሲላት ትሰማለህ። አጼ ቴዎድሮስ በጀነራል ናፒር በሚመራው የእንግሊዝ ጦር ጉልበቱ በተፈታና ገብርዬን ባጣበት ወቅት እጁን አሳልፎ ለግዛት አልሰጠም። እንደውም በራሱ ላይ ጨክኖ፤ ቃሉን በተግባሩ ሲያጸናው እናያለን። ትልቅ ሆኖ ማየት የሚሻት ኢትዮጵያን “አወድሻለሁ!” እያለ ሽጉጡን ጠጥቶ በክብር ሲሞት ታያለህ። ታዲያ ይህንን መሪ የሚተካ ይመጣል ወይ የሚለው ከበድ ቢልም በታሪክም እንደምናውቀው መሪ የሚፈጠረው ከሕዝብ ነው፤ ስለዚህ እንደ ቴዎድሮስ ዓይነት መሪ ከኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ መሃል አይወጣም የሚል ጨለምተኛ አመለካከት የለኝም። መቼ እና እንዴት ይፈጠራል የሚለው የሚለው ግን ያሳስበኛል።”

እውነት ነው። እንደ ዳግማዊ ዐፄ ቴዎድሮስ ዓይነት ከዘመኑ በፊት የተፈጠረ መሪ ማግኘት ከባድ ቢሆንም ኢትዮጵያን ከውድቀት መታደግ የዚህ ትውልድ ታሪካዊ ግዴታ መሆኑን ለማሳሰብ እንወዳለን።

**Asnake Demena**  
Editor-in-Chief

### ኢትዮጵያን ከውድቀት መታደግ የዜግነት ግዴታ ነው!!

#### Soliyana Kinde

ኢትዮጵያ ፈርጆ ብዙ በሆኑ ችግሮች እየተናጠች ነው። ሰላማዊ ዜጎች በየአካባቢው በገፍ ይገደላሉ። በተለይ በአሮሚያና በቤንሻንጉል ጉምዝ በሚኖሩ የአማራ ብሔር ተወላጆች ላይ የሚደረሰው ጭፍጨፋ ዛሬም ተጠናክሮ ቀጥሏል። በሀገርም በሶማሌና በአሮሞ ብሔር መካከል የተቀቀሰው ዘርን መሠረት ያደረገ ግጭት ለበርካታ ሰላማዊ ዘገኛ ሕይወት መጥፋት ምክንያት ሆኗል። በጠመንጃ ኃይል የተገነባው የህዝባዊ ወያኔ ሓርነት ትግራይ ዘረኛ አገዛዝ በመላ አገሪቱ የብሔር ግጭት በማቀጣጠል የኢትዮጵያን ሉዓላዊነትና የሕዝቧን አንድነት በመናድ ላይ ይገኛል።

የፍትህና የዳኝነት ተቋማት በጠመንጃ ኃይል ለተገነባ ሥልጣን መሣሪያ እንዲሆኑ ስለተፈለገ በአብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ መርህ ተቀቅረው እየሠሩ ነው። በዚህም የተነሣ ሕግና ፍትህ ተረግጠው በአገዛዝ ኃይልና ሥልጣን ተተክተዋል። የሕግ ሞያ፣ ዕውቀትና ልምድ ያላቸው እየተባረሩ በፍትህና ዳኝነት መዋቅሩ ውስጥ የአገዛዙ ካድሬዎች ተሠግሰዋል። በዚህ መንገድ ነጻ ዳኝነትና የሕግ የበላይነት በመጥፋቱ ማንም ዜጋ መብቱ ሲደፈር አቤቱታ አቅርቦ ፍትህ የሚያገኝበት ዕድል ተዘግቷል። የፍትህና የዳኝነት መዋቅሩ በአገዛዙ ቀጥተኛ ቁጥጥር ሥር ስለወደቀ የዜጎችን ነጻነት ማስከበር የሚያስችል ምንም ዓይነት ሕጋዊ መተማመኛ የለም። ዳኞች የሚመለመሉበት መስፈርት በሞያ ብቃት፣ በመልካም ሥነ ምግባርና በነፃ አመለካከት ሳይሆን በፖለቲካዊ ታማኝነት ነው።

በህወሓት ሕገ መንግሥት ውስጥ በሕግ አውጪው፣ በሕግ አስፈጻሚውና በሕግ ተርጓሚው መካከል ግልጽ የሥልጣን ክፍፍል ባለመኖሩ ተጠሪነታቸው ለፓርላማ ነው የተባሉትን የመገናኛ ብዙሃን፣ የምርጫ ቦርድ፣ የፍትህ አካላትና የመሳሰሉትን ተቋሞች ስልጣን ነጥቆ ሕግ አስፈጻሚው አካል በተለይም ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ እንደፈለጉ ይወስኑበታል። ከዚህም በተጨማሪ ሕግ አስፈጻሚው የሕግ አውጭውንና የፍትህ አካሉን ሥልጣን የሚሸሽሩ አዋጆችን እያወጣ ራሱን ከሕግ በላይ አድርጎ ቁጭ ብሏል። በመሆኑም ዜጎች በገለልተኛ ፍርድ ቤት የመዳኘት፣ በፈለጉበት ቦታ የመኖር፣ ሃሳባቸውን በነፃነት የመግለጽና ሠላማዊ ተቃውሞ የማድረግ መብት የላቸውም። በአጠቃላይ የህወሓት ዘረኛ አገዛዝ ኢትዮጵያን እና ሕዝቧን በጠመንጃ ኃይል ለመግዛትና ስልጣኑን ዘላለማዊ ለማድረግ ደፋ ቀና በማለት ላይ ይገኛል። ስለሆነም አገርና ወዳድ ኢትዮጵያውያን በላያችን ላይ የተጫነብንን አምባገናዊ አገዛዝ በተባበረ ከንዳችን ማስወገድ እና አገራችንን ከውድቀት መታደግ ይኖርብናል። ድል ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ!!

### የዘር ፖለቲካ ያስከተለው ሰብዓዊ ቀውስ

#### Mahmud Mehamed Awel

የሕወሓት የዘር ፖለቲካ ያስከተለው ከፍተኛ ሰብዓዊ ቀውስ ከፈታችን ይጠብቀናል። አገዛዙ ላለፉት 26 ዓመታት የቀበረው የዘረኝነት ፈንጂ በየቦታው መፈንዳት በመጀመሩ ኢትዮጵያ፣ ሶሪያ ውስጥ ከተያው ሰብዓዊ ቀውስ የከፋ አደጋ

ልታስተናግድ መንገድ ላይ ናት። በቅርቡ በሀገር፣ በኢሉባቡርና በቤንሻንጉል ጉምዝ የተከሰቱት ዘርን መሰረት ያደረጉ ግጭቶች በሰው ሕይወትና በንብረት ላይ ያስከሉት ውድመት አገራችን ወዴት እየሄደች እንደሆነ በግልፅ ያሳያሉ። ሁኔታው በዚሁ ከቀጠለና የሕወሓት ዘረኛ አገዛዝ ቶሎ ካልተወገደ ኢትዮጵያ ማለቂያ የሌለው በዘር ላይ የተመሠረተ የእርስ በእርስ ጦርነት መግባቷ የማይቀር ነው። ስለዚህ እያንዳንዱ አገር ወዳድ ኢትዮጵያዊ ከፊታችን የተደቀነውን የጦርነት አደጋ ለማስቀረት መፍትሔ መፈለግና አገሩን ከጥፋት ማዳን ይኖርበታል።

### ኢትዮጵያ ከወያኔዎዊ ዘመን መሣፍንት የሚታደጋት ቴዎድሮሥ ሣልሣዊ ትሻለች

#### Biwota, Abiyou Abera

ሚካኤል ስሉል ከትግራይ መስፍኖች በወቅቱ ጠንካራ የነበረና በጎንደሮች ስር መንግስት የእተጌ ምትቀብን ልጅ አግብቶ የንጉስ እን ደራሴ ሁኖ ሲያገለግል ቆይቶ በሆላ የነገሰታቱን መዳከም በመጠቀም አጠቃላይ በትረ መንግስቱን ስልጣኑን በመቆጣጠርና የአሻንጉሊት የይስሙላ ንጉስ በማንገስ አንጋሽ (king maker) በመሆን በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ዘመን መሳፍንት ( the era of princes) የሚባለውን የጥፋትና የውድቀት ዘመን በ1761 ዓ.ም እንዳስጀመረ የታሪክ መዛግብት ያስረዳሉ። መጀመሪያ ያወኩትን የአሮሞ ጭፍሮች እንዲከላከልላት ወደጎንደር የጋበዘውን አፄ ይሐንስን ከዙፋን አውርዶ የራሱ ምርጫ የሆነውን ዳግማዊ ይሐንስን አነገሰ። አመት ሳይሞላ ደግሞ ይሐንስን አውርዶ የራሱ ምርጫ የሆነውን ዳግማዊ ተክለሃይማኖትን ዙፍን ላይ አስቀመጠ። ከዚህ በሆላ የንጉስ ነገስቱ ስልጣን ከደረሰበት ቅፊት ሊያገግም አልቻለም። የራስ ሚካኤል አምባ ገንንነት ባጭሩ ቢቀጭም እሱ በቀደደው ጉብኝ የየጁ አርሞዎች መሪ የነበረው አሊ ጉንጉል የሱን የመሳፍንት ስር መንግሥት መሰረተ። በዘመኑ የነበረው አፄ ተክለ ጊዎርጊስም “ፍጻሜ መንግስት ተክለ ጊዎርጊስ” ተባለ። ከዚህ ወቅት ጀምሮ የመጨረሻው የየጁ መስፍን ዳግማዊ አሊ ወይም አሊ ትንሹ በአይሻል ጦርነት ላይ በደጃች ካሳ ሐይሉ ( በሆላ ዳግማዊ ቴዎድሮስ) እስከተሸነፈበት እስከ 1848 ድረስ ያለው ዘመን “ዘመን መሳፍንት” ተባለ።

ዘመን መሳፍንት ማለት ከየአውራጃው የተነሱ መሳፍንት አንዱ ሌሎችን አሸንፎ የበላይ ለመሆን በሚያደርገው የእርስበርስ ጦርነትና ፍክክር ዘመኑ የጥፋትና የእልቂት የሆነበት ሲሆን የመሳፍንቱ አለማ አንዱ በሌሎች ላይ ሀያልነትን አግኝቶ በጎንደር ነገስታት ዘውድ ስር ሌላውን ለመቆጣጠርና ዋና እንደራሴ ሆኖ ለመግዛት ነበር። በተጨማሪም ዘመኑ የአውራጃ መስፍኖች ከመአከላዊ መንግስቱ በተሸለ በወታደራዊ ሀይል የደረጁበትና የጠነከሩበት እንዲሁም ለማእከላዊ መንግስቱ አንገብርም አንታዘዝም በማለት ማእከላዊ ምንግስቱን በጦር በሃይል በማስገደድ ያሻቸውን የሚያደርጉበት እና ጥቅማቸውን የሚያስከብርላቸው አሻንጉሊት ንጉስ በማስቀመጥ እውነተኛውን ስልጣን እነሱ በመቆጣጠር እንደፈለጉ ከስርሃት ውጭ የሚፈነጩበት የጉልበተኞች ዘመን ነው ዘመን መሳፍንት ።

እኔ ከሞትኩ ስርዶ አይብቀል የሚለው የዘመናችን ሚካኤል ስሉል ህውሃት ጥርጊያውን ሁሉ ለዳግማዊ “ዘመን

ዘመነ መሳፍንት” ያመቻመቻ ስለመሆኑ ግልጽ ነው አሁን ሁኔታዎች ሁሉ የሚጠቁሙት ኢትዮጵያ ዳግም ወደ አስቀያሚው የጉልበተኞች ዘመን እያመራች መሆኑ ነው። የዘሬን ብተው ያንዝረኝ የሚለው ህውሃት ልክ እንደቅድመ አያቱ ሚካኤል ስሉሉ የዳግማዊ ዘመነ መሳፍት ጄማር አብሰሮናል ሌሎች የክልል ጉልበዊቶችም በየፊናቸው ሚካኤል ስሉሉ አንጋሽ (king maker) ለመሆንና ገንኖ ለመውጣት ሽኩቻውን የተያያዙት ሲሆን በአሻንጉሊት ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የሚመራው የመአከላዊ መንግስትም እየተፈረካከሰ መምጣቱ የአደባባይ ሚስጥር ከሆነ ቆይቷል።

የመአከላዊ መንግስቱ ስልጣን እየተዳመ መምጣቱ በጉልህ መታየት የጀመረው ከአምባገነኑ የህውሃት የቀድሞ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ህልፈት በሆነ ነው። ክልሎች እስከዚያን ግዜ ድረስ ባልታዩ ድፍረት የማአከላዊ መንግስትን መፈታተን ጀምረዋል። እንደማሳያ በይፋ አይውጣ እንጂ በህውሃት አንጋሽነት የሀገሪቱ አሸንጉሊት ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ኃይለማሪያም ደሳለኝ በየግዜው ባገኙት አጋጣሚና በተለይ በኢሕዴግ ማአከላው ኮሚቴ ስብሰባ ላይ በተደጋጋሚ እንደሚያቀርቡት ቅሬታ ከሆነ ክልሎች አልታዘዘም እየላቸው እንደሆነ ነው የሚገለጸው። ሌላው ግልጽ ማሳያ በቅርቡ በሱማሌ ክልልና በአሮሚያ ክልላዊ መንግስት መካከል በተከሰተውና ከፍተኛ ውድመት ባስከተለው የድንበር ግጭት የአዲስአበባው መንግስት ሁኔታውን ወደነበረበት ለመመለስ በሚያደርገው ጥረት ሁለቱም ክልሎች አንተባበርም አንታዘዘም ከማለት ባለፈ የፌዴራሉ መንግስት ፓሊስና የሀገሪቱ የጦር ሃይል ወደአካባቢው እንዳይደረስ ባላቸው የክልል ልዩ የጦር ሐይል ከመከልከል በተጨማሪ በየክልሎቻቸው ሚዲያዎች የማአከላዊ መንግስቱን ወደማስፈራራት የደረሱበት ሁኔታ ነው የተመለከተው በነገራችን ላይ በግጭቱ የሁለቱም ክልሎች ልዩ ሐይሎች ሀገሮች እንደሚያደርጉት መደበኛ ጦርነት ምሽግ መሸገው ተፋልመዋል። ከዛም ባለፈ ከማአከል ሃገሪቱ ለውጭ ገብያ በጂቡቲ ወደብ በኩል የምታቀርበውን እና የምታስገባውን ሸቀጦች እንዳይወጣና እንዳይገባ እስከማገድ የደረሱበትና የማአከላዊ መንግስቱን መዳከም በግልጽ ያሳዩበት ክስተት ነው።

የኢትዮጵያን የሀገረመረኒግስት ግንባታና ሂደት ስንመለከተው ረጅም ግዜና የብዙ ትውልዶች መስዋትነት በውስጥና በውጭ የተከፈለበት ነው ስለሆነም ያለን የተፈጥሮ ሀብት አልምተን በአግባቡ መጠቀም እንኳን ቢሳንን ከአገቶቻችን የተረከብናትን ሀገር ወርድና ስፋቷን ሳንቀይር ለልጆቻችን የማስተላለፍ ታሪካዊ ግዴታ አለብን። በተቃራኒው ሁሉም በማናለብኝነትና ከማን አንሳለሁ ባይነት በየጎሳውና በየክልሉ ወደብጥብጥና ሁከት መግባቱ የእትናን መላጣ ያየ በእሳት አይጫወትም ነውና ሊቢያ፣ ሶሪያ፣ የመንና ኢራቅ ትልቅ ምሳሌዎቻችን ሊሆኑ ይችላሉ።

የዛሬይቱ ኢትዮጵያ ከመበታተን፣ ከክልላዊና መሳፍንታዊ አምባገነንነት የሚታደጋት፣ ዜጎችን ያለልዩነት ማስተባበር የሚችል፣ ዲሞክራሲንና መልካም አስተዳደርን መአከላዊ አድርጎ የሀገሪቱን አንድነት መልሶ የመገንባት ተግባር በፈታውራሪነት የሚያከናውን ቴዎድሮስ ሳልሳዊ ትሻለች። ዜጎችም በበኩላቸው በዛች ሀገር ላይ በህውሃት መስሪና

ከፍፍለህ ግዛ ስርሀት ተደግሶ እያንዣባበ ያለውን የመከፋፈል መንፈስ በማስወገድና የዲሞክራሲ ተቋማት የሚያብቡበትን መንገድ በማፈላለግ እንዲሁም የክልል ጉልበዊቶችን ቅስም በመስበር ሂደት ላይ የበኩላቸውን አስተዋጽኦ በማበርከት ሀላፊነት መወጣት እንዳለባቸው አሌ አይባልም። አንዴ ይህን የቤት ስራ ከሰራንና የመከፋፈሉን መርዝ መንቀል ከቻልን ሀገራችን ከመበታተን መታደግ ብቻ ሳይሆን አያት ቅድመ አያቶቻችን የጀመሩትን የሀገረመረኒግስት ግንባታ አከናወን ማለት ነው እኛም የምንጠርገው ጎዳና ለልጅ ልጆቻችን ለእድገትና ልማት የመንደርደሪያ መስክ ይሆናል ማለት ነው።

**በጎሣ ፌዴራሊዝም ኢትዮጵያዊነት አይደበዝዝም  
Bruk Getahun (Hanau)**

ላለፉት 25 ዓመታት ያለማቋረጥ የጥላቻና የልዩነት መርዝ ሲረጭ የኖረው የህወሓት ዘረኛ አገዛዝ ዛሬ በድንገት የአንድነትና የመቻቻል ሰባኪ ለመሆን ይዳደዋል። ህወሓት በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ መካከል የዘራው የጥላቻ መርዝ ፍሬ አፍርቶ በሀረር፣ በኢሉባባርና በቤንሻንጉል ጉምዝ በሰው ሕይወትና በንብረት ላይ ከፍተኛ ጉዳት አድርጏል። ቋንቋን መሰረት ያደረገው አከላለል ሚሊዮኖችን በገዛ አገራቸው ሁለተኛ ዜጎች እንዲሆኑ አድርጓል። በየቦታው በሚነሱ የብሔር ግጭቶች ዜጎች የመኖር ዋስትና አጥተው እየተገደሉና እየተፈናቀሉ የሚገኙት፣ አገዛዙ ቋንቋን መሰረት አድርጎ በተገበረው የጎሳ ፌዴራሊዝም መሆኑን ዘንግቶ ፤ በኢኮኖሚ ብዝበዛ ዜጎችን የበይ ተመልካች ማድረጉን ረስቶ ዛሬም በጠበንጃ ሐይል የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብ ዝም ለማሰኘት ሲደክም ይስተዋላል። የዚህ ስርአት መሰረት የሆነው ህወሃት ያፀደቀው ህገ መንግስት ነው። ይሁን እንጂ ይህ ህገ መንግስት በህዝብ ፍላጎት ያልፀቀ በመሆኑ በዚህ ህገመንግስት መሰረት የሚቋቋሙት ተቋማት ህጋዊ የሚሆኑበት አካሄድ አይኖርም። አንዳንዶች ይህ ህገ መንግስት በህዝብ እንዳልፀቀ ቢቀበሉም ያልጠበቅነውን ሰፊ ክልል ፈጥሮናል በሚል ህገ መንግስቱን ህጋዊነት ሊያላብሱት ይሞክራሉ። ህወሃት ይህን ህገ መንግስት ሲያፀድቅና ክልሎችን ሲያዋቅር ስልጣኑን ለማደላደልና ጠላት የሚለውን ማህበረሰብ ለመጉዳት መሆኑ ይታወቃል። በዚህም ምክንያት የአገሪቱ አንድነትና የተለያዩ ማህበረሰቦች ግንኙነት ከፍተኛ አደጋ ላይ ወድቋል። ይህ ዘርን ብቻ መሰት ያደረገው ስርአት አገሪቱን ወደ ጥፋት እየመራት በመሆኑ በዚህ ህገ መንግስት መሰረት መፍትሄ ይኖራል ብሎ ማሰብ የሞህነት ነው። ይልቁንስ አጠቃላይ የአገሪቱን ችግር የሚፈታ ህገ መንግስታዊ ስርአት ለመፍጠር እንታገል። ድል ለሰፊው ሕዝብ!!

