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**“QEERROO FI QAARREE OROMOO”  
IRREVERSIBLE VICTORIES IN THE  
HISTORY OF OROMO STRUGGLE  
FOR EQUALITY IN ETHIOPIA.**

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### *Abstract*

This article is about Oromo's restless long walk struggle for freedom, equality, and democracy. The article clearly shows the cruelty, inhumanity and horrific administration of Amharan-Tigray tyrant/fascist/dictator governors against democratic and peace loving Oromo nation in the horn of Africa. Also the article indicates that the restless and uninterrupted struggles of Oromo for generations were not successful especial to addresses basic issues of self governance and equitable representation. In other way Oromo's colonized by Amhara-Tigray tyrant/fascist/dictator governors unable to clear them out completely even though they are fighting fiercely and restlessly for generations to ultimate victory. On the other side the article mainly addresses the magnitude role of golden heroic Oromo youth (Qeerroo fi Qaarree) that embrace the world because of its historic and irreversible victories over the tyrant/fascist/genocider TPLF within a short period of time, and the consequences of its victories. To addresses all these issues the writer as methods and materials mainly based on analysis of secondary source of data and documents, and including the writers observation.

**Key Words: Oromo, 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree', Restless Struggle, National Identity, Equality, Amharan-Tigray Governor.**

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## 1. *Introduction*

The writer begins with addressing this issue: why the writer frames the title of the article like the one stated above? Because the writer wants to clearly show to the reader that for more than century Oromo as a nation have endured unrelenting attacks on their individual rights, their national identity and cultural institutions, and their independent organizations. On the other side those who called themselves Habashas or Abyssinians' (i.e., those exclusively claim that Ethiopia was found by the northerner flesh and blood) strongly insists that Oromo's struggle for the claim of national identity is not for equality but for disintegration of our Ethiopia. The other point is in the history of Ethiopia the governors were mainly from the north supported by religion continuously engaged in dehumanizing Oromo and exploiting its natural resources as a result of which Oromos' restlessly fighting them with no ending.

So based on this the article addresses whether Oromos' claim of national identity is for equality or disintegration of Ethiopia. It also addresses the restless struggle of Oromos' with no ending for claim of identity and equality. Space does not permit the writer to provide a through account of restless struggle Oromo undergone for more than century and its ultimate goal against the northerner tyranny, exploitative and dictator administration. Instead of a detailed discussion, this article will mainly outline the restless struggle Oromo nation undergone and its ultimate goal after 1991 (after the adoption of transitional charter and transitional government).

To address these issues the writer mainly used secondary sources of data for strong based evidences which mean reviewing books, articles, papers and documents that mainly focuses the history of Oromo struggle against the atrocities of the northerner Christian governor. Further to get necessary information from the mentioned sources of data, researcher own observation (particularly from the time of transition to the present) was employed as data gathering tools.

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## 2. *Oromo Gadaa System (Oromo Democracy).*

Before colonization during the European scramble for Africa by the alliance of European imperialism and Ethiopian colonialism the Oromo people were independent and organized both culturally and politically using the gadaa system (Oromo Democracy) to promote their wellbeing and to maintain their security and sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> For generations, the Oromo have mainly transmitted their history and culture through oral discourse. Since Oromo scholars and others have been discouraged or prohibited by the Ethiopian colonial state (Amhara-Tigray colonial power) from documenting Oromo oral traditions, adequate information is lacking.<sup>2</sup> Between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, when various peoples are fighting over economic resources in the Horn Africa, the Oromo were effectively organized under the gadaa institution for both offensive and defensive wars. It is impossible to know when and how this gadaa system emerged. However, that it existed as full-fledged system at the beginning of the sixteenth century because during this century, the Oromo were under one gadaa administration.<sup>3</sup>

The writer started to analysis gadaa system with principle of popular sovereignty; in gadaa system, people are the ultimate source of the government and the leaders are elected representative of the people. Gadaa system (Oromo constitution) is designed and formulated by the Oromo people itself and subordinate laws are enacted, amended or repealed through direct and representative democracy. The people have the right to uproot or dismiss their leaders when they fail to exercise their responsibility according to the rules and regulations. Leaders cannot impose their decisions on their wishes on the group rather by virtue of their office, acquired through specialized training, these leaders are called up on to clarify what is the custom or law on the subject under discussion.<sup>4</sup> One of the major principles in gadaa system is accountability of the elected leaders to the people they represent. Hayyuus (Gadaa officials) should appear before the highest legislative organ called Gumii (Assembly) and the people judge how well the leaders

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<sup>1</sup> Holcomb, B. & S. Ibssa. 1990. *The Invention of Ethiopia: The Making of Dependent Colonial State in Northeast Africa*, (Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press).

<sup>2</sup> Asafa Jalata, *Gadaa (Oromo Democracy): An Example of Classical African Civilization* (The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol. 5, no. 1, March 2012) p 130

<sup>3</sup> Id, p 131

<sup>4</sup> See Asmaram Legesse, (2006): *Oromo Democracy: an indigenous African Political system*, Asmara, The Red Sea Press Inc.

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have discharged their duties and responsibilities.<sup>5</sup> If Hayyuus (Gadaa officials) leadership is inadequate, the Gumii (Assembly) will remove them from the office or penalize them.<sup>6</sup> The prime Abbaa Gadaa is also inspected by Gumii (Assembly) and if he violates his authority, his punishment may go up to death penalty. Therefore, the Hayyuus including Abbaa Gadaa exercise their power carefully because they are well trained and have exercised the culture and rules from their early childhood. If they violate this principle, the penalty imposed up on them will affect their future descendants in that they cannot hold Gadaa office because of their parent's history.<sup>7</sup> All elective representatives who assume a position of political authority are responsible to Yuuba Ballaa (the people) and the Gumii (national assembly) which have the power to oversee their duties.<sup>8</sup> The Yuuba-Ballaa (the people) and the Gumii (national assembly) exercise their overseeing power before the term of office begins because there are many years gap between their election as a leaders of their lubaa (party) and their assumption of power as a leaders of all people. In addition, the overseeing process is undertaken during the leader's term office.<sup>9</sup>

As Asmaram point out, Buqqisuu (uprooting) was undertaken at different time in Borana by Gumii (Assembly) on Gadaa officials. He mentioned for instance, the case of Abbaa Gadaa Wale Wachu (Walee Waccuu) whose term office was from 1722 to 1730. This leader violated the leadership of war that he ordered the Raabaa (Warrior) for unwinnable war and the Raabaa leader and his councilors were all killed. The other is Gadaa system and democratic participation; in Borana gadaa system, the people participate in the law making process in Gumii Gaayyoo (national assembly), clan assemblies and meetings for pastoral coordination through direct participation or by their representative. One of the main significant elements of participation in democratic governance is the right to participate in the leadership of the government through election. In Gadaa system, for the purpose of governance, the people are divided among five gogessa (line of classes in gadaa system) and each gogessa authorized to lead the country for 8 years only. One party has a chance after one Gadaa cycle (40 years), which means the member of that party who born out of the arranged age range cannot be Hayyuu Aduulaa or Hayyuu Medhichaa. Since there are different structures in the system at different

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<sup>5</sup> See Asmaram Legesse (2006) Oromo Democracy

<sup>6</sup> Id

<sup>7</sup> Id

<sup>8</sup> Id

<sup>9</sup> Id

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levels, a person who has personal capacity to serve the society and cannot participate in Hayyuu Aduulaa or Hayyuu Medhichaa has a right to be Hayyuu Garbaa or Makkalaa, Jallabaa and other sub clan level administrative structures which are possible for any party at any matured age range.<sup>10</sup> All social, political and economic activities of the people from top Gumii Gaayyoo to the bottom lineage level are decided through the democratic participation and there is no imposed democracy in the system.