**ለአገር ነፃነት እንጂ...**

**ዳንኤል ሞገስ (Frankfurt)**

በትውልድ ቅብብሎሽ በአገር ወዳድ አያት ቅድመ አያቶቻችን የደምና አጥንት መስዋዕትነት ሳትደፈር ተከብራና ታፍራ የኖረች ኢትዮጵያ አገራችን በታሪክ አጋጣሚ ላለፉት ሃያ ስድስት ዓመታት በዘረኛው የወያኔ አገዛዝ መዳፍ ላይ ወድቃ ትገኛለች።

ምንም እንኳን በስም መንግሥት ይባል እንጂ በመንግሥት ደረጃ እንደ አገር ሊያስመራ የሚያስችል ሞራሉም ብቃቱም በሌላቸው ስግብግብ ባለሥልጣናት ለይስሙላ



እየተመራች ነው። የአንድ አገር ሁለንተናዊ መገለጫ በሆኑት የማሕበራዊ ኢኮኖሚያዊ ፖለቲካዊ መመዘኛዎች ስትታይ ይህች አገር ወደ አጠቃላይ ቀውስ ልትገባ ከጫፍ ደርሳለች። የሚታዩት እየሆኑ ያሉት ነገሮች ይህንን የሚያመለክቱ ሆነው እናገኛቸዋለን። ጆሮ ዳባ ልበስ ብሎ አውቆ የተኛው የወያኔ አገዛዝ ብቻውን በማን አለብኝነት በተቆጣጠረው ሚዲያ ይለፍልፍ እንጂ ጥፋት የተደገሰላት አገር ሆና እናገኛለን።

1. ማኅበራዊ ቀውስ፡- በዚህ መመዘኛ ኢትዮጵያ መልካቸውን በማይቀይሩ እንደ ኑብር ዝንጉርጉርነት በማይፋቅ ማንነት የሚታወቁ ዓለም የሚያውቃቸው መለያ የነበራቸው ሕዝቦች ለመሆናቸው የታሪክ ድርሳናት ምስክር ናቸው።

አሁንስ ? ወትሮም የትግል አጀንዳው አድርጎ የተነሳው ወያኔ ይህንን ኢትዮጵያዊ ማንነት ከእያንዳንዱ ዜጋ ለመንጠቅ ያልፈነቀለው ድንጋይ ያልመዘዘው የግጭት ሰይፍ የለም። ተከባብሮ በማንነቱ ኮርቶ የሚኖር የነበረ ሕዝብን ታናሽ ታላቅ ዘር በሚል በክልል ወሰን በጠባብ ብሔርተኝነት እየከፋፈለ በማኅበራዊ መስተጋብሩ የሚታወቀውን ሕዝብ ዘርና ማንነት ለይቶ እንዲጋጭ አደረገ።

ማኅበራዊ ቀውሱ እጅግ ሥር የሰደደና የሰፋ በመሆኑ ይህንን ዘረኝነት ለመታገል የተነሱ እንኳን በዚህ ዘረኝነት እየተጠለፉ ከትግል መንገድ እየወጡ ነው። ማሕበራዊ ቀውስ ሕዝቦች የዕለት በዕለት ተግባራቸውን በሰላም እንዳይወጡ ያደርጋል። ሙሰኝነት፣ ያልተመጣጠነ የሃብት ክፍፍል፣ የሥራ ዕድል አለመኖር፣ የኑሮ ውድነት፣ የመሳሰሉት ሁሉ በዘመን ወያኔ ሥር ሰደው ቀውሱን እየባባሱት ያሉ ዘርፈ ብዙ ችግሮች ናቸው። በመሆኑም ወያኔን መቃወምና መታገል እነዚህን ችግሮችን ለመፍታት መሆን ይኖርበታል። ሰላም የሚደፈርሰው ጦርነት ባለበት አገር ብቻ አይደለም። ይልቁንም በማሕበራዊ ቀውስ በምትታመስ አገር ድምፅ አልባ የሰላም መደፍረስ አለ። ዜጎች በእኩልነት ካልታዩ አገራቸው ያላትን የተፈጥሮና ሰው ሰራሽ ሐብት እኩል ተጠቃሚነት ከሌለ ቀውስ ይፈጠራል። ይህንን በተገቢው ሁኔታ እየተመለከትን እንገኛለን። የወያኔ አገዛዝ ዛሬም ልማት በሚል አደንቋሪ ጩኸት ሕዝቡን ለማታለል ቢጥርም እየሆነ ያለው ከቁጥጥር ውጭ ወደመሆን ተቃርቧል። መሠረታዊ የሚባሉ ሽቀጦች እንኳ የቅንጦት እየሆኑበት የመጣው ሕዝብ ማኅበራዊ መስተጋብሩ እየተሸሸረ ግብረ ገብነት ቦታ እያጣ ይገኛል። ይህንን ደግሞ ወያኔ ሕዝብ አብሮ እንዳይታገለው የሰራት ክፋት ናት።

2. ኢኮኖሚያዊ ቀውስ፡- ኢትዮጵያን መካከለኛ ገቢ ካላቸው አገሮች ተርታ ላሰልፍ እየሠራሁ ነው በማለት የሚደሰኩረው ወያኔ በመቶ ዕድገት ተመዘገበ በማለት የሚቀጥፈው ወያኔ በኢኮኖሚ ውድቀትና ቀውስ ምክንያት አርሶ ይበላና ይሸጥ የነበረው ገበሬው ሳይቀር ወደ ከተማ እየተሰደደ ይገኛል። ትንሽ የሚፍጨረጨረውን አርሶ አደር በማዳበሪያ ክፍያ ሰበብ እንዳይላወስ አድርጎታል። በዚህ ሁሉ ውስጥ ግን "የልማት አርበኞች" በሚል ተለጣፊ የካድሬ ስም በየዓመቱ የአንገት ሜዳልያ ከማጥለቅ የዘለለ ሥራ ሲሠራ አልታየም።

የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢ እጅግ በጣም በሚያሳዘን መልኩ በዘቀጠበት ሁኔታና መሠረታዊ የሚባሉ ሽቀጦች በሌሉበት አገር ስለዕድገት ማውራት ዜጎችን በግድ ላታልህ ከማለት የዘለለ

ፋይዳ የለውም። የኑሮ ልዩነቱ ከቀን ወደቀን እየሰፋ ሕልውናውን ለማቆየት የሚባዘነው ሰው ሰሚ እያጣ ካድሬና ሙሰኞች ከዘመኑ ጉጂሌ መንግሥት ጋር አብረው እየዘረፉ በሚኖሩባት አገር ስለ ዕድገት ማውራት አሳፋሪ ነው።

ይህ ቀውስ የአገርን ነፃነት ለማስመለስ ለሚደረግ ትግል ዋነኛ ምክንያት ነው። ለዚህም በተለያዩ አካባቢዎች የተደረጉ የሕዝብ አመፅን ማስታወሱ በቂ ነው። ሕዝብን ሁልጊዜ ማታለል አይቻልም። ከምንም በላይ የኢኮኖሚን ቀውስ መፍታት ያልቻለ መንግሥት ከተቃውሞ ነፃ መሆን አይቻለውም። በተቃራኒው ስለ ልማት የሚሞግተው ወያኔ በሕዝብ የደረሰበትን አመፅ ሁሉ " በአንዳንድ ፀረ ሰላም ኃይሎች " የተቀነባበረ ይበል እንጂ ምክንያቱ ይኸው ነው።

3. ፖለቲካዊ ቀውስ :- የምርጫ ቦርድ የሚባል በወያኔ ልክ የተሰፋ ሱሪ በአገሪቱ የተደረጉትን ምርጫዎች በሙሉ ወያኔ እንዲታጠቀው የፈቀደ በመሆኑ በዚህ በኩል ምንም ተስፋ የማይታይበት የሆነባቸው ፈታቸውን ወደ ትጥቅ ትግል ያዘፈ በርካታዎች ሆነዋል። በዚህ ረገድ አገርቤት የተደረጉ የተቃውሞና የሕዝብ አመፅ ሁሉ በቀጥታ በአገዛዙ ላይ ያነጣጠሩ መሆናቸው እርግጥ ነው። ይህ ንቅናቄ ጊዜ ይፈጅ ይሆናል እንጂ ወኔናን መጣሉ የማይቀር ነው። ይህንን ፖለቲካዊ ቀውስ ወዴትም ማዘር እንደማይችል የተረዳው መንግሥት በተለያዩ ማባባሪያዎች ለማብረድ እየሠራ ይገኛል። በውጤቱ ግን ምንም ለውጥ አለመምጣቱ እየታየ ነው። ሕዝብ አዳማጭ የሌለው በመሆኑ የፖለቲካ ቀውስ ስለመኖሩ መረጃ የለውም ማለት አይደለም። ምንም በማይመልሰው የሕዝብ ተቃውሞ የወደቁ መንግሥታትን መጥቀስ በቂ ይሆናል።

በአጠቃላይ ኢትዮጵያ በዘርፈ ብዙ ችግሮች ውስጥ ነች። ለኢትዮጵያ ከወያኔ አገዛዝ በመላቀቅ ነፃነትን ከመቀዳጀት የበለጠ አንገብጋቢና ወቅታዊ ጥያቄ የላትም። ይህ ለአገር ነፃነት እንጂ ለግለሰብ ነፃነት የሚጠየቅ ሙብት አይደለም። ኢትዮጵያ ነፃ ትውጣ። ነፃ በወጣች አገር ነፃነት ያላቸው ሕዝቦች ሊኖሩ ይቻላቸዋልና።

**ትግል ወሳኝ ነው  
Mesert Amare**

የኢትዮጵያ ገዥው መንግሥት በዜጎች ላይ የሚያደርሰውን ስቃይ ሽብት ከአገር ተሰደው የሚወጡ ኢትዮጵያውያን ቁጥር እጅግ ብዙ ነው። በተጨማሪም ለአስር የተዳረጉ በአገር ውስጥ የስቃይን ኑሮ እየገፉ ሰብአዊ መብታቸው እየተጣሰ ይገኛል። ከማንም እና ከምንም በፊት እኛው ራሳችን ይህንን ጭቆና በማውገዝ ትግላችንን በያለንበት ማድረግ ካልቻልን ከዚህ የከፋ ማህበራዊ ቀውስ በአገራችን ላይ ሊፈጠር እንደሚችል ጥርጣሬ የለኝም።

ስደት አማራጭ ቢሆንም ትግልን በማድረግ ጨቋኝ መንግስትን መጣል አስተማማኝ ሰላም የሚሰጥ እኩልነትን ለማስፈን ፍትህን ለማምጣት የመጀመሪያው እርምጃ ነው። ብዙ ዜጎችን በስደት ያጣችው አገራችን ልትደርስበት የሚገባት ቦታ ሳትደርስ በታላ ቀርነት እየሄደች ሲሆን ይህም በገዥው ባለስልጣናት ሙስና እና የስልጣን ጥመኝነት መሆኑ ዋነኛው ምክንያት ነው። ባለንበት ዘመን አገራት በዜጎቻቸው ላይ ከሚፈፀሙት ኢ ሰብአዊ ትግባር ውስጥ የወያኔ አገዛዝ ያልፈፀመው የለም። በ26 አመት የስልጣን ዘመኑ ብዙ ቀውሶች

እንዲፈጠሩ ኢትዮጵያ በታሪካ ያልነበራትን የዘር ክፍፍል በማምጣት እርስ በእርስ እንድንጋጭ በማድረግ የሰልጣን ዘመኑን ያራዝማል። ይህንን አገዛዝ መታገል ስጋት ላይ ያለችው ኢትዮጵያን ማዳን ነው። አገር ስትኖር ነው ቀጣይ የዜጋ መብት የሚኖረው። ይህንን አንድነታችንን ወያኔ ሊያጠፋው በዘር ከፋፍሎ እየገዛ ይገኛል። ትግል ማድረግ አማራጭ የለውም። ምክንያቱም እንደ ወያኔ ያሉ ለሰላማዊ ድርድር በራቸውን የማይከፍቱ መንግስታት በትግል ብቻ መጣል ነውና ትግል ወሳኝ ነው። በስደት ያለንም በምንችለው መልኩ ትግል ውስጥ በመግባት ወያኔን መጣል ይኖርብናል።

ለስደት የዳረገን ወያኔ ነው። አገራችንን ያሳጣን ወያኔ ነው። ከዚህ በላይ በደል እና ጭቆና የለምና ልንታገለው ይገባል። በብዙ ችግሮች የተዘፈቀችውን ኢትዮጵያን ይዘን እንድንቀጥል እውነተኛውን ዲሞክራሲ እንድናስፍን ፍትህና እኩልነት እንዲኖር ኢትዮጵያ ነፃ መውጣት አለባት። ይህንን ለማስፈን በሁሉም ረገድ መታገል ይገባል።

**ዘረኛው የህወሓት አገዛዝ በኢትዮጵያ**

**Amin Rejawu Adem**

ህወሓት ሥልጣን ከጨበጠ ጀምሮ ሙሉ ሃያ ሰባት ዓመትን አስቆጥሯል። በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ላይ ስብአዊ መብትን በመጨቆን ሕዝባችንን እየጭፍጭፍና ብሔርን ከብሔር እያፋጀ ይገኛል። በኢትዮጵያ ምድር ላይ ከዳር እስከዳር ሕዝቡ በደምና በእንባ ይራጭል። በአገሪቱ በሙሉ ማእዘናት ሕዝባችን ያነባል። ህጻናት፣ በተለይ ወጣቶች፣ ባልቴቶችና ሽማግሌዎች በባስ ሁኔታ የግፍ እርምጃ፣ ውርደትና ኢስብዌነት ይካሄድባቸዋል።

ወገናችን የአገር ያለህ፣ የሰው ያለህ፣ የፍትህ ያለህ፣ የህግ ያለህ እያለ በከተማና ገጠር ሁሉ ይጮኻል። ስሜ ግን እስካሁን አላገኘም። የደም እንባውን የሚያብሰለት አጋርና ወገን አላገኘም። ይህ ሁሉ በደልና ግፍ በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ላይ ሲወርድ፣ ባዕዳን ሁሉም ተሰማምተውብን ጀራአቸውን ደፍነው ዕይናቸውን ጨፍነው፣ አሳስበናል በሚል ከአንገት እንጂ ከአንጀት በማይወጣ ቃል ይደልሉናል።

በቅርብ ጊዜ ውስጥ በአርምቫና በሶማሊኛ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪዎች መካከል ተፍጥሮ የነበረው ግድያና መፍናቀል፣ በኢሉባቦር ክፍለ ሀገር በአማርኛ ተናጋሪው ማህበረሰብ ላይ የደርሰው ዕልቂትና ጭፍጨፋ፣ እንዲሁም በቤንሻንጉልና ጉምዝ አካባቢ የተፍጸመው ግድያና ሽብርተኝነትን ብሎም በቀሪው የኢትዮጵያ ክፍለ ግዛቶች በሚኖሩ ዜጎች ላይ የደርሰው አስቃይ ጭፍጨፋ በቀጥታም ሆነ በተዘዋዋሪ መንገድ የሚከናወነው በህወሓትና ተባባሪዎች እቅድ መሰረት ነው።

በሌላ በኩል የጋራ አገራችን ከቀደሙት አባቶቻችን እንደተርከብናት ለማቆየት የምንሻ ከሆነ ወገናችንና ሕዝባችን ብሎም ሁላችን እንዳንከፋፋል አጥብቀን የምናምንና ኋላፊነትን የሚሰማን ኢትዮጵያውያን ሁሉ የዜግነት ግዴታችን እንድንወጣ ያስገድደናል። ሞትና ሽረታችንን በአንድነት እንደምጣለን፣ ለ27 ዓመታት የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብ ሲገድልና ሲጭፍጭፍ የኖርን የዘርኛው የህወሓት የትግል መንግስት በጋራ ሁኔታ ከስር ነቅለን መጣልና ማባርረ የዜግነት ግዴታችን ነው። ወያኔን በሕዝብ ትግልና በጽናት፣ በቁርጠኝነት፣ እንዲሁም በአይበገሬነት ተማምነንና ተሰፋ አድርገን ስንታገል

ብቻ ነው። ወያኔ በአንድ መልኩ ኢትዮጵያዊነትን አራመድኩ ሲል በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ ኢትዮጵያን ለማፍረስ ከተሰለፉ ሀይሎች ጋር እጅግ ሚስጥራዊ በሆነ መንገድ ውስጣዊ ድርድር እያደርገን እና ሀገሪቱን አፍራርሶ እንደሚያስርከባቸው ቃል እየገባ ነው። ወያኔ ማንኛውንም አይነት ድርድር ያደርጋል። ማንኛውንም አይነት ማታለያ እና ማዘናጊያ ስልት ይጠቀማል። የወያኔ የዘርኝነት ፓለቲካ መዘዝ ስረ እየሰደደና በአሳሳቢ ሁኔታ ከጊዜ ወደ ጊዜ እጅግ አስከፊና አሳዛኝ የሆኑ የተለያዩ ችግሮችን በማካሄድና የዜጎችን ሕይወት እየቀጠፍና የሕዝቦችን ሀብት በማውደምና በመዝራፍ ሕዝባችን ለስደት፣ ለርሀብና ለሞት ዳርጓል። ድል ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ!!!

**በወያኔ የግፍ ማስቃያ ቤት በዜጎች ላይ**

**የሚደርሰው በደል ያማል!!**

**Betewedaj adnew (Wiesbaden)**

አንዲት ሴት "ከእግር ጥፍሮቼ ውስጥ ዘጠኙን ከነቀሏቸው በኋላ ጥፍሮቼን በፊስታል ይገጥሜ እንዳልሄድ ከለከሉኝ" ስትል ምንም ያልመሰለህ ሰው መሣይ "እኔም እኮ አንዳንተ ሰው ነኝ!" ብትለኝ ጭራቅ ነው የምትመስለኝ! በፀረ-ሽብር ህጉ ከተከሰሱት 1400 ሰዎች ውስጥ ከሺህ በላይ የሚሆኑት የአሮሞና አማራ ተወላጆች ሲሆኑ በዚህ ህግ ተጠርጥረው የታሰሩት የትግራይ ተወላጆች 2 ብቻ ናቸው" ስለህ "ዘረኛ" ካልከኝ "እንደ ምክንያታዊ ፍጡር የሚያሰብ አዕምሮ የለህም"። እንደ ሰብዓዊ ፍጡር ርህራሄ ያልፈጠረበት፣ እንደ ሰው ምክንያታዊ አስተሳሰብ የሌለው፣ ከራሱ ጥቅም ሌላ አርቆ ማስተዋል የተሳነው ግዑዝ ፍጥር ጋር በሀገር ውስጥ መኖርን ማሰብ ይከብደኛል። የሰው ነገር ከሁሉም በፊት ሰብዓዊነትን፣ ሰው መሆንን ይጠይቃል!! በመጀመሪያ ሰው ሁን... ሰው ሳታሆን ከሰው ፊት አትቅረብ!!! ሰው መሆን "ሁሉም ሰው እንደኔ ሰው ነውና እኩል መብትና ነፃነት ይገባዋል! በማዕከላዊና ቂሊንጦ በእስረኞች የሚደርሰውን ግፍና በደል "አወግዛለሁ!" በለኝ? እስኪ ሰው መሆንን መስክርልኝ! "አውሬ አይደለሁም!" በለኝ! እስኪ ሰው ከሆንክ "የወገኔ ህመምና ጭንቀት ይሰማኛል!" በለኝ! ብሎቱን ተረዳኝ!?

**የወያኔ የዘር ፖለቲካ እና የኔቨርስቲዎቻችን**

**Helen Belete (Reichelsheim Beerfuth)**

ላለፉት 27 አመታት በማንአለብኝነት በመነሳሳት ተዋዶ እና ተከባብሮ ይኖር የነበረውን የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በዘር ፖለቲካ ጨምዶ በመያዝ ዘርፈ ብዙ ችግሮችን እያደረሰበት ይገኛል። በህወሀታውያን የሚዘወረው አምባገነኑ የወያኔ መንግስት የተንኮል አድማሱን በማስፋት የኔቨርስቲዎች ሳይቀሩ የአስከፊ ስርአቱ መፈንጫ ከሆኑ ሰነባብተዋል። ይህ የዘር ፖለቲካ የኔቨርስቲዎቻችንን እየበከለ ነው።

ዛሬ በዚህ የፓለቲካ ደዋ የተለከፈ የዩኔቨርስቲ ተማሪና ሌላው የአካዳሚክ/አስተዳደር ማህበረሰብ ነገ ምን አይነት ስብዕና እንደሚያዳብር ግልፅ ነው። ተማሪዎችም በአገር ፍቅር፣ በግብረገብነት፣ በእውቀት፣ ከህሎትና የተሻለ አመለካከት ታንጸው መውጣት ሲገባቸው በዘር ፖለቲካ ስክረው በሌሎች ወገኖቻቸው ላይ ቂም ቂጥረው እንዲወጡ መደረጉ ያሳዝናል ያሳፍራልም። ዛሬ እየሆነ ያለው ነገን እየበላሸብን ነው።

መንግስት የተባለው አካል የሰበከውን ጥላቻ ሰከን ቢያደርግ መልካም ነው።

የነገ ሀገር ተረካቢ የዛሬ ባለድርሻ የሆነው ወጣቱ ትውልድ በየአካባቢው የጫት እና የተለያዩ አድገዎች እያየች ሰብሻ ሲሆኑ ለትምህርት ቅድሚያ በመስጠት የኢትዮጵያን መግሊ እድል የመወሰን አቅም ለማፍራት በየዩኒቨርሲቲው ያሉ ምሁራንም በራሳቸው ሳምባ የማይተነፍሱ የወያኔ ሎሌ እንዲሆኑ መደረጉ ሀገርን ወደ ማጥ ውስጥ የሚከት ለነገ የማይባል እና ዛሬውኑ በተጠናከረ ትግል መቆም ያለበት ጊዜ ነው። ትላንት ከፍተኛ የሆነ ታሪክ ያላት ሀገር ዛሬ በወያኔ የዘር ፖለቲካ ተከፋፍላ እንድትኖር መገደዷም ልብ ሊባል የሚገባው ጉዳይ ነው። ኢትዮጵያ ለዘላለም ትኑር።

**በዘመነ ወያኔ አዲሱ ህፃናትን የመሸጫ መንገድ (ጉዲፊቻ)**

**Sara Habtam Legesse (Mühlheim)**

የቀኃሥ ዘመነ መንግሥት ጀምሮ በርካታ የህፃናት ማሳደጊያ ድርጅቶች በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ይገኛሉ። ለአብነት ለመጥቀስ ያህልም የቀኃሥ ህፃናት ማሳደጊያ ድርጅትና የትንሣኤ ብርሃን ህፃናት ማሳደጊያ ድርጅቶች፣ የደርግ ህጻናት አምባ ተቆማት ወላጆቻቸው በተፈጥሮና ሰው ሰራሽ ምክንያት የተለዩቸውን ህጻናቶችን ተቀብለው በሀገር ውስጥ በማሳደግና በማስተማር ለትልቅ ደረጃ ማድረጋቸው ታሪክ ምስክር ነው። የዶክተር አበበች ጎበና የህፃናት ማሳደጊያ ድርጅት በሀገር ውስጥ ብቻ ህፃናት እንዲያደጉ በማድረግ በጥሩ ስነ-ምግባርና መልካም ግብረገብነት አንፀው፣ አስተምረው ለትልቅ ደረጃ በማድረጋቸው ሊመሰገኑ ይገባቸዋል። የሀውኃት የጦር አበጋዞች መንግስት በኢትዮጵያ ከ2003/7 እኤአ ለ22 የጉዲፊቻ ንግድ ኤጀንሲዎች ፍቃድ መስጠቱ በተለይ አሜሪካ ላሉ የህፃናት ንግድ መጠጫ ማስረጃ ነው።

«ጉዲፊቻ በኢትዮጵያ የቆየና በህብረተሰቡ ውስጥ የጎለበተ በመልካም እሴት የሚጠቀስ የማህበራዊ ትስስር ማጠናከሪ እንደሆነ ታወቃል። ከሀገር ውጪም ህጋዊ በሆነ መንገድ ህፃናት በጉዲፊቻ ሲሰጡ ቆይቶል። እስካሁን ባለው መረጃ ከአፍሪካ ወደ 35 ሺህ ልጆች በጉዲፊቻ መስጠታቸውንና ከእነዚህም መካከል 25 ሺዎቹ ከኢትዮጵያ መሆናቸው በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የህግ፣ ፍትህና አስተዳደር ጉዳዮች ቆሚ ኮሚቴ የቤተሰብ ህግ እንደገና ለማሻሻል በወጣው ረቂቅ አዋጅ ውይይት ላይ ተጠቁሞል።» ጎዳር 1 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም አዲስ ዘመን ጋዜጣ 25,000 ህጻናት ልጆች በአማካኝ ከአንድ ሕፃን 20 ሺህ ዶላር ሽያጭ ቢሆን 500,000,000 ዶላር በ20 ብር ምንዛሪ ተመን በ10,000,000,000 ቢሊዮን ብር ህፃናት ተሸጠዋል። 25,000 ህጻናት ልጆች በአማካኝ ከአንድ ሕፃን 30 ሺህ ዶላር ሽያጭ ቢሆን 750,000,000 ዶላር በ25 ብር ምንዛሪ ተመን በ18,750,000,000 ቢሊዮን ብር ህፃናት ተሸጠዋል።

የጉዲፊቻ/ማደጎ ህፃናት ሽያጫ፣ የጦር አበጋዞች ከማደጎ ህፃናት ሽያጫ የሚያግቡበት የነፍስ ሽያጫ በተመለከተ ጥናቶች ያካተቱት መረጃዎች ቀጥሎ ይቀርባል። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ 70 የውጪ ሀገር የጉዲፊቻ ኤጀንሲዎች በሴቶች ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር Ministry of Women's Affairs

ፍቃድ ሰጪነት ተመዝግበው በመስራት ላይ ናቸው። በሀገራቶች መኃል የሚከናወነውን የጉዲፊቻ ሥነ-ስርዓት ከሚያቀላጥፉ ድርጅቶች/ተቋማት መሃከል የጉዲፊቻ ኤጀንሲዎች፣ የግልና የመንግሥት ህፃናት ማሳደጊያ ድርጅቶች፣ ፍርድ ቤት፣ የሠራተኛና ማህበራዊ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር፣ የውጪ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር፣ የሚመለከታቸው ኢንባሲዎች፣ ማዘጋጃ ቤት፣ ኢሚግሬሽን አውቶሪቴ፣ የፍትህ ሚኒስትር፣ የፖሊስ ኮሚሽን፣ እና የሀገር ውስጥ መንግስት ባለስልጣናት በቀጥታና በተዘዋዋሪ መንገድ በሀገራት መኃል የሚከናወነውን የጉዲፊቻ ሥነ-ስርዓት ያመቻቻሉ።

በዚህ ጥናት መጥፎ የሰሩ እንዳሉ ሁሉ መልካም የሰሩም እንዳሉ ማወቁ በጣም አስፈላጊ ነው። ለምን ህፃናት በማደጎነት ባህር ማዶ እማያውቁበት ሃገር፣ ባህል፣ ስነልቦና ቀውስ ተዳረጉ፣ የማደጎ ድርጅቶች በእውን ንፁህ ሥራ ይሰራሉ የሚለው በጥናት የተረጋገጠ ብዙ መረጃ ስላለ የስም ማጥፋት ዘመቻ እንዳይመስለን። ለጥናት መረጃ መስጠት ግልፅ አሰራርና ፈሪሃ እግዚአብሄር ያላቸው የጉዲፊቻ ድርጅቶች ትመስገናላችሁ። የሰራተኛና ማህበራዊ ጉዳይ ሚኒስቴር መረጃ መሠረት በሀገሪቱ 150,000 ህፃናቶች የጎዳና ተዳዳሪዎች እንደሆኑና ከዚህም ውስጥ 60,000 የጎዳና ተዳዳሪዎች በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ጎዳናዎች ላይ እንደሚኖሩ ገልፀዋል።

According to a Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA) report, approximately 150,000 children lived on the streets, and 60,000 of these children lived in the capital የማእከላዊ ስታቲስቲክስ መረጃ መሠረትም 5.4 ሚሊዮን ህፃናቶች እናትና አባታቸውን በሞት የተለዩቸው እንደሆኑና በተለያዩ ምክንያቶች ህፃናቶች በህክምና እጦት በሞት እንደሚቀጠፉና በሆስፒታሎች ውስጥ ተጥለው እንደሚገኙ ተገልጾል። በጉዲፊቻ ስም ህፃናትን መነገድ ይቁም!!

**“የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ” የተሰኘውን ታሪካዊ ተውኔት በተመለከተ ከጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ ጋር የተደረገ ቃለ መጠይቅ።**



**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** የመፅሔታችን 2ኛ ዓመት ቁጥር 1 ዕትም እንግዳችን በነበርክበት ወቅት ራስህን ስታስተዋውቀን ጋዜጠኛና ፖለቲከኛ ዘላለም ደበበ እባላለሁ ብለህን ነበር። በቅርብ ጊዜ ደግሞ በአንድ ሌላ ሙያ ውስጥ ተመልክተንሃል። ይህ እንዴት ሊሆን ቻለ? በድንገት ወይስ በፊትም ሙያው በውስጥህ ነበር?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** በቅድሚያ የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ መፅሔት ዝግጅት ክፍል ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለጋበዘኝ እያመሰገንኩ የመረጃ ክፍተቶችን በመሙላት ወደ አንባቢው ዘንድ እየቀረበ ላለበት መንገድ ከፍተኛ አክብሮቴን ማቅረብ እፈልጋለሁ። ወደ ተጠየቅኩት ጥያቄ ስገባ ግን ትንንሽ ቢሆኑም በፖለቲካው እና በሚድያው አካባቢ የአቅማን ለማድረግ እየሞከርኩ ነው። የትወና ሙያው በድንገት የመጣ ነው ወይ ለተባለው ግን ድንገቴ ሳይሆን በፊትም የምሰራቸው ትንንሽ ሥራዎች ነበሩ። ነገር ግን እንዲህ እንደ አሁኑ ያለ ትልቅ ሥራ ይገድ ወደ መድረክ ስውጣ የመጀመሪያ ነው።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** አንዱን ምረጥ ብትባል የቱን ትመርጣለህ ጋዜጠኛነት፣ ፖለቲከኛነት ወይስ ተዋናይነት?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** አንዱን ምረጥ ብትባል የቱን ትመርጣለህ? ይህ ከበድ የሚል ጥያቄ ነው። ሁሉም ተያያዥነት ያላቸው በውስጥህ ያለውን ስሜት ወደ ሕዝብ የምታወጣበት ከሕዝብ የምትማርበት መድረኮች ናቸው። የግድ አንዱን ምረጥ ብባል ግን ነፍሴ ወደ ትያትሩ የምታዘነብል ይመስለኛል።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** “የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ” የተሰኘውን ቴአትር ለማሳየት ለአንድ ወር ያህል በስምንት የአውሮፓ ሀገራት የነበራችሁ ቆይታ እንደት ተጠናቀቀ? የሕዝቡ አቀባበልና የተዋንያኑ ትስስር ምን ይመስል ነበር?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ የተሰኘውን ዘመን ተሻጋሪ ድንቅ ተውኔት ለማሳየት ለአንድ ወር ያህል በስምንት የአውሮፓ ሀገራት የነበረን ቆይታ እጅግ ደስ የሚል ነበር። መጀመሪያውን የጀርመኒ ርዕስ መዲና በርሊን ላይ እድርጎ በአለተ እሁድ በጀርመን ሀገር ኑረንበርግ ከተማ ፍፃሜውን አገኝቷል። እንዳማረ እና እንደተወደደ እያስለቀሰ እና እያስደሰተ፣ እያስፎከረ እና እያጀገነ ልብን በሀገር ፍቅር

ሰብቆ የሚይዘው በታዋቂው ፀሀፊ ተውኔት፣ ዳይሬክተር እና ተዋናይ ጌትነት እንደተጠቀሱ በጣይቱ የባህል እና የትምህርት ማዕከል ተዘጋጅቶ በማዕከሉ ዳይሬክተር የምንጊዜም የኢትዮጵያ ውድ ልጅ የኪነጥበብ ንግስቷ፣ በአርቲስት አለምፀሀይ ወዳጆ ድንቅ ትረካ ፊታውራሪነት በመጀመሪያው ዙር ጉዞ በስምንት የአውሮፓ ሀገራት በአስር መድረኮች ለአይታ ሲቀርብ በየሄድንባቸው አገሮች ሁሉ የሕዝቡ አቀባበል እጅግ በጣም ደስ የሚል ነበር። በዚህ አጋጣሚ ይህንን ትያትር በየሀገሩ እንዲታይ ትልቅ ስራ ለሰሩ ለሁሉም ሀገራት የኮሚቴ አባላት ትልቅ አክብሮት እና ምስጋናን መለገስ እወዳለሁ። “የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ” ቴአትር የነ ጌትነት እንደተጠቀሱ፣ ተስፋዬ ሲማ፣ ሱራፊል ተካ፣ አበባየሁ ታደሰ፣ ገሊላ መኮንን፣ እንዲሁም የአዳዲሶቹ ተዋናዮች የነ ኤልሳቤጥ ብርሀኑ፣ ዘላለም ደበበ (የአልፎ ልጅ)፣ ሰለሞን ሞገስና በሃይሉ ግርማ ድንቅ የትወና ብቃት በሚገርም ሁኔታ የታየበት ነበር። በቴአትሩ የአውሮፓ ቆይታ የተዋንያኑ ቤተሰባዊ ትስስር ምን ይመስል እንደነበር እንዲህ በቀላሉ የሚገለፅ አይደለም። ፍፁም ደስ የሚል የሙያ ዲስፕሊን ያለበት የመከባበር፣ የመዋደድ፣ የመደማመጥ፣ በአጠቃላይ ብዙ ሆነህ እንደ አንድ ቤተሰብ የምትተሳሰብበት በህይወት ዘመኔ ላገኘው የማልቸለው ትልቅ ትምህርት ቤት ውስጥ እንደገባሁ ነው የምቆጥረው። የአለምፀሀይ ወዳጆን ጥንካሬ፣ የጌትነት እና የተስፋዬ መካሪነት፣ የገሊላ መኮንን በዚህ ዘመን የማታገኘው እህትነት፣ የነሱሬ፣ አበባየሁ እና ኤልሲ ወዳጅነት፣ የነ ሰለሞን እና በሀይሉ ታዋኸነት ወዘተ መቼም የማይረሳ ድንቅ ጊዜ ነበር። በድጋሚ በዚህ ትያትር ላይ ለነበሩ አባላት ሁሉ ትልቅ ምስጋና አቀርባለሁ። አለምፀሀይ ሺህ አመት ኑሪ!!

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** ይህን ታሪካዊ ተውኔት በዚህ ወቅት ከኢትዮጵያ ውጭ በተለይ በአውሮፓ ለማሳየት ምን አነሳሳችሁ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** ይህን ኢትዮጵያዊነት የሚሰበክበት ታሪካዊ ተውኔት ወደ አውሮፓ ለማምጣት በዋነኝነት በአሜሪካን ሀገር የሚገኘው የጣይቱ የባህልና የትምህርት ማእከል ከአውሮፓ የኢትዮጵያውያን ኮሚኒቲዎች ጋር ሲነጋገር ቆይቶ ማእከሉ ላለፉት 17 አመታት በተለይ በውጭ ሀገራት የሚወለዱ ልጆች ኢትዮጵያዊነት ምን ማለት እንደሆነ፣ የሀገራቸው ቋንቋ እና ባህል ምን እንደሆነ እንዲያውቁ እንዲሁም ኪነጥበብ እንዲያድግ ትልቅ ስራን እየሰሩ ነው። በዚህ እና በሌሎች መነሻነት ነው እንግዲህ ትያትሩ በአውሮፓም እንዲታይ እቅድ የወጣው።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** በቴአትሩ ውስጥ ምን ያህል ተዋንያን ተሳተፈ ነበራቸው? አንተስ ወክለህ የተጫወትከው ገፀባህ ምንድን ነበር? ይህን ገፀባህ በትክክል ወክለህ መጫወትህን ማረጋገጥ የቻልክበት አጋጣሚ ነበር?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** የሚገርመው ትያትሩ በሀገር ቤት ሲታይ ከ140 በላይ ተዋንያን እንደተሳተፉበት ነው ከአንጋፋዎቹ ተዋንያን የተረዱት። በአውሮፓ ቆይታችን ይህንን ሁሉ ተዋንያን ማግኘት አይቻልም ቢኾንም የጉዞው ወጪ ምን ያህል ከባድ እንደሚሆን መገመት አያዳግትም። በዋናነት አስር የሚሆኑ አርቲስቶች አብረው ሲዘሩ በየሀገሩ እንደደረሰን አለምፀሀይ ወዳጆ አሰልጥና ወደ መድረክ

የምታወጣቸው በርካታ ልጆች ነበሩ። አንተ የትኛውን ገፅ ባህሪ ወክለህ ነው የተጫወትከው ለሚለው የቴዎድሮስ የልብ ጓደኞች ከነበሩት ልብ ለልብ የሚተዋወቁ፣ ነፍስ ለነፍስ የሚተማመኑ ወዳጆች አንዱ የሆነውን የአለሜን ገፅ ባህሪ ወክዬ ነው የተጫወትኩት። እንግዲህ እኔ መድረክ ላይ ሆኜ ስራው ወደ ህዝብ እንዲደርስ በስሜት መስራት ነው እና የሚጠበቅብኝ ያንን ለማድረግ የአቅማን ያህል ሞክሬያለሁ። ትያትሩ ካበቃ በኋላ በየመድረኩ የሚሰጥህ አስተያየት ግን ደስ የሚል ነገ ለተሻለ ስራ እንድትነሳሳ የሚያደርግ አበረታች የሆነ፤ ጥሩ አድርጌ ተጫውቼዋለሁ እንዴት? ብለህ ራስህን እንድትጠይቅ የሚያደርግ ነው።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** “የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ” በተሰኘው ቴአትር ውስጥ የተሳተፋችሁት አንጋፋና አዲስ ተዋንያን የተሰባሰባችሁት ከተለያዩ የዓለም ክፍል መሆኑ፤ እንዲሁም በዕድሜና በልምድ መለያየታችሁ በትወናው ላይ ያስከተለው አዎንታዊ ወይም አሉታዊ ተፅዕኖ ካለ ብትገልጽልን?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** ልክ ነው ይህን ትያትር ለመስራት በመሪ ተዋናይነት እንኳን ከአሜሪካ፣ ከኢትዮጵያ፣ ከሆላንድ፣ ከጀርመን እንዲሁም በምናሳይበት ቦታ እዛው ስልጥነው ለመድረክ የሚቀርቡ ልጆች እንደመኖራቸው ተፅዕኖ አይኖረውም አይባልም። ነገር ግን የጎላ የምንለው ተፅዕኖ አልነበረም ምክንያቱም አንጋፋዎቹ ለወጣቶቹ እንዲሁም ወጣቶቹ ለጀማሪዎቹ የሚያደርጉትን መደጋገፍ ስታይ በተለይ የምትሰራው በህይወት ዘመንህ ከምታደንቃቸው እና ከምታከብራቸው ታላላቅ ተዋንያን ጋር መሆኑን ስታውቅ ልብህ በደስታ ይፈነድቃል የዛኔ አንተም አቅምህን ለማሳየት ትልቅ ጥረት ታደርጋለህ ስለዚህ በትያትሩ ላይ ያሳደረው ተፅዕኖ መኖሩን ልብ አልልም።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** አብረውህ ከተወኑት አንጋፋ የኪነጥበብ ባለሙያዎች ምን ተማርክ? ከእነሱ ጋር በመተወህን ምን የተለየ ነገር ተሰማህ? ወደፊትስ በተዋናይነት ለመቀጠል አስበሃል?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** አብረውኝ በትያትሩ ላይ ከተሳተፉ ድንቅ ተዋንያን ምን ተማርክ የሚለውን ጥያቄ እንዲህ በቀላሉ መመለስ ይከብዳል። ምን እንደምል አላውቅም ጥልቅ የሆነ የሙያ ፍቅር እና ዲስፕሊን፣ መዋደድ እና መከባበር፣ ጥንካሬ እና አልሸነፍም ባይነት፣ አንዱ ለአንዱ ያለው ተቆርቋሪነት ምኑን ዘርዘሪ ምኑን ልተወው ብቻ ማንኛውም ሰው በህይወት ዘመኑ ገብቶ ቢማርበት ትልቅ የሚሆንበት ድንቅ ኮሌጅ ውስጥ ነበርኩ ብል አሳንሼ እንደሆነ እንጂ አላጋነንኩም። ምን ተሰማህ ላልከኝ ደግሞ ኩራት፣ ወኔ፣ ጀግንነት፣ ደስታ፣ ስኬት... ሌላም ሌላም እግዚአብሔር አምላክ ቢፈቅድ ደግሞ በዚህ ሙያ የተሻለ ስራ መስራት አፈልጋለሁ።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ ታሪካዊ ተውኔት መነሻው አፄ ቴዎድሮስ ቢሆኑም ቲያትሩ በአጠቃላይ በኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ላይ እንዲያተኩር የተደረገበት ምክንት ምንድን ነው?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** እዚህ ጋር አንድ በጣም ልብ ልንለው የሚገባ ጉዳይ አለ። ይኸውም ምንድን ነው ሲጀመር የትያትሩ ርዕስ የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ እንጂ የቴዎድሮስ ታሪክ የሚል አይደለም። ስለዚህ ከርዕሱ እንኳን እንደምንረዳው የቴዎድሮስ

ራዕይ ምንድን ነው ካልን ኢትዮጵያዊነት ነው ። አፄ ቴዎድሮስ በየመሳፍንቱ ተከፋፍላ የቆየችውን ሀገር በአንድ ዘውድ ስር የምትተዳደር፣ ባሪያ መሸጥ እና መለወጥ የሚቆምባት ፣ ስልጣኔ የሚሰፋፋባት፣ እኔ እነግስ እኔ እነግስ የሚል ሽኩቻ የማይኖርባት፣ የትንቅንቅ እና የትልቅልቅ ዘመን የማይኖርባት ኢትዮጵያን ለመመስረት እጅግ ተግተው የሰሩ የአፄ ቴዎድሮስ ስም ስትጠራ ኢትዮጵያን እብረህ የምታነሳ መሆኑ ይመስለኛል።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** “የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ” የተሰኘው ታሪካዊ ተውኔት ሀገራዊ ስሜትን ከመፍጠርና ባህልን ከማስተዋወቅ አኳያ ምን ያህል አስተዋጽኦ ይኖራል ብለህ ታስባለህ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** ትያትሩ ሀገራዊ ስሜት ከመፍጠር አኳያ ያለው ጠቀሜታ ቀለል አድርገህ የምታየው አይደለም። “ትልቅ ነበርን፤ ትልቅ እንሆናለን!” ይለናል የቋራው አንበሳ በትያትሩ ላይ። አንድ በነበርንበት ወቅት ምን ያህል ሃያል መሆናችንን ላላስተዋለው፤ ለዚህ ትውልድ ይህ መልዕክት የንዴት ስሜትን ብቻ ፈጥሮ የሚያልፍ ቃል ብቻ አይደለም። መልእክቱ በእያንዳንዱ የትያትሩ ተመልካች ልብ ውስጥ የቁጭትን ስብል የሚዘራ ትላንት ቀደምት የነበረች ሀገራችን ዛሬ የኋላ መሪ መሆኗ የሚጎመዝዝ ድንቅ መልእክት ነው። ባህላችን አልሸነፍ ባይነት መሆኑን ታይቦታለህ ኢትዮጵያዊ ሀገር የመውደድ ለዜጎቹ የመቆርቆር ትልቅ ባህል እንዳለው ትረዳበታለህ። የቴዎድሮስ ራዕይ ለዘመናዊ ኢትዮጵያ የመሰረት ድንጋይ መጣሉ ብቻ አይደለም፤ ኢትዮጵያችን እንደ ቴዎድሮስ ያለ ለነጻነት ሲል ራስን ሰውቶ በክብር የመኖር ተምሳሌት የሚሆን መሪ እንደነበራትም ትረዳበታለህ።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** አሁን በኢትዮጵያ እየታየ ያለውን የመከፋፈልና የግለሽነት አስተሳሰብ አስቀርቶ፣ ከራሱ ጥቅም የሀገሩን ጥቅም የሚያስቀድም እንዲሁም እራሱን ለሀገሩ እስከሞት አሳልፎ የሚሰጥ እንደ አፄ ቴዎድሮስ ዓይነት መሪ ይገኛል ብለህ ታስባለህ?

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** ይህ ሌላ ከባድ ጥያቄ ነው። አሁን ባለንበት የመጠፋፋት፣ የመከፋፈል እና የመበላላት ዘመን እንደ አፄ ቴዎድሮስ ዓይነት መሪ እንዲሰጠን የሁላችንም ምኞት ነው። ቴዎድሮስ በንግስናው ዘመን የኢትዮጵያን ትልቅነት እያነሳ ኢትዮጵያን “እወድሻለሁ!” ሲላት ትሰማለህ። አጼ ቴዎድሮስ በጀነራል ናፒር በሚመራው የእንግሊዝ ጦር ጉልበቱ በተፈታ ቅኝ እጁን ገብሮቹን ባጣበት ወቅት እጁን አሳልፎ ለግዞት አልሰጠም። እንደውም በራሱ ላይ ጨክኖ፣ ቃሉን በተግባሩ ሲያጸናው እናያለን። ትልቅ ሆኖ ማየት የሚሻት ኢትዮጵያን “እወድሻለሁ!” እያለ ሽጉጡን ጠጥቶ በክብር ሲሞት ታያለህ። ታዲያ ይህንን መሪ የሚተካ ይመጣል ወይ የሚለው ከባድ ቢልም በታሪክም እንደምናውቀው መሪ የሚፈጠረው ከሕዝብ ነው፤ ስለዚህ እንደ ቴዎድሮስ ዓይነት መሪ ከሕዝብ መሃል አይወጣም የሚል ጨለምተኛ አመለካከት የለኝም። መቼ እና እንዴት ይህ መሪ ይፈጠራል የሚለው ቢያሳስበኝም።

**የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ:-** ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ ለነበረን ቆይታ ከልብ እና መሰግናለን።

**ጋዜጠኛ ዘላለም ደበበ:-** እኔም አክብራችሁ ስለጠየቃችሁኝ አመሰግናለሁ።

## Mission Statements

The Ethiopian Affair is a quarterly private Magazine established in September, 2014. It is voice of the voiceless Ethiopians initiated by determined individuals to be published in *Amharic* and *English* in Germany as well as beyond. The Ethiopian Affair is a print and online publication dedicated to publishing latest information together with significant proposals. We used images of three keys on the cover of this Magazine to symbolize mistrusts among Ethiopians, the regime in power and opposition political parties. It is an obvious fact that Keys have been used to lock away secret information and most valuable things of the greatest significances for centuries. Consequently, we used images of the three keys to symbolize the ultimate quest of Ethiopians for freedom, justice and democracy. Thus, our aim in this volume is to unlock the range of political, social, economic and environmental issues that are locked before twenty years but still affect all of us.

Editorials of the Ethiopian Affair strongly believe that information is a key to maintain power in this twenty first century. Thus, we are committed to increase the circulation of information to have a direct and positive effect on political, social, economic and environmental affairs of Ethiopia in order to create a more inclusive democratic political system that involves all stakeholders in it. Therefore, we encourage all Ethiopians regardless of their political, ethnic and/or religion affiliation to actively participate in all affairs of the country without any restriction. However, the opinions expressed in this Magazine are not necessarily those held by Editorials of the Ethiopian Affair. Indeed, contrary views are most welcome to enhance further discussion.