### *3. The Occupation of Oromo and Oromia by the Northern Ruling Class.*

Why the northern occupied and incorporated Oromo as a nation and Oromia (its land) into Ethiopian empire? Is it for building greater Ethiopia that recognizes and protects Oromo rights in any aspect or any other else? So this sub-title addresses these questions briefly. For instance, by the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century as Martial de Salviac, French missionary, who lived among the Oromo during Menelik conquest, observed that Menelik's war of conquest and the natural calamities that followed reduced the Oromo population from an estimated 10 million in 1870 to 5 million in 1900.<sup>11</sup> After the conquest, the Oromo institutions of self government (including the Chafee assembly or parliament) were abolished.<sup>12</sup> The indigenous leadership was liquidated or co-opted, the land confiscated, and cultural institutions destroyed. The conquerors banned religious pilgrimages to the land of Abbaa Muuddaa<sup>13</sup> and looted the property of both the settled and pastoral communities.

Scholars have observed that a strong desire *to exploit the wealth of the conquered* was the most important factor in initiating genocide. Most importantly, genocide against the Oromo occurred in a political climate in which the differences between the northern perpetrators and the victims

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<sup>10</sup> Jaatanii Diida Haroo (2015). Jaarraa\* Haaromsa Aadaa fi Seenaa Boranaa: Kitaaba Sadeessoo (V-3B) p 404

<sup>11</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in Un peuple antique au pays de Menelik, De Salviac (86-87, 278)

<sup>12</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in History of the Galla and the kingdom of Sawa, Bairu Tafla, ed., Asma Giyorgis and his work (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden GMBH, 1987) 135-135.

<sup>13</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in Authority and Change: A study of Kallu institution among the Matcha Oromo of Ethiopia, Karl Knutsson (Gothenburg, Sweden: Etnografesha Museet, 1967) 147-55.

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(Oromo) were particularly large in terms of religion, language, customs, manners, and so on.<sup>14</sup> Menelik's unbridled ambition to exploit the green and lush Oromo lands and their boundless commodities (gold, civet, ivory, and coffee) and their prosperous markets<sup>15</sup> was the primary motive for his empire building venture which resulted in the one side mass killing of the Oromo. The conquered Oromo territories experienced a catastrophic population decline and unprecedented levels of exploitation owing to avarice of Menelik's colonial governors and armed settlers from the northern lands, known as naftagna, who were granted land and laborers.<sup>16</sup> Since the armed settlers were not paid salaries and did not engage in productive activities, they were given Oromo gabbars in lieu of salary and as material property to be owned and used as personal property.<sup>17</sup>

The violation of Oromo human rights and subsistence continued during the reign of Emperor Haile Sellassie. Economic exploitation was accompanied by socio cultural and psychological dehumanization of Oromo. In the eyes of many Ethiopians, as Donald Donham keenly observed, the Oromo were pagans. They were uncivilized and uncivilizable.

During the long reign of Haile Sellassie (1930-74) to implement policy of Amharization or de-Oromization, Oromo culture and religious shrines and places of worship were destroyed. Oromo place names were replaced by Amharic names. The Oromo language banned from being used for preaching, teaching and writing. The Oromo national identity was attacked and the Oromo way of life was condemned in every way. The regime's educational system, cultural institutions, and government bureaucracy were deployed for the express purpose of denigrating the Oromo people, their history, culture, and way of life. All this was done to ensure "**the establishment of**

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<sup>14</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in the History and sociology of genocide: Analysis and case studies, Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 8.

<sup>15</sup> Addis Hiwet, Ethiopia: From Autocracy to Revolution (London, 1975), 4.

<sup>16</sup> Timothy D. Fernyhough, Serf, Slaves and Shefta: Modes of production in Southern Ethiopia from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1941 (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 1986), 188.

<sup>17</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in Ya Ityopya yagabar ser'eatena gemer kapitalizm, Lapeso Delebo (1900-1966, Addis Ababa, Artistic press, 1999), 213-14, 219.



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*the hegemony of the Amhara culture masquerading as Ethiopian culture.*”<sup>18</sup> The Oromo language and culture were reduced to mark of illiteracy, shame and backwardness as the schools pressed Oromo children to conform to Amhara culture.<sup>19</sup> *In the history of Ethiopia politics the change of government never saved Oromo’s life, language, culture, custom, religion and its natural resources.*

During the reign of Mengistu Hailemariam thousands of Oromo peasants were massacred in the provinces of Kaffa, Illu-Abbaabora, Arsi, Bale and Harerge. This was the first time in the twentieth century that Oromo in six provinces were attacked simultaneously.<sup>20</sup> During Derg regime behind the systematic destruction of Oromo human and material resources was devious scheme of emptying the most valuable Oromo land to make room for northern settlers. In the mid- 1980s, the Derg regime started a program of resettling 3 million northerners in the south, mainly in Oromia region.<sup>21</sup> And the actual purpose of resettling the northerner in Oromia region was for the purpose of altering the demographic makeup of Oromia.

For 17 years, the Oromo suffered under a brutal military dictatorship. It is believed that hundreds of thousands<sup>22</sup> Oromo farmers lost their lives between 1974 and 1991, not to mention the millions who were internally displaced and the thousands who were scattered as refuge in many parts of the world.

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<sup>18</sup> Edmond Keller, Regime change and ethno- regionalism in Ethiopia: The case of Oromia, in Oromo nationalism and the Ethiopian discourse: The search for freedom and democracy, ed. Asafa Jalata (Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1998), 121.

<sup>19</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in “Language, Ethnic Identity and Nationalism in Ethiopia,” The Oromo Commentary 3, no. 2 (1993): 9-11.

<sup>20</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), p 23

<sup>21</sup> Id, p 25

<sup>22</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in According to one source, “an estimated 2 million or 7 percent of 1974 population of Ethiopia were lost during the period 1974-1991.” Federal Ethiopia at the cross-roads, The path toward justice, the rule of law and sustainable human rights and a critique of the 1995 reports of Amnesty international and the New York branch of the AAICJ (Addis Ababa: Ethiopia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995), 180.

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#### *4. The tragedy of Oromo continued under TPLF led EPRDF Government.*

As the Oromo national movement has continued to resist the criminal policies of the Ethiopian government, the regime has increased its terrorist activities and dispossession of lands and other resources with the support of western powers, emerging powers of China, India, and some Arab countries, as well as international institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.<sup>23</sup> With the support of powerful countries, terrorist regime (TPLF led EPRDF government) in third world countries have used various forms of terror such as rape, physical and psychological torture, violent arrest, secret or open imprisonment and usually death, disappearances (euphemism for secret killings), assassinations, castration, and etc.

Since 1992, the Tigrayan authoritarian terrorist regime has controlled the Oromo and denied them the freedom of expression, association, organization, the media, and all forms of communication and information networks.<sup>24</sup> The TPLF led government has been focusing on brutally attacking the Oromo national movement led by Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and on robbing the economic resources of Oromia in order to enrich the Tigrayan elites and their collaborators and to specifically develop Tigray region.<sup>25</sup> To achieve its political and economic objectives, the regime primarily uses its puppet organization known as Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), which was created and is controlled by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The OPDO is staffed by Tigrayan and Amhara cadres, elements of Oromo speaking colonial settlers, and opportunistic Oromo's who would do anything in exchange for luxurious lifestyles.<sup>26</sup> With this respect the role played by OPDO is not less compared to that of TPLF led government. Because this three decades largely Oromia natural resources exploited by TPLF and OPDO. By the name of investment for foreign investors and local investors (Mainly the richest Amharan's and Tigrinya's) massive land grabbing in the surrounding capital city Finfinne (Addis Ababa) was under taken by higher official from TPLF

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<sup>23</sup> Asafa Jalata, The Oromo National Movement and Gross Human Rights Violations in the Age of Globalization (European Scientific Journal February 2016, Vol. 12, no. 5), in the real terror network: Terrorism in fact and propaganda. (Herman, E. S. 1982) Boston: South End Press.

<sup>24</sup> Asafa Jalata, Contending Nationalism of Oromia and Ethiopia: Struggling for Statehood, Sovereignty and Multinational Democracy. Binghamton, NY: Global Academic Publishing.

<sup>25</sup> Asafa Jalata, The Oromo National Movement and Gross Human Rights Violations in the Age of Globalization (European Scientific Journal February 2016, Vol. 12, no. 5), p 186

<sup>26</sup> Id

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and OPDO. They enriched themselves by displacing and evacuating thousands of Oromo peasant farmers without paying them adequate compensation and giving them replacement land. These peasant farmers left with their family in the field with no help from the government of Ethiopia. Majority of these peasant farmers to survive (for subsistence) employed as a day laborer in these industries, only if they are capable of doing in such unsuitable environment for their health and safety. But other peasant farmers not capable to work in such industries because of age or serious illness become beggar before the street. Through this the northerner ruling body achieved their illegal expansion and occupation of land. They massively and successfully committed genocide against Oromos'. Thousands of Oromo elites drained to different countries of the world especially Western and United States of America. And enlightened them rather than serving and solving the countries basic problems like poverty, illiteracy and etc.

Especially higher OPDO official Abbaadula Gameda, Juned Sado, Muktar Kedir, Aster Mamo and others cooperating with the intelligence or security and military of the country under the supervision TPLF higher official including the former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi massacred thousands of figure Oromo students at primary, high school and university. Massacred figure Oromo musicians, respected elders and elites. Thousands of Oromos' up to this day, there were about, is not known that mean whether they are alive or dead. Hundred thousand suffered in jail for about three decade under heinous and painful administration.

Reading this writing any one can easily judge whether Oromo as a nation struggled continuously against the heinous and atrocities of the northerner ruling body for the claim of its destructed language, culture, religion, exercise ownership over its green shade natural resources (Abbaa Biyyummaa) and self governance, or for disintegration of Ethiopia. For further elaboration and evidences the writer categorized the restless Oromo's struggles into the following important points to address their issues of national identity, ownership (Abbaa Biyyummaa), self governance and equality under the tyrant and dictator governance of TPLF and OPDO.

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## *5. Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) Holocaust by Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF).*

For long time Oromo's and Oromia were with no leadership and organization in modern history that they were under the colony of Amhara-Tigray rulers. After second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century Oromo's organization called Matcha-Tulama Association was built on the tireless effort of Colonel Alemu Kittessa and Haile Mariam Gemedo. The formation of Match Tulama Association was a landmark in modern Ethiopia history because it was the first organization peacefully and strategically to the Ethiopian government's multi-faceted attack on culture, Oromo identity and language.<sup>27</sup> The formation of Matcha-Tulama Association marked the genesis of coordinated Oromo resistance against the Amhara-Tigray ruling elites of political, economic and cultural domination of the Ethiopian state.<sup>28</sup> Its strategies give birth to Oromo nationalism.<sup>29</sup> The leaders of the association ignited the Oromo imagination and challenged formerly victimized people to become agents of the social change.<sup>30</sup> Matcha-Tulama Association becomes highly effective in serving as the voice of the formerly voiceless Oromo people within the larger arena of Ethiopian politics.<sup>31</sup> Matcha Tulama Association was the first organization that brought together the oppressed nationalities of the southern Ethiopia, who, like the Oromo, were exposed to national oppression and subjugation, economic exploitation and cultural domination.<sup>32</sup> Matcha-Tulama Association and its leader's movement becomes a severe blow to the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie (1930-1974), which had never lost the feeling of sitting on top of volcano. Consequently, killing and imprisoning the leaders and banning the Matcha-Tulama Association, the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie won a short-term victory. The banning of Matcha-Tulama Association in 1967, only four years later, serve as devastating contrast highlighting the depth and extent of Oromo powerlessness in the Ethiopian empire.<sup>33</sup> The history of modern Ethiopia includes many instances of injustice and open discrimination, but few equal the impact of the public banning of the first Oromo peaceful civic organization.<sup>34</sup> The

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<sup>27</sup> Oromo struggle and the Matcha Tulama Association (1963-1967), p 1

<sup>28</sup> Id, p 4

<sup>29</sup> Id

<sup>30</sup> Id

<sup>31</sup> Id

<sup>32</sup> Id, p 9

<sup>33</sup> Id, n(1)

<sup>34</sup> Id

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profound disgrace represented in the destruction of an institution that carried the hope of peaceful development and Oromo pride has come to symbolize the condition of Oromo nation under successive Ethiopian regime.<sup>35</sup>

Out of the nationalism generated under the Matcha-Tulama Association, the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) was born in 1974, thus, within seven short years, by 1974, the Ethiopian regimes policy of banning the association resulted in the transformation of Oromo politics beyond recognition. The associations demand for equality within Ethiopia transformed into the OLF's demand for national self determination for Oromia. The Matcha-Tulama Association's efforts to spread literacy in the Amharic language using Ethiopian script were transformed into literacy in the Oromo language using the Latin alphabet.<sup>36</sup> What was unthinkable in 1967 become feasible by 1974. The Ethiopian government's unwarranted cruelty and brutality produced the Oromo elite's rejection of Ethiopia identity itself. Those who have rejected Ethiopia identity do not feel loyalty to Ethiopia state and its institutions. In short, what Ethiopia government wanted in 1967 was the destruction of Oromo political consciousness by destroying the Matcha-Tulama Association. What it got in 1974 was the formation of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), which articulated Oromo political nationalism and become its primary organizational expression.