**The Ethiopian Affair**  
**The right Magazine in the**  
**right place at the time!**  
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## Editorial Notes: It is... 'Time to National Reconciliation'

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) is until now experiencing its most dictatorial governance system because of securing power claiming challenges since it took power of the state. Nowadays, there is hardly freedom of the media and opinions; non-existent opposition political space; living growing corruption both in the political and economic system; vast number population discriminated from owning the country's resource including land; youth unemployment in Ethiopia's political system than any other time in the EPRDF's regime.

These all come up with grassroots protest movement cantered in Oromia and Amhara regions but with manifestations in whole parts of the country. As the protests expanded, the EPRDF announced the second-round state of emergency proclamation by the name of "National Security Council" increased the number of killings, detentions and arrests. These all implies that EPRDF is incapable to rule the state. Therefore, holistic reconciliation

process whereby an all-inclusive alternative body ...like Ethiopian opposition forces inside the country and abroad, intellectuals, activists, including other concerned bodies from the government in exile be formed and make the unified struggle effective.

Then after,...must open up its political space to bring free and fair election platform and facilitate to cement the current ethnic disintegration attitudes to become united through diversification and also in the future as a developed and democratic nation. So, all Ethiopian political organizations and concerned individuals come together to facilitate National Reconciliation and should make it a critical agenda of the society. Unless and otherwise; the reform comes true, there is no hope of unity, democracy, development and human rights that accommodate the diverse political views and interests of people living in future Ethiopia. This is what Ethiopian Affairs editorial write to express an opinion about resolving mechanism of the current political crisis of Ethiopia.

**Abebe Abidie /Deputy Editor**

## **Ethiopia's Ethnic-based Federalism: A Threat for the Disintegration of the Country**

**Abrham Gebreselassie Gebreyes  
(Giessen)**

Ethiopia is a diversified nation with more than 80 ethnic groups, with different language, religion, culture and tradition. The peoples of Ethiopia have had the culture of living together without any narrowly and shallowly-focused ethnic belongingness. After the collapse of the military regime in 1991 and the seizure of state power by EPRDF, the country has been reconstituted into an ethnic federation following the enactment of the 1994 constitution. The constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) considers ethnic contradiction as the primary problem in the country's politics and reaffirms ethnic federalism with the right to self-administration for all regional states including the right to secession.

In the existing federal structure of Ethiopia, ethnic groups are delineated based on their ethno-linguistic similarity they share in a given area. The decentralized administrative system runs from the highest level to the lowest: national regional state, zone, woreda, and kebele. Yet, the administration is federal only in a structural sense, the extensive patronage system and top-down policy directions control lower level activities, preclude local initiative and challenge regional autonomy. The power of regional states to provide contextual local decisions is minimal.

The ruling regime embraced "Ethnic federalism" as a viable political experiment to accommodate ethnic differences and used as an instrument of managing the complex ethnolinguistic diversity of the country and reduce conflicts. However, the federal experiment has been rather provocative and causes new bloody conflicts between ethnic groups over different interrelated factors such as self-determination, competition over resource sharing, political power, representation, identity, border claims, and deprivation of rights and opportunities for minorities living in regional

states that are "owned" by certain ethnic groups and others.

According to Article 39(1) of the Ethiopian constitution, every ethno-territorial community has "an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession". The practicality of this article is still contentious and debated by different politicians and academicians, and accused for the revival of secessionists at different corners of the country. Article 39 empowered ethnic-based organizations in the country that have secessionist programs such as the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) by exercising the right to self-determination. The rights of minority groups are not protected by the constitution, which does not allow veto power for the minority representatives within or across parties. The checks and balance system among different state organs is weak and much power is vested in the hands of executive organs. Such constitutional deficiencies provide favorable conditions for the ruling party to act above the constitution and suppress democratic principles, thus causing the discrimination, conflict and underdevelopment of certain communities.

Theoretically, Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is adopted to ensure equitable distribution of power and resources among regional states. But in reality, the system is devised to maintain political dominance at the hands of minority Tigrayan elites. The presidential office, the parliament, central government ministries and agencies including public enterprises and financial institutions have all been controlled by the TPLF since 1991. In the military, 99% of Ethiopian National Defense Force officers are from Tigray, which constitute only 6% of the total population. The country's political environment, already weak and fragmented, has become even more polarized and ineffective. The system has given corrupt politicians and businessmen to do whatever they want, from embezzling public property to exercising nepotism.

The most significant damage of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is the deterioration of social capital and trust that has been built among



the country's diverse people through centuries of co-existence. Politicians and elites

now openly use identity politics to shore up support, discredit opponents and promote personal or ethnic gain at the expense of national interest. It has been exploited to plant division among ethnic groups so as to institutionalize and facilitate rule by the TPLF and other politically affiliated groups.

Politics in Ethiopia becomes heavily centralized on ethnicity rather than on shared concerns such as democracy, development, justice, human rights, equality, etc. Under the cover of ethnic federalism, the "divide and rule strategy" of the TPLF/EPRDF regime worsen interregional and interethnic cooperation, and exacerbate conflict. The strategic government action to crack-down unity over cross-cutting cleavages such as religion, common historical experiences and national feelings increases the vulnerability and risk of interethnic conflict and national disintegration. The ethnic tension and conflict among dominant ethnic groups (mainly Oromo and Amhara) are often politically manipulated by local cadres in order to fracture potential political alliances that might threaten the political supremacy of TPLF. The sign of solidarity displayed by the Oromo and Amhara nationalists against their common enemy, i.e., TPLF/EPRDF, in recent protests has become a nightmare for the minority Tigray based ruling regime.

Ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia have killed and displaced several thousands of people in different parts of the country such as Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz, Oromia, and Somali regions. The forced migration of non-residents and subsequent violence of basic human and democratic rights, death, and confiscation of property were often caused by ethnic competition and confrontation over local resources and political positions. To mention some examples, the Amharas have been forcefully evicted and displaced from Guraferda woreda in Bench Maji Zone and Gida-Kiramu woreda in Wollega, where a few thousand Amhara farmers were chased, their land was confiscated and they were forced to take refuge

elsewhere. Recently, at least 150,000 ethnic Oromos have been displaced from Ethiopia's Somali region after a week of clashes with Somalis in which dozens were killed and are now living in camps.

In general, ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has failed to solve ethnic conflicts, still common in regional border areas, resettlement sites and universities, which composed of different ethnic groups. Political polarization and ethnic computation have been prevalent for the last two decades. Through its formula of ethnic federalism and revolutionary democracy, the TPLF/EPRDF rule has merely succeeded in repeating the errors of its predecessors, putting the country in the brinks of collapse by intensifying ethnic conflicts among the different ethnic groups, mistrust each other and, as a result, endangered the sense of nationalism. This will encourage secession and eventually leads to the disintegration of the country.

To conclude that, the problem of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has reached a critical level and deserves to be openly discussed in order to find concrete solution for the violent side of ethnic politics. Strong and inclusive political institutions, effective policies and unifying symbols need to be set in place together with an independent and impartial judicial system that ensures the protection of minority rights, the rule of law and the secularity of the state. Governing elites must abide by constitutional rights and responsibilities and perform through institutional procedures and be accountable to their activities. The best way forward for Ethiopia is via democracy; while recognizing past injustices and respecting the various ethnic nationalists who seek 'group rights.' Genuine reconciliation in Ethiopia, that is embraced and promoted by top Ethiopian leadership and which penetrates through Ethiopian institutions into the everyday life of people at the grassroots level, will be necessary if Ethiopia is to survive and flourish as a people and as a society.

## Being a youth in Ethiopia Temesegen Sumoro

Young people constitute a large and rapidly growing proportion of the population in

Ethiopia. Over 65 percent of Ethiopia's population is under the age of 30. This group of the population have been victim of successive dictatorial regimes than any other section of the society. As a country Ethiopia has been losing its generation since the failed coup d'état of the 1960, mostly young intellectuals. However, this article is intended only to explore the current situation of Ethiopian youths.

Since 1991, the brutal regime of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) has taken millions of young lives in Ethiopia. Ethiopians have seen a murderous rule before, as the Derg regime killed thousands of young people in the name of revolution and ideology. Even though Ethiopians despised the Derg for its killings and inhuman acts, they have never seen as much animosity from their government as they have from the TPLF today. The TPLF is literally targeting and trying to eliminate some ethnic groups. Ethiopians have never saw a regime before the TPLF minority regime that officially declared war against the two majority ethnic groups, Amhara and Oromo, so that it could stay in power forever.

By all accounts, Ethiopia became a troubled country. The potential for explosion which is primarily ethnic based but also of a class nature is unmistakable as manifested in recent nationwide protests. The peaceful protests are for now brutally crashed down. Killings and mass imprisonments are rampant. A large amount of research literature and personal accounts testifies to the fact that the source of the problem lies squarely with the Tigrean People's Liberation Fronts (TPLF) authoritarian rule and the policy of ethnic federalism. The country has gravely and successively stumbled into a brutal form of authoritarianism and human rights violations according to International observers including Human Rights Watch and the European Union.

Since November 2015, more than 2000 civilians had been killed and most of them are youths. Thus, being a youth in Ethiopia become a choice between two dangerous options: escape or rebel. For the last 27 years Ethiopian youth are labeled as 'youth gangs' by the TPLF regime and became victim state terrorism and the toxic educational policy of the minority regime. All

these forced young Ethiopians to leave their country in mass for endless exodus and heartbreaking journey. Hundreds of thousands of Ethiopian youth perish annually before they arrive to their unknown destinations. Evidences from surviving migrants also show that, there are tens of thousands of Ethiopian migrants unaccounted for, who leave their country, yet vanish on their way. Tens of thousands also remain captives of Arab and African traffickers who often keep them in degrading manner, enslaved unless they pay an obligatory ransom. Moreover, tens of thousands of Ethiopian youth also perish in the Arabian, Red and Mediterranean Seas, on yearly basis whilst trying to cross to Europe and Arab countries.

As indicated, most of the Ethiopian youth who flee their country are the children impoverished majority; whose dreams and aspirations are shattered as result of the TPLF misguided and racist policies which creates propitious conditions only for its Tigrayan elites, its business empires and politicians. The children of the TPLF politicians, generals and their loyalists are sent out by direct routes to be schooled in various prestigious European and American private schools, enjoying the privileges of using the monies belonging to 104 million, but owned by their elite parents who have illegally owned the wealth they extravagantly spend in Europe, America, middle and far east. Those who are left behind, including the parents of those who flee the country, are also subjected to a multitude of tragedies including, continued state-terrorism orchestrated and stage-managed by the TPLF and its regional and local agents, subjugation, and discrimination, in addition to poverty caused by successive governments' mismanagement of resources.

The TPLF apartheid, time and again proved its inadequacy in defending the rights of citizens in various parts of the world. All embassies of the country are solely focused on running the political interests of the TPLF and Tigreans, hardly for no one else. The humiliation of Ethiopian youth in various Arab countries hardly interests the TPLF and its Embassies who are rather busy themselves by coercively

collecting the hard-earned blood money of the migrant workers under the pretext of Diaspora, to satisfy their sadistically insatiable appetite for material gain; as is the case within Ethiopia. The TPLF regime shown that, it remotely cares for the citizens of the country to treat them as equal stakeholders. Evidences time and again shown that, this regime resorted to addressing all quest of the people of the country for freedom, democracy and economic fairness, with unprecedented level of barbarism. The TPLF also shown that no one is entitled to ownership of the economy, political, military and security leadership positions, but itself.

The pushing factor of the Ethiopian youth to death and destruction as well as humiliating conditions is the TPLF alone. The TPLF is malignant cancer of the country needing only one thing, the total removal to heal the wounds it has created due to many reasons in addition to the indicated. To be able to treat this pernicious 'Anaemia' of the country, known as the TPLF apartheid, the unity of all stakeholders, setting their differences aside, becomes paramount important. And it must be sooner than later, before it's too late to mend it.

### **Why the opportunity of peaceful struggle impossible in Ethiopia? Genet Tesfahun (Aschaffenburg)**

Being an opposition in Ethiopia is a dangerous pursuit due to the harassment, imprisonment, press censorship and the murder of opposition politicians. Opposition political parties in Ethiopia are forced to function under severe political constraints imposed by the authoritarian government of TPLF. In Ethiopia there were political assassinations, torture, intimidations arbitrary detention, treason charges and other forms of violence, which are committed by Tigrians People Liberation front (TPLF). There are also many cases in Ethiopia where the TPLF dominated party EPRDF dismissed civil servants who sympathize opposition parties from their posts. Opposition supporters were also denied access to food by the local authorities.

The National Electoral Board, which is theoretically supposed to be an autonomous and independent body, has been the mouthpiece of

the ruling party. The Election Board, which consists of nine individuals strategically nominated by the late Prime Minister, has been the major reason for the lack of fair and free elections in the country. In a one dominant party system, one party tends to win an excessive number of seats in the parliament and maintains government control continuously.

In today's Ethiopia, for instance, in all of the federal and regional parliamentary elections the declared "winner" was the incumbent coalition TPLF dominated party EPRDF. In the 2015 Ethiopian election for the federal and regional parliaments, the EPRDF was declared a winner in a landslide victory. It won all 546 parliament seats in the Council of Peoples' Representatives. All the 92 local assembly seats in Addis Ababa were also won by EPRDF. The ruling party EPRDF purposely establish party military relations to solidify their unlimited rule. They also fill parliaments with loyalists, politicize the civil service, and bribe selected opposition leaders to support the government in one way or another. The major problem is EPRDF control of the countries' bureaucracy, army, police, economy, administration, the legislature, the judiciary etc.

Therefore, the process of changing governments through ballot box is very complex. Though in principle, the army is expected to be neutral in the power struggle between political parties however the ruling party, EPRDF, has fully controlled the army in various ways. First and for most, almost all military generals and commanders of the army, and the air force were members of the ruling party during the guerrilla war that culminated in the victory of the TPLF-EPRDF over the Derg government in 1991.

In 1991, when the Tigrean-led guerrilla front established a government, some became political leaders and the rest remained in the TPLF army that transformed itself to a legal, regular army of the country. Secondly, the army commanders, as co-ethnics of the ruling party, are continuously awarded with promotions and other benefits by the party and government officials to keep their loyalty to the ruling party. It was due to this major problem the opposition parties time and again requested the government

to “Ensure the police and armed forces do not favor and take sides with the ruling party.”

The TPLF dominated regime always operated in secrecy like a racketeering criminal organization. Their principal aim for more than a quarter of a century has been the looting of the national treasury which they have accomplished by illicit capital transfers and by plunging the country into a bottomless pit of foreign debt. Anyone who believes the EPRDF is engaged in corruption prosecution to improve good governance is simply delusional. TPLF’s only reason for existence is clinging to power to conduct the business of corruption, not good governance or stamping out corruption. TPLF dominated EPRDF is best known for its systematic repression of independent media outlets. Especially after the Anti-Terrorist Proclamation of 2009, independent media have been subjected to intimidation, harassment, and in most cases, exile. You can hardly find a single independent, non-state affiliated media outlet in Ethiopia today. The majority of newspapers and radio and television stations are state controlled or state affiliated. Independent media are also subject to strict procedures of state censorship. The main radio and television stations, which are run by the state, are usually seen broadcasting the propaganda of TPLF regime and promote government policies; and in contrary, they have no room to broadcast the human rights violations and corruptions of the dictatorial administration of TPLF.

As a result increasing number of Ethiopian opposition groups such as the Ginbot 7 Movement for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, and the EPPFG (Ethiopian People Patriotic Front Guard) have decided to use “everything possible” and “every means” including armed struggle to overthrow TPLF dominate regime.

### **Ethiopian Ethnic Federalism: As a Cause of conflict** **Abebe Abidie**

Ethiopia is multi-ethnic in which various ethnic groups live together in tolerance and integration but because of the EPRDF political interest it is going to be non-guaranteed issue of the country. Since the TPLF government

controlled the country question of ethnic inequality has been a common term for politics. For more than quarter of a century, the struggle to bring ethnic equality consumed the adorning and precious human life; distract uncountable resources, exile huge number and detained the mass by the military dictator/TPLF. An ethnic based of federal formula was adopted in Ethiopia the question of ethnic equality had never been answered even though it was the apex of all in the Constitution of FDRE. Meanwhile, inter-ethnic conflict is a major point of discussion in the country rather than ethnic equality.

To intensify and bring conflicts into distractive outcomes, various inter-ethnic conflict aggravation mechanisms were used by TPLF according to considering the historical injustices, imbalances, ethnic inequality and purposeful marginalization of specified ethnic groups. Such conflicts had taken place in Ethiopia after the establishment of ethnic form of federalism in various regional states between the ethnic groups that have been recognized as “indigenous/native” people of the region and those labelled as “others” but who have constitutional right to live and work there. There was nothing earlier special privileges that separate them, since they share the same socio-cultural condition and environment. But the ideological bar applied to settlers simply due to language and ethnic difference is one of those unacceptable situations that cause conflicts.

When priorities were given to those intentionally identified ethnic groups, discriminately to other ethnic groups, the others feel that they are disadvantaged and perceive themselves as second class to the region and its products leads them to prepared for violent and conflicts against each other. On the side of the advantaged group, as an owner nationality they feel proud of superior and are attempting to extend its application, disregarding and disrespecting the settlers’ who in turn felt discriminated for good. These all still happening is not what diversity matters but it is because of unsatisfied political entrepreneurs from both sides who made calculated conflict between the peoples at the grass-roots level. Currently there

are also in several places, major clashes had taken place due to the political agitation from the top political activists. The top political activists used this opportunity to advance their own hidden agendas.

In Ethiopia internal harmony among people with different ethnic, linguistic or religious divisions thereby sustaining peace and order along unity through diversity. The processes brought the conflict into the level of non-violent and mend the peoples' attitude to address their problems through peaceful means by themselves. There are clear manifestations of bad inter-ethnic discrimination and separation than before such as growing inter-ethnic conflict among the neighbours and settlers, participation in social, political and economic activities, etc. The local institutional set up of the country should took the credit for empowering the non-formal or indigenous conflict resolution and transformation mechanisms and giving due emphasis in the process than the formal and EPRDF's bureaucratic governmental system to intense levels of surveillance.

### **Who is really behind Oromia and Ethio-Somali Regional States Border Conflict? Abebayehu Likessa (Bayern)**

Oromia and Somali regional states shares more than thousands of kilometres border in common. Their way of life is almost the same, pastoralists and agro- pastoralists. Furthermore, culturally and linguistically a lot of things they have in common.

Historically these two people have culture of resolving minor resource base disputes. For thousands of years they did this using elders and community leaders. Now why such deadly border conflict occurred which resulted in the displacement of more than five hundred thousand people from where they lived for decades peacefully with one another.

When this unusual boarder conflict started by Somali regional state militant group called liyu police, the victims were continuously asking who is behind the conflict. On Oromiya regional State media people were clearly indicated that there is hidden hand of the federal

government which is lead by TPLF who trained, equipped and leading the conflict being behind the Liyu Police.

Initially the federal government totally ignored this disputed border areas while people are dying from both sides and carefully looking behind what was going on. While people are dying on this border conflict zones, the Oromia regional state also kept silent. However, lately start to react when three Oromia Zone and Woreda Officials started to be the target of Somali Liyu police and three of them were killed. People of the two regional states saying they are brothers and tried to hide Oromo's who were hunted by liyu police in Somali Regional State. So, what is the tragedy behind the conflict which resulted for the deaths of hundreds and more than five hundred thousand to be displaced.

After the state emergency is lifted, the TPLF lead government is stricken by continuous protest in Oromia and Amhara regions demanding the release of all political prisoners, to stop border conflict and inciting ethnic clashes. Because of this mass protest TPLF intend to:

- Shift attention of people who protest against this dictatorship regime and to weaken the protest which started to shake the regime.
- To use the incident as an opportunity to detain, torture and kill politicians, activist and journalists who tries to criticize the regime.
- To damage image of peace loving people of the country and to confuse international communities as they were doing it before.

When the border conflict has been made, state security forces was already there but no effort has been made to control the situation. This became a source of doubt for many people that they have some hidden mission behind the conflict. Now it is high time to save life of this people. Hundreds were killed and more than five hundred thousand were already displaced. What is to be done is independent investigation should be made and those who are directly or indirectly involved should be accountable. Elderlies and community leaders from both should work together to restore peace and stability in the area

and all Ethiopians should contribute whatever needed to maintain the integrity of this great nation.

## **Ethnic Violence in Ethiopia** **Daniel Kassa (Maintal)**

Since 1991, Ethiopia has gone further than any other country in the world in using ethnicity as the fundamental organizing principle of a federal system of government. After coming to power, the TPLF/EPRDF divided the country's political map along ethnic lines based on the premises of bringing autonomy and devolution of power to the ethnic and linguistic-based regions. Article 39 of the government-imposed current constitution even allows the ethnic regions to secede. This, however, has created ethnic conflicts and administrative confusions. Since then, there has been a dramatic increase in ethnic conflict and violence in every corner of the country.

This article examines current political crisis in Ethiopia and direct attention to the serious situation that is unfolding. As pundits on Ethiopian politics are activating alarm bell about impending dangers of ethnic politics, ethnic violence is already consuming Ethiopia and spreading across the southern and southwestern parts of the country. Sources from the region reported that people who were believed to be not Oromo are hacked to death, which is what happened during the horrific Rwandan Genocide in the 1990's. The targets were ethnic Amhara who have been living for centuries in area. The sources also confirmed that at least 20 Amhara were killed with a machete and more than 5,000 has been displaced.

This is the second major ethnic conflict in Ethiopia in less than a month. More than a million Ethiopians of Oromo speaking background were displaced from Somali region and at least fifty killed in September 2017. There have been several ethnic-based acts of violence in Oromo region of Ethiopia in the past 26 years. And this is not the first time for Ethiopians from other language background are attacked. Clearly, radical ethnocentric and ethno-nationalist sentiment is stronger in the region so much so that Ethiopians from other language origins who lived in that part of Ethiopia for generations are, seen as outsiders and colonizers. What many seem to agree with is that conducive conditions for

current ethnic violence are laid by the ruling Tigray People's Liberation Front -which looted resources from various parts of the country. Therefore, I am calling for all Ethiopia to join the resistance against the TPLF fascist regime.

## **25 Years of grave repression in Ethiopia** **Alemayehu Molla Shahe**

There are millions of evidences that show the persistent and grave repression of the EPRDF regime in Ethiopia since 1991. In the wake of unprecedented, mass protests that erupted in November 2015 in Oromia and Amhara regional states, the regime in power routinely responded to legitimate and largely peaceful expressions of dissent with excessive and unnecessary force. As a result, over 2000 protesters have been killed, thousands of political activists, human rights defenders, journalists, and protesters have been arrested, and in October 2016, the EPRDF regime declared a six-month nationwide State of Emergency, which was extended for an additional four months on 30 March 2017.