Since the time of its founding in 1973, the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) has waged a continuous armed struggle for the independence of Oromia mainly from Amhara-Tigray dominance. Later on, it would change its objective to national self determination. After the fall of dictator Derg by the cooperation of armed organizations, transitional government under transitional charter established. The charter was thus meant to democratize the unitary Ethiopian state, which was dominated by Amharan ethnic group, and replace it with a federal system in which all citizens enjoyed equal rights. The transitional period was expected to be the beginning of a process of democratization of the state and empowerment of the people. Various organizations, including the TPLF and the OLF, worked together harmoniously. However, after short period of time, democracy was abandoned and autocratic rule was reinstated. The hope for democratic right was diminished as TPLF leaders implemented policies they had designed before

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<sup>35</sup> Id

<sup>36</sup> Id, p 16

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their military victory to maintain the colonial status quo in Oromia region.<sup>37</sup> TPLF declared war against OLF, because OLF was the major participant in the transitional government, had popular support mainly from Oromo (largest ethnic group), and its undeclared landslide victory in the flawed interim election as well as representative of single largest Oromo ethnic group.<sup>38</sup> OLF was a big threat for TPLF to take over post-war Ethiopian government power. TPLF was sabotaging the encampment agreement, started provoking, intimidating, closing and confiscating OLF offices, snipes hooting, mass killing, in some cases like in ‘water town’<sup>39</sup> massacring the OLF militias, its supporters and Oromo at large.<sup>40</sup>

In collaboration with Eritrea People’s Liberation Front (EPLF), the TPLF first cut all communication, including its Radio transmissions from Sudan, made disorganized leaders hostage in their office compound and slowly disintegrated the OLF.<sup>41</sup> Even though more 100,000 troops were involved, the OLF’s Oromo forces were practically defeated within months, though there were skirmish clashes during subsequent years, without major fighting involving helicopter gunships or fighter planes.<sup>42</sup> The western Ambassadors including USA involved in TPLF-OLF war supporting TPLF to suppress the later.

And to confirm this “the western Ambassadors (i.e. donor groups EU, US and Australia) not disclosing the TPLF war against OLF to their government asked the TPLF leaders (Ethiopian government) to ensure that the effective suppression of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) military force happened as discreetly as possible. They would allow the TPLF leader to round the OLF and end the new war. However, this had to happen as quickly as possible and news of this hadn’t to leak out into the front pages of western news papers. One memorable quote during this negotiation was “...for god’s sake don’t send in helicopter gunships!”<sup>43</sup>

In this war of TPLF against OLF no report has been produced in any media regarding the war and casualties except the massive detention of both military and civilian Ethiopians in different

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<sup>37</sup>Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), p 27

<sup>38</sup> Tuji Jidda, The untold history of Ethiopia: 1992 TPLF-OLF war, p 1

<sup>39</sup> Water is small town in Eastern Harargeh (Afran Qallo) zone. It was said between 150-200 demonstrators massacred by TPLF machine gun in minutes.

<sup>40</sup> Id

<sup>41</sup> Id, p 2

<sup>42</sup> Id

<sup>43</sup> Id

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camps.<sup>44</sup> Also whole atrocities committed during the years long campaigns of war waged by TPLF to clear the OLF army and Oromo ideology was not reported at all.<sup>45</sup> Because of this war estimated thousands dead, thousands fled to neighboring countries, many thousands imprisoned and millions displaced to lead miserable lives, most internally.<sup>46</sup> Based on these points addressed above it is not difficult to understand that Amharan-Tigray governor to exterminate Oromo as a nation and to exploit the abundant natural resources of Oromia their big instrument to present time are the western power including USA.

To destruct independent Oromo organizations and genuine Oromo representation TPLF created puppet organization called Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO). OPDO was a long path to this largest nation (Oromo nation) for TPLF (party representing minority nation) to dehumanize Oromo, eliminate independent Oromo association/organization and to exploit abundant natural resources of the region. TPLF through OPDO completely weakened the structure of OLF for long time through mass killing, arresting thousands of Oromo's attaching to them supporters or members of OLF, and forcing thousands fled to neighboring and other countries. These three decades OPDO did nothing important for the Oromo nation than espied Oromo elites, scholars and Oromo at large. OPDO in cooperation with TPLF massively exploited the natural resources of Oromia and largely committed crime of genocide against the Oromo's.

## ***6. "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Struggle in the Contemporary History of Ethiopia.***

'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' like Matcha-Tulama Association and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) have a lion share contribution in the history of Oromo struggle against the tyrant northerner governor. 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' perceived as liberation front from any marginalization on Oromo people.<sup>47</sup> Before the writer addresses how 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' continued the restless Oromo struggle against the tyrant TPLF, first it is necessary to discuss the term 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree'. 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' is 'Afaan Oromoo' term and its equivalent term in English is 'youth male and female'

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<sup>44</sup> Id

<sup>45</sup> Id

<sup>46</sup> Id

<sup>47</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), p 35

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respectively. According to gadaa system age grades this 'Qeerroo' (youth male) include 'Foollee' (Gaammee xixiqoo) their age from 16-19, and 'Qondaala' (Gaammee gurguddoo) their age from 17-24.<sup>48</sup> The gadaa system organizes Oromo social life around a series of generation grade that assign obligations as well as rights to all the males in societies.<sup>49</sup> Based on this 'Foollee' (Gaammee xixiqoo) is naming ceremony at home or 'Nura Shrine in Liben if Ilmaan Jaarsaa or Ilmaan Korma respectively.<sup>50</sup> The role of 'Foollee' is to look after small stock around 'ollaa' and perform light work.<sup>51</sup> And 'Qondaala' (Gaammee gurguddoo) called intensification of the second stage and their role is to take livestock further away from 'ollaa' and begin drawing water from 'Eelaa' can go long distance to hunt and perform heavy work.<sup>52</sup> Even though 'Qaarree' (youth female) are culturally not motivated to participate on political issues and burdened to keep in house activities, 'Qaarree' discredited the negative cultural perception towards females being undergone or covert forces fighters in the Oromo protest movements.<sup>53</sup>

'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' of the gadaa system emerged from Oromo ethnic group to resist the tyrant TPLF cruel activities, guard their society and Oromo land. As the writer observation and analysis of secondary sources indicates majority of 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree' are students from elementary, secondary, technical and vocation, colleges, universities and unemployed youth due to ill treatment of TPLF corrupted system. From the very beginning the history of formation of Ethiopia was not based on social contract. Ethiopia was formed by force, conquest, expansion and genocide committed by northerner tyrant governors. ***In the history of this country no democratic transition of power made. But change of regime was made by war, conquest, or coup d'état but not through the voice of public at large.*** Ethiopia is land of heaven for the northerners ruling body and for their supporters. Hell or tragedy or heinous for the southern and central nations (i.e. Oromo and southern nations). The southern and central nations to protect themselves and their abundant natural resources from the tyrant northern governors they passed through different phases.