The State of Emergency directives give sweeping powers to a Command Post, which has been appointed by the House of People's Representatives to enforce the decree, including the suspension of fundamental and non-derogable rights protected by the so-called Ethiopian Constitution, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, and other international human rights treaties to which Ethiopia is party. Furthermore, corruption, poverty, ethnic conflict, marginalization, and repression continue to plague Ethiopia under the minority regime of the Tigray People's Liberation Front, which took power in 1991. Consequently, ethnic war is threatening to breakout in the country. More recently, ethnic clashes between Ethiopia's Oromo and Somali regional states have claimed lives of 32 civilians and more than 400,000 people has been displaced in the respective regions.

On October 22, in another violent ethnic-based attack in Illubabor Zone of Oromia regional state in South-west Ethiopia at least 20 ethnic Amhara were killed by Oromo extremists. One week later, another deadly ethnic violence erupted in Benshangul Gumuz regional state in Western

Ethiopia. Again, ethnic Amhara were targeted, and dozens were brutally killed. However, state media reported it as a conflict between individuals, not an attack against ethnic violence.

The aforementioned forms of violence, are the tip of the iceberg when it came to the overall situation of ethnic violence in Ethiopia. In 1991, the TPLF regime flawed the ‘question of nationalities’ as the root cause of Ethiopia’s political and economic problems and took it as the basis of a new federal constitution that was ratified in December 1994. Since, the drafting and ratification of the so-called federal constitution was dominated by the TPLF, ethnic identity was put above civic Ethiopian identity, and sovereignty was not placed in the Ethiopian people but in the various nations, nationalities, and peoples. As a result, by transforming the country into ethnically defined regional states and creating ethnically defined parties under its control, the leadership from the ethnic minority of Tigray was able to be in command of the whole country. And today, the federal arrangement that formally recognizes ethno-linguistic diversity paved the way for eventual disintegration of Ethiopia. Therefore, to save the country from the incoming ethnic civil war and complete disintegration, now is the time for every one of us to stand together to dismantle the TPLF minority together with its flawed ethnic federalism system.

## **Democratic Transformation from within: Hope or Mirage? The OPDO-ANDM Alliance and the Prospect of Reform**

### **Wakuma Tilahun**

#### **1. Introduction**

No time has been more eventful in the last couple of decades in Ethiopia than the one we are living in. Years of peaceful protests in Oromia, later also augmented by flashes of resistance in Konso and the Amhara region, seem to have shaken the regime to its core and have brought the country to a cross roads once more. People have started to ask if this is going to be an opportunity for the regime to, FINALLY, transit to democracy and for the state to, at last, transform itself into a fairer, a more just, a more equitable,

and a more peaceful—if only redeemed—polity. The recent OPDO gesture to reach out to ANDM in the spirit of solidarity and collaboration has occasioned a renewed hope in the possibility of this much sought-after transformation. What does this gesture of solidarity promise? Will the democratic transformation promised in these gestures and the democratic aspirations expressed throughout the season of the protests be delivered or will they remain a mirage? Prospectively, beyond these gestures of alliance and the populist rhetorical flourishes, what can be done to see to it that the promise—if any—is delivered, or the hope is turned into reality? The following is a reflection pointing in that direction.

#### **2. The OPDO-ANDM Alliance: What does it mean?**

The OPDO-ANDM gesture of alliance is viewed by many as heartening. To be sure, more than anything else, it is a political alliance quickly put together to edge out TPLF in the raging power struggle within the EPRDF coalition. Yet, it has emboldened what democratic dividend can be harvested if—beyond the parties—the elites of the two populous regions start to work together in the spirit of ensconcing democracy and transforming the state-society relations in the country. From the side of the OPDO, beyond sending the message to TPLF that the OPDO are not alone in resisting its patronage, it is also an attempt to calm down the Amhara elite’s eternal suspicion and fear (albeit largely irrational and groundless) of the perceived Oromo threat to “the unity and territorial integrity of Ethiopia.” Regardless of the tacit endorsement of the (warped) attitude that the Amhara elite is the sole guardian of the ‘unity and integrity of the country, it is a gesture that also indicates the resolve of this generation of Oromos to take the bigger responsibility for the larger country in trying to bring others to the Ethiopian fold.

It can be taken as an attempt on the part of the OPDO to do their side of the responsibility and leave the others to do their part if they so choose. The other-regarding political ethos embodied in this gesture has also a far-reaching consequence for the future of the country. As such, OPDO’s carefully ‘calculated’ choice to focus on and consider others’ fears rather than

dwelling on the injustice inflicted upon their people, now and in the past, is a signal that they want to be larger than their resentment of their ‘present-absence’ in Ethiopia thus far. Their act of claiming the country’s problems (and natural endowments) as their own (saying “Xaanan keenya”)--or even the more ridiculous rhetorical excess in saying that they are “addicted to ‘Ethiopianism’”--is suggestive of the place of the Oromo in the Ethiopia to come. In a sense, this could as well be a way of ‘presenting’, i.e., bringing back, those who have so far been rendered absent. A way of making themselves legible in the political vernacular of the country to which they have been illegible so far. For ANDM, to accept OPDO’s initiative, just as much as it is a political tactic of edging out TPLF in its own bit of the power struggle within the EPRDF, signals the choice to move on by accepting the present reality on the ground. It is also a recognition that the demands of their people at the grassroots level is legitimate and needs to be met as such only democratically. They seem to have finally realized that in order to give in to the democratic demands of the people, they first need to realize democracy within their party (EPRDF) in which TPLF has so far been the sole maker and breaker of games, as it were. They seem to understand that mere common sense—and basic democratic thinking--suggests that the parties with larger members and larger potential constituencies deserve more hearing than they are getting so far. And they don’t see a political overreach in raising this simple question of fair hearing and treatment both in Oromia and in their own region. Of course, the implication is far-reaching for their people, their region, and the larger country. The demand simply unleashes the logic of equality in the political party thereby signalling the beginning of transformation from within.

Consequently, both OPDO and ANDM seem to have finally realized that in order to effectively respond to the democratic impulse hitting at their doors daily from outside (from their peoples), they need to answer the inner democratic urge from within, bypassing the hierarchic tradition of EPRDF politics that made

them subservient so far. If seen in this light, the alliance is already a signal for more democratic mandate to act more autonomously for these hitherto ‘junior partners’ of the TPLF. At another level, the alliance may be seen as an immanent critique of the state on behalf of democratic transformation. But it is more. It may be a sign that effective democratic transition and state transformation may finally be coming from a corner least expected to be a site of democratic performance, i.e. from within (i.e. from within the constituents of the EPRDF system), rather than from without (i.e., the opposition political organizations cum the pressures of the international community). The question now is what can be done to make this hope of transformation real? What of this ‘inner reform’ can be done right in order to bring about the much-sought transformation? If this gesture of inter-party alliance is going to yield anything more substantive, what should we expect them to do in the near future?

### **3. What is to be done? And Quo Vadis, EPRDF?**

#### **What should be done?**

And where should they start it? Top in the to-do list is the introduction of democracy to EPRDF as a party. Or, more precisely, the alliance must push back to the undemocratic instincts of TPLF and put it in check. That should be followed by the alliance to take position of prominence to seek more mandate in Parliament. What remains after that, as we will see in the sections to follow, is a mere concatenation of this basic premise of democratization.

#### **3.1. Democratize EPRDF, or Free it from the TPLF Suzerainty**

The first task is to push this democratizing impulse in the two organizations to the level where it can effectively democratize the broader EPRDF internally. That is to say to ensure internal democracy within the coalition. Which means the parties with larger membership and larger constituency base ought to be given the voices and the votes they deserve. This in turn leads to the democratization of the key political institutions such as the Federal Parliament (the House of Peoples’ Representatives, alias HPR). The parties that have the larger number of seats



in the Parliament will come to seize positions of prominence. This makes the OPDO-ANDM alliance a veritable force in the formation of a new government chiefly from the ranks of the OPDO and ANDM but also the SPDM and TPLF. In this process, they may choose to assign the premiership to one of their members or keep it in the hand of the SPDM in the interest of continuity and of not alienating the SNNPS all too quickly. (All this needs to be done through an intense process of negotiation keeping an eye on the ultimate democratization of the entire country.)

### **3.2. Free the Parliament and the Government from TPLF Domination, but keep the Government accountable to the Parliament**

Once the OPDO-ANDM alliance achieves position of prominence in the Parliament, what follows is freeing the parliament itself from TPLF's repressive—and even unconstitutional--rules of procedure that muzzled Members of Parliament (MPs) in the name of ensuring party discipline and 'democratic centralism' (which in practice has more of centralism than democracy). They must understand that MPs know their priorities in the hierarchy of loyalties: to their conscience, their constituency, their country, and their party in that order. Accordingly, they must ensure the accountability of the Government to the Parliament in line with the constitutional provision that the HPR is "the supreme political authority" in the country thereby effectively subordinating the Executive to the Legislature with due respect to the principle of 'separation of powers' afforded in the Parliamentary system that ours is.

### **3.3. Free the People from Fear: Restore order and the 'rule of law'**

Next, the newly configured Parliament should resolve to lift the TPLF-imposed rule by Command Post by bringing an end to the undeclared state of emergency. It must also resolve to restore inter-State peace, especially around the borders. It should resolve to reinstate and/or resettle the over 600, 000 persons evicted from the Somali-Oromia borders and (from the Somali region). In this, they should demonstrate a compassionate governance the time demands.

### **3.3. Demilitarize the Politics, Depoliticize the Army**

In a first gesture of demilitarizing the politics—and depoliticizing the army in the long term--in Ethiopia, they should call the army back to its barracks. They should make sure that the forces that have perpetrated violence and atrocities on the people in the course of the most recent protests are made accountable politically, administratively, and legally. The leadership and members of the Liyyu Police that committed massacres should be brought to justice. This includes the leader of the regional government, Abdi Iley and the leaders of the Federal Army that worked in tandem with the Liyyu Hail to commit the aggression on Oromia. The institution of the Liyyu police should be disarmed and disbanded.

### **3.4. Animate Constitutionalism**

They must animate the constitutional institutions of dispute settlement in order for them to respond effectively to disputes over borders (Oromia-Somali; Benishangul-Oromia, Afar-Amhara, etc), local self-rule (e.g., Konso), identity (e.g., Walqayit, Qemant, Matakka, Harari, region, etc), and other forms of internal self-determination (e.g., the long-standing Sidama demand for Statehood in the Federation, or of the Gamo to its own Zone/Special District). This requires the active engagement of the House of Federation (and its Council of Constitutional Inquiry), the Conflict Departments of the Ministry of Federal Pastoralist Affairs, and even the regular courts (over justiciable matters and cases that need to the activation of judicial accountability).

### **3.5. Free Political Prisoners, Repeal Repressive Laws, Counteract Corruption**

Extending the work of restoring the rule of law, the alliance in Parliament must resolve to free all political prisoners. They should also resolve to repeal all repressive laws or the repressive provisions thereof (on the basis of legitimacy of purpose, necessity, rationality, proportionality, etc). In particular, they should revisit the overtly counter-democratic laws (counter-terrorism laws, the rules on media freedom, the laws on political parties and civil society associations—all of which have long

stifled freedom of speech, expression, assembly, and association). They should also repeal the list of parties proscribed as ‘terrorist organizations’ purely on political grounds in order to silence dissenting voices. In the interest of further strengthening the ‘rule of law’ (forgive the RoL fetishism here!) and ensuring a degree of economic justice, they should activate the anticorruption commission in order to prosecute corrupt officials, business people, and their associates who have been complicit in illicit ‘investment and trade’ activities. The Commission must be put to a rehabilitated use of pursuing justice rather than attacking dissidents.

### **3.6. Perform Compassionate Governance**

The first act of compassion as a government is of course to resolve to extend humanitarian assistance to people displaced from hot spots of recent conflicts (over 600,000 in Oromia alone). People must get shelter and basic necessities. They should be brought out of the military training camps they have been put into. They should be provided with basic means of survival. But they should also be given their life back—be it where they have been evicted from or in a place of their choice where basic social services are effectively provided.

Moreover, the wider society, especially in Oromia and Amhara regions, has been affected by dislocation that resulted from the protests. Thousands have been subjected to mass arrest, detention in concentration camps, tortures, fake charges, and patently political trials. This has greatly put families in economic distress as mostly the breadwinners are sent to jail or have gone on exile. In addition, in terms of performing compassionate governance and bringing about economic justice in line with the demands of the protests, all land grab schemes must be brought to halt, including the draft proclamation on the so called National Master Plan. All persons evicted from their land must be restored to their plots and/or given a replacement house and/or farm as appropriate.

### **3.7. Address all the Political Demands of the Protestors**

In Oromia, addressing the demands of the Oromo protestors is a matter of high priority. The

demands are clearly articulated during the last three years. No amount of cosmetic change, including in styles (such as new styles of doing public relations and communication via social media or one’s own conventional media), or a change in rhetoric, can satisfy an awakened public. The questions of abbaa biyyumma (the entitlement to rights and benefits in one’s own country as citizens), of equitable resource distribution (and protection from an unfair tax), access to economic facilities (e.g. to land, mineral resources, water) and opportunities (e.g. education), linguistic justice (having Afaan Oromo as one of the working languages of the Federal Government), release of political prisoners, repeal of unjust administrative and economic laws and policies (such as the Oromia urban development law, so called Addis Ababa Master Plan, etc), more self-rule at the regional level [or non-interference of the TPLF overlords from the ‘center’], etc, etc. The regional government should also work more expeditiously to ensure the Oromo interest in Finfinnee (the so-called constitutional ‘special interest of Oromia over Finfinnee/Addis Ababa’). The fact that the economy has come to a standstill already must be taken into consideration and, next to pacifying the country by ‘getting the politics right’, must in time inject dynamism to the market. Without it, the difficulty of life gets only worse and the suffering of the poor will continue to rise. Price hikes must be brought to a halt. Still, jobs need to be created. Livelihoods must improve. Conditions necessary for enhanced productivity must be established.

### **4. Towards a Democratic Transition and a Deeper Transformation**

Simultaneously, the government must start a comprehensive dialog, engagement, and negotiation in good faith with all political parties and stakeholders to ensure that there will be a genuinely democratic election in 2020. During this dialog, they should not be afraid of demands for constitutional amendments, or revisions, needed for an effective transition of the politics to democracy and transformation of the polity and its state for good. The above-listed activities will contribute to the democratization of the

politics. The imperative of transformation requires more work. Above all, it demands that we empower the already mobilized people to assert their newly gained agency as they seek to forge a future of their own choice for once. Given we are working within this reformist framework for change, this demands nothing less than a redemptive constitutional practice.

### 5. Conclusion

Where does this leave EPRDF? Obviously, these otherwise simple recommendations are hard for the TPLF-led EPRDF regime to accept and implement. Considering the privilege the TPLF enjoyed so far, the vested interest they currently have, and the powers it will have to relinquish in the future, this is only expected. The OPDO-ANDM alliance must be creative in identifying ‘incentives’ that can ease the TPLF in to their reform package. Some of the measures (such as freeing political prisoners and repeal of the list of ‘terrorist organizations’, etc) may be viewed as a threat even to the reformist elements in the OPDO-ANDM alliance. But this is the only best choice they have. This is the best deal they can get.

In this way, they can re-invent themselves (as the OPDO seems to be doing lately, at least in rhetoric) and become agents of democratization, or they may choose to perish as a party of the last authoritarian regime in the country, especially in the event that they fail to take these modest reformist decisions and actions. Their refusal to reform—as they are often bent on doing—will further deepen the current crisis and present them and the country a much bleaker future. We just hope that they choose to push for reforms in order to make themselves relevant to the future! Otherwise, the hope of transformation may as well become a mirage. And the flicker of hope seen in this new OPDO-ANDM alliance and their populist gestures in their own respective regions may be an illusion and their words just words.

## Extremism and the Unity of Ethiopia

### AL amin Abubeker (Nürnberg)

In Ethiopia, the current political system was crafted by three extremist groups in 1991,

the EPLF, TPLF, and OLF. The motivation behind establishing ethnic federalism and promoting ethnic-based political parties was precisely to create favourable conditions—political conflict, servitude, fragmentation—for authoritarianism to thrive. The political system was cleverly designed to preclude democratic governance. Even the ethnic parties created by ethnic federalism, moderate or extremist, cannot run for an office, regionally or federally, outside their ethnic homeland. This means, ethnic parties know well advance that they have no chance of forming a national government on their own through a democratic election. If they want to come to power, they must invent undemocratic means, a bogus election, a hollow coalition, an armed insurrection.

The anti-democratic route to power inspires resistance from the excluded ethnic parties. The result is divisiveness, instability, and possibly secessionism, as the three “founding fathers” had intended. Because extremism is an exclusionary ideology, it is intrinsically segregationist or separatist. No ethnic political party, moderate or extremist, claims to fight for the wellbeing of other ethnic groups. The name says it all: the TPLF, OLF, ONLF, and others. When an extremist party is in power, it spawns the conditions amenable for other extremists to espouse secessionism. The exclusionary political program of an ethnic party forces it at best to ignore, at worst, to suppress the collective rights of other ethnic groups. Having captured the government through undemocratic means and lacking popular support, the ethnic party in power must rule with an iron fit to stay in power, such a government will also favour members of its own ethnic group in the distribution of resources and services. The authoritarian rule and the inequity in the distribution of resources spur the oppressed to struggle for their rights, but their legitimate struggle for equality and democracy can easily be hijacked by power-hungry separatist politicians. Of course, who champions secessionism hinges on who is in power currently. Among extremists, the advocacy for secessionism is a function of political power.

Those in power today, may claim to steadfastly defend national unity, but if they lose power tomorrow, they have the organizational capabilities, the ideological inspiration, and the constitutional guarantee to demand a separate ethnic republic. Extremist ethnic parties are always separatists. Today, secessionism is so widely accepted within the Ethiopian polity that even some Amharas, historically one of the staunchest supporters of national unity, have succumbed to it. Predictably, separatist Oromos have welcomed them. When separatists dance together, national unity gets crumpled.

## **Are Ethiopians prepared to take the power from TPLF?**

**Yohanes Tikaher**

The TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front) led regime has ruled Ethiopians under Iron fist since May 1991. The regime used a variety of tricks to blindfold Ethiopians to maintain its brutal rules. The most famous trick it applied is the divide and rule policy which has helped the minority TPLF elites to control the Ethiopians by dividing, inciting conflict, and creating animosity among major ethnic groups for nearly three decades. Ethnicity, language, and religion used as an oppressive means.

Most Ethiopians now days come to realize that TPLF's tactics are not genuine democratic measures but a means for its survival as dictatorial rule. The pseudo ethnic political groupings it created in the name of EPRDF are no longer blind or loyal servant to TPLF. TPLF's controlling steam is running out.

The mass imprisonments, tortures, brutal killings, ethnic genocide, displacement, disposition, and state terror haven't stopped people's uprising against the regime in the last few years. The uprisings in different regions catch fires instead of dying. Though the dictatorial regime blames rent seeking, corruption, Eritrea's hand, and any reason under the sun that helps to the trick people, it didn't work because an oppressed people always demand freedom and justice.

Due to TPLF led regime strong tactic of "Carrot and Stick policy" and our weakness, the Ethiopian opposition forces have been divided,

lame and not powerful. Several attempts to bring together a united political gathering that involve multiple ethnic and or non-ethnic based parties tend to fracture easily and failed to present as unified voice.

Many concerned citizens worry about these questions as the seismic uprising all over the country is to uproot the brutal TPLF led regime. If there is any humanity and "Ethiopiawinet" in the current rulers, for the sake of their children and family, they need to facilitate safe and peaceful transition of power by inviting all political parties, trade unions, civic organization, notable Ethiopian elders, and intellectuals in an international conference that would result in transitional arrangement to democratic rule.

It is unlikely the regime will do such taking in consideration of its nature and way of dealing during public uprising. Majority of us don't wish a single more day of TPLF's rule in Ethiopia. Are we, the rest of Ethiopians prepared for peaceful and safe transition? There is strong feeling of unpreparedness and this article is a call for Ethiopians and Political parties of all ethnic groups to get prepared as soon as possible without delay to avoid uneventful harmful consequence!

## **Gross Violation of Rights by Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) led Government of Ethiopia Biwota, Abiyou Abera**

According to human rights watch in response to sustained protests in Oromia and Amhara regional states, the TPLF led government introduced reforms. However, these failed to address the protesters' grievances, including those relating to: economic, social and cultural rights; respect for the rule of law; and the release of prisoners of conscience.

Protests in Oromia that began in November 2015 against the Addis Ababa Master Plan, which would have expanded the capital at the expense of land owned by Oromo farmers, continued till now even after the government cancelled the plan in January.

In late July 2016, people in Amhara region protested against the arbitrary arrest of members

of the Wolqait Identity Amhara Self-Determination Committee and demanded additional regional autonomy in accordance with the Constitution. There was also a series of protests for greater administrative autonomy by the Konso community in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region.

After at least 600 people were killed during a stampede during the Oromo religious festival of Irrecha on 2 October 2016, allegedly caused by heavy-handed policing, activists declared a “week of rage”. Some demonstrations turned violent, with protesters burning and demolishing businesses and government buildings. After the state of emergency was declared in October, protests subsided but human rights violations increased. Amnesty international also added that the security forces used excessive and lethal force against protesters. By the end of the year, the security forces had killed at least 800 people since the protests began in November 2015.

Media remain under a government stranglehold, with many journalists having to choose between self-censorship, harassment and arrest, or exile. Dozens of journalists and bloggers fled the country following threats. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, Ethiopia is one of three countries in the world with the highest number of journalists in exile.

Since 2009, the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation (ATP) has been used to target political opponents, stifle dissent, and silence journalists. In July, Ethiopia charged 10 bloggers and journalists known as the Zone 9 Collective under the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation after they spent over 80 days in pre-charge detention. Other journalists convicted under the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation-including Eskinder Nega and Woubshet Taye remain in prison. Political activists also faced unfair trials on charges brought under the ATP, which includes overly broad and vague definitions of terrorist acts punishable by up to 20 years in prison.

The government continues to block even mildly critical web pages and blogs. The majority of opposition media websites are blocked and media outlets regularly limit their criticism of

government in order to be able to work in the country.

The government regularly monitors and records telephone calls, particularly international calls, among family members and friends. Such recordings are often played during interrogations in which detainees are accused of belonging to banned organizations like Genbot 7 patriotic front.

The Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 of Ethiopia (Civil Society Law or CSO law) was enacted on January 6, 2009. According to a paper by the Center for International Human Rights at Northwestern University School of Law, “The CSO law is the product of the Ethiopian government’s deep suspicion of civil society” and has been frequently used to silence any organization that advocates for human rights in Ethiopia.

This law prohibits “foreign” NGO’s from engaging in a very wide range of activities including human rights, women’s rights, children’s rights, disability rights, citizenship rights, conflict resolution or democratic governance. The definition of “foreign” NGO was broadened to include local NGOs that receive more than ten percent of their funding from foreign sources. Given that most local NGO’s cannot sustain themselves without some foreign funding, this definition is broad enough to include almost all NGO’s in Ethiopia.