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<sup>48</sup>Solomon Dessalegn, "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), in Indigenous system of conflict resolution in Oromia, Ethiopia, Dessalegn Chemedo et al (2004), p 151

<sup>49</sup>Solomon Dessalegn, "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), p 34

<sup>50</sup> Id (n) 48

<sup>51</sup> Id

<sup>52</sup> Id

<sup>53</sup> Id



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Mainly Oromo's successively fought the northern governors but not completely free themselves and their abundant resources up to the present time. Oromo's nation at different times and place for centuries either in disorganized or organized form resisted the tragedy of the Amhara-Tigray governors (Northerner). They fought against the Amharan-Tigray tyrant and dictator largely in disorganized way which was based on geography like Arsi, Bale, Karrayu, Afran Qallo, Wallo, Shewa, and Wellega. As a result of this Oromo's were not successful to liberate themselves and their land from Amharan-Tigray tyrant and dictator governors up to this day. As mentioned above Oromo continued their struggle in Organized way under the umbrella of leadership and association from second half of twentieth century when Matcha-Tulama Association established by tireless effort of Colonel Alemu Kittessa and Haile Mariam Gemedu.<sup>54</sup> This is a new paradigm in the history of Oromo struggle because under this association, inspired Oromo traditional and educated elites and advocates, moving from place to place in the region thought Oromo's peoples as they had largely things in common than differences to unit. Even though this association was banned by the monarchy Emperor Haile Sellassie it was successful in inspiring Oromo in different parts of the region to come together and unit to continue their struggle against the northern conqueror. After a short period of time Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) established replacing the banned Matcha-Tulama Association to address the question of national self determination.

From second half of twentieth century to the present Oromo struggle passed through different phases. **The first phase is revival phase** which means because Oromo's national identity (language, culture, custom and etc) destructed especially during the reign of Menelik (Nazi of Ethiopia) and Emperor Haile Sellassie, Oromo's under disorganized struggle begin to revive its language, culture and religion through different mechanisms. For instance, around 1970s Addis Ababa (Finfinnee) University Oromo students to challenge the oppressive system that devalued and stigmatized their language and culture clandestine publications in the Oromo language, and latter also in English, started to appear on and off the university campuses.<sup>55</sup> When the revolution erupted in 1974 a movement for the revival of Oromo identity was growing and taking some

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<sup>54</sup> Oromo struggle and the Matcha Tulama Association (1963-1967), p 5

<sup>55</sup> Mekuria Bulcha, The Survival and Reconstruction of Oromo National Identity, in Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries, ed. P. T. W. Baxter, Jan Hutlin, and Alessandro Triulzi (Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press, 1996), p 63

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definite shape among the intellectual.<sup>56</sup> Based on this the legal use of ‘Afaan Oromoo’ for mass media become possible for the first time, cultural shows that brought the Oromo language and arts on to the stage for the first time in the capital city and provincial centers.<sup>57</sup> All these show the revival phase in the history of Oromo struggle from 1950-1970s. But quashed because of Ethiopian military regime (Derg) continued ethnic identity suppression with continuing imperial old policy of “national integration” or nation-building through Amharization.<sup>58</sup> The struggle for national identity continued especial by Oromo intellectuals and Diasporas. The revival phase was strengthen and changed into the reconstruction phase.

The **reconstruction phase is the second phase** in the history of Oromo struggle against the complete Amharization policy. Even though there were Oromo elites opted for unarmed struggle to change deep rooted and heinous policy of Amharization, it remained unsuccessful. As a result the only left option as from the beginning opted by some other elite for an independent organization was Oromo liberation Front (OLF). OLF as armed organization organized and continued struggle for the question of national identity. Oromo students in Europe and North America formed Oromo Student Organization<sup>59</sup> to study Oromo’s language, history and culture. These Oromo student organizations created link with OLF to work together for liberating Oromo from dehumanized, extractive and exploitative Amharization policy. From 1991, when Derg defeated by ethnic fronts dominated by Amharan policy, Oromia had her own demarked boundary line and recognized as sovereign regional state. Oromo language adopted as medium of administration, law and education, and the mass media which brought about crystallization of Oromo identity.<sup>60</sup> The Sabeen script, which is one pillars of Abyssinian cultural legacy rejected and replaced by ‘Qubee’ script which contributed to psychological liberation of Oromo people.<sup>61</sup> Totally from the transition time a lot of policy and legal measures had taken for the oppressed nations in Ethiopia. There was hope and optimism that the country is at the new path of

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<sup>56</sup> Id, p 64

<sup>57</sup> Id

<sup>58</sup> Id, p 65

<sup>59</sup> Mekuria Bulcha (Survival and Reconstruction of Oromo National Identity), in Books of Being and Becoming Oromo, p 65, These Organizations were the Union of Oromo Students in Europe (UOSE/TBOA) and the Union of Oromo Student in North America (UOSNA). UOSNA latter become the Oromo Union in North America (OUNA).

<sup>60</sup> Mekuria Bulcha (Survival and Reconstruction of Oromo National Identity), in Books of Being and Becoming Oromo, in A Glance at Oromo Art and Literature, Kifle Djote (1993), The Oromo commentary, III (2), 20-23.

<sup>61</sup> Mekuria Bulcha (Survival and Reconstruction of Oromo National Identity), in Books of Being and Becoming Oromo, in Reasons for choosing the Latin script for developing an Oromo Alphabet, Tilahun Gamta (1993) the Oromo commentary, III (1), 17-20

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democracy. But as provided above the hope and optimism of democracy changed into autocracy by the hegemony of TPLF. The TPLF implemented their long time designed policy for the purpose of maintaining the colonial status quo in Oromia.

Even though *under the revival and reconstruction phase* a lot has done by traditional and educated elites of Oromo, mass arrest and torture, genocide, thousands of migration to neighboring country, Europe and North America, and large exploitation of Oromia continued by TPLF, OPDO and bureaucratic Amharan's. Oromo's question of national identity, question of 'Abbaa Biyyummaa', and question of self governance remain fully unanswered. *For instance*, in the country constitution (1995) Nation, nationalities and people's rights recognized and incorporated, one of which is the right to full measure of self-government which includes the right to establish institutions of government in the territory that it inhabits and to equitable representation in the state and federal governments.<sup>62</sup> The problem is because TPLF wants to maintain colonial status quo in Oromia the established administrative institutions were not autonomous, and Oromo including other nation's victim of past system they were not represented equitable at the central level. Even though Oromo's political organizations attacked by TPLF with the help of Eritrea, and western powers, internally mainly by Oromo students the struggle continued against the TPLF and bureaucratic Amharan's. The movements of Oromo students against the tyrant and dictator TPLF were held repeatedly at different times and places in Oromia region. The fundamental problem of Oromo student's movements were not organized and hadn't strong leadership. Because of this, TPLF with the help of OPDO (puppet organization) and military wing (structured based on its policy and ideologies) turn to ash the student's movement either by arresting them or killing them or dismissing them permanently from their education. The struggle continued not only by Oromo students but also by Oromo elites internally and externally. The questions of Oromo up to this day are not fully addressed. The disorganized struggle of Oromo people's want long march which finally overtaken by the unarmed (peaceful) group called '*Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo*' to reach the final destination point.

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<sup>62</sup> Proclamation No. 1/1995, Constitution of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Federal Negarit Gazeta, 1<sup>st</sup> Year No.1 21<sup>st</sup> August 1995.