According to human rights group both the government of Ethiopia and the donor community failed to adequately investigate allegations of abuses associated with Ethiopia’s “villagization program.” Under this program, 1.5 million rural people were planned to be relocated. Some relocations during the program’s first year in Gambella region were accompanied by violence, including beatings, arbitrary arrests, insufficient consultation and compensation.

The TPLF led government of Ethiopia is continuing to develop sugar plantations in the Lower Omo Valley, clearing 245,000 hectares of land that is home to 200,000 indigenous people. Indigenous people continue to be displaced without appropriate consultation or compensation. Households have found their

grazing land cleared to make way for state-run sugar plantations, and access to the Omo River, used for growing food, restricted. Individuals who have questioned the development plans face arrest and harassment. The government also forcibly evicting residents deemed to be “squatters” in Addis Ababa.

Despite all of these facts TPLF led government of Ethiopia continues to enjoy unquestioned support from foreign donors. Ethiopia is one of the largest recipients of donor aid in Africa, receiving almost US\$4 billion in a year, which amounted to approximately 45 percent of its budget. Donors remain muted in their criticism of Ethiopia’s human rights record and took little meaningful action to investigate allegations of abuses. Donors, have yet to take the necessary measures to ensure that their development aid does not contribute to or exacerbate human rights problems in Ethiopia. Ethiopia also rejected recommendations to amend the CSO law and the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation that several countries made.

### **Ethiopia’s Digital War Worth Mersha Agonafir Tekle**

With the most recent ethnic clashes in the Somali region, Ethiopia has now entered another crisis. According to government reports, 50 people have been killed and 500,000 displaced by violence that erupted last month along the disputed border that separates the Oromia and Somali regions. The Oromo/Somali dispute is a microcosm of the wealth and power disparity that exists within Ethiopia. The state is built on a misguided premise: that a system of segregation based along ethnocentric lines can be both separate and equal. But in reality, only one ethnic group, the Tigrayans, reigns dominant. Comprising of just six per cent of the country’s population, the Tigrayans have access to the highest centres of political and economic power. It is this disparity that lies at the centre of Ethiopia’s ongoing crises.

Through 2014 and 2015, residents in the Oromia and Amhara regions began to protest over land acquisition and their increased marginalisation. The Ethiopian government responded to the demonstrations with

aggression, with the resulting clashes leaving more than 500 dead. Alarmed by the rising level of dissent, ten months state of emergency was imposed and a heavy internet crackdown left many Ethiopians alienated from the outside world.

Some analysts have argued that the Tigrayan dominated government has capitalised on regional conflicts and used them to legitimise excessive use of force against demonstrators. This has tightened the government’s control over the country and attempted to silence those that have previously challenged its authority. The combined use of force and restrictions on internet freedom have been condemned by human rights organisations, who have accused the government of violating the privacy rights of the Ethiopian populace.

Cyber surveillance has been used extensively not only to fight terrorism and crime, but as a means of silencing dissenting voices in the country. Felix Horne, a senior researcher for Human Rights Watch, told The Intercept that “anyone that opposes or expresses dissent against the government is considered to be an ‘anti-peace element’ or a ‘terrorist.’” These labels also apply to journalists who have used the internet to express their dissatisfaction with the government. In 2016, the government shut down the country’s internet service more than three times whilst also jailing a number of dissenting journalists.

#### **Digital resistance**

Though Ethiopia is one of Africa’s fastest-growing economies, the country has some of the lowest internet usage on the continent with internet penetration at only 12%. But the reality beyond the figures is more complex, and it is hard to get a sense of how many Ethiopians actually have access to the internet: those that do often navigate through spyware, hacking, and other surveillance software that the government has allegedly deployed.

The draconian laws surrounding internet usage indicate the government is still afraid of Ethiopians both having contact with the outside world – and using it to communicate and organise themselves domestically. But in the Oromia

region, younger generations have used their digital skills to fight the government's digital war. Through a small circle of digital developers, virtual private networks (VPNs) have been developed to give users access to data in case of an internet blackout.

Though the government tried to retaliate by switching off the ports connecting the unsecured VPNs, their reach wasn't widespread enough. Realising that educated people in urban areas are able to outmanoeuvre the crackdowns, the government has focused its efforts on restricting internet access in rural areas. Though this has successfully denied internet access to the majority of the population, in urban areas the Ethiopian government is losing the digital war.

And they're losing in more ways than one. The Ethiopian economy is still in its infancy, and internet blackouts are causing major economic instability. According to the centre for Technology Innovation at Brookings, the internet shutdowns between 2015 and 2016 have cost the economy nearly \$9 million. Internet disruption slows growth, weakens innovation, and undermines foreign investors' confidence in the country's economy. As Ethiopia goes on to foster internet-dependent businesses and transactions, the damage rendered from connectivity disruptions becomes even more severe. This, in combination with the country's staggering debt it owes China, leaves the Ethiopian economy in a very vulnerable position.

## **Ethiopia's Oromo Protesters Killed in Demonstration Solomon Merene**

The Oromo are the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia. Yet, Oromos have been the object of discriminatory and disproportionate surveillance, policing, prosecution and imprisonment under the guise of security and economic development. State security forces in Ethiopia have used excessive and lethal force against largely peaceful protests that have swept through Oromia, the country's largest region, since November 2015. Over 800 people are estimated to have been killed, thousands injured, tens of thousands arrested, and hundreds, likely more, have been victims of enforced disappearances.

The protests began on the 12<sup>th</sup> of November 2015, in Ginchi, a small town 80 kilometers southwest of Ethiopia's capital, which is surrounded by Oromia region and home to most of Ethiopia's estimated 35 million Oromo, the country's largest ethnic group. The decision of authorities in Ginchi to clear a forest and football field for an investment project triggered protests in at least 400 different locations across all the 17 zones in Oromia.

Security forces, according to witnesses, shot into crowds, summarily killing people during mass roundups, and torturing detained protesters. Because primary and secondary school students in Oromia were among the early protesters, many of those arrested or killed were children under the age of 18. Security forces, including members of the federal police and the military, have arbitrarily arrested students, teachers, musicians, opposition politicians, health workers, and people who provided assistance or shelter to fleeing students. Although many have been released, an unknown number of those arrested remain in detention without charge, and without access to legal counsel or family members.

In November 2015, when the protests started, protesters initially focused their concerns on the federal government's approach to development, particularly the proposed expansion of the capital's municipal boundary through the Addis Ababa Integrated Development Master Plan ("the Master Plan"). Protesters feared that the Master Plan would further displace Oromo farmers, many of whom have been displaced for development projects over the past decade. Such developments have benefitted a small elite while having a negative impact on local farmers and communities.

As the protests continued, the government in mid-January 2016 made a rare concession and announced the cancellation of the Master Plan. But by then protester grievances had widened due to the brutality of the government response, particularly the high death toll and mass arrests. Farmers and other community members joined the protesting students, raising broader economic, political and

cultural grievances shared by many in the ethnic Oromo community.

The failure of the government to respond to long-standing grievances and the deployment of disproportionate violence which killed hundreds, exacerbated the tension, transforming what was a single-issue protest into a formidable mass anti-authoritarian movement. The protests reached a turning point on August 6, 2016, when hundreds of thousands of people marched in more than 200 towns and cities to resist the government's draconian and ever-escalating repression.

## **Ethiopia torturing persons held in connection with prison inferno**

**Ahmed Fentea**

The national human rights body in Ethiopia has revealed that some 38 inmates currently under detention in connection with a September 2016 prison fire incident have been tortured by the authorities. Local media portals said that the category of torture method included pulling out of nails and acts that left the said inmates with scars. The inmates are held at the Ziway and Showa Robit prisons.

The government after the incident confirmed the death of 23 patients in the Qilinto prisons deemed to be one of the biggest prison facilities in the country. The state-owned FBC said 21 inmates died as a result of a stampede and suffocation while two were killed as they attempted to escape. Two buildings were damaged by the fire while materials including mattresses, blankets as well as recreational and other facilities used by the inmates were also damaged.

In November 2016, a High Court formally charged the 38 inmates for the deadly incident. According to the charges filed by the prosecution, the accused persons cruelly assaulted their colleagues before setting the fire that burnt them and destroyed property. Ethiopia's human rights record has come in for flak from activists and political watchers. Issues of prolonged detention and prison abuse have been reported especially by persons who have been back from the facilities.

The country made mass arrests last year during spreading anti-government protests in mainly the Amhara and Oromia region. Even though mass releases were announced, it is believed that hundreds remain behind bars.

These days, things are increasingly getting terribly unhappy in lawless Ethiopia under minority ethnic group-led by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) minority regime. Ethiopia is at the beginning of its end. There is injustices of all sorts, transfer of Ethiopian lands to the Sudan, state violence, terrible poverty and the widespread drought, which has been covered by the regime.

There was also gruesome news about prison fire in Gondar, one of Ethiopia's oldest prisons. Reports from various sources indicate that several scores of prisoners were scorched by both the fire and machine gun by police commandos against fire escaping prisoners, instead of saving and transferring them to a different holding place. Human life has become so cheap in Ethiopia that regime's mercenary forces shoot at will and get away with destroying life. Nobody has been held so far for such crimes, nor is the ethnic regime any accountable.

Residents of the town were furious that they reportedly started chanting "go away, we don't need you." mereja.co reported that some of the residents, who witnessed the savegery clashed with the police...Hundreds of people were wounded and killed by police. In fact, the save police have done more damage than the fire itself." In all instances, causes of the fire are investigated and the national fire department is made to submit official reports. In the developed countries, there are prison fire protection systems. If people die in prison, the state is responsible for the dead tuck to the case the violation of their human rights while in state custody. In Ethiopia, the TPLF regime is the worst version of Hitlerite in that regard. It always shoots first and works on its explanations later.

I am afraid Ethiopia is now convulsing into the beginning of the end of the much-hated regime's end!



## The current education system in Ethiopia

### Eyob Melaku

The current education system in Ethiopia is a failed system by many standards. Student go to school and having finished a four-year training they cannot even properly read and write in their own native language as well as student complete secondary school and even tertiary education and graduate without gaining sufficient knowledge. The main reason for the failure of education system in Ethiopia is the Weyane government's decision to keep the English Language as the medium of Instruction in the country. But the Ethiopia Students are obligated to learn in a language he or she does not speak which means that the student has difficulty learning in the English Language and the teacher also has difficulty in the English Language because it is not native Language of the country, but curriculum framework aims are

- ❖ encouraging children and young people and teachers to work together and learn from each other.
- ❖ sustaining individual attention, so that all children fulfil their capacity.
- ❖ supporting schools to fulfil the expectations of children and their parents.
- ❖ providing quality time for social interaction, non-formal learning and peer activity.
- ❖ directing education leaders to rationalise the content of Learning Programmes so as to ensure quality and not magnitude.
- ❖ ensuring that, in the context of the holistic entitlement of the Learning Areas, young people in compulsory education has as an indispensable prerequisite mastery in Maltese and English, Mathematics, a Science subject and Digital Literacy.
- ❖ helping children to regard social justice and solidarity as key values in the development of the Multisociety.
- ❖ empowering parents and young people to work towards the acquisition of a formal qualification in key competences as the foundation for Lifelong Learning.
- ❖ supporting education leaders to successfully implement the NCF and systematically

monitor its development at classroom level so that national targets are achieved within established timeframes.

- ❖ requesting teachers to regard children as Malta's future workforce and therefore ensure that positive attitudes towards excellence, commitment, responsibility, flexibility and entrepreneurship form part of the learning process.

So, in Ethiopia there is no equal administration and problem solving about the current education system in the Country even Somebody ask about current Problem is risk because of dictatorial regime of the Country.

## Freedom of Speech, Press and democracy in Ethiopia

### Asmamaw Chekole Ashagrie

The constitution and law provide for freedom of speech and press; however, authorities harassed, arrested, detained, charged, and prosecuted journalists and other persons whom they perceived as critical of the government, creating an environment where self-censorship negatively affected freedom of speech. Some journalists, editors, and publishers fled the country, fearing probable detention. At year's end at least nine journalists and bloggers remained in detention; of these, two were arrested in February and charged in August. A journalist was convicted under the ATP and sentenced to seven years in prison. Authorities detained one journalist for three weeks and then released him without charge. In July, three journalists and two bloggers, detained since April 2014, were released from prison after the prosecution dropped terrorist charges. In October, four bloggers, including one in absentia, were acquitted of terrorist charges, and the court reduced charges for another blogger from being a terrorist to criminal code charges.

Freedom of Speech and Expression: Authorities arrested and harassed persons for criticizing the government. NGOs reported cases of torture of individuals critical of the government. The government attempted to impede criticism through various forms of intimidation, including detention of journalists and opposition activists and monitoring of and

interference in the activities of political opposition groups. Some persons feared authorities would retaliate against them for discussing security force abuses. The government destroyed a good and democratic opposition parties ,

**Press and Media Freedoms:** Independent journalists reported logistical challenges using government printing presses. Access to private printing presses was scarce to nonexistent. In most cases articles cited as examples of incitement were mainly critical of government action.

In Addis Ababa 15 independent newspapers had a combined weekly circulation of more than 71,000 copies. State-run newspapers had a combined circulation of more than 80,000 copies. Most newspapers were printed on a weekly or biweekly basis, with the exception of the state-owned Amharic and English dailies and the privately run Daily Monitor.

Government-controlled media closely reflected the views of the government and the ruling EPRDF. The government controlled the only television station that broadcast nationally, which, along with radio, was the primary source of news for much of the population. Six private FM radio stations broadcast in the capital, one private radio station broadcast in the northern Tigray Region, and at least 19 community radio stations broadcast in the regions. State-run Ethiopian Radio had the largest broadcast range in the country, followed by Fana Radio, which was reportedly affiliated with the ruling party.

The government periodically jammed foreign broadcasts. The law prohibits political and religious organizations and foreigners from owning broadcast stations.

**Violence and Harassment:** The government continued to arrest, harass, and prosecute journalists. This included the conviction in July of three persons associated with the defunct Muslim Affairs magazine under the ATP and prosecution of two others who worked for the defunct Bilal Radio. In 2014 there were allegations of bloggers and journalists being abused and their rights violated in the Maekelawi detention center.

On February 18, police detained two journalists affiliated with Bilal Radio. The Federal High Court charged the journalists under the ATP in August and denied them bail. Their trial continued at year's end.

**Censorship or Content Restrictions:** Government harassment caused journalists to avoid reporting on sensitive topics. Many private newspapers reported informal editorial control by the government through article placement requests and calls from government officials concerning articles perceived as critical of the government. Private sector and government journalists routinely practiced self-censorship. Several journalists, both local and foreign correspondents, reported an increase in self-censorship.

#### **Internet Freedom**

The state-owned Ethio Telecom was the only internet service provider in the country. The government periodically restricted access to certain content on the internet and blocked several websites, including blogs, opposition websites, , . The government also temporarily blocked news sites such as al-Jazeera and the BBC. Several news blogs and websites run by opposition diaspora groups were not accessible. These included Addis Neger, Nazret, Ethiopian Review, CyberEthiopia, Quatero Amharic Magazine, Tensae Ethiopia, and the Ethiopian Media Forum. Authorities took steps to block access to Virtual Private Network providers that let users circumvent government screening of internet browsing and e-mail. Authorities monitored telephone calls, text messages, and e-mails. There were reports such surveillance resulted in arrests. According to the International Telecommunication Union, approximately 3 percent of individuals used the internet in 2014.

### **Is Ethiopia still a Rwanda in slow motion?**

#### **Getnet Yoseph**

In 2004, the former Chairman of CUD party, Hailu Shawul, held one of his conferences in Addis Ababa before the election. In his speech, Hailu told the crowd that he is not worried about the TPLF ruling party imprisoning him and the opposition. "I am most concerned about the slow

and sporadic mass killings due to the false hope of unrealistic tribal borders," he said. 13 years later, the deadly consequences of ethnic-federalism might not be in slow motion anymore. In the last few months, dozens of Sidamas have been killed and over 50,000 Sidamas have been cleansed out of BALE by Oromo extremists, a region the two communities shared for centuries. And September 2017, nearly a thousand Oromos and Somalis have perished due to another tribal border conflict in the southeast, a region that can never be ethnically demarcated due to the nomadic lifestyle of each side. Many of those who died there were women and children, with tens of thousands more becoming refugees in their own country.

This is the ugly face of Ethiopia's ethnic-federalism, an apartheid style separation of land to divide people based on tribe. It is a dangerous experiment created and institutionalized by former TPLF Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. For many years, the WEST disregarded the warning signs but as the body count keeps growing, it will get harder to ignore. Last month, The ECONOMIST, one of the major newspapers in the world, went to the warzone to cover the ongoing ethnic conflict in southern Ethiopia. With narrow "ethnic agendas" closing porous boundaries, competing nationalism fueling violence and mixed-Ethiopians forced to choose one identity, the ECONOMIST media admitted that the whole ethnic-federalism concept makes almost no sense. Unfortunately, such factual and informed observation by the Economist writers will not save a single human life, as the killing will continue.

This dangerous concept is one of the reasons some Oromo students rose up against the natural expansion of a diverse metropolitan city like Addis Ababa. After all, diversity, globalization, urbanization and multiculturalism are a threat to the narrow ethnocentric worldviews of tribal elites. (A worldview imposed nationwide since 1991 by the TPLF Ministry of education, where ethnic-politics is valued more than the Math & Sciences.) Therefore, many analysts are not surprised that the new drivers of

the new opposition are actually former students, soldiers and ex-cadres of the OPDO and ANDM branches of the ruling party. And with dreams of rewriting the multiethnic history of Addis Ababa and the larger Shewa region; Tribal nationalists have even demanded renaming the various districts of Addis Ababa in another language. Now, the only thing stopping genocidal tribalists from repeating what they did in Bale, again in Addis Ababa, is the capital city's status as the political center of Africa and international consulates.

But away from the eyes of the international community, ethnic conflicts are heating up again in every rural area. Ever since 1991 when the Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF) regime came to dictatorial power in Ethiopia, state-sponsored systematic genocide of Amhara people is continuing to take place using brutal military forces. To mention but a few of the methods the regime is employing to conduct Amhara genocide involves deployment of military forces to kill ethnic Amharas, intentional reduction of federal budget to Amhara regions, mass contraceptive injection of Amhara women of reproductive age-group without their informed consent, balkanization of Amhara regions by forcefully displacing Amharas from their ancestral land and replacing them by Tigre ethnic group, through biological warfare creating large-scale cholera outbreaks, and brainwashing other ethnicities to attack Amharas. Following this genocide, by 2007 the Amhara population has been systematically and effectively reduced by over 3 million people in just under 13 years; it is expected that another 1.5 million have been exterminated by 2014. Hence, we demand that the TPLF regime face justice at the International Criminal Court for perpetrating this genocide.

## **Free Eskinder Nega Journalism is not Terrorism**

**Hana Abebe Mamo (Heusenstamm)**

My journey to become a political prisoner in Ethiopia began as a federal judge fighting to uphold the rule of law. Despite institutional challenges and even death threats, I hoped to use constitutional principles to ensure respect for basic rights... [Ethiopian] authorities have

detained Eskinder Nega eight times over his 20-year career as a journalist and publisher. After the 2005 elections, Eskinder and his wife – Serkalem Fasil – spent 17 months in prison. Pregnant at the time, Serkalem gave birth to a son despite her confinement and almost no pre-natal care. Banned from publishing after his release in 2007, Eskinder continued to write online.

In early 2011, he began focusing particularly on the protest movements then sweeping North Africa and the Middle East. Eskinder, who does not belong to any political party because of a commitment to maintain his independence, offered a unique and incisive take on what those movements meant for the future of Ethiopia. Committed to the principle of non-violence, Eskinder repeatedly emphasised that any similar movements in Ethiopia would have to remain peaceful. Despite this, police briefly detained him and warned him that his writings had crossed the line and he could face prosecution. Then in September 14, 2011, the government made good on that threat. Authorities arrested Eskinder just days after he publicly criticised the use of anti-terror laws to stifle dissent. They held him without charge or access to an attorney for nearly two months. The government eventually charged Eskinder with terrorism and treason, sentencing him to 18 years in prison after a political trial. Journalists is not Teriorist!!

## **Oromo: Protesters died in peaceful demonstration**

### **Fetiyaa Awel Mustefa**

*Protests this week in Oromia have raised concerns, with one on Wednesday 11 October 2017 killing 8 people. Sections of the Oromo diaspora accused the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) of having orchestrated these deadly demonstrations, since they were organized unlike the others.*

At least 8 people were killed and more than 30 others injured on October 11, 2017 in renewed protests across Ethiopia's restive Oromia state. Peaceful protests were reported again in several Oromia towns, including Woliso in West Shawa, where locals reported a peaceful rally of more than 15,000 people.

Deadly protests appear to have been organized unlike previous ones, which were usually, although not always, preceded by media announcements from abroad. In fact, some diaspora-based activists denounced yesterday's demonstrations as the work of spoilers and agents of the ruling Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF). Officials from the Oromia regional state also said the protests were planned by forces that want to weaken Oromo unity.

The protests went ahead despite calls for their cancellation. Demonstrators took to the streets in large numbers in more than dozen towns in West Arsi, West Shawa, Wallaga, and Hararge zones. The protests in the latter have been ongoing and largely in response to continued incursions by the Liyu Police of the adjoining Somali Regional State of Ethiopia.

For days, several Oromo activists warned protesters not to join the protests called by unknown individuals under the banner of "waamicha harmee" – meaning Oromia's call – out of concern that protests lacking clear political goals were fruitless. Although the organizers were unknown, the slogans were nothing unusual: Down down Wayane, release opposition leaders from prison, and no to fake federalism.

What does this mean? Does it mean diaspora activists are being left in the cold by home-based groups who have their own agenda other than waiting on a hollow promise of change to be midwived by Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organization (OPDO) at some future date? Does it mean the OPDO has lost control of the streets? Does it indicate the lack of coordination and clear chain of command within the grassroots movement? Was this the inevitable instance of social media being weaponized by state actors? Were there targeted and geotagged campaigns within Ethiopia by TPLF agents and social media consultants?

Prior to protests, senior OPDO leaders held massive town hall meetings in flashpoint towns, including Ambo, and it appeared they were connecting with the public. But the widespread protests upended it all. In three-years of protests, the prelude to Irreechaa 2017 was the only time protest leaders across the Atlantic

were seen to be on different pages. The peaceful conclusion of this year's thanksgiving festival signaled that the fences were all mended. Then came the Malka Atete celebrations in Sabata and Burayu towns in central Oromia. The latter events differed from Irreecha by the unusually large display of Oromo resistance flags any flags and partisan emblems. This led to spirited debates among Oromo activists for several days. Others speculated that the unusually large display of the flags must be the work of some organized group, perhaps even the regime with the aim of using it as a pretext for violent crackdown and justification for another Oromia-wide state of emergency.

From what we know, OLF and its affiliated Qeerroo Bilisummaa did not publicly call protests and its reach doesn't extend as widely as the protests were. They simply lack the kind of grassroots organizational capacity necessary to pull off demonstrations of this size. Besides, the group calls its protests Fincila Xumura Gabrummaa (FXG), the final push to end Oromo subjugation, and no calls for protests under this slogan went out. Most importantly, it would have formally claimed responsibility for the massive turnout if it was behind it. Besides, some of the slogans, for example about making the federation meaningful, are contrary to the demands of the Asmara group.

Regardless, Oromo protests is entering a new critical phase. Many hope that this deadly protests were but a one-off instance of breakdown in communications and leaders of the grassroots movement will move swiftly to assert control. A repeat of a similarly uncoordinated protest would be seen as a sign of rupture within the protest movement. If past trends are any indication, the grassroots movement has been so resilient that it overcame its shortcomings after each. Without the decisive battles that mark watershed moments and make whatever gains are made irreversible, revolutions are still in uncertain waters. The changes in Oromia state level are encouraging. The state-run media outfit is putting out critical reports and airs documentaries critical of the federal authorities that have refused to heed the demands of the

Oromo people and instead ordered not only killing of peaceful protesters but also displacements of thousands from their ancestral homes using a proxy army, the Somali regions Liyu Police. But that is far from enough.

Labeling it as the work of the enemy harkens back to the dark days of the past when Oromo against Oromo rivalries undermined a united struggle against oppression and marginalization. Rather than the work of an enemy or internal saboteurs, the protests could also signal a renewed push towards taking the struggle into a new stage aimed at changing the TPLF regime.

## Corruption and Leadership in Ethiopia

### Daniel Shitie

Corruption exists differently in countries. Corruption is higher in the developing countries than the developed countries. The structures put in place to control corruption in developed countries account for the minimal level of corruption. These control mechanisms account for the development and political stability they enjoy while the lack of anti-corruption mechanism in Ethiopian account for the lack of development and increasing failing state. Corruption erodes public trust in the government. It deprives the citizens of basic services as members of the society by transferring the public funds into private gains of few individuals. It is the betrayal of public trust by those in positions of power. Corruption is also about putting people who lack the necessary qualifications in prime positions. When favouritism governs good judgment in carrying out one's responsibilities in office, it is corruption. Corruption is an obstacle to Ethiopian development.

I believe corruption is worse than murder because its' devastating effects are felt for many generations long after the act has been committed. Corruption destroys thousands of lives over multiple generations from avoidable diseases and penury. It takes land and money meant for public good to build a private mansion and buy a private jet for a few individuals at the expense of the majority. three types of corruption in governance as Political,

Bureaucratic, and Electoral. For this discussion I am classifying corruption in public affairs into these three types identified above. Political corruption is explained as taking place at the level of political authority. It occurs when politicians and political decision-makers indulge in corrupt practices. It also takes place when policy formulation and legislation are manipulated to benefit a small group at the expense of the larger society. Political corruption also refers to greed, it affects ways decisions are made in political arena. It manipulates rules of procedure in the political arena, and government offices.

Bureaucratic corruption is encountered daily in the Ethiopian society. Bureaucratic corruption is prevalent in government establishment. It is found in places like government hospitals, public schools, administrative offices and ministries, police stations, taxing and licensing offices and other public services centers. It occurs when one obtains a transaction or contract from the public sector through inappropriate procedure. Electoral corruption undermines the citizens right to freely select who they want to govern them. It includes the purchase of votes with money, rigging of elections and the use of force or intimidation to win elections. Corrupt practice is also expressed through bribery. Bribery may be initiated by a person who offers a bribe or by an official who requests one. Bribery is the exchange of money or gift in order to gain a benefit that would otherwise be denied, and the exchange of cash or gift to improperly influence a decision. It can be initiated by either the giver or the receiver.

It is used to describe a payment extracted by a public official from member of the public in order to receive the service to which the person is entitled. Leadership is essential to growth and development therefore the prevailing condition of a country is majorly determined by the type of leadership in governance. Leadership can influence to produce positive action through vision thereby bringing about a positive change or it can lead to discouragement in followers resulting in inaction. "All over the world, leadership is the most important number one factor that determines whether a nation can

develop. He explains further that "a leadership that is free, brave, patriotic, people-oriented, destination-bound; the leadership that understands the psychology of leading and applies it to the development of the people must be at the affairs of men"

To examine the extent of corruption in Ethiopia, we assume that leaders in Ethiopian countries hold discretionary power in their design and implementation of public policies and that they have the ability to extract economic rents. Additionally, they control all relevant branches of their economy – civil service, electoral commission, judiciary, media, security forces, and the central bank. Many argue that in Ethiopia has reached its tipping point and that corruption is now endemic and persistent in the region.

The main problem is deficiencies in implementation. In sum, things have gone off the rails because of human failings. Yielding to corruption, bad governance, lack of accountability, etc., "leadership at various levels of the government structure has miserably failed to fully and timely address the demands made and the questions raised by the people

### **The controversial figure Tegbar Asmamu**

On 4 November ,2017 Shocking and an expecting news coming from Saudi Arabia. The Saudi state television Broadcast Detained 4 current ministers,10 former ministers,11 princes now the number of detained increased dramatically and reached 200. The Saudi state media say the country loose 800 billion-4 trillion dollars by both prosecutor now 1700 suspected accounts blocked by Saudi authorities.

The Saudi corruption crack down conducted and headed by anew royal anti-corruption committee authorized crown prince Mohammed bin Salman. Almudi Ethiopian born Saudi business man is one of the suspected in the list. according to Forbes billionaire magazine his net worth estimated approximately 10.9 billion. He was listed as first Ethiopians richest man, second richest Saudi and third gulf state. His business is real estate, oil refineries, meaning are mean one in Sweden, morocco, Saudi, Lebanon, Ethiopia etc.

In Ethiopia Almudi invest cement, meaning, agriculture, hotel generally 70 cam panes registered by his name Almudi is very controversial figure in Ethiopia he has vary closed relation with TPLF ruling party he sponsored all party events and election campaign other, regarding to tax most of Almudi companies no transparency his banking statement auditing and other.

Now TPLF mafia and his supporter frustrated by Amudi arrest because he is source of foreign currency but the other hand Ethiopian honest nation happy to start investigation his criminal activity and want to pressure also by social media some activist also very happy when president trump expressed and support on twitter Amudi arrest. The other hand Almudi supporter talking his charities and sponsored including Clinton Foundation Donors.

Almudi collect and controlled land grabbing national resources and other name of investment and he is very closed key TPIF official land administration official mostly low level and local offices nothing else. Ethiopian anti-corruption action and judicial system vary week and controlled by one ethnic group no right ownership of the land. Now days government bad situation still not officially broadcast still keep it and stay positive broadcast regarding to social media people having fun with the situation to much gossip with them but Amudi supporter they are taking about his reward and not satisfy Saudi action completely unhappy but majority of Ethiopian activities looking Saudi Arabia progress and measure as great country and roe model of the word however Ethiopian still suffering TPLF and Almudi still cause of Ethiopian death the death toll rise every day each town and village especially Oromia and Amhara region recent Somali and Oromo boundary problem raise still no reconcile TPLF destabilize the country. They bunch of force no one we don't want to address root cause to a small dispute can quickly turn to a full blown ethnic tension.

The TPF mafia politics has competed ethicized that is woyane real evil spirit philosopher theory continue Amudi is one of strong holder of TPLF his arrest woyane frustrated affect the local investment and shortage of currency, so the public

uprising may continue and all over the country people unhappy TPLF measure and ethnic politics.

## Ethiopia: people killed as protests rock Oromia

### Jemila Abbaraya

Protests stormed at least eight towns of Ethiopia's largest region Oromia. Ten people were killed, and dozens wounded. Protests were held in Ambo, Dodola, Shashemene and in Boke woreda. In Ambo city, 119 km west of Addis Ababa, thousands took to the street and demand for justice, freedom and democracy. According to a source who attended the protest, the people: Protested against alleged relocation of Ambo Mineral Water factory to Tigray region, expressed support for detained opposition leader Dr. Merera Gudina, chanted "down Woyane" and Oromos should not be displaced.

Social media users close to the regional ruling party OPDO/EPRDF claimed that the protesters chanted "Lemma Megersa is our president" in support of the region's president. We couldn't confirm the claim from sources on the ground or videos on social media. However, one source claimed a photo of House Speaker Abadula Gameda was held at least by one protester.

A resident of Ambo told Deutch Welle that the Mayor received the questions of the protesters saying that "your questions are legitimate, we are with you". In Dodola, 287 km south of Addis Ababa, a demonstration was held and local officials also took part in the demonstration, a resident told Deutch Welle Amharic reported. According to the report, the protesters chanted: Down with the government, we should get adequate compensation (for industrial work?), Release imprisoned opposition leaders, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa belong to Oromo.

Shashemene, 250 km south of Addis Ababa, and Boke, west Hararghe, experienced big rallies in the past few weeks, calling for the downfall of the ruling party. The spokesperson of the region told Deutch Welle Amharic that three people were killed in Shashemene, another three in Boke, after the protests turned into disturbances. Later on VOA Afaan Oromo, the spokesperson said some protesters in Shashemene "provoked" nearby soldier leading to the shooting. The mayor of Shashemene told BBC Amharic that two federal

police and one army soldier were detained in connection with the killing.

In Borena zone, around Mega city, about 688 km south of Addis Ababa, 4 people were killed and at least a dozen wounded, when a crowd attempted to block a military convoy. According to local people, rumors spread alleging the military supply was transporting supplies to the special police of Somali region, which is said to have been involved in the recent conflicts with Oromia. A crowd attempting to block the vehicles clashed with the soldiers escorting the convoy.

In Woliso, thousands took to the street and chanted. A local told Deutch Welle that protesters chanted “Down, down Woyane”, “We don’t want EPRDF”, “We Oromos will administer ourselves”, “[Oromia president] Lema Megersa is ours”, “Release Merera Gudina”, “Stop harms on Oromo” and “Stop harms Amhara.”

## Prison and Detention Center Conditions Tewachew Derebe

Prison and pretrial detention center conditions remained harsh and in more cases life threatening. There were reports authorities beat and tortured prisoners in detention centers and police stations. Medical attention following beatings reportedly was insufficient in some cases. The country had six federal and 120 regional prisons. Pretrial detention often occurred in police station detention facilities, where conditions varied widely, but reports on conditions there indicated poor hygiene and police abuse of detainees. Physical Conditions: Authorities sometimes incarcerated juveniles with adults. Prison officials generally separated male and female prisoners.

Severe overcrowding was common, especially in prison sleeping quarters. The government provided approximately nine birr (\$0.43) per prisoner per day for food, water, and health care, although this amount varied across the country. Many prisoners supplemented this amount with daily food deliveries from family members or by purchasing food from local vendors, although there were reports officials prevented some prisoners from receiving supplemental food from their families. Medical care was unreliable in federal prisons and almost nonexistent in regional prisons.

Prisoners had only limited access to potable water, as did many in the country. Water shortages caused unhygienic conditions, and most prisons lacked appropriate sanitary facilities. Many prisoners had serious health problems but received little or no treatment. There were reports prison officials denied some prisoners access to necessary medical care. Information released by the Ministry of Health in 2012 stated nearly 62 percent of inmates in jails across the country experienced mental health problems due to solitary confinement, overcrowding, and lack of adequate health-care facilities and services.

Administration: Due to the lack of transparency regarding incarceration, it was difficult to determine if recordkeeping was adequate. Authorities did not employ alternative sentencing for nonviolent offenders. There were reports prisoners mistreated by prison guards did not have access to prison administrations to complain. Prisons did not have ombudspersons to respond to complaints. Legal aid clinics existed in some prisons for the benefit of prisoners, and at the regional level, had good working relationships with judicial, prison, and government officials. Prison officials allowed the submission by detainees of complaints to judicial authorities without censorship. Courts sometimes declined to hear such complaints.

The law permits prisoners to have visitors, although in more cases police did not allow pretrial detainees such access (including family members and legal counsel). According to the ATP, a lawyer is permitted to visit only one client per day, and only on Wednesdays and Fridays. Federal prisons had difficulty integrating ATP defendants into the local prison population; most of the latter were either convicted or on trial under the criminal code. Authorities allegedly denied family members charged with terrorist activity access to the prisoners. There were also reports authorities denied the accused visits with lawyers or with representatives of the political parties to which they belonged.

Prison officials permitted religious observance by prisoners, but this varied by prison, and even by section within a prison, at the discretion of prison management. There were some allegations authorities denied detainees adequate



locations in which to pray. Prisoners could voice complaints about prison conditions or treatment to the presiding judge during their trials.

**Independent Monitoring:** During the year the International Committee of the Red Cross visited prisons throughout the country. The government did not permit access to prisons by other international human rights organization. Arbitrary Arrest or Detention. Although the constitution and law prohibit arbitrary arrest and detention, the government ignored these provisions. There were many reports of arbitrary arrest and detention by police and security forces throughout the country.

On March 15, officials detained seven pastoralist and community leaders at Bole International Airport en route to participate in an agricultural workshop in Nairobi. Investigators later released four without charging them. At year's end the remaining three on trial were charged with terrorist acts under the ATP. In the period preceding the May 24 national elections, opposition parties reported extrajudicial and arbitrary detentions of opposition party members, candidates, and election observers. Authorities subsequently released most without charge, and some fled to Kenya.

Following weeks of protests throughout the Oromia Region and Amhara region NGOs and opposition party leaders reported violent clashes between protesters and security forces resulting in thousands of extrajudicial and arbitrary detentions. There were reports of security forces arbitrarily detaining students on university campuses in connection with the protests. According to opposition party leaders, security forces arbitrarily detained opposition party members and supporters and accused them of inciting violence.

### **Put Humanity Before Ethnicity Teketel Beyene Adalo (Stockholm, Sweden)**

In recent weeks thousands of Ethiopians have poured into areas around Harar, fleeing violence in neighbouring towns (see map). Nearly 70,000 people have sought shelter just east of the city. Several thousand more are huddling in a makeshift camp in the west. Most are Oromo, Ethiopia's largest ethnic group. Its members clashed with ethnic Somalis in February and March, resulting in the death of hundreds. The violence erupted

again in September, when more than 30 people were killed in the town of Awaday. Revenge killings, often by local militias or police, have followed, pushing the death toll still higher. In response, the government has sent in the army. Ethnic violence is common in Ethiopia, especially between Oromos and Somalis, whose vast regions share the country's longest internal border. Since the introduction of ethnic federalism in 1995, both groups have tried to grab land and resources from each other, often with the backing of local politicians. A referendum in 2004 that was meant to define the border failed to settle the matter. A peace agreement signed by the two regional presidents in April was no more successful. When the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) swept to power in 1991 after a bloody 15-year civil war, federalism was seen as a way to placate the ethnic liberation movements that helped it to power. The previous regime had been dominated by the Amhara, the second-largest ethnic group (the Eritreans broke away to form a new state). Eventually ethnic loyalties would wither as people grew richer, went the thinking of the Marxist-inspired EPRDF. But the way federalism was implemented caused problems from the start.

New identity cards forced people to choose an ethnicity, though many Ethiopians are of mixed heritage. Territories often made little sense. In the Harari region, a minority of Hararis rule over much bigger populations of Oromos and Amharas, a source of resentment. Boundaries that were once porous became fixed, leading to disputes.

For years the EPRDF sought to dampen the tension by tightly controlling regional politics. But its grip has loosened over time. Local governments have grown stronger. Regional politicians are increasingly pushing ethnic agendas. The leaders of Oromia, the largest region, have drafted a bill demanding changes to the name, administration and official language of Addis Ababa.

Ethnic federalism experiment by the TPLF to justify ethnic domination and ethnic apartheid system in Ethiopia is not working. In other words, ethnic federalism is a federal system of national government in which the federated units are defined according to ethnicity. What started as a policy to favouring one ethnic group over the rest of

the people has now exploded into revenge killings due to a failure to see the humanity of others. Instead of holding the perpetrators responsible for the crimes— because there is no true rule of law in Ethiopia of TPLF/EPRDF— people have taken the law into their own hands. And it is so sad. In most of the case, revenge is being taken against innocent parties— another family member or someone of the same ethnicity. This is a tragedy that causes evil to prosper and mutual destruction. It has caused much blood to be shed, the destruction of properties, and a surge in ethnic-based hostility after years of peace between the people. Let us put humanity before ethnicity or any other distinctions. Let us care for the wellbeing and justice of others as we care for our own or for our own groups. Let us share freedom with others for no one is free until all are free. May God work through our souls to heal the pain that we have been going through until we are free indeed!

### **Ethiopia: enemy of the press** **Tegbar Asmamu**

Nowadays this world is small village because of globalization, for this Internet play avital role. third world countries rapidly growing and good progress to access information. When we come to Ethiopia one of the list countries controlled media state-owned broadcasters and all sector government oriented newspaper no alternative for the majority.

Nowadays Ethiopia one of the density populated area and 95 million people have only one state television and radio freedom of the press to access information to public censorship right guaranteed for his people stated in the constitution but practice nothing at an independent newspaper now out of competition most of in forced and difficult to struggle with government force.

In 1995 GC more than 367 newspaper registered now all out of competition only some individual those who are vary closed attachment with government still in the market and promote government propaganda. In Ethiopia internet penetration rate is almost zero and government controlled all means of communication monopolized. Ethio telecom office sober controlled all individual journalists and private conversation

cooperation with INSA which is (information network security agency).

Today, too much journalist harass, detain, charged and prosecutor because of critical of government action. The government take anti-terrorism law and other legal measures, journalist, bloggers, arbitrary detention and too much bureaucracy in printing enterprise and enforce and take action.

TPLF Ethiopian ruling party poorly managed the media industry and no concept critical discussions. Most Ethiopia journalist working with government media no wright to write feely because of editorial polices because of this no development of media very slow progress to share, investigate search information all side.

### **The current situation in Oromia** **Abdulshkur Naseru**

The current situation in Oromiya and wider Ethiopia is blusterous. In the words of an anonymous commentator on the ground, "Oromiya is a war zone; we are under effective military control. "From this characterization, I gather that the government security forces' merciless firing of live ammunition at peaceful protestors has turned the situation into a popular civil rebellion in all of Oromiya. As a matter of fact, protest actions have taken place in more than 170 Oromo cities, towns and villages. As of this writing, Oromo activists have verified and documented the killing of over 100 Oromo persons, the majority of whom are students and farmers. The Associated Press reports that 80 Oromo protestors were killed. Oromo mothers and female students are being kidnapped and transported to unknown locations.

Effective 15<sup>th</sup> December 2016, the Oromo nation has fallen under the administrative jurisdiction of a "Command Post", an entity chaired by the Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn. "Counter-Terrorism Task Force", which is assembled for this particular purpose is also deployed. It remains a major legal question whether the "military administration" constitutes the same effect as declaration of emergency situation-executive decree which should have followed a procedure of its own as under article 93 of the constitution. However, as of now, what we know is that the inception of the "command post" already

has obliterated any semblance of legality because it unconstitutionally suspended the bodies that administer (i.e., the State Parliament and the Executive) of the State of Oromiya and the nominal political party in charge there.

On 16<sup>th</sup> of December 2016, the federal government released something very close to a national decree. It was read on a national TV during prime time broadcast service. A joint venture of the "Command Post" and "Anti-Terrorism Special Task Force", the decree's content was considered by many as amounting to a declaration of war against the Oromo in general. The following day, the communication minister, Getachew Reda, followed up the decree with a presser, in which he described Oromo protesters as "devils", "demons", "satanic", "witches" and "terrorists", who need special military operation "to be put back in their place". In his cantankerous statements, Getachew cleared up what many observers already suspected: the deep-seated and systematized dehumanization project of the Oromo by the regime and beyond. Again, PM Hailemariam Dessalegn, in an exclusive interview with the national TV, menacingly vowed for a "merciless" national response against the Oromo protesters if they don't stop protesting.

Now, we are observing synchronized, condescending and patronizing melodrama being translated into collective punishment against the Oromo. Getachew's sordidly loaded press communication in fact reminded me of Seif-Al Islam Gaddafi's last taunting moment in one of the notorious TV broadcast in which he called the Libyan protestors rats" who had to be annihilated. The current military control in Oromiya exactly resembles the famous Nazi Law known as The Third Reich of 1933 that Nazified all German law in order to grant arbitrary power to Hitler to detain and convict Jews. In a similar way, ours is also a regime that has unequivocally and arrogantly displayed that it is not only the enemy of the people, but also of itself.

**The root cause of Ethiopia’s political problem**  
**Endalkachew Tegabu**

The root cause of Ethiopia’s problems are not the Ethiopian people whose historical bonds are unparalleled in Africa. Fortunately for the country,

the Oromo and Amhara people are reestablishing their historical and unbreakable bonds. On the plus side is the growing collaboration of the Amhara and Oromo population, especially youth that is changing the political narrative in Ethiopia. Intellectuals, civil society and regional political leaders of the two communities are changing the narrative in defiance of the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (the TPLF) in power for 27 years. "የኦሮሞው ደም ደማችን ነው፤ ጣና ኪኛ፤ የወልቃይት ጉዳይ ያገባናል ወዘተ" are compelling and galvanizing slogans that motivate each and every one of us to rethink the TPLF narrative of ethnic "divide and rule." This growing and deepening relationship of the Oromo and Amhara people at the grassroots level has, for all practical purposes upended the Orwellian state and government dominated by the TPLF. No longer would the TPLF have a free ride to pit one ethnic group against another.

Who would have thought barely 6 months ago that the regional leaders of the Amhara and Oromo states would hold a joint conference in the city of Bahir Dar, assert commitment to Ethiopia’s national unity and sovereignty and recommit to the unbreakable bonds of the Ethiopian people, especially the Oromo and Amhara people? Behind this latest and unexpected development is the remarkable and insightful leadership of Oromo and Amhara youth. They broke the Himalayan wall of fear and segregation and demanded accountability from leaders regardless of ethnic or religious affiliation.

Sadly, the world community, especially TPLF enablers have not either caught up with the dramatic youth led and popular resistance on the ground or they have ignored what is happening on the ground. In part, this is because they figured that the resistance is sporadic and divided. They are also convinced that Ethiopia’s opposition parties are still fractured, factional and weak and lack a national unity of purpose.

From President Bill Clinton to President Donald Trump, the U.S. Department of State has been vocal in its admonition of Ethiopian officials with regard to human rights, the rule of law and democracy. For example, after Donald Trump’s election as President in 2016, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said this. Ethiopian "Security forces used

excessive force against protestors throughout the year, killing hundreds and injuring many more. The protests were mainly in Oromia and Amhara regions. At the year's end, more than 10,000 persons were believed to be detained. This included persons detained under the government declared state of emergency. Many were never brought before a court, provided legal counsel, or formally charged with a crime."