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From 2014 G.C. thousands of ‘*Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo*’ sacrificed their life for the recognition and restoration of their national rights. ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo’ their struggle led by themselves choosing among them leader. They have no formally established leadership like any other organization. From the beginning their struggle against tyrant and fascist TPLF were not considered hopeful by Oromo politicians, activists and other Oromo’s living inside and outside the mother land. As their struggle against tyrant and fascist TPLF want to show progress politicians, activists, civil servants outside and inside the mother land agitated and coordinated the struggle or protest movements. In this case what anybody should intake is that, the banning of Matcha-Tulama Association, the defeat of OLF by the tyrant and fascist TPLF, death of thousands of Oromo, arrest and torture of thousands of Oromo, hundred thousands fled of Oromo to other country, and Genocides largely committed against Oromo by successive Amharan-Tigray governors destructed neither the moral nor the hearts and minds of the Oromo people. For instance, tyrant and fascist TPLF regime spends millions to categorize the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) as a terrorist organization to thereby get a cover for committing all kind of atrocities against the Oromo people, especially on “Afaan Oromoo Speaking Oromo’s”<sup>63</sup>

“Recently to fulfill criminal genocide program, the head of the fascist regime, Meles Zenawi, officially made a decree in the year 2003 in his party’s journal “Hizbawi Adara” as follow: in order to have lasting solution to our problems, we have to break narrow nationalists. This type of war declaration to eradicate the Oromo population of over 50 million people is equal to Nazi Germany extermination policy. It was under the orchestrated guise of development that the apartheid racist regime of Meles Zenawi began to speed up the process of extermination and ethnic cleansing that was designed to exterminate Oromo’s and takes full control of Oromo land”.<sup>64</sup>

The Amharan-Tigray colonialists’ efforts to stifle the Oromo national freedom struggle were not succeeded to fulfill their colonial ambitions: total control of the Oromo nation and the

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<sup>63</sup> Tuji Jidda, The untold history of Ethiopia: 1992 TPLF-OLF war, p 2

<sup>64</sup> Mohammed Hassen, Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002 (North African Studies, Volume 9, no. 3, 2002), in “Hizbawi Adara” or Public trust 4, no.7:11 (December 1996-February 1997). Narrow nationalism is defined as “all the views and actions of higher echelon intellectuals and big business people whose ambitions are to monopolize power and impose their own will on the people of their own nation/nationality.

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destruction of its culture, history and gadaa democratic system.<sup>65</sup> The struggle of Oromo against the Amhara-Tigray colonialists' gaining momentum due to the past and present generations of Oromo people's determination and willingness to sacrifice for freedom, peace, social progress and the dignity of Oromo nation.<sup>66</sup> For the Oromo people, nothing is more important than standing up and defending the mother land, their cultural heritage, historical treasures and dignity.<sup>67</sup> It is irrefutable fact that Oromia has always defended by its legendary traditional leaders, historic warriors, heroic national figures, liberation fighters and dedicated nationals.<sup>68</sup> They made ultimate sacrifice, like millions of other Oromo martyrs who laid down their lives for the liberation of their nation and people, in hopes that their bloodshed inspires their descendants and current Oromo generation to keep the freedom struggle ongoing until the objective has been reached.<sup>69</sup> ***'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo' and patriotic nationalists are now part and parcel of the ongoing (Restless) bitter struggle for claiming national identity and equality among the peoples of Ethiopia.***

The horrific cold blooded massacre of Oromo students in Ambo in April 14, 2014 aroused anger and outrage across the entire Oromo society that galvanized Oromo protest and demonstrate throughout Oromia.<sup>70</sup> 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree', conscious nationalists, and all communities fearlessly continued protesting against the tyrant and fascist TPLF regime brutal oppression, massacres, senseless killings, imprisonments, torture and humiliation, forcing the Oromo people to finally decide that they'd had enough.<sup>71</sup> In this regard the ***popular activists Jawar Mohammed*** as captain of 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo' energetic struggle made undeniable contributions. The historic role played by the brave, courageous and determined Oromo 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree',

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<sup>65</sup>Itana Gammada, Oromiyaa: Moving toward Ultimate Victory (17 January 2018). Retrieved from [www.bilisummaa.com](http://www.bilisummaa.com)

<sup>66</sup> Id

<sup>67</sup>Solomon Dessalegn, "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), in Oromiyaa: Moving toward ultimate victory, Itana Gammada (17 January 2018). Retrieved from [www.bilisummaa.com](http://www.bilisummaa.com)

<sup>68</sup> Id

<sup>69</sup> Id

<sup>70</sup>Itana Gammada, Oromiyaa: Moving toward Ultimate Victory (17 January 2018). Retrieved from [www.bilisummaa.com](http://www.bilisummaa.com)

<sup>71</sup> Id, n (67)

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patriotic nationalists and conscious public figures will remain as pillars of the revolution in the national liberation struggle ahead.<sup>72</sup>

One of the major triggering factors for ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ protest is the issue of land grabbing in Oromia region through different deceiving strategies. For instance, the issue of an integrated regional development plans for Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) and the surrounding Oromia region was a systematic land grabbing strategy of which evicted thousands of Oromo farmers from their own land. From 2014-2019 G.C large numbers of Oromo ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ were arrested and killed by tyrant and fascist TPLF.<sup>73</sup> More than 6000 ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ (youth male and female Oromo) were killed by massacre and fascist TPLF military force.<sup>74</sup> The fascist and tyrant TPLF projects of mass massacre, mass murders, torture, incarceration and tens millions of mass removals from their ancestral lands never saved TPLF from falling down.<sup>75</sup> Surprisingly tyrant and fascist TPLF eliminated from the Oromo people and Oromia mainly by heroic ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’.

“The tyrant and fascist genocider TPLF failed to understand that people who struggle for freedom, national rights and human dignity cannot be reversed with military might, political maneuvers, deceptions, or martial law. Our fallen heroes and heroines have set the objective of this nation that the patriotic ‘Qubee generations’ are not only embracing, but have taken over with the determination to fulfill. For the past five years from 2014 G.C. onward, the heroic ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’, and patriotic nationalists have recorded many historic and irreversible victories at higher price that finally destructed and cleared the tyrant and fascist genocider TPLF from Oromia land including the seat of the federal government and the center of Oromia, which means **Finfinnee** (Addis Ababa)”.<sup>76</sup>

### ***7. The Victory of ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ Oromo and its Consequences.***

The victory of ‘***Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo***’ over the tyrant and fascist TPLF is a ***new history and a new paradigm***. Because the bitter struggle of ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo’ was not armed

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<sup>72</sup> Id

<sup>73</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, “Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo” Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), p 35

<sup>74</sup> Id

<sup>75</sup> Id, p 36

<sup>76</sup> Id

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instead it was peaceful or unarmed struggle on one side. On the other side the bitter long time struggle was only fought by ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ Oromo. But the struggle of ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ Oromo inspired all occupied and oppressed nations and people throughout the world as courageous and brilliant example to stand up against the well armed fascist regime. The bitter and uninterrupted struggle of ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ Oromo forced the existing TPLF led EPRDF government to make necessary reforms.<sup>77</sup> That means civilian coup d’état political transition made by the actor’s resistance or public protest and boycotts to make necessary political shifts through destructing existing government and electing a transition prime minister. Accordingly, ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ bring the contemporary political transition in Ethiopia.

“*Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromo*” were initially emerged to ban the marginalization of Oromo people using social media as a major channel of informing, and organizing several protest movements. ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromo’ become more powerful vis-à-vis the incumbent TPLF led government lastly after five years well organized and strong protest movements. The power of ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ shook the country political economy and this followed by transitional government appointing Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister”.<sup>78</sup>

The appointment of Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister brought optimism and hope to millions of peoples tired of suffering atrocities of tyrant and fascist successive Amhara-Tigray governors. From the appointment of Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister it was only for nine months ago that political prisoners were freed, and hope and optimism filed the air of the country especially Oromia region who suffered a lot by successive system. Abiy Ahmed promise of fundamental change heightened Oromo’s aspirations to regain their land, political rights, human dignity and equality.

After nine months mass arrest, abduction, rape and killing of Oromo especially in *southern (Borana and Guji) and western (Wellega) part of Oromia region* continued.<sup>79</sup> It is more than two year that eastern and western Wellega, southern Borana and Guji completely fall under

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<sup>77</sup> Id

<sup>78</sup> Id

<sup>79</sup> Soretti Jarrssoo, What ODP (Oromo Democratic Party) leaders want? Maneuvering to cling to power or responding to challenging and complex issues? (January 15, 2019). Retrieved from [www.ayyaantuu.org](http://www.ayyaantuu.org)

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administration of command post.<sup>80</sup> Amnesty international reported that, since Abiy Ahmed took office, there have been several waves of mass arrest of Oromo in eastern and western Wellega, southern Borena and Guji. And detainees were not charged or taken to courts of law. The recent reports of human rights league of the horn of Africa (HRLHA) received from its informants in *Gimbi, Nekemt, Shambu, and Harato towns* show there are gross human rights violations committed by the country military directly ordered by Abiy Ahmed in different districts in western Wellega including *Begi, Lalo Nura, Dalasi, Kamisa*, and eastern Wellega (*Shambu, Fincha, Harato*) towns and others in which dozens have been detained and other hundreds have been killed.<sup>81</sup> Abiy Ahmed government completely failed to live its promise of reform of institutions and laws served for long time the tyrant and fascist TPLF. Instead he continued ruling the country with policy of divide and rule especially among the Oromo peoples. Or Abiy Ahmed governance turned to be the second tyrant and fascist TPLF but nothing else. Abiy Ahmed governance ignored people's opportunities that have been through a lot of trauma for generations instead they give priority for themselves and their political party. Completely Abiy Ahmed and OPDO/ODP leaders are doing for the survival of their party and position nothing else. Abiy Ahmed agenda of 'Medemer' and Merger of alliance party without doubt it indicates as they are deceptively working hard to cling to power. And to achieve their goal of holding power for long time they are violating the country constitution and international laws signed and ratified by Ethiopia. *For instance*, Abiy Ahmed administration is violating provisions of Art 74 (1) & (3) of the FDRE (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) constitution.<sup>82</sup> **Abiy Ahmed during his appointment as Prime Minister of Ethiopia promised as no one will be arrested and killed because of his/her political believes. But he failed completely to walk or respect his promise.** Today in Ethiopia under Abiy Ahmed administration the country is in serious crisis because hundreds were killed mainly the youth Oromos' who were the big agent of this change that helped Abiy Ahmed to be appointed as Prime Minister under the transitional government. In addition about ten thousands of Oromo's (*mainly from eastern and western Wellega, and*

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<sup>80</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, "Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo" Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), p 36

<sup>81</sup> HRLHA's urgent action (January 11, 2019), Ethiopia- Killings and Imprisonments will not solve political disputes in Oromia. Retrieved from [www.ayyaantuu.org](http://www.ayyaantuu.org)

<sup>82</sup> The provision of Article 74 (1) & (3) of FDRE constitution provides that the Prime Minister shall follow up and ensure the implementation of laws, policies, directives and other decisions adopted by House of Peoples Representatives (HPR) and international human rights standards Ethiopia signed and ratified to protect civilians from gross human rights violations.



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*southern Borena and Guji, and other parts of Oromia*) in prison suffering from gloom and brutal treatment including starvation in the filthy prison cells. It hurts to hear such shameful and despicable rights violations when a Nobel Peace Winner, Abiy Ahmed, is committing exactly the opposite of the purpose of peace prize. The arrest and mass massacre by Abiy Ahmed and his followers Amhara higher officials (They are largely working with Abiy Ahmed for the revival of the past supremacy of Amhara governance) including Amhara National Movement Party not only restricted to Oromia but also to other area of minority groups.<sup>83</sup> For instance, the mass massacre of more than 250 minority Gumuz children, women and men by Amhara militia and special force, mass massacre of minority Kimant children, women and men by Amhara militia and special force under the direct order of higher Amhara officials, and the mass massacre done in Omo Valley.<sup>84</sup>

*The writer provides someone reflection from his observation* as what Abiy Ahmed and his happy triggering military are doing in Western Oromia: East, West and Qellam Wellega, and West Shewa society lives under the state of anarchism. The unlawful deployment of Abiy Ahmed military destabilized the region putting the civilians amidst despair, frustration, uncertainty and insecurity. Killings, disappearance, detention and destruction of properties have been used as mechanism of intimidation, punishment and psychological torture. Internet access is blocked beginning from 5 km West of Finfinne (Addis Ababa) all up to Qellam Wellega, bordering Gambella region. Universities, government offices, private institutions and individuals are victims of this internet block out/cut off. There is no telephone access in all four zones of Wellega except Nekemt town. Peoples cannot communicate news of critical/urgent matters including death of family members. Food insecurity, economic crisis foreseen: under context of crisis like this, it is not difficult to imagine how business and agriculture are affected. Productive sector of the population (youth) either flee to other place in fear of detention or suffer, and military crackdown. Those capable of cultivating their farms are not able to do so because of insecurity. Therefore, poverty, economic crisis and famine are not far from happening in this region.

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<sup>83</sup>Solomon Dessaegn, “Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo” Unarmed Young Oromo Force that Save Ethiopia from Disintegration (International Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol 1, Issue 3, 2019), p 38

<sup>84</sup> Id

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Also Abiy Ahmed with his follower mainly Amhara higher officials or Amharic speaker when they got opportunity through media or face to face public discussion used divisive or downright hateful statement that demeans subaltern groups, and emboldens the supremacist and bigots. They engaged only in selective empathy/outrage for their political ends. The Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed as the head of the executive body (biggest political body), and those higher Amhara officials holding political office failed as non partisan and impartial entity, to organize a national convention to seek lasting solutions for the multitude of the crisis the country are facing today. Because of this the majority of Ethiopia peoples especially the Oromo peoples believes the political transition is off track or at risk and backsliding towards an authoritarian system of government. And the transitional government headed by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is not reformist but a dictator simply talking a reform to buy time to get a good grip on power. It is obvious that Oromo protest, led by Oromo generation under the name “National Youth Movement for Freedom and Democracy (Qeerroo fi Qaarree)”, that inspired the world including the human rights organizations, governmental agencies, and all peace loving peoples is big actor/agent that brought this change. But Abiy Ahmed and Amhara higher officials are denouncing “Qeerroo fi Qaarree”, and even calling it ‘**Menga**’.<sup>85</sup> As provided above in detail Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and Amhara higher officials are using their police force, special force and military force for wide spread harassment, jailing massively and killing hundreds of ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ Oromo. Ten thousands of ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ Oromo shipped to the infamous mass detention centers at military camps. This is the price in return paid by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and his supporters Amhara higher officials who are extremely hatred of the existence of Oromo as a nation and their culture, language, religion and etc.