Most recently and as the resistance deepened, the TPLF instigated civil conflicts between Oromo and Somali Ethiopians. Scores and scores of people, primarily Oromo Ethiopians were killed and thousands forcibly evicted from their homes and livelihoods. In a piece entitled "Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally," the Washington Post explicitly and vividly depicted TPLF's asinine policy of ethnic conflict as an instrument of governance. "A largely hidden war in remote areas of Ethiopia has killed hundreds of people, displaced more than 100,000 others and raised the specter of ethnic cleansing, potentially destabilizing and important U.S. ally in the fight against terrorism." Despite death, displacement and destruction, the war against terrorism and not the welfare of 105 million Ethiopians is still the centerpiece of U.S. policy. Similar killings and displacements have been taking place in Gondar, Gambella and other regions of Ethiopia for decades. Tragically, these "hidden wars" and ethnic cleansing were never reported by the Western press.

Ironically, the TPLF took power in 1991 under the pretext of liberating "nations, nationalities and peoples from oppression and subjugation." The Post article of October 23, 2017 underscored this point. "In an attempt to recognize the aspirations of the country's main ethnic groups, the rebel movement of the Tigrayan ethnicity that overthrew the Communist regime in 1991 reorganized Ethiopia into a federal state made of nine ethnically defined regions with a degree of autonomy." From its conception the ethnic federal system was fraught with conflict. It offered ethnic elites unprecedented power and wealth while denying fundamental freedom, human rights, economic and social opportunity and democracy to the vast majority of Ethiopians. It lent itself to manipulation by federal, regional and local

authorities to serve their narrow economic, financial and political purposes; and gave them carte blanche authority to erode bonds among Ethiopia's diverse population. As a consequence, Ethiopia's territorial integrity and sovereignty and the social, spiritual, economic and political bonds of the population was diminished severely. This is the reason authoritative sources such as the Fund for Peace, Freedom House and the Crisis Group report that the country is sliding into a failed state. Despite this, the TPLF refuses to address the root causes of the problem.

In a deliberate attempt to prolong political and economic domination, the TPLF instigated more murders, hackings, maiming and displacements of the Amhara population in Illubabor and Beni-Shangul Gumuz. The argument by the governing party, especially the TPLF controlled media that ordinary Oromo committed these crimes is indefensible. The Oromo and Amhara population are among the most integrated in the country. They have a long and distinguished history of intermarriages, peaceful coexistence and unified resistance against foreign intervention spanning hundreds of years. The TPLF tried and has now failed to continue to sow seeds of hatred, suspicion and fear among these two substantial populations. It is this remarkable strength and resiliency among Ethiopia's diverse population that Western governments, especially the U.S. must recognize and support.

So, it is time that we ask the question "Why are the human rights, good governance and democracy anchored legislations, namely, H.R. 128 of the House and S.R. 168 of Senate in Limbo?"

## **Ethiopia suffers dramatic decline of internet freedom**

**Addis Genene (Stockholm, Sweden)**

The Ethiopian government systematically and illegally blocked access to social media and news websites in its efforts to crush dissent and prevent reporting of attacks on protestors by security forces during the wave of protests that started in November 2015 and led up today.

It's clear that as far as the Ethiopian government is concerned, social media is a tool for extremists peddling bigotry and hate and therefore they are fully justified in blocking internet access. The reality, though, is very different. The

widespread censorship has closed another space for Ethiopian's to air the grievances that fueled the protests.

The internet blocking had no basis in law, and was another disproportionate and excessive response to the protests. This raises serious concerns that overly broad censorship will become institutionalized under the state of emergency.

The Ethiopian government uses Deep Packet Inspection (DPI) technology to filter access to websites. DPI is a technology that can be bought and deployed on any network. Though it has many legitimate functions, it can also enable monitoring and filtering of internet traffic.

The internet access on mobile devices had been completely blocked in Amhara, Addis Ababa and Oromia in the lead up to protests in the three regions. This was confirmed in Google's transparency reports which showed a dramatic drop in internet traffic out of Ethiopia on the two days when at least 100 people were killed by security forces during the protests last year.

Ethiopia's position on the use of social media indicates that the authorities are invoking their obligations to restrict freedom of expression where such freedom is abused. Specifically, that any restrictions will be provided by law and are necessary to respect the rights or reputations of others; or for the protection of national security or of public order, public health or morals. They are arbitrary, being carried out in the absence of clear and precise law in the country which governs access to internet and social media, restrictions/blockade of websites and social media, and clear legal procedures governing restrictions, including administrative and judicial procedures to challenge such restrictions and blockades. The acts of censorship also fail the test of proportionality. The censorship acts uncovered by OONI were not restricted to specific content; rather the censorship was happening at a large scale, with dozens of websites and popular communications platforms like WhatsApp affected over the space of several months.

Rather than closing off all spaces for people to express their concerns, the authorities need to actively engage with, and address the underlying human rights violations that have fueled the

protests over the last year. The authorities must allow people to express their opinions even when they criticize government policies and actions both online and offline.

## **The inevitable Change in Ethiopia and the quest for Cooperation** **Meron Wändm (Wächtersbach)**

After 26 years of oppression under the dictatorial regime, a glamor's of hope for democracy, justice and equality seems to loom over the Ethiopian sky. Beyond peradventure, Change is inevitable sooner than later. More than any time in the last 26 years, the Ethiopian peoples have started to speak for themselves. As of the last two years, with high sacrifice and unparalleled commitment, the Oromos have shaken the seemingly unshakable throne of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary front (EPRDF-a coalition of various political parties that ruled the country for more than quarter of the century). Ended, they have paid a price for freedom and broken the deadlock.

Aspired by the Oromos, the Amharas have joined the struggle for freedom and send a strong signal that the divide and rule policy of the thugs has got no place among Ethiopians. As martin Luther King once remarkably pointed, justice is indivisible, that Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere and whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. So, does freedom, I would say. Therefore, it is heyday to join hands for change among Ethiopians. It is the joint efforts of all Ethiopians that could crash the iron fists of the authoritarians. The success of the struggle and meaningful change is contingent, beyond measure, up on its continuity and consistency. The wisdom of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. which says "Change does not roll in on the wheels of inevitability, but comes through continuous struggle. And so, we must straighten our backs and work for our freedom" is pertinent and timely.

On the other hand, the regime attempts repeatedly to fuel ethnic based conflicts among various ethnic groups in various parts of the country. Conflicts between Oromya and Somali regional states and the ethnic related problems appeared in Oromiya are among few examples. These deliberate acts of the government intended to plague the most sophisticated and admirable culture of tolerance

and spirit of brotherhood among various Ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Cognizant of this fact, Ethiopians shall cooperate to fail and demystify every hidden effort of the government and avert any forms of ethnic based conflicts. We shall not let any one to determine our fate. We shall not have left any room for tribalism, narrow nationalism and filthy chauvinism. By so doing, we consolidate our unity and maintain our beautiful Ethiopia. Long live Ethiopia!

### **Stop torturing in Maskelawi!! Kidist Wondaferahu (Dieburg)**

Among the most extreme forms of torture [practiced at Maekelawi], something that is impossible to believe, is where a human being prisoner is crucified like Jesus Christ. According to HR report They have crosses where they hang prisoners. When a prisoner returns from interrogation, in maekelawi the first question we asked was, "Were you hanged on the cross?" And the prisoner would answer, "Today I was hanged, or today I was not hanged." That is what he would tell us. On the cross, the prisoner is stretched arm to arm tied on the cross. As the prisoner hangs, they tie a 2-liter plastic bottle of water to his penis and let it dangle. That causes extreme pain. Because of this, there are many individuals, whose penis has been destroyed. It is out of respect for human decency and their privacy that I have difficulty giving out their names in public. But because it is vitally important, and because it is valuable evidence, I can give their identities, addresses and names to any investigative agency to contact them at any time. I am ready to do that. If there is anyone who wants to meet these people in person, the individuals who suffered these injuries. God bless Ethiopia!

### **Ethiopian Federalism system created Ethnic clash Henok Girma Seboka (Hainburg)**

Thousands of people have fled Ethiopia's Somali region following deadly clashes in recent days between ethnic Somalis and Oromos. Dozens of people are reported to have died in clashes across Ethiopia's Oromia and Somali regions in recent days. The figures are however disputed by the Somali regional government, which says that more than 30 ethnic Somalis have been killed in the Oromia town

of Awaday. The clashes had displaced at least 55,000 people, some of whom have taken refuge in makeshift camps at a stadium in the eastern city of Harar, whilst others are camping at police stations. Following intense anti-government protests that plagued the Horn of Africa country during most of 2016, the government imposed a 10-month state of emergency, which was lifted in July. While this heightened state of alert calmed most of the restive areas in the Oromia region, it did not stop cross-border clashes in the Oromia and Somali areas.

In February and March, hundreds were reported to have been killed in the southern Oromia district of Negele Borena after an incursion by a paramilitary force called the Liyu Police, which is backed by the Somali region. Ethnic Oromos allege that the Liyu Police, which has previously been accused by rights groups of human rights violations, of being behind the current attacks. The Somali regional government has however rejected the allegations and charged that senior officials in the Oromia government were sympathisers of the Oromo Liberation Front, which is categorised as a terrorist organisation by the Ethiopian government. While conflicts have been common between the two bordering communities, the public finger-pointing by top regional officials is unprecedented and could exacerbate the current conflict.

Oromia and Somali are, respectively, the two largest regions in the country by area size, sharing a border of more than 1,400 km (870 miles). While Somalis are mostly pastoralists, living from their animals, Oromos tend to be farmers, as well as pastoralists. Historically, their relationship has been characterised by territorial competition which often leads to disputes and conflicts over resources, including wells and grazing land. These conflicts can cause the displacement of tens of thousands of people. Following the outcome, tens of thousands of ethnic Somalis reportedly fled the areas for fear of repercussions. Federalism has been chosen either to bring together formerly separate units to a new country, or to rearrange a previously unitary country and even as a product of both processes together. The following points show that the danger of ethnic federalism for Ethiopia. The effect of Ethiopia's federalism is its consequence of replacing the sense of Ethiopianism with that of ethnicity.

In today's Ethiopia, people show more allegiance to their ethnic background than their citizenship unlike any other time in Ethiopia's history. Federalism in Ethiopia focuses too much on group rights and neglects individual liberty. Rights such as respect for ethnic groups, culture, language and gender equality are given due consideration while individuals are harassed, intimidated, detained, imprisoned, exiled and killed. Federalism in Ethiopia deliberately ignores democratic rights and good governance. In the constitution it is clearly stipulated that people have the right to assemble, the right to speak their minds (freedom of speech), as well as freely express their views in writings. Unfortunately, these are nothing more than symbolic in nature for no one has truly enjoyed them. Ethiopians who are brave enough to exercise their freedom of speech and writing are either locked up, exiled or have totally vanished from the face of the earth. In addition, rampant corruption and the abuse of power are constant reminders of the lack of good governance.

Finally, I conclude from the above-mentioned point that Ethiopia's federal structure is organized around the interest of the EPRDF whose main political actors are the Tigrayan elites. The most important concerns of the EPRDF are the issues of power and wealth. So, the principle is staying on power for as long as possible and accumulating as much wealth as possible. These have been possible because Ethiopia's federalism is in nature with the aim to divide and rule by planting mistrust between the different ethnic groups. The federal system in Ethiopia, based on ethnicity, has been a failure.

### **Ethiopian political crisis going to breakup with Civil Disobedience** **Saba Afework**

Our country Ethiopia and its people have suffered for 27 long years from the racist and apartheid TPLF regime that is ruling Ethiopia without a popular mandate. TPLF/EPRDF's record of lack of good governance, lack of democracy, corruption, failed policies and mischievous deeds has currently plunged Ethiopia into a deep political and economic crisis. By absolutely denying Ethiopians' natural human and democratic rights, TPLF/EPRDF has become an absolute dictatorial regime that has

made Ethiopians lose hope, made inter-ethnic conflict and hate their existence. The regime has been spreading racist politics in vain in order to destroy the long-lasting Ethiopian national consensus even though it has not been successful as Ethiopians have been vigilant. TPLF/EPRDF used language based ethnic-federalism in order to divide the Ethiopian people to extend its rule.

However, these devious schemes have backfired, and the regime is now facing a huge challenge on how to keep on its dictator authority and govern the country. That is why refused to accept any reform request and stifle the peaceful protest of the people in many directions of the country and detain opposition party members, activists, journalists, and figures of community members. However, protests have time to time spread to the whole parts of the country as could be evidenced from reports by several media organizations. However, it is the regime's blindness that subjugating the Ethiopian people for more than a quarter century of brutal administration and trying to convince the world society that it has won 100% of the seats in the so called parliamentary election.

Instead of trying to solve problems peacefully by consulting with Ethiopians, TPLF's usual propensity to use force has resulted in the killing of hundreds including child, elderly and even pregnant woman, thousands injured, and hundreds of thousands also leave the country. The regime and its supporters land grab in the name of investment and development without the knowledge and will of the people has been ongoing for a long time and has resulted in the displacement of a large number of people. Now it is time to stand together and must proceed civil disobedience at positive and fruitful ways with supports of the international efforts to bring this issue to the forefront as it is a major concern to all Ethiopians. It is crucial to understand that the main cause of the numerous and dangerous problems listed above is the racist and apartheid TPLF regime.

Therefore, we should not say that the popular anger and uprising that has started in several parts of the country are Oromo, Amara or others' issues. All Ethiopians should express our support and to make protesting people's demands should be demands of all Ethiopians and struggle

together. The suffering, hardship and misery of the Ethiopian people from every region, ethnicity, religious group, political group, viewpoint and background has begun to unity us like the land that has held us together as a people and a country.

## Human Rights Situation in Ethiopia oromo people Imran Girma

The oromia region surrounding Addis Ababa to the capital municipality in 2014, the Oromo people, the largest Ethiopian ethnicity, have used the latest round of protests that started in November 2015 to make their more basic grievances of lacking political participation. The international community, after initially only reluctantly addressing the severe human rights violations, have in October 2016 found clear words condemning the Ethiopian Government's abuses of their citizens' basic freedoms.

**20 June 2017:** Federal prosecutor submitted their objections to Dr Merera Gudina's statement asking that the criminal charges against him be separated from the terrorism charges against the two media organizations OMN and ESAT that were put in the same file. The prosecutors asked that the court dismiss Dr Gudina's objection on the grounds that he had not included this objection along with his preliminary objections and that the three cases are closely interrelated. The court will give its verdict on 7 July 2017.

**18 May 2017:** the killings of hundreds of protesters and the extreme violence that has been used by security forces during demonstrations in 2016. The resolution also renews calls for the release of Ethiopian opposition leader Merera Gudina and urges the Ethiopian government to end the state of emergency and the restrictions it entails, as well as to stop using anti-terrorism legislation to suppress peaceful opposition.

**4 May 2017:** The prosecutors replied to the [preliminary objections](#) raised by Mr Gudina's lawyers on 25 March 2017 and the court adjourned the release of its verdict on these objections to 2 June 2017.

**25 April 2017:** Dr Merera Gudina, who is charged with alleged terrorism and other criminal offences, [has presented preliminary objections](#) to the federal court where he is standing trial, which

postponed the case to 4 May in order to give prosecutors the time to respond. According to Dr Gudina, his trip to Brussels and his speech at the European Parliament should not constitute grounds for his continued detention as he never meant to trespass the state of emergency by travelling to Belgium and never granted interviews to anti-government media outlets.

**2 October 2016:** The Irrecha Festival Massacre. At the Oromo Festival of thanksgiving, the government-sponsored Agazi killing squad fires rubber bullets and live ammunition into a large crowd of Oromos, who were also protesting the government's exploitation of their sacred festival for their own political agenda, [causing the death of at least 600 peaceful demonstrators](#). The deployment of armored vehicles and a combat helicopter, moreover, triggered a stampede on top of the already appalling tragedy.

**21 August 2016:** The Oromo athlete [Feyisa Lilesa](#) finishes second in Rio's Olympic marathon event and signals his support for Oromo protests while crossing the finish line. The Olympic athlete crosses his arms with his fists closed over his head as a sign of protest against the Ethiopian Government's treatment of his people. Despite government statements calling him an Ethiopian hero, Lilesa fears to be killed if he were to return home.

**6 and 7 August 2016:** Approximately [100 people have been killed](#) when security forces used excessive force against Oromo and Amhara protesters. All across Oromia and in several parts of Amhara people went out on the streets to demand political reform, respect for the rule of law and an end to the persecution of people with dissenting opinions from that of the government.

**2 May 2016:** The White House [forcefully condemns](#) the indictment of Oromo opposition politician Bekele Gerba. The Obama administration calls on the Ethiopian Government to cease using its anti-terrorism legislation to prosecute journalists, politicians and human rights defenders.

**22 April 2016:** 22 civil society activists and opposition politicians have been arrested and [charged under the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation](#). They are being accused of inciting violence and being members of the outlawed Oromo Liberation Front; among the detained is the



globally respected Oromo Federalist Congress politician Bekele Gerba, who had just been released from prison earlier in 2016.

**Early March 2016:** Facebook Messenger, Twitter and WhatsApp are being blocked in Oromia and other regions of Ethiopia. The social media sites have remained inaccessible for months to come. The [government-enforced social media blackout](#), enabled by Ethio Telecom, who is the only telecommunications provider in Ethiopia, has been denied to be intentional by the government and has not been commented on by Ethio Telecom. The ban on social media does, however, match known patterns of practices by the Ethiopian regime to undermine the free flow of information on people trying to make their grievances heard.

**February 2016:** Ethiopian forces carry out a [gruesome mass killing](#) of 300 villagers in Ogaden. The whole community of Labarbar village near Shilaabo in Ogaden is reported to have been completely destroyed by the Ethiopian army, supported by the infamous Liyu Police militia, apparently due to its vicinity to the Jeexdin (Calub) natural gas field.

**29 January 2016:** Seven inmates have been tortured for hours at an Addis Ababa prison. Overnight, seven inmates at Kalitti prison in Addis Ababa have been [severely beaten by prison officials](#), reportedly receiving broken limbs, cuts and open wounds, leaving their naked bodies smeared in blood. They were, subsequently, subjected to an unknown period of dark solitary confinement. One prisoner, who was separated from the others and whose injuries are reported to have been exceptionally severe, is feared dead.

**27 January 2016:** 20 Oromo protesters have been injured in a demonstration. Security forces hit protesters with batons and iron rods to the head and legs in a police operation to crackdown on a peaceful demonstration in Addis Ababa.

**Last Week of November 2015:** Four Oromo students die at a protest rally at Haramaya University in Oromia. The Ethiopian Government's federal police, known as "Agazi", opened fire on peaceful demonstrators at Haramaya University in Dire Dawa, a town located in eastern Oromia. The students – like many Oromo these days – were protesting the "Addis Ababa Master Plan", which

embodies for them the ruling Tigrean elite's disregard for Oromo farmers' land rights.

## Online Political Activism in Ethiopia

Asnake Demena

Even though online activism is a new phenomenon in Ethiopia, a growing proportion of citizens rely on social media to gather political information and to engage in political discussions. Currently, social media platforms such as Facebook, Tweeter and YouTube are being extensively used by young political activists in Ethiopia and the diaspora. For these reason, online activism bridges the gap between those who control the conventional media and those who do not. No longer is politics limited to traditional Media such as Newspaper, Magazine, Radio and Television. Online activism gives us the ability to recruit and mobilize activists from all walks of life in the society. It allows us to organize events, raise funds, and document actions. This article explores the role of online activism and its potential to bring about significant political change in the limited political landscape of the country. The analysis also explores opportunities and challenges facing online political activists in Ethiopia and it will try to give answers for questions such as: can online activism turn into a real political movement?

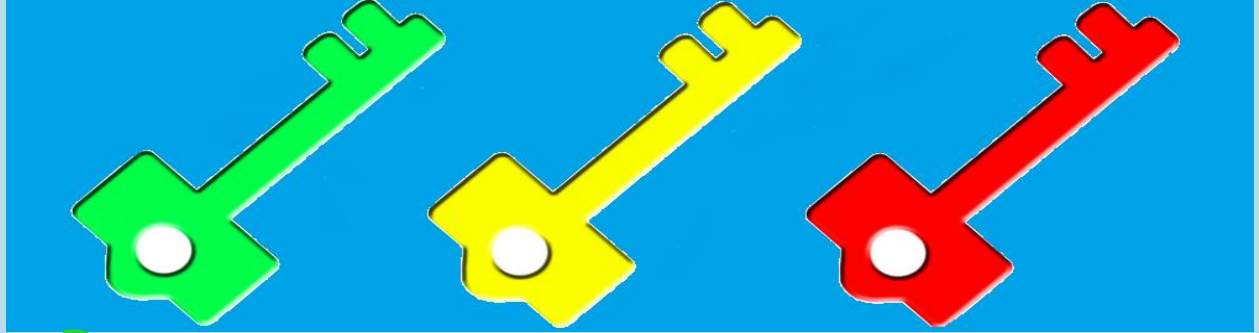
In a few words: online activism has already increased the circulation of information and political participation in Ethiopia. The Internet has begun to revolutionize the spread of ideas and information in Addis Ababa and other towns. Young people have become producers of much political content, which has now come to influence mainstream media organization reports. It is true that the use of the Internet as a news medium is steadily rising. But still, Ethiopia is one of the least connected countries in Africa, and out of a population of 100 million, only 4.5 million are regular Facebook users ([www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#et](http://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#et) as of 29 November 2017). This, however, represents rapid increase and three times as many users than just two years earlier. The use of mobile phones and smart phones is growing quickly too, and the first 4G network in the country was launched in Addis Ababa in April 2015.

To get the most benefits from online activism, social media users should have clear political agendas, strategies and viable plans for transition of the country from dictatorship to democracy. It is the responsibility of every online political activist to evaluate both the content and quality of information before sharing it among others. It is also the obligation of every online activist to consider basic issues associated with media ethics. Online activists should also refrain themselves from releasing identities of freedom fighters who are living in Ethiopia and neighbouring countries. Over the past few months, the TPLF had been killing several freedom fighters including Patriot Gobe Melke after their identities was released on social media. For these reasons, I strongly demand online political activists to stop releasing identities of freedom fighters in Ethiopia on social media.

To sum up, Today, social media in all of its ubiquity and simplicity is the standard approach for online activism. Gone are the days when organizers needed to understand how to code in HTML or run a listserv. A few simple keystrokes, and organizers are able to create blogs, Twitter feeds, or Facebook pages, which are easy to use and require no special technical knowledge either for the organizer or users who want to participate. These platforms combine text, visuals, sound, video, and other content in ways hard to imagine even 10 years ago. In addition, online spaces today typically blend the virtual and the physical, supporting, for example, a movement with a strong physical presence such as those in Tunisia and Egypt.

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