In addition a group led by Eskinder Negga and Professor Getachew Haile made false accusation/defamation before United Nation (UN) against Oromo youth known as “Qeerroo fi Qaarree” having committed or are intending to commit genocide on the Amhara, who live in Oromia region and its capital city Finfinnee (Addis Ababa).<sup>86</sup> Abiy Ahmed and his follower some Amhara elites and Amhara higher officials are repeating the same thing their ancestor did

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<sup>85</sup>**Menga** is an Amharic word that **Amhara higher Officials and Abiy Ahmed used** to show their disrespect and dishonor to ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo’ who had a big contribution in evacuating the tyrant and fascist TPLF, and in founding the transitional government headed by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

<sup>86</sup>Oromo Studies Association (OSA), Responding to false accusation against Oromo youth known as “Qeerroo fi Qaarree” by Neo-Nafxagna to UN Secretary General.

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against Oromo, which is dehumanization, demonizing, genocide, divide and rule, false accusation, or defamation, giving name which is not real indicator of Oromo and etc. And they did all these against Oromo because they are extremely hatred of this nation and its language, identity, culture, custom, religion, its symbol of democracy (Gadaa system), and etc. but they are seriously in need of Oromo wealth natural resources. For a long time they exploited largely Oromo natural resources, and up to this day what they want is to keep the exploitation at speedy rate, nothing else. In the history of Abyssinian/Ethiopia nothing was progressed for the public at large but only changes of governments through destructive war. And it is difficult to imagine an organization/front that comes to power through war/conquest destructing the existing tyrant/fascist/dictator governments become democratic government. They stay in power for long time by extermination of the future hope of this country like the youth, elite, politicians, academicians, journalists, and etc. Nothing different is expected of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed government and his supporter Amhara higher officials. As mentioned above the move for “Medemer” and merger of alliance party into one national party called Ethiopia Prosperity Party (EPP) is to rebuild the EPRDF fractured image, to redeem its tarnished reputation, to resolve the EPRDF’s crisis of legitimacy and address its crippling dysfunction, to centralize power and decision making, and display and strength the authoritarian mode of governance.<sup>87</sup> This indicates as Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed government not working for addressing the basic political, economic and social problems which thousands were massacred, hundred thousand suffered in filthy prison of tyrant/fascist, hundred thousand flee to other country, thousands disabled physically or psychological, thousands not known where their about, thousands left without family especially under age group and etc. And these are the consequences of ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo’ (Oromo youth) victory over the tyrant/fascist TPLF. That means the unpredicted political change brought by *‘unarmed Oromo youth male and female’* mismanaged/hijacked by Neo-Nafxagna and Abiy Ahmed’s government by which it turned to be the second tyrant/fascist TPLF. The Oromo walked a restless long journey to revive and reconstruct its language, culture, custom, religion, symbol, gadaa system (indigenous African political system), its history snatched by northerner, its land and other natural resources forcefully grabbed by the northerner, its strong psychological makeup/moral destructed by

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<sup>87</sup> Solomon Dessalegn, The Merger of Ethiopia People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) into Ethiopia Prosperity Party (EPP) and its Impact on the Constitution (Unpublished)

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Abyssinian, to be treated equally among Ethiopian peoples, to equitable representation at all level of government bodies, to equitable and just resource share of the country, to equally participate in political, economic, and social activity of the country, to self governance in the territory it inhabits, and etc. To achieve all these listed above the role of Oromo traditional and educated elites, Oromo organizations (Matcha-Tulama Associations, Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and others), peasant farmers, Oromo Artists, especially Oromo students, and ‘Qeerroo fi Qaarree’ under the national youth movement for freedom and democracy was with a lion share and unforgettable. This restless long walk struggle of Oromo peoples and its ultimate objectives not fully addressed instead possible to say there is a progresses since some of the questions were answered.

On the other side many questions of Oromo peoples remain unsolved particularly the issue of self administration/governance and equitable representation at central level. It is undeniable that for the past five years, the heroic Oromo youth (Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo) and patriotic nationalists have recorded many historic and irreversible victories at high price in order to bring about total victory of their nation which yet not achieved completely. Our countless fallen heroes and heroines have set the objective of the nation that the patriotic ‘*Qubee’ generations* are not only embracing, but have taken over the objective of the nation with the determination to fulfill it ever lastingly. ***Because there are still many fundamental questions of Oromo nation remain unsolved, the golden heroic Oromo youth (Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo), patriotic nationalists, and Oromo peoples at large, as one of the most threatened nation on earth in this recent time should keep up the struggle with organized unit against tyrant/fascist/dictator/mass killer Amharan-Tigray governor for the everlasting freedom and democracy. Or for fully and completely addressing, the long time questions of Oromo and the oppressed nations in Ethiopia.***

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## 8. Conclusion

Before colonization during the European scramble for Africa by the alliance of European imperialism and Ethiopian colonialism the Oromo people were independent and organized both culturally and politically using the gadaa system (Oromo democracy) to promote their well being and to maintain their security and sovereignty. But from the time of colonization by Amharan-Tigray cruel/tyrant/fascist governors through war, conquest and expansion supported by arrogant European imperialists and Orthodox Christianity there was continuous engagement in dehumanizing Oromo, deculturation, destruction of its identity, ethnocide, and exploiting its abundant natural resources. For centuries Oromo as a nation unforgettable have endured unrelenting attacks on their individual rights, their national identity, cultural institutions, and their independent organizations.

Because, of this Oromo as a nation is consistently struggling them without ending. The Oromo walked a restless long journey to revive and reconstruct its language, culture, custom, religion, symbol, gadaa system (indigenous African political system), its history snatched by northerner, its land and other natural resources forcefully grabbed by the northerner, its strong psychological makeup/moral destructed by Abyssinian, to be treated equally among Ethiopian peoples, to equitable representation at all level of government bodies, to equitable and just resource share of the country, to equally participate in political, economic, and social activity of the country, to self governance in the territory it inhabits, and etc. To address all these issues the role of Oromo traditional and educated elites, Oromo organizations, Oromo peasant farmers, Oromo Artists, especially Oromo students, and 'Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo' under the national youth movement for freedom and democracy was with a lion share and unforgettable. But the restless long and uninterrupted struggle of Oromo failed to addresses all questions particularly the issue of self administration and equitable representation. ***Surprisingly African countries colonized by imperial Europeans celebrated their independence mainly after half of twentieth century but Oromo's colonized by Amharan-Tigray tyrant/fascist governors remain under colony up to the present even though they fought restlessly for generations.*** But this doesn't mean Oromo and Oromia will remain ever under the colony of Amharan-Tigray tyrant/fascist governors. Because the restless long walk struggle of the Oromo is in a progress, for instance, the bitter struggle by golden ***heroic Oromo youth (Qeerroo fi Qaarree Oromoo)*** achieved historic irreversible

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victories over the tyrants/fascist TPLF within a short period of time. It will be unforgettable victories because the struggle was peaceful and fruitful that even inspired all occupied and oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world as a courageous and brilliant example to stand-up against the well armed fascist/tyrant regime.

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